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Valentyna Dymytrova

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# **New Perspectives on Contemporary Ukraine: Politics, History, and Culture**

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## **“DIGITAL” STRATEGIES OF UKRAINIAN POLITICAL IDENTITIES: THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN 2010**

Valentyna Dymytrova,

Doctoral Student in Information and Communication Sciences

Université Lumière Lyon 2, France

[Valentyna.dymytrova@univ-lyon2.fr](mailto:Valentyna.dymytrova@univ-lyon2.fr)

This paper will present one of the theoretical and practical issues of my current PhD research namely “The media and the construction of identities: the case of contemporary Ukraine”. We will focus for this presentation on the “digital”<sup>1</sup> strategies of Ukrainian candidates for the presidential election 2010. The presidential campaign is always a narration about the nation. The visions of national past, present and future are expressed discursively and visually by different ways on prospectus, big boards, in interviews, meetings but also on personal sites of candidates on Internet. We will analyse in what way Ukrainian politicians use their personal sites for electoral campaign, how their communicative strategies are influenced by modern media and what vision of a citizen/a visitor they suppose.

### **Background**

Since the presidential election 2004 the presence of Ukrainian politicians on Internet grew up considerably. It is difficult to say whether it is an answer to the increasing number of Internet users in Ukraine<sup>2</sup>, to the concurrence of other politicians or whether it is a sign of

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<sup>1</sup> We prefer the term of “digital” strategies as referring to both discursive and visual elements and to the use of modern media.

<sup>2</sup> According to CIA World Factbook there are 10 millions Internet users in Ukraine in 2009. On 6 October 2009 Dmytro Sholomko, Google development manager for Ukraine speaks about 7. 200 million users and declares

inevitable professionalization of political communication<sup>3</sup>. On the eve of the presidential election 2010 we can speak about the emergence of Ukrainian “digital political spheres” where personal sites of candidates, sites of their parties, web blogs, forums, Web TV, video files posted on You Tube accessible from the sites of candidates enlarge traditional forms of political communication. “Digital political spheres” can be a chance for “little candidates” to have more visibility. Citizens are also present in this “digital political spheres” with their sites, blogs, forums, lists of discussion dedicated to the presidential election or sites of partisans.

## Objectives

We propose to analyse “digital” strategies of Ukrainian candidates for the presidential election of 2010 in the perspective of Political Communication. The main inquiries are:

- In what way Ukrainian candidates use Internet possibilities for their electoral campaign?
- In what way do they construct their public?
- What ethos (image of themselves) and what visions of state/ nation do they produce with Internet?

## Methods

Our semiotic and discursive analyses will consist in four points.

We will start with the study of addresses of personal sites of candidates and the structure of the homepage. The communicative strategies are the most visible with these elements that establish the general symbolical framework chosen by the candidate or her/his expert in communication and are the first to be discovered by a visitor. Moreover, the homepage is a veritable documentary “genre” with fixed functions so it is possible to operate pertinent comparisons on this level. The analysis of the home pages tells us about the ideological and political positioning of presidential candidates and updates the argumentative strategies deployed on the Internet. The homepages of the sites of candidates will be compared according to four elements: image/logo at the top of the page, left column, central space, right column and the end of the page. The hypertext links that refer to other sites will be also

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that Ukraine became Europe's tenth biggest nation by the number of Internet users: <http://www.nrcu.gov.ua/index.php?id=148&listid=101333>, visited 12/11/2009.

<sup>3</sup> The e-democracy is an explicit goal of a site *Ideal country* <http://www.kraina.org.ua>, created on December 2005 and administrated by “Laboratory 8” on the initiative of I. Timochenko.

pointed out because they reinforce the identity claimed by the site and provide the information on the discursive strategies of their owners.

The next step will consist in the analysis of types of documents published on the site (video, audio, text documents, and photos) in order to answer the question concerning the specific use of Internet by politicians with the exploitation of different possibilities opened by this media or a not specific use of Internet, just as one more support of political communication which contains only campaign documents.

Then, we will analysis the enunciation of sites. Who speak? Who can speak to whom? How? This will permit to identify the relationship between a politician and a visitor constructed by the sites that is considered as an essential in the argumentative construction of membership or commitment.

Finally, we will compare the results of this investigation with the candidacy statements of a politician presented on the electoral meetings in order to observe the coherence or the incoherence on this level and establish the place reserved by politicians to modern media in their communication.

To synthesize our analysis we adopt the model developed by Bertrand D., Dézé A. and Missika J-L.<sup>4</sup> for the analysis of French presidential campaign of 2007. This model combines semiotics of political discourse and political sociology and help better understand the meanings shaping the discourse of the campaign in order to evaluate the accession strategies implemented by each candidate. The authors propose to register the great values that found any political discourse within a model based on the semiotic square<sup>5</sup>. Four axiological variants will define the modes of determination of the political: shared experience; referred utopia; analyzed reality and imagined fiction. The goal is to explore what place takes a particular variant in discourse of a candidate. The discourses of candidates make a sort of path between these poles because they are rarely limited to one axiological pole. These categories are defined as follows.

- The “**shared experience**” is considered as a reality subjectively experienced by individuals and presented through the empathy in the discourse. It can be considered individually, collectively or globally but it always shows itself on the participatory mode.

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<sup>4</sup> Bertrand D., Dézé A., Missika J-L. (2007), *Parler pour gagner, Sémiotique des discours de la campagne présidentielle de 2007*, Paris, Les Presses, 145p.

<sup>5</sup> The semiotic square is an elementary model that opposes contrary terms, contradictory terms and complementary terms.

- The **“referred utopia”** marks the high values and the goal of political discourse but it is also the statement of projects and steps that will achieve them. It may refer to a doctrine, an ideology or shared assumptions.
- The **“analyzed reality”** is not the reality of the actual world but the construction of this reality by the discourse. This is an experience objectified by common sense, pragmatism or a theoretical point.
- The **“imagined fiction”** does not mean the proposal of fictional scenarios, but the use of discursive strategies referring to a fictional world in order to enforce the arguments. It can be expressed by the use of the colourful vocabulary, the use of an anecdote, quotations, by the solicitation of historical figures as heroes of fiction.

The characteristic path of digital strategies will be pointed out by a black arrow continuous or discontinuous (discontinuous arrows indicate the relations of the base of the model: contrary for horizontal arrows, contradictory for oblique arrows, and relations of implication for vertical arrows).

### **Ukrainian candidates on the Internet**

Most all Ukrainian candidates are present on the Internet, except three of them: Sergui Ratouchniak, Vasyl Protyvsih and Mihailo Brodskii. These are independent candidates that don't represent any political party or civic organization. They are not much publicized and attract occasional media attention, as for example, the media coverage of the name change of Vasil Goumeniouk who becomes Vasil Protyvsih on 2 October 2009 before filing his candidacy. The new name means in Ukrainian “against all” and becomes very significant in the context of political disillusion of Ukrainians. Three politicians Oleksandr Moroz, candidate from the Socialist party, Petro Symonenko, candidate from the Communist party and Oleksandr Pabat, candidate from the NAS (Popular army of relief)<sup>6</sup> don't have personal sites and use the sites of their parties, pointing out by this fact their strong affiliation with the organizational structures more or less centralized. Some candidates use several types of websites: personal, the site of the party, blogs, sites of supporters and are present in social networks such as Facebook.com, Vkontakte.ru or Flickr.com. The summary of the websites used by Ukrainian candidates is presented in the table 1 of appendix.

We will analyze the personal/official websites of four candidates: Viktor Yanukovych, Ioulia Timoshenko, Viktor Yushchenko and Arseniy Yatsenuk.

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<sup>6</sup> The NAS (Popular army of relief) is an organization of alternative protest to power created in March 2009.

### **Address, domain name extensions and language (s) of websites**

The addresses of websites inform quickly the user on the image claimed by the candidate.

The most recurrent name comprises the name or the first name of the candidate. For example, <http://www.yanukovych.com.ua/>; <http://www.tymoshenko.ua/>, <http://suprun.com.ua/> or <http://arseniy.org/> , <http://www.inna.com.ua>. The combination of the name and the initial is used by V. Lytvyn: <http://www.lytvyn-v.org.ua>. An example of other combination is the address of the website of Y. Kostenko <http://www.kostenko.unp-ua.org/> where party membership is marked next to the name of the candidate. The address of website of Viktor Yushchenko constitutes his electoral slogan “our choice” and is in coherence with the denomination of his party Our Ukraine: <http://www.nashvybir.com.ua/>.

The domain name extensions are also important elements of the digital identity of the site. They are generally of two kinds, either general or attached to a geographical space. In the latter case, they have a national scope and indicate that the site belongs to a country. That is the case of the most of sites of Ukrainian candidates that have extension forms such as: « ua », « com.ua », « org.ua » or « net.ua ». The general extensions are chosen by Arseniy Yatsenuk <http://arseniy.org/>, Sergyi Tygypko <http://tigipko.com/> and Oleg Tiahnybok [www.tiahnybok.info](http://www.tiahnybok.info). It is rather difficult to indentify any ideological positions according to address of websites.

