How makers and craft organisations are using social media effectively

Dr Karen Yair
Crafts Council Research Associate
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Craft is becoming increasingly visible in the social media sphere: makers, retailers, galleries and craft organisations are embracing Facebook, Twitter and other social media platforms as key tools for business and creative development.

In this report, we explore some of the key social media strategies and techniques being employed in the craft sector today. In particular, we look at how these strategies are helping to address challenges facing the sector: latent domestic and export market potential, the isolation faced by sole traders and an under-developed retail infrastructure amongst others.

Drawing on in-depth interviews with two makers who use social media and two craft organisations (see ‘profiles’ below), as well as basic data analytics, we discuss the potential for social media to benefit the craft sector in four key ways:

1. **Selling.** Social media creates new potential for craft e-commerce. Specifically, it opens up under-utilised export opportunities, and the chance of converting ‘window shoppers’ into first-time buyers. It also helps to spread the risk for makers’ businesses, by diversifying their retail base.

2. **Adding Value.** Social media can be used to reveal the hidden stories behind the craft object and its maker. By showing the creative making process, the provenance of materials used and the inspiration behind the work, it has the potential to raise the perceived value of craft in the marketplace.

3. **Building Audiences.** Social media can introduce craft to new audiences with other cultural and lifestyle interests through their own frames of reference. In exhibition contexts it can build enthusiasm by engaging audiences as active participants or commentators through the use of mobile platforms and apps.

4. **Positioning.** Social media can be used to position a maker or craft organisation in a way that creates new professional and creative opportunities. In this way, it can help both makers and organisations to evolve over time, and support makers in managing multiple strands of an ever-changing portfolio career.

5. **Networking.** Social media can be used to connect organisations or individuals into hubs for sharing the information, creative collaboration opportunities and companionship essential for a sector of sole traders.

In this briefing note, we explore these benefits in more detail. We also look at some of the decisions our interviewees have taken in establishing a social media presence. Our briefing is intended for makers, retailers, exhibition venues, craft collectives and organisations - both those new to social media and those considering new approaches to business and creative development.

**Selling**

In some senses, first generation e-commerce passed craft by. Consumers found it difficult to appreciate craft’s tactile, aesthetic properties on screen, and real-world retail and galleries still remain the most important route to market for the majority of makers.¹

However, the synchronisation of social media with e-commerce may at last be galvanising online craft retail. Whilst the proportion of craft business revenues from online sales remains small in comparison to more traditional outlets, its significance is growing. Around one third of UK makers and retailers were selling online in
and this percentage has grown – albeit slowly – in the face of decreasing sales at galleries, shops and craft fairs and through commission.

Essentially, connecting social media with e-commerce allows conversations about the work on offer. As a consumer, if you are interested in a maker’s work - or in a particular shop or gallery - you can allow new product listings to be automatically tweeted to you and set to appear in your Facebook feeds. You can easily tweet or ‘like’ products or makers seen on Etsy, for example, without leaving the site. By clicking between social media and e-commerce platforms you can often learn how a piece was made or what inspired the maker. Finally, you can assess the risk you are taking in purchasing from an unknown maker by looking at the ratings and comments left by other buyers and by getting a sense of the quality of their work by looking at who they are followed and endorsed by.

This ‘social selling’ trend has the potential to address several significant challenges facing the craft sector. First, many makers remain reliant on a small number of retail outlets, risking a substantial loss of business if one shop or gallery closes. By creating a new route to market, social selling reduces the risk to their revenue. Second, while the limitations of first generation e-commerce perhaps inhibited export opportunities for craft, social media opens up a key identified area of future growth potential for high-end makers in particular. Finally, lack of confidence is a key barrier to purchasing, for first-time buyers. By offering reassurances about quality and reliability, social media encourages new consumers into the marketplace. In particular, research suggests that endorsement from other customers – here, in the form of ‘likes’ and positive comments – is extremely helpful in encouraging new buyers to make a first craft purchase.

There are many online resources available for makers and small retailers looking to explore the potential for ‘social selling’ (see ‘resources’ section below).
Adding Value

Social media allows the hidden stories behind the craft object to be told, and in the process builds buyers’ appreciation of the work and its value.

