

The background of the slide features a photograph of several European Union flags flying on tall, silver flagpoles. The flags are blue with a circle of twelve gold stars. Behind the flags is a modern building with a glass facade and horizontal blinds. The right side of the slide is a solid dark blue rectangle containing the title text and the company logo.

These European parliamentarians shape the political conversation on Facebook

We analyze political discourse on Facebook

In recent years, discussions around democracy have increasingly shifted to social media platforms. At Common Consultancy, we provide insights into social media discourse and how emerging information streams shape our society. This report examines how European parliamentarians have used Facebook during the 9th parliamentary term. Facebook was selected due to its status as the platform with the largest user base in the EU.

Micro-actions such as likes, comments, and shares influence the reach of MEPs' posts and can ultimately sway votes on election day. Therefore, it is crucial to understand how digital dynamics, information flows, and tech giants impact the democratic conversation.

We are excited to present our analysis of the political discourse in the European Parliament on Facebook from 2019 to 2023.

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What we found and why it matters

Executive summary

- 1. The nationalistic and far right dominate the digital conversation among MEPs**, efficiently engaging voters with their agendas. Meanwhile, the center-right and center-left struggle to connect with voters through engaging communication.
- 2. European digital support for Ukraine is rapidly declining** and almost gone. The war in Ukraine does not have the same mobilizing and engaging effect on social media as it did in 2022. In 2023, it was primarily conspiratorial and anti-Ukraine agitators who benefited from the situation.
- 3. In Europe, a significant movement opposing the green transition has emerged.** In 2023, MEPs representing this anti-green movement garnered far more attention for their agendas than those supportive of Europe's green transition.

What happens in the digital space is reflected in the political sphere and In 2023, more than 63% of European social media user are on Facebook weekly, making it the dominant social media platform. Social media have become important sources of news about the EU – and they are growing*.

While success on social media does not immediately convert to electoral outcomes, it is a strong platform for election campaigns and for continuously mobilizing in favor of or against current policy proposals. What is even more important is that the political conversation of today and tomorrow is shaped and framed on social media. Research even shows a relationship between a strong social media presence (of various kinds) and electoral success**.

In this report, we point to recent tendencies on Facebook which most likely will affect the 2024 European Parliament elections significantly and, presumably, will also have a more far-reaching impact on European politics.

* Flash Eurobarometer: Media & News Survey 2023

** See for example: *Facebook likes and public opinion: Predicting the 2015 Finnish parliamentary elections*, by Vepsäläinen, Li and Suomi (2017), *Post Shared, Vote Shared: Investigating the Link Between Facebook Performance and Electoral Success During the Hungarian General Election Campaign of 2014*, by Márton Bene (2018), *Municipal Campaigns on Facebook: What influences the scope of engagement and does it win votes?*, by Lev-On and Nili Steinfeld (2021), and chapter 22 in *Party Leaders' Battle for the Center: The Parliamentary Election 2022*, Hansen et.al. (2023)



Key findings

The nationalistic and far-right groups are outperforming the other groups in the European Parliament

1

Non-attached
members

1,437 interactions per post

82.2 mio. total interactions

57,223 posts (51 MEPs)

2



**IDENTITY
AND DEMOCRACY**

1,249 interactions per post

163.8 mio. total interactions

131,129 posts (59 MEPs)

3



**EUROPEAN
CONSERVATIVES
AND REFORMISTS**

895 interactions per post

64.2 mio. total interactions

71,770 posts (67 MEPs)

4



692 interactions per post

102.6 mio. total interactions

148,265 posts (141 MEPs)

5

**renew
europe.**

542 interactions per post

44.9 mio. total interactions

82,710 posts (101 MEPs)

6



GUE/NGL
www.guengl.eu

457 interactions per post

24.3 mio. total interactions

53,118 posts (37 MEPs)

7



391 interactions per post

76.8 mio. total interactions

196,068 posts (177 MEPs)

8



241 interactions per post

12.8 mio. total interactions

53,014 posts (72 MEPs)

* The exact number of MEPs vary during the election cycle.

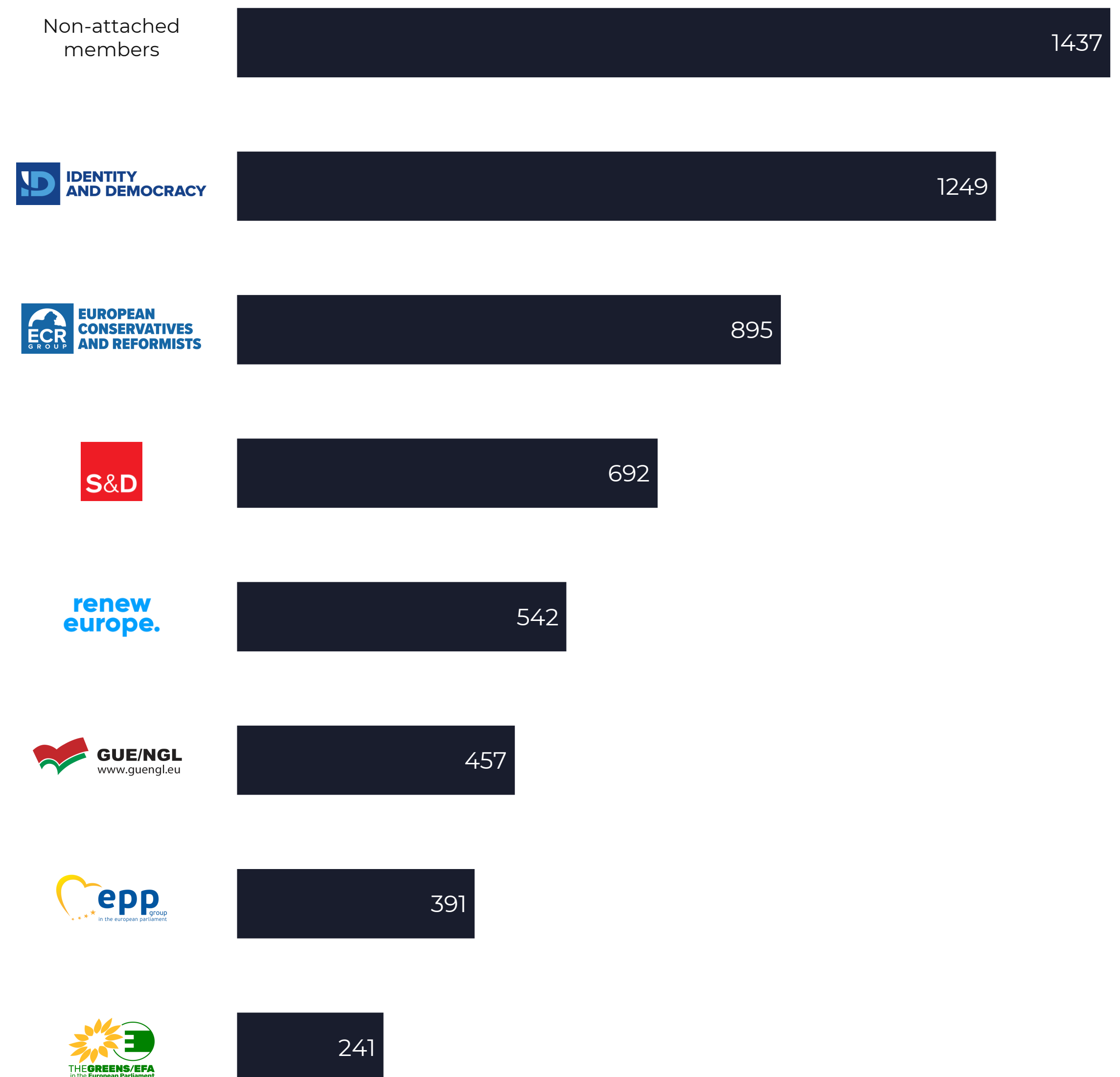
And they are competing for the top spot

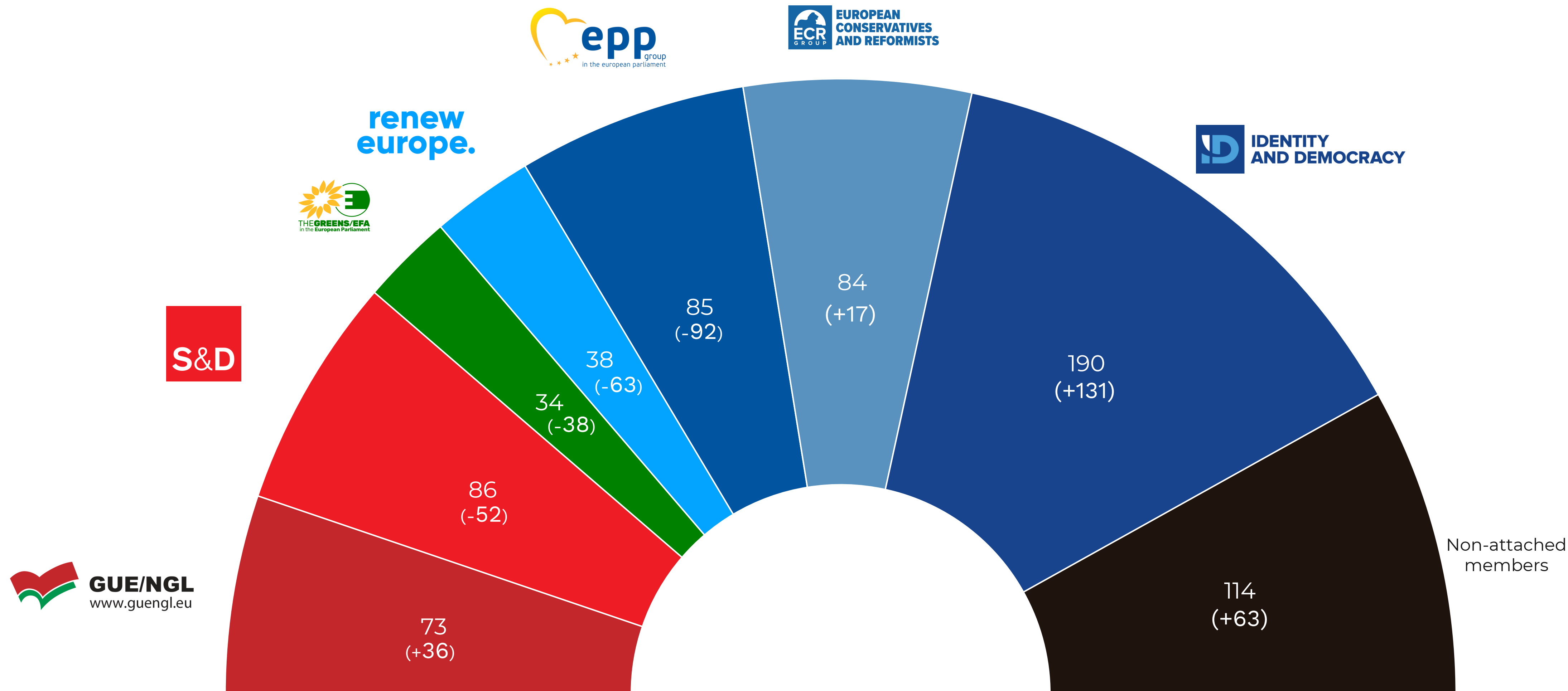
One trend is clear during the current election cycle:

- The non-attached members have, as a group, generated the most interactions per post, though ID almost surpassed them in 2023.

Considering that a significant number of the non-attached members politically belong to the right-wing, it is evident that the right-wing has been on the rise since the last election for the European Parliament in 2019.

This trend is not necessarily apparent immediately in the legislative work in the parliament, but the right-wing has a unique platform to shape the European political conversation of tomorrow and to transform success on Facebook into seats in the European Parliament in 2024.



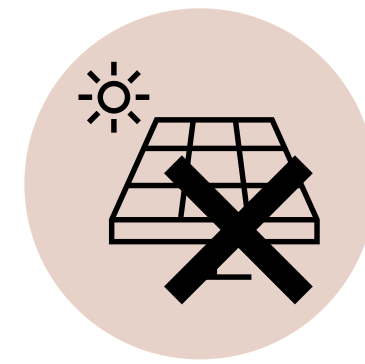


The European Parliament if Facebook in 2023 decided the election

For each country, we analyzed the total number of interactions for each group. Subsequently, we examined the number of parliamentary seats in each country and allocated these seats proportionally based on their respective share of interactions.

Five MEP-agendas dominate interactions among Europeans

To understand which topics are gaining the most attention going into an election, we have reviewed the 10 best performing posts from 2023 by MEPs in each EU member state. The best performance, in this case, refers to the post with the most interactions.



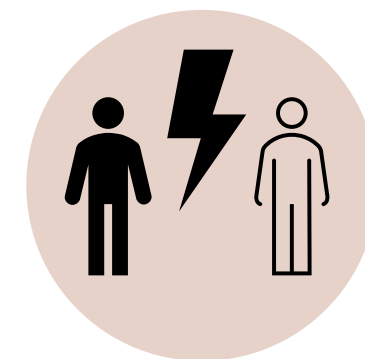
Environment and climate

Discussions often center around current European Union legislation. However, a considerable majority expressed significant criticism towards the green transition in Europe.



Pro-Russia and anti-Ukraine

A majority of the EU-wide top-performing posts were critical of the current support for Ukraine, with many even venturing into conspiratorial narratives.



