Public sector in the age of the Web 2.0.
Reflections on how and what for bureaucracies and bureaucrats are blogging?

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Abstract
Web 2.0, as a new phenomenon, is turning the Internet into a multimedia location where people seek to inform, persuade, involve and mobilize others. As a result, the number of activities with political objectives that are manifested in, inscribed on, and enabled through the Internet is exponentially increasing, including bureaucrats-citizens relationships and dynamics. Thus, are bureaucrats-citizens relations changing their roots and fundamentals as a consequence of the Web 2.0? Could administrative activities based on Web 2.0 principles really introduce innovation into the relational dynamics between public administrations and the citizenry? To what extent this can be academically investigated? This study is actually proceeding to test governmental practices for blogging purposes from agencies and bureaucrats in the US and Spain, respectively. In so doing, we focused our research on defined contexts: blogs of national public agencies, and blogs of governmental bureaucrats. Even if the on-going status of this research does not allow making definitive conclusions or generalizations, this paper offers some reflections and preliminary results about blogging practices at U.S. and Spain governmental settings. One of the most relevant is the fact that neither is there a specific profile for bureaucratic bloggers, nor a role played by policy sector in deciding whether or not to run a blog strategy and how to conduct it. The innovative or clichéd nature of this practice seems to depend merely on the innovative or traditional character of the bloggers, both agencies and bureaucrats.

Keywords: information and communication technologies, Web 2.0, political blogging,
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1. Introduction

Web 2.0 principles and tools are now core issues for digital government. Exploring this digital facet is now of growing importance for academics and practitioners around the World, also in the administrative level of government. The Internet is reframing our societies. In general, it is contributing to the diffusion and instrumentation of new digital systems of social mobilization. More specifically, the Internet is favouring the emergence and development of virtual communities based on collaborative principles of the so called Web 2.0 Philosophy (Chadwick & Howard, 2008; Coleman & Howard, 2008; Sunstein, 2007). This actuality is progressively transcending the social stage to take root in political ground. All types of political actors – not only news producers but also advocacy groups, social movements, political parties, political institutions, government bodies, individual political actors and citizens – are increasingly likely to have a presence on the Web 2.0 (Bloom & Kerbel, 2006; Farrell & Drezner, 2008). Ultimately, bureaucrats and bureaucracies are expanding the scope of digital means in government under the rubric of 2.0 tools and instruments, above all blogs, even if this specific phenomenon has not been studied yet. This paper investigates the behaviour of bureaucracies and bureaucrats using blogs, as a means to explore how and what for public managers and agencies are actually blogging.

Web 2.0, as a new phenomenon, is turning the Internet into a multimedia location where people seek to inform, persuade, involve and mobilize others. As a result, the number of activities with political objectives that are manifested in, inscribed on, and enabled through the Internet is exponentially increasing, including bureaucrats-citizens relationships and dynamics. Thus, are bureaucrats-citizens relations changing their roots and fundamentals as a consequence of the Web 2.0? Could administrative activities based on Web 2.0 principles really introduce innovation into the relational dynamics between public administrations and the citizenry? To what extent this can be academically investigated? These questions are important in theoretical terms and introduce some challenges for the study of public administration in the age of 2.0.

This paper focuses on two different sources of data. On the one hand, it analyses blogs’ contents from general bureaucracies as independent entities. On the other hand, blogging from public bureaucrats will be analysed, as they are presented as independent from their agencies. The first type represents an important source of knowledge in terms of understanding the type of uses that public administrations are doing of Web 2.0 tools, and how and what for blogs are relevant for public bureaucracies as official Web settings. Besides, several public managers and employees are using their blogs to communicate directly with the public, providing more informal approaches to the use of blogs for governmental purposes. Nonetheless, this is an on-going research, thus

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1 This paper has been carried out with the financial support of the Spanish National R&D Plan through research grant CSO2008-06453, project Analysis of political leadership in Spain. Study of councillors and their role in local government structures after thirty years of democratic city councils.
This paper offers the most relevant aspects of the conceptual and analytical framework to address how political blogs can be studied academically. Also, some preliminary conclusions are given with regard to the contexts in which governmental blogging is taken part: agency’s and agency-independent’s blogs (bureaucrats’ blogs).

