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SLAVIC POLITICAL WEB: GENDERED ANALYSIS

Introduction

The Internet is becoming a more prominent venue for political issues and with each election is increasingly important way for candidates and officeholders to communicate with constituents and the public at large (Dolan 2005, 33). Cyber-politics arises as a new type of political communication. Rita Kirk Whillock argues that in its simplest form 'cyber-politics involves information dissemination, communication exchange, and the formation of electronic political coalitions across the Internet' (1997, 1208). Little by little the Web becomes more and more popular for online political activity. A great variety of web genres are used for their purposes, including e-mail, discussion groups, web pages, blogs and online news groups (Katz, Rice 2002). Pauwels analyzing opportunities and issues of online media research also asserts that web pages have definitely received far less scholarly attention in this area than other forms of CMC (chats, e-mails, virtual games, blogs, etc.), however within all genres used in cyber-politics, namely the personal web site, presents very cheap and convenient tool for keeping, disseminating and update of useful information (Pauwels 2005). It also permits for its owner to communicate with their potential audience directly not through the official (sometimes politically biased) mass media. Simultaneously the personal web site is a tool that can be used for advocacy: to make people aware of impending congressional votes and to ask people to phone or e-mail their representatives. The site also provides information or fund-raising services, lobbies for legal action, identifies potential party member or consolidates the political audiences and partisans. Gradually these sites are used not only as a means of self-advertisement, image-promotion or consolidating political efforts but they present a helpful communicative tool for professional communication of any kind (Schau, Gilly 2003). Pippa Norris also asserts that compared with traditional media, party and political leaders web sites currently play a more distinctive role in the process of all political communication (Norris 2003, 21).

Thus the personal pages of politicians are considered in this study as their virtual political offices. These offices provide all logistics to sustain professional online activity: managing political impression online, maintaining a necessary

and constant feedback with their electorate and citizenry, and supporting effective political communication around the clock. Coincidentally these web pages develop a unique platform for building virtual identity including the political one.

Gender Online

The previous research indicates a number of gender traces in this area. Some scholars fix gender differences into the social purposes of personal web page production. Gender does not influence the male or female priorities much, except that women more often use web pages to establish and maintain relationships and less for self-promotional purposes. The same research also reveals that larger differences were impacted by the age of Internet-users (Petric 2006). There are differences between the kinds of identity presented by men and women and in the ways the identity is presented (Dominick 1999, Miller, Mather 1998, Miller, Arnold 2001, Goroshko 2006, 2008). Females also more often include information about personal and intimate topics than males do. Further, females are more likely than males to include information about their family, a spouse or romantic partner. Women and men do not differ in the frequency of the occurrences of speaking about their likes and dislikes, with sport topics being an exception. Females are far more likely than males to include statements about their outlook on or philosophy of life.

Concerning cyber-politics the research on American candidates and campaign websites reveals that women do not focus their priorities on a set of gender stereotyped points, but instead campaigned on a set of the same topics as their male opponents (Dolan 2005). The study conducted by Niven and Zilber also confirms that female presentations on the political web do not support the images proffered by mass consciousness and citizenry contributors (Niven, Zilber 2001).

Female pages also contain some examples of poetry, stories, or artwork more than male pages. However there are no differences in the type/number of links that each page contains. Nor is there a difference in feedback mechanisms and usage of visual images (Dominick 1999, 652-653). The results obtained in other studies of personal pages contradict to this data substantially. Thus, the research of a random sampling of 70 men's and women's Yahoo! homepages by Miller, Mather and Arnold (1998, 2001) indicates a lot of gender differences concerning the site interactivity, the number of links and visual images, and the volume of text messages. Women's pages are sometimes longer, contain more guest books, links, e-mail addresses, and show more awareness and responsiveness to their reader. When women and men represent themselves visually in their pages, only men use joke images and only women use symbolic representations (ibid, 4).

The questioning conducted by Miller and Arnold on building individual identity within an institutional Web page framework testifies that women academics often feel certain embarrassment to present themselves online as private persons and cancel their photos and intimate information from their web sites as undermining their academic status (Miller, Arnold 2001). My own research of randomly selected homepages also confirms the data obtained by Miller and Mather: women appear to be more experienced and more skillful communicators than men. Women are more interested in feedback whereas male communicative behavior concentrates more on self-presentation, i.e., an original PR of their self (Goroshko 2006, 2008). Larisa Kompanceva has obtained the same results researching the political space of UaNet (Ukrainian-speaking segment of the Internet) (2004).

Given that personal and social aspects of identity are combined in CMC, it is easy to see that the structure of gender relations can be viewed through the juxtaposition of 'individual I' and 'I – as a representative of a gender group' (Klecina 2004, 335). Gender identity is not fixed, however, and can be impacted greatly by social transformations. Simultaneously, gender identity is considered the most stable among the other forms of identity when the individual as a subject of gender relations is located into the system of external evaluations by his/her social surrounding that corresponds with the norms of 'femininity/masculinity'. The opposition of 'femininity/masculinity' becomes a marker for performing gender identity (ibid, 30). As a venue for self-presentation and self-disclosure personal web pages provide a fertile ground for the study of gender identity. The opportunity to make a complex, multi-layered, but controlled presentation – the hypertext self - does provide new possibilities for how people can think about themselves, and get others to think about them as *men* or *women* (Burnett, Marshall 2003, 79).

Presently, the topic of gender on the English-speaking Internet is rather well researched in a great number of aspects (including the political web) but there are no comparative studies across languages and cultures and for the Russian-speaking Internet this research problem has been initiated only recently (Kompanceva 2004; Goroshko 2006, 2008). Thus the main objectives of the article are to clarify and specify such issues as:

- how CMC environment and language contribute to the development of a gender-specific political identity and vice versa (Basing on the case study research of personal web pages on the Russian-speaking Slavic Internet);
- how the Internet can contribute towards building an alternative public sphere in the society and how women and men can benefit from it.

Research Context and Methodology

The political sector of the Internet is identified as an object for this study with a special stress on gendered aspects of CMC through personal web pages of Ukrainian, Russian and Byelorussian political actors. It has been decided to research a so-called Slavic political web basing on a number of selective criteria. The main criteria of selection are linguistic since the latest research of national segments of Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian Internet shows that 90% of these sectors are presented by Russian-speaking segment of the Net and the language itself presents a powerful tool for creating, manifesting and performing identity. Russian-language pages also occupy 11% of the Worldwide Internet (Herring et al. 2007). It is also vitally important to observe the post-Soviet, post-totalitarian gender identity formation including the virtual one, since there are a lot of differences between western and post-Soviet development of and views on gender relations in general (Temkina, Zdravomyslova 2003).