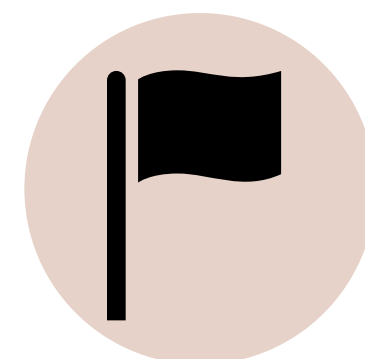
Integration and immigration

Notably, these posts were highly critical of the immigration and integration of individuals from outside the EU.



Israel-Palestine conflict

We observed that only Western Europeans have shown significant engagement with this issue.



Nationalism and national self-determination

Particularly, right-wing politicians have highlighted national pride and advocated for greater independence from the EU.



ID and non-attached effectively shape the discourse on Ukraine

Despite the prominent engagement of the major center-aligned groups EPP, Renew Europe, and S&D in addressing the Ukraine conflict through their posts, a recurring pattern emerges wherein the fringe factions, particularly the new far-right, excel in mobilizing the European population digitally.

In 2023 two themes reoccur in the best performing post:

1. Proposing an immediate end to the war, a ceasefire, or the commencement of peace negotiations between the warring parties – at times questioning whose interests the war is serving.
2. Criticism of the EU's policies during the war, pointing out that the EU is escalating the conflict, that Western sanctions are counterproductive, and that Brussels is spreading propaganda.

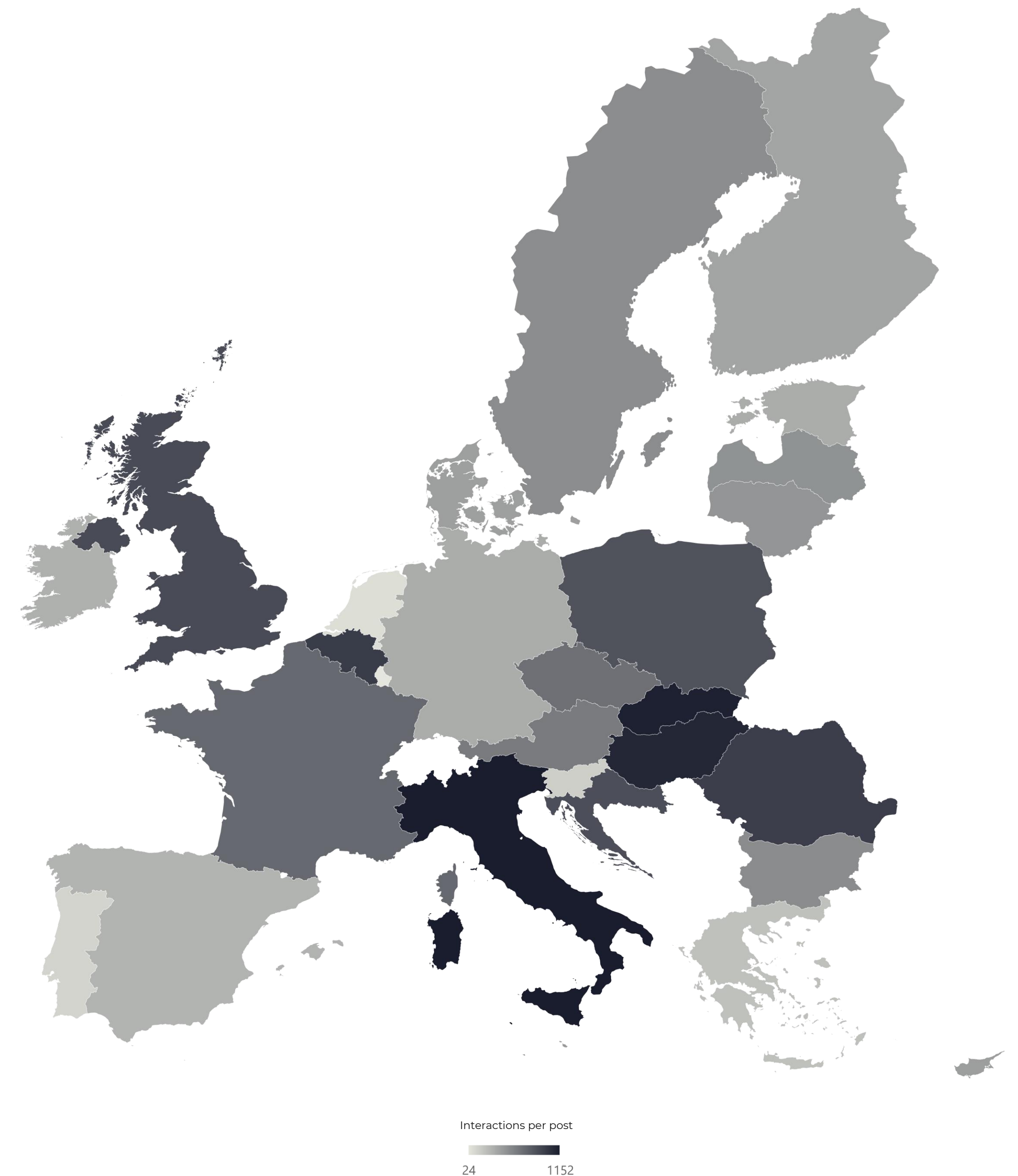
Italian MEPs are the most effective at engaging voters

MEPs from Italy, Slovakia, and Hungary are the most effective at engaging voters in their respective countries compared to others.

For Italy, this is also due to the country's size and active MEPs – they have posted 147,033 posts, which is 57,309 more than the second-highest, Poland, whose MEPs have made over 89,000 posts.

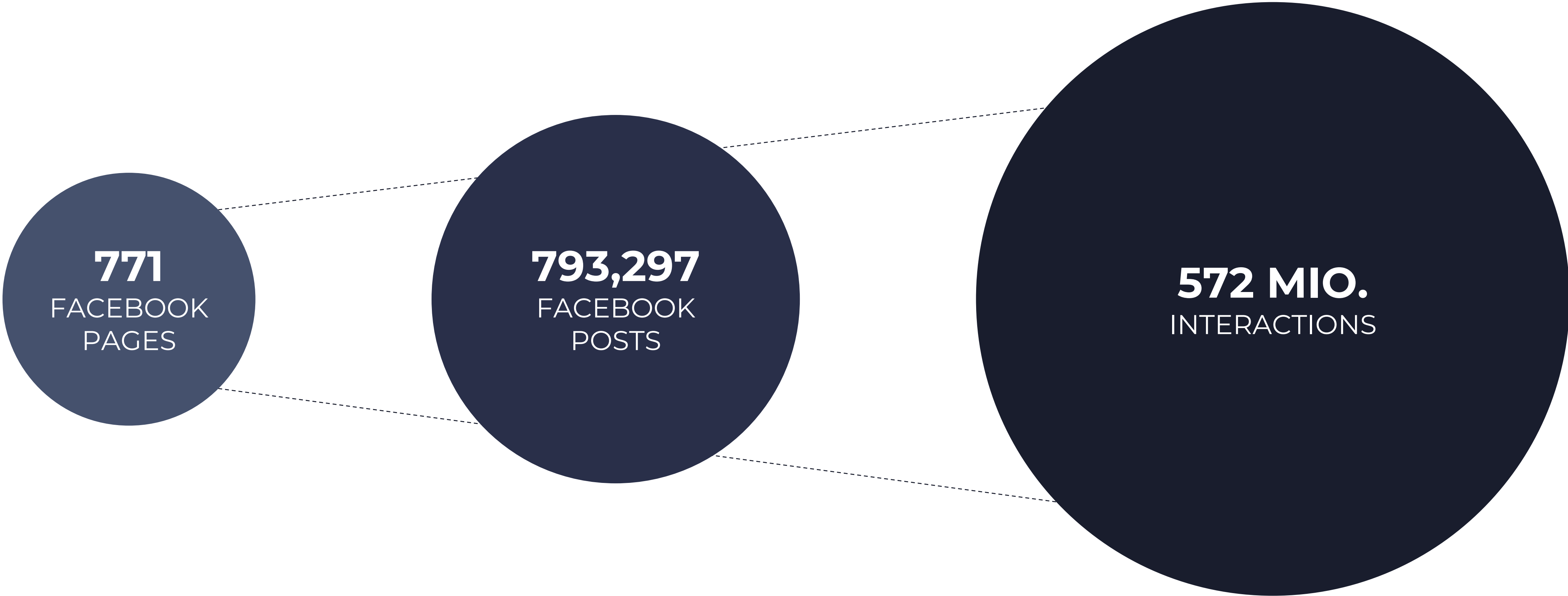
Thus, Spain and Germany stand out in particular. Their MEPs do not manage to engage their electorate to the same extent as Italy and the countries in the east.

Across our data, MEPs from the Netherlands and Luxembourg, on average, receive the fewest interactions per post. Both countries are characterized by having many MEPs in the EPP, S&D, and Renew – and few MEPs in the ECR, ID, or non-attached MEPs.

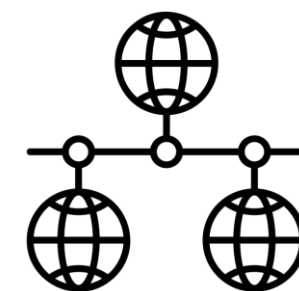
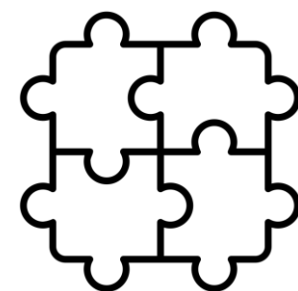
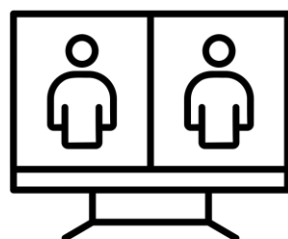
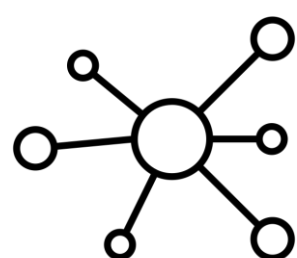


Data collection and methodology

What we have collected



Data collection and analysis



Identification of MEPs

We have identified 870 MEPs who, at some point, have held a seat in the European Parliament between the EP election in 2019 and 31 December 2023.

Assigning EP groups

All 870 MEPs have been assigned to their Parliamentary group, and we have identified 80 incidences where MEPs have changed Parliamentary Group.

Identification of Facebook pages

Subsequently, a search was conducted for all MEPs' Facebook pages, and both identified pages and missing pages have been reviewed manually.

Final source population

This process ultimately resulted in a source population of 771 identified Facebook pages for MEPs holding a seat in the 2019-2024 parliamentary cycle.

Data collection

All Facebook posts for the 771 identified Facebook pages were collected using Facebook Graph API between 2 July 2019 and 31 December 2023. In total, after filtering out posts where the MEP was not in the Parliament, this amounts to 793.297 posts.

Analysis and insights

Finally, we analyzed the data and developed insights. Both quantitative and qualitative assessments were conducted.



Few MEPs are dominating
the digital conversation

The 6 MEPs generating most interaction



Silvia Sardone

ID | IT

55,402,928
interactions



Patryk Jaki

ECR | PL

19,072,439
interactions



Gilbert Collard

Non-attached | FR

17,761,365
interactions



Robert Biedroń

S&D | PL

17,609,916
interactions



Jordan Bardella

ID | FR

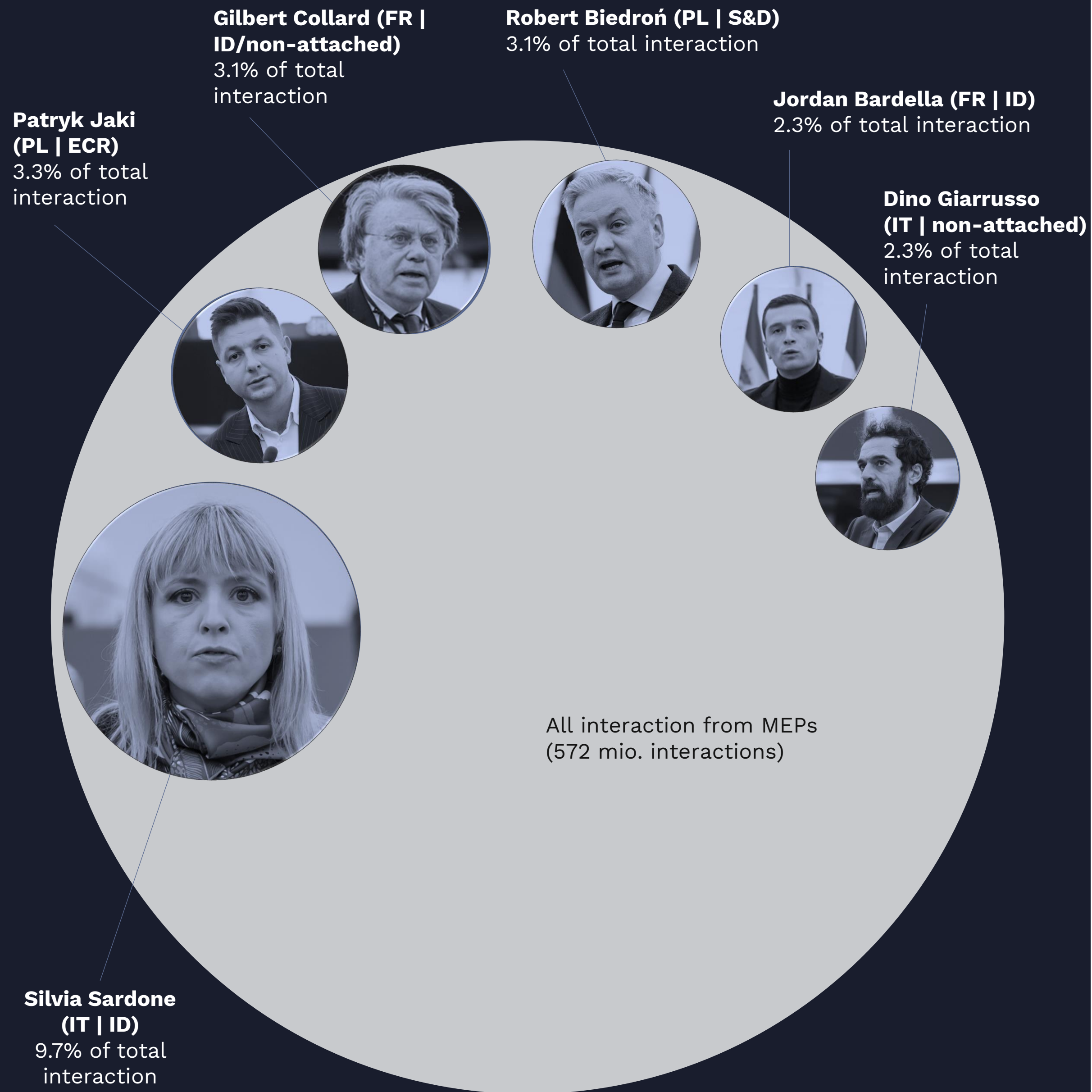
13,181,323
interactions



Dino Giarrusso

Non-attached | IT

12,903,712
interactions



The 6 MEPs who generate the most interactions account for 31.2% of all interactions

The 6 MEPs with the most interactions alone account for 31.2% of all interactions by MEPs. Two of them are from ID, three are non-attached, and there is one from ECR and S&D.