This paper operates as follows. In the next section, it provides a review of conceptual and analytical aspects regarding to the study of blogging practices in the public sector. In the third section, it is offered an overview of blogging practices at the United States and Spain, countries in which this work is based on. In fourth place, this paper develops a preliminary study of blogging practices in two cases, one from an agency of the U.S. government, and other from a group of bloggers-bureaucrats of Spanish public administrations. At the end, the conclusion section sums up the most salient elements of this paper and opens up some windows about next steps in this research, and the potential contributions of blogging practices in public administration.

2. Searching for a conceptual and analytical framework for governmental blogging

2.1. Collaborative dimension of political blogging

In practical terms, like conventional web sites, blogs are hosted on servers, viewed through Internet browsers and accessed using URL addresses. Blogs are periodically updated as well, with posts accompanied by the date and time, and presented in chronological order, with the most recent post first. In line with web pages, where the webmaster controls the page’s content, the blog’s editorial control, including the subject matter, length, and tone of the posts, is at the discretion of the blogger (Musser & O’Reilly, 2006). In other words, personal edition and networking allow the blogger to interact with people, institutions, and other agents in different areas and about many distinct aspects. However, despite having similarities with other web formats, blogs constitute a specific category on the WWW from the very origins of the concept.

The most relevant element that distinguishes weblogs is their interactive and collaborative nature. These offer the chance of allowing visitors to respond to the blogger’s original posts, comment on the visitors’ responses, link with information or opinion provided by other web platforms, engage with other bloggers using blogrolls and placing banners to emphasize the importance of different organizations, social movements, etc. (Coleman & Moss, 2008; Hewitt, 2005; Kline, 2005). Also, this collaborative nature of blogging practices remains in concepts such as trackbacks, clouds, tags, etc., reinforcing bloggers’ capabilities to give and receive comments, exchange ideas, and interact with other agents in the Internet (Drezner & Farrell, 2008; Hargittai et al., 2008; Woodly, 2008; Wright, 2008). This tends to constitute a blogsphere within a specific area of interest, such as politics, creating alerts with new posts in the community, sharing popular information, and giving authority based on merit and inputs of aggregators.

2.2. Typology of political blogging

Political blogging has been studied in different realms. As an example, in the context of elections, the surplus of interactivity favoured by blogging practices opens up unprecedented opportunities for more inclusive public engagement in the consideration and promotion of policy issues. However, from the perspective of the electorate, the interest in the study of the blogging campaigning phenomenon is not only in the blog’s potential ability to enhance political debate and communication within the online community” (Ferguson & Howell, 2004:17). Going further, the concern about blogging diffusion derives from the challenge it may pose to the structural,
representational and interactive dimensions of democracies. In general, this is a subject of studies of political science (Coleman & Wright, 2008; Dahlgren, 2005; Sunstein, 2008). However, this paper explores in depth the importance of political blogging for bureaucracies and bureaucrats, an area that may illuminate the relevance of Web 2.0 in public sector, public policy, and service delivery. Different people use blogs for different political purposes, thus it is essential to distinguish the type of agents involved in political blogging. To start with, it is relevant to brief a typology of political blogging based on the type of agent involved in blogging practices, based on the work of previous authors (Criado & Martínez-Fuentes, 2009; Pole, 2006; Wallsten, 2008):

a) First, individual citizens may develop personal blogging practices with various political purposes. A number of cases may illustrate this category, from almost anonymous blogs to very influential blogging proposals, such as those of Michelle Malkin, a conservative commentator extremely influential at the US political constellation (http://michellemalkin.com/); or the blog of Cindy Sheehan, mother of a soldier death in Iraq in 2004, who fought against the Bush Administration to rush the decision of withdrawing the troops from that country as soon as possible. This last event represented the first step for her political career to be elected as a member of the Representatives Chamber (http://www.cindyforcongress.org/).

b) The second type derives from the blogging activities of non-digital mass media and other opinion builders in the digital sphere. This category includes traditional communication media (press, radio, television) that launched their own corporate blogs about politics. In general, traditional mass media offer their readers, listeners and viewers a new way to access information, create analysis, and offer political opinion. In fact, political media (The Nation, The Economist, The American Spectator…), and generalist journals (The New York Times, The Washington Post, Financial Times…), either give support to their individual readers for publishing, either have their own corporate blogs (or both). In addition, new grassroots digital journalism has become very influential world wide in terms of number of readers. Among the most authoritative cases are the two giants of this digital new journalism at the U.S.: Daily Kos (http://www.dailykos.com) and Pajamas Media (http://pajamasmedia.com/).

