

# Jean Monnet Policy Network

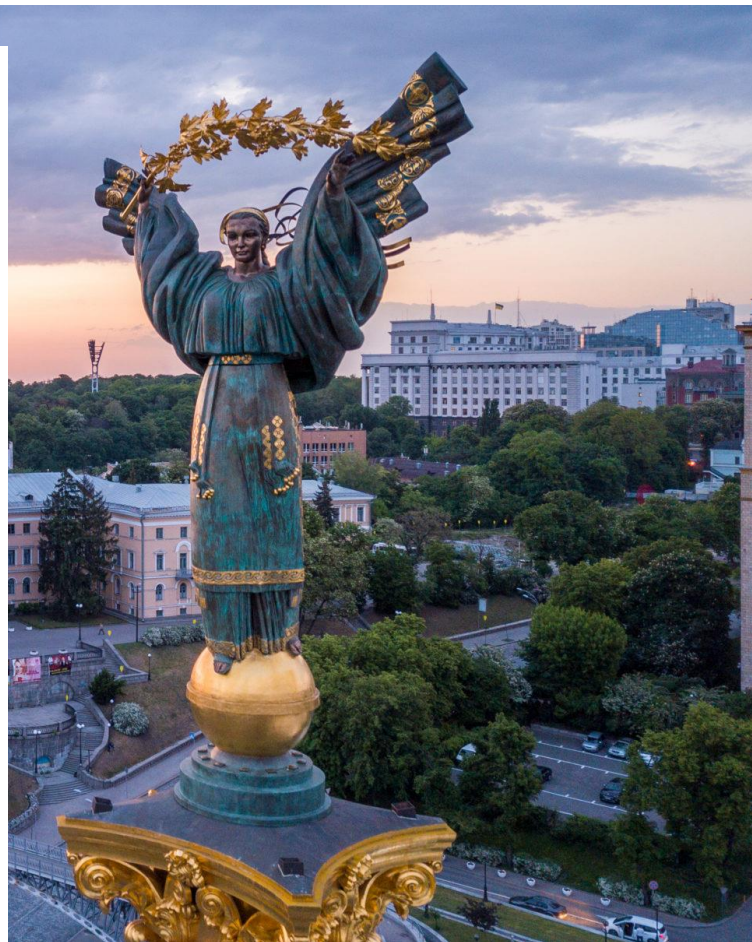
*Challenges and opportunities for EU heritage diplomacy in Ukraine (HER-UKR)*

2023-2026

## WP5 Strategic Communication

### *Year 2 Report*

## Digital Heritage Diplomacy: Findings and Recommendations



April 2026

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Introduction</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Data and Methodology</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Ukraine’s Heritage Digital Diplomacy towards the ‘Global North’</b>	<b>8</b>
I. Embassy of Ukraine to the United States of America	9
II. Embassy of Ukraine to the United Kingdom	15
III. Embassy of Ukraine to Germany	21
IV. Embassy of Ukraine to France	26
V. Embassy of Ukraine to Sweden	31
VI. Embassy of Ukraine to Poland	36
VII. Embassy of Ukraine to Italy	41
VIII. Embassy of Ukraine to Hungary	47
<b>Ukraine’s Heritage Digital Diplomacy towards the ‘Global South’</b>	<b>53</b>
I. Embassy of Ukraine to Brazil	54
II. Embassy of Ukraine to China	59
III. Embassy of Ukraine to India	65
IV. Embassy of Ukraine to Indonesia	70
V. Embassy of Ukraine to South Africa	75
<b>Recommendations and Opportunities for Ukraine’s Heritage Digital Diplomacy</b>	<b>81</b>
I. Recommendations for Ukrainian Diplomatic Strategic Communicators	82
II. Recommendations for EU/EU Member States’ Strategic Communicators	90

# INTRODUCTION

## Ukrainian diplomacy at times of war: Strategic communication of Ukraine's culture and heritage

Ukraine's culture and heritage are increasingly in focus of Ukraine's political and diplomatic discourse. Multiple official statements and reports by Ukrainian ministries (Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Foreign Affairs) support this direction in Ukraine's strategic communication with the world. A range of activities by Ukraine's cultural diplomacy actors, state and non-state (e.g. the Ukrainian Institute as well as other related platforms), demonstrate the effectiveness of these communications raising Ukraine's global profile. These traits are also of importance to the EU's strategic communication of EU-Ukraine heritage diplomacy initiatives reaching to EU citizens, as well as to Ukrainian and global audiences.

Setting the stage for our report of Ukraine's digital diplomacy in culture and heritage issue-areas, we start it with an overview of the evolutions of the political and diplomatic discourses on Ukrainian cultural and historical heritage between February 24, 2022 (the start of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine) and the end of 2025. The survey of Ukraine's various political and diplomatic digital platforms (the websites of Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ukraine's Ministry of Culture, Ukrainian Institute among others, as well as the websites of 82 Ukrainian Embassies) reveals specific traits in the dynamics and presentation of the topic, including the emergence of new content categories, alongside changes in the tone of strategic communications. Importantly, the evolving framing of the heritage-related communications by Ukraine's various political and diplomatic digital platforms generates a more active audience response in terms of engagement, public comments, and message sharing. Among the current tendencies are:

- **Transition of the focus: from promoting culture to protecting culture and documenting its destruction.** Before 2022, Embassies of Ukraine and various Ukrainian cultural institutions focused on promoting Ukraine's culture to external audiences through events, exhibitions, and soft power projects. After February 24, 2022, diplomatic messaging has shifted quickly toward documenting destruction of cultural assets, featuring calls for international assistance in preserving heritage sites and objects, fundraising for the preservation of collections, and profiling legal initiatives that recognize destruction of Ukraine's cultural and historic heritage as war crimes for which Russia is accountable.
- **Emerging new themes concerned with Ukraine's "cultural security" and countering the "rewriting" of history.** Communications from Ukrainian and international organisations increasingly define culture as an element of national security. Securitisation of cultural and historical heritage implies countering the repressive practices of the occupier (destruction, removal, and reclassification of exhibits), as well as preservation of archives, digitization, and creation of "red lists" of endangered cultural heritage sites. These tasks are identified as priorities in the reports and declarations made by the Council of Europe and UNESCO.
- **Increasing focus on international cooperation and legal mechanisms (e.g. repatriation, tracking of artifacts, and sanctions).** Reports from cultural and diplomatic organizations often mention joint measures with EU institutions, the UK, and the Council of Europe to combat the illegal removal of cultural property and create a legal basis for its return. This is reflected in official international statements and EU recommendations.
- **The growing importance of digitization and archiving (e.g. web museums and digital catalogues).** Due to the risk of physical destruction of Ukrainian heritage objects, the nation's own diplomatic services and cultural organizations are investing into the creation of the digital replicas of cultural artefacts, online archives, and other platforms for documenting damage.
- **The growing role of digital diplomacy.** While the websites of Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Embassies of Ukraine are typically used for statements, declarations, formal appeals,

and official information, current news about cultural and historic heritage developments is more likely to appear on social media:

- ✓ Facebook and X (formerly Twitter) are the main platforms for quick emotional engagement, video statements, live broadcasts of cultural events, and fundraising. Ukraine's MFA uses these platform actively to post videos about invincibility of Ukrainian culture.
- ✓ Instagram presents visual cases profiling exhibitions, exhibits, and "stories" about cultural resilience. This platform works well for international audiences interested in culture (e.g. it is used actively by the Ukrainian Institute).
- ✓ YouTube broadcasts documentaries, conference transcripts, and lectures, which are used as "long-term" materials for donors and partners.

The range of social networks deployed provides speed, visual illustrations, and the possibility of targeted mobilization amongst donors, diaspora, cultural institutions, and international audiences interested in culture matters.

The reaction demonstrated by social media audiences to the narratives about Ukrainian cultural and historic heritage shows: (a) *support and solidarity* – most comments and reposts are generated by materials about damaged monuments, stories of loss, and calls for help; (b) *mobilization of the diaspora, and fundraising* – posts with practical calls to action (e.g. how to help museums, volunteers, or restorers) have a high conversion rate in the form of donations and appeals; and (c) *engaged discussions about narratives of memory* – debates about how to reconstruct, what should be a priority, and what political consequences restoration decisions have (more often on academic platforms/in comments on conference materials).

In summary, since the start of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, Ukraine's official political and diplomatic discourses regarding Ukrainian cultural and historic heritage have shifted away from promotional cultural diplomacy to diplomacy aimed at culture and heritage protection: documenting damage in official registers and creating open databases (Ministry of Culture of Ukraine); countering illegal removal and "reclassification" of exhibits – including legal and technical mechanisms for their return; cultural security as an element of national/European security; and long-term reconstruction and investment in the restoration of the cultural infrastructure, often in cooperation with the EU and UK foundations (e.g. the Ukrainian Institute's initiatives).

This introduction outlines general trends in diplomatic communication and digital diplomacy by the Embassies of Ukraine abroad and other relevant institutions. The following report, as a part of the Jean Monnet Policy Network project "*HER-UKR: Challenges and Opportunities of EU Heritage Diplomacy in Ukraine*", maps and analyses systemic trends in Ukraine's digital diplomacy in culture and heritage issue-areas towards selected countries of the "Global North" and "Global South". Our analysis informs a set of recommendations offered for Ukraine's and the EU's strategic communicators.

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# DATA AND METHODOLOGY

This report presents our analysis of the **digital diplomacy** pursued by **Ukraine's Embassies** and focused on communicating Ukraine's cultural and historic heritage, as well as on the EU in this context. Digital diplomacy was observed across several Embassies of Ukraine in the **selected countries of the 'Global North' and 'Global South'**. Importantly, these are the same countries where HER-UKR Work Package 5 "Strategic Communication" monitored influential traditional media narratives and frames of Ukraine's heritage and EU-Ukraine heritage diplomacy in **Year 1** of this project:

- **'Global North' countries:** the United States (US), the United Kingdom (UK), Germany, France, Sweden, Poland, Italy, and Hungary (observed from January 1, 2025 to May 15, 2025).
- **'Global South' countries:** Brazil, India, Indonesia, China, and South Africa (observed from January 15, 2025 to May 16, 2025).

The **observation period included Ukraine's Cultural Diplomacy Month**. Its goal was to disseminate information about Ukrainian culture, heritage, and prominent figures in as many-languages as possible to raise awareness of Ukraine. According to the Ukrainian Institute ([online](#)), the 2025 celebration was "dedicated to famous Ukrainian artists of cinema, music, literature, architecture, design, who have made a significant contribution to world culture". The campaign, organised by the Ukrainian Institute, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, and the NGO *Wikimedia Ukraine*, ran from April 14 to May 16, 2025.

For each country, we observed the Embassy's **website** content, as well as the posts on **social media platforms (SMPs)**: primarily Facebook, X, and Instagram. Some Embassies also utilised local SMPs (e.g. Weibo in China). Where appropriate across the selected countries of the 'Global North', in addition to the Embassies' digital presence, we also investigated the individual professional social media accounts of Ambassadors (HE hereafter) who, as public figures, used their own Facebook or X to profile Ukraine and the Embassy's activities.

The digital diplomacy analysis in this report focuses on **the posts communicating Ukraine's national heritage and, where present, EU-Ukraine collaboration in the area of cultural and historic heritage**. Here, heritage is defined as "the resources inherited from the past in all forms and aspects – tangible, intangible and digital, including monuments, sites, landscapes, skills, practices, knowledge and expressions of human creativity, as well as collections conserved and managed by <...> museums, galleries, libraries and archives" ([European External Action Service 2021, p.3](#)). National heritage distinguishes the country's national identity, and extends from the past to the present, and from the present to the future.

Informed by the above definition and following our pilot-tested protocol for systematic data collection for each embassy, researchers identified, collected and analysed digital communications related to two thematic pivots: **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER** and **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA'S ATTACK** (see Table 1 for the ontology guiding the thematic analysis). All country-case studies are led by the identical methodology to ensure a valid comparative analysis.

Table 1: Cognitive ontology guiding digital diplomacy analysis

Information spaces	Domains	Parcels
<b>UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER</b>	History	Pre-Kyivan Rus; Kyivan Rus/Galicia-Volyn Kingdom; After Kyivan Rus; Russian Empire; Bolsheviks' Revolution and the Civil War; USSR; WWII; Post-USSR; Maidans; Russia's annexation of Crimea; the war in Donbas
	Culture	Ethnic and cultural diversity; Theatre; Cinema; Music; Dance; Painting; Photography; Visual and digital arts; Sculpture; Architecture and Churches; Folk crafts; Fashion; Cuisine
	Spirituality	Religious diversity; National character; Norms and values; Traditions, customs, and rituals; Ukraine's symbols; Vyshyvanka
	Museums, Galleries, Exhibitions	Historical museums; Art museums and galleries; Museums of lore
	Heritage Sites	Natural sites; Historical sites; Cultural sites
	Language and Literature	Ukrainian language; Ukrainian literature; Ukrainian folklore
	Education and Science	Education; Science; Tech sector; Libraries and archives
	Sports	Physical education and sports; Sports infrastructure; Ukraine's sports achievements; Participation in sports events
	Prominent Figures	In Ukraine; In diaspora; Internationally, with Ukrainian roots
<b>UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA'S ATTACK</b>	Distorted Heritage	Distortion of Ukrainian history; Distortion of Ukrainian identity; Theft of Ukrainian heritage
	Suppressed Heritage	Suppression of the Ukrainian culture; Suppression of the Ukrainian language; Suppression of the Ukrainian literature
	Heritage Ruined and Looted in the War	Ruined heritage; Looted heritages; Heritage in decline, decay and devastation; Protected heritage; Restoration of heritage
	Ukrainian and World Cultural / Academic / Scholarly / Sport Elites (professionals) in the War	Ukrainian cultural elites suffer in the war; Ukrainian cultural elites work for the war; Ukrainian cultural elites at the front; Ukrainian cultural elites killed in the war; Foreign cultural elites support Ukraine; Ukrainian and world cultural elites vs. Russia
	War in the Mirror of Ukrainian and World Culture	War in the arts; Museums and exhibitions of war; New cultural symbols of war

To expose the efficacy of social media use in digital diplomacy by Ukraine's Embassies, we investigated the collected data **in several key dimensions** (inspired by the work of [Bjola and Jiang 2015](#)): *general visibility*; *digital agenda-setting* ("directing the conversation"); *digital presence-expansion* ("widening the reach"), and *digital conversation-generation* ("two-way communication"). The categories of our analysis are listed below:

- **Visibility of "Ukraine's Heritage" as a Topic** (number of SMPs used; number of the SMP followers; number of posts per platform; dynamics of publications through the period of observation; average number of posts per month; number of visuals; average number of visuals per post; maximum number of visuals with the posts featuring particular themes).
- **Digital Agenda Setting** (distribution of posts by the thematic pivots UKRAINE'S HERITAGE PROPER and UKRAINE'S HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA'S ATTACK; number of these posts 'by reference' to calendar dates events (organized 'internally' in/by the embassy, or held 'externally' in the country of the Embassy's location) or facts unrelated to particular dates; the range and

frequency of the theme mentions within each pivot; content of visuals that accompany the verbal texts; the most visible Ukrainian, local, and European/EU actors in the texts and visuals).

- **Digital Presence Expansion and Conversation Generation** (*accentuation*: number of emoticons, use of the local language vis-à-vis English; number of hashtags; *expansion*: number of the readers' views, responses, and shares of the posts; conversation generation, or responses by Embassy).

We use the obtained results to formulate the recommendations for Ukrainian and EU diplomatic strategic communicators tasked with profiling Ukraine's cultural and historic heritage, and the EU's role in EU-Ukraine heritage diplomacy.

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# Ukraine's Heritage Digital Diplomacy towards the 'Global North'

- I. Embassy of Ukraine to the United States of America (US)
- II. Embassy of Ukraine to the United Kingdom (UK)
- III. Embassy of Ukraine to Germany
- IV. Embassy of Ukraine to France
- V. Embassy of Ukraine to Sweden
- VI. Embassy of Ukraine to Poland
- VII. Embassy of Ukraine to Italy
- VIII. Embassy of Ukraine to Hungary

JANUARY 2025 – MAY 2025

Research leads:

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# I. Digital Diplomacy by the Embassy of Ukraine to the United States of America (US)

Research leads: Daryna Honcharenko and Svitlana Zhabotynska

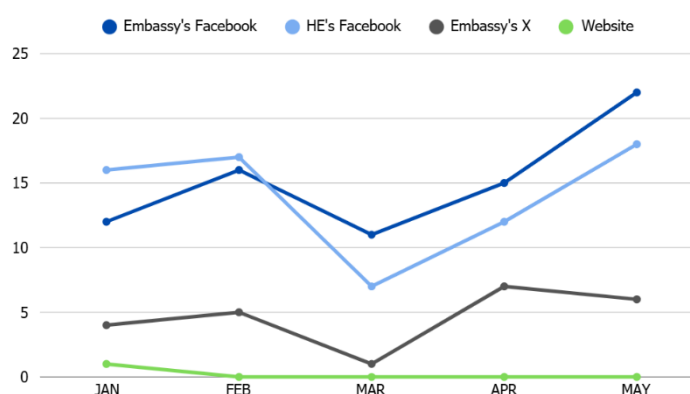
Ambassador: HE Oksana Markarova (February 21<sup>st</sup>, 2020 – August 27<sup>th</sup>, 2025)

## 1. Visibility of “Ukraine’s Heritage” as a Topic

Four active social media channels (Figure I.1):

- (1) **Embassy’s Facebook** (77,000 followers)
- (2) **HE’s Facebook** (51,000 followers)
- (3) **Embassy’s X** (4,700 followers)
- (4) **Embassy’s website** (visitor numbers untraceable)

Figure I.1: Number of posts by platform, January 1, 2025 - May 15, 2025

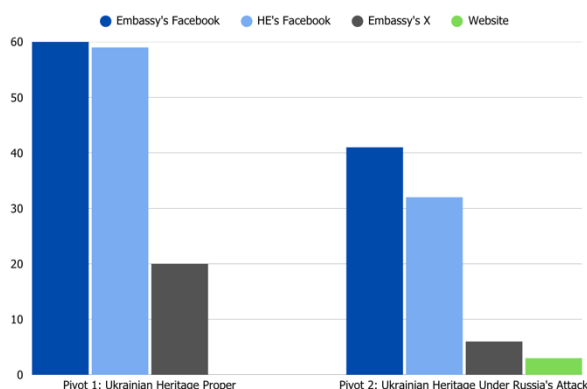


### SUMMARY

- **Most active:** Embassy’s Facebook (76 total posts; 497 total visuals; 16.9 average # of posts per month; 6.5 average # of visuals per post).
- **Max # of images:** 76 (from a Facebook post on the 11<sup>th</sup> of May 2025 which focused on Festival of Ukrainian Culture at Ukraine House, Washington (within Ukraine’s Cultural Diplomacy Month)).
- **Dynamics through months:** The peak of posts is registered in May, which is accounted for by several important calendar events: V-Day – 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the victory over fascism; Europe Day; Vyshyvanka Day; Ukraine’s participation in the Eurovision song contest; as well as the events taking place within Ukraine’s Cultural Diplomacy Month.

## 2. “Ukraine’s Heritage”: Digital Agenda Setting

Figure I.2: Number of posts by thematic pivot



Pivot 1 **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER** is the dominant topic on the Embassy’s Facebook (60 post), X (20), and HE’s Facebook (59) (Figure I.2).

Pivot 2 **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK** was less visible, with most posts on the Embassy’s Facebook (41) and the HE’s Facebook (32) (Figure I.2).

Table I.1: Content of “Ukraine’s Heritage” topic

Media	Content of posts by reference (number of mentions)	Content of posts by thematic pivot (number of mentions)	Content of visuals by categories (numbers)
Embassy’s Facebook	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Embassy’s event (23)</li> <li>External event (18)</li> <li>Memorable date (16)</li> <li>Fact (9).</li> <li>Calendar holiday (8).</li> <li>Ukraine’s international award (2).</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (60 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>History (15)</li> <li>Education (15)</li> <li>Culture (9)</li> <li>Ukraine’s national symbols (6)</li> <li>Prominent figures (5)</li> <li>Ukraine’s holidays (4)</li> <li>Ukrainian language (3)</li> <li>Traditions and customs (1)</li> <li>Religion (1)</li> <li>Science (1)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (41 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>War in the mirror of culture (16)</li> <li>American cultural elites support Ukraine (6)</li> <li>Russia kills Ukrainian cultural elites (5)</li> <li>Russia ruins Ukrainian heritage (4)</li> <li>Russia suppresses Ukrainian heritage (4)</li> <li>Restoration of Ukrainian heritage (2)</li> <li>Russia erases Ukrainian national identity (1)</li> <li>Ukrainian culture endures – resilient and eternal (1)</li> <li>Symbols of Ukrainian resilience (sunflower) (1)</li> <li>EU community supports Ukraine (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Events (236)</li> <li>Ambassador and Embassy (126)</li> <li>Ukraine’s national symbols (41):</li> <li>Cultural artifacts (40):</li> <li>History (26):</li> <li>Cultural figures (17): Ukrainian, American, European</li> <li>War cultural artifacts (5)</li> <li>American heritage sites (4): museums</li> <li>Ruined heritage (2)</li> </ul>
HE’s Facebook	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>External event (24)</li> <li>Embassy’s event (13)</li> <li>Memorable date (18)</li> <li>Fact (8)</li> <li>Calendar holiday (6)</li> <li>American award for Ukraine (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (59 mentions)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>History (16)</li> <li>Education (9)</li> <li>Prominent figures (8)</li> <li>Ukraine’s holidays (5)</li> <li>Culture (5)</li> <li>Ukraine’s national symbols (5)</li> <li>Language and literature (4)</li> <li>Traditions and customs (2)</li> <li>Religion (2)</li> <li>Science (2)</li> <li>Museums (1)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (32 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>American elites demonstrate solidarity with Ukraine (14)</li> <li>War in the mirror of culture (8) Ukrainian culture, world culture</li> <li>Ukrainian elites contribute to Ukraine’s resistance (5)</li> <li>Russia ruins, kills and suppresses (4)</li> <li>New cultural symbols of war</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ambassador and Embassy (161)</li> <li>Events (127)</li> <li>Cultural figures (31) Ukrainian, American</li> <li>Cultural artifacts (23)</li> <li>War cultural artifacts (7)</li> <li>Ukraine’s national symbols (6)</li> <li>Ukrainian officials (6)</li> <li>Ukrainian scientists (2)</li> <li>History (1)</li> </ul>

		(sunflower) (1)	
<b>Embassy's X</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Memorable date (9)</li> <li>• Calendar holiday (6)</li> <li>• Fact (5)</li> <li>• External event (2)</li> <li>• Ukraine's international award (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (20 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• History (7)</li> <li>• Ukraine's holidays (3)</li> <li>• Ukraine's national symbols (3)</li> <li>• Prominent figures (2)</li> <li>• Culture (1)</li> <li>• Language (1)</li> <li>• Traditions and customs (1):</li> <li>• Science (1)</li> <li>• Education (1)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA'S ATTACK (6 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• War in the mirror of Ukrainian culture (3)</li> <li>• Russia ruins Ukrainian heritage (2)</li> <li>• American church supports Ukraine (2)</li> <li>• Russia kills Ukrainian on Easter days (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Events (16)</li> <li>• Ambassador and Embassy (5)</li> <li>• Ukraine's national symbols (3)</li> <li>• History (2)</li> <li>• Ukrainian cultural figures (2)</li> <li>• Cultural artifacts (1)</li> <li>• Ruined heritage (1)</li> </ul>
<b>Embassy's website</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Calendar holiday (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA'S ATTACK (3 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• American church supports Ukraine (2)</li> <li>• War in the mirror of Ukrainian culture (1)</li> </ul>	Events (3)

## SUMMARY

- **Content of posts by reference:** Across the Embassy's and HE's Facebook accounts, there is a dominance of posts related to both 'external' and 'internal' events (held outside the Embassy and in/by the Embassy respectively). Equally salient on both accounts are calendar-related posts (i.e. holidays and memorable dates). The Embassy's X, with the least number of posts, tends to link them to particular dates. Across all SMPs, posts featuring facts non-related to the calendar remain comparatively few.
- **Content of posts by pivots:** Within the topic **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER**, the most visible themes were: Ukrainian history of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, and education (the Embassy's supervision of Ukrainian children studying in the US; exposure of the US school students to Ukraine; ambassadorial meetings with Ukrainian educators, discussing educational innovations, and cooperation with the US academic establishments; introduction of Ukrainian studies at US Universities). Within the topic **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA'S ATTACK**, the most visible themes were American cultural elites' support of Ukraine (demonstration of solidarity with Ukraine by US Universities, ballets, operatic, and film societies; restoration and repurpose of war artifacts, such as a church bell made of war shells, in contribution to Ukrainian resistance), and the war in the mirror of culture (promotion of Ukrainian film, literature, theatre, jewellery, and applied arts within US cultural institutions).
- **Content of visuals:** The most salient visual categories are events, Ambassador and the Embassy (the Ambassador and Embassy officers with event participants, and/or Ukrainian cultural figures and athletes, US officials, and European diplomats), cultural figures (Ukrainian educators, church representatives, composers, filmmakers, musicians, and jewellers as well as relevant US and European figures of the related industries), and Ukrainian cultural artifacts and national symbols (including but not limited to folk art, Easter eggs, dresses, monuments, language, prayers, documents, poems, national colours and anthem, Tryzub, Vyshyvanka, and sunflowers).

## The most visible topics: visual means

Figure I.3: Visuals of events



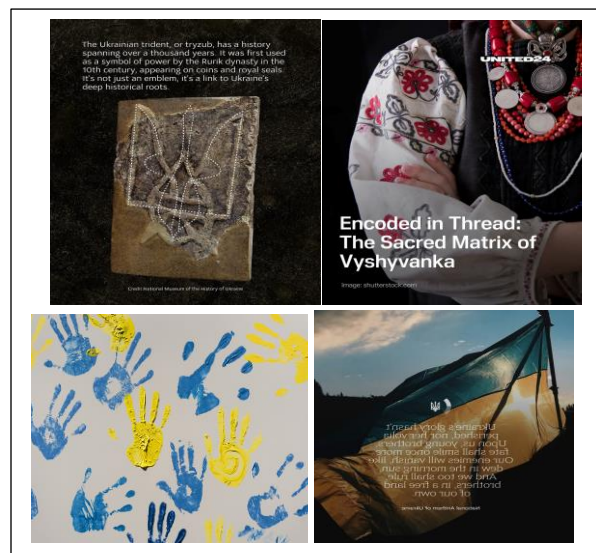
Figure I.4: Visuals of Ambassador / Embassy



Figure I.5: Visuals of cultural artefacts



Figure I.6: Visuals of Ukrainian national symbols



## 3. Actors

### SUMMARY




- **Ukrainian actors:** Among them were: *Ukrainian officials* (President, First Lady, Deputy Prime-Minister) who initiated cultural projects and/or attended cultural events; *scholars* (Maryna Viazovska and Svitlana Krasovska), who were elected members of the American National Academy of Sciences; *educators* (the Kyiv Mohila Academy), who developed connections with US universities; *school students* visiting the US; *filmmakers* (Olga Butko, Serhiy Fomenko, Slava Leontyev, and Oleksandr Schur), who showcased their films to the US audience; *the poet* (Lina Lostenko), who received a prestigious international award; *musicians* (the 'Ziferblat' group) chosen for the Eurovision contest; *folk dancers* that performed in the US; *the designer* (Roksolana Bogutska), whose works were exhibited in the US; *Ukrainian NGOs* (e.g. SaveED, Jewish Confederation), as well as participants of various events held in the US.