It is also notable that among the 6 MEPs with the most interactions, there are two representatives from each of Italy, France, and Poland. Other significant EU member states such as Germany (by population, the largest EU country) and Spain (the fourth-largest EU member measured by population) are not represented at the top.

The German MEP with the most interactions is Martin Sonneborn, who ranks 24th and is not affiliated with any group. Carles Puigdemont i Casamajó, former president of the Catalonia region in Spain, is the highest-ranking Spanish politician at an overall 26th place.

Silvia Sardone from Italy received more than twice as many interactions as the runner-up

10 MEPs have had more than 10 million interactions between 2019 and 2023, and only one of them is a woman. Silvia Sardone (IT) alone has garnered more interactions than the second and third-ranked individuals combined.

Silvia Sardone's lead is particularly due to a period between March 2020 and August 2021, where her most popular posts were about immigration and integration, personal posts, Italian pride and identity, and national Italian politics – especially criticism of the Italian left wing.



In February 2024, Silvia Sardone supported farmers' protests in Brussels and stated, "We are on the farmers' side against the foolishness of Europe." She has also posted pictures of former protests in Italy.



In her posts, Silvia Sardone frequently defends Italian products, values, and identity against the EU and other 'enemies'.





Persons engage voters:
ID and the rest of the
nationalistic and far right are
mastering digital political
strategy

ECR, ID, and non-attached members
generated 54% of all interactions from 2019 to
2023

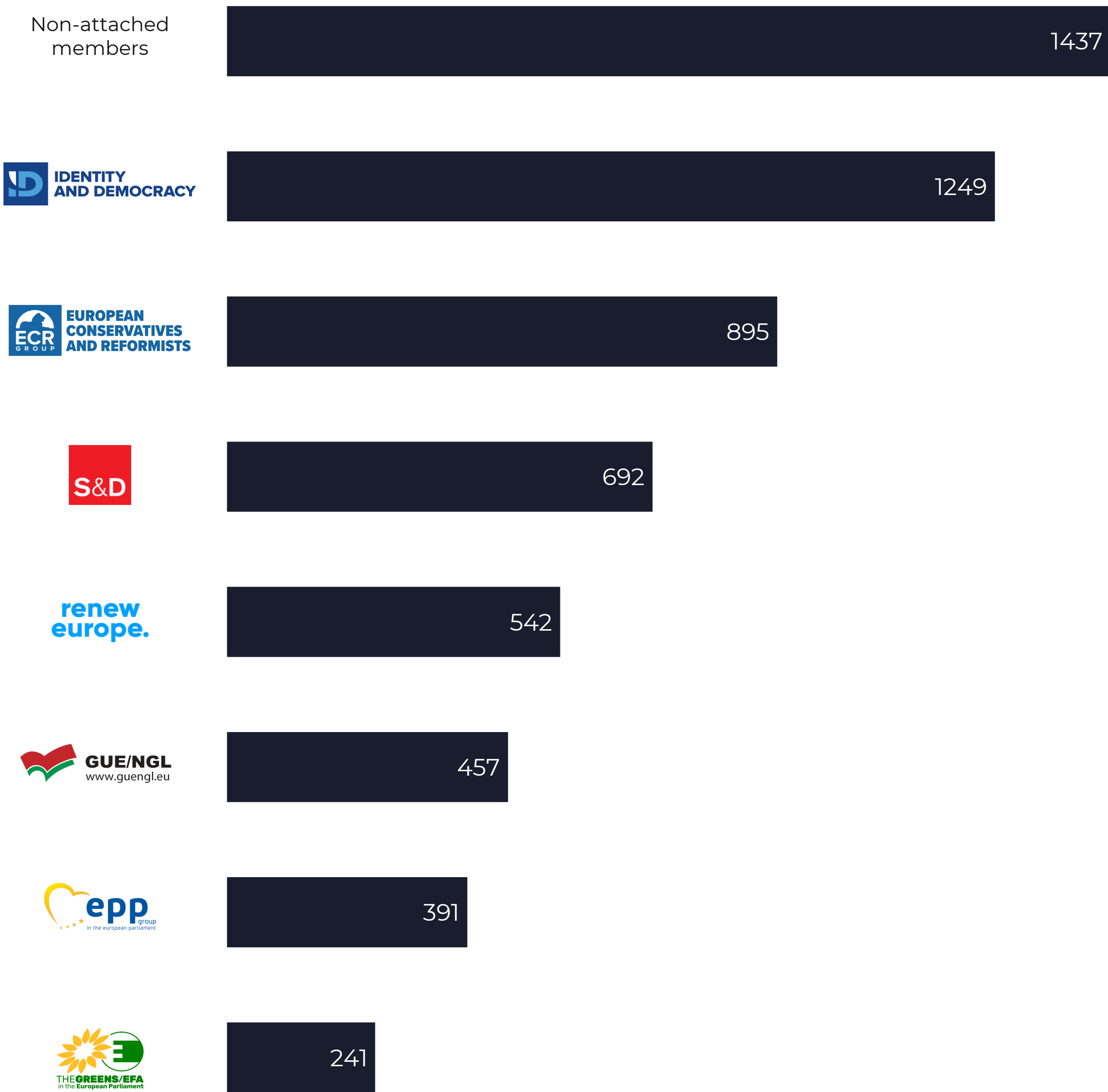
The nationalistic and far right are competing for the top spot

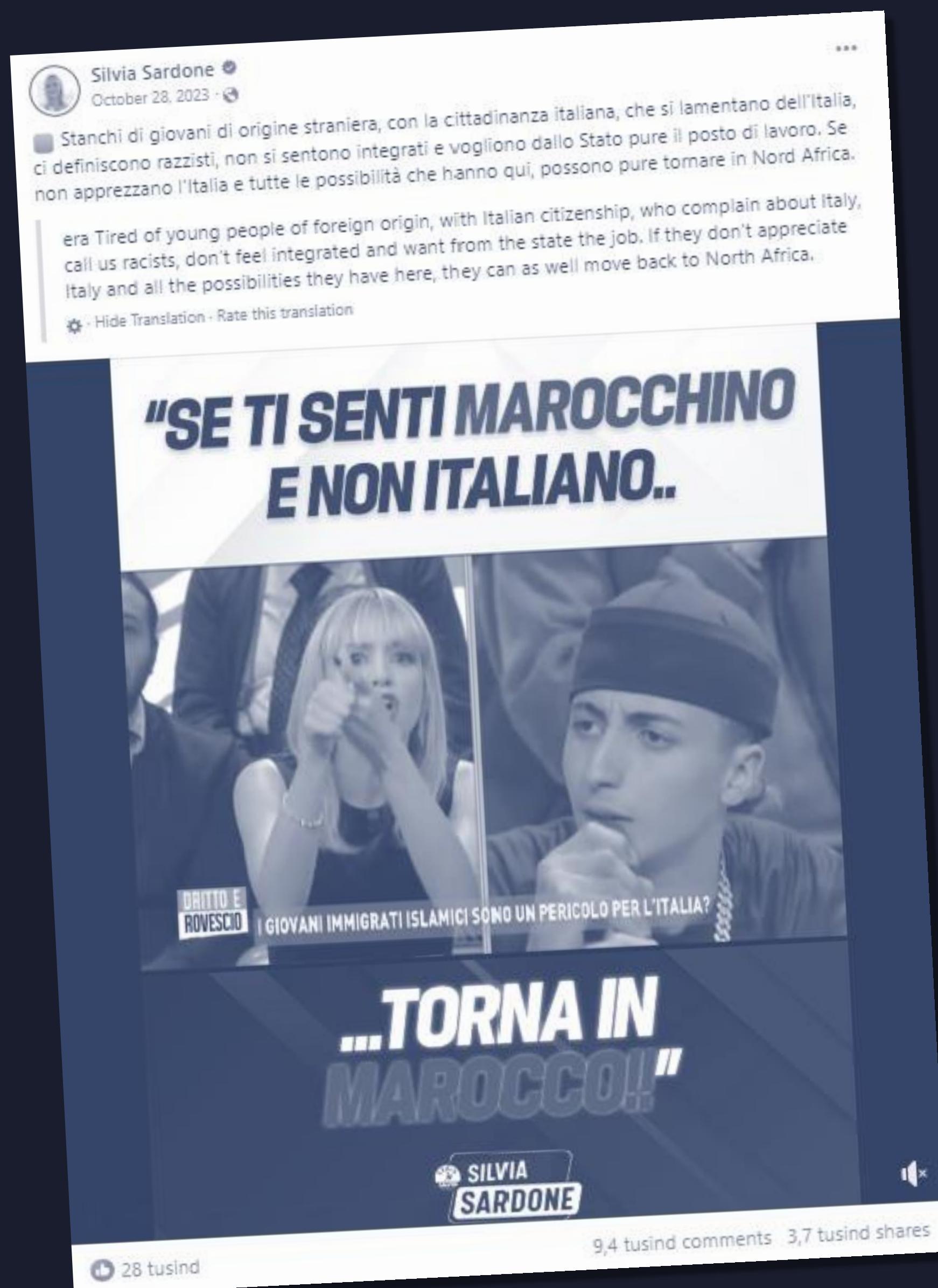
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ID's high number of interactions signifies extensive visibility and reach

A review of the top-performing posts by MEPs from ID reveals they share the following traits:

- Communicating feelings, emotions and identity
- Streamlined communication, tailored to their political audiences
- Messages relevant to their specific national audience, reflecting their political perspectives and belief systems
- The presence of a clear enemy in their messages
- A tendency to avoid discussing complex EU legislation, often focusing instead on national politics

This pattern is observed when Jordan Bardella criticizes Emmanuel Macron's pension reform as *"misconceived, unfair and brutal"*, when Silvia Sardone expresses being *"Tired of young people of foreign origin, with Italian citizenship, complaining about Italy..."* or when Marco Zanni claims that *"... the cost of electric cars has skyrocketed both due to the lack of raw materials, but also due to the increase in demand due to crazy local and EU taxes."*

3 examples of how ID communicates



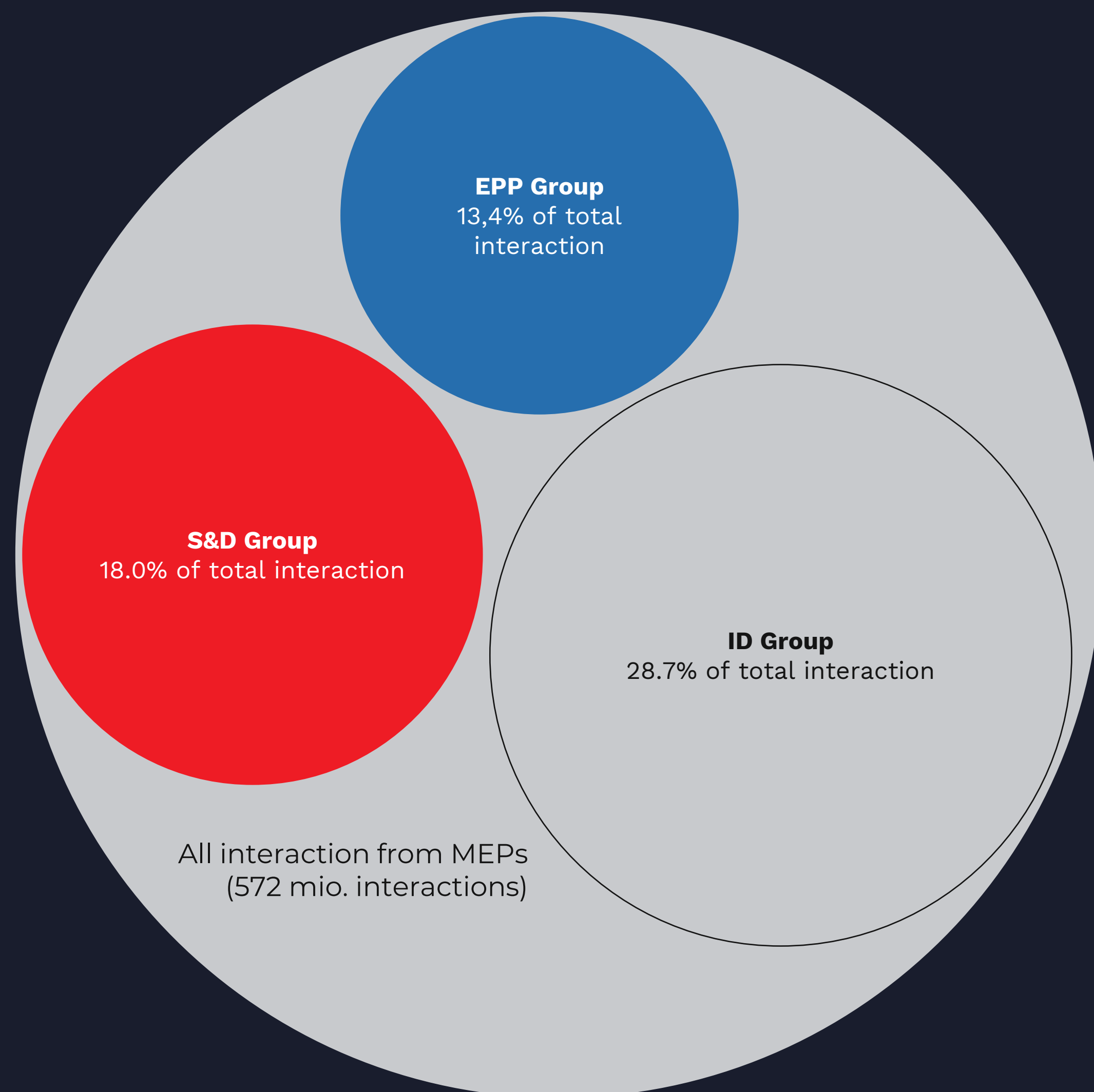
Jordan Bardella (FR) criticizes President Emmanuel Macron's pension reform.