In addition, a great number of CMC scholars consider web pages as visual and multimodal cultural expressions (Pauwels 2005). Hence it would be valuable to trace the link between cultural, gender and political virtual identities within intersectional perspective for deeper insight into the process of current identity formation in the postmodern globalized medium. The theoretic analysis reveals that the gendered facets of the identity on the political web present no-go area for study as well as there has been practically no research of cyber-politics across western and non-western cultures. As for post-Soviet area there is total absence any data as to this point.

One can suggest that a political site, unlike a personal web page, is mediated not only through the computer channel of communication but at the same time through the team of professionals engaged into the maintenance of various site activities: design, development, promotion, operation, etc. One can suppose site owners at their best can only supervise, approve or disapprove of the thematic filling of his/her site, the logic architecture of its context and design, pick out certain color palette, etc. (the interview with the head of Julija Tymoshenko's personal site design team has been used). Some politicians can participate in interactive online activity with their audiences through specially organized site-forums, emails, etc. Hence, to research the political web means to study partly the gendered and partly cultural mediated features in online identity building: certain constructs influenced greatly by two principal factors – technical (the web) and human (the team). I assert that it may provide a new dimension to the whole trend of gendered research online. Thus, the study focuses on the types of information appearing online rather than conceptualizing technology as the variable of the research. At the same time the information is regarded as the most extensive and substantial factor of a political web (Jarvis, Wilkerson 2005, 3).

Hence thematic rubrics with their fillings, inventory of topics and snaps located on the site are selected items for this research.

A political self is also emerging in the process of interaction on the web. The research testifies that both symbolic meanings and the structure of interaction are crucial for this process. That is, the meaning and the form of interaction are symbiotically wed in the process of communication. In this process, a sense of self is constructed, maintained, and transformed. Hence, any investigation of self necessitates examination of both meaning and form (this is particularly the case for the virtual self because it is contextually located within the structure of computer-mediated interaction (Waskul, Douglas 1997, 382). For these reasons, the research should begin with the descriptive analysis of the form of on-line communication, move toward the analysis of the meanings of symbolic systems used by people, and ultimately illustrate the emergence of 'cyber-self'. All previous research of the political web indicates that three notions appear particularly valuable for the study: 'information', 'identification' and 'interaction' (Jarvis, Wilkerson 2005, 3). As identification features party and national cues and symbols, imagery structure and color palette choice are selected as research items. All types of the links located on the site have been researched as Dominick agues that people use links on their home pages as a means of social association, so that by providing a set of links to other sites, people indirectly define themselves by listing their interests (Dominick 1999). More boldly Miller declares: 'Show me what your links are, and I tell you what kind of a person you are' (Miller 1995).

As a powerful means for political networking and advocacy web sites may contain guest-books, rant-pages and mailing lists permitting their hosts to seek positive reinforcement by inviting visitors to subscribe to the informational letter or e-mail question to the site owner or plainly to sign their 'guest-books' (Jarvis, Wilkerson 2005). Consequently the number of guest-books, rant-pages, blogs, counters and all elements in web design providing interactivity for webpage: e-mail addresses, invitations to chats and forums, discussion lists, appeals to visit this home page again, etc. are analyzed and calculated.

The latest information drawn from CMC theory indicates that the language provides a powerful tool for gender and culture identity formation not only offline but also online (Danet 1998, Atabekova 2005). Some peculiarities concerning the linguistic design of sites are analyzed in terms of gender. The following items are chosen to trace on the web: the use of personal pronouns (which would probably show the difference between individualistic and collective way of thinking on the web), imperative verbs (that can appeal directly to the site's visitors and provide the imitation of the shared virtual space between the site owner and its visitor) and the means of politeness manifested on the sites (*behabitives* like: *sorry, we apologize, thank you, welcome* which can indicate the gender pe-

culiarities in speech styles) (Shvedova 1998). All objects for research counted 20 items (see Appendix N1).

Pauwels criticizes the recent CMC studies of web pages for their focus on a rather limited approach to the phenomena researched, simplification of methods or devices (e.g. 'more links' means 'more democratic'), prevalence of purely descriptive level (listing typical categories of the content and their potential role in the identity construction), the textual analysis is biased towards research of the detriment of cultural and ethnographic methods of the hybrid media (2005). Pauwels asserts that the hybrid multi-layered space as a web site requires hybrid research methodology (e.g. to perform a detailed analysis of the form, content and organization of the imagery: the selection of moments and subjects, their posture, the anchoring with verbal parts, etc.) (ibid, 609-610). Therefore the content analysis is exploited as a widely used tool for conducting objective, systematic, and reliable analysis of communication content and appropriate procedure for analyzing cultural peculiarities on the web (Singh, Baack 2004; Jarvis, Wilkerson 2005, Gorny 2006). To maximize the understanding of the web pages, both quantitative and qualitative techniques are applied (Jarvis, Wilkerson 2005, 5).

Sample

The selective criteria for sample formation are based on political ratings and positions which political actors occupy in the local political hierarchy and the presence of a personal web site since the preliminary research of the political web (investigation of directories containing the contact information about political officeholders: data about peoples' representatives (Verkhovna Rada Ukrainy (UaNet) (http://gska2.rada.gov.ua/), Gosudarstvennaya Duma Rossijskoj Federacij (http://wwwduma.gov.ru) (RuNet) and Nactional'noje Sobranije Respubliki Belorus' (BeNet) (http://www.house.gov.by) reveals that only about 20-30% of politicians have their personal sites. Later a couple of sites by oppositional leaders in Byelorussia and Russia have been added to the sample to provide a little diversity to the official politweb.

Thus this study presents a qualitative and qualitative research of twenty specially selected home pages of political officeholders retrieved from the national segments of Russian-speaking post-Soviet web (see Appendix N2). Conceptually the homepage is selected because it serves as a content gateway that strongly influences an option whether a visitor will stay and investigate or switch to the other cyberspace destination (Jarvis, Wilkerson 2005, 6).

Results and Discussion

The study reveals that male political pages dominate as in real life one can observe a prevalence of male-dominated political discourse all over the former Soviet space especially in Russia and Byelorussia where females are practically excluded from cyber-politics (only one female Byelorussian site has been found and its owner is a feminist scholar, not a political activist). This data is in sharp contrast with real politics. Thus there are 31 women among 100 representatives in the Byelorussian supreme political body (Nacional'noje Sobranije Respubliki Belorus'). The female sector in Ukrainian political web is the biggest.

The research also reveals that the information on the political sites is organized in dialogical format. The addressing is actively used to provide a two-way communication and stimulate the visitors' response and feedback. The results indicate that female sites are more communicative. Women are trying to sustain networking very intensively beyond 'national' boundaries and culture does not influence this female networking greatly. One can assert that interactivity and dialogism are interwoven on the female web: there are more counters and guestbooks, appeals to comment on the site, rant-pages, etc. Female web pages provide more opportunities for instant on-line communication such as *chats* and *forums*. The Julija Tymoshenko's Site can be set up as a model *how to interact online*.