- **Local (US) actors:** A conspicuous actor is *Ukrainian Diaspora* represented by a wide range of organizations (e.g. the Taras Shevchenko School of Ukrainian Studies of Greater Washington, Ukrainian American Youth Association, U.S. Ukrainian Activists, Kyiv Mohyla Foundation of America, Crimean Tatar Foundation USA Inc., Ukrainian National Women's League of America, Inc.), and individuals participating in various events. Among the local actors are also *famous Americans with Ukrainian roots* (Professor Bohdan Futey, judge of the U.S. Federal Court, and esteemed pianist Stanislav Khristenko) honoured by Ukraine. Other US actors include: *politicians, clergy* of different Christian confessions (with Washington National Cathedral as a lead) that support Ukraine; *schools and universities* (e.g. Georgetown University, George Washington University, American University, University of Pittsburgh), who launched programmes of Ukrainian studies, who support Ukraine, and develop inter-university collaboration between the two countries; *cultural organizations* (e.g. National Bell Festival, American Coalition for Ukraine Week, Laxfield Literary Associates) and *cultural officials* promoting Ukrainian culture, as well as *cultural creatives* (filmmakers – Brendan Bellomo, Jordan Campbell), whose works portray the war in Ukraine.
- **EU/European actors:** On Europe Day, *EU embassies* in Washington DC opened their doors to guests; *Jovita Neliupšienė* (EU Ambassador to the US) explored Ukrainian culture at Ukraine House and visited other participating EU embassies. On the 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the victory over Nazism in WWII, *ambassadors, diplomats and military attachés from the EU* and partner countries laid flowers at the WWII memorial in Washington, DC. Other, more country-specific actors included *Poland* (the Polish film festival which focused on the consequences of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, with Polish filmmakers Łukasz Karwowski, Władysław Deva, and Artur Zaborski producing two related films), *France* (the philosopher and filmmaker Bernard-Henri Lévy, who received an international award for his three powerful documentaries about the war against Ukraine), and *Estonia* (the Estonian Ambassador attended Open House at the Ukrainian Embassy).

## 4. Digital Presence Expansion and Conversation Generation

Presence expansion through accentuation is most productive on HE's Facebook. Presence expansion through engagement is best demonstrated by the Embassy's Facebook (Table 1.2).

Table I.2: Counts of digital presence expansion and conversation generation

		Embassy's Facebook	HE's Facebook	Embassy's X	Website
<b>Presence expansion through accentuation</b>					
<b># of emoticons</b>	total	97	163	14	-
	max	5	5	1	-
	average per post	1.3	2.4	0.6	-
<b>Most typical emoticons</b>					
<b>Use of local language</b>	(e.g. English)	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
<b># of hashtags</b>	total	41	53	8	-
	max	3	2	1	-
	average per post	0.5	0.8	0.3	-
<b>Presence expansion through engagement</b>					
<b># of posts</b>	total	76	70	23	1
	average per month	16.9	15.5	5.1	0.2
<b># of views</b>	total	-	-	19,537	-
	max	-	-	40,000	-
	average per post	-	-	8,416	-

<b># of responses (e.g., like, love reactions)</b>	total	78,107 (872 negative)	13,591	428	-
	max	43,982	1,400	97	-
	average per post	1,027.7	194.1	18.6	-
<b># of comments</b>	total	6,312 (713 negative)	214	24 (1 negative)	-
	max	622	35	7	-
	average per post	83.1	3	1.04	-
<b># of shares</b>	total	7,725	695	96	-
	max	5,016	71	24	-
	average per post	101.6	9.9	4.2	-

## SUMMARY

### (1) Presence expansion through accentuation

- Emoticons vary within the range of 0.6-2.4 per post, being more typical of HE's Facebook.
- The use of hashtags is prominent on HE's Facebook (53 instances) and the Embassy's Facebook (41). Throughout the social media, the most used categories of hashtags are examples of patriotism and state symbolism (e.g. #StandWithUkraine, #StrongerTogether, #CrimeaIsUkraine #NationalEmblemDay, and #HeavenlyHundred); educational and academic diplomacy (e.g. #AcademicDiplomacy), cultural and religious diplomacy (e.g. CulturalDiplomacy, #ReligiousDiplomacy, #UCMonth (Ukrainian Culture & Diplomacy Month), #UEWikipedia, and #UkraineEverywhere); historical memory and commemoration (e.g. #HolodomorGenocide, #HolocaustRemembranceDay, #WeRemember, and #Chornobyl); and human interaction and solidarity (e.g. #People2People, #SolidarityBell, #UnityDay, #BringKidsBack).
- The Embassy's Facebook and X use English exclusively, whereas HE's Facebook is in Ukrainian only. The Embassy's website uses both Ukrainian and English.

### (2) Presence expansion through engagement

- Presence expansion is the highest on the Embassy's Facebook. Here, the maximum number of responses (43,982) is to the post on the Carpathian Folk Dance Ensemble performing traditional dances at Ukraine House in Washington DC (May 5, 2025). This post also obtained the maximum number of comments (622).
- On the Embassy's Facebook, the most shared post (5,016) was on the commemoration of the first performance of Ukraine's national anthem 160 years ago, celebrating its origins in 1865 as a timeless symbol of freedom and national pride (March 10, 2025).

### (3) Conversation generation (responses by the Embassy)

- Comment sections show minimal debate and no evidence of replies from Embassy officials.
- Overall, SMPs used one-way communication rather than dialogic engagement. This is also despite strong presence of local communities in the content of many posts.

## II. Digital Diplomacy by the Embassy of Ukraine to the United Kingdom (UK)

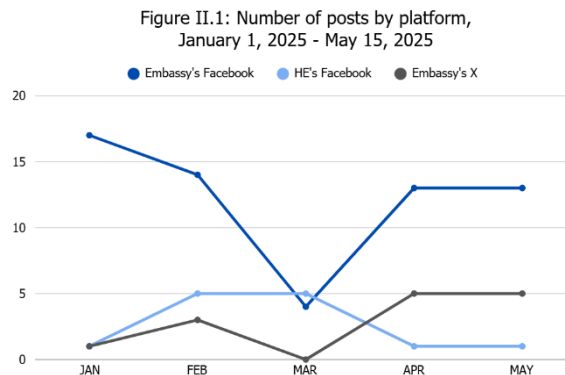
Research leads: *Daryna Honcharenko, Svitlana Zhabotynska, and Oksana Pietsukh*

Ambassador: HE Valerii Zaluzhnyi (May 9<sup>th</sup>, 2024 – present)

### 1. Visibility of “Ukraine’s Heritage” as a Topic

Three active social media channels (Figure II.1):

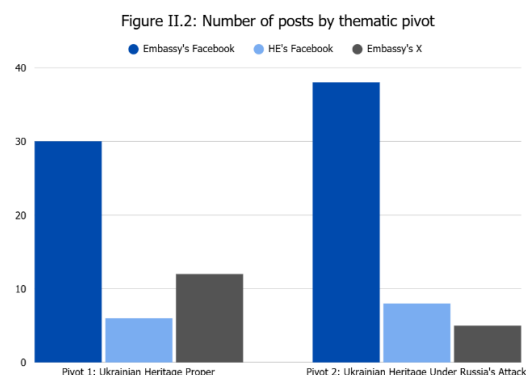
- (1) **Embassy’s Facebook**  
(42,000 followers)
- (2) **HE’s Facebook** (4,900 followers)
- (3) **Embassy’s X** (32,700 followers)



#### SUMMARY

- **Most active:** Embassy’s Facebook (61 total posts; 286 total visuals; 13.5 average # of posts per month; 4.7 average # of visuals per post).
- **Max # of images:** 32 (from a post on the Embassy’s Facebook from February 24<sup>th</sup>, 2025, about the Interfaith Prayer Service for peace in Ukraine at Holy Family Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral).
- **Dynamics through months:** January was the peak month of observed posting from the Embassy’s Facebook, which can be attributed to several important calendar events – folk holidays (celebration of Malanka), state holidays (Ukraine’s Unity Day), memorable dates (commemoration of the defenders of the Donetsk Airport). January was also the month of art festivals and concerts organized to celebrate Ukrainian cultural heritage. April 14<sup>th</sup> to May 16<sup>th</sup> was a peak period for the Embassy’s X account, correlating to V-Day – 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the victory over fascism, Europe Day, Vyshyvanka Day, as well as the events taking place within 2025 Ukraine’s Cultural Diplomacy Month. The posts from HE’s Facebook peaked between February and March, with focus attributed to commemorations of Ukrainian cultural figures killed in the war and those who contribute to Ukraine’s resistance. There were also promotion of music festivals and exhibitions of the chronicles of war and literature.

### 2. “Ukraine’s Heritage”: Digital Agenda Setting



Pivot 1 **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER** is the dominant topic only on the Embassy’s X (12 posts vs. 5 posts in Pivot 2) (Figure II.2).

Pivot 2 **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK** leads on the Embassy’s and HE’s Facebooks (38 and 8 posts respectively), in comparison to Pivot’s 1 30 and 6 posts respectively (Figure II.2).

Table II.1: Content of “Ukraine’s Heritage” topic

Media	Content of posts by reference (number of mentions)	Content of posts by thematic pivot (number of mentions)	Content of visuals by categories (numbers)
<b>Embassy’s Facebook</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>External event (25)</li> <li>Memorable date (15)</li> <li>Embassy’s event (11)</li> <li>Fact (4)</li> <li>Callender holiday (5),</li> <li>British awards for Ukraine (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (30 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>History (13)</li> <li>Culture (9)</li> <li>Ukraine’s holidays (5)</li> <li>Ukraine’s national symbols (4)</li> <li>Traditions and customs (2)</li> <li>Education (2)</li> <li>Prominent figures (2): In Ukraine and in diaspora</li> <li>Language (2)</li> <li>Literature (1)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER PUSSIA’S ATTACK (38 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>War in the mirror of culture (17): Ukrainian and British</li> <li>Ukrainian cultural figures contribute to Ukraine’s resistance (4)</li> <li>War museums and exhibitions (2)</li> <li>Russia, like Nazi Germany, brings war (2)</li> <li>Ukraine’s cultural symbols of war (1)</li> <li>Ukrainian cultural figures raise money to help the country at war (1)</li> <li>Ukrainian creatives join the Ukrainian army (1)</li> <li>British religious and cultural elites demonstrate solidarity with Ukraine (4)</li> <li>British educators host Ukrainian children (2)</li> <li>British cultural organizations exhibit Ukrainian content / music (1)</li> <li>British creatives organize performances with their Ukrainian colleagues (1)</li> <li>Britain helps Ukraine to protect its heritage sites and objects (1)</li> <li>Ukraine and GB share and defend the same values (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Events (199)</li> <li>Ambassador and Embassy (40)</li> <li>Cultural figures (24): Ukrainian and British</li> <li>Cultural artifacts (9)</li> <li>Ukrainian national symbols (6)</li> <li>Ukrainian officials (4)</li> <li>History (2)</li> <li>British museums (2)</li> </ul>
<b>Embassy’s X</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Memorable date (7)</li> <li>External event (3)</li> <li>Fact (2)</li> <li>Calendar holiday (2)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (12 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>History (5)</li> <li>Ukraine’s national symbols (3)</li> <li>Culture (1): music</li> <li>Ukraine’s holidays (1)</li> <li>Language (1)</li> <li>Prominent figures (1)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSIA’S ATTACK (5 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Russia destroys Ukrainian heritage sites (2)</li> <li>War exhibitions (1)</li> <li>Ukrainian creatives contribute to Ukraine’s resistance (1)</li> <li>British religious figures demonstrate solidarity with Ukraine (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Events (11)</li> <li>History (4)</li> <li>Ambassador and Embassy (3)</li> <li>Ukrainian national symbols (2)</li> <li>Ukrainian officials (2)</li> <li>Ukrainian cities and heritage sites ruined in the war (2)</li> <li>Ukrainian cultural figures (1)</li> </ul>

HE's Facebook	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• External event (5)</li> <li>• Memorable date (4)</li> <li>• Fact (3)</li> <li>• Embassy's event (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (6 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Prominent figures (2)</li> <li>• Culture (1): music</li> <li>• Literature (1)</li> <li>• Sport (1)</li> <li>• History (1)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA'S ATTACK (8 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• War in the mirror of Ukrainian culture (2)</li> <li>• War exhibitions and museums (2)</li> <li>• Ukrainian cultural figures contribute to Ukraine's resistance (2)</li> <li>• Ukrainian creatives killed in the war (1)</li> <li>• Britain helps Ukraine in heritage protection (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ambassador and Embassy (24)</li> <li>• Events (7)</li> <li>• Ukrainian cultural figures (2)</li> <li>• Cultural artifacts (1)</li> </ul>
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## SUMMARY

- **Content of posts by reference:** The Embassy's Facebook and the HE's X prioritise posts related to both 'external' and 'internal' events. All SMPs observed a high level of content referencing memorable dates and calendar holidays.
- **Content of posts by pivots:** Within the topic **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER**, the most represented themes are: Ukrainian history (important historical events including the battle of Kruty, Holodomor, WWII, Holocaust, Chernobyl, and the war in Donbas), culture (UK art festivals celebrating Ukrainian cultural heritage; the Embassy's support of the Ukrainian musicians giving concerts in the UK and Ukrainian restaurateurs' introduction of national culinary traditions to UK menus), and Ukraine's national symbols (Tryzub and Vyshyvanka). Within the topic **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA'S ATTACK**, the most prominent theme is war in the mirror of culture. This is demonstrated via Ukrainian culture (film, fine arts, music, photography, and theatre), British culture (film, photography, and literature), and Ukrainian cultural figures who are contributing to Ukraine's resistance (the Ukrainian musicians going to the frontline to defend their country, and participation of Ukrainian writers, filmmakers and artists in UK exhibitions/festivals to both fundraise and show the richness of the country's cultural heritage).
- **Content of visuals:** The most salient visual categories were events, Ambassador and Embassy (Ambassador and Embassy officers with event participants, British church officials, and Ukrainian cultural figures); cultural figures: both Ukrainian (e.g. educators, clergy, composers, filmmakers, musicians, restaurateurs, prominent figures) and British (e.g. clergy, filmmakers, photographers, actors, writers, musicians); and cultural artifacts (including, but not limited to, Easter eggs, national food and national dress).

## The most visible topics: visual means

Figure II.3: Visuals of events



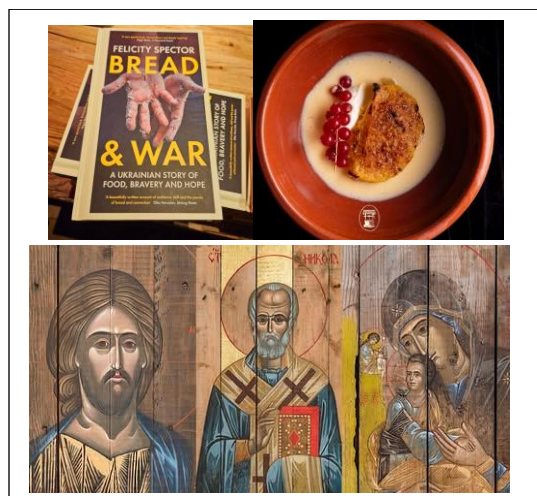
Figure II.4: Visuals of Ambassador and Embassy



Figure II.5: Visuals of cultural figures (Ukrainian and British)



Figure II.6: Visuals of cultural artifacts



## 3. Actors

### SUMMARY

- **Ukrainian actors:** The *cultural creatives* – actors (the Donetsk Academic Regional Drama Theatre), artists (Sofiiia Atlantova, Oleksandr Klymenko, and Matvii Vaisberh), musicians (Dariia Lytvishko and Sasha Grynuyk), conductors (Natalia Ponomarchuk), and singers (the Ukrainian Chorus, the 'Antytila' group, and Artem Pivovarov) who participated in festivals and cultural events in the UK and other countries; filmmakers (Olena Zashko and Serhii Fomenko who presented to the British public their documentaries about the wartime Ukraine); poets and writers (Lina Kostenko, Mykola Khvylovy, Volodymyr Sosiura, Ostap Vyshnia, Mykhailo Semenko, and Pavlo Tychyna) who authored Ukrainian books published in the UK and globally. *Ukrainian institutions* (the Ukrainian cultural center Dom Master Klass, Subjektiv.art, the Association for the Promotion of Ukrainian Cinema, and the Hrystia Hranovska Foundation) who organised Ukrainian art exhibitions and festivals in the UK. *Ukrainian restaurateurs*




(Anna Andriienko and Alex Cooper) who introduced the UK to modern and authentic Ukrainian cuisine. *Representatives of the National Reserve "Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra"* who visited London to discuss the ways of safeguarding cultural heritage. *Ukrainian prominent figures* (in culture, science, and politics) were featured as contributors to the broadcasting of Ukrainian identity.

- **Local (UK) actors:** *British officials* (MPs, especially the APPG on Ukraine that was formed to provide support to Ukraine; representatives of the UK government) who supported the events celebrating Ukrainian cultural heritage. *Ukrainian diaspora in the UK* (the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Support Ukraine/London Euromaidan, the Plast National Leadership in the UK, AUW London - Association of Ukrainian Women in Great Britain, CYM London, WomenFight4UA, Ukrainian Students Union, the Ukrainian school "Talented Children of Ukraine") are highly visible for their support of cultural and charity events, art festivals, and exhibitions that celebrated Ukrainian cultural heritage. The other notable actors included *filmmakers* whose films reflect the reality of life in Ukraine during the war (with depiction of evacuations/forced refuge etc); *clergy* of different Christian denominations (the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral of the Holy Family in London, St James's Church on Sussex Gardens in London) who took part in an interfaith prayer for peace in Ukraine; the *actor* Stephen Fry who participated in the aforementioned service; the *photographer* Edward Matthews who created a photo collection dedicated to Ukrainian firefighters and rescue workers; the *journalist* Felicity Spector who authored a book about survival and resistance in wartime Ukraine; the *sportsmen* Selivestru Andrian and Sergii Baltacha who launched a football academy in London.
- **EU/European actors:** General reference only to ambassadors and diplomats who attended the ceremony in honour of the journalists who risk their lives to tell the world about the war in Ukraine.

## 4. Digital Presence Expansion and Conversation Generation

Presence expansion through accentuation is best demonstrated on the Embassy's Facebook and X. Presence expansion through engagement is most conspicuous on HE's Facebook (Table II.2).

Table II.2: Counts of digital presence expansion and conversation generation

		Embassy's Facebook	HE's Facebook	Embassy's X
<b>Presence expansion through accentuation</b>				
<b># of emoticons</b>	total	70	13	6
	max	4	1	1
	average per post	1.1	0.9	0.4
<b>Most typical emoticons</b>				
<b>Use of local language</b>	(e.g. English)	Yes	No	Yes
<b># of hashtags</b>	total	60	-	4
	max	13	-	1
	average per post	1	-	0.3
<b>Presence expansion through engagement</b>				
<b># of posts</b>	total	61	13	14
	average per month	13.5	3.1	3.1
<b># of views</b>	total	-	-	5,294
	max	-	-	2,080
	average per post	-	-	378

<b># of responses (e.g., like, love reactions)</b>	total	9,222 (28 negative)	160,000 (184 negative)	157
	max	663	1,200	61
	average per post	151.1	11,400	11.2
<b># of comments</b>	total	683 (122 negative)	443	16
	max	375	58	11
	average per post	11.1	61.6	1.1
<b># of shares</b>	total	759	10,139	41
	max	111	2,200	15
	average per post	12.4	724	2.9

## SUMMARY

### (1) Presence expansion through accentuation

- Emoticons vary within the range of 0.4-1.1 per post, being more typical of the Embassy's and HE's Facebook accounts.
- The use of hashtags is prevalent on the Embassy's Facebook (60). Throughout the Embassy's Facebook and X, the most widespread categories of hashtags are patriotism and state symbolism (e.g. #StandWithUkraine, #NeverAgainIsNow, #UkraineResists, #BrokenButUnbroken, #JusticeForUkraine, #FreeUkrainianPOWs, #ThreeYearsStrong, #24February), international support and solidarity (e.g. #StandWithUkraine, #StopRussianAggression, #NeverForgetUkraine, #UnitedForUkraine, #DefendDemocracy, #FightForFreedom, #FreeAzovstalDefenders, #UkraineEverywhere, #united), cultural diplomacy (e.g. #CultureVSWar, #WatchUkrainian, #CultureVSWarSerhiyFomenkoUK, #CulturalDiplomacy, #KyivArtSessions, #HeatUkraineNow, #UCDMysec, #AssociationWatchUkrainian, #theMinistryofCultureandInformationPolicy), educational and academic diplomacy (e.g. #OxfordUkraineResearchHub, #Winner), disinformation security (e.g. #BreakTheFake, #UEWikipedia), and history and memorable dates (e.g. #Holodomor, #Chornobyl, #KyivNotKiev).  
The Embassy's Facebook and X use English and Ukrainian. HE's Facebook account uses Ukrainian exclusively.

### (2) Presence expansion through engagement

- Presence expansion is the highest on HE's Facebook. Here, the maximum number of responses (1,200) is to the post about the Ambassador having the honour to accompany His Majesty the King during a visit to the Trauma Research Center at the Imperial College London (February 20, 2025). Similarly, a post on the Embassy's Facebook account about the Ambassador's visit to the Catholic University in Lviv (where he met with graduates, university staff and current students) (February 10, 2025) garnered 663 responses. This post also obtained the largest number of comments (375).
- On HE's Facebook, the most shared post (2,200) was on the Ambassador's commemoration of the Ukrainian soldiers who lost their lives in Donbas. The Ambassador emphasized that, akin to three years ago, today, Ukrainians remain courageously fighting to the end, united around the memory of the fallen (February 18, 2025).

### (3) Conversation generation (responses by Embassy)

- Comment sections show minimal debate and no evidence of replies from Embassy officials.
- Overall, Embassy's SMPs used one-way communication rather than dialogic engagement. This is also despite strong presence of local communities in the content of many posts.

## III. Digital Diplomacy by the Embassy of Ukraine to Germany

Research Lead: *Konrad Szatters*

Ambassador: HE Oleksiy Makeev (October 14<sup>th</sup>, 2022 – present)

### 1. Visibility of “Ukraine’s Heritage” as a Topic

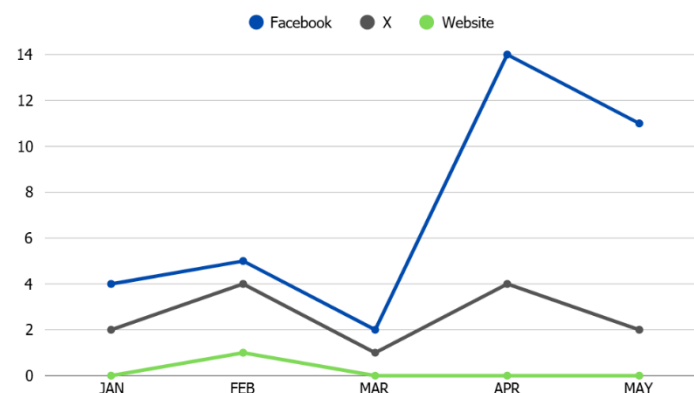
Three active social media channels (Figure III.1):

- (1) **Facebook** (23,000 followers)
- (2) **X** (8,108 followers)
- (3) **Embassy’s website** (visitor numbers untraceable)

#### SUMMARY

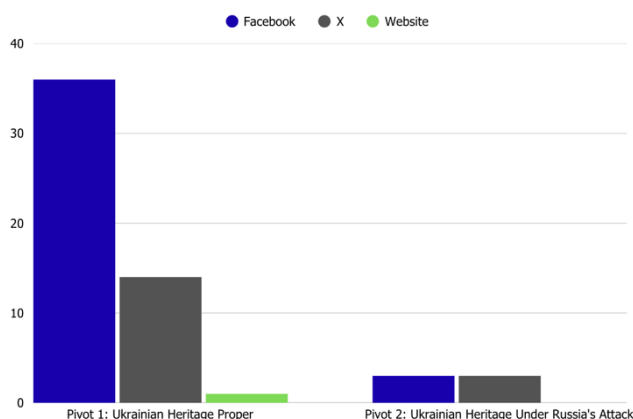
- **Most active:** Facebook (36 total posts; 84 total visuals; 7.2 average # posts per month; 2.3 average # of visuals per post).
- **Max # of images:** 9 (from a post on March 27<sup>th</sup>, 2025 capturing the activities during the Leipziger Book Fair promoting Ukrainian culture and literature).
- **Dynamics through months:** The peak of posts is registered in April and May, which is due to several important calendar events, including, but not limited to the 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of WWII in Europe, Vyshyvanka Day, Europe Day, the Eurovision Song Contest, as well as Ukraine’s 2025 Cultural Diplomacy Month.

Figure III.1: Number of posts by platform, January 15, 2025 - May 15, 2025



### 2. “Ukraine’s Heritage”: Digital Agenda Setting

Figure III.2: Number of posts by thematic pivot



Pivot 1 **UKRANIAN HERITAGE PROPER** is the dominant topic through all social media (featured in 51 posts). It was most visible on Facebook (36) and X (14), whereas the Embassy’s website was much less active (1) (Figure III.2).

Pivot 2 **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK** was significantly less visible, appearing only on Facebook (3) and X (3) (Figure III.2).

Table III.1: Content of “Ukraine’s Heritage” topic

	Content of posts by reference (number of mentions)	Content of posts by thematic pivot (number of mentions)	Content of visuals by categories (numbers)
Embassy’s website	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Promotion of Ukrainian science (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (1 mention):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Science – Ivan Franko Foundation Prize (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Infographic/logo (1)</li> </ul>
Embassy’s Facebook	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>German-Ukrainian cultural cooperation &amp; promotion of Ukrainian culture (17)</li> <li>Promotion of important persons for Ukrainian culture – Wikimedia, Taras Shevchenko (9)</li> <li>External events – Eurovision (4)</li> <li>Memorable dates – Day of Unity, Vyshyvanka Day (3)</li> <li>Language (2)</li> <li>Religion – Easter (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (36 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Culture (29): music (12), cinema/acting (5), art/painting (5), dancing (2), architecture (2), literature/poetry (1), theatre (1), opera (1)</li> <li>Ukrainian cultural symbols – Vyshyvanka (3)</li> <li>Language (2)</li> <li>Religion (1)</li> <li>Social activism (1)</li> <li>Including UKRAINE AND GERMANY (17)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (3 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Russian aggression on Ukraine and destruction of Ukrainian heritage (3)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Infographics/info videos/logos (13)</li> <li>Ukrainian cultural figures (10) - the ones touched upon within Wikimedia’s initiative + Eurovision</li> <li>Event participants (5)</li> <li>Embassy’s diplomats / Ukrainian officials (4)</li> <li>Event setting (2)</li> <li>Ukrainian symbols – Vyshyvanka (2)</li> </ul>
Embassy’s X	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>German-Ukrainian cultural cooperation &amp; promotion of Ukrainian culture (8)</li> <li>National symbols – Ukrainian flag, Vyshyvanka (2)</li> <li>External events – Eurovision (1)</li> <li>Memorable dates – Vyshyvanka Day (1)</li> <li>Promotion of important persons for Ukrainian culture (1)</li> <li>Language (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (14 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Culture (9): music (4), cinema (3), literature/poetry (1), art/painting (1)</li> <li>Ukrainian cultural symbols – Vyshyvanka, national flag (3)</li> <li>Language (1)</li> <li>Religion – Easter (1) Including UKRAINE AND GERMANY (8)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (3 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Russian aggression against Ukraine (3)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Infographics/info videos/logos (4)</li> <li>Ukrainian cultural figures (4)</li> <li>Event participants / embassy’s diplomats (4)</li> <li>Ukrainian symbols – Vyshyvanka, national flag (3)</li> <li>Event setting (2)</li> </ul>

## SUMMARY

- Content of posts by reference:** An emphasis on cultural diplomacy, with posts balancing facts, memorable dates, and external events. The Embassy’s Facebook dominates, focusing on German-Ukrainian cultural cooperation (e.g. shared events and promotional activities), promotion of cultural figures (e.g. Wikimedia initiative), and external cultural events (mostly Eurovision). The Embassy’s X follows similar themes, while putting more emphasis on Ukrainian national symbols (the Ukrainian flag and Vyshyvanka). The website highlights only activities promoting Ukrainian science. Externally organized events appear more often than those hosted by the Embassy.