Marco Zanni (IT) makes claims about the price of electric cars



Silvia Sardone (IT) communicates Italian identity and integration policy.



ID's messaging is capturing engagement, outpacing S&D and EPP

In terms of total interactions, ID's 59 MEPs have achieved more than double what EPP's 177 MEPs accomplished between 2019 and 2023.

This places ID significantly ahead of the traditionally major players in the European Parliament



The major political players are
missing out on Facebook

EPP, S&D, and Renew collectively account for
39% of all interactions from 2019 to 2023

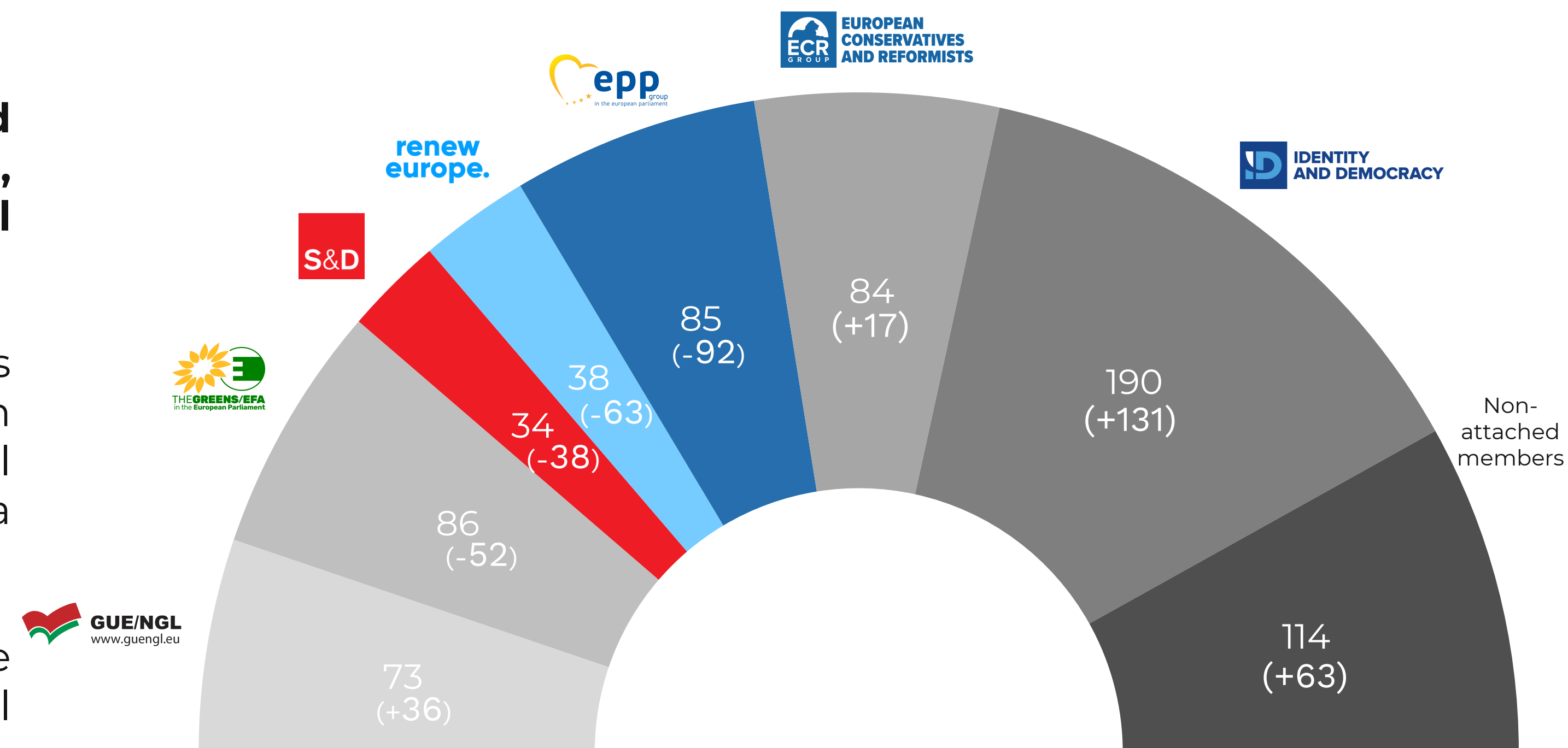
The major political players in the parliament are not shaping the digital conversation in Europe

The composition of the European Parliament would differ dramatically if Facebook interactions in 2023 determined the election outcome, compared to the actual parliament.

Especially, ID and the group of non-attached members would benefit, while Greens/EFA, S&D, Renew, and EPP would lose seats in the digital parliament.

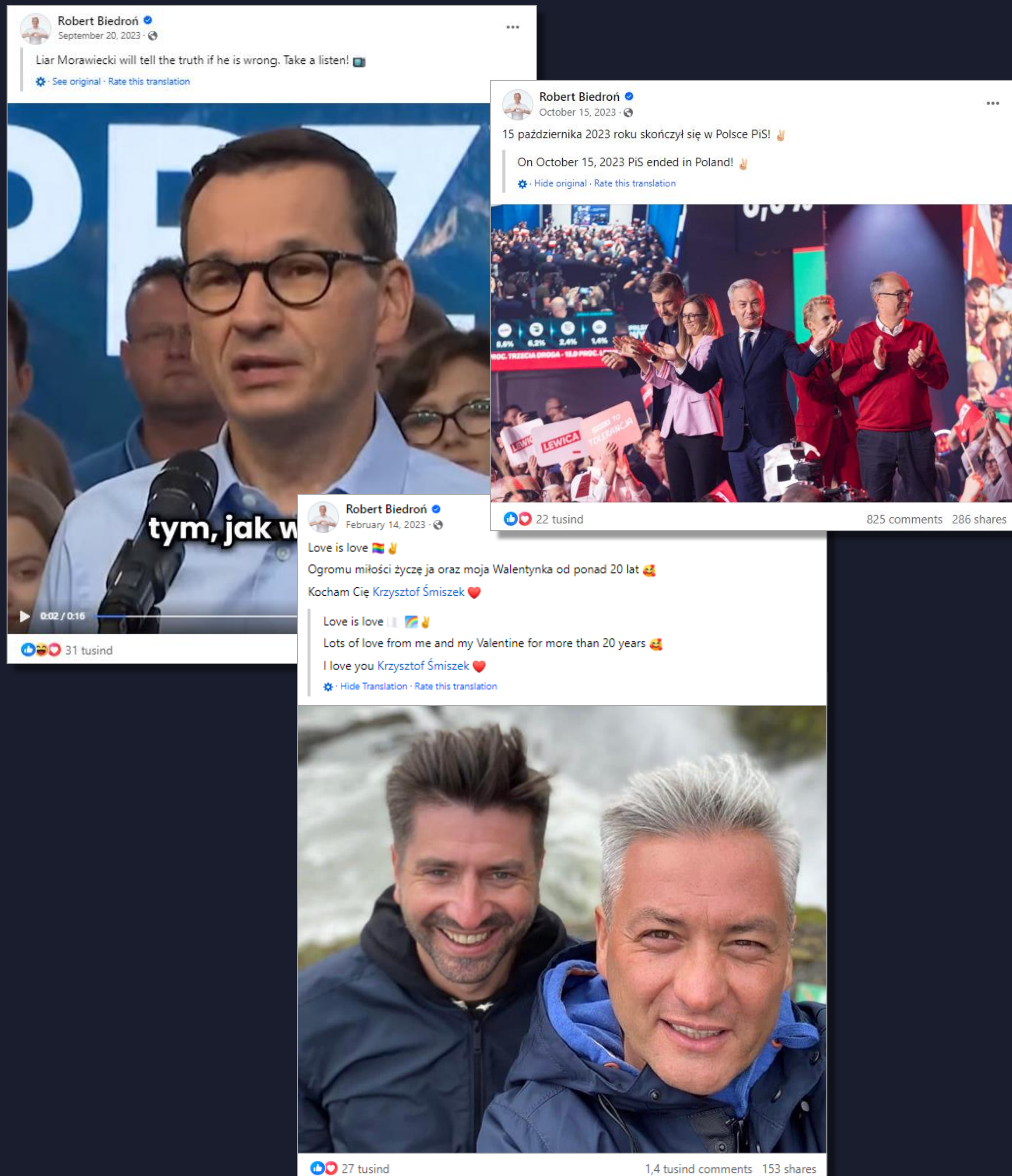
Social media is a key source of EU news for Europeans and a rapidly growing source*. While interactions on Facebook do not directly translate to electoral outcomes, strong engagement here often signals a solid foundation for election campaigns.

The problem with diminishing Facebook performance for S&D, Renew, and EPP is that the political conversation of today and tomorrow is digitally shaped, and as a rule of thumb, those with the most interaction are heard the most. Consequently, S&D, Renew, and EPP are missing out on shaping the conversation around EU related issues.



European Parliament if Facebook in 2023 decided the election

* <https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/3153>



The battle for European attention is not lost

Among the top six MEPs receiving the most interactions, we find the Polish left-wing politician Robert Biedroń. He exemplifies that Facebook is not solely a domain for new right-wing movements.

Rather, it shows that with a clear strategy and adherence to best practices, major political groups can successfully identify and engage with European voters.

His communication shares some of the same characteristics as those of the right-wing. The then-current PiS government and Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki were targets of his campaigns. Additionally, Robert Biedroń's messages are often personal, and he uses himself and his partner to promote values of diversity and family. Among his best-performing posts, there are none about the European Parliament or EU legislation.



Who's winning the battle for
Ukraine on Facebook

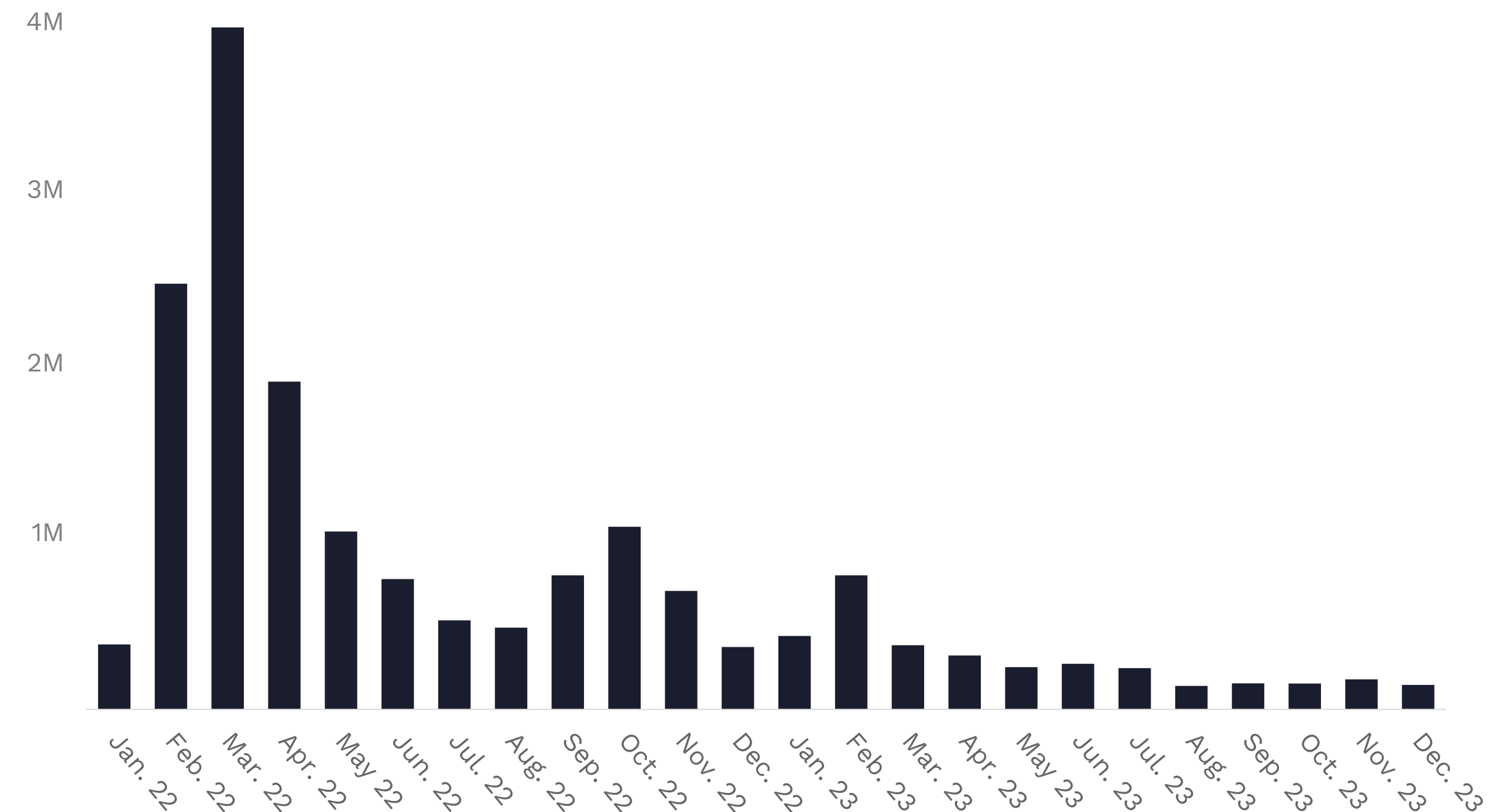
There is little energy left in the discussion on Ukraine

The Russian invasion of Ukraine remains a pivotal event in the 9th parliamentary term, driving ongoing debates and resolutions. Thus, we have examined the development of the online discourse concerning the conflict among MEPs.