Cf. Fig.1 The Julija Tymoshenko's Homepage

However, this difference between male and female samples is not so striking as in the research by Miller and Mather (1998) or Miller and Arnold (2001). Among all web services providing interactivity online, only blogs are not used on the Slavic political web. It enables to testify that blogging has not become a popular social practice yet as it is in the West (Goroshko 2008).

The content analysis of the rubrics titles reveals that 70% of male and female titles are identical. They maintain such rubrics as: 'Bio', 'Press-releases', 'Personal', 'Speeches', 'Archives', 'Photo-album', etc. However, there are more different rubrics titles located on the female web. At the same time they are more diverse. It might indirectly testify that female virtual identity is more dispersed and not so homogenous as the male one but this question requires further research.

It is interesting that sample female pages contain rubrics presenting their owners in different social-roles clearly indicating their group identity. The start page of Inna Bogoslovskaja's site definitely demonstrates its owner's group identity associations: Inna Bogoslovskaja manifest herself through such rubrics as 'Sponsor', 'Business Lady', 'Political Leader', and 'Social Activist'. Irina

Khakamada's homepage maintains such rubrics as 'Sunday', 'My Samurai Principles', 'I Go to the Presidency', etc.

Cf. Fig.2 The Inna Bogoslovskaja's Homepage

The study of thematic fillings and imagery located on the web sites shows that the male political web exploits more self- and member-centered approaches towards the information posted online. Male sites seem to be more conceptual whereby mission and objectives, principles of social activity, and comment and analysis concerning everyday political and public events are formulated more clearly and efficiently as well. However in comparison with the female web they are more boring as excessively politicized especially this peculiarity especially manifests itself on the official political web. Information on male pages rests on the motto, 'It is more important to present yourself than to lend an ear to somebody'. Males tend to underscore the distance between an elected official and a visitor. This pattern is particularly evident in their biographies, description of activities tending to focus on the accomplishments and professional success of career-oriented persons in very reserved and formalized ways. One can speak about two issues dealt with by the creators and owners of the male sites with regard to the information: a desire to offer citizenry direct access to all political information, and a temptation to limit the amount of data shared with the public. The American political web reveals the same tendencies (Jarvis, Wilkerson 2005, 3).

At the same time the conducted research indicates that women are more open to the public. On the female web more personal (even intimate information) can be exposed globally. One can observe that *private* and *individual* easily can be intermingled with *public* and *professional*. As for the male sample sites their owners prefer to keep social distance with their visitors. The sites by Byelorussian political leaders (both ruling and oppositional) cancel all personal and family information from their homepages. This feature can be explained probably by the influence of the former Soviet mentality still prevailing in this country.
It is significant that only male homepages expose both positive and negative information about their owners (e.g. the site by V. Medvedchuk maintains the rubric 'Rumors about Medvedchuk' or the site by A. Chubais keeps the column 'Opponents about Chubais' where it is possible to find even derogatory and insulting information and comment about his owner.

Cf. Fig.3 The Anatolij Chubais's Homepage

Sometimes the men can speak openly about their own mistakes, *e.g.* the Medvedchuk's site contains the following passage: 'One can not always win. A per-

son involved in politics shall ever remember that triumphs are alternated with defeats. Otherwise, progress would have been impossible. I have already experienced it in my life, as an outbreak of the parliamentary struggle has forced me to leave the Deputy Speaker's chair. But even then I was not shocked, having been prepared to be in and out of office. One should be able to live an ordinary life, where the family, love and whole-hearted devotion are of much more importance than any other thing'. Hence one can speak about the building of negative male identity only on the Slavic political web. The data obtained from Slavic female and all American political webs show the opposite. Their owners never reveal negative facts about their personality or provide links to the sites of their opponents (Goroshko 2008. *The 2004 US Presidential Election: A View from the Web,* 2004). However the list of features that web enthusiasts wanted to be located on the political homepages must contain alternative views, issues and positions (ibid.). It must be a powerful PR move for political actors benefiting greatly to their images off- and online.

The interesting observation concerns rubrics containing humor about office-holders. The study shows that only certain male homepages (as a rule by oppositional leaders) locate humor on the web. The homepage by Chubais keeps even the rubric 'Anecdotes about Chubais'. This fact supports the claim that male and female ideas about having permission to use humor in public – specifically, in virtual reality on political web – differ significantly.

It is also an unexpected revelation that only Ukrainian politicians permit to locate anti-Semitic information on their sites. Thus the site by S. Khmara exposes the owner's article with the title 'President Kuchma is the Father for all Jews in Ukraine' or the site by Leader of Progressive Socialist Party of Ukraine N. Vitrenko abounds in insulting and derogatory remarks, words and cartoons of her political opponents. One can consider inadmissible to promulgate this stuff within any civilized public discourse including the political web.

Cf. Fig.4 The Natalija Vitrenko's Homepage

The research testifies to the great impact of local political situation on the homepages' filling and structure: sites of oppositional Byelorussian leaders (Malinkevich, Kozulin and Levonevskij) look like posters appealing for urgent political actions and resistance in spite of the governmental sites presenting only officially approved information about legislature and constituency issues in 'brochureware' format with a long list of suitable links in this area.

Cf. Fig.5 The Valerij Levonevskij's Homepage

Cf. Fig.6 The Alexander Kozulin's Homepage

It is worth mentioning that female political web is mute in Byelorussia currently. However one can remark that male political sites demonstrate a great gap (huge social distance) between their officeholders and ordinary citizenry. A great number of male photos are suit-and-tie headshots in front of national flags and house representatives' buildings.

Cf. Fig.7 The Start-up Page of Alexander Lukashenko's Official Site

They often occupy the central position on the homepage with postures demonstrating symbolic capital and power very clearly. This imagery also shows all trappings of the political office, signifying the position of its owner rather than his/her relationships with constituents. As for imagery the selection of photos located on the web where the male figure of the site owner occupies the biggest space at the background of the national symbols or ordinary electorate. Sometimes other VIPs can surround this figure. My data completely confirms the results of Jarvis and Wilkerson obtained from American political web (Jarvis, Wilkerson 2005, 10). As for the graphic objects, both women and men locate practically the same number of their photos. There is no difference in using avatars containing complicated web-design, party cues, logos, etc. Only party cues are registered in this research, this feature being more pronounced on female sites. This fact can be attributed either to higher emotionality of a female web or female inclination to have a more pronounced party identification but it is more a preliminary supposition requiring further examination.