The language choice made by Ukrainian candidates regarding the content of the sites is interesting to be taken into account in the context of contentious debates on the status of Russian language, especially in the election period. Most sites offer navigation in two languages: Ukrainian and Russian. The presence of the English shows international issues of the Ukrainian electoral campaign and can be interpreted as one of the results of globalisation and the growing importance of the international public opinion. Thus, sites of some candidates are in three languages as for V. Yanukovych, I. Timoshenko or S. Tigipko, in Ukrainian and in Russian for A. Yatsenuk, in Ukrainian and in English for V. Yushchenko or only in Ukrainian for Y. Kostenko and V. Lytvyn.

### **Analysis of the homepage of the website of Viktor Yanukovych**

The site of Viktor Yanukovych <http://yanukovych.com.ua> is presented as a “personal information server”. It has evolved visually and structurally throughout the campaign. The new version appears in late November 2009. The most visible change is a new version of the

image of the candidate at the top of the homepage. On the first version (Figure 1) the candidate, smiling and looking above the horizon, is situated on the left side of the picture. Idly and dreamily, he is confident of the future. On the background we can see some cranes and machines that refer to a heavy industry, situated mainly in the eastern regions where he is original from. The right side of the picture is in contrast with the left one. The blurred machinery can complete the dimension of dreams but it can also point out the dimension of instability and incertitude that accompany the economic crisis (these machines can be abandoned or broken). This visual rhetoric comes in echo with the slogan placed below the image: “There is a Leader, there is a State!” Indeed, the candidate of the Party of regions claims the strong political leadership that means for him a guarantee of a strong state.

On the new homepage (Figure 2), V. Yanukovych is situated in the centre of the photo and looks the visitor in the face. This look is concerned, he questions. The axis Y-Y refers to the live mode of television system. The candidate is more rooted in reality and its constraints than on the previous version of the site. Especially, if we take into account the background where the machines are replaced by people. We can not see their faces, but the mining helmets and parts of the black faces help us to identify miners. In this way the candidate continues to identify himself with the Donbass region. Miners are behind the candidate, they follow him. V. Yanukovich claimed to represent their interests. The slogan stills the same: “There is a Leader! There is a state!” In this way, if we refer to our semiotic categorizations, the adhesion strategy of V. Yanukovych leaves the pole of utopia (high values and aspirations) and becomes anchored in the pole of shared experience by taking into account the human factor and by the orientation to the proximity to the user.

**Figure 1. The image of the homepage of the V. Yanukovych website, version I**



**Figure 2. The image of the homepage of the V. Yanukovych website, version II**



Despite the evolution of some elements of the site, the general framework of the site remains identifiable. The blue background of the homepage refers to the colour of the Party of Regions. Above the picture, the central part of the homepage proposes five quotations of the candidate that succeed with the interval of 10 seconds. They are in Russian or Ukrainian, regardless of language chosen for the site navigation. This choice of language is significant taking into account the claim by the candidate of the status of second official language for Russian. Through these quotes V. Yanukovich expresses his position in the political elections and the outline of his program<sup>7</sup>. Three of them denounced the activity of the Cabinet of Iouliia Tymoshenko. For example, “The Cabinet of Tymoshenko has completely destroyed the partnership relationships with entrepreneurs and indeed, to declare war on business”. The register of denunciation emphasizes the pole of analysed reality. One of the citations is a mark of the position of the candidate in his party and constitutes the election promise to ensure economic stability in countries and the social protection for people. Finally, by the last quotation the candidate speaks as a future president who will protect the history of the Second World War. This quotation represents the pole of the imagined fiction in our model.

Below these quotations (central and left part of the site) the user has an access to news where candidate’s speeches are alternated with information on electoral meetings. On the left of the scrolling quotations we have the navigation bar with eight rubrics: “Home page”, “Position”, “Get to know better”, “Chronicle of meetings”, “Comments of news”, “Photo album”, “Video materials” and “Media centre”. The last category has two sub-sections: “Main news” and “Digest”<sup>8</sup>.

The right column of the homepage gives access to a photo album and video files. The rubric “Journal of the Leader” offers a chronicle of activities of Viktor Ianoukovich. The rubric “Join us” gives the possibility to register on the site and to post comments and discuss with

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<sup>7</sup> We include in our analysis the quotations picked up 20/12/2009.

<sup>8</sup> We have included in our analysis the content of this rubric picked up on 21/12/2009. The material presents the quotations of V. Ianoukovich.



others members of the community. No reviews are available without registration. The candidate can be contacted by a letter from the rubric “Write to Viktor Yanukovych”. The letters of support for V. Yanukovych and the letters that express attacks against his political opponents are available in the rubric “We receive letters”. However, answers to letters by the candidate are missing. It is still a one-side communication.

The right column gives the access to the electoral program of V. Yanukovych “Ukraine for people”. This hypertext link is followed by a small survey with the question “If the presidential elections were held tomorrow, for whom would you vote?” Obviously, we find 94% of Internet-site visitors (or 856 votes) for V. Yanukovich, 1% (or 11 votes) for Arseniy Yatsenuk 2% (18 votes), for Oleg Tiahnibok, 1% (or 8 votes) Petro Simonenko and 2% (22 votes) for Yulia Tymoshenko. These rubrics represent the pole of shared experience.

The link to “The code of the organization of the honest presidential campaign in 2010 by the candidates to the presidential elections”, document signed by Viktor Yanukovich on 14/12/2009 is a mark of an analyzed reality. The right column ends with the hypertext links that relate to the outside of the site. They are three: “The opposition government. Activities, decisions and proposals”<sup>9</sup>; “The Union of Youth of Regions of Ukraine” and the official TV channel of V. Yanukovych on YouTube.com.

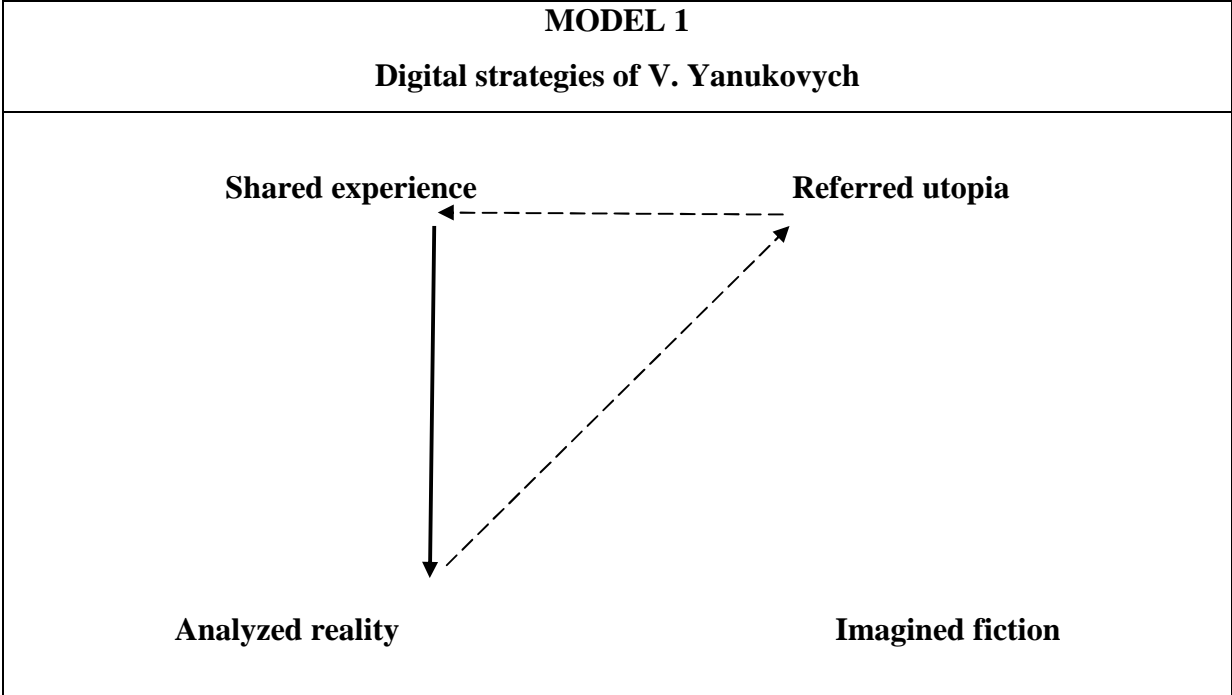
The site of Viktor Yanukovych offers the image (photos), video files and written documents. It gives the user the opportunity to receive regularly information on the candidate and his party via the subscription to RSS and the search engine internal to the site. However, the interactivity is not sufficiently exploited. Such prudence or distrust in the use of the Internet may be generally explained in two ways: by the fear of questioning by the internet of the centralized and professionalized communication or by the encouragement of the autonomous expression and the development of minorities of protest within parties<sup>10</sup>. That’s way the site of the candidate looks more like a large electronic big board not establishing a new relationship with the voter.