These stories might concern the skills and materials used to make the object, the processes involved and the provenance and traditions around them. Or they might involve a dialogue between the maker’s inspiration and the viewer’s interpretation. They might also connect the object to the maker’s lifestyle – where and how they work or where they have travelled for example.

These stories are significant because, without them, it can be difficult for the potential buyer to recognise the true value – both cultural and monetary - of the craft object. Social media allows the maker to narrate the story of how an object came into being in an authentic way, and, in doing so, to explain how it uses skilful and risk-intensive processes to transform materials into a unique creative artefact.

The makers we talked to recognise this potential and are using social media to demonstrate the hidden value in their work. Their strategy is, naturally, partly motivated by the potential to increase sales. As glass (and ceramic) maker Charlotte Clark says,

“Craft is about the making process – if the customer knows the back story, they’re more likely to consider buying.”

Charlotte tells this back story by tweeting photographs of moulds and kiln firings taken throughout her working day. Other tweets announce exhibition openings and new work for sale. Often, Charlotte links these tweets to Facebook photo albums that show the work and making process in more detail.

This kind of narrative is about more than making sales, however: it is also about adding value, in the longer term, to the maker’s brand.
Deirdre Nelson does not sell online, but nonetheless she creates a narrative about her projects and inspirations that adds value to her work. In particular, she comments on news stories that promote quality in materials, making and hand skills. She also likes to highlight the inventive use of materials in design – “the human and humorous aspects of craft and design.” Her approach encourages us to understand her inspirations and the thoughtfulness of her creative process, and gives us a sense of the quality of making in her own work.

Stories posted by the maker often develop into conversations with Twitter followers and Facebook fans, about the work and its meaning to them. Both Charlotte and Deirdre value this kind of shared storytelling as a way of deepening people’s connection with craft: as Deirdre says, sharing thoughts and observations “makes people feel part of the work, rather than just an observer of it.”

To encourage this kind of dialogue, Charlotte posts landscape photographs that act as ‘visual clues’ for her audience, to the places that inspire her work. People are quick, she says, to make the connection between a seascape or a lava field and her glass sculptures, and to begin conversations with her about her inspiration.

It’s an approach that is gaining momentum, according to Craftspace’s Deirdre Figueiredo, particularly amongst younger makers whose familiarity with social media prompts a desire to share and discuss their experiences in real time. The challenge for makers is to manage the conversation in a way that maintains a friendly tone whilst keeping the focus on the work. As the Crafts Council’s Jill Read cautions, too
much conversation with one follower can be irritating for others, and there are risks too in engaging publicly in conversations on contentious topics.

Another – similar - challenge lies in determining the right balance between personal and professional content. Many social media experts recommend applying the 80/20 rule here, suggesting that 20% of content posted should refer to your work, and that the rest should inform or entertain your audience about other - related - topics. Charlotte Clark adopts this kind of approach, often posting humorous stories about her daily life and domestic tribulations. It’s a strategy that works well: as a young maker who ‘grew up with social media’, Charlotte is comfortable blurring the boundaries between her work and personal life, and the personal content she posts perhaps helps with her strategy of making abstract, contemplative work accessible. For her, “it’s about getting your personality across and making people smile…. some random comments are really popular.”

Ultimately, this is an issue for individuals, organisations and businesses to address in their own way. In Jill Read’s view, followers want to see some personality but not too much: the Crafts Council itself aims for a conversational voice that’s also positive, clear and professional.

Deirdre Nelson’s approach to the question of personal versus professional content exemplifies this approach. Her social media strategy has evolved from the way she marketed her work through targeted postal mail-outs in the earlier years of her career. A set of carefully determined social media rules she follows today include talking only about work and not about her personal life and focusing only on ‘good news.’ Deirdre describes her approach as being quite ‘considered’ – she aims to create “clear and concise information about what I do… [and] the quality of information and imagery.”

**Building audiences**

Progressive craft exhibition curators and venues are using similar storytelling tactics, and in the process are transforming audiences from consumers to active participants in the craft exhibition experience.