The study reveals that female sites are more colorful and the imagery is more diverse than on the female sites. As for the color design, male sites are more laconic and reserved in their essence. Ukrainian male sites are presented mainly in *blue, yellow* and *gray* shades. Female sites' palette includes such colors as *pink, gray, yellow* and *blue*.

On all the researched homepages cutting edge multimedia (streaming video and audio) widely involved with the exception of Victor Yanukovich's and Julija Tymoshenko's sites intensively exploiting all possibilities provided by the modern technologies.

As for the language diversity of Slavic political web, practically all sites hosted in Russia are bilingual maintaining English and Russian versions of their content. However sample sites hosted in Ukraine and Byelorussia are usually created in three Slavic languages.

However one can face the situation when two language versions of sites are only declared on the home page and in reality (even virtually) only one version is located on the web (see Natalija Vitrenko's or Olexandr Moroz's sites).

Sometimes there are a lot of differences between the versions written in the state language and in English and Russian (see Raisa Bogatyriova's or Lyudmila Suprun's sites). The English version is not as frequently updated as the version created in the local or state language.

Cf. Fig.8 The Lyudmila Suprun's Homepage

The research of political personal pages reveals the existence of recurring texts on the Slavic politicians' web pages. Their usage is not accidental but a stable feature of the e-language of politics. These statements have authority over the people, and their usage actualizes such concepts as 'duty', 'justice', 'trust' having social significance and importance for site visitors. The recurring texts can be met mainly on Slavic sites and are completely absent on the American web (Goroshko 2008). It can be attributed to the collectivistic post-Soviet consciousness and culture. The Luydmila Suprun's site even maintains a specially organized questionnaire to find out the level of trust in certain political leaders.

As for the gendered speech style female sites contain more polite expressions confirming again Lakoff's (1975) highly criticized hypothesis about more polite women speech: 'Dear Visitors! I'm very glad to welcome you on the site. I'm sure that your decision to communicate with me on-line was not accidental. It's the evidence for me that you are not indifferent to this information and my work. Your friendly support is very important for me. Thank you for your trust! Yours faithfully, Lyudmila Suprun' (Lyudmila Suprun's site).

This research does not register any serious gender differences concerning the number and usage of the links as the previous studies declared (Miller, Mather 1999, Goroshko 2006). The inner links (inside the body of the site) are prevailing over the outer links directing to other web resources practically on all sample pages. All sample sites are updated on permanent base and rather regularly (it was traced in the fresh 'Press-releases' or 'News' rubrics with the indication of the exact date and time). There are neither cultural nor gender differences in these features on the political web. Probably the cyber-political discourse might differ greatly from everyday life practices particularly in terms of these dimensions but additional research is required to clarify this supposition.

Summary and Conclusions

The study shows that the female online identity appears more dispersed, individualistic, and akin to a collage or bricolage since no officeholder creates a site entirely from the scratch by him/herself. Hence one can state appearing of a new multimodal virtual identity on the political web. This identity building is mediated 'intersectionally' by cultures, technologies, genders, etc.

The selective study of political personal web pages provides a set of characteristics peculiar to the gendered virtual identity: Judging by their personal web pages, women appear to be more experienced and more skillful communicators than men. For example, women are more interested in feedback and networking whereas male communicative behavior concentrates more on self-presentation, i.e., an original PR of their self.

Women are more inclined to employ an expressive way of information gathering and processing while men adopt a more instrumental approach towards information retrieving.

The research confirms the idea that the boundaries between the 'private' and the 'public' are rather stable on the political web and only the female political web reveals more intensive blurring between private and public online.

One can speak about building a negative identity on the political male web that can be motivated by Slavic alleged uniqueness and mentality or uniqueness of post-Soviet political discourse requiring unusual PR moves to sustain the political image online when all traditional media are closed practically for all oppositional voices. Current political situation either in Russia or Byelorussia clearly demonstrates this assertion.

One more aspect of the website research must be concentrated on the site producer since the web site can be viewed from the triangular perspective: 'owner – visitor – producer'. The factor of the site producer who acts not only as just a content-provider but primarily as a web architect and supervisor of all activities running through the site. He may play a definite role in the process of social meaning-making (as a gate-keeper or co-producer). 'He can be involved into the broader social and political infrastructure that surrounds the definite representational practices as well as technical standards and defaults' as Pauwels asserts (Pauwels 2005, 611). Viewing homepages as symbolic social texts and querying about their intended virtual audience and potential changes over times, genders, and cultures would allow to better interrogate these sites and gather insights as to their primary purposes of communicating better through the web and be more in line "with the potential of the medium to serve the online public" (Jarvis, Wilkerson 2005, 19).

Deliberate political identity construction particularly the virtual one, very often trying to present the polished image of oneself, 'not telling a blatant lies but by offering a selective amount of data is a widespread practice in most forms of human exchange, only the means and degree may vary according to medium, purpose and circumstance' (Pauwels 2005, 609) and this research can add to more factors – *country* and *gender*. The web forms both a unique subject and a tool for cultural and gender expressions and a more culturally and gendered focused analysis of a hybrid media as the Net is permits to become more culturally

and gender 'savvy and expressive when using the web as a tool to communicate their insights' (ibid, 612).

However the cyber-politics perspective is in the hands of all political stakeholders who are to develop new ways to reinvigorate social capital through exploring new possibilities of superhighway environment that the Internet presents. 'Whether or not the promise of this new medium is fulfilled depends on access to the medium beyond the upscale citizens who predominantly use it' as Montague Kern argues (Kern 1997, 1248) although many problems, of course, remain unresolved in this area and tendencies of this development are not predicted so easily and the assertion 'we are what we post' does not yet close the door to debate.

Summarizing this article one can mention that new political practices and tendencies are arising on the web. They address a great number of central difficulties and possibilities available to scholars in rethinking the identity conceptions, exploring the new promising cultural potential of the Net in a more integrated and simultaneously fragmented surrounding social space.