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<sup>9</sup> The site of the opposition government: <http://www.okm.com.ua/> is created on December 2007. Its purpose is to control the power, to propose alternative decisions and to provide regular reports of activity of Cabinet of Ministers before the Ukrainian people. The key principles claimed by the opposition government are advertising, transparency, dialogue with the authority, responsibility and professionalism. He said to offer a unique experience in the world by opening a site of such a type of government. One of the main rubrics of the site “Democracy on line” invites visitors to approach the government or a minister to ask questions, make suggestions or share issues.

<sup>10</sup> Vedel T. (2007), *Comment devient-on Président(e) de la République : les stratégies des candidats*, Robert Laffont, 285p.

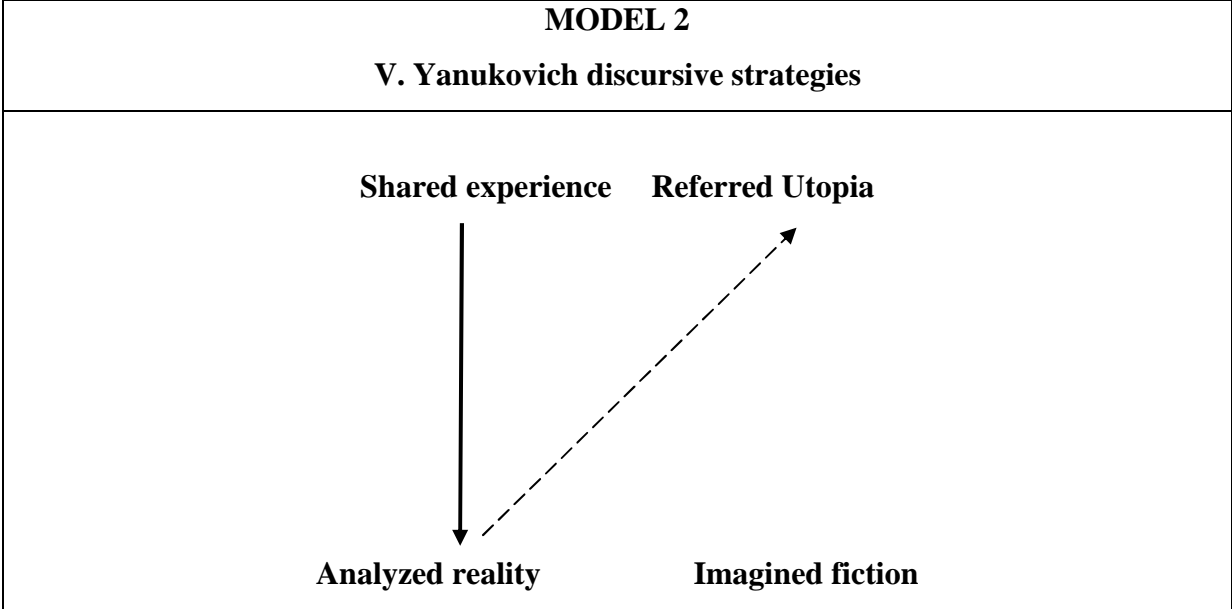
The analysis of digital strategies of Viktor Yanukovich according to our semiotic model show the path made by the digital strategy from the pole of utopia (expressed by the picture of the home page, version I, by the slogan “There is a Leader, there is a state”) to the pole of shared experience (expressed by the image of the home page, version II, the name of the campaign “Ukraine for people”, rubric “Join us”). From the pole of shared experience the candidate approaches the analysed reality (news, disqualification of political opponents). To establish the difference between the orange politicians and his party, V. Yanukovich mobilizes again the political promise. Nevertheless, his discourse is rather pragmatic.



To compare the positioning of the candidate that appears from the analysis of the homepage of his website, we have analyzed a speech delivered by Viktor Yanukovich October 28, 2009 at the XII Congress of the Party of Regions<sup>11</sup>. Combining his unique destiny of a man who went through the tests with the collective destiny of Ukrainians who are crossing the difficult period of the crisis, by appointing the various categories of people in difficulty, by staging suffering people, the speech of Viktor Yanukovich challenges the voter. That is the expression of the shared experience. From this pole, the candidate goes to the analysis of reality through the designation of perpetrates that are for him “orange politicians”. The speech is rather strong with realistic illustrations of socio-economic problems of the country. The candidate attempts

<sup>11</sup> This speech is accessible on the site of the candidate, the rubric “Video materials” or on the personnel channel of Yanukovich sur Youtube.com.

to discredit his political opponents by denouncing the export of the revolution in Ukraine and the consequences of this intrusion into national life. He appeals for the morality in politics. The advent of a new world and of a better power based on the so-called universal values is announced in this speech which ends with the diagnosis of the current power: unprofessional, irresponsible and impotent to change anything.



The discursive strategy and the digital strategy of the candidate are very close, even if expressed by different ways. The website nevertheless offers more elements and need to be well organized to produce easily identifiable by the visitor adhesion strategies.

**Analysis of the homepage of the website of Viktor Yushchenko**

The image at the top of the homepage of the site of V. Yushchenko <http://www.nashvybir.com.ua> presents the logo of the party Our Ukraine (Figure 3). The sun and two lines below: a blue one like a sky and a yellow one like a cornfield that symbolize the national flag of Ukraine. The orange background refers to the “orange revolution” of 2004, the recent past that two candidates to presidential elections, V. Yushchenko and Y. Tymoshenko are disputing. The text message presents the candidate: “Viktor Yushchenko, President 2010” and the slogan of his campaign “Ukraine will be!” The background of the page is blue. Combined with the orange background of the top image, it gives a meaning to the political identity of the candidate.

The horizontal navigation bar located below the image contains six rubrics: “Front page”, “Our leader”, “Our President”, “Our Candidate”, “News” and “Contacts”. By the name of the rubrics V. Yushchenko assumes three identities: the leader of the party, the incumbent

President of Ukraine and the candidate for the presidential election. The possessive adjective “our” in the denomination of rubrics and in the website address indicates the closeness of the candidate to his party.

**Figure 3. The image of the homepage of the site of V.Yushchenko**



The rubric “Our leader” provides access to three sub-sections “Biography”, “Speeches” and “Interviews”. The category “Our President” contains the results of the presidency. The category “Our Candidate” offers the user an access to three sub-categories: “Election program”, “Draft of the Constitution of Ukraine” and “To support the candidate”. The latter rubric gives an overview on the different personalities who support V. Yushchenko. By the rubric “Contacts” the visitor can access to such categories as “Press”, “Regional headquarters” or “Write a letter” to the President.

Below the navigation bar, a gallery of scrolling photos shows Viktor Yushchenko who conducts various activities, alone or with his family or other people. We find the candidate constructing the house (the ethos of a builder is also present at the lexical level in his speeches), playing football, visiting a farm, a hospital or an exhibition of icons, driving a tractor or laying the flowers at a monument. Below the photos, a scrolling line “Voice of the voters” expresses the support to the candidate. This rubric is followed by two columns that present news. The first invite the user to make an activity: “Read the latest news”, the second is more classic “News”. We included in our analysis the titles picked up in this section 10/01/2010. Most titles discredit political opponents: the Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko and the leader of the Party of Regions, Viktor Ianukovych. For example, “Yushchenko: Prime minister who has criminal past will not fight with corruption” or “Yushchenko is convinced that Tymoshenko and Ianukovich do not appreciate democracy”. Thus, Viktor Yushchenko proclaimed himself the defender of democratic values in the face of politicians who do not share them. Another title denounces the existence of a secret political opponent: “Yushchenko: Someone wants Medvedchuk become the Attorney General”. Finally, the last title presents cultural and spiritual activities of the President at Christmas. Such declaration

reinforces the image of the political leader that supports cultural and religious traditions of the Ukrainian nation and democratic values.