- **Content of posts by pivots:** In **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER**, the most visible themes are Ukrainian culture (music, cinema, art, architecture, theatre, and opera), language and literature, religion, and national symbols (high visibility of Vyshyvanka and the Ukrainian flag). These are often framed through the prism of Ukrainian-German cultural cooperation. In **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA'S ATTACK**, the focus is on Russian aggression and the destruction of cultural heritage, showing culture as a tool of resilience and identity preservation.
- **Content of visuals:** The most frequent visual categories include infographics and informational videos (17), Ukrainian cultural figures (14), event participants and embassy diplomats (9), and Ukrainian symbols (5). Visuals reinforce the thematic focus on Ukrainian cultural identity and highlight both heritage promotion and German-Ukrainian solidarity during the war.

### The most visible topics in the visual content

Figure III.3: Infographics/posters

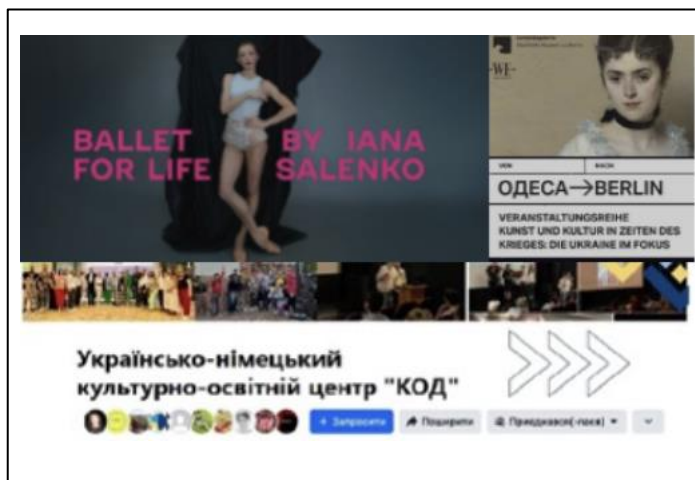


Figure III.4: Ukrainian cultural figures

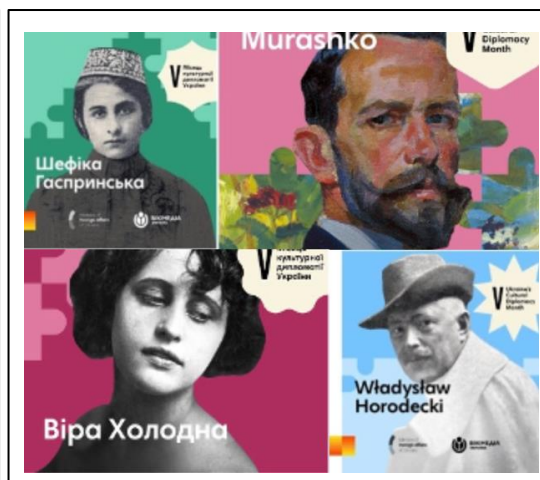
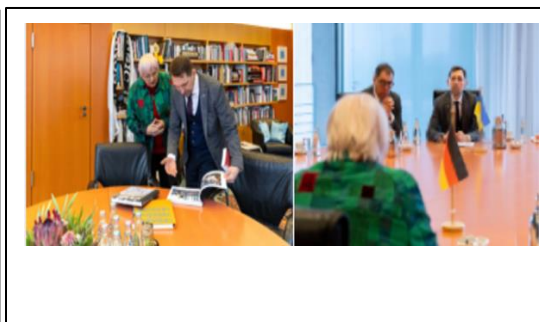


Figure III.5: Event participants



Figure III.6: Embassy diplomats



## 3. Actors



## SUMMARY

- **Ukrainian actors:** Predominant visibility of *diplomats and officials*. The most present were Oleksiy Makeev, the Ambassador of Ukraine to Germany, and Mykola Tochytskyi, a former Minister of Culture and Strategic Communication of Ukraine. As for *cultural actors*, Kyiv Camerata appeared numerous times, alongside Ziferblat (which represented Ukraine at Eurovision 2025), Vera Kholodna (Ukrainian actress), and Vasily Slipak (Ukrainian opera singer). There were also numerous *historical and cultural figures* that appeared within the framework of Ukraine's 2025 Cultural Diplomacy Month, like Vasyi Avramenko (dancer), Oleksandr Murashko (painter), or Sefika Gaspirali (Crimean Tatar social activist).
- **Local (German) actors:** Claudia Roth, *the former German Minister of State for Culture*, appeared numerous times and was the only German actor so sufficiently present in messaging by the Ukraine Embassy to Germany. Aside from her, several *local institutes and initiatives* were presented, such as the Berlin Art Gallery Gemäldegalerie, Berlin Philharmonic, Berlin International Film Festival Berlinale, Kunstpreis Berlin 2025, and Leipziger Buchmesse book fair.
- **EU/European actors:** The EU was present only through its *member states* (aside from Germany also Poland and Sweden) and the *Eurovision Song Contest*.

## 4. Digital Presence Expansion and Conversation

The Embassy's presence expansion through engagement is demonstrated by both the Embassy's Facebook and X, with the former being more productive (Table III.2).

Table III.2: Counts of digital presence expansion and conversation generation

		Facebook	X	Website
<b>Presence expansion through accentuation</b>				
<b># of emoticons</b>	total	23	5	-
	max	4	2	-
	average per post	0.63	0.38	-
<b>Most typical emoticons</b>				-
<b>Use of local language</b>	(e.g. German)	No	Yes	No
<b># of hashtags</b>	total	55	-	-
	max	7	-	-
	average per post	1.53	-	-
<b>Presence expansion through engagement</b>				
<b># of posts</b>	total	36	13	1
	average per month	7.2	2.6	0.2
<b># of views</b>	total	-	20,914	-
	max	-	5,739	-
	average per post	-	1,608	-
<b># of responses (e.g., like, love reactions)</b>	total	384	-	71
	max	117	-	9
	average per post	48	-	3.5
<b># of comments</b>	total	320	114	-
	max	148	61	-
	average per post	8.89	8.76	0
<b># of shares</b>	total	214	229	-
	max	73	69	-
	average per post	5.94	8.76	-

## SUMMARY

### (1) Presence expansion through accentuation

- Emoticons vary within an average of around 0.5 per post, being absent on the website and scarce for both Embassy's Facebook and X, but still more typical for the former.
- Hashtags appear only on Embassy's Facebook (55 instances), where their most used categories are patriotism, international support, diplomacy (e.g. #UkraineEverywhere, #UCDMysec, and #UEWikipedia, which are all hashtags of Ukraine's Cultural Diplomacy Month), and culture (e.g. #Eurovision 2025, #Ziferblat, #VyshyvankaDay).
- The Embassy's website and Facebook both use Ukrainian language only, whereas the Embassy's X posts use German.

### (2) Presence expansion through engagement

- The Embassy's Facebook demonstrates a higher degree of activity from the creators' side compared to its X account. When it comes to the engagement on the recipients' side, Facebook also takes the lead, though it is important to note that the situation is much more even in terms of views, comments, and shares on average. The maximum number of responses on Facebook was 148 under a post promoting Ukrainian participation in Eurovision 2025. Conversely, the highest reacted to X post garnered 61 responses for the content featuring the correct Ukrainian (i.e. not Russian) spelling of the word Chernobyl.
- The X users were significantly more engaged in information-sharing (an average of 17.6 shares per post versus the average of 5.94 on the Embassy's Facebook). The most shared post on X (69) was a photo of the Ukrainian flag over the German Bundestag on the 3<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of the Russian full-scale invasion. The most shared post in Embassy's Facebook (73) is the one with a photo of the Kyiv Camerata in Berlin.

### (3) Conversation generation (responses by Embassy)

- Comment sections show minimal debate and no evidence of replies from Embassy officials.
- Overall, Embassy's SMPs used one-way communication rather than dialogic engagement. This is also despite strong presence of local communities in the content of many posts.

## IV. Digital Diplomacy by the Embassy of Ukraine to France

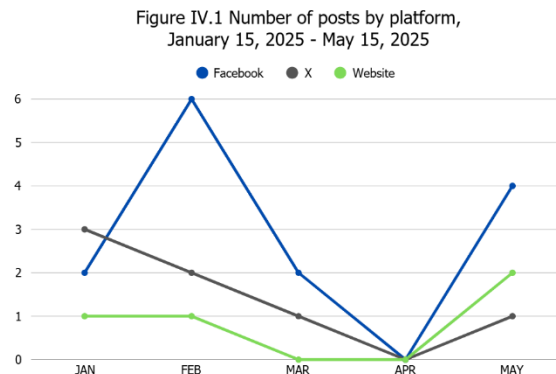
Research Lead: *Konrad Szatters*

Ambassador: HE Vadym Omelchenko (April 28<sup>th</sup>, 2021 – present)

## 1. Visibility of “Ukraine’s Heritage” as a Topic

Four active social media channels (Figure IV.1):

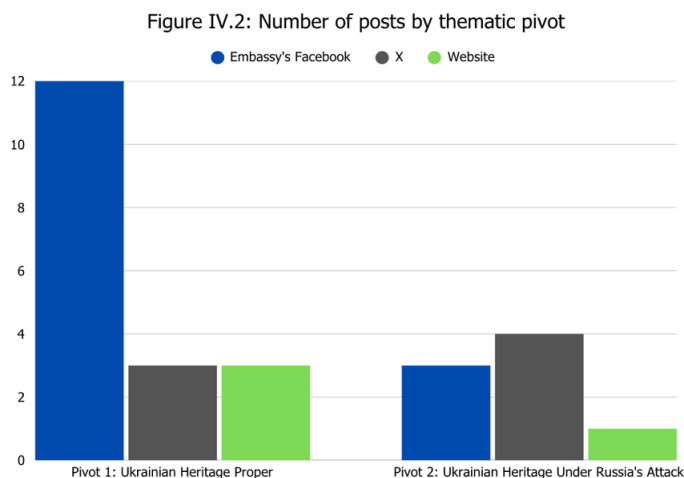
- (1) **Embassy’s Facebook** (25,000 followers)
- (2) **Embassy’s X** (7,473 followers)
- (3) **Ambassador’s X** (4,441 followers)
- (4) **Embassy’s website** (visitor numbers untraceable)



### SUMMARY

- **Most active:** Embassy’s Facebook (14 total posts; 37 total visuals; 2.8 average # posts per month; 2.6 average # of visuals per post).
- **Max # of images:** 9 (from a website post on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of January celebrating the Ukrainian Day of Unity in Paris).
- **Dynamics through months:** The peak of posts was registered in February and May; the former due to the anniversary of Russia’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine on February 24, and the latter due to Ukraine’s Cultural Diplomacy Month in 2025.

## 2. “Ukraine’s Heritage”: Digital Agenda Setting



Pivot 1 **UKRANIAN HERITAGE PROPER** is the dominant topic across all of the Embassy’s SMPs (featured in 18 posts). It was most visible on Facebook (12), and equally visible on the Embassy’s website (3) and X (3) (Figure IV.2).

Pivot 2 **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK** was less visible (8 posts), appearing mostly on X (4), then Facebook (3), and website (1) (Figure IV.2).

Table IV.1: Content of “Ukraine’s Heritage” topic

	Content of posts by reference	Content of posts by thematic pivot (number of mentions)	Content of visuals by categories
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	(number of mentions)		(numbers)
<b>Embassy's website</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ukrainian national symbols – national flag, Vyshyvanka (2)</li> <li>History – Day of Unity (1)</li> <li>Language (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (3 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ukrainian national symbols – national flag, Vyshyvanka (2)</li> <li>Language (1)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA'S ATTACK (1 mention)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>History – celebration of the Day of Unity during the Russian aggression (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ukrainian national symbols – national flag, vyshyvanka (2)</li> <li>Event participants/embassy's diplomats (1)</li> </ul>
<b>Embassy's Facebook</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cinema (5)</li> <li>Ukrainian national symbols – national flag, Vyshyvanka (4)</li> <li>History/memorable dates – Day of Unity, Heaven's Hundred Heroes (2)</li> <li>Promotion of important persons for Ukrainian culture – Taras Shevchenko (2)</li> <li>Russian destruction of Ukrainian cities/UNESCO heritage sites (1)</li> <li>Language (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (12 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Culture (7): cinema (5), literature/poetry (2)</li> <li>Ukrainian cultural symbols – national flag, Vyshyvanka (4)</li> <li>Language (1) Including UKRAINE AND FRANCE (10)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA'S ATTACK (3 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Russian aggression against Ukraine (2)</li> <li>Russian destruction of Ukrainian cities/UNESCO heritage sites (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Event setting (5)</li> <li>Infographics/info videos/logos (4)</li> <li>Ukrainian symbols – Vyshyvanka, national flag (3)</li> <li>Event participants (1)</li> <li>Ukrainian cities/UNESCO heritage destroyed by Russia (1)</li> </ul>
<b>Embassy's X</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>History/memorable dates – Day of Unity, Heaven's Hundred Heroes (4)</li> <li>Ukrainian national symbols – national flag (1)</li> <li>Literature/poetry (1)</li> <li>Cinema (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (3 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Culture (2): Literature/poetry (1), cinema (1)</li> <li>Ukrainian national symbols – national flag (1)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA'S ATTACK (4 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>History – Heaven's Hundred Heroes and the celebration of the Day of Unity during the Russian aggression (4)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Infographics (5)</li> <li>Ukrainian symbols – national flag (1)</li> <li>Event participants (1)</li> </ul>

## SUMMARY

- **Content of posts by reference:** An emphasis on national identity prevails and is balanced by a visible focus on Ukrainian culture (e.g. literature, cinema, language), both across 'external' and 'internal' events (held outside the Embassy and in/by the Embassy respectively). The Embassy's Facebook takes a slight lead over other platforms, focusing on cinema (e.g. screenings of Ukrainian movies during French festivals) and calendar-related promotion of Ukrainian national symbols (e.g. the Ukrainian flag, Vyshyvanka Day, etc.), memorable dates (e.g. Day of Unity; Heaven's Hundred Heroes), and cultural figures (notably Taras Shevchenko). The Embassy's X and website follow similar themes, while furthering focus on Ukrainian history and language, also frequently calendar-related (e.g. the anniversary of Russian full-scale invasion of Ukraine).
- **Content of posts by pivots:** In **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER**, the most visible themes are Ukrainian culture (cinema, literature, poetry) and national symbols (the Ukrainian flag and Vyshyvanka). Language, though it appears less frequently, is visible across all SMPs. In **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA'S ATTACK**, the focus is on Ukrainian history framed within the repeated acts of the past and present Russian aggression, and the destruction of Ukrainian cultural heritage.

- **Content of visuals:** The most frequent visual categories include infographics and informational videos (9), Ukrainian national symbols (6), and event settings (5). Visuals reinforce messages about Ukrainian cultural and national identity and serve informative functions, presenting the past and inviting for the future events.

### The most visible topics in the visual content

Figure IV.3: Infographics/posters



Figure IV.4: Ukrainian national symbols

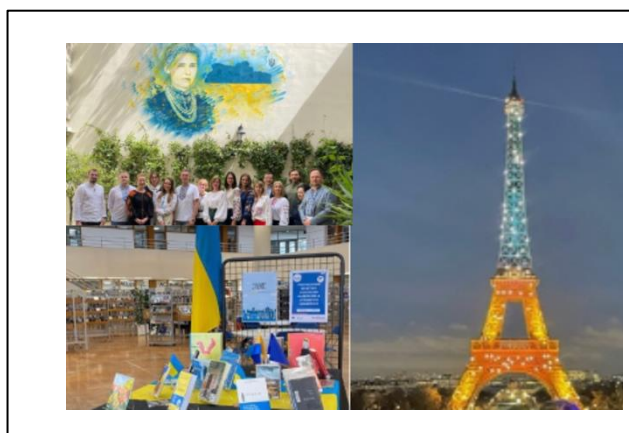
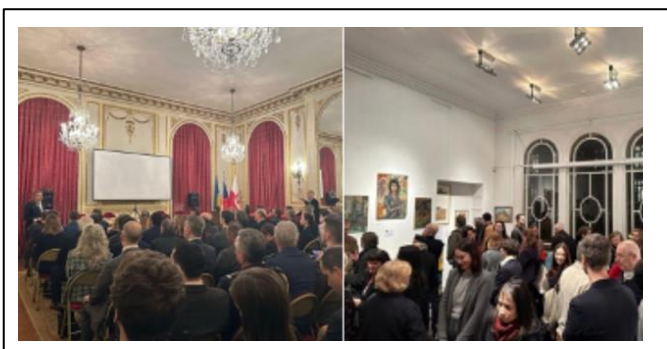


Figure IV.5: Event setting



## 3. Actors

### SUMMARY



- **Ukrainian actors:** Visibility was predominantly of *cultural figures* (mostly from literature), but also *cultural institutions* and *diplomats and officials*. As for the former, features extended to Taras Shevchenko (poet), Lesia Ukrainka (poet/writer), Andriy Kurkov (writer), Serhiy Jadan (poet), and Lina Kostenko (poet). Numerous other Ukrainian institutional actors, such as Ukrainian Cultural Centre in France, Representative Committee of the Ukrainian Community in France (or Stand With Ukraine - *Les Européens aux côtés de l'Ukraine*) were mentioned in the context of organizing Ukrainian culture-related activities and events (e.g. on the legacy of Taras Shevchenko's poetry). Diplomats and officials were given much less attention, with Vadym Omelchenko, the Ambassador of Ukraine to France, and Andriy Yermak, Head of the President of Ukraine Office, mentioned as the only political and diplomatic actors.

- **Local (French) actors:** The only French-specific actors mentioned were the Association of French mayors and intercommunal presidents (*Association des maires*) in the context of a nationwide initiative of translating Ukrainian books and poetry into French, and the Cannes Film Festival in the context of the organization of the Ukrainian day and screening of Ukrainian movies during the event. There were no other personal mentions outside of these.
- **EU/European actors:** The EU was present only through the activities of its *member states* (specifically visibility of France, Poland, and Czechia) related to their advocacy and support of Ukraine (also culture- and media-related, e.g. Czech war correspondent Martin Dorazín's journalistic work in Ukraine) throughout the ongoing war.

## 4. Digital Presence Expansion and Conversation

The Embassy's presence expansion through engagement is demonstrated by both the Embassy's Facebook and X, with the former being more productive (Table IV.2).

Table IV.2: Counts of digital presence expansion and conversation generation

		Facebook	Embassy's X	Website
	<b>Presence expansion through accentuation</b>			
<b># of emoticons</b>	total	21	5	-
	max	3	3	-
	average per post	1.5	0.71	-
<b>Most typical emoticons</b>				-
<b>Use of local language</b>	(e.g. French)	Yes	Yes	Yes
<b># of hashtags</b>	total	7	1	2
	max	2	1	1
	average per post	0.5	0.14	0.25
	<b>Presence expansion through engagement</b>			
<b># of posts</b>	total	14	7	4
	average per month	2.8	1.4	0.8
<b># of views</b>	total	-	7,524	-
	max	-	5,199	-
	average per post	-	1,075	-
<b># of responses (e.g., like, love reactions)</b>	total	384	-	71
	max	117	-	9
	average per post	48	-	3.5
<b># of comments</b>	total	1,337	24	-
	max	1,025	16	-
	average per post	95.5	3.42	-
<b># of shares</b>	total	981	88	-
	max	509	65	-
	average per post	70.07	12.57	-

## SUMMARY

### (1) Presence expansion through accentuation

- Emoticons vary within an average of around 1.04 per post. We note their total absence from the Embassy's website, but presence on Facebook and X, typically appearing more often on the former.
- Hashtags appeared only on the Embassy's Facebook (55 instances), where the most observed categories are patriotism, international support, diplomacy (e.g. #StandWithUkraine and #UAUnityChain), and culture (e.g. #Cannes2025 and #VyshyvankaUnit).
- The Embassy's website and other SMPS post only in French.

## **(2) Presence expansion through engagement**

- The Embassy's Facebook demonstrates a higher degree of activity from the creators' side compared to the X account. When it comes to engagement on the recipients' side, Facebook also takes the decisive lead. The maximum number of responses on Facebook was 1,025 under a post on the 3<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of Russia's full-scale invasion with an accompanying visual of the Eiffel Tower illuminated in the colours of the Ukrainian flag. The same content posted by X gathered only 16 reactions.
- Facebook users were significantly more engaged in information-sharing, with an average of 70.07 shares per post versus the average of 12.57 on the Embassy's X. The most shared post on Facebook (509) and X (65) was, again, the photo of the Eiffel Tower illuminated in the colours of the Ukrainian flag marking the 3<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of the Russian full-scale invasion.

## **(3) Conversation generation (responses by Embassy)**

- Comment sections show minimal debate and no evidence of replies from Embassy officials.
- Overall, Embassy's SMPs used one-way communication rather than dialogic engagement. This is also despite strong presence of local communities in the content of many posts.

# V. Digital Diplomacy by Embassy of Ukraine to Sweden

Research Leads: *Tetiana Kirienko, Svitlana Zhabotynska, Oksana Pietsukh*

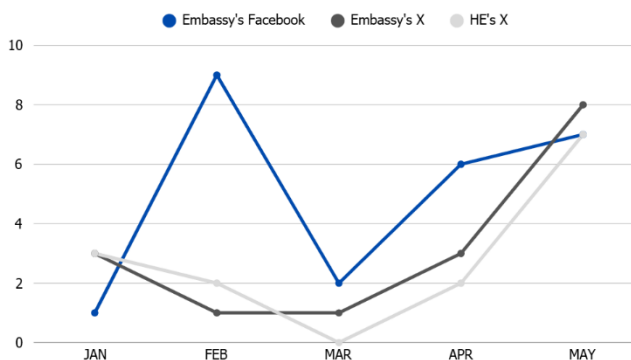
Ambassador: HE Andrii Plakhotniuk (September 21<sup>st</sup>, 2020 – June 21<sup>st</sup>, 2025)

## 1. Visibility of “Ukraine’s Heritage” as a Topic

Three active social media channels  
(Figure V.1):

- (1) **Embassy’s Facebook**  
(14,000 followers)
- (2) **Embassy’s X** (7,648 followers)
- (3) **HE’s X** (4,029 followers)

Figure V.1: Number of posts by platform, January 1, 2025 - May 15, 2025

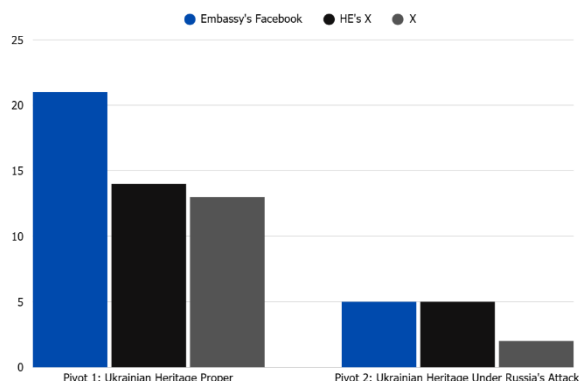


### SUMMARY

- **Most active:** Embassy’s Facebook (25 total posts; 73 total visuals; 5.5 average # of posts per month; 16.2 average # of visuals per post).
- **Max # of images:** 20 (from a post on the Embassy’s Facebook, where they provided 20 photos to commemorate the 100<sup>th</sup> Ukrainian-language audio guide launched in famous museums worldwide).
- **Dynamics through months:** The largest number of posts was registered in May, correlating to V-day – 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the victory over fascism, Europe Day, Vyshyvanka Day, Ukraine’s participation in Eurovision, as well as the events taking place within Ukraine’s Cultural Diplomacy Month for 2025.

## 2. “Ukraine’s Heritage”: Digital Agenda Setting

Figure V.2: Number of posts by thematic pivot



Pivot 1 **UKRANIAN HERITAGE PROPER** is the dominant topic on the Embassy’s Facebook (21), Embassy’s X (14), and HE’s X (13) (Figure V.2).

Pivot 2 **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK** was much less visible on all social media: Embassy’s Facebook (5), Embassy’s X (5), and HE’s X (5) (Figure V.2).

Table V.1: Content of “Ukraine’s Heritage” topic

Media	Content of posts by reference (number of mentions)	Content of posts by thematic pivot (number of mentions)	Content of visuals by categories (numbers)
Embassy’s Facebook	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>External event (9)</li> <li>Memorable date (6)</li> <li>Calendar holiday (4)</li> <li>Fact (3)</li> <li>Ukraine’s award for Swedes (2)</li> <li>Swedish award for Ukrainians (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (21 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>History (6)</li> <li>Culture (5)</li> <li>National symbols (2)</li> <li>Language (2)</li> <li>Ukraine’s holidays (2)</li> <li>Traditions and customs (1)</li> <li>Education (1)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (5 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sweden demonstrates solidarity with Ukraine (3)</li> <li>Russia’s suppression of Crimean Tatar’s heritage (1)</li> <li>Ruscism and Nazism are similar ideologies (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Events (25)</li> <li>History (17)</li> <li>Ukraine’s cultural figures (10)</li> <li>Swedish museums (8)</li> <li>Ukrainian officials (6)</li> <li>World museums (5)</li> <li>Ukraine’s national symbols (3)</li> </ul>
Embassy’s X	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Calendar holiday (4)</li> <li>Memorable date (7)</li> <li>Fact (3)</li> <li>External event (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (14 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>History (8)</li> <li>Ukraine’s holidays (3)</li> <li>Culture (2)</li> <li>Language (1)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (5 motions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sweden supports Ukraine (2)</li> <li>Russia destroys Ukrainian heritage (1)</li> <li>Russia kills Ukrainian sportsmen (1)</li> <li>Russia should be banned from international sports (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>History (5)</li> <li>Ukrainian officials (4)</li> <li>Events (3)</li> <li>Ambassador and Embassy (1)</li> <li>Ukraine’s cultural figures (1)</li> <li>Ukraine’s national symbol (1)</li> </ul>
HE’s X	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Calendar holiday (6)</li> <li>Memorable date (5)</li> <li>Fact (3)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (13 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>History (5)</li> <li>Ukraine’s holidays (5)</li> <li>Culture (1)</li> <li>Language (1)</li> <li>Ukraine’s national symbol (1)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (2 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Russia distorts Ukrainian history (1)</li> <li>EU supports Ukraine via demonstrating its national colours (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ukrainian officials (14):</li> <li>History (2)</li> <li>Ukraine’s national symbols (2)</li> <li>Ambassador and Embassy (1)</li> <li>Events (1)</li> </ul>

## SUMMARY

- Content of posts by reference:** All SMPs demonstrated a dominance of posts linked to calendar dates memorable dates and holidays. The Embassy’s Facebook was also observed to have a strong focus on ‘external’ events, vis-a-vis the posts concerned with ‘internal’ events organized by the Embassy, which were not registered. Across all SMPs, the number of posts featuring facts non-related to the calendar remains insufficient.