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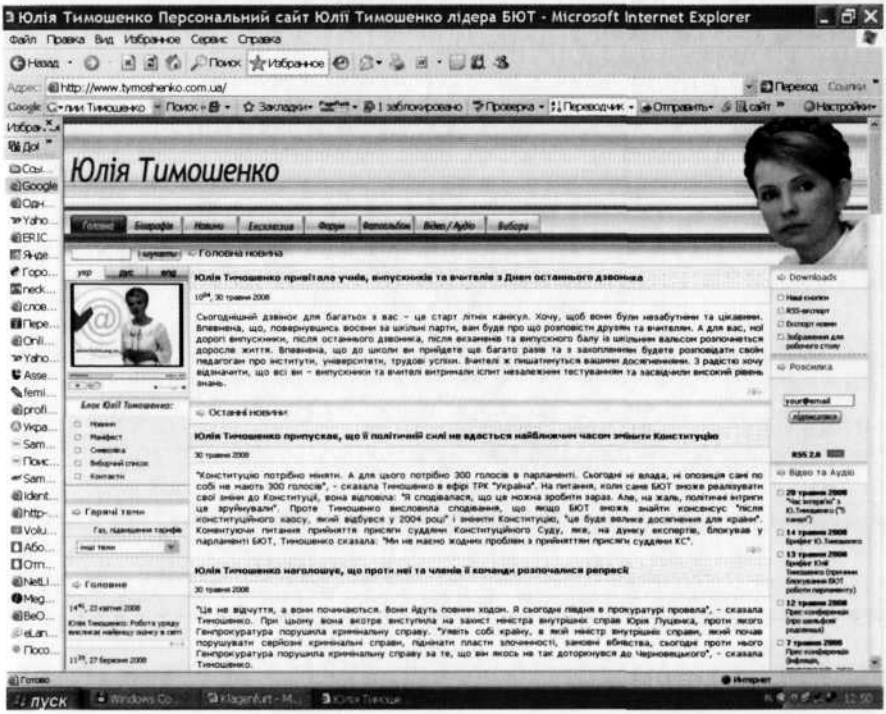
Appendix 1: List of Research Objects

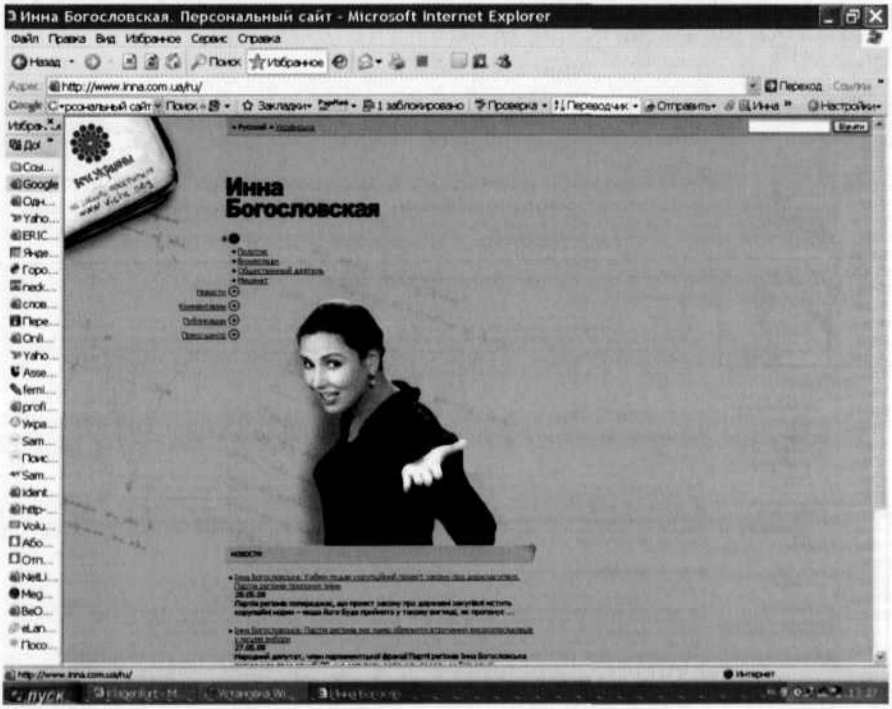
	Site Owner:
1.	Names of rubrics
2.	Their numbers
3.	The presence of forum, e-mail, guest-book, mailing list, blog, rant-page, navigational site search, etc.
4.	The ratio of the text volume to the images' volume
5.	Number of images and their content
6.	Number of languages
7.	Color palette, number of basic colors
8.	The general site design
9.	The Number of inside links
10.	The Number of outside links
11.	The Presence of negative information
12.	Photos (number and quality) pictures of the owner, party symbols and images, cultural and national symbolics presented on sites
13.	Informational content
14.	Presence of Multimedia
15.	Invitations to chat and forum, discussion list, appeals to visit this home page again, etc.
16.	Pronouns (number and character),
17.	The linguistic means of expressing politeness
18	Number of verbs and their voice
19	Number of exclamation and question marks
20	UPL and Recent Update and its frequency
20	Comments