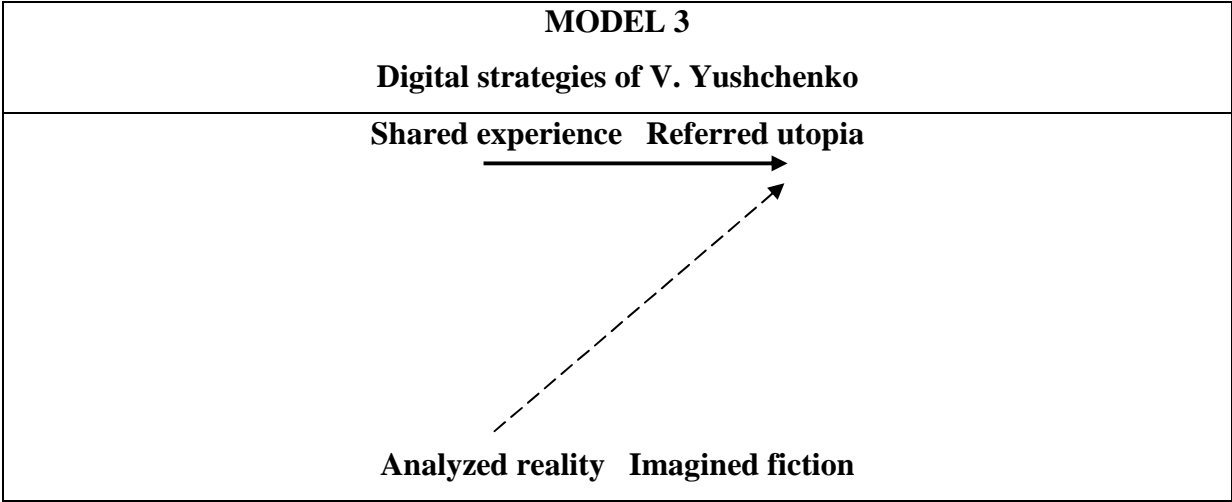
The rubric “News” is followed by the section “Important” which present the quotations of different personalities supporting the candidacy of V. Yushchenko. This rubric is in echo with one of the slogans of the campaign “I am for Yushchenko”. The left-central part ends with the rubric “Results of the presidency of V. Yushchenko: Information on the realization of the program”. Early January this section is replaced by another: “Viktor Yushchenko in social networks”. The section provides hypertext links to Yushchenko TV on YouTube.com and the candidate’s profile on V Kontakte.ru, Facebook.com and Flickr.com.

The left column of the site calls the visitor for the participation. First, it is the rubric “Join the Team: Become a propagandist” where several activities are proposed. The citizen can become an on line activist, make door to door propaganda, send letters and messages of the support to Yushchenko by email, publish information on his/her website or organize events to support the candidate. The message called out the visitor: “If you are not indifferent to the country where you live, if you want the law is a major force, if you want to force the power to serve people, join us. We will change the whole country! We suggest working with us for a common victory! We need your participation in these elections! Fill out the form and become a member of Yushchenko’s team!”

The site of V. Yushchenko gives the possibility to subscribe to RSS, a news letter, to save this site as the start page or in favourite sites. With the category “Invite Friends” the visitor can share his political preferences with his/her friends. The rubric “Add a widget” provide Viktor Yushchenko with the Internet support from the website of others people. The visitor can publish presentations of various candidate documents (banners, posters, information); use the desktop screen with the candidate’s slogan “Ukraine will be!” or download music to mobile phones. Finally, the rubric “Giving voice” proposes to vote for Yushchenko on the Internet. The rubric Yushchenko TV, hosted by YouTube.com proposes to watch the videos directly from the site of the candidate. For example, December 20, the video that appears first is “We shall have the victory”. The list of upcoming events and hypertext links to the English version of the site “Our Choice”, to the site of the party “Our Ukraine” and to the official site of the President of Ukraine close the right column.

The study of digital strategies of Viktor Yushchenko according to our semiotic model shows the dominance of the pole of shared experience, manifested in the lexical choice (the extensive use of the possessive adjective “our”) and at the homepage organizational level (a lot of rubrics that prompt the user for action and adhesion). The digital strategies go from this

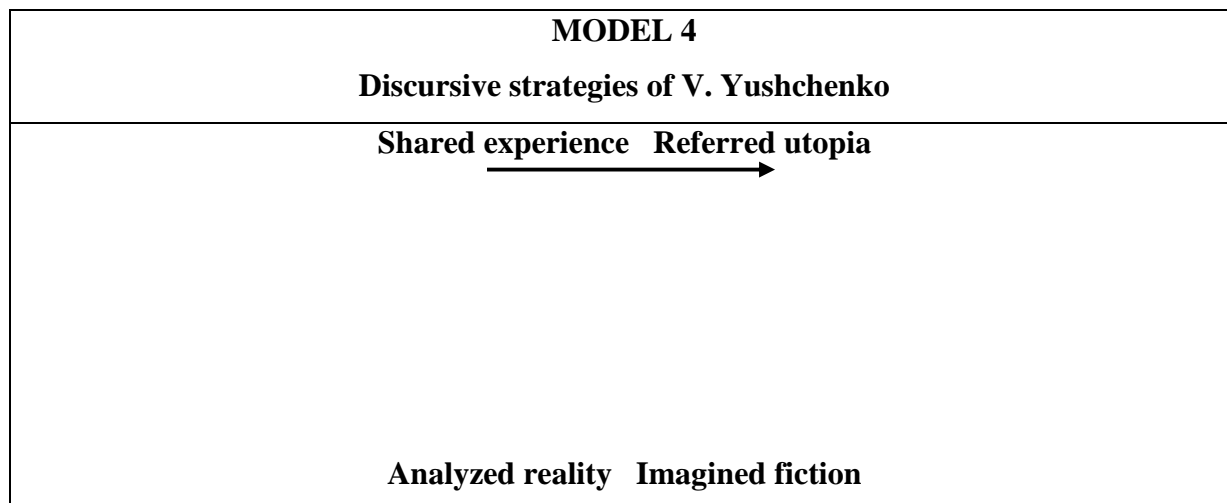
pole to the pole of referred utopia (the slogans ‘Ukraine will be!’ references to democratic values). On the other hand, the pole of analyzed reality is very weak and is expressed only on the mode of the denunciation of political opponents that don’t share the political goals of the candidate.



As for the previous candidate, we will compare these findings with those issued from the semiotic analysis of the speech of V. Yushchenko at the presentation of his electoral program “The Ukraine free, fair and strong” on 1/12/2009. We integrate to our analysis two fragments of this speech posted as video files on Yushchenko TV on Youtube.com. These videos are “We must go forward!” and “She<sup>12</sup> will not win!” The first video focuses on the development of the country and of its people, highlighting the potential of every citizen, in particular, and of the state in general. The second video by the wordplay disqualify the Prime Minister, Yulia Tymoshenko, whose campaign slogan is “She works, she will win”. By using the feminine form of the 3 person of singular, V. Yushchenko attracts attention to the crisis of morality. The theme of morality on politics becomes an obligatory point in speeches of different candidates for this presidential campaign. The results of the analysis of discursive strategies of V. Yushchentko are close to the findings of the study of his digital strategies. The paths that follow these strategies go from the pole of shared experience to referred utopia to the ideals of freedom, social justice and of a strong state. The pole of analyzed reality is not present in speeches that we studied.

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<sup>12</sup> The translation often presents the loss of meanings. In this case, if we translate the title using a personal pronoun “it”, we will loss the wordplay that the candidate use to disqualify his political opponent Ioulia Timochenko. That’s why we conserve “she”, even it is not really correct from the point of view of English grammar.



The candidate mobilizes strong potential of the Internet such as the interactivity realized through the online membership, the support of the candidate in different manners and also by the hypertext links to the social networks. As for the enunciation of the site, the candidate's voice alternates with the voices of the representatives of his party or his supporters. Such polyphony of the site creates the impression of openness and dialogue between the candidate and the electors but doesn't make up the quasi-absence of the pole of analyzed reality.

#### **Analysis of the homepage of the website of Yulia Tymoshenko**

The Internet plays an important role in the electoral strategies of Yulia Tymoshenko. The candidate explains it herself on her personal blog. In the welcome message posted on 30/09/2009, Yulia Tymoshenko referred to the history of American elections where Roosevelt won due to radio, Kennedy thanks to television and Obama to the internet. The Ukrainian candidate claims not to try to repeat the feat of Obama. Nevertheless, her objective is to communicate with users via her blog by expressing her personal views honestly and by refusing censorship. Thus, the candidate wants to install the proximity to the voter.

The official website of Yulia Tymoshenko is one of many manifestations of the presence of the presidential candidate on the Internet<sup>13</sup>. Several elements personalize the site of the candidate. Chromatically, the homepage of the candidate is faithful to the Bloc of Yulia Tymoshenko (BUT) colours<sup>14</sup>. Red and white are also her campaign colours.

<sup>13</sup> Some other sites of Y. Tymoshenko: <http://serce.tymoshenko.ua/>; <https://viryu.tymoshenko.ua/>; <http://blog.tymoshenko.ua/>; <http://vybory.tymoshenko.ua/>.

<sup>14</sup> The red heart on the white background is the logo of BUT. The white colour symbolizes purity and innocence. The red heart refers to love and empathy that the candidate feels for the people and the country. For the game of mirrors it can be also the love that the country and the people feel for the candidate.

The smiling face of Yulia Tymoshenko welcomes all visitors to the site (Figure 4). She does not look us in the face. The photo of the candidate is there as a photo of a star or a celebrity who lets her admire. The hair style that refers to Ukrainian peasants and introduces a national element is already spread worldwide as the Tymoshenko hairstyle. The white pearls adorn the ears and the neck. She represents the beauty and the femininity. Below the picture we also see the signature of the candidate, which is also a very personalizing element.