The 2012 exhibition Made in the Middle, curated by Craftspace and hosted by MAC Birmingham, is one example here. The story of the exhibition was told online by Craftspace in the form of tweets that tracked the whole process from planning to installation and gallery events. As a regional hub for theatre, music, film and the visual arts as well as craft, MAC was able to share this story, as it unfolded, with a wide audience. In this way, Craftspace’s specialist knowledge of craft combined with MAC’s scale to produce a powerful social media campaign.
This type of approach has the potential to build significant new audiences for craft exhibitions. Seeing commissioned pieces being made and watching as an exhibition is installed sparks curiosity about the show. Asking for people’s votes on which pieces to include builds on this sense of involvement. Seeing visitors’ responses to the exhibits is a strong motivation to visit, and perhaps contribute themselves while, online, comments by the exhibition curator, a featured artist and a visitor can all be part of the conversation.

Deirdre Figueiredo notes that this kind of storytelling challenges conventions in exhibition marketing, by ‘spoiling the surprise’ for visitors. However, she considers the trade-off well worthwhile in terms of creating a buzz around an exhibition, even before it opens. Charlotte Clark agrees: for her, discussing the work online not only draws new visitors to exhibitions, but also encourages them to talk to her at openings and events – something that she values in terms of building connections and support for her work.

Exhibition visitors themselves contribute to the exhibition narrative through ‘likes’, check-ins, photos and comments and sometimes through bespoke mobile phone apps connected to social media. This visitor-led content plays a valuable marketing role for exhibitions and venues, and craft organisations have begun piloting innovative social media enabled tools to encourage it.

To promote the Lost in Lace exhibition in partnership with Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, the Crafts Council created a mobile phone app that allowed people to ‘play’ with lace in a digital environment and share the resulting images online. The Crafts Council and the V&A adopted a different approach for their partnership exhibition Power of Making. They ran a competition that encouraged visitors to make
and share poetic responses to the exhibits they liked best. Meanwhile, Craftspace used QR (Quick Response) codes to provide additional, shareable, content relating to pieces shown in Made in the Middle.

This is still an emerging area - one that calls for leadership from craft organisations and strong partnerships with exhibition venues in developing social media tools and content that can enhance the exhibition experience and promote it to a wider audience.

Positioning and connecting

Social media offers unprecedented opportunities for strategic network-building, based on a process of identifying and connecting with influential organisations and individuals in any field.

Serendipitous connections can also be made, and can lead to new and unforeseen opportunities: as Charlotte Clark says, "I want to be as open as possible… it’s all about making contacts – you never know what’s going to come of anything.”

It is possible to maintain this openness whilst at the same time adopting a strategic approach to network-building based on careful connecting and positioning. There are three ways we have identified in which this approach can be of specific benefit to makers and craft organisations.
1. Repositioning:

Makers’ work often evolves throughout their careers, perhaps from domestic objects to architectural commissions or from jewellery to visual fine art. As their work develops, social media can help to ensure that the professional networks that bring new opportunities keep pace.

Deirdre Nelson began using Twitter by connecting with other makers whose work she considered the “type and quality I’d like my work to be seen with.” First ‘following’ them, she then began retweeting and commenting on their posts. Deirdre always makes sure to include others’ Twitter handles in tweets that she wants them to see. Consequently she has been able to reach a wide circle of people interested in work similar to her own, in effect a virtual peer group. She describes this in terms of “opening up a wider space” for her work to be seen.

Over time, Deirdre has used a similar strategy to consciously reposition her work and create new opportunities for herself within the design field. As before, she began the process by searching Twitter for influential design critics, curators and commentators, and by retweeting the content they posted. Gradually, she has built up conversations with key people she has never met, yet who have proven key to her career development.

Deirdre says she has Twitter to thank for her participation in exhibition opportunities not perceived as being about ‘craft’. In particular, the chance to exhibit in the 2013 St Etienne Design Biennale came about as the result of an 18 month tweet conversation with design curator Sebastian Bergne. As Sebastian says, “I found Deirdre’s work on the web, but Twitter was crucial in making me curious about it.”

Craft organisations and other arts organisations evolve too, of course. For them, social media can help to highlight craft’s continued relevance in the context of continuing political, economic, social and cultural change.

Craftspace’s work with Birmingham’s Business Improvement Districts is one example here. Working with Colmore Business District, the Craftspace Youth Craft Collective set up a pop-up youth craft collective in the grounds of the City Cathedral, an area where inappropriate use of public space by some young people is perceived as a problem by businesses. Craftspace’s use of social media enhanced the project by focusing on young people making positive use of the Cathedral grounds and encouraging dialogue with the surrounding businesses. In addition, by publicising Craftspace’s work with the Business District and the Cathedral it helped to position craft as a tool for social cohesion and economic development in the city.