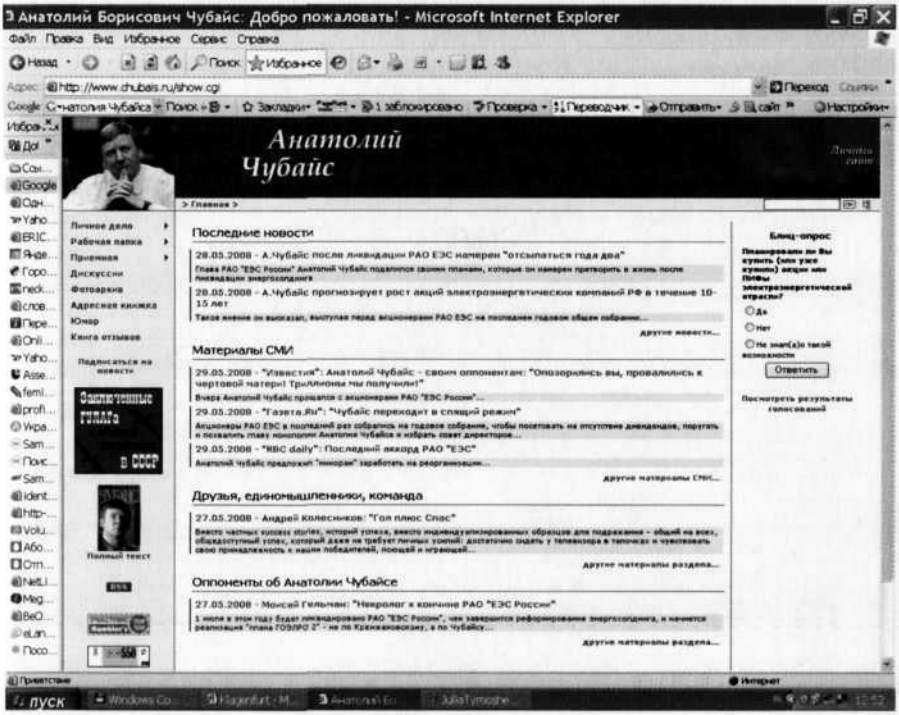
Appendix 2: List of Sample Homepages

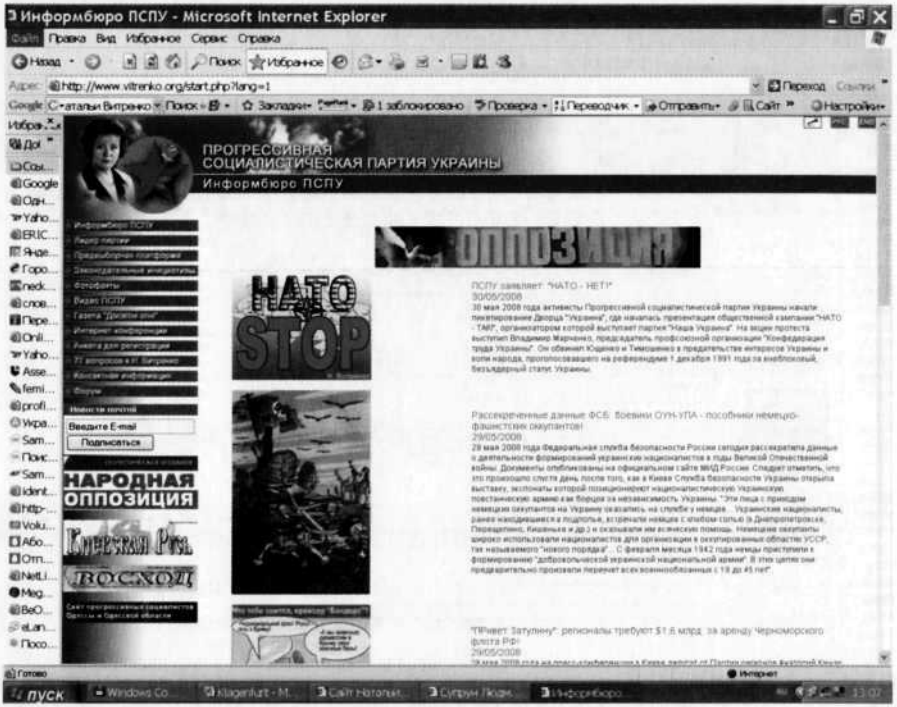
Title	URL	Position in Local Political Structure
Viktor Medvedchuk – personaln'yj informacijnyj server	http://www.medvedchuk.com.ua	Former Head of the President Administration, Leader of United Socialist Party (Ukraine)
Viktor Yanukovych. Personal'nyj informatsijnij server	http://www.ya2006.com.ua/	Prime Minister of Ukraine, Leader of Party of Regions, Opponent to the Acting President of Ukraine
Sait Oleksandra Moroza	http://gska2.rada.gov.ua/pls/site/p_deputat_kerivnyk?d_id=381	Former Speaker of the Supreme Council of Ukraine "Verkhovna Rada"
Oficijnij sait Stepana Ilkovich Khmary, narodnogo deputata Ukrajny	http://www.hmara.com.ua	People's representative from Our Ukraine Party (Nasha Ukraina) backed by the President of Ukraine (former Head of this party)
Boris Nemtsov Personalnij Sait	http://www.nemtsov.ru	Member of Right Forces Union, Nominee to the Presidency 2008 (Russia)
Chubais Anatolij Lichnij Sait	http://www.chubais.ru	Member of Right Forces Union, Head of RAO ES, the Biggest National Power Energy Company (Russia)
Oficialnij Server G. A. Yavlinskogo	http://www.yavlinsky.ru/	Leader of the Oppositional Party "Jabloko" (Russia)
Kozulin Aleksandr Vladislavovich	http://www.kozylin.com/	Leader of the Oppositional Forces in Byelorussia, Former Nominee to the Presidency (Byelorussia)
Sait Aljaksandra Milenkevicha	http://by.milinkevich.org/data/ic	Leader of Democratic Forces of Byelorussia, Former Nominee to the Presidency (Byelorussia)
Officialnij Internet-portal Presidenta Respubliki Belarus, (Alexander Lukashenko)	http://www.president.gov.by/	President of Byelorussian Republic (Byelorussia)
Levonevskij Valerij Stanislavovich	http://www.levonevsky.org/	Political and NGO Activist, one of Oppositional Byelorussian Leaders of Political Resistance (Byelorussia)
Oficijnij sait Raisy Bogatyriovojj	http://www.bogatyrova.org.ua	Deputy Head of Party of Regions (Partija Regioniv), (Ukraine)
Inna Bogoslovskaja – personal'nyjj sait	http://www.inna.com.ua	Head of Popular Assembly Party (Veche), People's Deputy,

		(Ukraine)
Sait N. Vitrenko – lidera Progressivnoj socialisticheskoj partij Ukrainy	http://www.vitrenko.org/	Head of Progressive Socialist Party of Ukraine, Former People's Deputy, (Ukraine)
Personal'nyjj sait Julii Timoshenko	http://ww2.tymoshenko.com.ua/eng	Leader of Opposition, Head of Our Motherland Party (Bat'kivshchina), Leader of Oppositional Block "B'UT", (Ukraine)
Suprun Ludmila Pavlivna Verkhovna Rada Ukrajny, narodnij deputat	http://www.suprun.com.ua/	The President of the Ukrainian Peace Fund, Vice Speaker of "The Civil Parliament of Women of Ukraine" and the President of the Figure-skating Federation of Ukraine. The Head of the People's Democratic Party.
Chikalova Irina	http://tchikalova.iatp.by/index.htm	Byelorussian gender scholar and activist
Arbatova Maria	http://www.arbatova.ru/	Famous Russian writer, feminist activist, member of Right Forces Union (Russia)
Irina Khakamada ofi-cialnij server	http://www.hakamada.ru/	President of Our Choice Fund, Deputy Head of Russian National and Democratic Union Movement (Russia)
Oksana Bilozir Personal'nij Sait	http://bilozir.com/	Famous Ukrainian pop-singer, People's deputy from "Nasha Ukraina' Party (Ukraine)