**Figure 4. The image of the homepage of Yulia Tymoshenko**



The rubrics are located in a horizontal navigation bar and frame the photo. Above the picture we see “Front page”, “Elections”, “Program”, “News”, “On Tymoshenko”, “Realizations”, “Blog”, “Gallery” and “Contacts”. Below the picture, four buttons of navigation draw attention: “Elections 2010: the official site of presidential campaign”; “Blog: the personal blog of Yulia Tymoshenko”, “Discussion: talks about news and topics in Live Journal” and “Gallery: Exclusive photos and videos from recent events”. Such navigation bar reveals the extensive use by the candidate of the opportunities offered by the Internet. She integrates into her digital strategies personal (blog, Live Journal) and official (as Prime minister and the candidate) information.

The homepage is visually divided into two parts: the left-centre (2 / 3 of the page) and the right column. In the left-centre column the rubric “Events of the Day” reminds a journalistic style and demonstrated the informational aiming of the website. The photo of this rubric usually presents the candidate. The focus of the picture is placed on the candidate, her body, her face, her posture, more than on her action. It is often difficult to tell if a photo taken at the press conference, at work or at a meeting. For example, the photo illustrating the article about the appointment of Yulia Tymoshenko as the leader of the list of “200 most influential Ukrainians” by the magazine Focus (Figure 5). The background image is blurred; one can hardly distinguish the sign “Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine”. It is virtually impossible to define in what context the photograph was taken. So, the photo of the candidate illustrating



this rubric and the photo at the top of the homepage enter in echo: both they attract more attention to the candidate, her face or body, to emotions that are expressed on her face than on her political activities.

**Figure 5. Photo of the rubric « Event of the day », 17/12/2009**



The next rubric “Latest news” offers three columns. We included to our semiotic analysis news picked up there on 10/10/2010. In the first title the candidate declares that one of her project is to give to Ukraine a worldwide prestige in some areas which she doesn’t name. Such declaration, lack of concrete examples and details is not credible. The second title discredits the political opponent, the Party of Regions through denunciations of the lobbying by the Central Electoral Commission of some decisions which could lead to electoral frauds. Finally, in the third title Y. Tymoshenko calls her political opponent, V. Yanukovich to take part in TV debates. The titles of other news are listed in the rubric “More news” as hypertext links; they were also included to our analysis.

The right column of the site of the candidate begins with the rubric “Important” and is used to present the events to come soon, such as electoral meetings. This rubric is followed by “Video of the day”. For other videos a hypertext link refers to the official channel of Yulia Tymoshenko on Youtube.com. Another link presents the site of supporters of the candidate [https:// viryu.tymoshenko.ua /](https://viryu.tymoshenko.ua/). The address of the site and its logo are constituted by a game of words. “ViryU” in Ukrainian means phonetically “I trust”, the last letter of the word “u” (“ю”) is graphically the first letter of the first name of the candidate<sup>15</sup> (“Юлія”). Thus, the personalization of the candidate is strongly present in her campaign. The hypertext link to the site <http://serce.tymoshenko.ua/> was published on the personal site of the candidate early January. The address of the site is devoted to the symbolic of the candidate. “Serce” means in

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<sup>15</sup> Besides, Yulia Tymoshenko is often called by her first name.

Ukrainian “heart” which constitutes the main symbolic element of BUT. The link refers to the website of the campaign “With Ukraine in the heart” (“Z OukrainoU v serzi”) which consists in the concerts-meetings all over the country, political advertising on TV and big boards where Ukrainian famous actors, singers and musicians take part. The slogan “With Ukraine in the heart” is also based on wordplay. The letter “u” located in this form of the word “Ukraine” refers again to the first letter of the name of Tymoshenko.

Other links go to Live Journal, YouTube, and to BUT, Bloc of Yulia Tymoshchenko. The right column ends with the link that invites the visitor to download official posters and calendars of the candidate. We include these visual documents to our analysis because they seem to reflect well some electoral strategies of Yulia Tymoshenko, her ethos and her vision of the citizen.

The calendar 2010 (Figure 6) shows the candidate Yulia Tymoshenko, smiling and relaxed; her braid is not around the head. The white colour of her dress harmonizes with the colour of the little white tiger, the animal symbol of 2010 according to the Chinese horoscope.

Figure 6. Calendar 2010



2010 РІК БІЛОГО ТИГРА		СІЧЕНЬ	ЛЮТИЙ	БЕРЕЗЕНЬ	КВІТЕНЬ
Пн	4 11 18 25	1 8 15 22	1 8 15 22 29	5 12 19 26	
Вт	5 12 19 26	2 9 16 23	2 9 16 23 30	6 13 20 27	
Ср	6 13 20 27	3 10 17 24	3 10 17 24 31	7 14 21 28	
Чт	7 14 21 28	4 11 18 25	4 11 18 25	8 15 22 29	
Пт	1 8 15 22 29	5 12 19 26	5 12 19 26	2 9 16 23 30	
Сб	2 9 16 23 30	6 13 20 27	6 13 20 27	3 10 17 24	
Нд	3 10 17 24 31	7 14 21 28	7 14 21 28	4 11 18 25	
		ТРАВЕНЬ	ЧЕРВЕНЬ	ЛИПЕНЬ	СЕРПЕНЬ
Пн	3 10 17 24 31	7 14 21 28	5 12 19 26	2 9 16 23 30	
Вт	4 11 18 25	1 8 15 22 29	6 13 20 27	3 10 17 24 31	
Ср	5 12 19 26	2 9 16 23 30	7 14 21 28	4 11 18 25	
Чт	6 13 20 27	3 10 17 24	1 8 15 22 29	5 12 19 26	
Пт	7 14 21 28	4 11 18 25	2 9 16 23 30	6 13 20 27	
Сб	1 8 15 22 29	5 12 19 26	3 10 17 24 31	7 14 21 28	
Нд	2 9 16 23 30	6 13 20 27	4 11 18 25	1 8 15 22 29	
		ВЕРЕСЕНЬ	ЖОВТЕНЬ	ЛИСТОПАД	ГРУДЕНЬ
Пн	6 13 20 27	4 11 18 25	1 8 15 22 29	6 13 20 27	
Вт	7 14 21 28	5 12 19 26	2 9 16 23 30	7 14 21 28	
Ср	1 8 15 22 29	6 13 20 27	3 10 17 24	1 8 15 22 29	
Чт	2 9 16 23 30	7 14 21 28	4 11 18 25	2 9 16 23 30	
Пт	3 10 17 24	1 8 15 22 29	5 12 19 26	3 10 17 24 31	
Сб	4 11 18 25	2 9 16 23 30	6 13 20 27	4 11 18 25	
Нд	5 12 19 26	3 10 17 24 31	7 14 21 28	5 12 19 26	

Figure 7. Poster of Yulia Tymoshenko



These beliefs are very spread in Ukraine since the late eighties and can be interpreted as one of the results of globalization. Through the campaign posters and political advertising on television the whole country knows that the tiger is called Tigryulia. The name is composed of the noun “tiger” in Ukrainian and of the diminutive of the name of the candidate “Yulia”. Once again we are confronted to the wordplay. The animal becomes the symbol of the

candidate; she identifies herself with the tiger that symbolizes in Asia strength and power. In Ukraine it is first of all an exotic animal. The exoticism is reinforced by the white colour, rather unusual for tigers. The young, small, quiet animal is like a kitten near the candidate who wants to demonstrate her ability to soften even the tigers. The candidate plays on people's beliefs and emotions aroused by such small friendly pet<sup>16</sup>.

Another poster of the candidate (Figure 7) gives another image of Yulia Tymoshenko and her animal fetish. It comes in contrast with the first calendar: an angry young tiger, ready to attack and the candidate who imitates the posture and the mimics of the animal stalking his prey. Despite her slight smile, stripes drawn on the cheeks refer not only to stripes of the animal but also to paintings of American Indians warriors. The text message reinforces the effect of the threat of war: "I tear for Ukraine"<sup>17</sup>. The candidate gets the aggressive posture and challenge to all imaginary enemies. The choice of the tiger as her animal fetish can be interpreted then as the desire for emancipation. Such interpretation is based on the information provided by the personal blog of the candidate that completes her official website. Thus, in the rubric "Cats"<sup>18</sup> of the blog we have the article on the animal-fetish of Tymoshenko posted 13/10/2009. The striking parallels between the young tiger female and the candidate are clarified by the candidate herself. Yulia Tymoshenko described Tigryulia as an animal-star with an authoritarian character, quite different from others tigers. She insists on her ability to put order in its cage. The candidate introduces the animal in the electoral context by declaring that the animal will be fit for negotiations after the elections. Thus, Yulia Tymoshenko forebodes a difficult campaign where the vote of electors is less important than negotiations between politicians. In any case, the tiger in this article refers to strength, power and physical violence. The poster "The Ukraine will win" (Figure 8) demonstrates one of the strategies of denomination used by the candidate in her electoral slogan: "She works, she will win, she is Ukraine!" In this way, Y. Tymoshenko appropriates the name of the country playing with the feminine of the noun "Ukraine" and with the cultural imaginary where Ukraine is traditionally presented as a woman who protects, who suffers and who works. The candidate is personified Ukraine. The gentle face of the candidate looks the citizen in the face. She holds in her arms the generous gather of wheat, the symbol of wealth of Ukrainian land. A towel embroidered with Ukrainian traditional motifs in black and red colours frame the photo below. The text

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<sup>16</sup> Yulia Tymoshenko accompanied by this tiger is on the notebooks distributed gratis to children in schools.