We employed a basic query: Ukraine, Zelensky, Putin, and Russia in 52 different languages. In total, there are 26,571 posts discussing the Ukrainian conflict from 2022-2023. These constitute 12,6% of all posts by MEPs during the same period.

The findings are clear – despite the ongoing debates about the war, digital discussions on the topic are waning. Clearly, the momentum surrounding Ukraine has significantly diminished since the Spring of 2022.

Sum of total interactions on MEP posts regarding Ukraine and Russia



ID and non-attached effectively shape the discourse on Ukraine

Despite the prominent engagement of the major center-aligned groups EPP, Renew Europe, and S&D in addressing the Ukraine conflict through their posts, a recurring pattern emerges where the fringe factions, particularly the nationalistic and far-right, excel in mobilizing the European population digitally.



Non-attached members in particular rank among the MEPs with most interactions per post about the war in Ukraine in 2023



Mislav Kolakušić

Non-attached | HR

23,336
interactions



Traian Băsescu

EPP | RO

16,676
interactions



Patryk Jaki

ECR | PL

11,700
interactions



Milan Uhrík

Non-attached | SK

10,909
interactions



Ivan Vilibor Sinčić

Non-attached | HR

10,826
interactions

Uhrík alone is behind 3/10
Ukraine posts with the
most interactions in 2023

The supporters of Ukraine needs to engage the Europeans

When analyzing the 25 posts with most interactions about the war in Ukraine in 2023, it becomes evident that most of the posts are somewhat critical of the EU's conduct during the war.

Two themes reoccur:

1. Several posts about the war in Ukraine are from MEPs proposing an immediate end to the war, a ceasefire, or the commencement of peace negotiations between the warring parties – at times questioning whose interests the war is serving.
2. Other posts contain criticism of the EU's policies during the war, pointing out that the EU is escalating the conflict, that Western sanctions are counterproductive, and that Brussels is spreading propaganda.



Ending the war

”

[...] Each of us should ask ourselves why almost no one wants a quick end to the war in Ukraine, which would begin with peace talks.

Why are all eyes on weapons and not on peace?

One possible answer is that every war is a source of enormous profits and acquisition of power by individuals who run corporations. [...]

- Mislav Kolakušić | Non-attached | HR

”

[...] What the West produces and delivered in a year, Ukraine uses in a month. The situation is unsustainable, and peace is the only option. [...]

- Ivan Vilibor Sinčić | Non-attached | HR

Criticizing the EU's policies

”

Europe is playing with 💣 detonator. It is said that "only a defeated, de-imperialized and decolonized Russia" can be a partner for the West. The EU institutions are already preparing plans to subsequently "reform" the defeated Russia. Yes, this was actually voted on in the European Parliament today.

It is clear to me that the mass media in the Slovak Republic will not report on this. At the same time, it is not a conspiracy or a plot, but one of the 📖 defining strategic documents of foreign and security policy EU.

I absolutely do not agree with such a dangerous policy. It is more reminiscent of resolutions for a major war than an effort to achieve peace. Unfortunately, warmongers are also in the west. Please, let's not succumb to the madness of war and maintain balance and sanity.skREPUBLIC for peace!🕊

- Milan Uhrík | Non-attached | SK

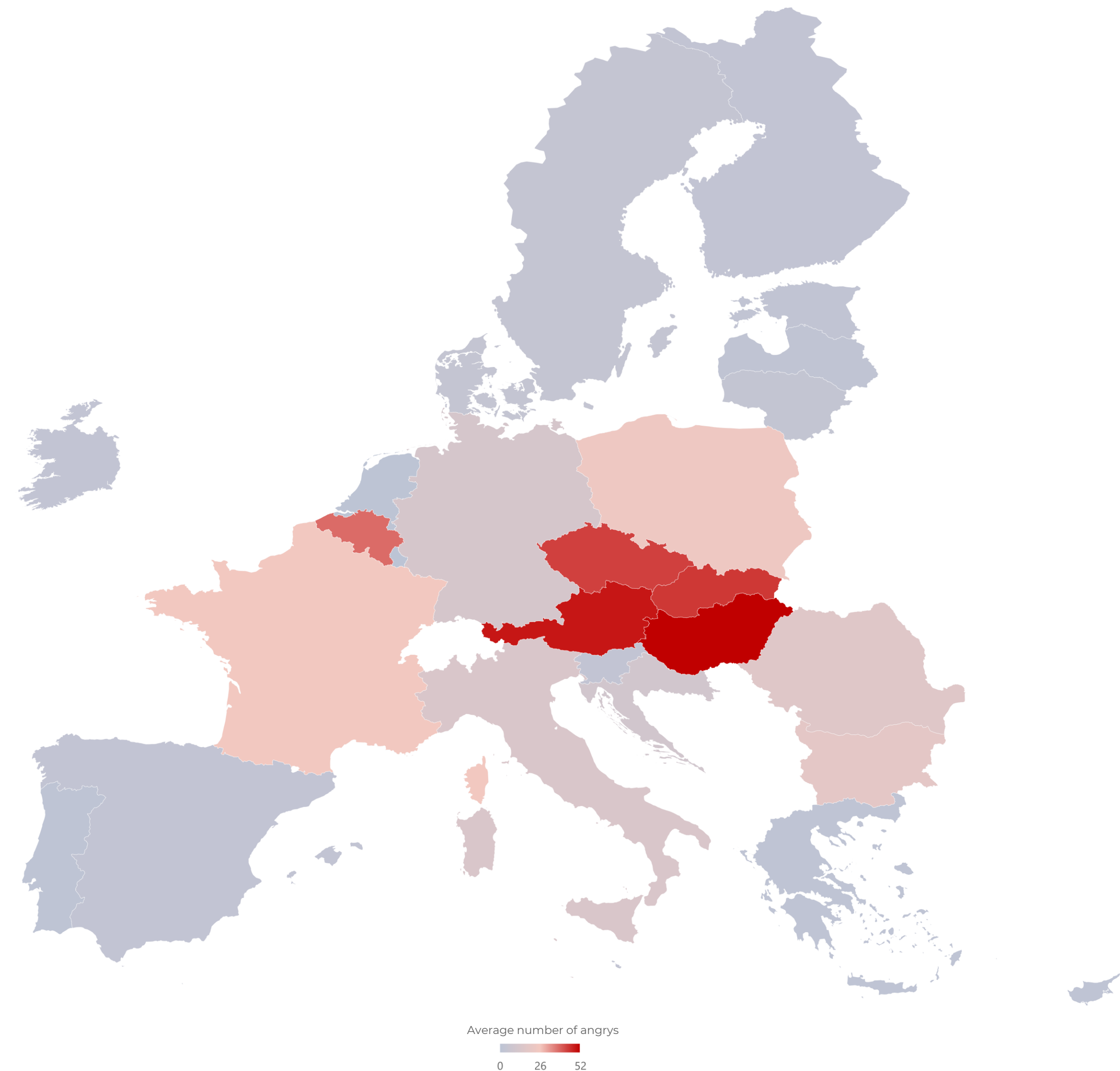
Austria and Hungary demonstrate the highest levels of anger concerning the war

When examining the average amount of angry emojis across posts about the Ukrainian conflict, a clear pattern emerges – Belgium and a group of countries bordering closely to Ukraine (Austria, Hungary, Czech Republic, and Slovakia) are the most agitated about the war.

Posts prompting the greatest number of angry emojis in these five countries predominantly revolve around topics such as:

- Criticism of the EU's conduct during the war, including concerns about the money spent and paid by EU taxpayers.
- The support or opposition to sanctions targeting Russia.
- Reservations regarding Ukraine's potential accession to the EU.
- Reservations regarding Ukrainian refugees arriving to the EU.
- Calls from MEPs to provide military and economic aid to Ukraine.

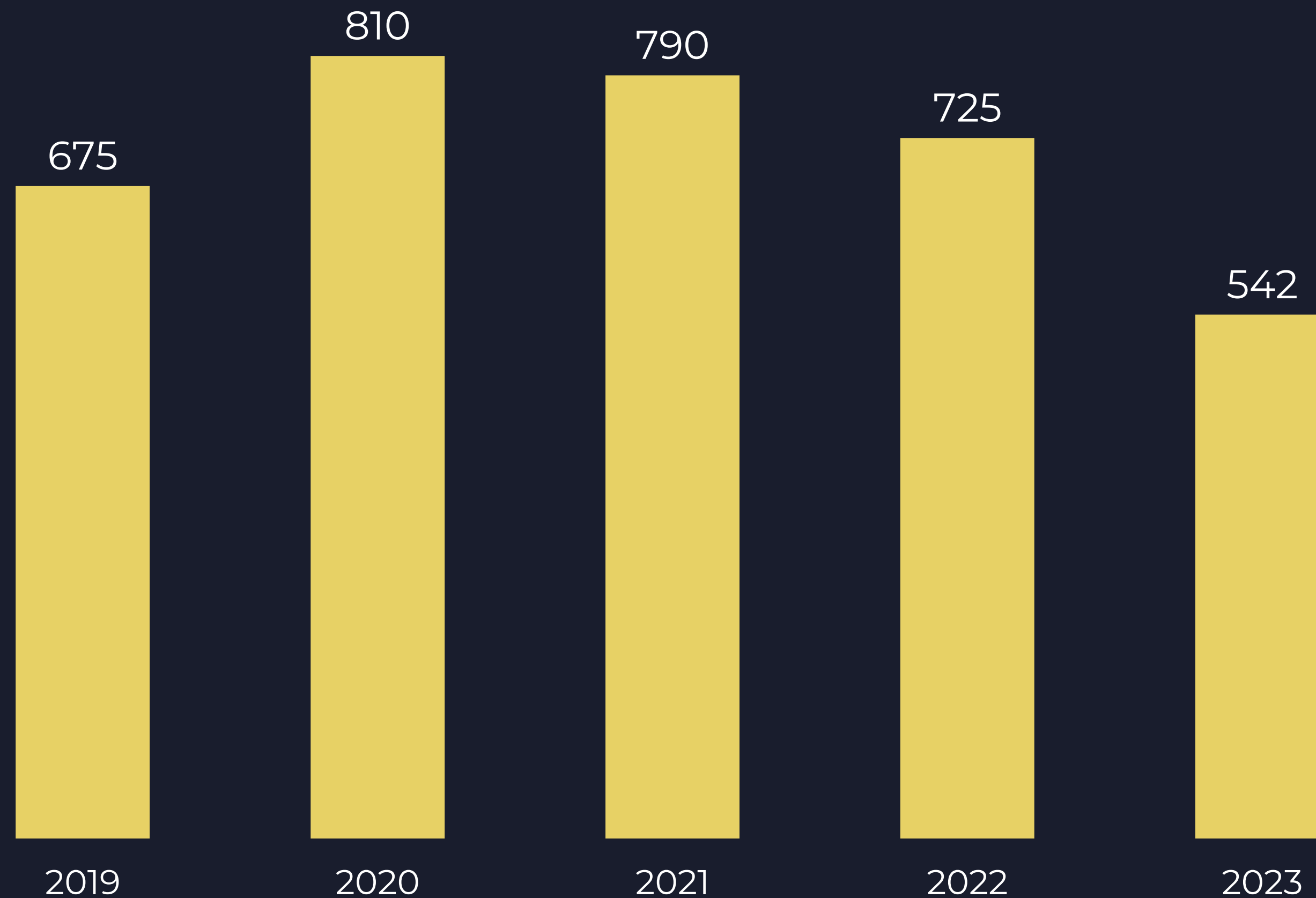
Notably, Hungary stands out as angry emojis are particularly prevalent in response to Hungarian MEPs' critical assessment of prime Minister Orbán and his relationship with President Putin.