c) Interest groups represent the third type of agent in terms of political blogging. Obviously, this is the case of groups of individuals and organizations acting using this new way as a platform to reach a major audience, as well as to spread their ideological orientations and defend their political proposals and objectives. Under this type are blogs of activists’ groups for racial equality (http://blackwomenblowthetrumpet.blogspot.com/), for women rigths (http://feministreview.blogspot.com/), for disable people or people with special needs (http://www.disabilityblogger.blogspot.com/), etc.

d) Another variety of political blogging derives from the political platforms, movements, and parties. This type identifies political blogging looking for support to political parties or political groups favourable to concrete political measures. Here, political blogging ensures and reinforces connections and links with similar groups and individuals with the same view to agents involved, facilitating and fastening the geographical dispersion of the (more or less) implicit message within this digital presence. International known examples come from American liberal (http://www.actblue.com/; http://www.huffingtonpost.com/; http://thinkprogress.org/) or conservative (http://www.redstate.com/; http://hotair.com/) sides. Besides, in political systems where political parties enjoy more institutional influence, they use to lead this variety of political blogging, leaving behind.

e) Recently, a growing amount of political leaders are managing their own blogging
systems. These agents have assumed blogs as political platforms to promote access to information, engage, mobilize, and support citizens and potential voters. In the field of political leadership, the communicative, interactive, and collaborative dimensions of political blogging are based on the capacity for creating cross-community vinculums and deploying networks of users and institutions, directly participating, linking to other web sites, or rolling to “friend” blogs. There exists many “old” examples of this variety, as those of Boris Johnson, London’s Mayor (http://www.boris-johnson.com/); David Miliband, Foreign Secretary (http://blogs.fco.gov.uk/roller/miliband/); most of the European Union commissioners (http://blogs.ec.europa.eu/), etc., who use their blogs with the same type of purposes.

f) Blogging in public agencies and employees is the last, but not least, variety identified within this typology. In governmental blogging, public agencies and employees act as bloggers who promote conscious impacts in public-policy design and implementation. Governmental blogging is addressed to facilitate the design and implementation of public policies and services using direct contact with the citizenry, target groups, or the community in general. Different agencies and public employees are now involved in such practices, including communication of diary activities as public managers, or shedding light on concrete issues. These activities may facilitate knowledge sharing and cross-agency communication. Examples of this variety are growing in different governments and bureaucracies. Next pages develop this type of political blogging in more detail.

2.3. Analytical approach to governmental blogging

The location of governmental blogging responds to the blogger’s strategic choice. All governmental bloggers/followers interfaces take place within a particular context that, ultimately, models the interaction itself. In other words, every governmental blogger/follower digital interaction is Web contextualized. It happens within a particular blog context that, eventually, moulds the character of the relation between the blogger and visitors. Therefore, the interaction performed between them by blogging could be expected to engender different patterns depending on the Web context where the governmental’s blog is located. Following previous scholars studying this field (Criado y Martínez-Fuentes, 2009; Pole, 2006; Wallsten, 2007), and for analytical purposes, one may discern the option between two basic alternatives to set up this type of political blog: agency and agency-independent locations. Logically, each option brings about different interactive implications over the blogs’ design and functioning. As a result, the content of the blogger interaction with the visitors is expected to differ depending on the nature of this interactive contextualization. For instance, autonomous locations provide wider margins of manoeuvring to design and conduct blogging practices, while agency-based locations may be constraining in this regard, by predetermining the blog’s structure or facilities. Also, the potential audiences may vary depending on the character of the blog’s context (see Table 1).

Regarding the content of blogging practices, the main advantage for public agencies and bureaucrats is in the facilities that the blogs offer for (a) information exchange, (b) community inter-linkage, and (c) network promotion (Farrell & Drezner, 2008; Criado and Martínez-Fuentes, 2009). In the first case, the agency/bureaucrat blogger may search for two different information possibilities. The first kind can be described as ‘non issue’ information, while the second ‘issue’ information. While the first kind can be described as ‘non-issue’ information, while the second is ‘issue’ information. Posts with non issue information might merely advertise non organizational or personal topics; posts with issue information are more revealing. These may contribute to disseminate the blogger’s position regarding key questions as well as records and goals, if talking about an agency. In this way, the information exchange performed within the blogger’s political
blog could be expected to follow different patterns depending on the particular post content. In this last respect, we can categorize these possible variances by distinguishing between advertising posts, reporting posts, advancing posts, polling posts and position taking posts (see Table 1).