- **Content of posts by pivots:** Within the topic **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER**, the most salient themes are: *history* (the history of Ukraine-Sweden relations; the significant tragic and state-forming events in Ukraine's history, such as WWII, Holocaust, Chernobyl tragedy, Revolution of Dignity, and the war in Donbas), *culture* (music and festivals, including Ukrainian-Swedish collaborations), and *Ukrainian holidays* – political (Unity Day, Europe Day) and religious (Easter). Within the topic **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA'S ATTACK**, the most prominent themes were Sweden demonstrates solidarity with Ukraine (Swedish churches join Prayers for Peace; Swedish journalists investigate and bring to the public the case of Russians who make money by pretending to be Ukrainians), and Sweden supports Ukraine (Sweden helps Ukraine in the protection of cultural heritage).
- **Content of visuals:** The most visible visual categories are events, history (historical photographs and videos), Ukrainian officials (Ukrainian President, First Lady, Ukrainian and Swiss Ministers of Culture, and Ukrainian Minister for Foreign Affairs), and Ukrainian cultural figures (singers, musicians, and composers).

### The most visible topics: visual means

Figure V.3: Visuals of events



Figure V.4: Visuals of Ukrainian history



Figure V.5: Visuals of Ukraine's officials



Figure V.6: Visuals of Ukraine's cultural figures






## SUMMARY

- **Ukrainian actors:** These include: *Ukrainian officials* (Minister for Foreign Affairs Andriy Sybiha and a former Minister of Culture and Strategic Communications Mykola Tochytsky) who pursue cultural diplomacy; *clergy* of different Christian denominations (the Orthodox Church of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church) who united to pray for peace in Ukraine; *musicians* who performed Ukrainian music in Sweden (Kozak Siromaha group, the Partes ensemble directed by Nataliia Khmivska) and at the Eurovision song contest (Ziferblat group); and *state institutions* (the Institute of Educational Content Modernization) that promoted Ukrainian humanitarian heritage worldwide
- **Local (Swedish) actors:** The presence of this category extended to: *officials and society* (representatives of the Royal Family, the Swedish Parliament, the Swedish Government, Swedish society) who prayed for peace in Ukraine on the 3<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine; *the Minister of Culture of Sweden* who discussed the ways to protect Ukrainian cultural heritage; *the Swedish clergy* (Michael Bjerkhagen, the Chaplain and Vicar of the Royal Court) that supported Ukraine and prayed for peace; *journalists* who investigated and brought to the public the case of the Russian ballet group raising money by pretending to be Ukrainians; *school students* who participated in prose competition to honour Ukrainian writer Vasyl Stefanyk; and *museums* (Nordiska Museet, Vasamuseet, The Viking Museum, etc.) that offer Ukrainian-language audio guides.
- **EU/European actors:** Among them are: *EU officials* (Ursula von der Leyen) who supported Ukraine by projecting Ukrainian political symbols on European political and historic buildings, and *leaders of the European countries* (President of France Emmanuel Macron, German Chancellor Friedrich Merz, British Prime Minister Keir Starmer, and Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk) who travelled to Ukraine to commemorate the Ukrainian warriors fallen in the war with Russia.

## 4. Digital Presence Expansion and Conversation

Presence expansion through accentuation is best demonstrated in the Embassy's Facebook. Presence expansion through engagement is productive in the Embassy's Facebook and X (Table V.2).

Table V.2: Counts of digital presence expansion and conversation generation

		Embassy's Facebook	Embassy's X	HE's X
<b>Presence expansion through accentuation</b>				
<b># of emoticons</b>	total	63	13	9
	max	4	1	1
	average per post	2.5	0.8	0.6
<b>Most typical emoticons</b>				
<b>Use of local language</b>	(e.g. Swedish)	Yes	Yes	No
<b># of hashtags</b>	total	6	2	-
	max	4	1	-
	average per post	0.25	0.13	-
<b>Presence expansion through engagement</b>				
<b># of posts</b>	total	25	16	15
	average per month	5.6	3.6	3.3
<b># of views</b>	total	-	1,514,666	1,222,106
	max	-	100,000	43,000
	average per post	-	94,667	81,474
<b># of responses (e.g., like, love reactions)</b>	total	3,286 (9 negative)	886,505	168,199
	max	1,600	43,000	43,000

	average per post	131	55,406	11,213
<b># of comments</b>	total	164 (72 negative)	6,714	16,885
	max	118	5,200	5,200
	average per post	6.56	386	1,125
<b># of shares</b>	total	826	28,114	52,366
	max	564	9,000	9,000
	average per post	33	1,757	3,491

## SUMMARY

### (1) Presence expansion through accentuation

- Emoticons vary within the range of 0.6-2.5 per post, being more typical of the Embassy's Facebook.
- The use of hashtags is most prominent on the Embassy's Facebook (6), but less so on the Embassy's X (2). Regardless, across all SMPs, the most used categories of hashtags are patriotism and state symbolism (e.g. #NeverAgainIsNow, #CrimeaResists11, #CrimeaIsUkraine, #11YearsOfWar, #ОдинЗаОдного (OneForAll and AllForOne), #11роківСпротиву (11YearsOfResistance), etc.), with some also referencing Ukraine's participation in international cultural contests and events (#Eurovision 2025).
- The Embassy's Facebook and X use Swedish, Ukrainian and English, whereas HE's X is in English only.

### (2) Presence expansion through engagement

- Presence expansion is most visible on the Embassy's X and HE's X, which considerably exceed the Embassy's Facebook by the number of responses and comments. Across both SMPs, the maximum number of responses (43,000) was observed on a repost from Ursula von der Leyen: "The blue and yellow of Ukraine. The colours of resistance against imperialism. On the eve of this grim anniversary, they adorn our building as a symbol of our unflinching support for the Ukrainian people. Our brave neighbours, partners, and future EU members" (February 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2025). This content also garnered the most comments (5,200).
- In terms of shares, both the Embassy's X and HE's X audiences remain much more active than the audience of the Embassy's Facebook account. Among most shared posts of both X platforms was Ursula von der Leyen's repost (7,000) on the yellow and blue as the colours of Ukraine's resistance (February 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2025), and the Ambassador's celebration of the Easter holiday (9,000): "We wish all our Swedish friends a happy Easter!" (April 19<sup>th</sup>, 2025).

### (3) Conversation generation (responses by Embassy)

- Overall, Embassy's SMPs used one-way communication rather than dialogic engagement. This is also despite strong presence of local communities in the content of many posts.
- Comment sections show minimal debate and no evidence of replies from Embassy officials.

## VI. Digital Diplomacy by Embassy of Ukraine to Poland

Research Lead: *Konrad Szatters*

Ambassador: HE Vasyl Bodnar (October 31<sup>st</sup>, 2024 – present)

### 1. Visibility of “Ukraine’s Heritage” as a Topic

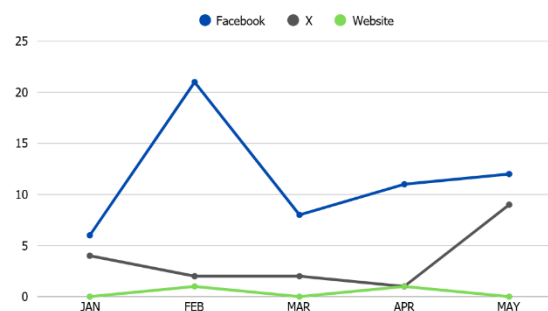
Five active social media channels (Figure VI.1)

- (1) **Embassy’s Facebook** (67,000 followers)
- (2) **HE’s Facebook** (8,600 followers)
- (3) **Embassy’s X** (20,400 followers)
- (4) **HE’s X** (21,500 followers)
- (5) **Embassy’s website** (visitor numbers untraceable)

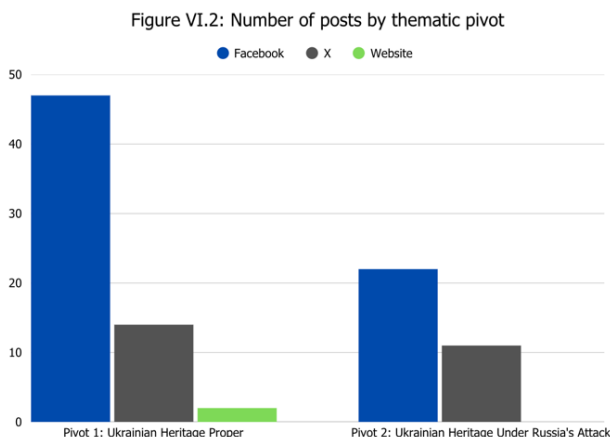
#### SUMMARY

- **Most active:** Embassy’s Facebook (58 total posts; 294 total visuals; 11.6 average # of posts per month; 5.06 average # of visuals per post).
- **Max # of images:** 20 photos (from a Facebook post on January 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2025 regarding the celebration of the Ukrainian Day of Unity in Warsaw).
- **Dynamics through months:** The peak of posts was registered in February and May, corresponding to the 3<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of Russia’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine on February 24<sup>th</sup>, and a range of events that happened in May – the 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of WWII in Europe, Vyshyvanka Day, Ukraine’s participation in the Eurovision song contest, as well as Ukraine’s Cultural Diplomacy Month for 2025.

Figure VI.1: Number of posts by platform, January 15, 2025 - May 15, 2025



### 2. “Ukraine’s Heritage”: Digital Agenda Setting



Pivot 1 **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER** is the dominant topic through all social media (featured in 63 posts). It was most visible on Facebook (47) and X (14), whereas the Embassy’s website was less active (2) (Figure VI.2).

Pivot 2 **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK** was less visible, appearing only on Facebook (22) and X (11) (Figure VI.2).

Table VI.1 Content of “Ukraine’s Heritage” topic

	<b>Content of posts by reference (number of mentions)</b>	<b>Content of posts by thematic pivot (number of mentions)</b>	<b>Content of visuals by categories (numbers)</b>
<b>Embassy’s website</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Promotion of Ukrainian culture (literature) (1)</li> <li>Ukrainian national symbols (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (2 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Literature – the “Ukrainian bookshelf” initiative promoted by Olena Zelenska (1)</li> <li>Ukrainian cultural symbols - Tryzub (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Infographic/logo (2)</li> </ul>
<b>Embassy’s Facebook</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Memorable dates – Russian invasion, WWII, Easter, Vyshyvanka Day, important dates for Ukrainian culture etc. (23)</li> <li>Polish-Ukrainian cultural cooperation &amp; promotion of Ukrainian culture (19)</li> <li>Promotion of important persons for Ukrainian culture – Wikimedia, Taras Shevchenko (13)</li> <li>Education (5)</li> <li>Religion (5)</li> <li>Sports (1)</li> <li>Language (1)</li> <li>External events – Eurovision (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (47 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Culture (29): music (10), literature/poetry (6), cinema (4), art (4), theatre (1), dancing (1), TV (1) painting (1), architecture (1)</li> <li>Education, museums (6)</li> <li>Ukrainian cultural symbols: Vyshyvanka (4)</li> <li>Religion (4)</li> <li>Language (2)</li> <li>Social activism (1)</li> <li>Sports (1)</li> <li>Including UKRAINE AND POLAND (24)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (22 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Russian aggression against Ukraine (9)</li> <li>The value of the past lessons in the present (8)</li> <li>Ukrainian culture throughout the war (4)</li> <li>Educating on the war (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Embassy’s diplomats (17) - especially Ambassador Vasyl Bodnar</li> <li>Infographics/info videos/logos (12)</li> <li>Event participants (10)</li> <li>Event setting (9)</li> <li>Ukrainian symbols – Vyshyvanka, national flag (6)</li> <li>Ukrainian cultural figures (4) - the ones featured within Wikimedia’s initiative</li> </ul>
<b>Embassy’s X</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Memorable dates – Russian invasion, WWII, Vyshyvanka Day, etc. (11)</li> <li>Promotion of important persons for Ukrainian culture (4)</li> <li>External events – Eurovision (3)</li> <li>National symbols – Tryzub (2)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (14 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>History (11) – Ukraine’s past, WWII</li> <li>Culture (7): music (4), literature/poetry (2), dancing (1)</li> <li>Ukrainian cultural symbols – Vyshyvanka, Tryzub (3)</li> <li>Including UKRAINE AND POLAND (0)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (11 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The value of the past lessons in the present (10)</li> <li>Russian aggression against Ukraine (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Infographics/info videos/logos (7)</li> <li>Ukrainian cultural figures (4)</li> <li>Ukrainian symbols – Vyshyvanka, national flag (2)</li> <li>Event participants (2)</li> <li>Embassy’s diplomats (1) - Ambassador Vasyl Bodnar</li> <li>Photos from the destroyed Ukrainian cities (1)</li> <li>Event setting (1)</li> </ul>

## SUMMARY

- **Content of posts by reference:** A notable emphasis on cultural diplomacy, with most posts balancing references to cultural facts, memorable dates, and 'external' events. The Embassy's Facebook dominates, focusing on Ukrainian culture and Ukrainian-Polish cultural cooperation (via shared events and activities organized by Ukrainian diaspora in Poland, such as creating the 'chain of unity' or celebrating Taras Shevchenko's legacy on the Day of Unity), promotion of cultural figures (Taras Shevchenko, Oleksandr Murashko, Vasyl Avramenko, Władysław Horodecki, and Şefika Gaspıralı within the framework of the Wikimedia Initiative during the Cultural Diplomacy Month), and external cultural events (with an accent on Eurovision). Conversely, the Embassy's X follows different themes, putting the strongest emphasis on the *history* of Ukraine's past and WWII. The Embassy's website highlights activities promoting Ukrainian culture (the Ukrainian bookshelf in Warsaw) and presents Ukrainian national symbols (Tryzub).
- **Content of posts by pivots:** Within the topic of **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER**, the most visible themes are Ukrainian culture (music, literature, poetry, theatre, TV, painting, and architecture), education (Ukrainian schools in Poland), religion (Orthodox festivities), and national symbols (Vyshyvanka, the Ukrainian flag, and Tryzub). Within the topic of **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA'S ATTACK**, the focus is on the historical and contemporary facts concerned with Russia-Ukraine relations, and the role of the past lessons in understanding the present situation.
- **Content of visuals:** The most frequent visual categories include infographics and informational videos (21), Ukrainian diplomats, especially Ambassador Vasyl Bodnar (19), and event participants (12). Visuals predominantly reinforce and present the activities of the Ukrainian embassy and its diplomats in Poland.

### The most visible topics in the visual content

Figure VI.3: Infographics

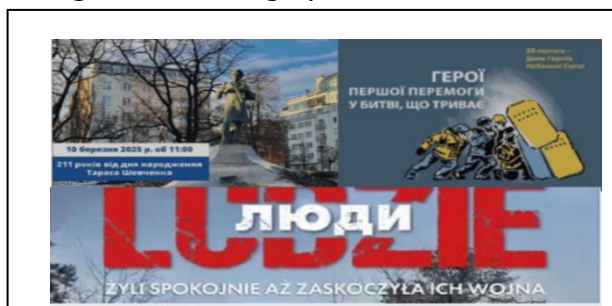


Figure VI.5: Event participants



Figure VI.4: Embassy diplomats

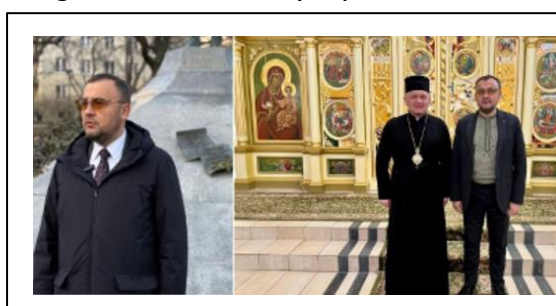


Figure VI.6: Diplomatic events



### 3. Actors



#### SUMMARY

- **Ukrainian actors:** The focus was on *diplomats and officials* (Ambassador Vasyl Bodnar and Embassy officers). The other actors were *prominent figures* from the past (Taras Shevchenko, Oleksandr Murashko, Vasyl Avramenko, Władysław Horodecki, and Şefika Gaspıralı), Ukrainian *creatives* – musicians (the Ziferblat group, and Ukrainian Freedom Orchestra who performed in the Polish National Opera on the 3rd anniversary of Russia’s full scale invasion of Ukraine), and actors (the Franco Theatre who performed a spectacle titled “The Witch of Konotop” as a mean of promoting Ukrainian theatre in Poland), *cultural institutions* (the Ukrainian Institute, and the Ukrainian House who organized a meeting with so-called cultural paratroopers, who talked about the importance of culture throughout the war), as well as *educational establishments* (Ukrainian schools in Poland and “Materinka” Ukrainian Educational Centre in Warsaw who took part in promoting Ukrainian culture in Poland and participated in commemorative events, e.g. the Day of Memory of the Heroes of the Heavenly Hundred).
- **Local (Polish) actors:** The reported actors were *cinemas and theatres* (the Atlantic Cinema, the Dramatic Theatre in Warsaw, the Grand National Opera Theatre in Warsaw who hosted the Ukrainian Freedom Orchestra on the 3rd anniversary of the Russian full-scale invasion of Ukraine), *cultural institutions and centres* (the Mioszowski Centre, Dom Spotkań z Historią, and the Jabłkowski Brothers House who hosted events connecting Polish and Ukrainian culture and joint projects in that regard, such as the ‘Strong Together’ concert organized on the 3rd anniversary of Russia’s full-scale invasion), *educational and scientific organisations* (Scientific Association “Institute of European Policy Research” in Gdańsk and the College of Europe in Natolin who hosted lectures and presentations focused predominantly on the situation in Ukraine throughout the war and its political and societal dimensions).
- **EU/European actors:** EU was present only through its member states (Germany and Poland in this case who emerged as Ukraine’s strong supporters across the realms of culture, but also politics and military).

### 4. Digital Presence Expansion and Conversation

Accentuation and engagement are demonstrated by both the Embassy’s Facebook and X, with the former being more productive (Table VI.2).

Table VI.2 Counts of digital presence expansion and conversation generation

		Embassy’s Facebook	Embassy’s X	Embassy’s Website
<b>Presence expansion through accentuation</b>				
<b># of emoticons</b>	total	122	24	-
	max	4	2	-
	average per post	2.10	1.33	-
<b>Most typical emoticons</b>				-
<b>Use of local language</b>	(e.g. Polish)	Yes (approx. 50%)	Yes	Yes
<b># of hashtags</b>	total	45	16	-
	max	7	3	-
	average per post	0.77	0.88	-
<b>Presence expansion through engagement</b>				
<b># of posts</b>	total	58	18	2
	average per month	11.6	3.6	0.4

<b># of views</b>	total	-	141,810	-
	max	-	120,000	-
	average per post	-	7,878	-
<b># of responses (e.g., like, love reactions)</b>	total	2,694	990	-
	max	696	356	-
	average per post	75	2.30	-
<b># of comments</b>	total	863	939	-
	max	266	718	-
	average per post	14.87	52.16	-
<b># of shares</b>	total	1,793	131	-
	max	1,300	93	-
	average per post	30.91	7.27	-

## SUMMARY

### (1) Presence expansion through accentuation

- Emoticons, absent on the Embassy's website, are popular with Embassy's Facebook (the average of 2.10 items per post) and X (the average of 1.33 items per post).
- Hashtags appear both on Embassy's Facebook (45 instances) and X (16), where their most used categories being patriotism, international support, and diplomacy (e.g. #UkraineEverywhere, #UCDMysec, and #UEWikipedia, which are all hashtags of Ukraine's Cultural Diplomacy Month, as well as #WWII, #NeverAgainIsNow, #UAUnityChain, #StandWithUkraine), and culture (e.g. #Eurovision2025, #Ziferblat, and #Wyszywankałączy).
- Embassy's website, Facebook, and Twitter were seen tailoring language use of both Polish and Ukrainian, depending on whether a particular message was primarily addressed to Ukrainian diaspora in Poland, or a more general local Polish audience.

### (2) Presence expansion through engagement

- Both the Embassy's Facebook and X demonstrate a high degree of the followers' engagement On Facebook, the maximum number of responses (266) was to the video featuring two Ukrainian soldiers playing musical instruments. On X, 718 reactions were garnered by the post referencing the Ukrainian involvement in WWII. The readers' reactions had numerous comment threads (especially on the posts dedicated to history) which happened to be very negative towards Ukraine, pointing to the past grievances between Poland and Ukraine (specifically during WWII).
- Facebook users were significantly more engaged in information-sharing with the average of 30.91 shares per post versus the 7.27 on the Embassy's X. The most shared posts on the Embassy's Facebook (93) and Embassy's X (1,300) featured a message about Ukraine's participation WWII.

### (3) Conversation generation (responses by Embassy)

- Comment sections show minimal debate and no evidence of replies from Embassy officials.
- Overall, Embassy's SMPs used one-way communication rather than dialogic engagement. This led to the eruption of negative comments in several instances.

## VII. Digital Diplomacy by the Embassy of Ukraine to Italy

Research Leads: *Tetiana Kirienko, Svitlana Zhabotynska, and Oksana Pietsukh*

Ambassador: HE Yaroslav Melnyk (September 20<sup>th</sup> 2020 — July 21<sup>st</sup>, 2025)

### 1. Visibility of “Ukraine’s Heritage” as a Topic

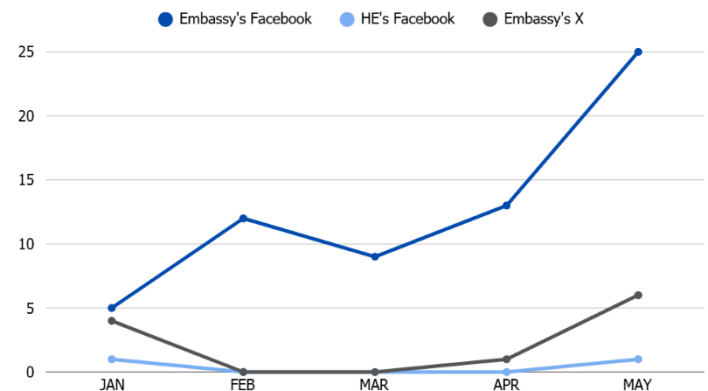
Three active social media (Figure VII.1):

- (1) **Embassy’s Facebook** (46,000 followers)
- (2) **HE’s Facebook** (1,000 followers)
- (3) **Embassy’s X** (2,100 followers)

#### SUMMARY

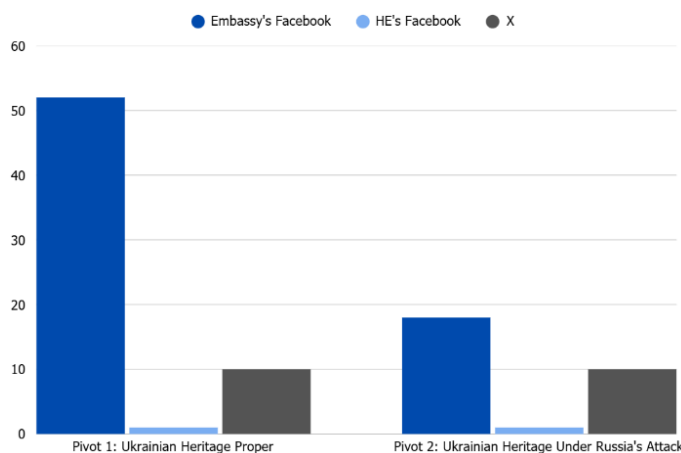
- **Most active:** The Embassy’s Facebook (64 total posts; 177 total visuals; 14.2 average # of posts per month; 2.8 average # of visuals per post).
- **Max # of images:** 11 (from the post on the Embassy’s Facebook on April 18<sup>th</sup>, 2025, describing the opening of the exhibition in Rome “Pysanka – the fragile beauty of Ukrainian art”).
- **Dynamics through months:** The peak of posts was observed in May, which is accounted for by several important calendar events: V-Day – the 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the victory over fascism; Europe Day, Vyshyvanka Day; Ukraine’s participation in Eurovision; as well as the events taking place within Ukraine’s Cultural Diplomacy Month in 2025.

Figure VII.1: Number of posts by platform, January 1, 2025 - May 15, 2025



### 2. “Ukraine’s Heritage”: Digital Agenda Setting

Figure VII.2: Number of posts by thematic pivot



Pivot 1 **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER** is the dominant topic on the Embassy’s Facebook (52 posts) and X (10) (Figure VII.2).

Pivot 2 **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK** was much less visible across all three SMPs, with most posts on the Embassy’s Facebook (18) (Figure VII.2).

Table VII.1: Content of “Ukraine’s Heritage” topic

Media	Content of posts by reference (number of mentions)	Content of posts by thematic pivot (number of mentions)	Content of visuals by categories (numbers)
<b>Embassy’s Facebook</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>External event (25)</li> <li>Memorable date (19)</li> <li>Fact (12)</li> <li>Embassy’s event (2)</li> <li>Calendar holiday (4)</li> <li>Ukrainian international award (2)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (52 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Culture (14)</li> <li>History (12)</li> <li>Ukrainian prominent figures (9)</li> <li>Ukrainian literature (5)</li> <li>Ukraine’s holidays (5)</li> <li>Ukraine’s national symbols (3)</li> <li>Sport (2)</li> <li>Ukrainian language (2)</li> <li>Science (1)</li> <li>Education (1)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (18 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>War in the mirror of culture (9)</li> <li>In Ukraine, Russia acts like Nazi Germany (4)</li> <li>Russia ruins Ukrainian heritage (2)</li> <li>Russia kills Ukrainian cultural figures (1)</li> <li>Russia suppresses the culture of Ukraine’s national minorities / Tatars (1)</li> <li>Italy supports Ukraine via demonstrating its national colours (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Events (86)</li> <li>Ukrainian cultural figures (33)</li> <li>History (24)</li> <li>Ambassador and Embassy (8)</li> <li>Ukraine’s national symbols (8)</li> <li>Cultural artifacts (7)</li> <li>Italian museums (4)</li> <li>Ukraine’s ruined cities (4)</li> <li>Ukrainian officials (3)</li> </ul>
<b>Embassy’s X</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Memorable date (6)</li> <li>Fact (3)</li> <li>Calendar holiday (2)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (10 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>History (5)</li> <li>Culture (2)</li> <li>Ukraine’s symbols (2)</li> <li>Ukraine’s Holidays (1)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (1 mention):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Italy supports Ukraine via demonstrating its national colours (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>History (5)</li> <li>Ukrainian national symbols (5)</li> <li>Ukrainian cultural figures (2)</li> <li>Cultural artifacts (1)</li> <li>Events (1)</li> </ul>
<b>HE’s Facebook</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fact (1)</li> <li>Calendar holiday (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (1 mention):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ukraine’s Holidays (1)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (1 mention):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Italy supports Ukraine via demonstrating its flags colours (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ukrainian national symbol (3)</li> <li>Events (1)</li> </ul>

## SUMMARY

- **Content of posts by reference:** The Embassy’s Facebook prioritised posts featuring ‘external’ events. Another category salient on the Embassy’s Facebook and X was calendar dates (memorable days and holidays). HE’s Facebook, with a limited number of posts, focused equally on facts and calendar dates.
- **Content of posts by pivots:** Within the topic **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER**, the accentuated themes were: Ukrainian culture (Ukraine’s participation in international cultural events; Ukrainian

architectural styles; art exhibitions and installations of Ukrainian art objects in Italy; an invitation to watch recently released Ukrainian films), Ukrainian history (the battle of Kruty, Holocaust, Chernobyl, Revolution of Dignity, Russia’s annexation of Crimea; a particular emphasis is on WWII, and the similarities of Ukraine and Italy in their fighting against Nazis), and Ukrainian prominent figures (cultural figures such as a Ukrainian priest, translator and scholar who lived in Italy). Within the topic **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK**, the salient theme was “war in the mirror of Ukrainian culture” (exhibitions of Ukrainian architecture aimed at celebrating and preserving cultural heritage; films about the Russia-Ukraine war). The other issues were comparison of WWII and Russia-Ukraine war, and Italy’s supports Ukraine via demonstrating its national colours (the famous Italian buildings were illuminated with the colours of Ukraine’s flag).