Performance of political groups in the European Parliament

Since the last election it has become increasingly harder to engage and mobilize voters



Interactions per post for every MEP

We have observed that since 2020, MEPs have encountered more difficulty in engaging their followers on Facebook. In 2020, MEPs received an average of 810 interactions per post. This number has declined since, and in 2023, MEPs received just 542 interactions per post on average. That corresponds to a decrease of 33%

A part of this development is likely due to Meta changing its algorithm. However, this does not alter the fact that MEPs will face a more difficult time reaching their voters in 2024 than they did in the 2019 election

Since the election in 2019, there has also been a decrease in the number of posts by MEPs. From 2020 to 2023, the number of Facebook posts created by MEPs fell by 20%.

Non-attached members of the European Parliament

The group of non-attached members of the European Parliament tends to mirror the general trend for MEPs' interactions per post. During the election cycle, interactions per post decreased from 1,566 in 2019 to 980 in 2023.

Best performing MEPs in group



Mislav Kolakušić
(Croatia)*

6,719
interactions per
post

460 total posts



Milan Uhrík
(Slovakia)

6,269
interactions per
post

1,438 total posts

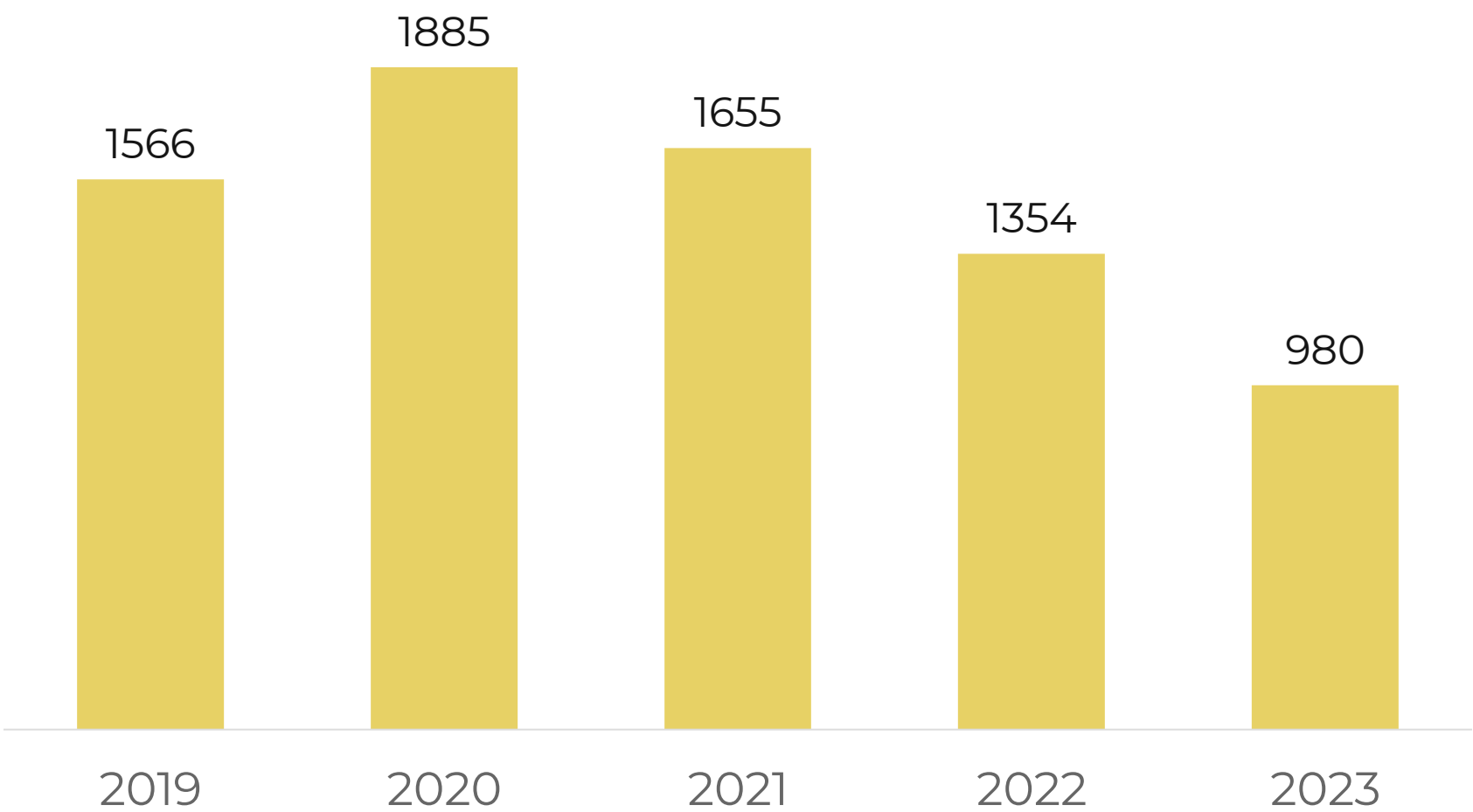


Dino Giarrusso
(Italy)

4,867
interactions per
post

2,651 total posts

Interactions per post



*Nigel Farage is ranking first in the group but is due to Brexit excluded.

Identity and Democracy (ID)

Since 2019, the ID group has witnessed a slight decline in interactions per post. Nonetheless, the relatively high number of interactions per post is noteworthy, especially considering that ID members generate the highest number of posts per MEP. On average, each of the group's 59 MEPs has created 2,223 Facebook posts.

The group has a predominant presence in Western Europe but boasts substantial digital representation through MEPs in most member countries.

Best performing MEPs in group



Silvia Sardone
(Italy)

6,456
interactions per
post

8,581 total posts



Mara Bizzotto
(Italy)

3,750
interactions per
post

841 total posts

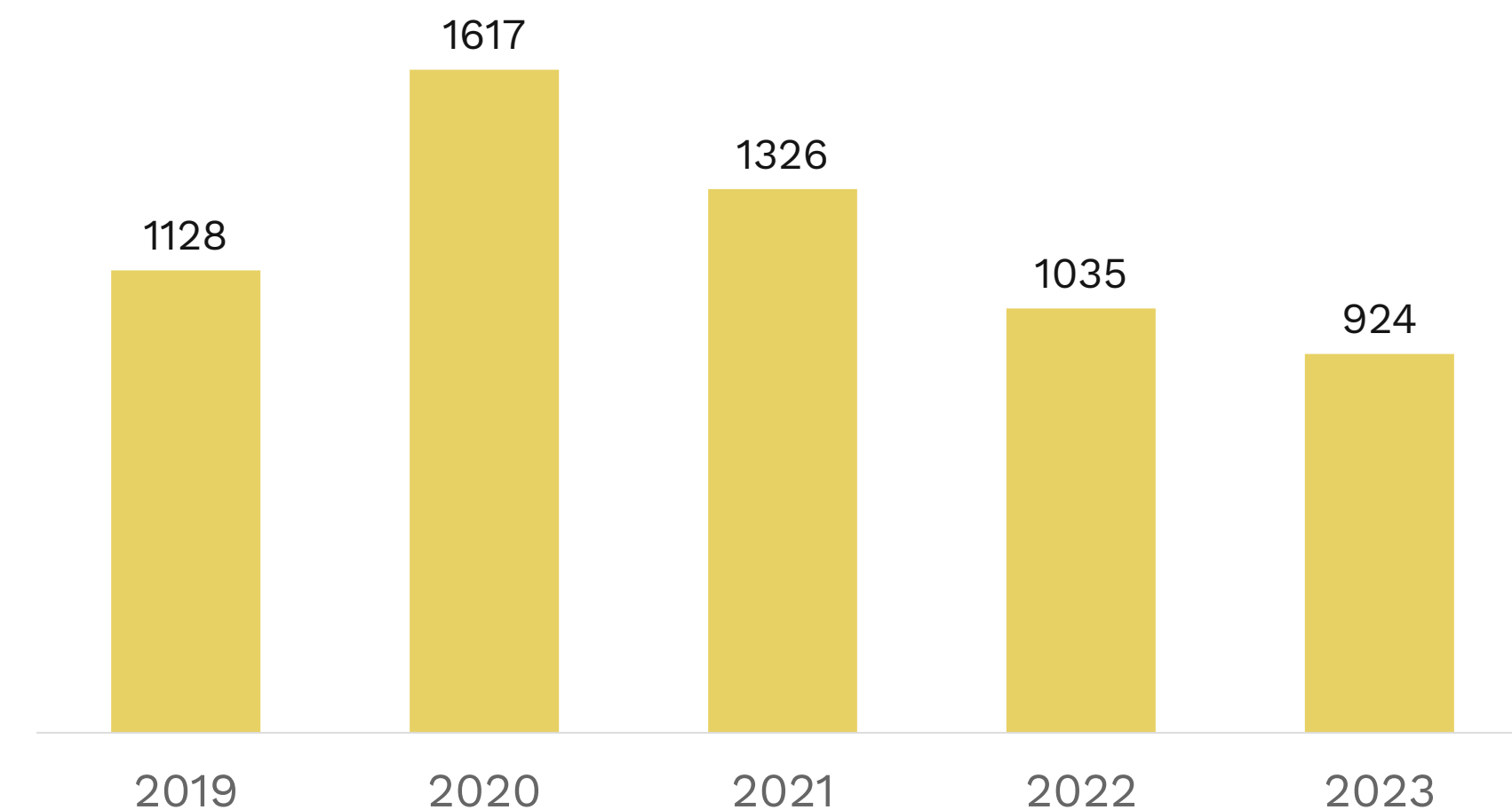


Jordan Bardella
(France)

3,717
interactions per
post

3546 total posts

Interactions per post



European Conservatives and Reformist Group (ECR)

The European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR) rank third in terms of average interactions per post. Over the entire election cycle, the group has increased its average number of interactions per post, although interactions per post for the ECR peaked in 2021.

Cristian Terheş from Romania and Patryk Jaki from Poland stand out as the group's clear top performers.

In contrast to ID, the ECR has a strong digital presence in Eastern European countries such as Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia, and Czechia.

Best performing MEPs in group



Cristian Terheş
(Romania)

11,382
interactions per
post

1,000 total posts



Patryk Jaki
(Poland)