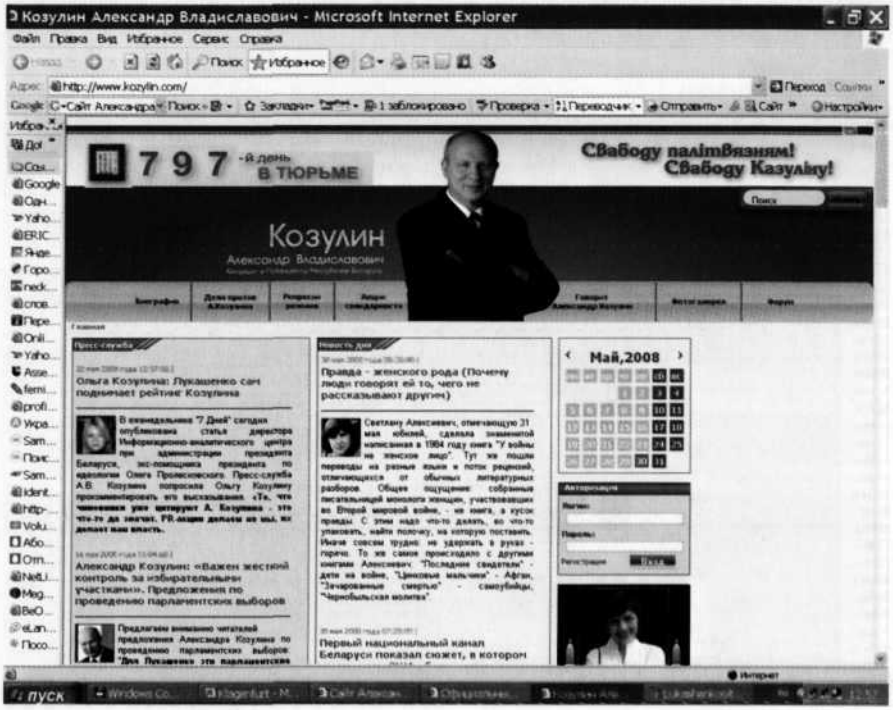

Юлія Тимошенко Персональний сайт Юлії Тимошенко лідера БЮТ - Microsoft Internet Explorer
Файл Правка Вид Избранное Сервис Справка
Назад
Поиск
Избранное
Адрес: http://www.tymoshenko.com.ua/
Переход
Ссылки
Google
Закладки
Проверка
Переводчик
Отправить
Настройки
Избранное
Юлія Тимошенко
Головна
Біографія
Новини
Експозиція
Форум
Фотоальбом
Відео / Аудіо
Вибори
Головна новина
Юлія Тимошенко привітала учнів, випускників та вчителів з Днем останнього дзвоника
30 травня 2008
Сьогоднішній дзвінок для багатьох з вас – це старт літніх канікул. Хочу, щоб вони були незабутніми та цікавими. Впевнена, що, повернувшись восени за шкільні парти, вам буде про що розповісти друзям та вчителям. А для вас, ної дорогі випускники, після останнього дзвоника, після екзаменів та випускного балу із шкільним вальсом розпочнеться дорослe життя. Впевнена, що до школи ви прийдете ще багато разів та з заколоненим будете розповідати свій педагогам про інститути, університети, трудові успіхи. Вчителі ж пишатимуться вашими досягненнями. З радістю хочу відзначити, що всі ви – випускники та вчителі витримали іспит незалежним тестуванням та засвідчили високий рівень знань.
Останні новини
Юлія Тимошенко припускає, що її політичній силі не вдасться найближчим часом змінити Конституцію
30 травня 2008
"Конституцію потрібно міняти. А для цього потрібно 300 голосів в парламенті. Сьогодні не влада, ні опозиція самі по собі не мають 300 голосів", - сказала Тимошенко в ефірі ТРК "Україна". На питання, коли сама БЮТ зможе реалізувати свої зміни до Конституції, вона відповіла: "Я сподівалася, що це можна зробити зараз. Але, на жаль, політичні інтриги це зруйнували". Проте Тимошенко висловила сподівання, що якщо БЮТ зможа знайти консенсус "після конституційного хаосу, який відбувся у 2004 році" і зміни Конституції, "це буде велика досягнення для країни". Коментуючи питання прийняття присяги суддями Конституційного Суду, яке, на думку експертів, блокував у парламенті БЮТ, Тимошенко сказала: "Ми не маємо жодних проблем з прийняттям присяги суддями КС".
Юлія Тимошенко наголошує, що проти неї та членів її команди розпочалися репресії
30 травня 2008
"Це не відчуття, а вони починаються. Вони йдуть повним ходом. Я сьогодні пішла в прокуратурі провела", - сказала Тимошенко. При цьому вона вкотре виступила на захист міністра внутрішніх справ Юрія Луценка, проти якого Генпрокуратура порушила кримінальну справу. "Уявіть собі країну, в якій міністр внутрішніх справ, який почав порушувати серйозні кримінальні справи, піднімати пласти злочинності, закінені вбивства, сьогодні проти нього Генпрокуратура порушила кримінальну справу за те, що він якось не так доторкнувся до Черновецького", - сказала Тимошенко.
Downloads
Розсилка
Відео та Аудіо
Готово
Интернет
пуск

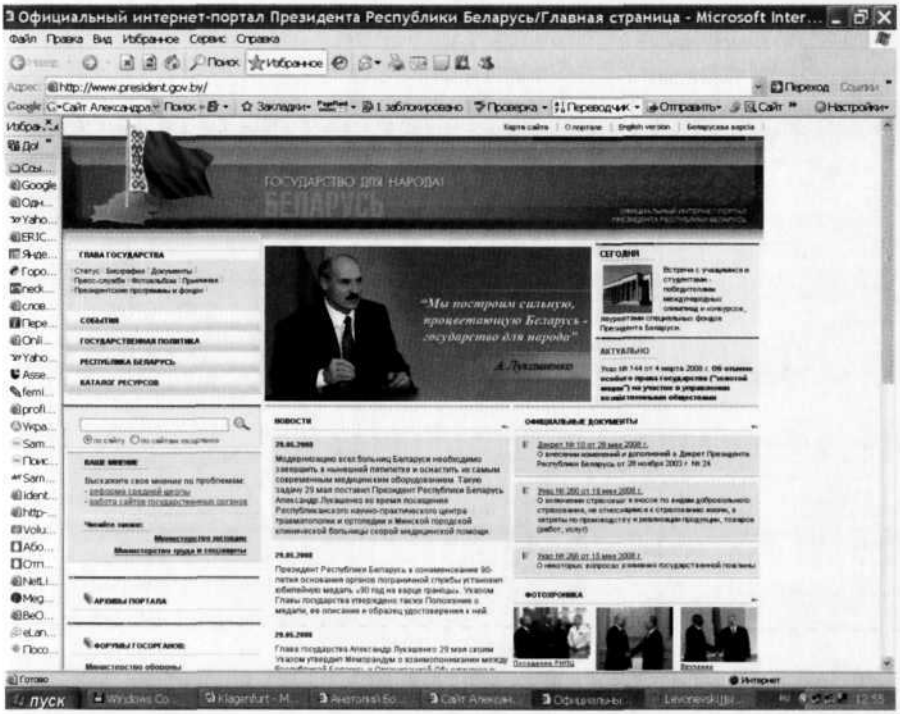

Инна Богословская. Персональный сайт - Microsoft Internet Explorer
Файл Правка Вид Избранное Сервис Справка
Назад
Поиск
Избранное
Адрес: http://www.inna.com.ua/ru/
Переход
Ссылки
Персональный сайт
Поиск
Закладки
1 заблокировано
Проверка
Переводчик
Отправить
Инна
Настройки
Инна
Богословская
Интернет
пуск