- **Content of visuals:** The most frequent visual categories were events, Ukrainian cultural figures (poets, filmmakers, actors, designers, musicians, opera singers, painters, writers, and clergy); Ukrainian history; Ambassador and Embassy; and Ukrainian national symbols (Tryzub, and flag).

**The most visible topics: visual means**

Figure VII.3: Visuals of events



Figure VII.4: Visuals of Ukrainian cultural figures

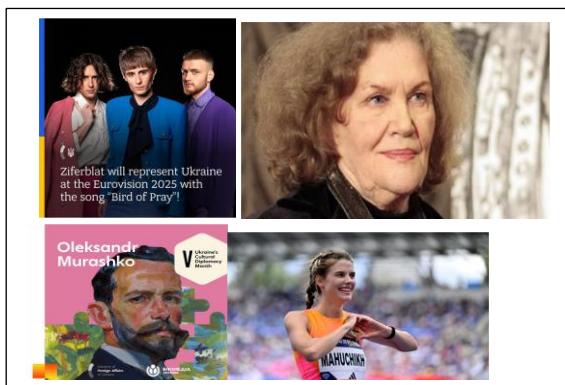


Figure VII.5: Visuals of Ukrainian history

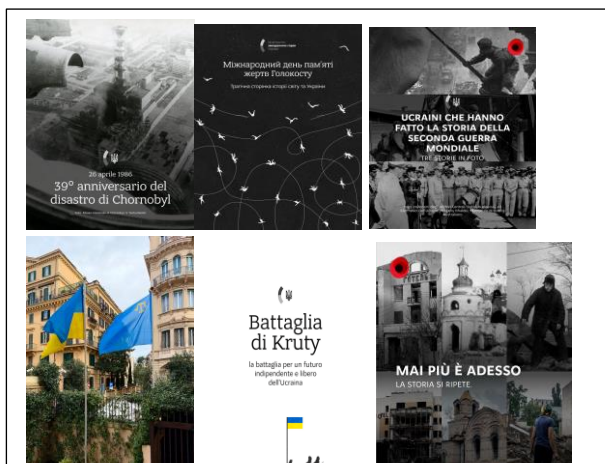
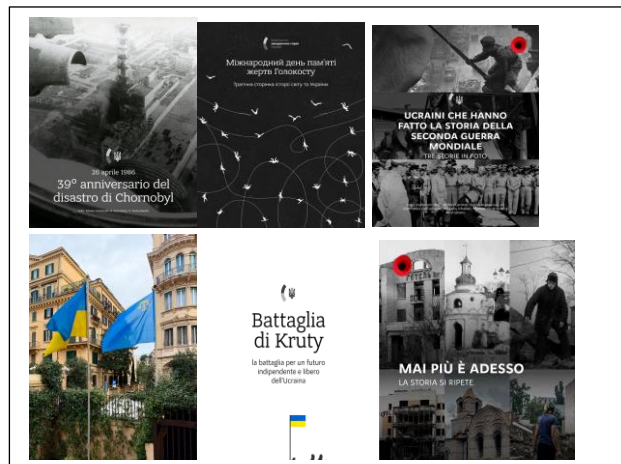


Figure VII.6: Visuals of Ambassador and Embassy



### 3. Actors




#### SUMMARY

- **Ukrainian actors:** The actors who were the most poignant for grounding Ukraine across the Embassy's SMP content are represented by: *Ukrainian officials* (First Lady Olena Zelenska, Minister for Foreign affairs Andrii Sybiha, Ministry of Communities, Territories, and Infrastructure Development) who initiated and supported cultural projects; *organizations* (the Ukrainian Institute and its creative manager Tetiana Filevska, RIBBON International) who support Ukrainian art and culture; *cultural creatives:* architects (Tamara, Oksana and Bohdana Kosmina) who collected the archive materials on traditional Ukrainian houses; artists who exhibited modern Ukrainian artworks at Italian cultural festivals; Oleksandr Murashko, the founder of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts; writers (Yevheniia Bilorusets and Iryna Tsilyk) who portrayed the Russia-Ukraine war in their works; designers and perfumers who presented their collections in Venice; singers (Ziferblat group, and Vasyl Slipak) who promoted Ukrainian music abroad; *translators* of classical and contemporary Ukrainian literature into Italian (Victoria Amelina and Yaryna Hrusha); *Ukrainian clergy* (Ivan Chomenko) who served in Italy.
- **Local (Italian) actors:** Similar to the above, a rich variety of local actors were visible: *the Italian government and people* who attend Ukrainian cultural events held in Italy; *local authorities* of Cyprus that helped to collect the materials on Ukrainian clergy in Italy; *Italian experts* (architects and cultural workers) who were engaged in protecting Ukrainian cultural heritage; *organizations* (Camera di Commercio Roma and Cuntura) and *media* (*Gazzetta Diplomatica*) that supported screening of the modern Ukrainian films in Italy; *the church and clergy* (i.e. the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church of Italy and Roman Catholic Church of Italy) that helped to collect the archive materials on Ukrainian clergy in Italy; *Andrea Cordero Lanza di Montezemolo* who claimed togetherness of the Italians and Ukrainians in fighting against Nazis during WWII; *cultural institutions* (representatives of Venice Biennale and Cosmoprof Worldwide Bologna) that promoted Ukrainian exhibits; *heritage sites* (Colosseum) and *art galleries* (Borghese Art Gallery) that provided Ukrainian audio guide to tourists; and *translator* Alessandro Achilli who translated Ukrainian classical literature into Italian.
- **EU/European actors:** Outside of Italy, there was little visibility of the EU specifically. However, *international organizations* (UNESCO) that aims to protect Ukrainian cultural heritage, and other *foreign embassies* (e.g. the British Embassy that supported Ukraine's participation in the International Architecture Exhibition) were present.

### 4. Digital Presence Expansion and Conversation

Presence expansion through accentuation is best demonstrated in the Embassy's Facebook. Presence expansion through engagement is productive in the Embassy's Facebook and X (Table VII.2).

Table VII.2: Counts of digital presence expansion and conversation generation

		Embassy's Facebook	Embassy's X	HE's Facebook
	<b>Presence expansion through accentuation</b>			
<b># of emoticons</b>	total	167	7	4
	max	6	1	1
	average per post	2.5	0.6	0.25
<b>Most typical emoticons</b>				
<b>Use of local language</b>	(e.g. Italian)	Yes	Yes	Yes

<b># of hashtags</b>	total	60	2	-
	max	3	1	-
	average per post	0.9	0.2	-
<b><i>Presence expansion through engagement</i></b>				
<b># of posts</b>	total	64	11	2
	average per month	14.2	2.4	0.4
<b># of views</b>	total	-	152,037	-
	max	-	10,000	-
	average per post	-	13,822	-
<b># of responses (e.g., like, love reactions)</b>	total	11,929 (572 negative)	5,531	77
	max	3,500	867	55
	average per post	183.5	502.8	38.5
<b># of comments</b>	total	1,948 (714 negative)	202	-
	max	502	59	-
	average per post	29.5	18.3	-
<b># of shares</b>	total	2,793	1,562	9
	max	345	159	8
	average per post	42.9	142	4.5

## SUMMARY

### (1) Presence expansion through accentuation

- Emoticons vary within the range of 0.25-2.5 per post, with more common application on the Embassy's Facebook.
- Hashtag use was more typical of the Embassy's Facebook (60); they were rare on the Embassy's X and absent entirely on HE's Facebook. The most used categories were patriotism and state symbolism (e.g. #CrimeaIsUkraine, #CrimeaResists11, #11YearsofWar, #NeverAgainIsNow, #Chornobyl, and #Intercepted), cultural diplomacy (e.g. #UCDMysec, (Ukrainian Culture & Diplomacy Month) #UEWikipedia, and #UkraineEverywhere), those that showcased Ukraine's participation in international events in Italy (e.g. #CosmoprofWorldwideBologna, #APCU, #UKRAINE, #Acme #AstraCosmetic, #EDCosmetic, #2K, #Ukrainianexposition, and #MadeInUkraine), Ukraine's international cooperation (e.g. #CosmoprofWorldwideBologna, #APCU, #UKRAINE, #Ucraina, and #Milano), and Ukraine's traditions and culture (e.g. #pysanka, #resilienza, and #creatività).
- All social media posts were in Italian, but most did offer Ukrainian translations.

### (2) Presence expansion through engagement

- Presence expansion was highest on the Embassy's Facebook, with the most reactions (3,500) garnered from the post on Ukrainian designers showcasing a new collection of wedding clothes in Venice (February 19<sup>th</sup>, 2025). This was also the most individually shared Facebook content (345). Meanwhile, the post that obtained the most comments (502) was about the Ukrainian band Ziferblat representing Ukraine at Eurovision song contest (February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2025).
- While the highest number of platform shares (2,793) was from the Embassy's Facebook, it is worthwhile mentioning that a post featuring the illumination of the Colosseum, and the facades of Palazzo Chigi, Palazzo della Farnesina, Palazzo della Madama and Palazzo del Montecitorio with the colours of the Ukrainian flag on the third anniversary of the Russian invasion of Ukraine (February 24<sup>th</sup>, 2025) was also shared 197 (via Facebook) and 158 (via X) times.

### (3) Conversation generation (responses by Embassy)

- Overall, Embassy's SMPs used one-way communication rather than dialogic engagement. This is also despite strong presence of local communities in the content of many posts.
- Comment sections show minimal debate and no evidence of replies from Embassy officials.

## VIII. Digital Diplomacy by the Embassy of Ukraine to Hungary

Research Leads: *Svitlana Zhabotynska, Tetiana Kirienko*

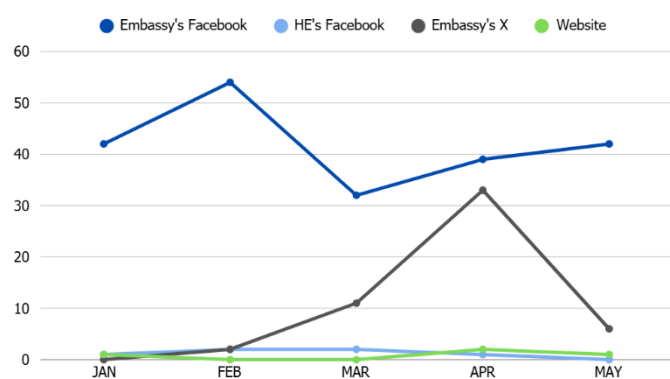
Ambassador: HE Fedir Shandor (December 21<sup>st</sup>, 2024 – present)

### 1. Visibility of “Ukraine’s Heritage” as a Topic

Four active social media channels (Figure VIII.1):

- (1) **Embassy’s Facebook** (10,000 followers)
- (2) **HE’s Facebook** (2,800 followers)
- (3) **Embassy’s X** (2,643 followers)
- (4) **Embassy’s website** (visitor numbers untraceable)

Figure VIII.1: Number of posts by platform, January 1, 2025 - May 15, 2025

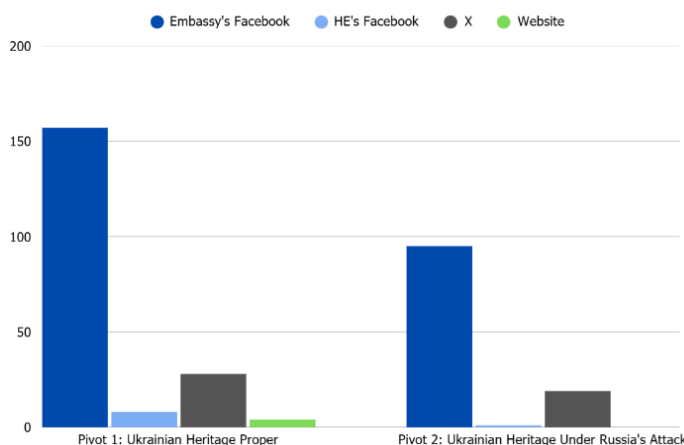


#### SUMMARY

- **Most active:** Embassy’s Facebook (209 total posts; 987 total visuals; 46.4 average # of posts per month; 4.7 average # of visuals per post).
- **Max # of images:** 80 (from a post on February 24<sup>th</sup>, 2025, which focused on the national colours of Ukraine illuminating the official buildings throughout the world, as a sign of solidarity with Ukraine on 3<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of Russia’s invasion).
- **Dynamics through months:** The peak of posts was registered in May, in response to V-Day (80<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the victory over fascism), Europe Day, Vyshyvanka Day, Ukraine’s participation in Eurovision, and the events taking place within Ukraine’s Cultural Diplomacy Month for 2025.

### 2. “Ukraine’s Heritage”: Digital Agenda Setting

Figure VIII.2: Number of posts by thematic pivot



Pivot 1 **UKRANIAN HERITAGE PROPER** is the dominant topic through all social media (featured in 157 posts). In order of visibility: X (28); HE’s Facebook (8); Embassy’s website (4) (Figure VIII.2).

Pivot 2 **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK** was less visible, with most posts on Facebook (95) and X (19) (Figure VIII.2).

Table VIII.1: Content of “Ukraine’s Heritage” topic

	Content of posts by reference (number of mentions)	Content of posts by thematic pivot (number of mentions)	Content of visuals by categories (numbers)
<b>Embassy’s website</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Embassy’s event (2)</li> <li>Calendar holiday (2)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (4 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Libraries (2)</li> <li>Ukraine’s holidays (2): Unity Day, Europe Day</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ambassador and embassy (17):</li> <li>Events (7)</li> </ul>
<b>Embassy’s Facebook</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fact (63)</li> <li>Memorable date (51)</li> <li>External event (46)</li> <li>Embassy’s event (29)</li> <li>Calendar holiday (17)</li> <li>Ukraine’s international awards (3)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (157 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>History (32)</li> <li>Prominent figures (28)</li> <li>Culture (25)</li> <li>Education (17)</li> <li>Ukraine’s holidays (12): Unity Day, Europe Day, Easter</li> <li>Ukrainian literature (11)</li> <li>Sport (8)</li> <li>Ukraine’s national symbols (8): Vyshivanka. Tryzub. Anthem</li> <li>Ukrainian language (7)</li> <li>Libraries (4)</li> <li>Heritage sites (2)</li> <li>Science (2)</li> <li>Traditions and customs (1): Hutsul culture</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (95 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>War in the mirror of Ukrainian and world culture (58)</li> <li>Russia ruins Ukrainian heritage (9): theatres, historic and cultural sites, religious sites, universities, monuments and buildings.</li> <li>War exhibitions (8)</li> <li>Russia kills Ukrainian cultural and religious elite (7)</li> <li>Russia suppresses Ukrainian identity (6)</li> <li>The world supports Ukraine (6)</li> <li>Ukraine confronts Russian culture (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Events (346)</li> <li>Ambassador and embassy (167)</li> <li>Cultural artifacts (118)</li> <li>Ukrainian national symbols (95)</li> <li>Ukrainian officials (84)</li> <li>Cultural figures (68)</li> <li>Ukrainian prominent figures (33)</li> <li>History (32)</li> <li>Heritage objects ruined by Russia (21)</li> <li>Athletes (10)</li> <li>Cultural figures killed by Russia (9)</li> <li>Foreign officials (3)</li> <li>EU symbol (1)</li> </ul>
<b>Embassy’s X</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Memorable date (18)</li> <li>Fact (17)</li> <li>Calendar holiday (11)</li> <li>External event (3)</li> <li>Embassy’s event (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (28 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>History (9)</li> <li>Ukrainian prominent figures (6)</li> <li>Culture (6)</li> <li>Ukraine’s holidays (5): Easter.</li> <li>Traditions and customs (4)</li> <li>Sport (2)</li> <li>Ukrainian language (1)</li> <li>Ukraine’s national symbols (2): Tryzub, Vyshyvanka</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (19 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Russia kills Ukrainian cultural figures (6)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Events (25)</li> <li>Cultural artifacts (11)</li> <li>Ukrainian cultural figures (9)</li> <li>Ukrainian cultural figures killed by Russia (6)</li> <li>Ukrainian heritage destroyed by Russia (4)</li> <li>Ukrainian prominent figures (4)</li> <li>Ukrainian national symbols (3) Tryzub. Flag.</li> <li>Vyshivanka (1)</li> <li>History (3)</li> <li>Ukrainian athletes (2)</li> <li>Ambassador and embassy (1)</li> </ul>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Russia ruins Ukrainian heritage (3): theaters, religious sites, cultural sites</li> <li>• Russia appropriates Ukrainian heritage (1)</li> <li>• Russia's cultural figures disguise as Ukrainians to earn money abroad (1)</li> <li>• War in the mirror of Ukrainian culture (3)</li> <li>• Ukrainian cultural and sport elites demonstrate resilience and patriotism (3)</li> <li>• Hungarian educators host Ukrainian schools (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ukrainian officials (1)</li> <li>• Ukrainian heritage appropriated by Russia (1)</li> </ul>
<b>HE's Facebook</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fact (2)</li> <li>• Memorable date (2)</li> <li>• External event (1)</li> <li>• Embassy's event (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (8 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Culture (3)</li> <li>• Museums (2)</li> <li>• Education (1)</li> <li>• History (1)</li> <li>• Ukrainian prominent figures (1)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA'S ATTACK (1 mention):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hungary shows solidarity with Ukraine (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Events (5)</li> <li>• Ukrainian national symbols (3): National colors.</li> <li>• Ambassador and embassy (1)</li> <li>• Cultural artifacts (1)</li> <li>• History (1)</li> </ul>

## SUMMARY

- **Content of posts by reference:** Overall, there was a balance between posts on facts, calendar dates, and scheduled events. Notably, posts that focused on facts (about Ukrainian prominent figures, historical events, initiatives of the Ukrainian government, etc) were not related to the calendar. Among the posts on the scheduled events, the ones held 'externally' were mentioned more frequently than the 'internal' events held by the Embassy.
- **Content of posts by pivots:** Within the topic of **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER**, the most visible themes were: Ukrainian history (of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries), Ukrainian prominent figures (writers, artists, actors, composers, scientists, architects, political activists, and diplomats), Ukrainian culture (cultural diversity, fine arts, music, opera, film, photography, folk art, jewellery and accessories, cuisine, cultural festivals and cultural diplomacy), and Ukrainian education (a Ukrainian school in Hungary, collaboration between Ukrainian and European universities, Hungarian universities in particular). Within the topic **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA'S ATTACK**, the most visible theme was "War in the mirror of culture": Ukrainian culture (film, literature, photography, installations, postcards, posters, and songs), and world culture (specifically film).
- **Content of visuals:** The most salient visual categories were: events (participants, settings, posters, and symbols), Ambassador and Embassy (Ambassador; Embassy officers; Ambassador and Embassy officers with event participants, Ukrainian cultural figures, Ukrainian athletes, Hungarian officials, and European diplomats), cultural artifacts (theatrical performances, poems, books, paintings, installations, monuments, Easter egg, documents, words, jewellery, and murals), Ukrainian national symbols (national colours, flag, Tryzub, Anthem, and Vyshyvanka), Ukrainian officials (Ukrainian President, the First Lady, Deputy Prime-Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Ukrainian diplomats in general) Ukrainian cultural figures (singers, filmmakers, writers, and), and educators).

## The most visible topics: visual means

Figure VIII.3: Visuals of events



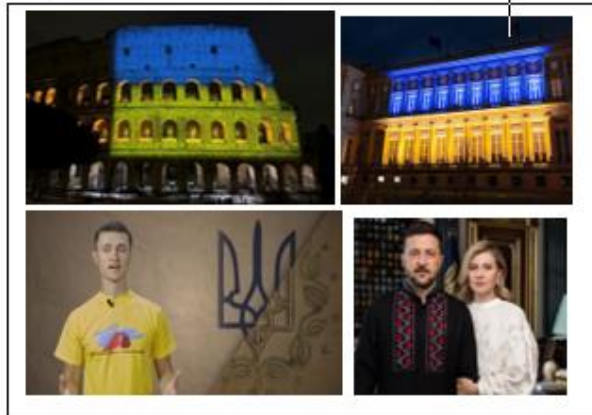
Figure VIII.4: Visuals of Ambassador / Embassy



Figure VIII.5: Visuals of cultural artefacts



Figure VIII.6: Visuals of national symbols



## 3. Actors

### SUMMARY

- **Ukrainian actors:** Among those mentioned were *educators, school students, scientists, cultural figures* (filmmakers, artists, photographers, writers, poets, singers, theatres, musicians, composers, and architects), as well as *athletes, diplomats, political activists, and members of the military*. The wide range of cultural figures partially stems from the Embassy's reposts of information about Ukrainian celebrities issued by the Ministry of Culture and Strategic Communications on their birthdays, and from the purpose of Ukraine's Cultural Diplomacy Month to profile outstanding Ukrainians. Ukrainian educators and students, military member, filmmakers, artists, singers, writers and poets were mostly participants of the events held in Hungary with or without the Embassy's involvement.
- **Local (Hungarian) actors:** Of notable interest was how the *Hungarian poet Petofi* was compared to the Ukrainian poet Shevchenko. Other visibility of local actors tended to mimic the array of earlier iterated Ukrainian actors, including *Hungarian officials, cultural figures* (poets, writers, and musicians), *athletes, and university students and faculty* as participants of the events organized or attended by the Embassy. The actors' list is also extended with *Hungarian libraries* (which, under Embassy's initiative, were supplied with Ukrainian books), *Hungarian museums* (which were implementing audio guides in




Ukrainian, and which were attended by the Ukrainian Ambassador), *as well as the National Theatre of Hungary* (which was exhibiting Ukrainian content).

- **EU/European actors:** There was some presence of EU actors, including an *EU officer* (the representative of the European Commission in Hungary), and *EU diplomats in Hungary*, who attended the Ukrainian Embassy's cultural events; *the center Europa Point*, which supported the Ukrainian "Culture vs. War" project; *Czech universities* (Charles University and University of Hradec Králové) that joined the programme of Ukrainian studies initiated by the First Lady of Ukraine; *French film makers* Bernard-Henri Lévy and Marc Roussel, as directors of the documentary "Our War" about the life on and behind Ukrainian front lines.

## 4. Digital Presence Expansion and Conversation

The Embassy's presence expansion through accentuation is best demonstrated by the Embassy's Facebook. The Embassy's presence expansion through engagement is demonstrated by both the Embassy's Facebook and X, with the latter being more productive (Table VIII.2).

Table VIII.2: Counts of digital presence expansion and conversation generation

		Embassy's Facebook	HE's Facebook	X	Website
<b>Presence expansion through accentuation</b>					
<b># of emoticons</b>	total	951	10	66	-
	max	17	1	2	-
	average per post	4.5	1.6	1.1	-
<b>Most typical emoticons</b>					-
<b>Use of local language</b>	(e.g. Hungarian)	Yes (not always)	No	Yes	Yes
<b># of hashtags</b>	total	94	12	21	2
	max	12	5	6	2
	average per post	0.45	2	0.1	1
<b>Presence expansion through engagement</b>					
<b># of posts</b>	total	209	6	50	-
	average per month	46.4	1.5	11.1	-
<b># of views</b>	total	-	-	753,937	-
	max	-	-	121,000	-
	average per post	-	-	15,079	-
<b># of responses (e.g., like, love reactions)</b>	total	8,598 (34 negative)	93	25,800	-
	max	937	42	1,200	-
	average per post	41.1	15.5	614	-
<b># of comments</b>	total	606 (36 negative)	-	491	-
	max	422	-	120	-
	average per post	2.8	-	11.6	-
<b># of shares</b>	total	778	1	7,029	-
	max	116	1	2,300	-
	average per post	3.7	0.16	167.3	-

## SUMMARY

### (1) Presence expansion through accentuation

- Emoticons vary within the range of 1-4.5 per post, being more typical of the Embassy's Facebook.
- The use of hashtags is prominent on the Embassy's Facebook (94 instances), where their most used categories were patriotism, international support, diplomacy (e.g. #UkraineEverywhere,

#StandWithUkraine, #SupportUkraine, #supportukrainians, #SupportUkrainianArmy, #UpToUkraine, #StandForJustPeace, #RussiansATerroristState, #StopRussia, #VoicesOfJustPeace, #UkraineBriefly, #Ukraine, #UCDMysec, #UEWikipedia, #EUDelegationUkraine, #eunichungary, #eunina, #FocusonUkraine, and #volia) and culture (e.g. #ukrainianculture, #UCDMonth, #CultureVSwa).

- In terms of language use, the Embassy's website uses Ukrainian, Hungarian, and English; the Embassy's Facebook uses Hungarian in the majority of its posts (with some posts in Ukrainian only) while English is employed occasionally; the Embassy's X uses English; and HE's Facebook was observed to post in Ukrainian only.

## **(2) Presence expansion through engagement**

- The Embassy's X, with a much smaller number of posts (50), as compared with the Embassy's Facebook (209), demonstrated higher degree of engagement with a considerable number of views, and thrice as many audience' responses. The maximum number of responses on X (1,200) was to the post on Prince Volodymyr and the Ukrainian Trident seen in Vatican St. Paul's Basilica (April 27<sup>th</sup>, 2025). The maximum number of responses on the Embassy's Facebook (937) was garnered by the post featuring the event held at a Ukrainian-Hungarian school in Budapest and dedicated to the heroes who perished during the Revolution of Dignity (February 20<sup>th</sup>, 2025). The post most reacted to on the HE's Facebook (42) described the display of Ukrainian national colours in Budapest, as demonstration of solidarity with Ukraine (February 28<sup>th</sup>, 2025).
- The audience of the Embassy's X were similarly more engaged in sharing the Embassy's information (the average of 167.3 shares per post vis-à-vis the average of 3.7 in the Embassy's Facebook).

## **(3) Conversation generation (responses by Embassy)**

- Comment sections show minimal debate and no evidence of replies from Embassy officials.
- Overall, Embassy's SMPs used one-way communication rather than dialogic engagement. This is also despite strong presence of local communities in the content of many posts.