The Crafts Council also uses social media to position craft prominently within policy agendas and with key influencers. In particular, it uses Twitter as a quick way of learning about and responding to policy developments, following political debates in key areas and sharing information. In addition, it finds Twitter useful in identifying
and building relationships with journalists in different fields – education, lifestyle and the economy as well as the arts – who channel information in both directions. As Jill Read says, in this sense following a person or organisation important in your field is almost like collecting a business card – by allowing you to keep in touch, it becomes a means of positioning your work in the direction you need to move in.

2. Portfolio working:

Social media allows a flexibility that can create an important marketing advantage for makers who often create different types of work for different markets or split their time between making and consultancy or teaching.

Many makers use different words to describe their work to different people – in one conversation they are a designer-maker, in another a materials consultant. Social media allows makers to take this approach one step further, creating multiple brands for their work and positioning each in ways that create opportunities in different fields.

One strategy is to create individual blogs for each different strand of work or project, using free software such as Wordpress. Deirdre Nelson has effectively built her own web portal, connecting from her website home page to a Wordpress blog, a Twitter account and a Flickr image site as well as to Facebook pages documenting individual projects.

Another strategy is to use twitter hashtags and lists, which allow precise targeting of online content. Deirdre labels tweets with hashtags as a way of making sure that tweets relating to an arts in health project and to a design project each reach the people who will be interested in them. Twitter lists themed on specific topics, help her to contribute to the discussion in a closely defined community.

3. Cross Promotion:

Our research suggests that, because craft buyers typically take part in a range of cultural activities, they respond well to buying opportunities that connect craft with other cultural interests. So, using social media to raise profile with audiences for concerts and literature festivals, for example, can be a good strategy for reaching new buyers.

Some progressive exhibition venues and organisations have already picked up on the potential for social media to seed this kind of cross-promotion. MAC Birmingham collects social media content from makers exhibiting in its exhibitions and posts it to its film, concert and theatre audiences. Again stories serve a crucial purpose here, engaging people who are primarily interested in more narrative-based art forms.

The Crafts Council also uses social media to build cross-promotional partnerships, in its case in collaboration with museums. For example, the Power of Making poetry competition mentioned above, engaged with the V&A’s core audience. Similarly, when the British Museum’s Tomb of the Unknown Craftsman show, curated by Grayson Perry, was on the Crafts Council was heavily involved with the seeding and development of a Twitter conversation. This allowed both organisations to reach the others followers.
Looking beyond cultural activity, our research suggests that cross promotion can be effective in connecting craft with specific lifestyle interests. Artisanal food, with its emphasis on quality, provenance and local production, is one area where many makers can cross-promote whilst vintage fashion and sustainable design can be a good fit for others. By focusing social media activity to connect their work with these lifestyle interests, makers can show new buyers how craft fits into their existing lives.

4. Building Networks

Nearly 90% of makers are sole traders and although many work collaboratively at times, building a network of colleagues who share opportunities, advice and motivation can be a challenge.

Information sharing is critical for these makers, and both Craftspace and the Crafts Council use social media to research and share opportunities for makers. The spike in interest created when the Crafts Council posts information for makers – such as conference announcements and exhibition calls – shows the importance of this role for craft organisations online.

Sharing knowledge gained first-hand, for example at national events and exhibition openings that are not accessible to all makers, can also be helpful: as Craftspace’s Deirdre Figueiredo notes, sharing insights with makers and signposting cutting-edge work is important in moving the sector forwards.

Managing a social media information hub of course requires a clear strategy for filtering the vast volume and range of content available online. Overall relevance to the individual or organisation’s aims and current programmes is key. However, content can be targeted at specific audience niches. For example, the Crafts Council’s Fiona Moorhead recommends targeting Twitter posts at professional makers and Facebook content at exhibition audiences. Fitting with broader perceptions of Twitter as being more business-focussed and Facebook more prone to social usage. Meanwhile, Craftspace finds that the young people it works with have, up to now, been more comfortable with Facebook than with Twitter. This may be changing, says Craftspace’s Deirdre Figueiredo – the key thing is to monitor and respond to your audience as its online behaviour changes.