<sup>17</sup> The Ukrainian verb «porvati» ("tear") used in this sense belongs to criminal slang where it means extermination.

<sup>18</sup> The name of the rubric "Hvostati" means in colloquial Ukrainian the cat family, if we translate literally it means "those who have a long tail", <http://blog.tymoshenko.ua/uk/category/my-pets>.

message contrasts with the image of peace and remind that the electoral campaign is a battle: “Ukraine will win!”

**Figure 8. Poster “Ukraine will win!”**



Another poster “Face of the truth” (Figure 9) is also highly symbolic. The picture is achieved through the integration of words and expressions to facial features of the candidate. This is a principle of calligram<sup>19</sup>. The poster is in echo with a famous calligram of Guillaume Apollinaire of 9 February 1915 (Figure 10). The face of Yulia Tymoshenko is created by the words. For example, the little red heart in the hair, attract attention with the words in bold: “Ukraine will win!”, then “I will do everything”, “Everything will be fine”, “I will do”, “I am acting”, “I am convinced”.

The future tense of verbs constitutes the electoral promise and is rarely blend with the action as incumbent Prime Minister. Other words express the face of the candidate: “I am delighted”, “I am sure”, “I will act”, “Everything will be fine”, “I remind”, “I agree”. Such lexical choices are characterized by the extremely use of the personal pronoun “I”, the verbs in the first person of singular and the linguistic markers of the feminine. In this way, the candidate affirms her femininity and at the same time takes the position of the unique enunciator. There is any other enunciator and the citizen as a target group is also absent of such communication. The verbs and adjectives express mostly emotions, feelings, being of the candidate. Such words as “everything” and “completely” repeated several times make the speech rather essentialist and abstract. In addition, the calligram is done in traditional Ukrainian colours: black and red. The image created by the words presents the candidate as the figure of the truth and the sincerity that comes in echo with her declarations on the morality in politics.

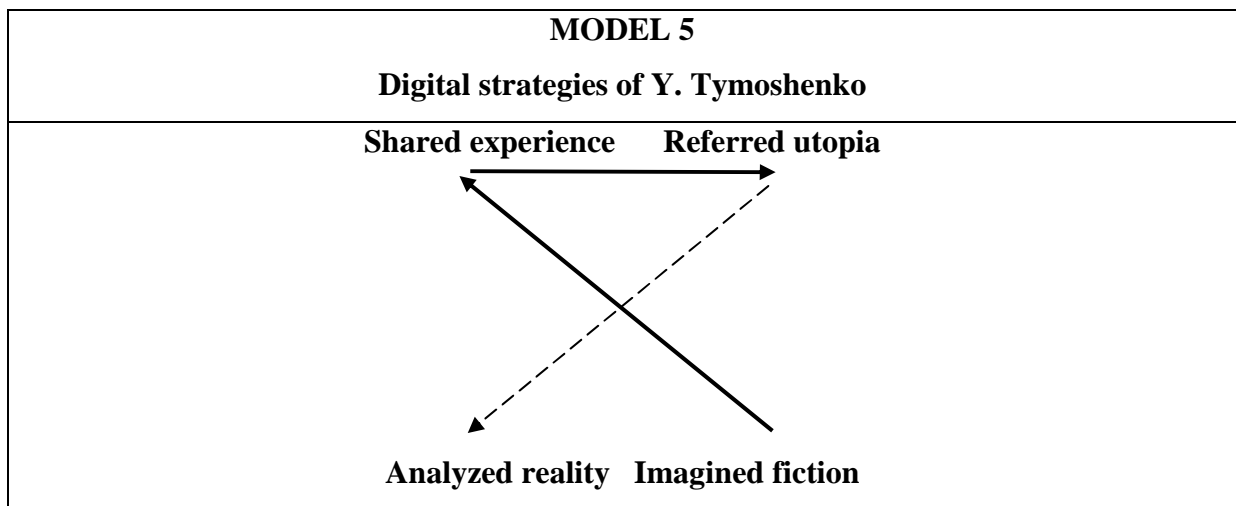
**Figure 9. Poster “Face of the truth”**

**Figure 10. Calligram of G. Apollinaire**

<sup>19</sup> A calligram is a poem in which graphic arrangement on the page forms a visual image, usually in connection with the subject of the text. The calligram involves an active reading because the reader must seek himself the meaning and direction of phrases, something that seems obvious in a classical text.



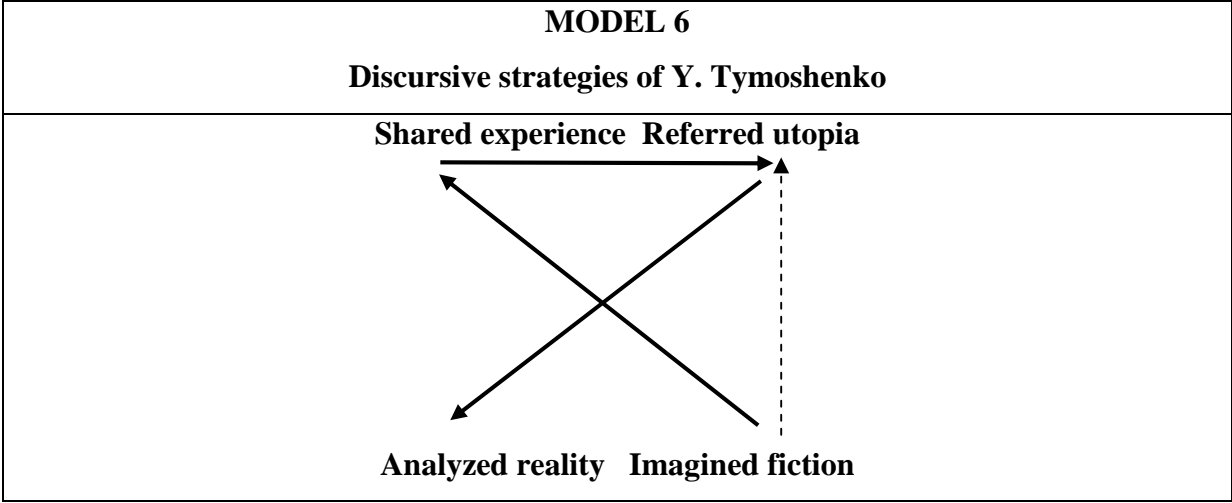
The analysis of posters of the candidate shows well her capacity to change images, to play on contrasts (peace vs. war; kindness vs. aggressiveness, Ukrainian national symbols vs. globalized symbols). Yulia Tymoshenko’s discourses evolve throughout the campaign. Thus, the main slogan of the campaign “She is Ukraine!” became recently, at least at big boards, “Ukraine is you!” From the pole of imagined fiction with a great degree of personalization of the candidate (names of the sites, posters, pictures at the top of the homepage), the candidate’s strategies moved more to the pole of shared experience (already present with hypertext links to participative sites, downloads). The informational function of the candidate site is realized through the presentation of the electoral promise. That is the pole of referred utopia. The pole of the analyzed reality is limited to disqualification of political opponents and to proposals of changes in the name of common sense.



Yulia Tymoshenko uses the broad potential of the Internet. Besides the information and the propaganda functions, she tries to install the proximity to the user through the use of her personal blog with private information, the Live Journal which offers the possibility of the discussion of different issues and several participative websites.

We have compared these findings with the discursive strategies of Yulia Tymoshenko mobilized in her speech on the Ninth Congress of the group “Homeland” (“Batkivchtchina”) which include BUT. The congress took place on the Independence Square, October 28, 2009<sup>20</sup>. The video of the speech of the candidate is posted on her channel on YouTube.com. The semiotic model of this speech shows the presence of the arrow imagined fiction – shared experience that we defined for the digital strategy of the candidate. First, Y. Tymoshenko mobilizes the Ukrainian collective memory by referring to the “Orange revolution” and national past with the high symbolical heroes who fought for independence of Ukraine. From the common past, she reminds the values for which Ukrainian people fought during the Orange revolution (imagined fiction) and repeat and reinforce the values that should be defended (pole of referred utopia). Y. Tymoshenko disqualifies the outgoing President as being incapable to realize important reforms (analyzed reality). From general to particular, from history to collective memory, from the possessive pronoun “I” to the inclusive “We”, using the anecdote (the story of a disabled sportswoman who succeed in curing thanks to her efforts), the imaginary (the dream that she had of Maidan), the humour that disqualify her political opponent V. Yushchenko, the candidate anchor her speech into utopia through two high values: patriotism and morality in politics.