# Ukraine's Heritage Digital Diplomacy towards the 'Global South'

- I. Embassy of Ukraine to Brazil
- II. Embassy of Ukraine to China
- III. Embassy of Ukraine to India
- IV. Embassy of Ukraine to Indonesia
- V. Embassy of Ukraine to South Africa

JANUARY 2025 – MAY 2025

Research leads:

**Daniela Grimberg** (Brazil)  
**Konrad Szatters** (China)  
**Shalabh Chopra** (India)  
**Mia Angeline** (Indonesia)  
**Francesca Harrison** (South Africa)

# I. Digital Diplomacy by the Embassy of Ukraine to Brazil

Research Lead: *Daniela Grimberg*

Ambassador: HE Andrii Melnyk (June 20<sup>th</sup>, 2023 - April 2025)

## 1. Visibility of “Ukraine’s Heritage” as a Topic

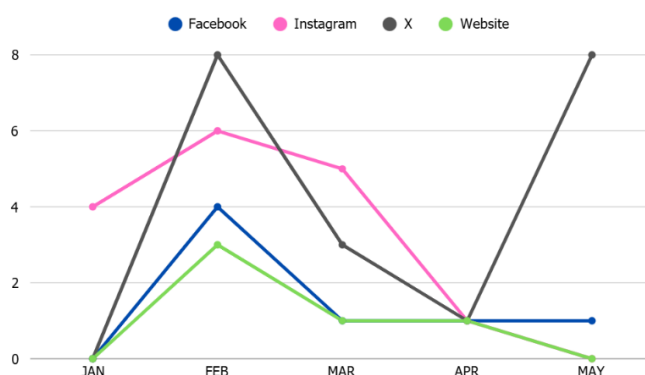
Four active social media channels (Figure I.1):

- (1) **X** (5,228 followers)
- (2) **Facebook** (23,000 followers)
- (3) **Instagram** (2,100 followers)
- (4) **Embassy’s website** (visitor numbers untraceable)

### SUMMARY

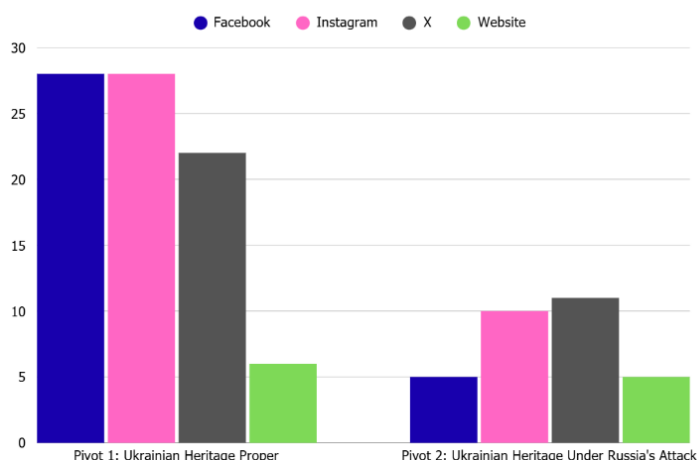
- **Most active:** X (20 total posts; 54 total visuals; 5 average # of posts per month; 2.7 average # of visuals per post).
- **Max # of images:** 25 (from post March 5<sup>th</sup> about an opera concert that marked 33 years of Diplomatic Relations between Brazil and Ukraine, and honored the Ukrainian people in their third year of struggle for freedom against the large-scale Russian invasion; images show the event in the Cláudio Santoro National Theater in Brasília).
- **Dynamics through months:** The website and all SMPs posted the most during February. The posts primarily referred to Ambassador Andrii Melnyk meeting local and regional politicians, followed by street demonstrations in support of Ukraine in different cities across Brazil.

Figure I.1: Number of posts by platform, 15 January - 15 May 2025



## 2. “Ukraine’s Heritage”: Digital Agenda Setting

Figure I.2: Number of posts by thematic pivot



Pivot 1 **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER** was more visible and represented across all social media platforms. It was most visible on Instagram and Facebook (featured in 28 posts by each platform), followed by X (23) and lastly, the website (6) (Figure I.2).

Pivot 2 **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK** was less visible with between 5 and 11 posts mentioning it per platform, with X being most actively used (Figure I.2).

Table I.1: Content of “Ukraine’s Heritage” topic

	Content of posts by reference (number of mentions)	Content of posts by thematic pivot (number of mentions)	Content of visuals by categories (numbers)
<b>Facebook</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Meeting local political leaders (5)</li> <li>Cultural event (2)</li> <li>Music Concert/Dance presentation (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (6 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Culture (6)</li> <li>Education (4)</li> <li>Nationality (4)</li> <li>History (2)</li> <li>Science (1)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (5 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Support to Ukraine through street demonstrations (3)</li> <li>Informing about heritage sites destroyed by Russia’s attacks (2)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Meeting (5)</li> <li>Cultural event (3)</li> </ul>
<b>Instagram</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Memorable dates (3)</li> <li>Meeting with local political leaders (3)</li> <li>Local Demonstrations (3)</li> <li>Music Concert/Dance presentation (2)</li> <li>Interview with Ukrainian community member in Brazil (2)</li> <li>Meeting with local academic actors (1)</li> <li>Heritage site (1)</li> <li>Meeting with local community leaders/organisation (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (12 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Culture (12)</li> <li>Nationality (10)</li> <li>History (5)</li> <li>Education (1)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (10 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Support to Ukraine through street demonstrations (8)</li> <li>Informing about heritage sites destroyed by Russia’s attacks (2)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Meeting (5)</li> <li>Demonstration (3)</li> <li>Illustration/montage (2)</li> <li>Cultural event (2)</li> <li>Ukrainian community member (2)</li> <li>Informative card (1)</li> <li>Heritage site (1)</li> </ul>
<b>X</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Informative content on Ukrainian history/culture (7)</li> <li>Local demonstrations (4)</li> <li>Meeting with local political leaders (4)</li> <li>Memorable dates (4)</li> <li>Music concerts/Dance presentation (2)</li> <li>Invitation to events (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (11 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Culture (11)</li> <li>Nationality (7)</li> <li>History (3)</li> <li>Education (2)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (11 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Support to Ukraine through street demonstrations (7)</li> <li>Support to Ukraine by local political leaders through public statements (2)</li> <li>Informing about heritage sites destroyed by Russia’s attacks (2)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Informative/educational card invitation (20)</li> <li>Demonstration (16)</li> <li>Cultural event (10)</li> <li>Local event/meeting (5)</li> </ul>
<b>Website</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Meeting local political leaders (4)</li> <li>Music Concert/Dance presentation (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (3 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>History (3)</li> <li>Culture (3)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (5 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Support to Ukraine by local political leaders through public statements (5)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Meetings (7)</li> <li>Cultural events (6)</li> </ul>

## SUMMARY

- **Content of posts by reference:** Posts range from specific local events (e.g. Ambassador/Embassy members meeting local political leaders and cultural presentations) to popular demonstrations in support of Ukraine, showing the Embassy's engagement with local Ukrainian communities in Brazil. Calendar-related posts were also visible (holidays, memorable dates).
- **Content of posts by pivots:** Within the topic **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER** the main theme was culture (music, dance, and folk art) followed by Ukrainian national identity (specifically, national identity of the Ukrainian community in Brazil). Within the topic **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA'S ATTACK** the dominant theme was demonstrations in support of Ukraine with active participation of Ukrainian communities in Brazil (often displaying traditional costumes) and infographics about war history and heritage sites under attacks.
- **Content of visuals:** Most of the visuals featured local (Brazilian) events (cultural or political) and demonstrations in support of Ukraine, with notable emphasis on local people engaging with Ukrainian culture. Another prominent category is represented by information posters on Ukraine's culture and history.

## The most visible topics: visual means

Figure I.3: Visuals of statehood



Figure I.4: Visuals of ambassadorial meetings



Figure I.5: Visuals of culture



Figure I.6: Visuals of historical events



### 3. Actors



#### SUMMARY

- **Ukrainian actors:** While a variety of Ukrainian actors were visible, they were primarily *cultural creatives and performers*: including musicians performing in Brazil or cooperating with Brazilian artists (Olga Matushenko, Nataliia Petii-Potapchuk, and Veryovka National Choir of Ukraine), writers and poets (e.g. Taras Shevchenko, who has been memorialised in several statues displayed in public spaces in southern Brazil), dancers (choreographers Andriy Demenschuk, Valerii Smyrmov, and Iryna Kiziur, who collaborated with Brazilian dancers, or whose work was performed by local artists. *Ukrainians living in Brazil* were also present across all of the Embassy's SMPs.
- **Local (Brazilian) actors:** There is high visibility of Ukrainian folklore groups in Brazil (Vesselka, Spomen, and Poltava), which actively promote Ukrainian music and dance; local Ukrainian organisations (the Society of Ukrainians in Brazil and the Society of Friends of the Ukrainian Culture), who actively promote/organise street demonstrations. The presence of religious forces is also visible, with mentions to the Parish of Saint Josafat and the Ukrainian Orthodox Catholic Church of the Diaspora. Brazil's cultural figures in music received great visibility too, with mentions to tenor Vittorio Scarpi and pianist Jeferson Ulbrich, who performed together to celebrate the 33 years of diplomatic relations between Brazil and Ukraine (an event promoted by the Embassy) and to writers of Ukrainian descent such as Clarice Lispector (one of the most prominent names in Brazil's literature for decades) and Helena Kolody (a poet and education actor who actively promoted the Ukrainian culture in Brazil). The posts about these local actors speak to the rich cultural contributions between the two countries. The other actors present in posts were education actors (such entities as the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, and university students who set partnerships with Ukrainian Universities).
- **EU/European actors:** No European actors were mentioned in any of the observed posts across the observation period.

### 4. Digital Presence Expansion and Conversation

The Embassy's presence expansion through accentuation is best demonstrated through Instagram, while such expansion through engagements is most vivid on Facebook (Table I.2).

Table I.2: Counts of digital presence expansion and conversation generation

		Facebook	Instagram	X
<b>Presence expansion through accentuation</b>				
<b># of emoticons</b>	total	5	7	-
	max	3	3	-
	average per post	0.6	0.4	-
<b>Most typical emoticons</b>				-
<b>Use of local language</b>	(e.g. Portuguese)	Yes	Yes	Yes
<b># of hashtags</b>	total	-	15	-
	max	-	7	-
	average per post	-	0.93	-
<b>Presence expansion through engagement</b>				
<b># of posts</b>	total	7	16	20
	average per month	1.4	3.2	4

<b># of views</b>	total	-	-	2,786
	max	-	-	240
	average per post	-	-	139.3
<b># of reactions</b>	total	384	-	71
	max	117	-	9
	average per post	48	-	3.5
<b># of comments</b>	total	48	85	2
	max	17	15	1
	average per post	3	5.3	0.1
<b># of shares</b>	total	34	4	10
	max	11	2	2
	average per post	4.25	0.25	0.5

## SUMMARY

### (1) Presence expansion through accentuation

- Use of emoticons is low among the total sample. Most emoticons featured the national flags of Brazil and Ukraine, seen solely on Instagram and Facebook.
- The use of hashtags is prominent on Instagram. #StandWithUkraine was the only hashtag used, and only in relation to the campaign. Of note, more tagging may improve potential reach of posts.
- Posts were both in Portuguese (local language) and Ukrainian, with Portuguese always being used first, followed by translation to Ukrainian in many cases. This was observed in most posts across all SMPs and the Embassy's website. The use of English may help engage with the wider international community in Brazil.

### (2) Presence expansion through engagement

- Though posts from the Embassy's X account are the most numerous across all platforms, and the number of views here is also considerable, Facebook and Instagram were observed to be more effective at engaging audiences' reactions. This is not only due to the number of followers, but also to the stronger appeal of visuals. On Facebook, the average number of audience reactions was 48 per post vs. 3.5 across X. Similarly, the average number of comments on Facebook and Instagram are 3.0 per post and 5.3 per post respectively vs. 0.1 comments per post on X. In terms of sharing, however, both Instagram (0.25 shares per post) and X (0.5 shares per post) were behind Facebook (4.24 shares per post).

### (3) Conversation generation (responses by Embassy)

- No debate was observed in the comments to the posts. The presence of emoticons was prevalent among followers' comments (usually the Ukrainian or Brazilian flags and hearts, implying unity with and/or support to Ukraine).
- Overall, Embassy's engagement with the audience of the SMPs was low: one-way communication with the audience prevailed, with no reply by the Embassy to users' comments. The lack of engagement may be reflective of the nature of the comments – comments that displayed emoticons only dominated. This type of comment is not conducive to initiating actual conversations. Importantly, a strong presence of local communities was observed in the content of many posts which may be used by the Embassy to start digital dialogue.

## II. Digital Diplomacy by the Embassy of Ukraine to China

Research Lead: *Konrad Szatters*

Ambassador: HE Pavlo Riabikin (April 27<sup>th</sup>, 2023 – April 7<sup>th</sup>, 2025); HE Olexander Nechytaylo (April 8<sup>th</sup>, 2025 – present)

### 1. Visibility of “Ukraine’s Heritage” as a Topic

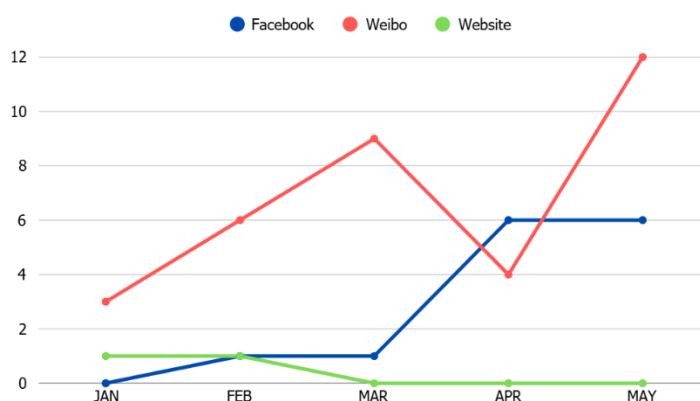
Three active social media channels (see Figure II.1):

- (1) **Facebook** (4,200 followers)
- (2) **Weibo**, a platform exclusively used in China (300,000 followers)
- (3) **Embassy’s website** (visitor numbers untraceable)

#### SUMMARY

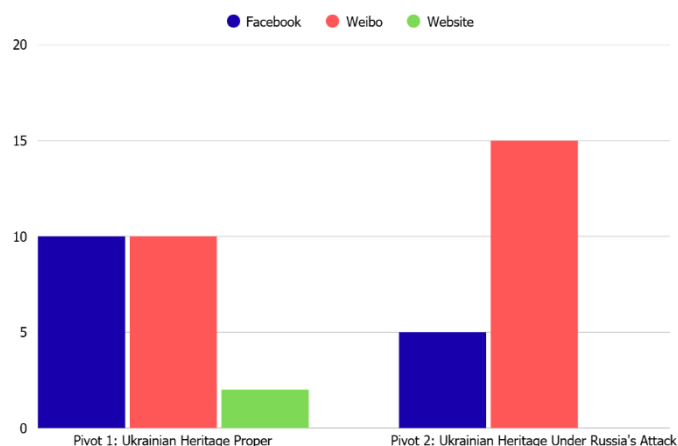
- **Most active:** Weibo (34 total posts; 148 total visuals; 6.8 average # posts per month; 4.35 average # visuals per post).
- **Max # of images:** 32 (from a post on February 25<sup>th</sup> about the Interfaith Prayer Service for peace in Ukraine at Holy Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral).
- **Dynamics through months:** The peak of posts is registered in February, March, and May, which is due to several important calendar events, including the 3<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of Russia’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine on February 24<sup>th</sup>, the "Peace, Security, Future" documentary film festival in Beijing, Vyshyvanka Day, and Ukraine’s Cultural Diplomacy Month for 2025.

Figure II.1: Number of posts by platform, January 15, 2025 - May 16, 2025



### 2. “Ukraine’s Heritage”: Digital Agenda Setting

Figure II.2: Number of posts by thematic pivot



Pivot 1 **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER** was present across all SMPs. It was equally visible on Facebook and Weibo (featured in 10 posts), based on the total number of posts featuring the pivot (Figure II.2).

Pivot 2 **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK** was the most visible overall, and especially on Weibo (featured in 15 posts) (Figure II.2).

Table II.1: Content of “Ukraine’s Heritage” topic

	Content of posts by reference (number of mentions)	Content of posts by thematic pivot (number of mentions)	Content of visuals by categories and subcategories (numbers)
<b>Facebook</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Embassy organized events (7)</li> <li>Memorable dates – Russian invasion, WWII, Vyshyvanka Day, etc. (6)</li> <li>Promotion of important persons for Ukrainian culture – within the Wikimedia initiative (5)</li> <li>External events – Eurovision (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (10 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Culture (5): Ukrainian cultural symbols - Vyshyvanka (4), music (1), dancing (1), painting (1), architecture (1), doll-making (1), social activism (1)</li> <li>Including UKRAINE AND CHINA (1): Culture: doll-making (1)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (5 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The value of the past lessons in the present (3)</li> <li>Russia destroying Ukrainian heritage (2)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ukrainian cultural figures (5)</li> <li>Event participants (3)</li> <li>Ukrainian symbols – Vyshyvanka (3)</li> <li>Infographics/info videos (3)</li> <li>Event Setting (1)</li> </ul>
<b>Weibo</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Embassy organized events (16)</li> <li>Memorable dates – Russian invasion, WWII, Vyshyvanka Day, etc. (14)</li> <li>Promotion of important persons for Ukrainian culture (4)</li> <li>External events – Eurovision (2)</li> <li>External initiatives – Wikimedia’s “Ukraine Cultural Diplomacy Month” (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (10 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Culture (19): cinema (12), History (7), Ukrainian cultural symbols - Vyshyvanka (3), music (2), dancing (2), painting (1), architecture (1), doll-making (1), fashion (1), Science (1), Social activism (1)</li> <li>Including UKRAINE AND CHINA (1): Culture: doll-making (1)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (15 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Russia destroying Ukrainian heritage (11)</li> <li>The value of the past lessons in the present (4)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Infographics/ info videos/ posters (19)</li> <li>Event participation (7)</li> <li>Ukrainian cultural figures (6)</li> <li>Ukrainian symbols – Vyshyvanka (3)</li> </ul>
<b>Website</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Embassy organized events (1)</li> <li>Promotion of Ukrainian culture/science (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (2 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ukrainian cultural symbols - Vyshyvanka (1)</li> <li>Science - Ivan Franko International Science Award (1)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Not mentioned</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Event participants (3)</li> </ul>

## SUMMARY

- **Content of posts by reference:** There was an emphasis on cultural diplomacy across most posts, with a balance of cultural themes, memorable dates, and embassy-organized events. Facebook highlighted cultural symbols, commemorations related to WWII and the Russian invasion, and the promotion of cultural figures (i.e. Wikimedia). Weibo amplified these themes with posts about many more embassy events and commemorations, alongside broader cultural content (e.g. cinema, music, dance, and fashion). The Embassy’s website features limited relevant information during this time, posting only on selected cultural and science-related activities.
- **Content of posts by pivots:** Within the topic **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER**, the most visible themes included cultural symbols (especially Vyshyvanka), cinema, music, dance, painting, architecture, doll-making, fashion, history, science, and social activism, with scarce Ukraine–China cultural references across all three SMPs. Within the topic **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK**, posts tended to focus on Russia’s destruction of Ukrainian heritage, and on how lessons from the past may help interpret present-day situation.
- **Content of visuals:** The most frequent visual categories include infographics/posters and informational videos, Ukrainian cultural figures, event participants, and Ukrainian symbols such as the vyshyvanka. Visuals predominantly reinforce and illustrate the Embassy’s cultural diplomacy activities across Chinese platforms.

## The most visible topics: visual means

Figure II.3: Infographics/info videos/posters



Figure II.4: Event participants

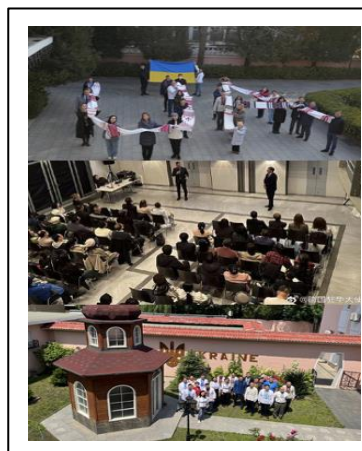


Figure II.5: Ukrainian cultural figures



Figure II.6: Ukrainian symbols – Vyshyvanka



### 3. Actors

- **Ukrainian actors:** Posts across all SMPs most frequently feature *Ukrainian diplomats and officials* (primarily Andriy Serhiyenko, Head of the Economics and Commerce Section of the Embassy of Ukraine in China). The First Lady *Olena Zelenska* appeared once, in the context of the theme of culture and language (promoting visibility and use of Ukrainian language in museums around the world). *Cultural actors* include Wikimedia Ukraine, the Ukrainian Institute, the Local History Museum of Kremenets, as well as *artists* from the past (e.g. Vasyl Avramenko who was featured in Wikimedia's Ukraine Culture Month) and present (e.g. Ziferblat who participated in the 2025 Eurovision Song Contest), as well as numerous Ukrainian *film studios* (e.g. Tabor Productions) and *cinema associations* (e.g. Watch Ukrainian!) who participated in the "Peace. Security. Future" film festival organized by the Ukrainian Embassy in China. *Science* was represented by Ivan Franko Foundation who organized the Ivan Franco International Science Award scientific paper competition.
- **Local (Chinese) actors:** Local cultural actors appear only marginally during this observed period, with *Beijing Jintai Art Museum* being the main institution referenced. The Museum hosted the commemorative event celebrating Taras Shevchenko's 211th birthday.
- **EU/European actors:** European presence is visible when posts mention the *embassies* of Poland, Sweden, Finland, Czechia, France, Germany, Ireland, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, Great Britain, and Luxembourg, as well as *the EU Delegation in China* and the *Cultural Centre of the Polish Embassy in China*, all participating in the "Peace. Security. Future." Documentary Film Festival organized by the Ukrainian Embassy in China and dedicated to uncovering different realms of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine. Additional mentions include Ukraine participation in the *Eurovision song contest* and *European museums* offering Ukrainian-language guides.



## **(2) Presence expansion through engagement**

- Both Facebook and Weibo demonstrate solid activity from the Embassy. Audience engagement is significantly higher on Weibo, where posts generated 22,091 likes (ca. 650 per post) and 2,950 comments per post (ca. 87 per post). Facebook shows lower but steady engagement, with 575 likes in total (ca. 38 per post), per post 20 comments (ca. 1.3 per post), and 55 shares. (46 per post).

## **(3) Conversation generation (responses by Embassy)**

- No evidence of debate or direct engagement from the Embassy was observed in the comments.
- The Embassy does not respond to audience interactions on any of the platforms, leaving conversations unmoderated.

## III. Digital Diplomacy by the Embassy of Ukraine to India

Research Lead: *Shalabh Chopra*

Ambassador: HE Dr. Oleksandr Polishchuk (June 20<sup>th</sup>, 2023 – present)

### 1. Visibility of “Ukraine’s Heritage” as a Topic

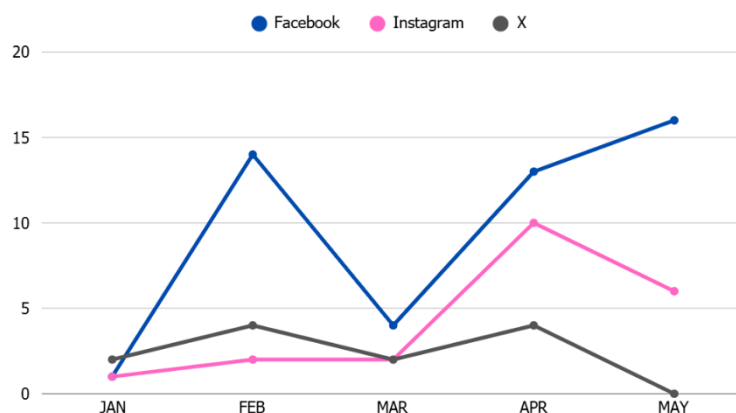
Three active social media channels  
(Figure III.1):

- (1) **X** (1,000 followers)
- (2) **Facebook** (12,200 followers)
- (3) **Instagram** (2,100 followers)

#### SUMMARY

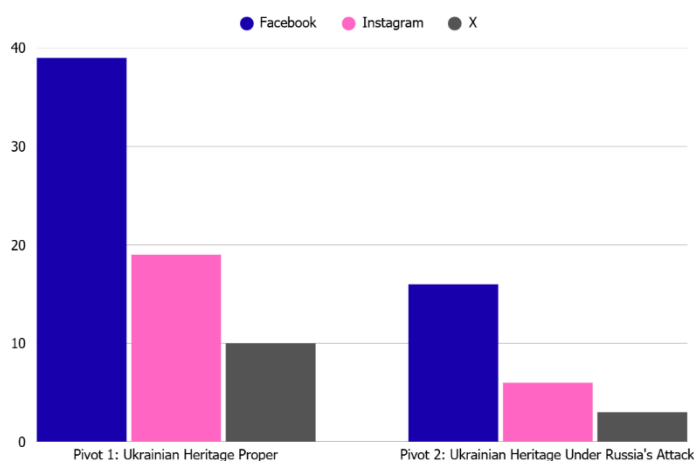
- **Most active:** Facebook (48 total posts; 416 total visuals; 9.6 average # posts per month; 8.6 average # visuals per post).
- **Max # of images:** 46 (from a post on April 3<sup>rd</sup> about a concert for Ukraine at the Lotus Temple, Delhi, during the Europe Week).
- **Dynamics through months:** Overall, the months of April-May observed the most posts, with the majority of them dedicated to Ukraine’s cultural icons—both historical and contemporary. This increase in the number of posts coincided with Ukraine celebrating its Cultural Diplomacy Month.

Figure III.1: Number of posts by platform, January 15, 2025 - May 16, 2025



### 2. “Ukraine’s Heritage”: Digital Agenda Setting

Figure III.2: Number of posts by thematic pivot



Pivot 1 **UKRANIAN HERITAGE PROPER** was the most present across all SMPs. It was most visible on Facebook (featured in 39 posts), followed by Instagram (19), and lastly X (10) (Figure III.2).

Pivot 2 **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK** was less visible overall. Facebook had more posts where mention of the war was more visible (featured in 16 posts). In comparison Instagram (6) and X (3) had less mentions of the culture and heritage in the context of war (Figure III.2).

Table III.1: Content of “Ukraine’s Heritage” topic

	Content of posts by reference (number of mentions)	Content of posts by thematic pivot (number of mentions)	Content of visuals by categories (numbers)
<b>Facebook</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ External events (11)</li> <li>▪ Internal events (2)</li> <li>▪ Memorable date (28)</li> <li>▪ Calendar holiday (5)</li> <li>▪ Facts (2)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (45 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Festival (7)</li> <li>▪ Films (7)</li> <li>▪ Art (6)</li> <li>▪ Education (6)</li> <li>▪ Identity (6)</li> <li>▪ Music (5)</li> <li>▪ History (3)</li> <li>▪ Clothing (2)</li> <li>▪ Climate (1); Literature (1)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (16 mentions)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Solidarity towards Ukraine’s cultural loss (7)</li> <li>• War in the mirror of culture (8)</li> <li>• Ukraine’s cultural identity under assault (2)</li> <li>• Russia ruins cultural heritage (4)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Group images with Embassy officials/Embassy-sponsored (9)</li> <li>▪ Cultural Events (9)</li> <li>▪ School/College/University Event (8)</li> <li>▪ Poster (8)</li> <li>▪ National symbol (5)</li> <li>▪ Sentimental imagery (3)</li> <li>▪ War (2)</li> <li>▪ Infographic (2)</li> <li>▪ Europe (1)</li> <li>▪ Festival (1)</li> </ul>
<b>Instagram</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ External events (6)</li> <li>▪ Internal events (1)</li> <li>▪ Memorable date (13)</li> <li>▪ Calendar holiday (0)</li> <li>▪ Facts (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (24 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Art (6)</li> <li>▪ Festival (5)</li> <li>▪ Clothing (2)</li> <li>▪ Education (2)</li> <li>▪ Identity (2)</li> <li>▪ Language (1); Music (1); War (1); Culture (1); History (1); Food (1); Films (1)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (6 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ War in the mirror of culture (6)</li> <li>▪ Solidarity towards Ukraine’s cultural loss (1)</li> <li>▪ Russian assault on Ukrainian culture and history (3)</li> <li>▪ Cultural Resilience (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Poster (6)</li> <li>▪ Group images with Embassy officials/Embassy-sponsored (5)</li> <li>▪ Cultural Events (3)</li> <li>▪ National symbol (2)</li> <li>▪ Sentimental imagery (2)</li> <li>▪ Festival (2)</li> </ul>
<b>X</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ External events (1)</li> <li>▪ Internal events (4)</li> <li>▪ Memorable date (4)</li> <li>▪ Calendar holiday (0)</li> <li>▪ Facts (3)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (11 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Identity (4)</li> <li>▪ Education (3)</li> <li>▪ Music (2)</li> <li>▪ Festival (1); Food (1)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (3 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Russian assault on Ukraine’s culture and history (2)</li> <li>▪ Resilience of Ukrainian culture (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Group images with Embassy officials/Embassy-sponsored (3)</li> <li>▪ School/College/University Event (2)</li> <li>▪ National symbol (2)</li> <li>▪ Poster (1)</li> <li>▪ Sentimental imagery (1)</li> </ul>

## SUMMARY

- **Content of posts by reference:** Across platforms events, memorable dates from Ukrainian history and culture dominate the posts, followed by events—both external (held outside the embassy and internal (held in/by the Embassy). Embassy's X profile which has the least number of posts equally divide attention between memorable dates and embassy events.
- **Content of posts by pivots:** Posts within the theme of **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER** highlight Ukrainian heritage through festivals, art, and education. Examples include writing competitions, painting and cooking classes organized in collaboration with Indian schools and universities, and music concerts and festivals organized with EU organizations and embassies in India. Posts with the theme **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA'S ATTACK** often highlight resilience of Ukrainian culture amidst suppression by Russia by spotlighting Putin's statements at discrediting Ukraine's unique identity. The frame also highlights how everyday objects and places such as family photographs, community centers, etc., become reminder of both war and resilience.
- **Content of visuals:** Visuals are dominated by group images featuring embassy officials and cultural activities. Symbolic imagery was also noted, including national symbols that reinforced Ukrainian identity (for eg. Vyshyvanka, Tryzub).