8,214
interactions per
post

2,322 total posts

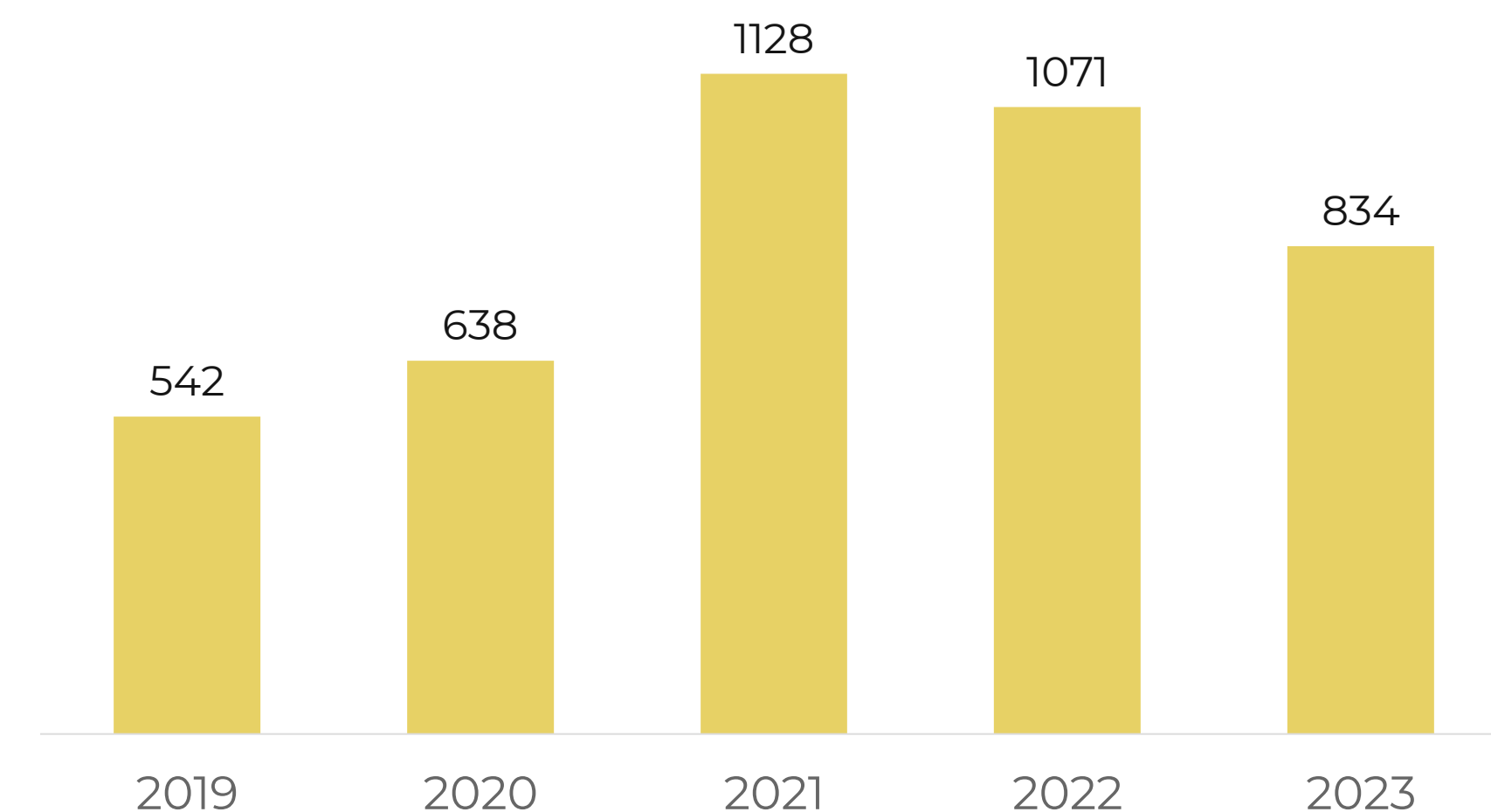


Jessica Stegrud
(Sweden)*

2,751
interactions per
post

803 total posts

Interactions per post

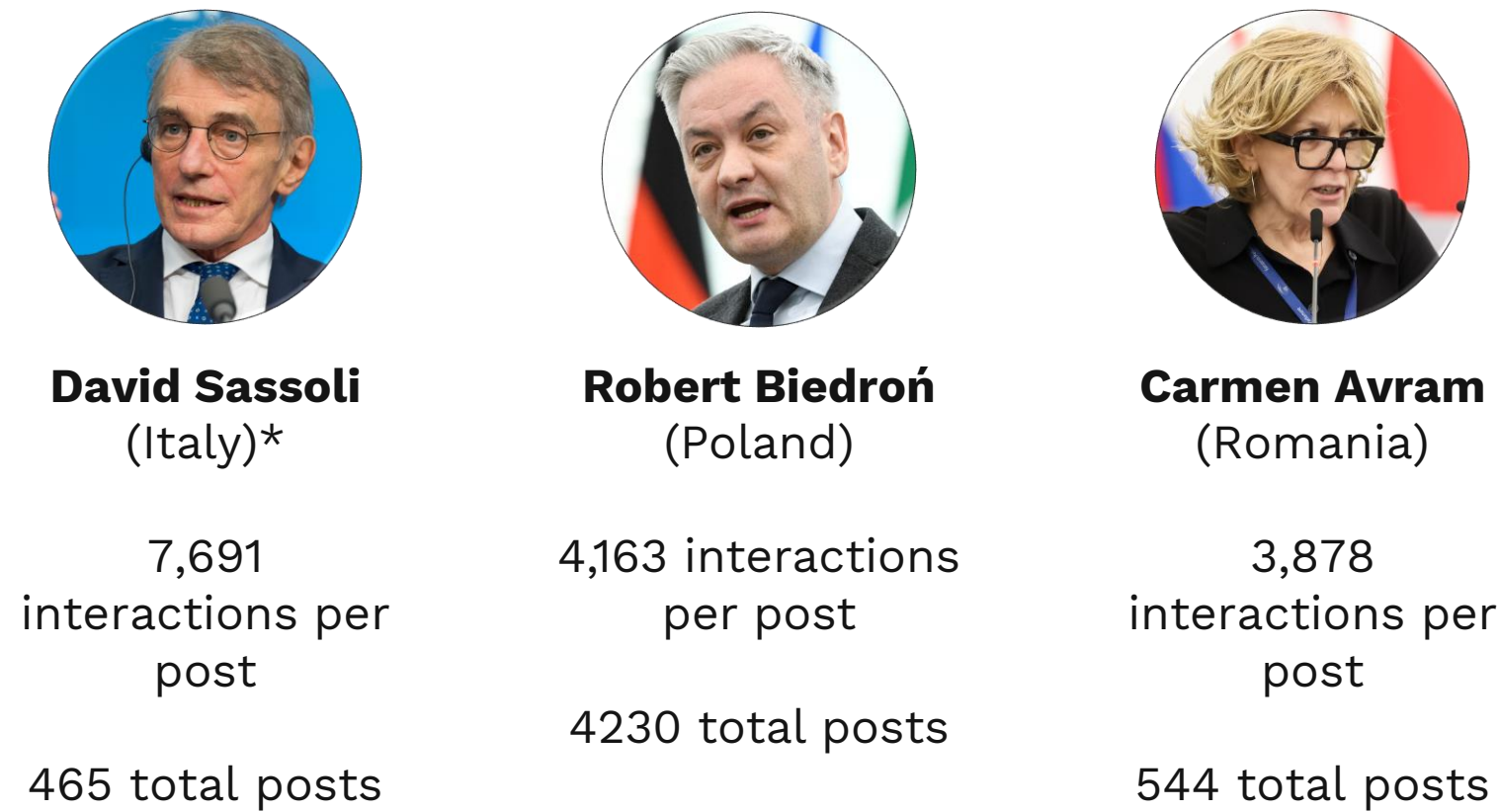


Progressive Alliance of Socialist and Democrats (S&D)

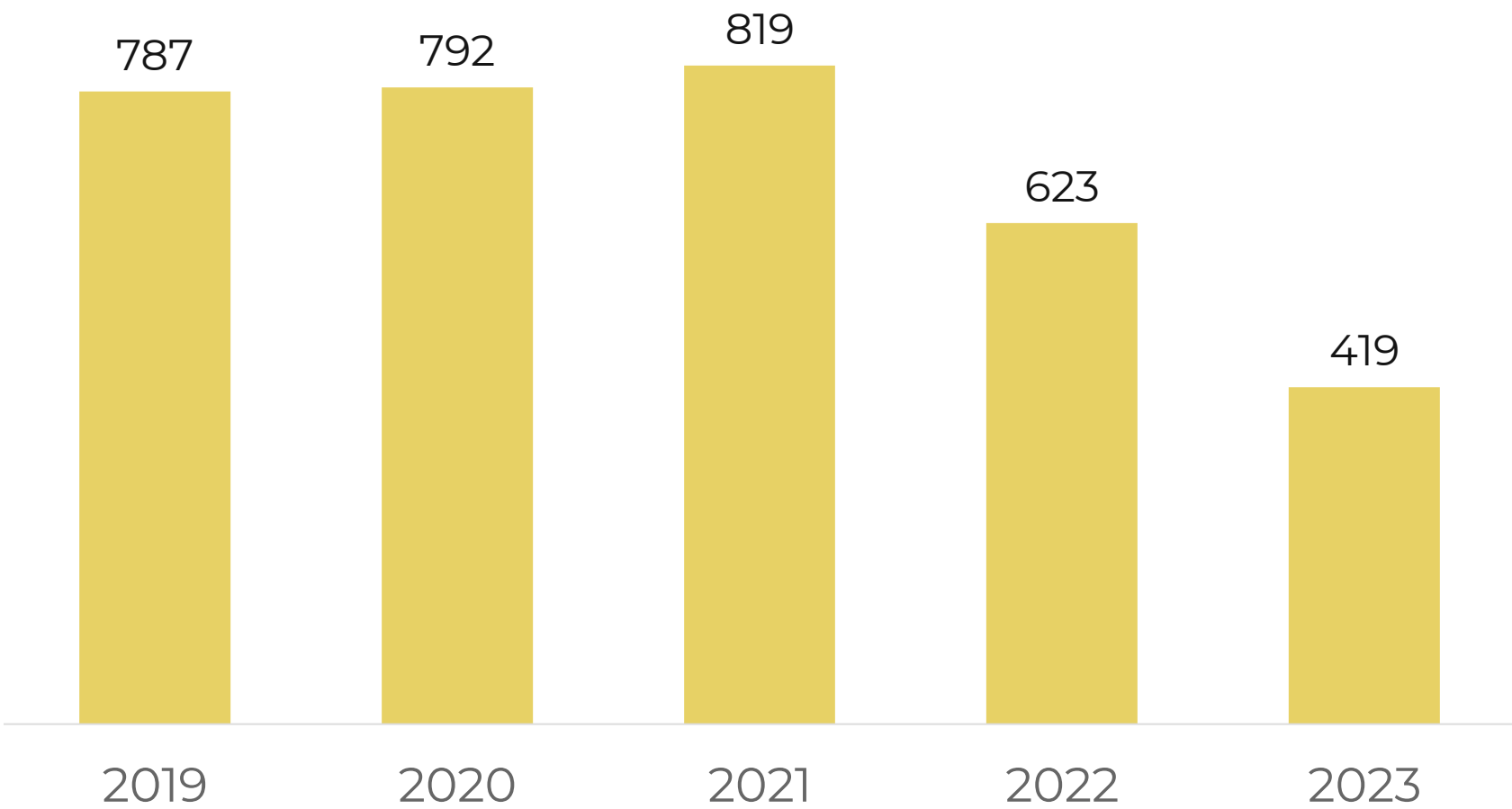
S&D's top-performing MEP, David Sassoli, who was also a former president of the European Parliament, passed away in 2022.

With an election approaching, it is likely to be a concern for Social Democrats across Europe that the interactions per post for MEPs from S&D have decreased by 47% between 2019 and 2023.

Best performing MEPs in group



Interactions per post






*Passed away in 2022

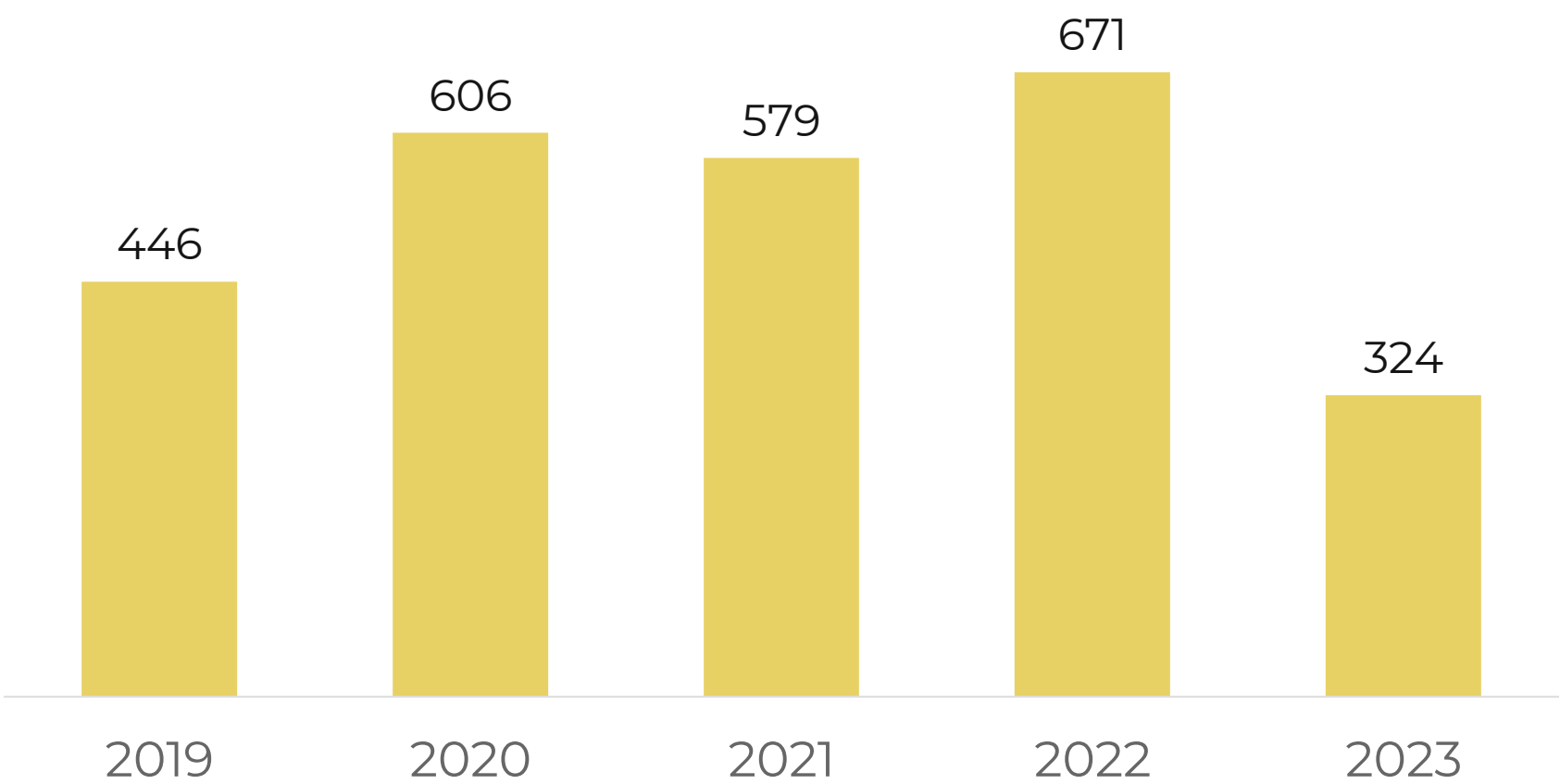
Renew Europe (Renew)

The interactions per post for Renew Europe increased from 2019 to 2022 but were halved from 2022 to 2023. Even though the MEPs experienced a general decrease in interactions per post from 2022 to 2023, a decline of 52% in just one year is drastic. Renew Europe ranks fifth compared to the other groups in the parliament.

Best performing MEPs in group

		
Dacian Cioloș (Romania)*	Guy Verhofstadt (Belgium)	Carlo Calenda (Italy)**
4,259 interactions per post	3,591 interactions per post	2,138 interactions per post
1,242 total posts	1,756 total posts	1,841 total posts

Interactions per post



* Søren Gade (DK) is ranking one but with only 17 posts he is removed from the ranking.
** Left office in October 2022 to become cabinet member in Italy.

The Left in the European Parliament (GUE/NGL)

GUE/NGL has experienced the largest percentage increase in interactions per post. Between 2019 and 2023, GUE/NGL saw an increase in interactions per post by 132%. An important aspect of this narrative is that the left-wing group had the second-lowest number of interactions per post in the European Parliament in 2019. Nonetheless, this achievement remains impressive, and in 2023, GUE/NGL received more interactions per post than S&D and Renew Europe.