Also, it must be pointed out that the agency/bureaucrat blogger can manage the post and comment tools of the blog with total freedom of choice. First, the blogger can post with the frequency chosen and as much as it is wished. Second, the blogger can decide upon the style of the post production. That is, it/he/she might either give content to the post by developing self-produced posts, or create co-produced post by reproducing others’ information. In this latter case, such information may come from mass media, political parties, advocacy groups or other independent bloggers. Third, the blog offers the blogger the chance of receiving comments from visitors, giving him/her the chance to engage in discussions and/or ‘taking the pulse’ of her/his potential audience. Therefore, the involving function of the agency/bureaucrat’s blog could be expected to follow different patterns depending on several factors. Specifically, these are: a) post frequency; b) prevalence of co-produced or self-produced posting; c) nature of the information provided by co-produced posting; d) comment reception quantity; and f) free or filtering character of the comment reception. This analytical approach needs to be develop further with a typology to understand different approaches to this practice and make it easier the analysis of this paper.

In the third place, blogging activities may create and reinforce external links to improve governance. Governmental blogging may look for the expansion of these relations into networks of knowledge supporting the core functions of the agency/bureaucrat involved. To this point, hyperlinks, blogrolls and banners are convenient means to achieve the networking tasks of blogging. Through the use of these digital instruments, the blogger can readily show media leanings and vinculums with social and political organizations, movements, groups, etc. In this way, this exposure helps visitors to evaluate the affinity that may exist between themselves, the blogger, and the members of the network themselves, and finally, consider engaging in such a set-up if they feel like forming part of this virtual community.
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Source: Own elaboration based on Criado and Martinez-Fuentes (2009)
3. Governmental blogging in the United States and Spain. An overview

Taking into account the abovementioned conceptual and analytical framework, we centred our attention on the most relevant blogging practices in the case of US and Spain’s governments. Overall, governmental blogging practices remains one the most unstudied areas of political blogging. Thus, one of the first tasks when studying this type implied searching, codifying, and classifying blogs’ context and contents addressing the analytical categories defined in the previous section. This paper only shows preliminary results, using two cases of governmental blogging in the United States (for agency blog context) and Spain (for agency-independent blog context). Nonetheless, some general comments can be given to conform a general overview of these two varieties of governmental blogging, with some preliminary results on this on-going research.

This study is actually proceeding to test governmental practices for blogging purposes from agencies and bureaucrats in the US and Spain, respectively. In so doing, we focused our research on defined contexts: blogs of national public agencies, and blogs of governmental bureaucrats. In the first case, the universe of cases was narrowed to those cases involved within official lists provided by governments (accessible at: http://www.usa.gov/Topics/Reference_Shelf/News/blog.shtml in the U.S., and the URL’s of Spanish ministries). In the second case, the search was more difficult, and it included a general review of the most popular agency-independent governmental blogs (blogs of public officials autonomously managed from agencies), then using the snowball technique for completing the sample with the most relevant blogs of bureaucrats in both countries. Next, the delineation of the empirical research was based on exploring both types of contexts for governmental blogging in both countries, assuming comparative purposes between them. Nonetheless, at this stage and in the next section this paper only includes some comments underlining substantial differences, due to it is a research in progress.

Beginning with the year, the on-going test will be carried out until the end of 2009, including the blog’s content analysis of the abovementioned universe (in both categories of blogs and countries) from their first post published. Both blogging contexts conform to the research guideline draft in Table 1. In that regard, the research protocol is focused on the content analysis of blogs, regarding to the different dimensions, variables and indicators previously displayed. In addition, this study aims to set up the first step to connect this type of research following international studies in the same field.