## The most visible topics: visual means

Figure III.3: Promoting bilateral goodwill



Figure III.4: Family values



Figure III.5: Ukrainian national symbols

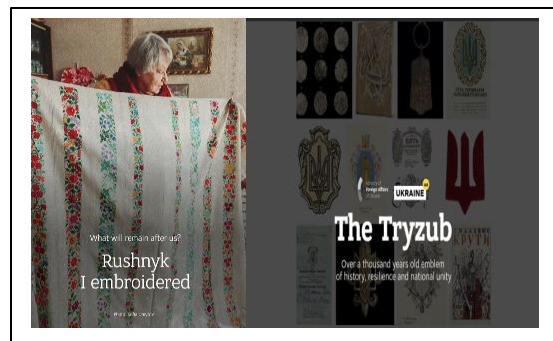


Figure III.6: School/University events



### 3. Actors

- **Ukrainian actors:** Ukrainian actors for this case extended to *educationists* (Taras Filenko who is both a lecturer and concert pianist) and *educational establishments* (Gogol State University of Nizhyn, a prominent university from Chernihiv region of Ukraine), *painters* (Olga Syrovatko who is a Petrykivka painting instructor), *historical cultural figures* (Vasyl Avramenko, Oleksandr Murashko, and Arkhyp Kuindzhi who are prominent cultural icons of Ukraine), and *cultural institutions* (Oleksandr Dovzhenko National Centre which has helped showcase Ukrainian cinema in India).
- **Local (Indian) actors:** The visibility of local actors was observed through the profile and presentation of *educational establishments* (Chandigarh Group of Colleges, the JP International School, the Sparsh Global School, and Dibrugarh University Pearl Academy who often collaborate with Ukrainian embassy to foster cultural collaboration), and *cultural institutions* (India Habitat Centre which is a prominent cultural exhibition center located in Delhi), Heartfulness Institute – Kanha Shanti Vanam (in Telangana state of India), and cultural actors such as Tabla player Arvind Pandey who often collaborates with Ukrainian musicians) and Mridula Ghosh (a prominent historian and human rights activist).
- **EU/European actors:** For a non-EU country, a considerable breadth and depth of European actors were visible in the posts about Ukrainian heritage including: *EU/European organisations* (EU Delegation in India who promotes EU's interests in India, EUNIC – European Union National Institutes for Culture which is a network of European national culture institutes working in India), *cultural organisations of EU member states* (the Polish Institute which promotes cultural exchange between Poland and India, India's Goethe-Institut which promotes German cultural interests in India, often collaborate with the Ukrainian embassy to amplify Ukraine's cultural diplomacy efforts in India), *the Embassy of Austria* who actively collaborates for cultural programs such as music shows and festivals with the embassy of Ukraine in India, and European artists (Croatian soprano Sylvija Rajendra Kumar and Polish violinist Tomek Pajak who often perform in Ukraine-EU cultural events).

### 4. Digital Presence Expansion and Conversation

The Embassy's presence expansion is best showcased on Facebook X may be an underutilized platform given its viewership vis-à-vis the performance and engagement with, for, and of the posts for Ukrainian culture towards India (Table III.2).

Table III.2: Counts of digital presence expansion and conversation generation

		Facebook	Instagram	X
<b>Presence expansion through accentuation</b>				
<b># of emoticons</b>	total	94	42	20
	max	18	16	5
	average per post	2	2	1.6
<b>Most typical emoticons</b>		💙💛	💙💛	🇺🇦
<b>Use of local language</b>	(e.g. Hindi)	No	No	No
<b># of hashtags</b>	total	95	52	11
	max	7	9	3
	average per post	1.9	2.4	0.9
<b>Presence expansion through engagement</b>				
<b># of posts</b>	total	48	21	12
	average per month	9.6	4.2	2.4

<b># of views</b>	total	2,532 (reels)	1,300 (reels)	13,152
	max	1,200 (reels)	1,300 (reels)	8,800
	average per post	49 (reels)	61.9 (reels)	1,096
<b># of responses (e.g., like, love reactions)</b>	total	4,340	1,418	190
	max	811	321	77
	average per post	90.42	67.52	15.83
<b># of comments</b>	total	370	35	11
	max	124	9	4
	average per post	7.7	1.6	0.9
<b># of shares</b>	total	450	11	47
	max	49	11	13
	average per post	9.3	0.5	13.9

## SUMMARY

### (1) Presence expansion through accentuation

- Most typical emoticons remain symbols of Ukrainian national identity, i.e., either the Ukrainian flag or hearts in Ukrainian colours (blue and yellow).
- The use of hashtags is prominent on Facebook and Instagram. They were used within the posts (i.e. part of the content itself), and as such were not used to invite new audiences. Some of them appeal to solidarity with Ukraine (#StandWithUkraine), while others highlight Russian military excesses (#RussiaWarCrimes, #StopRussianAggression). Hashtags on Ukrainian culture (#UkraineCulture, #CulturalHeritage, #ProtectUkrainianCulture, #UkraineCulturalDiplomacy), cultural symbols (#VyshyvankaDay, #VyshyvankaWeek) and history (#HistoryMatters) alongside references to Europe (#EuropeDay, #ThankYouEurope, #EUWithUkraine) are also prominent. Hashtags also evoke sentiments of resilience in the face of aggression (#NeverForget, #RememberUkraine, #UkrainianResilience).
- Several posts tagged local Indian education actor(s) (17) (e.g. Pearl Academy, Jindal Global University, Sparsh Global School, Mt Abu School, Indian School of Hospitality), non-diaspora cultural actors (7) (e.g. Indian writers and journalists such as Rudronel Ghosh of *The Times of India*, and participants in the Mathrubhumi International Festival of Letters), NGOs (5) (e.g. Max Mueller Bhavan India), and businesses (5) (e.g. Mathrubhumi as a media organisation). Local language use was absent across all SMPs.

### (2) Presence expansion through engagement

- Recorded view count for Facebook is 588 per post, 1300 for Instagram, and 1315 for X.
- Engagement with the posts (shares/likes) was the highest on Facebook (4,340) and Instagram (1,418).
- Sharing remains low across platforms with Facebook (9.38 per post) getting an edge over Instagram (0.65 per post) and X (3.92 per post).

### (3) Conversation generation (responses by Embassy)

- The steady number of likes and shares (albeit limited), yet no comment threads suggest that the audience stays as silent observers instead of active participants.
- Overall, Embassy's SMPs used one-way communication rather than dialogic engagement.

## IV. Digital Diplomacy by the Embassy of Ukraine to Indonesia

Research Lead: *Mia Angeline*

Ambassador: HE Vasyl Hamianin (December 21<sup>st</sup>, 2024 – present)

### 1. Visibility of “Ukraine’s Heritage” as a Topic

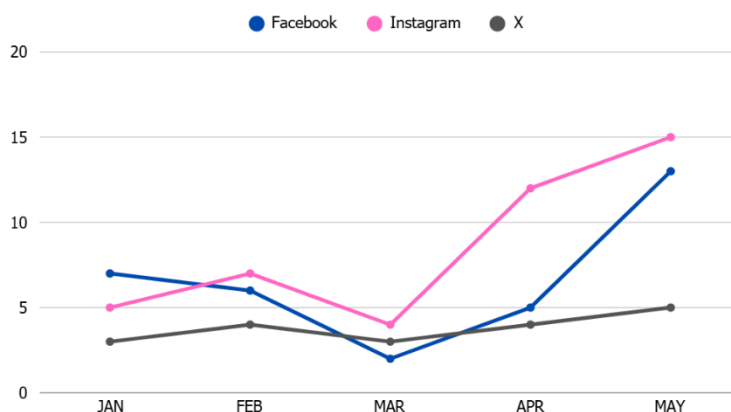
Three active social media channels in January-May 2025 (see Figure IV.1):

- (1) **X** (2,000 followers)
- (2) **Facebook** (5,900 followers)
- (3) **Instagram** (11,000 followers)

#### SUMMARY

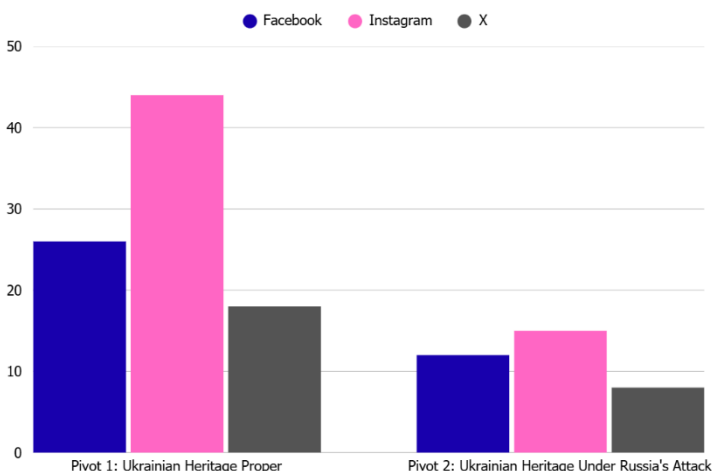
- **Most active:** Instagram (43 total posts; 179 total visuals; 8 average # posts per month; 4 average # visuals per post).
- **Max # of images:** 16 (from a post on May 5<sup>th</sup> on Arkhryp Kuindzhi, a Ukrainian landscape painter from Mariupol, showcasing his paintings of Ukrainian nature and documenting the April 27<sup>th</sup>, 2022, Russian looting of original works from the Kuindzhi Art Museum in Mariupol).
- **Dynamics through months:** May had the highest activity (33 posts) driven by multiple events, including Victory Day/WWII commemorations, Eurovision 2025, Vyshyvanka Day, and Ukraine’s Cultural Diplomacy Month.

Figure IV.1: Number of posts by platform, January 15, 2025 - May 16, 2025



### 2. “Ukraine’s Heritage”: Digital Agenda Setting

Figure IV.2: Number of posts by thematic pivot



Pivot 1 **UKRANIAN HERITAGE PROPER** was the most visible across all SMPs. It dominated on Instagram (featured in 44 posts), followed by Facebook (26), and then X (18) (Figure IV.2).

Pivot 2 **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK** was less visible overall with 8-15 posts per SMP (Figure IV.2).

Table IV.1: Content of “Ukraine’s Heritage” topic

	Content of posts by reference (number of mentions)	Content of posts by thematic pivot (number of mentions)	Content of visuals by categories (numbers)
<b>Facebook</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Memorial dates (10)</li> <li>Cultural celebrations (4)</li> <li>Art exhibitions (3)</li> <li>Educational events (2)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (10 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Culture (11)</li> <li>History (10)</li> <li>Nationality (3)</li> <li>Education (2)</li> <li>Including Ukraine and Indonesia: Culture (1)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (5 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ukraine’s unity and dignity as a leading force against Russia (5)</li> <li>Ukrainian history of the 20th century in relation to current war (3)</li> <li>War in the mirror of culture; promotion of Ukrainian film and exhibitions (3)</li> <li>Russia ruins Ukrainian heritage (2)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ukrainian cultural figures (8)</li> <li>War destruction (6)</li> <li>Ukrainian symbols (4)</li> <li>Historical photos/visuals (4)</li> <li>Traditional cultural items (3)</li> </ul>
<b>Instagram</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Memorial dates (8),</li> <li>Historical Facts (6),</li> <li>Cultural exhibitions (4)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (24 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Culture (24); History (8), Music (4), Religion (4), Education (2), Movie (1), Sports (1)</li> <li>Including Ukraine and Indonesia: Culture (3), Education (1)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (15 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ukrainian history of the 20th century in relation to current war (7)</li> <li>War in the mirror of culture; promotion of Ukrainian film and exhibitions (34)</li> <li>Ukrainians contributions during WWII go unrecognized (3)</li> <li>Heritage ruined in the war (1)</li> <li>Russia kills 591 Ukrainian sportsmen (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ukrainian cultural figures (12)</li> <li>Event participants (10)</li> <li>Traditional cultural items (8)</li> <li>Ukrainian symbols (4)</li> <li>War destruction (5)</li> <li>Historical visuals (4)</li> <li>Religious imagery (3)</li> </ul>
<b>X</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Memorial dates (6)</li> <li>Cultural celebrations (2)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (2 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Culture (8), Nationality (6), History (4)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (8 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Heritage ruined in war (4),</li> <li>Ukrainian history of the 20th century in relation to current war (2),</li> <li>War in the mirror of culture (12)</li> <li>Russia attacks Ukraine during Lent (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>War destruction (4)</li> <li>Ukrainian symbols (3)</li> <li>Historical visuals (2)</li> <li>Cultural figures (2)</li> </ul>

## SUMMARY

- **Content of posts by reference:** Posts predominantly reference memorial dates, showing a strategy of connecting Ukrainian cultural promotion within historically significant moments.
- **Content of posts by pivots:** The theme **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER** dominates across all SMPs - led by Culture - while **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA'S ATTACK** is led by primarily war/trauma/destruction-related content. In doing so, the Embassy strategically interweave the theme of cultural heritage preservation with the theme of war awareness.
- **Content of visuals:** Visual content emphasizes Ukrainian cultural figures. Instagram used the most diverse visuals, with Facebook balancing images of heritage and destruction, while X focused on ruined heritage.

## The most visible topics: visual means

Figure IV.3: History



Figure IV.4: Diplomats



Figure IV.5: Ukrainian cultural figures

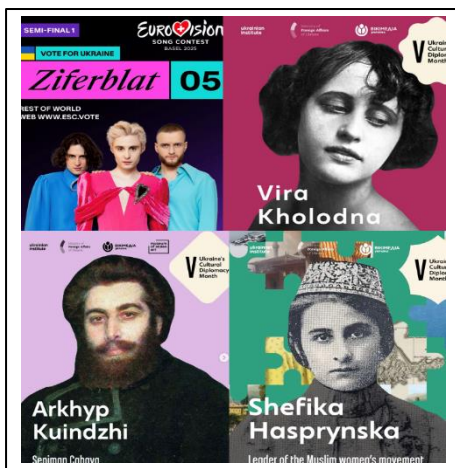
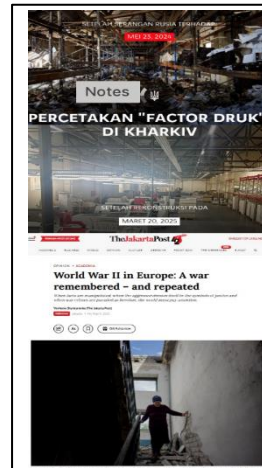


Figure IV.6: Religion



Figure IV.7: Culture and War



### 3. Actors

- **Ukrainian actors:** Ukrainian *cultural figures* (musicians, filmmakers, visual artists, writers/poets, choreographers, historians) dominate in posts across all SMPs. Ziferblat who is Ukrainian representative in the Eurovision 2025, Akim Galimov who is the director of “The True History of Crimea”, Vira Kholodna who was an Ukrainian silent film actress, Arkhyp Kuindzhi who was a landscape painter, Taras Shevchenko who was Ukrainian national poet, Shefika Hasprynska who was one of the founders of the Crimean Tatar women’s movement, and Lesia Voroniuk who is Ukrainian culture curator and founder of Vyshyvanka Day in 2006. The other actors are *Ukrainian institutions and educational centres* (Artists Support Ukraine Foundation which support Ukrainian artists who have relocated from occupied territories; Ukrainian Wikimedia who gave detailed information of various cultural figures), *diplomats* (Vasyl Hamianin, former Ukrainian Ambassador to Indonesia, who held a press conference for charity auction and Unity Day lecture; Yevhenia Shynkarenko who gave speech at “Stand with Ukraine” event), and *athletes* (591 Ukrainian athletes and coaches who were killed by Russia).
- **Local (Indonesian) actors:** References to local actors were less visible in comparison to the diversity of Ukrainian actors profiled in the SMP posts. Key actors in this category were *Indonesian Government officials* (including the Minister of Culture, Fadli Zon, and Indonesia’s Directorate of European and American Affairs who held cultural dialogue between Ukraine and Indonesia) and *educational institutions* (President University who organized a public lecture on the Day of Ukrainian Unity inviting the Ukrainian Ambassador to Indonesia).
- **EU/European actors:** EU actors were referenced in general terms: *the EU* (who was mentioned in the Europe Day posts) and *member state embassies* (Poland, Ireland, Austria, Slovakia, Denmark, Belgium, Portugal, Italy, Cyprus, Germany, Netherlands, UK, Finland, Sweden, France, and Greece who supported in the “Stand with Ukraine” event) Some *diplomats* (Maciej Tumulec, CDA of Poland, who was mentioned in the “Stand with Ukraine” event), *filmmakers* (German director, Marcus Lenz, who is a co-director of “When Spring Came to Bucha”), *archives* (Archives in Turkey, England, Sweden, and France who were mentioned in “The True History of Crimea” film ) and *cultural institutions* (e.g. Erasmus Huis who organised a screening of “The True History of Crimea” and Italian Cultural Institute who opened the exhibition “The Worst Anniversary Ever” as part of the commemoration of the third anniversary of Russia’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine) were profiled individually.

### 4. Digital Presence Expansion and Conversation

The Embassy’s presence expansion through accentuation is most visible on Instagram, while the Embassy’s presence expansion through engagement dominates in X (Table IV.2).

Table IV.2: Counts of digital presence expansion and conversation generation

		Facebook	Instagram	X
<b>Presence expansion through accentuation</b>				
<b># of emoticons</b>	total	10	24	1
	max	3	6	1
	average per post	0.3	0.5	0.1
<b>Most typical emoticons</b>		🇺🇦🇵🇸🌟	💙💛🎤👏	👤
<b>Use of local language</b>	(e.g. Bahasa)	Yes	Yes	Yes
<b># of hashtags</b>	total	34	42	7
	max	8	8	2
	average per post	1	0.9	0.3

	<i>Presence expansion through engagement</i>			
<b># of posts</b>	total	33	43	19
	average per month	6	8	4
<b># of views</b>	total	701	2,158	86,354
	max	243	681	77,000
	average per post	21	532	4,500
<b># of responses (e.g., like, love reactions)</b>	total	544	2,530	3,377
	max	192	178	3,100
	average per post	16	58.5	177
<b># of comments</b>	total	34	77	83
	max	12	26	59
	average per post	1	1.79	4.3
<b># of shares</b>	total	234	210	1,108
	max	201	62	997
	average per post	7	4.8	58.3

## SUMMARY

### (1) Presence expansion through accentuation

- Instagram uses the most emoticons, with Ukrainian flag colours being most prominent, alongside solidarity and strength symbols, stimulating an emotional connection to Ukrainian identity.
- Instagram leads with 42 hashtags, while X underutilizes it, missing opportunity for visibility.
- All platforms use Bahasa Indonesia for key posts, but local cultural hooks (e.g. batik comparison with Pysanka and Muslim community in Ukraine and Indonesia) remain underutilized.

### (2) Presence expansion through engagement

- The engagement with the posts (views/links) was the highest on X (3,377), suggesting its algorithmic distribution amplifies content far beyond its follower base.
- X also dominates in sharing; with one post reaching 997 shares.

### (3) Conversation generation (responses by Embassy)

- Comment sections show minimal debate and no evidence of replies from Embassy officials.
- Overall, social media platforms primarily used one-way communication rather than dialogic engagement.

# V. Digital Diplomacy by the Embassy of Ukraine to South Africa

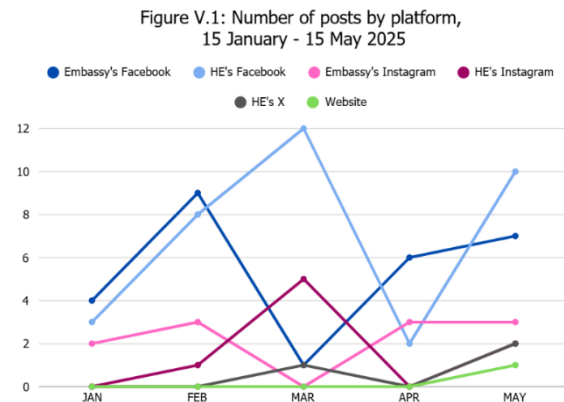
Research Lead: *Francesca Harrison*

Ambassador: HE Liubov Abravitova (April 14<sup>th</sup>, 2020 – July 20<sup>th</sup>, 2025; HE Olexander Scherba (July 21<sup>st</sup>, 2025 – current)

## 1. Visibility of “Ukraine’s Heritage” as a Topic

Six active social media pages (see Figure V.1):

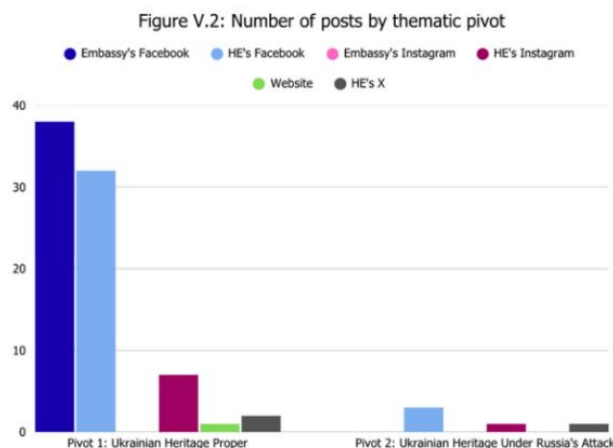
- (1) **Embassy’s Facebook** (7,900 followers)
- (2) **HE’s Facebook** (3,300 followers)
- (3) **Embassy’s Facebook** (181 followers)
- (4) **HE’s Instagram** (380 followers)
- (5) **HE’s X** (2,504 followers)
- (6) **Embassy’s website** (visitor numbers untraceable)



### SUMMARY

- **Most active:** Ambassador’s Facebook (35 total posts; 129 visuals; 7 average # posts per month; 4 average # visuals per post).
  - **Max # of images:** 20 (from the post on May 12<sup>th</sup> featuring the official launch of a Ukrainian audio guide from the First Lady of Ukraine at the Museum of Apartheid in South Africa. Images are of the well-attended event as well as the First Lady, Olena Zelenskyy).
- Dynamics through months:** The dynamics over the months of the posting did not exhibit a particular overall trend. In March, there was a rise in posting from HE’s public social media, which may be attributed to HE’s attendance of many diplomatic events during this time.

## 2. “Ukraine’s Heritage”: Digital Agenda Setting



Pivot 1 **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER** was present across all SMPs, except the Embassy’s Instagram. Most notably it was visible on both Facebook accounts (35 posts from HE’s Facebook and 26 from the Embassy’s Facebook), followed by HE’s Instagram (Figure V.2).

Pivot 2 **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK** was barely visible, with HE’s X and Instagram account mentioning it once, and HE’s Facebook mentioning it three times. None of the Embassy’s accounts made this pivot visible (Figure V.2).

Table V.1: Content of “Ukraine’s Heritage” topic

	Content of posts by reference (number of mentions)	Content of posts by thematic pivot (number of mentions)	Content of visuals by categories (numbers)
<b>Embassy’s Facebook</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Memorable dates (12)</li> <li>Facts (8)</li> <li>External events (6)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (10 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Culture (14)</li> <li>History (10)</li> <li>WWII (4)</li> <li>Nationality (2), Education (2), Heritage (2), Religion (2)</li> <li>Language (1), Sport (1)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (2 mentions)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ukraine’s historical buildings being destroyed in war (1)</li> <li>Sports figures who have been killed by the attack (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Images from WWII and historical images (10)</li> <li>Event symbol (4)</li> <li>Heritage ruined in the war (4)</li> <li>Ukrainian symbols (doll making, embroidery etc.) or flag (4)</li> <li>Film and media (4)</li> <li>Nationality (1)</li> </ul>
<b>HE’s Facebook</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>External events (23)</li> <li>Memorable dates and holidays (5)</li> <li>Calendar dates (4)</li> <li>Internal events (2)</li> <li>Facts (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (2 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Repost from Ukraine actors such as Volodymyr Zelenskyy, MFA, government institutions (14)</li> <li>Events, conferences, meetings (7)</li> <li>Sharing Ukraine culture, language, tradition (5)</li> <li>WWII (4)</li> <li>Sporting events (1), Cultural actor’s birthday (1)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (3 mentions).</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Heritage being destroyed (3)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Official statements, information and sharing culture from governmental organizations and Ukrainian actors (16)</li> <li>The Ambassador engaging with Ukraine culture, sharing Ukrainian information, attending openings, events and meetings (15), Ukrainian Memes (1), Sports (1), Music (1), Heritage ruined in the war (1)</li> </ul>
<b>Embassy’s Instagram</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Memorable dates and holidays (5)</li> <li>Facts (2)</li> <li>External events (1)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (8 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>History (4)</li> <li>Nationality (3)</li> <li>Strength in being Ukrainian, war (WWII and the war now) (2)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (2 mention):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Remembering sports people who have been killed on the International Day of Sport for Development (1)</li> <li>3 years since the full-scale attack (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>War, both previous wars and the current war (5)</li> <li>Nationality and unity (5)</li> <li>History (1)</li> </ul>
<b>HE’s Instagram</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>External events (4)</li> <li>Internal events (2)</li> <li>Calendar dates and holidays (2)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (2 mentions):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Engaging with local educators and Ukrainian experts (4)</li> <li>Sharing language, literature and culture (3)</li> </ul> <p><b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK (1 mention):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Damage from the war (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The Ambassador and/or embassy at events (6)</li> <li>The ambassador sharing culture (1)</li> <li>Ukrainian meme (1)</li> </ul>

<b>Website</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>External event (1)</li> </ul>	<b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (2 mentions):</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>History (1)</li> <li>Heritage (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>History (1)</li> <li>Heritage (1)</li> </ul>
<b>HE's X</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>External events (3)</li> </ul>	<b>Pivot 1: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER (2 mentions):</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ukrainian boxer in SA (1)</li> <li>100<sup>th</sup> Ukrainian language guide (1)</li> </ul> <b>Pivot 2: UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA'S ATTACK (1 mention).</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Destroyed heritage (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Image of a building before and after an attack (1)</li> <li>Ambassador Liubov Abravitova at the boxing match (1)</li> <li>Repost of the language guide being officially opened (1)</li> </ul>

## SUMMARY

- **Content of posts by reference:** There was a strong focus on 'external events' and 'memorable dates' on all platforms, and especially on the HE's social media platforms. 'Facts' did appear on the Embassy's Facebook, the HE's Facebook, and the Embassy's Instagram. However, this category was less frequent.
- **Content of posts by pivots:** Under **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER**, the themes that were the most visible were Ukraine's culture (embroidery, dance, film, language, literature, and various cultural events), history (e.g. WWII and the Chernobyl disaster), and sports (sporting events and a boxing match). Within the topic **UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA'S ATTACK**, the leading themes were heritage destroyed in war (buildings, historical places, physical damage to places) and commemoration of cultural and sports elites perished in the war.
- **Content of visuals:** The most visible images observed were Ukraine's national symbols (the Ukrainian flag, the use of yellow and blue tones in general), events and their participants, the Ambassador and the Embassy, and history, education and culture.