Best performing MEPs in group



Kateřina Konečná
(Czechia)

2,857
interactions per
post

1,980 total posts



Manon Aubry
(France)

2,124
interactions per
post

3,025 total posts

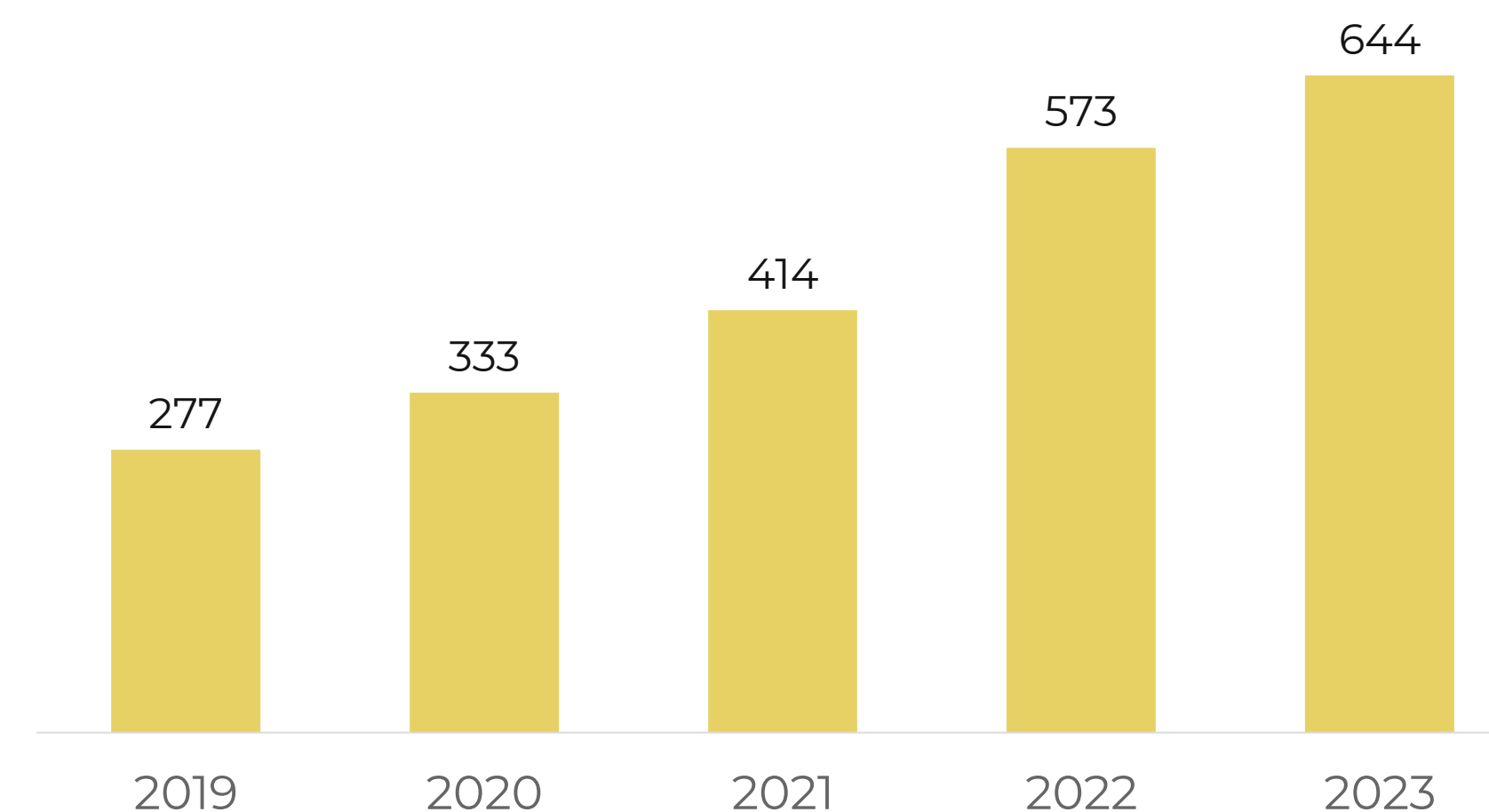


Clare Daly
(Ireland)*

1,964
interactions per
post

783 total posts

Interactions per post



European People's Party (EPP)

From a social media perspective, the EPP is facing a crisis.

The group's interactions per post have dropped by 47% since 2019, to just 244, marking the second lowest. Additionally, the group's two top performers in terms of interactions per post are the former heads of state in Romania and Italy. Traian Băsescu, Romania's former president, is 72, while Silvio Berlusconi, former prime minister of Italy, passed away in 2023. Radosław Sikorski, the third-best performing, left the European Parliament to join the new polish government.

Considering that both the European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR) and Identity and Democracy (ID) groups are competing for some of the same conservative voters as the EPP, the lack of performance on social media could also lead to a loss of seats in the European Parliament after the election in 2024.

Best performing MEPs in group



Traian Băsescu
(Romania)

5,801
interactions per
post

222 total posts



Silvio Berlusconi
(Italy)*

4,323
interactions per
post

1854 total posts

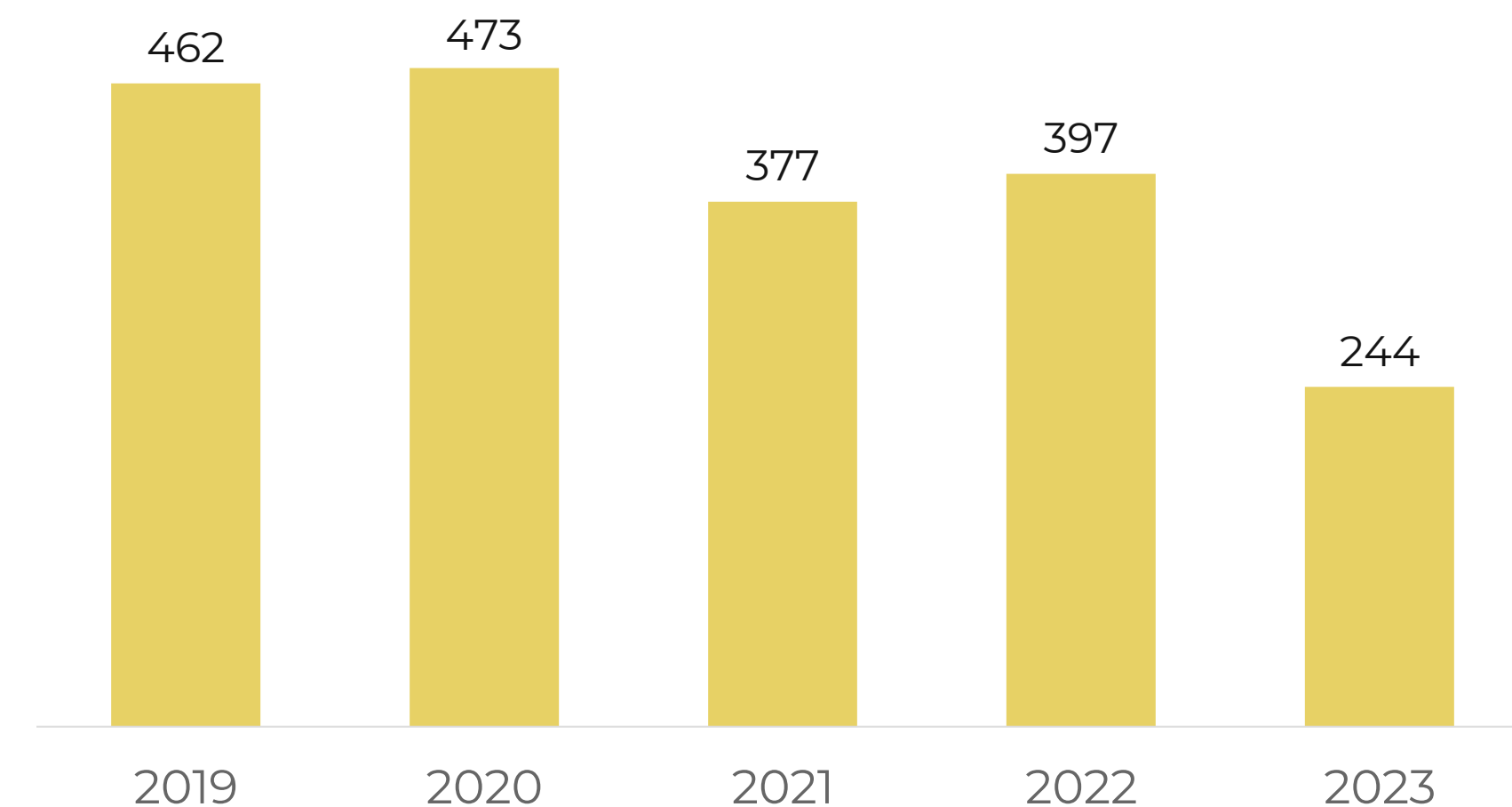


Radosław Sikorski
(Poland)**

1,862
interactions per
post

3961 total posts

Interactions per post



* Passed away in 2023

** Alessandra Mussolini (IT) is actually third, but as she has only posted 17 times during the election cycle, we have removed her from the ranking.

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- Source : EP

Measured by interactions per post, Greens/EFA is the lowest-performing group in the European Parliament. However, the group has seen an increase in interactions per post between 2019 and 2023, where interactions per post have gone up by 17.3%.

Best performing MEPs in group



Nico Semsrott
(Germany)

4,712
interactions per
post

80 total posts



Ville Niinistö
(Finland)

2,275
interactions per
post

628 total posts

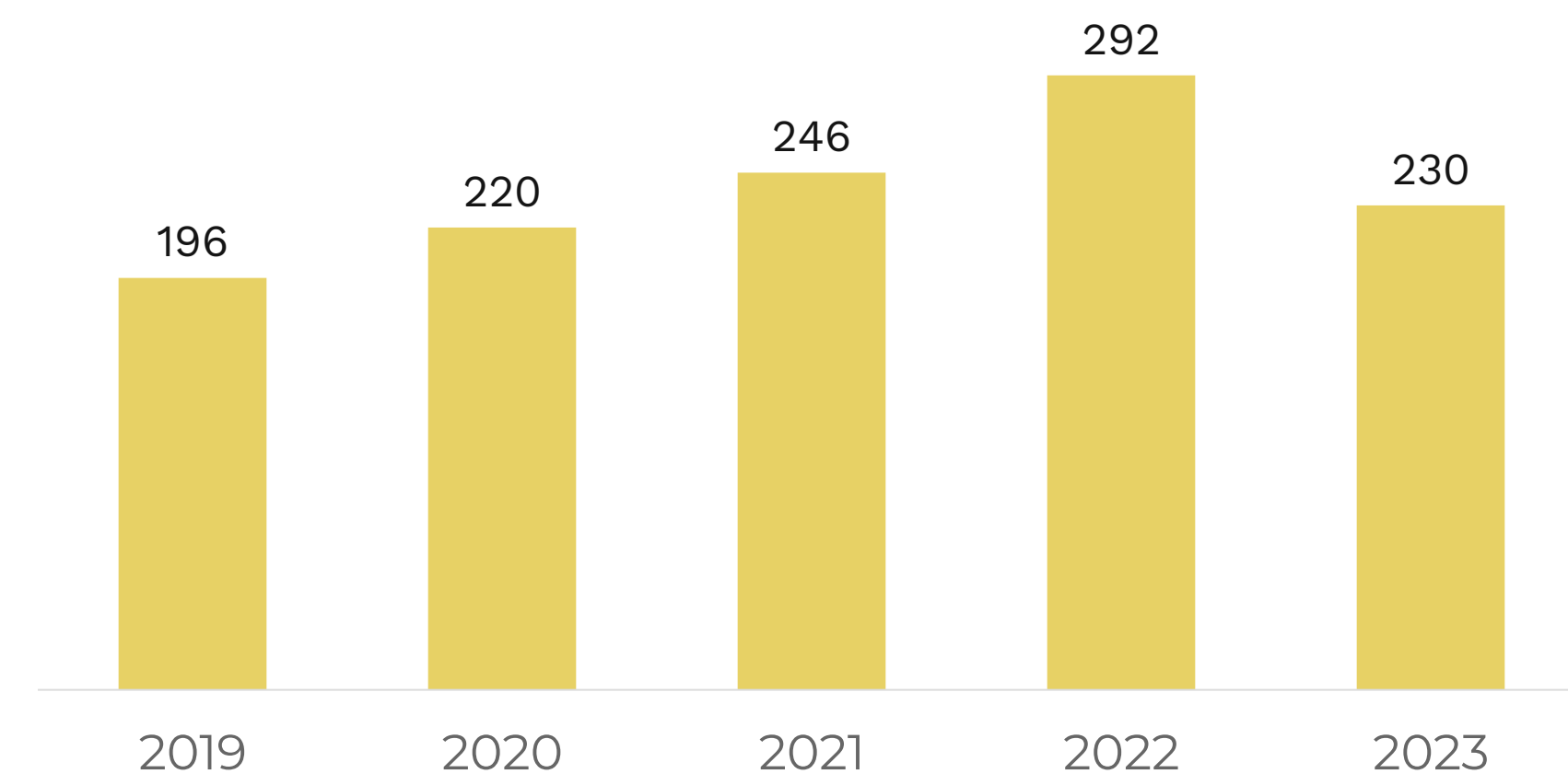


Ignazio Corrao
(Italy)*

1,625
interactions per
post

1,147 total posts

Interactions per post



Curious to hear more?

We appreciate your interest in our efforts to understand the political landscape of the EU on social media.

We provide guidance to politicians, NGOs, businesses, and governmental bodies on leveraging social media effectively and understanding the dynamics of digital conversations.

Our analyses are always based on empirical data. Should you wish to learn more about our work or how we can assist your organization, we would be delighted for you to reach out to us.

For further information, please visit our website at:

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