<sup>20</sup> The choice of such form of the Congress opened to all in the highly symbolic place since 2004 confirms the anchoring in the pole of shared experience that the candidate integrated in her electoral strategy.



**Analysis of the website of Arseniy Yatsenuk**

The dry, military style of the homepage of the site of Arseniy Yatsenuk can be explained by the name of his party Front for changes. The noun “front” refers to the war. This effect is reinforced by the campaign slogan “I am going to war against the oligarchs”. Moreover, both, the candidate’s personal site <http://arseniy.org/> and the site of his party <http://frontzmin.org/> are interconnected by hypertext links. The name of the electoral program “New Deal” and another electoral slogan “New Industrialization” refer to the period before the Second World War while the candidate positions himself on the imaginary war against the oligarchs. If the first slogan evokes the famous New Deal, the interventionist policy practiced by F. Roosevelt from 1933 to 1938 to fight against the effects of the Great Depression in the United States, “New Industrialization” refers to the Soviet Union of 1930s when industrialization means the catching-up of the economy compared to developed countries in a relatively short period by mobilizing extreme material and human resources. These two historical periods are related to very different contexts and have had mixed and discussed results. Faced with the economic crisis of 2008 that some Ukrainian journalists compare to the Great Depression of 1929, and the unemployment that according to official data exceed 10% in Ukraine, these references become intelligible and speak to the people nostalgic for the power of the Soviet industrialization as well as to those who are turning more towards Western models of development of the country.

There is no picture or photo at the top of the page. The candidate is presented textually through his name “Arseniy Yatsenuk”. The background of the page imitates the khaki and black military camouflage usually used to hide or make less visible for the enemy, soldiers or technical equipment. This visual rhetoric is involved in the construction of the identity of the

anti-establishment candidate on the Internet. Other effects imitate the difficult front conditions. For example, the weekly alternative news is broadcasted since October 2009 on the web TV channel of the party Front for changes<sup>21</sup>. The TV news runs in the studio that reproduces a wooden hut where several objects of decoration evoke the Second World War: the big phone of that time, the oil lamp, the pump, maps and plans, a Soviet officer's cap...The presenters are always warmly dressed as if it was cold in their hut. The yellow light illuminates weakly the studio. The floor is covered with straw. Only the notebook of presenters is a sign of our times. The music at the beginning of the TV news suggests the Soviet news programs.

Let's return to the website of the candidate. The horizontal navigation bar consists of four rubrics: "Font page", "Photo Gallery", "Videos" and "Biography". The rubric "Photo Gallery" contains four albums, two of which present the private pictures of the candidate "Childhood" and "No tie". Two others present more official photos of A. Yatsenuk: "Meetings" and "Activities". The category "Videos" refers to the site of the party where videos are stored in archives and in two sections "Latest videos" and "The most viewed videos". Another navigation bar, perpendicular to the first, contains four rubrics. First, it is the category "Translation on line: video archive of meetings A. Yatsenuk". This link refers the visitor to the site of the party Front for changes where he can watch live meetings or download videos of meetings held in the regions. The rubric "Front for changes" emphasizes once again the belonging of the candidate to his party. The rubric "Foundation Arseniy Yatsenuk" refers to the website "Open Ukraine"<sup>22</sup>, the international charitable foundation created by the candidate and Zbiegnev Djimala in July 2007. Finally, the rubric "Program of Arseniy Yatsenuk" presents the candidate program "New Deal". The left column continues with journalistic articles about the candidate<sup>23</sup>. Their presence creates the effect of a journalistic objectivity and participates in achieving of the informative aim of the site.

The central part of the homepage hosts a video. The videos are changing almost every week. For example, "The election campaigns of Tymoshenko and Yanukovich leads to the division of Ukraine" on 19/12/2009 and "The Ukraine has become a country of production" on 24 / 12/2009. The first one disqualifies political opponents and the second one presents the

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<sup>21</sup> The TV channel of the party Front for changes: <http://frontzmin.tv/>.

<sup>22</sup> The site « Open Ukraine: charitable foundation of Arseniy Yatsenuk »: <http://www.openukraine.org/ua/>. The organization promotes the international prestige of Ukraine and contributes to the development of international cooperation of Ukraine and of public diplomacy.

<sup>23</sup> The most cited articles are from the national newspapers "Komsomolskaya Pravda v Oukraini", "Arguamenti i Fakty v Oukraini, "Fakty". Regional newspapers are also represented by "Galitzka Zoria", "Korostichivska gazeta", Nikolaevsky novosti etc.



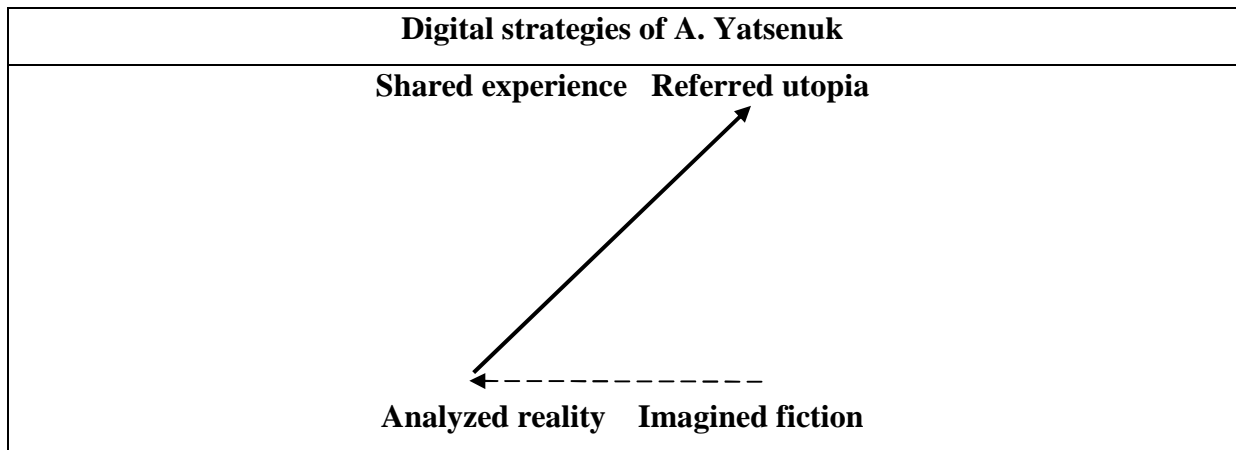
program of the candidate. It should be noted that most videos of the site use the journalistic style for the staging of political speech. The video is followed by the rubric "News". The choice of titles draws attention. It is always a quote of A. Yatsenuk. Thus, the polyphony is settled in the enunciation of the site between the narrator (the journalist) that creates the effect of objectivity, and the candidate's voice which creates the effect of authenticity. We included in our analysis the titles and subtitles recorded in this rubric 24/12/2009.

The right column of the site begins with a call to the user: "I appeal to all political parties, civic organizations, all citizens of Ukraine. Tell your word against xenophobia, racism and Nazism. Ask the Attorney General to initiate legal proceedings against Ratouchniak for incitement to ethnic hatred". Thus, the candidate mentions an incident that took place in August 2009 when Sergui Ratouchniak, Mayor of Oujgorod and now a candidate to the presidential elections, attacked a student-propagandist from the team of A.Yatsenuk. This incident was discussed in the media and led to anti-Semitic comments from Sergui Ratouchniak. Arseniy Yatsenuk takes a position of defending a member of his team and calls for justice. The right column continues with interviews given by A. Yatsenuk to different newspapers.