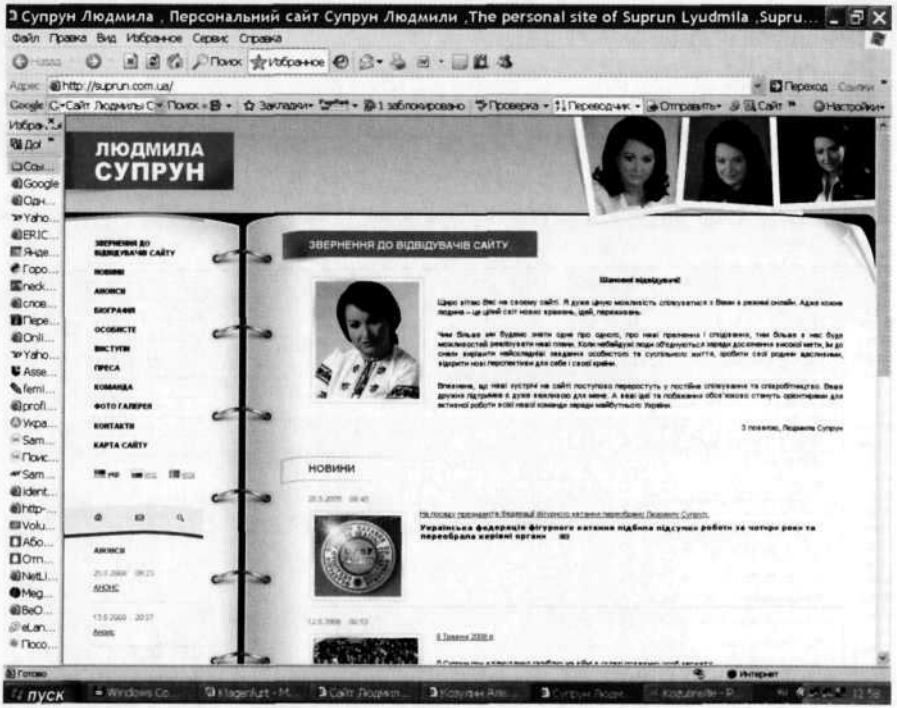

Анатолий Борисович Чубайс: Добро пожаловать! - Microsoft Internet Explorer
Файл Правка Вид Избранное Сервис Справка
Анатолий
Чубайс
Последние новости
Материалы СМИ
Друзья, единомышленники, команда
Оппоненты об Анатолии Чубайсе
Блиц-опрос
Ответить
Пуск


Информбюро ПСПУ - Microsoft Internet Explorer
ПРОГРЕССИВНАЯ СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКАЯ ПАРТИЯ УКРАИНЫ
Информбюро ПСПУ
ОППОЗИЦИЯ
NATO STOP
НАРОДНАЯ ОППОЗИЦИЯ
Киевская Русь
ВОСХОД
ПСПУ заявляет: "НАТО - НЕТ!"
30/05/2008
30 мая 2008 года активисты Прогрессивной социалистической партии Украины начали пикетирование Дворца "Украина", где началась презентация общественной кампании "НАТО - ТАК!", организатором которой выступает партия "Наша Украина". На акции протеста выступил Владимир Марченко, председатель профсоюзной организации "Конфедерация труда Украины". Он обвинил Ющенко и Тимошенко в предательстве интересов Украины и воли народа, проголосовавшего на референдуме 1 декабря 1991 года за внеблоковый, безъядерный статус Украины.
Рассекреченные данные ФСБ: боевики ОУН-УПА - пособники немецко-фашистских оккупантов!
29/05/2008
29 мая 2008 года Федеральная служба безопасности России сегодня рассекретила данные о деятельности формирований украинских националистов в годы Великой Отечественной войны. Документы опубликованы на официальном сайте МИД России. Следует отметить, что это произошло спустя день после того, как в Киеве Служба безопасности Украины открыла выставку, экспонаты которой позиционируют националистическую Украинскую повстанческую армию и ее бойцов за независимость Украины. "Эти люди с приходом немецких оккупантов на Украину оказались на службе у немцев... Украинские националисты, ранее находившиеся в подполье, встречали немцев с хлебом-солью (в Днепропетровске, Переделкино, Кишиневе и др.) и оказывали им всяческие помощь. Немецкие оккупанты широко использовали националистов для организации в оккупированных областях УССР, так называемого "нового порядка"... С февраля месяца 1942 года немцы приступили к формированию "добровольческой украинской национальной армии". В этих целях они предварительно произвели перепись всех военнообязанных с 18 до 45 лет".
"Привет Затулину": регионалы требуют $1,6 млрд. за аренду Черноморского флота РФ
29/05/2008
Готово
Интернет
пуск
Windows Co...
Klagenfurt - M...
Сайт Наталь...
Сурдун Люди...
Информбюро...
13:07

ЛЕВОНЕВСКИЙ Валерий Станиславович - Microsoft Internet Explorer
http://www.levonevsky.org/index.php
ЛЕВОНЕВСКИЙ
Валерий Станиславович
Валерий Левоневский: 5 мая я первый раз был арестован на 13 суток
Политзаключенному Александру Васильеву - 62 года
Солидарность
Прощание с Ириной Козулиной начнется 26 февраля в 20.00
25 февраля 2008 года в 18.00 на Октябрьской площади
История


Козулин Александр Владиславович - Microsoft Internet Explorer
797 -й день В ТЮРЬМЕ
Свабоду палітвязням!
Свабоду Казуліну!
Козулин
Александр Владиславович
Май,2008
Пуск


Официальный интернет-портал Президента Республики Беларусь/Главная страница - Microsoft Inter...
Файл Правка Вид Избранное Сервис Справка
http://www.president.gov.by/
ГОСУДАРСТВО ДЛЯ НАРОДА!
БЕЛАРУСЬ
ГЛАВА ГОСУДАРСТВА
СОБЫТИЯ
ГОСУДАРСТВЕННАЯ ПОЛИТИКА
РЕСПУБЛИКА БЕЛАРУСЬ
КАТАЛОГ РЕСУРСОВ
"Мы построим сильную, процветающую Беларусь - государство для народа"
А. Лукашенко
СЕГОДНЯ
АКТУАЛЬНО
НОВОСТИ
ОФИЦИАЛЬНЫЕ ДОКУМЕНТЫ
ФОТОГАЛЕРЕЯ
Готово
Интернет
пуск


Супрун Людмила , Персональний сайт Супрун Людмили ,The personal site of Suprun Lyudmila ,Supru...
Файл Правка Вид Избранное Сервис Справка
http://suprun.com.ua/
ЛЮДМИЛА
СУПРУН
ЗВЕРНЕННЯ ДО ВІДВІДУВАЧІВ САЙТУ
НОВИНИ
Готово
Интернет
пуск