4. Case study analysis. The ‘blues of blogging in bureaucracies’

4.1. Agency context blogging. GovGab, United States Government blog

In the case of the United States, blogging practices are spread across most federal agencies. The majority of departments of the US government manage a blog. In some cases, blogs directly present the department statements or policies, although all of them use some different features from traditional governmental web sites. One the one hand, they provide information about policies, more than from a governmental perspective with a citizen-centric and easy-to-read approach. On the other hand, this type of blog is updated using common, accessible, and direct language (not administrative jargon). All of them give relevant “tips” of information about the governmental agency, also looking for involvement with the maintenance of posting frequency (almost diary), even if comments reception is rare, in special among citizens potentially
interested. Much less cases seem to define networking purposes. In these cases, they expand more internal or governmental links to different public agencies than external networks with other non-governmental agents. Here, this type of agency context is characterized with the blog GovGab (see Image 1).

Image 1. GovGab. United States government blog

This case, named Your U.S. government blog, does not represent a concrete department or agency, but the government in broader terms. GovGab blog first post was launched in September, 20th, 2007, under the landmark of the U.S. General Services Administration (agency context). Now, seven public employees update almost dairy this governmental blog. Covered categories range from home and family to travel and fun, also general “picks”, health, and money (even if the tag cloud expands the interests to other issues, such as, cars, credit, economy, environment, family, food, government, health, holiday, home, money, president, safety, saving, shopping, taxes, travel, and usa.gov). Even if the official language of the blog is English, it also offers some posts in Spanish, or the translation of the English version of some posts.

Regarding the information provision, it is noticeable a fragmented distribution of posting activity. Here, this blog fundamentally engaged in advertising and achievement practices, with less presence of other categories, above all, agency achievements or promises about future performance or outputs. This aspect of the study seems to reveal the type of interest of agencies when they start and manage blogging practices. Why are agencies blogging at the moment remains one of the main objectives of this study, although it is early to answer.

During the period under scrutiny here, from September 20th 2007 to August 15th 2009, the amount of posts mounted to 517. Overall, it implies a publishing frequency near one per day (at least, in working days). Graphic 1 presents the post’s distribution per months, giving an idea of the overall
posting frequency, with peaks and valleys during the period, although the trend of the graphic reflects noticeable stability in time, including holiday periods. In general, posts self-production is prevalent, even if co-production practices are also usual, adopting in those cases videos coming from YouTube or pictures picked from journals. Besides, external comments reveal ideas about the magnitude of the involvement dimension in governmental blogging. Here, the conclusion is that figures of comments are generally limited in sum, even if this type of blog encourages participation and interaction with government by digital means.

Concerning the networking dimension, we realized that it was quite developed but only somewhat diversified. GovGab blog is a good example of existing links to information from governmental agencies working in the same field (of the posts main topics). At the same time, hyperlinks derived to external agents are not so usual. This is also the case with blogroll, oriented to consolidate governmental networks (USA.gov, Pueblo.gsa.gov, ConsumerAction.gov, GobiernoUSA.gov, USA.gov Facebook, US Government YouTube Channel, USA.gov Twitter), putting aside other type of agents. Finally, this case does not offer banners to connect with other agents in the digital sphere. Thus, this networking facet seems to be underdeveloped within this blogging context at present.

4.2. Agency-independent context blogging. Wired governments, Spanish public employees blog

In the case of Spain, blogging practices are relatively well extended among governmental bureaucrats. Almost all of these cases do not present directly department statements or policies, even if in the majority of bureaucrats provide information about their governmental affiliation. In most of the cases they start “conversations” with agency-related issues, thus giving information about them or the policy sector in which they are involved, but they are also prone to suggest more general topics regarding eGovernment. Also, this type of blog is developed using more accessible and clear language (not administrative jargon). Within these cases, even if bloggers look for involvement with the maintenance of blogging frequency (it is difficult for them to maintain them diary), this is not so important as it is the reception of comments. Nonetheless, this contextual type of governmental blogging presents a limited amount of comments, and bloggers are frequently reluctant to answer comments, unless they open up polling questions or directly ask for feedback from the blog community. Networking is one of the most relevant aspects of non-agency blogs, as bureaucrats are generally resolved to expand networks with readers, commentators, and in less extent, citizens. Here, this type of agency-independent context is characterized with the blog Wired administrations (see Image 2).
Wired governments blog engenders the most intriguing case of governmental blogging in the Spanish administrative agency-independent context. This blog was launched in 2005 within a task force group of top officials of a regional government, in a moment when political blogging practices remained in their infancy. This case grew up with the idea of "creating a meeting point to exchange experiences, knowledge, and opinions to wired public administrations". Actually, even if they have different agents involved in this project, this blog is actually managed by two public officials. Thus, this case comprises the most relevant features of agency-independent political blogging. It is noticeable the extent of categories used to classify the contents of this blog (at present, more than 30, among the most used are local administration, good practices, service quality, interadministrative collaboration, Politics 2.0, Europe, knowledge management, governance, public management, open government, participation, etc.), giving special importance to functionalities related to tags and tagging contents, thus making them more accessible for readers. All posts studied are into Spanish, being the period tested in this case from October 6th, 2005.