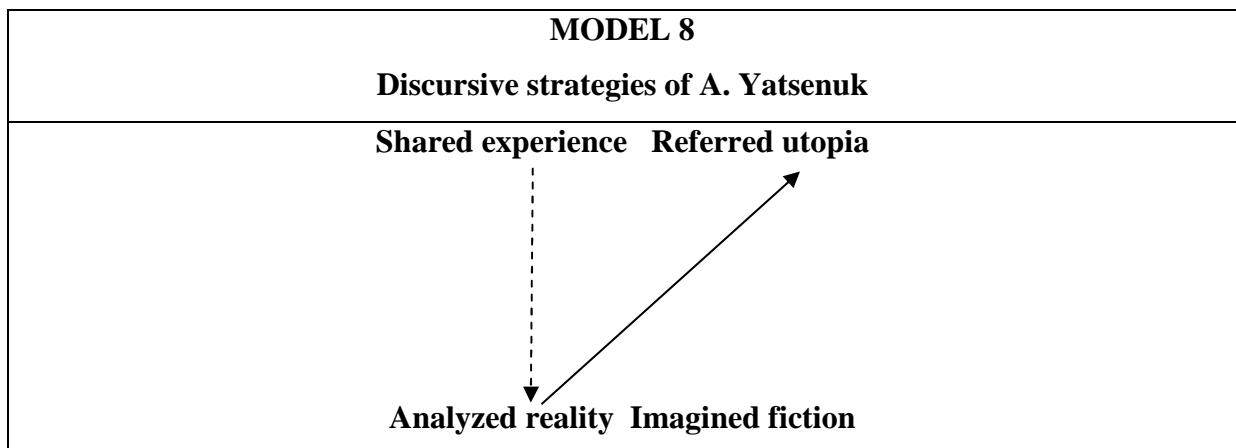
The site of Arseniy Yatsenuk has a strong informational aim (news from the candidate and from the press; the search engine internal to the site). If the site of the party Front for changes assumes the function of adhesion of Internet users by several proceedings: information on the number of people who have already joined the party, raising funds for the campaign etc. The site of Arseniy Yatsenuk is more involved in promoting the candidate key ideas, values, ways in which he wants to realize reforms. Through photos, videos, journalistic articles the personal site of A. Yatsenuk contributes to the creation of the ethos of the anti-establishment politician-reformer.

The application of our semiotic model to summarize the digital strategies of Arseniy Yatsenuk show that they start at the pole of imagined fiction (expressed by the mobilization of historical references, the visual rhetoric of the site) and goes to analyzed reality (the disqualification of opponents, the denunciation of their strategies, the description of the effects of the crisis). The strongest arrow goes from the pole of analyzed reality to referred utopia (slogans of the campaign and projects of reforms).

<b>MODEL 7</b>
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These findings were compared with the semiotic analysis of the speech pronounced by A. Yatsenuk on the Congress of the party Front for changes on 29/11/2009. The candidate insisted in his speech on the historic mission of his party. He speaks to representatives of his party who should convince Ukrainian people to join Yatsenuk project (the pole of shared experience). The discursive strategy of the candidate starts from the analyzed reality and leads to the description of the difficult situation in which Ukraine and its citizens are and the identification of the causes of this disaster which are for A. Yatsenuk the form of the state built on the principle of the company and its corrupt officials. The pole of analyzed reality is apprehended on behalf of pragmatism through concrete steps in order to unite the nation and achieve a strong state from the economical and social points of view (referred utopia). In this way the ethos of anti-establishment candidate who appeals to the counter-revolution, is created. He is neither left nor right, as he declares in this speech, but he shares the ideology of the state. Moral values in politics are also put forward in the speech of A. Yatsenuk: “We must understand that our society does not live only by material values, they will come, but we must have moral values, we must have the heart, have the position”.




## **Conclusion**

Lack of strong ideological divides and distinct political programs the presidential campaign 2010 plays mostly on the ethos (image) of candidates by means of different communicative strategies. The analysis of digital strategies mobilized by the candidates to presidential election on their personal/official websites are rather representative of their general electoral strategies. The positioning of the candidates revealed by semiotic analysis indicates the fundamental differences between them. For the moment, the Internet doesn't change a lot the traditional schemas of electoral communication (top-down). But we assist already on the emergence of Ukrainian "digital political spheres" which will only develop and integrate more and more electoral campaigns.

## APPENDIX

**Table 1. Ukrainian candidates on the Internet**

<i>Candidate</i>	<i>Party</i>	<i>Name of the site</i>	<i>URL</i>	<i>Logo/image of the homepage</i>
<b>Viktor Yanukovich</b>	Party of Regions	Official information server of the Party of Regions	<a href="http://www.partyofregions.org.ua/">http://www.partyofregions.org.ua/</a>	
		Personal information server of Viktor Yanukovich	<a href="http://www.yanukovich.com.ua/">http://www.yanukovich.com.ua/</a>	
		The Ukrainian Government of opposition	<a href="http://www.okm.com.ua/">http://www.okm.com.ua/</a>	
		Official channel of V. Yanukovich on YouTube.com	<a href="http://www.youtube.com/user/yanukovichv">http://www.youtube.com/user/yanukovichv</a>	
<b>Yulia Tymoshenko</b>	All-Ukraine Union « Home and », Parliamentary fraction BUT : Bloc of Y Ioulia Tymoshenko	Official site of BUT	<a href="http://www.byut.com.ua/">http://www.byut.com.ua/</a>	
		Official site of Yulia Tymoshenko	<a href="http://www.tymoshenko.ua/">http://www.tymoshenko.ua/</a>	

		Official site of presidential elections 2010	<a href="http://vybory.tymoshenko.ua/">http://vybory.tymoshenko.ua/</a>	
		Personnal blog of Yulia Tymoshenko... withoutpolitics ☺	<a href="http://blog.tymoshenko.ua/">http://blog.tymoshenko.ua/</a>	
		Live Journal of Yulia Tymoshenko on Livejournal.com	<a href="http://tymoshenkoua.livejournal.com/">http://tymoshenkoua.livejournal.com/</a>	
		Official channel of Y. Tymoshenko on Youtube.com	<a href="http://www.youtube.com/user/tymoshenkoua?hl=ru">http://www.youtube.com/user/tymoshenkoua?hl=ru</a>	
		Site of suppoters of Yulia Tymoshenko	<a href="https://viryu.tymoshenko.ua/">https://viryu.tymoshenko.ua/</a>	
		Site of electoral campaign of Tymoshneko « With Ukraine in the heart »	<a href="http://serce.tymoshenko.ua/">http://serce.tymoshenko.ua/</a>	
<b>Arseniy Yatsenyuk</b>	Party Front for Changes	Official site of Party Front for Changes	<a href="http://frontzm.in.org/">http://frontzm.in.org/</a>	
		Personal site of Aresniy Yatsenyuk	<a href="http://arseniy.org/">http://arseniy.org/</a>	
<b>Petro Symonenko</b>	The Communist Party of Ukraine	Official site of the Communist Party of Ukraine	<a href="http://www.kpu.net.ua/">http://www.kpu.net.ua/</a>	
<b>Volodymyr Lytvyn</b>	The Popular Party	Official site of the Popular Party	<a href="http://narodna.org.ua/">http://narodna.org.ua/</a>	

		Personal site of V.Lytvyn	<a href="http://www.lytvyn-v.org.ua">http://www.lytvyn-v.org.ua</a>	
<b>Viktor Yushchenko</b>	Our Ukraine Party	Central information server of Our Ukraine Party	<a href="http://www.razom.org.ua/">http://www.razom.org.ua/</a>	
		Personal site of Viktor Yushchenko	<a href="http://www.nashvybir.com.ua/">http://www.nashvybir.com.ua/</a>	
		Official channel of Yushchenko on YouTube.com,	<a href="http://www.youtube.com/user/viktoryushchenko">http://www.youtube.com/user/viktoryushchenko</a>	
<b>Anatoliy Grytsenko</b>	Former ministre of defence	Personal site of A. Grytsenko	<a href="http://grytsenko.com.ua/">http://grytsenko.com.ua/</a>	
<b>Sergiy Tigipko</b>		Official site of S. Tigipko	<a href="http://tigipko.com/">http://tigipko.com/</a>	
<b>Youriy Kostenko</b>	The Ukrainian People's Party	Official site of the Ukrainian People's Party	<a href="http://www.unp.ua/">http://www.unp.ua/</a>	
		Personal site of Youriy Kostenko	<a href="http://www.kostenko.unp-ua.org/">http://www.kostenko.unp-ua.org/</a>	

<b>Inna Bogoslovska</b>	« Vitche of Ukraine »	Official site of « Vitche of Ukraine »	<a href="http://viche.org">http://viche.org</a>	
		Personal site of Inna Bogoslovska	<a href="http://www.inna.com.ua/ru/">http://www.inna.com.ua/ru/</a>	
		Official site of Inna Bogoslovska	<a href="http://www.bogoslovska.com/">http://www.bogoslovska.com/</a>	
<b>Oleksandr Moroz</b>	The Socialist Party	Official site of the Socialist Party	<a href="http://spu.in.ua">http://spu.in.ua</a>	
<b>Oleh Tyahnybok</b>	All-Ukrainian Union « Freedom »		<a href="http://www.tyahnybok.info/">http://www.tyahnybok.info/</a>	
<b>Oleksandr Pabat</b>	The Popular army of relief (NAS)	Official site of the Popular army of relief (NAS)	<a href="http://unas.com.ua/">http://unas.com.ua/</a>	
<b>Oleg Riabokon</b>		Personal page of Oleg Riabokon	<a href="http://www.riabokon.com.ua/">http://www.riabokon.com.ua/</a>	
<b>Luydmyla Suprun</b>	The Popular-Democratic Party	Personal site of L. Suprun	<a href="http://suprun.com.ua/">http://suprun.com.ua/</a>	

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