## The most visible topics: visual means

Figure V.3: Ukraine's national symbols

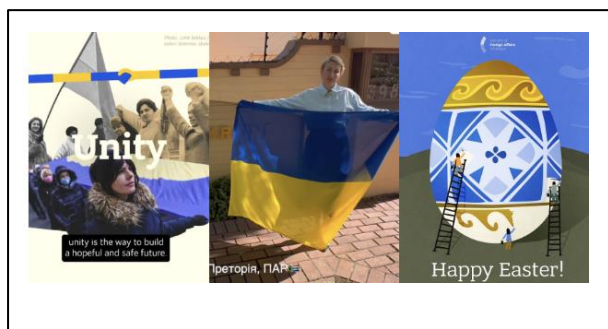


Figure V.4: Culture



Figure V.5: Ukrainian Ambassador to South Africa

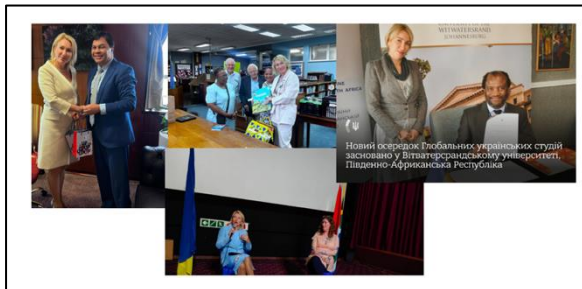
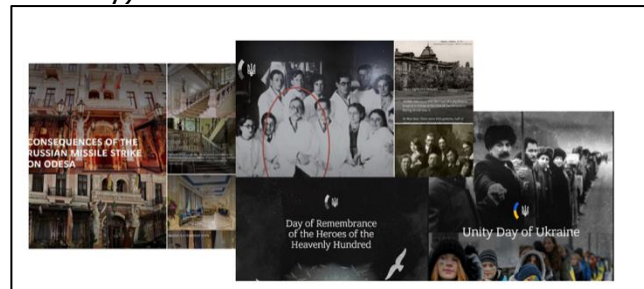


Figure V.6: Visuals of War (present-day and history)







### 3. Actors

- **Ukrainian actors:** a variety of Ukrainian actors is represented. Among them were: *Ukrainian officials:* e.g. President Volodymyr Zelenskyy and First lady Olena Zelenskyy, who attended and raised awareness around specific cultural activities; Volodymyr Kravets, who was a Ukrainian diplomat against apartheid; Hennadii Udoenko, whose name also appears on the Wall of Names Monument in South Africa; *the Ukrainian Ambassador to South Africa*, HE Liubov Abravitova, who attended and organised cultural events; *cultural figures:* Maryna Tkachuk, who directed and showcased a film with Samara Pearce as the main protagonist; Volodymyr Zavadiuk, a Ukrainian producer and media executive, who works on 'The Voice' in Ukraine; Oleksandr Murashko, a famous artist who appeared as part of Ukraine's cultural month; Taras Shevchenko, a famous Ukrainian poet; Sergei Mikhalchuk, a photographer and cinematographer who held an exhibition in the Republic of Mozambique; Lesia Voroniuk, who founded Vyshyvanka Day in 2006; Serhiy Zhadan, a famous writer who joined Khartia Brigade; Andrii Korniienko, a film producer from Good Morning Films); *historical figures* (e.g. the Heroes of the Heavenly Hundred, Chernobyl disaster witnesses and people who risked their lives to help; Liubomyr Mymka, Volodymyr Ostapenko, Serhii Myrnyi); *religious figures* (e.g. Bishop Mykola Bychok who held a special prayer service in South Africa); *educators* (e.g. Boris Ivanovich Balinsky, a prominent Ukrainian scientist); *athletes* (a Ukrainian boxer Serhiy Radchenko who represented Ukraine in an important fight), and *environmental and human rights experts* who contributed in a conference.
- **Local (South African) actors:** South African representation was visible through educators (Prof. Fransis Peterson, the Vice Chancellor of the University of Pretoria; Francis Petersen, the rector of the University of Pretoria; Zeblon Vilakazi, the Vice Chancellor of the University of Witwatersrand); *officials* (Foreign Minister, Ronald Lamola, who attended a DRICO conference on women, peace and security); *sports figures* (Kevin Lerena, who is a South African boxer); *cultural actors* (Carren Johannisen, Ockert Prins, Nukeeshia Lekay, Abigail Johnson who were dancers in a show centered around Human rights Day); and various *organisations* (e.g. Ukrainian Association of South Africa who promotes Ukraine within South Africa through events, meetings, collaborations, etc).
- **EU/European actors:** The only European actors posted about were *Norwegian diplomats* who were not named but were affected in a Russian missile strike. No EU or EU member states actors were profiled in the posts by the Embassy in the observed period.

## 4. Digital Presence Expansion and Conversation

Table V.2: Counts of digital presence expansion and conversation generation

		Embassy's Instagram	HE's Instagram	Embassy's Facebook	HE's Facebook	HE'S X
<b>Presence expansion through accentuation</b>						
<b># of emoticons</b>	total	4	3	19	41	5
	max	2	3	4	10	3
	average per post	2	0.375	0.7	1.2	1.5
<b>Most typical emoticons</b>						-
<b>Use of local language</b>	(e.g. Afrikaans)	No	No	No	No	No
<b># of hashtags</b>	total	-	9	17	21	-
	max	-	5	4	6	-
	average per post	-	1.125	0.6	0.6	-
<b>Presence expansion through engagement</b>						
<b># of posts</b>	total	8	8	26	35	3
	average per month	3	1.6	5.2	7	0.6
<b># of views</b>	total	505	520	184,643	48,641	387
	max	166	520	140,000	33,000	185
	average per post	126	65	6,836.6	1,389.7	129
<b># of responses (e.g., like, love reactions)</b>	total	87	197	1,960	1,453	9
	max	38	41	1,200	243	4
	average per post	8	24.6	72.6	41.5	3
<b># of comments</b>	total	8	3	513	28	1
	max	2	1	220	10	1
	average per post	1	0.375	19	0.8	0.3
<b># of shares</b>	total	7	2	234	63	1
	max	6	1	75	8	1
	average per post	3.5	0.25	8.5	1.8	0.3

### SUMMARY

#### (1) Presence expansion through accentuation

- The most typical emotions used on the Embassy's Instagram account was the Ukrainian flag. This was a trend that was also followed on the HE's Facebook, the Embassy's Facebook, and the HE's Instagram (along with other emoticons in Ukrainian colours).
- Hashtag use, across all platforms, is not prevalent. On the Embassy's Instagram page, only every two or so posts used a hashtag, with a total of 6 posts out of 11 including a hashtag. When hashtags were used, they had political connotations (e.g. #BoycottRussianSport, #NoStageForRussia, #WhiteCard, #StandWithUkraine, #russiaisaterroriststate #Chornobyl, #Ukraine, #HumanRights, #EnvironmentalJustice, #StandWithUkraine, #ClimateAction, and #NeverAgainIsNow).
- English and the Ukrainian language are used across all of the Embassy's SMPs; however, any official African language was employed. However, we acknowledge that there are many official languages in South Africa, and it may present a challenge for the diplomatic communicators.

## (2) Presence expansion through engagement

- Both the Embassy's Facebook and HE's Facebook had the highest number of views. The Embassy's Facebook averaged 6,839 views across 77 posts during the observation period, while HE's Facebook averaged 1,390 views across 129 posts. The post with the highest number of views (140,000) was observed on the Embassy's Facebook – a video discussing Ukrainians' resilience in the war, starring Ukrainian producer, Volodymyr Zavadiuk (February 18<sup>th</sup>, 2025). The video stressed the importance of keeping creative industries alive during times of extreme hardship, coming together and showing the people of Ukraine through television.
- Engagement with the posts (shares/likes) was the highest on HE's Facebook, with an average of 41 likes per post (maximum of 243). Shares, across all platforms, were low, although the Embassy's Facebook account did see a high share rate (234). In comparison, both the Embassy's and HE's Instagram accounts saw minimal sharing activity, with fewer than 10 shares in total.

## (3) Conversation generation (responses by Embassy)

- Comment sections showed minimal debate and no evidence of replies from Embassy officials.
- Overall, social media platforms primarily used one-way communication rather than dialogic engagement.

# Recommendations and Opportunities for Ukraine's Heritage Digital Diplomacy

- I. Recommendations for Ukrainian Diplomatic Strategic Communicators
- II. Recommendations for EU/EU Member States' Strategic Communicators

JANUARY 2025 – MAY 2025

**This section is co-edited by all named authors and research leads.**

# I. Recommendations for Ukrainian Diplomatic Strategic Communicators

## **MAKE YOUR DIGITAL DIPLOMACY IN COMMUNICATING CULTURAL AND HISTORIC HERITAGE SYSTEMIC.**

The discourse strategy (goal) – creating a rich and comprehensive image and narrative of Ukraine’s cultural and historic heritage, including its insecurity under Russia’s attacks – may benefit from a set of tactics facilitating message *visibility, agenda setting, content expansion, and audience engagement*:

**VISIBILITY: Ensure the balanced use of social media resources, prioritize visual support and the use of hashtags.**

**(1) Improve utilisation of the Embassy’s websites and X.** It may boost the volume of the content featuring Ukrainian cultural and historic heritage.

- Consider platform characteristics when determining distribution. Use the SMP that works best for the desired content style (e.g. Instagram for visual-based content – including maximizing trends and stories - and X for sharper updates).

**(2) Post more about Ukraine’s culture and heritage events/facts/places/people beyond calendar dates and scheduled events.**

**(3) Increase, intensify, and improve visual elements** (known for their ability to raise visibility with the audience) in communicating Ukrainian cultural and historic heritage:

- Visual-focused SMPs (Instagram and YouTube) – currently not active in some Embassies – serve effectively to communicate the richness and uniqueness of Ukrainian culture as well as inform local audience about tragic destruction and damage with higher impact.
- Use visually appealing posts dedicated to lesser-known historical facts, official celebration dates. Such images attract attention but also can be a stimulus for content sharing by local audiences.
- Engage professional/creative photographers for the Embassy’s website to report about events, including those focused on culture and heritage.
- Feature carousels of images, rather than one image (on the website as well as on SMPs). Carousels credited with ability to raise visibility of the reported material keeping audience on the post.
- Use more short videos on all platforms – short videos are yet another visual element that is known to raise visibility of a topic in media.

**(4) Ensure regular use of multiple hashtags lining to Ukrainian, local and the EU/EU member states accounts.** Not only it increases the visibility of the messages, but the use of hashtags of other communicators often serves as a lead for those other communicators to include your hashtags in reciprocation, increasing your visibility.

- Compile a list of hashtags compatible with the ontology (see Table 1 of this report). Use them in the posts when covering one of the themes listed in the ontology.

**AGENDA SETTING: Develop informative/educational content.  
Diversify the content of the messages.**

**(5) Regular messaging** is paramount to communicate the importance of the subject

**(6)** If the number of posts about Ukraine’s cultural and historic heritage per month is less than 10 across all platforms, we recommend intensifying the communications and increase the volume and frequency of posts, at least within the theme of UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER.

**Country-specific recommendations.**



Although the messaging about Ukraine’s culture and heritage across the Ukrainian Embassy’s SMPs in France is cohesive and informative, the actual volume of posts related to Ukrainian culture/heritage was low, and no posts related to the Ukrainian Cultural Month were found on the Embassy’s SMPs. This is despite the French public’s interest in culture matters in general. A strong voluminous focus on culture matters on the Embassy’s SMPs may help increase the visibility and popularity of Ukrainian messages in France.



Similar observation goes to the Ukrainian Embassy in Brazil. The month designated by Ukraine’s MFA as the Month of Cultural Diplomacy could have brought more in content about the country’s promotion. During this period in 2025, only X and Facebook featured content (8 and 1 post respectively), and the term “cultural diplomacy” was not directly used. The framework of the Ukrainian Cultural Month should be utilized as a good opportunity to distribute informative posts about Ukraine’s historic and cultural heritage, as well as cultural relations between the two countries. This is not lastly due to the fact that Brazil’s 4<sup>th</sup> largest ethnic minority is Ukrainians, with Brazilian Ukrainian diaspora being highly involved in cultural events.

**(7) The topic UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK should be as salient in the digital diplomacy outreach as the topic UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER.**

- In most country-cases in this report, the topic UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK remained less visible in the observed period. Yet, when posted, messages on this topic are capable to generate high numbers of views, shares, and comments.

- Post more about the damage incurred by Russia to Ukraine’s cultural and historic heritage assets (i.e. people and heritage sites, educational and sports infrastructure). Add multiple visuals. Such posts may evoke more of readers’ empathy and stronger emotional response.
- Provide more visible in-depth coverage of such themes as ‘Russia’s suppression of Ukrainian identity’ (sovereignty, church, language, and literature), ‘Russia’s distortion of Ukrainian history’, ‘Ukrainians defend and safeguard their national identity and their cultural heritage’, ‘Ukrainian cultural, educational, scientific, sport elites work for the victory in the war’. These topics, tracked back in history and relevant for today, have high visibility in the global news media, which testifies for these topics’ appeal for international readers.

**(8) Within the topic UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER, increase the number of posts focused on Ukraine as a country with a unique historically-rooted national identity.**

- Provide more information about Ukrainian heritage sites (manmade and natural), language, folklore, traditions and customs, family values, and national cuisine -- these cultural aspects with roots in history tend to pique interest of international audiences.
- Consider presentation of this information through interactive/fun facts and/or information sheets (e.g. create dedicated online Q&A sessions about Ukrainian culture and history; use Instagram Stories and Facebook Live for real-time interaction).
- Provide regular information about Ukraine’s contemporary achievements in culture, sports, science and technology.
- Posts about Ukrainian history (currently limited across the Embassies’ SMPs mainly to the events of the 20<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> centuries) help show its very deep roots. Boosting posts featuring Ukraine from the *longue durée* historical perspective will be instrumental to debunk Russia’s myths of ‘one people’ and showcase Ukraine’s European past.

**Country-specific recommendations**



For some European countries, revisit the strategy of not referring to wartime sentiments, especially in addressing the issues of WWII. While this topic is sensitive in Germany, as well as in Italy and Hungary, drawing parallels between the current Russian aggression and WWII (the theme which other countries communicate on their SMPs) may help better understand Ukraine and its culture and heritage among local publics.



Ukraine is not the aggressor in the Russia-Ukraine war. Subsequent historical parallels should be highlighted, particularly in reference to the unprovoked aggression and violation of international norms. Such framing may evoke empathy and aid as a reminder about historical responsibility, especially among German audiences. Carefully frame messaging that appeals to Germany’s post-war

commitment to peace and democracy, as it may strengthen public support for Ukraine, especially if communicated through culturally resonant narratives and in the German language.



Poland is one of Ukraine's staunchest supporters. However, it also has a substantial group of citizens who are sceptical towards Ukrainian community, and consider some issues from the past (e.g. the Volhynia massacres) as not resolved and extremely problematic between the two countries. These remaining historical sensitivities should be taken into account, and the messaging about Ukraine's cultural and historic heritage towards Polish audiences should remain particularly friendly and diplomatic. One option is not to mention these controversial issues (though complete ignorance may cause greater harm than good). If such messages are indeed communicated, they must be designed with utmost sensitivity and care.

Taking into account the anti-Russian sentiments which are strong within the Polish society, digital diplomacy communications may also build up the narratives around the shared outlooks between Poland and Ukraine, namely the two nations that have the same historic and contemporary enemy – Russia.

#### **(9) Undertake focused distribution of specific content and themes across SMPs.**

- For example, information carrying political relevance (e.g. the country's political achievements or its resilience in the war in the context of heritage and culture) can appear on an Embassy's website, X and LinkedIn. Posts talking about Ukraine's everyday life (e.g. traditions and customs, tourist attractions, cuisine, family values, etc.) may appear on an Embassy's Facebook, and/or Instagram, YouTube (and Weibo in China).
- This thematic distribution/specialization may help to **avoid repetition across the SMPs** and make the projected information more attractive for target audiences which tend to vary between different SMPs.

#### **(10) Ensure thorough accentuation in the communications of the EU's cultural and heritage diplomacy towards Ukraine in general, and at times of the war specifically.**

- Dedicate an SMP (e.g. the Embassy's Facebook) where the Embassy posts one day a week about the EU, EU member states, and Ukraine's relations with them in the heritage issue-area.
- Tag the EU Delegation and Embassies of EU member states in respective locations.

#### **CONTENT EXPANSION: Make your message more appealing, catchy, and memorable.**

- (11)** Make sure that the choice of visuals integrated into the posts is not random. The visuals should properly accentuate, elaborate, or extend the verbal text.

**(12)** Use the 'Ukrainian flag' emoticon more often and also use the symbols of the EU where appropriate.

**(13)** Assess at the posts which garnered the most public attention/support in their own countries to try and analyse why they did. The information could be useful for future posts.

**(14)** Use local language(s) on all SMPs employed by the Embassy.

### Country-specific recommendations



In Germany, use the German language on Facebook. Although not the most popular SMP in Germany, it still has significant outreach among local audiences who may not speak other languages.



In Hungary, regular use of Hungarian and English on the Embassy's Facebook could potentially raise audience engagement. Same holds for HE's Facebook.



In India and South Africa, engage with local language(s) even if one of the official languages is English (e.g. local African languages in South Africa and local languages of India).



In Brazil, consider adding English, to improve reach and connection to international audiences in the location and outside of it.

### AUDIENCE ENGAGEMENT: Target interests of the local community.

**(15) Post more about shared and similar issues in Ukrainian and location-specific history, culture, societal values, also in the fields of education and science.**

- Develop **content that showcases joint cultural initiatives**, museum collaborations, cinematic exchanges, etc. Communicate about collaborations with influencers, artists, and civil society groups. The collaborations localise the message while amplifying Ukrainian voices.
- Strengthen cultural bridges by **highlighting in the content concrete links** between Ukrainian and local traditions, arts, historical figures, and shared cultural values.
- Develop more **content highlighting cultural parallels or parallel artistic traditions** to make Ukrainian culture more relatable, or at the very least, more resonate with and to local audiences (e.g. the Pysanka-Batik comparison in Indonesia).
- Reach to universities/schools keen to learn about Ukraine by communicating with/about them on the SMPs.

- Tag universities and academics/students who are active in learning about Ukraine, its culture and heritage, and organize events/discussion about Ukraine.

**(16) Engage more with local cultural actors who already show interest in Ukrainian culture**

- Engage with museums and cultural centres that post and tag on their social media about cultural events organised by the Embassy and Ukrainian cultural actors in Indonesia.

**(17) Focus on the themes which are of higher relevance/sensitivity for local audiences** (e.g. in the EU countries, these themes may include Ukraine’s aspirations for freedom and democracy, in the US such themes could include Ukraine’s adherence to Christian and family values, Ukrainian women’s independent character and professional achievements etc.).

- Digital diplomatic communication should reflect on the interests/preferences of specific target groups (e.g., younger generations may be interested more in reading about new technologies, or modern Ukrainian music; or life of young people in Ukraine at times of war).
- Diversify content formats and styles to better engage with younger audiences. This could involve using more relatable, contemporary language, interactive content, and culturally resonant visuals that reflect contexts and values of younger citizens.

**Country specific recommendations:**



In China, use a range of location-specific popular formats (e.g. short videos, infographics, and storytelling posts) to present Ukrainian culture in ways that resonate with local cultural consumption habits. Weibo should be further utilised for this purpose, considering its already large following on the platform, but other China-specific platforms may be also considered.



In South Africa, tailor posts to reflect shared historical struggles, such as resistance and liberation. This may foster deeper emotional and political solidarity with the South African public.

**(18) Use digital communications to engage with representatives and groups within Ukrainian diaspora in your country to help with the dissemination of information posted on your SMPs, specifically among local communities.**

- **Tag the leaders and local community groups** (e.g. folklore groups) of respective Ukrainian diasporas in your content. Their members may become encouraged to share and repost on their own social media accounts.
- Create opportunities for genuine interactions about cultural and historical heritage with this target audience through social media channels (e.g. ask questions, conduct online polls, etc.). **Invest time in replying to messages**, encouraging debate and visibility of followers.

- If attainable, invite Ukrainian diaspora in your country, as well as the diaspora of this country in Ukraine to communicate across your SMPs on their life in the respective locations. An Embassy's SMP content calendar may feature **a regular rubric "Diasporas' Voices"**.
- Use SMPs to engage not only with local Ukrainian diaspora, but also with **Ukrainian refugees, as yet another dissemination channel** to share information about Ukraine and expanding the presence.

#### **Country-specific recommendations.**



In Hungary, the Embassy's SMPs were found to be very active in communicating Ukraine's cultural and historic heritage. Yet, public engagement with such posts is relatively low. SMPs may be used to reach to and engage with Ukrainian diaspora and refugees to disseminate rich and varied information about Ukraine's heritage communicated by the Embassy.



In Brazil, continue to profile and provide exclusive content about the individual stories behind the Ukrainian diaspora community. This was seen on Instagram, with a series of posts about Ukrainian diaspora reflecting on their background and new lifestyle in Brazil. This genre of content seems to resonate with audiences well - they who enjoy seeing a more "human-centric" aspect of Ukrainian culture and diaspora. Themes of culture and heritage can be woven accordingly.

#### **(19) Undertake regular and genuine dialogue with the target audiences replying to comments to show that the Embassy is listening to and engaging with their followers.**

- Communicate with readers (respond to comments, especially to the negative ones). The two-way communication may pique the audience's interest, demonstrating an Embassy's attention and care for the local public.

## II. Recommendations for EU/EU Member States' Strategic Communicators

- Assist the Embassies of Ukraine posted to your countries to raise Ukraine's digital diplomacy profile in the heritage issue-area. Organize and post about joint events focused on Ukrainian heritage and the heritage of your country; tag Ukrainian embassies following these events.
- Help popularize EU-Ukraine heritage diplomacy and Ukrainian heritage in this context. Raise the profile of the EU protecting/reconstructing Ukraine's heritage on relevant EU/EU member state official SMPs (e.g. relevant EU e-platforms, EU member states' Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Education, and state agencies responsible for dealing with culture and heritage).
- Communicate EU-Ukraine heritage diplomacy event, achievements and milestones to influential media in Europe and globally using digital diplomacy.
- Engage European cultural leaders into relevant communications of EU-Ukraine heritage diplomacy (digital and traditional)
- Link messages about Ukraine's resilience in general, and its resilience in the culture and heritage issue-area, to discussions of how to ensure broader European stability and security. Present Ukraine as a useful reference for Europeans to learn from in shaping the continent's resilient future when facing new threats for peace and democracy.
- Use the heritage-related themes to highlight the issues of Ukraine's European future, its political and economic integration, and Ukraine's alignment with European values such as democracy, rule of law, and human rights. These themes may foster a sense of solidarity and shared destiny among the European audiences.
- In EU/EU member states, digital and public diplomacy towards 3<sup>rd</sup> countries in the 'Global North' (the US and the UK in this case), should accentuate the facts that relate Ukraine to Europe: their shared history, culture, social values, adherence to freedom and democracy, defended by Ukraine from Russia.

### For "Global North" countries:

- Specifically for the audiences in the 'Global North' countries (in the EU, as well as in the US and the UK), increase the visibility of messages about historical and cultural links between Ukrainian and European heritage. Draw connections between Ukrainian and European literary traditions, architectural styles, philosophical thought, and shared historical moments. These framings will help situate Ukraine more firmly within the European cultural narrative in the local public eyes. Framing Ukrainian culture not as distant or foreign, but as a vital part of Europe's common heritage, may facilitate feelings of deeper cultural empathy and public support among local audiences. This may profile Ukrainian cultural contributions more vividly, as well as align Ukraine with EU member states' strong cultural traditions, making the messaging by the Embassies of Ukraine more resonant and impactful.



### Country-specific recommendation.

The issues that remain problematic in Polish-Ukrainian relations seem to be solvable only between the governments and peoples of these two countries. EU strategic communicators should refrain from communicating topics of historic grievances between Poland and Ukraine and focus instead on Ukraine's European future, in which Poland may play a major role.

- Continue to debunk the lies of Russia's propaganda about Ukraine and the EU in general, and in the issue-area of cultural and historic heritage specifically. Use various SMPs for this, as well as digital diplomacy channels (e.g. hashtag the posts about debunked Russian disinformation to the Embassies of Ukraine in respective EU member states, as well as in the US and the UK).
- In relations with EU publics, discuss EU and EU member states cultural and heritage diplomacy in general, and towards Ukraine specifically: bring in and popularize examples when local communities and EU member states were involved, including specification of how they helped Ukraine.

### For "Global South" countries:

- Focus EU/EU member states' digital diplomacy content on how the EU helps Ukraine and its communities around the world in the issue-area of cultural and historical heritage. Develop content showing EU expertise in post-conflict cultural reconstruction in Ukraine and the EU's work at preserving Ukrainian cultural and historical heritage. Currently, such information appears to be very limited. Social media posts may be utilized to raise visibility.
- Develop cultural heritage protection narratives visible on all SMPs. For example, position EU heritage diplomacy towards Ukraine within broader UNESCO and international cultural protection frameworks.
- Messaging should avoid Eurocentric assumptions and instead focus on shared values such as sovereignty, justice, human rights. Strategically highlighting Ukraine's cultural resilience, humanitarian appeals (e.g. #BringKidsBackUA), and contributions to global arts and education may resonate more effectively with "Global South" civil society and media.
- Use concrete examples already present in the location (e.g. local museums offering Ukrainian-language guides, joint film festival participation, and cultural center events) to show that Ukraine's cultural heritage is part of a wider international conversation; not only a European one.
- Create more joint EU-Ukraine cultural events like the "Stand with Ukraine" billboard and communicate them through SMPs using both actors' platforms.
- Co-branded campaigns that visibly unite the EU and Ukrainian voices may help counteract pro-Russian narratives in the "Global South".

- When posting about EU-Ukraine cultural cooperation, refer to specific local cultural elements (e.g. museum traditions, heritage preservation practices, major festivals), which will help create familiar entry points for local audiences.

**Country specific recommendation:**



In China, tailor content to Chinese interests by linking Ukrainian culture to topics that perform well on Chinese platforms (e.g. cinema, traditional crafts, historical memory, regional cuisines, or UNESCO heritage).

- European cultural organisations (e.g. the Goethe-Institute, EUNIC, national cultural bodies/institutes/centres) often collaborate with Ukrainian Embassies to organize events. Increase the visibility of these partnerships online and strengthen joint social media visibility through coordinated posts, tagging, and shared narratives, which would further enhance EU's message of solidarity with Ukraine in the eyes of "Global South" target audiences.

Tag local journalists who write about the EU/Europe/EU member states, as well as those who write about Ukraine with updates about EU-Ukraine heritage diplomacy. This may increase a chance that these topics will be seen by media professionals and later shared with the wider public.