Separate social media accounts for important projects or activities (such as the Crafts Council’s @CC_at_Events Twitter feed and Craftspace’s Collective Facebook group) also help with focusing and targeting information. However – and based on experience - the Crafts Council’s Fiona and Jill caution against creating an entirely new platform for dedicated user groups, recommending meeting people on the social media platforms they already know and use.

Beyond information exchange, digital networking through social media can create opportunities for creative collaboration between makers. For example, during her Bird Yarns project, Deirdre Nelson used Twitter and Facebook to find other artists, designers and makers working on the theme of climate change. Discussing ideas around a common theme, with people from different perspectives, became an important creative impetus.
The networks created between makers and their audiences can be as important as those between makers: the sense of having a community of supporters – people who enjoy your work and want to see it succeed - can be both an encouragement and a source of practical help.

As a maker early in her career, Charlotte Clark particularly values the support of her Facebook fans, describing times when people she has never met have contacted her to share their excitement at seeing her work on television. Photos and video seem to be particularly important in building this kind of conversation, with exhibition audiences responding particularly well to image-led Facebook stories about opportunities to see new work.

Digital networking is perhaps even more important for community craft projects. Here, finding ways of reaching beyond the craft community and involving newcomers is often a key aim of the project - and clearly social media can help with this.

Deirdre’s Bird Yarns project for Cape Farewell is a good example here. This recent project encouraged the island community of Mull to respond to the plight of migratory birds, by knitting and welcoming a flock of ‘lost’ Arctic Terns.
Social media helped Deirdre to set up the project, reaching people who wanted to get involved and keeping them informed about progress. Using Twitter, she posted a bird knitting pattern, to be customised as it was shared, with new bird feet and beaks being added in the process. This sharing extended the community beyond Mull, as retweets from individuals telling the birds’ story created a migration of its own. As Deirdre says, social media can help to “spread the net wider”, reaching beyond arts audiences to those interested in wildlife and the environment.

The Craftspace Youth Craft Collective uses Facebook and Twitter in a similar way, encouraging local people to join it at events by copying names into tweets and posting links on individual Facebook pages. Posting photos and comments about the event – and ‘liking’ and retweeting these – creates a momentum that endures beyond the event.

4. Conclusions

Social media has a place in the business and creative development toolkit for almost all makers and craft organisations.

When connected with online selling mechanisms, social media can equip craft businesses for a changing marketplace by diversifying the retail base, expanding international markets and using content and customer comments to encourage new buyers.

The storytelling that social media encourages can enhance the experience of seeing, buying and taking part in craft, by demonstrating its hidden qualities and connecting people around it. At the same time, it can creatively blur the boundaries between producer, consumer and commentator, between teacher and learner and between the real-life and virtual experience. As such, social media offers both makers and craft organisations some enticing new possibilities for the exhibition and presentation of craft work, that draw out its full value.

Social media also allows makers to control the way their work is perceived and positioned – creatively, within a peer group and in the marketplace. A position as a designer, environmental artist or fashion industry supplier can be created, and new opportunities produced in a specific field of work. This is a distinct advantage in a sector where boundaries (between art, craft and design, for example) are porous, and makers’ careers often shift and evolve over time.
Finally, social media allows makers to build a community of peers and audiences, who support their work and help to overcome some of the difficulties of solo working by sharing knowledge and information.

There are many challenges for makers and craft organisations engaging with social media, not least how to maintain a similar level of service for people who prefer other forms of communication. Nonetheless, it’s certain that social media has a crucial role to play in craft’s continued evolution through the digital age.

Dr Karen Yair, Crafts Council Research Associate
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Top tips from our interviewees