 Provision of information is important within this blog, even if it seems to be balanced with networking interests. In the first aspect, posts do not offer prevalence of a specific type of content, nonetheless some categories present the highest percentages of presence in overall terms (advertisement and personal position-taking). In the second aspect, this blog shows a clear and intense example of community building functionalities, using digital means, as the most relevant governmental bloggers in the country publish with some frequency. A concrete indicator reveals the kind of networked boosts within this blog: a blogroll with several and notable top public officials from different governments in Spain, autonomous bloggers interested in public administration modernisation, and academics/advisers doing research/consultancy on eGovernment issues. It is also relevant for this case study the ability of bloggers to interact with
external agents using hyperlinks within the text, and giving access to banners with relevant information about them.

Graphic 2. Monthly posts/entries at Wired government blog

Involvement represents the final type of behaviour to integrate external agents in the building process of this agency-independent blog. The study of Wired governments’ contents from the beginning provided data about different indicators regarding involvement aspects. Up to 989 posts from the inauguration, this blog shows a monthly mean sustained over time during the period studied (see Graphic 2). Besides, this blog represents self-made practices, in broad terms, although a minuscule quantity of contents derive from external resources, above all, YouTube broadcasting and news and messages from journals and other digital media systems. Comments are very limited in total numbers, but they encourage a truly conversation among different agents who access the blog almost diary. Here, the qualitative part of comments analysis will reveal in more detail the nature and validity of this preliminary conclusion.

5. Conclusion

This paper discussed the emerging relevance of Web 2.0 tools (above all blogs) for political purposes, in general, and governmental/administrative objectives, in particular. Governmental blogging, a category of political blogging addressing the type of user involved (agencies and bureaucrats), is growing in importance. Different governmental agencies and public officials and employees are now developing blogs, and exploring the potential of Web 2.0 to innovate the relationship with citizens and other agents.

This paper made a contribution to this reality defining a conceptual and designing an analytical framework to study governmental blogging practices, and delineating the most salient aspects of this variety of political blogging. Thus, different dimensions, variables, and indicators were defined to make it possible. Even if the on-going status of this research does not allow making definitive conclusions or generalizations, this paper offers some reflections and preliminary results about blogging practices at U.S. and Spain governmental settings. Also, previous pages focused on two cases, a governmental blog (agency-based) and a blog of public bureaucrats (agency-independent), advancing the type of results and conclusions that can be elucidated from in-depth content analysis of post/entries, comments and other elements engendered within these blogging practices.

Observing the emergence of the political blogging phenomenon in the governmental casuistry provides some important findings. The first is that neither is there a specific profile for bureaucratic bloggers, nor a role played by policy sector in deciding whether or not to run a blog.
strategy and how to conduct it. The innovative or clichéd nature of this practice seems to depend merely on the innovative or traditional character of the bloggers, both agencies and bureaucrats.

The final conclusion concerns the reason why agencies and bureaucrats decided to involve themselves in the blogosphere in the way they did it. A two-fold reality emerges regarding this question in view of the abovementioned reflections: either only the minority really believes in the blog’s interactive potential, or, going further, only the minority really believes that there is a need for reciprocal interaction when blogging. Probably, and unluckily, the latter could be the most accurate response, given that governmental blogs are culturally used to inform, not to create networks or involve citizens. Nonetheless, in the case of bureaucrats this seems to be quite different, although it is very soon to offer further evidences derived from this research in progress.

In any case, viewing governmental blogging practices as an emerging means of Government 2.0 demands a broader theoretical and empirical research agenda. Therefore, I would argue for future research on this subject matter to assess the evolution of this phenomenon in different governmental areas and bureaucrats. The challenge is to determine if the dominating patterns of communication between those who have the ambition of managing public resources and those who wish to be governed may be contested, and if this really does matter for the functioning of public bureaucracies, in particular, and democracy, in general.

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