- Join social networks as a ‘lurker’ first: spend some time looking at other people’s newsfeeds and decide what style and tone of voice will suit you.
- Don’t worry about not understanding everything when you start: you will learn as you go along.
- Start slowly, with maybe one tweet a week, and build up gradually.
- Don’t post too often: note your own preference from observing others. Do maintain a regular presence.
- Think about how your social media work supports all the different aspects of your business and creative development.
- Helpful, relevant retweets, quoting tweets (where you add to the original) and replies are a good way to build the right followers and conversations.
- Try not to use the full 140 characters in your own tweets – leaving 10-20 characters available encourages people to quote your tweet.
- Choose social media platforms where your audience is already present: don’t try to convert them.
- Schedule your posts, using an app like Bufferapp or Hootsuite, which you can set to publish posts when the majority of your followers are online.
- Think about your tone of voice. If more than one person is tweeting from your account, work out how to deal with this, for example by initialling posts and, at the very least, check your Tweets time-line to avoid duplicate or contradictory responses.
- Set up a three-week schedule of forthcoming posts, that fits in key events you know are coming up but allows space for less time-sensitive content.
- Schedule posts for the weekend, when many people are online and are less busy.
- Once you are up and running, try to ensure that you have more followers than people you are following – it looks business-like. But don’t worry for the first six months or so.
- Clean up your Twitter account regularly. Don’t follow people who have stopped tweeting (they are increasing your ‘following’ figure for no useful purpose) and ‘unfollow’ people who stop following you unless you value the content of their tweets. There are free online tools that can help with this. Note: journalists will almost never follow you back.
- Hackers and spam: Don’t be overly alarmed but take sensible precautions. Don’t click on links or open Twitter ‘direct messages’ where either the content or the sender look dubious. The issue seems to be less prevalent on Facebook.
Resources

Key social media tools

1. A tool for shortening full urls, essential for tweeting. Eg Bitly (www.bitly.com) or Tiny url (www.tinyurl.com).

2. A ‘buffer’ tool, where you can store future posts and schedule publishing. Eg Buffer App (www.bufferapp.com) or Hoot Suite (www.hootsuite.com).

3. A tool for capturing individual tweets or hashtags, and tracking their influence through retweets. Eg Tweetreach (www.tweetreach.com).

General Guides

1. Buddy Media Guides to Facebook and Twitter (2012)

Facebook: http://marketingcloud.buddymedia.com/whitepaper-form_review-strategies-for-effective-facebook-wall-posts-a-timeline-review
Twitter: http://marketingcloud.buddymedia.com/whitepaper-form_review-strategies-for-effective-facebook-wall-posts-a-timeline-review


Specialist Guides:

1. Social Media for Non-Profits (2011)

Social Media for Social Good: a Guide for Non-Profits:
http://www.amazon.co.uk/Social-Media-Good-How--Nonprofits/dp/007177081X/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1349663434&sr=1-1

2. Etsy Seller Handbooks and Articles


3. Design Trust Resources for Independent Designers

www.thedesigntrust.co.uk
Profiles

**Deirdre Nelson** is a mid-career maker with a previous career in education. Her work, mainly in knitted textiles, incorporates elements of craft, design and participatory art. Deirdre began blogging as part of a funded arts education project in 2003, and has also been using Twitter and Facebook since 2008. She spends around three hours each week managing social media.

Deirdre has tweeted 4210 times, has 1279 Twitter followers and follows 1992 people on Twitter. Her Facebook page has been ‘liked’ by 340 people (3 Oct 2012).

**Charlotte Clark** is an emerging maker who ‘grew up with social media.’ Her portfolio includes jewellery and upcycled ceramics, as well as glass sculpture. Charlotte has been using blogs, Twitter and Facebook professionally since graduating in 2008, and – like Deirdre – spends around three hours a week working on social media.

Charlotte has tweeted 538 times, has 99 Twitter followers and is followed on Twitter by 84 people. Her Facebook page has been ‘liked’ by 407 people (Oct 3rd 2012).

**Craftspace** is a craft development organisation, based in Birmingham and working to push boundaries and perceptions of crafts practice, presentation and learning. It began using social media in 2009, with the aim of raising the West Midlands craft sector’s profile and improving communications between makers in the region.

Craftspace spends around 9-10 hours each week on its social media work. It has tweeted 4950 tweets, has 2981 Twitter followers and follows 771 people on Twitter. Its Facebook page has been ‘liked’ by 776 people (Oct 3rd 2012).

**The Crafts Council** is the national development agency for contemporary craft, based in London. Its goal is to make the UK the best place to make, see, collect and learn about contemporary craft. The Crafts Council has also been using social media since 2009, with the aim of enhancing all aspects of the organisation’s work. It spends around 8 hours each week on social media work.

The Crafts Council has tweeted 6,115 times, has 26,665 Twitter followers and follows 1,817 people on Twitter. Its Facebook page has been ‘liked’ by 7,345 people (Nov 15th 2012).
References

iii Burns Owen Partnership: Ibid