

The Power of Online Campaigns

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The One to Many Era Is Ending



In the 20th Century, mass media had an overwhelming influence on voters.



Not in the 21st Century



- The U.S. network audience share has fallen by a third since 1985.
- U.S. Radio listenership is at a 29-year low
- Newspaper circulation peaked in 1987, and the decline is accelerating
- Magazine circulation peaked in 2000

Not in the 21st Century



Not in the 21st Century



2006: Statewide Democratic Primaries

VA Sen: Webb 53% \$0.7M

Miller 47% \$1.6M

MT Sen: Tester 61% \$1M

Morrison 38% \$2M

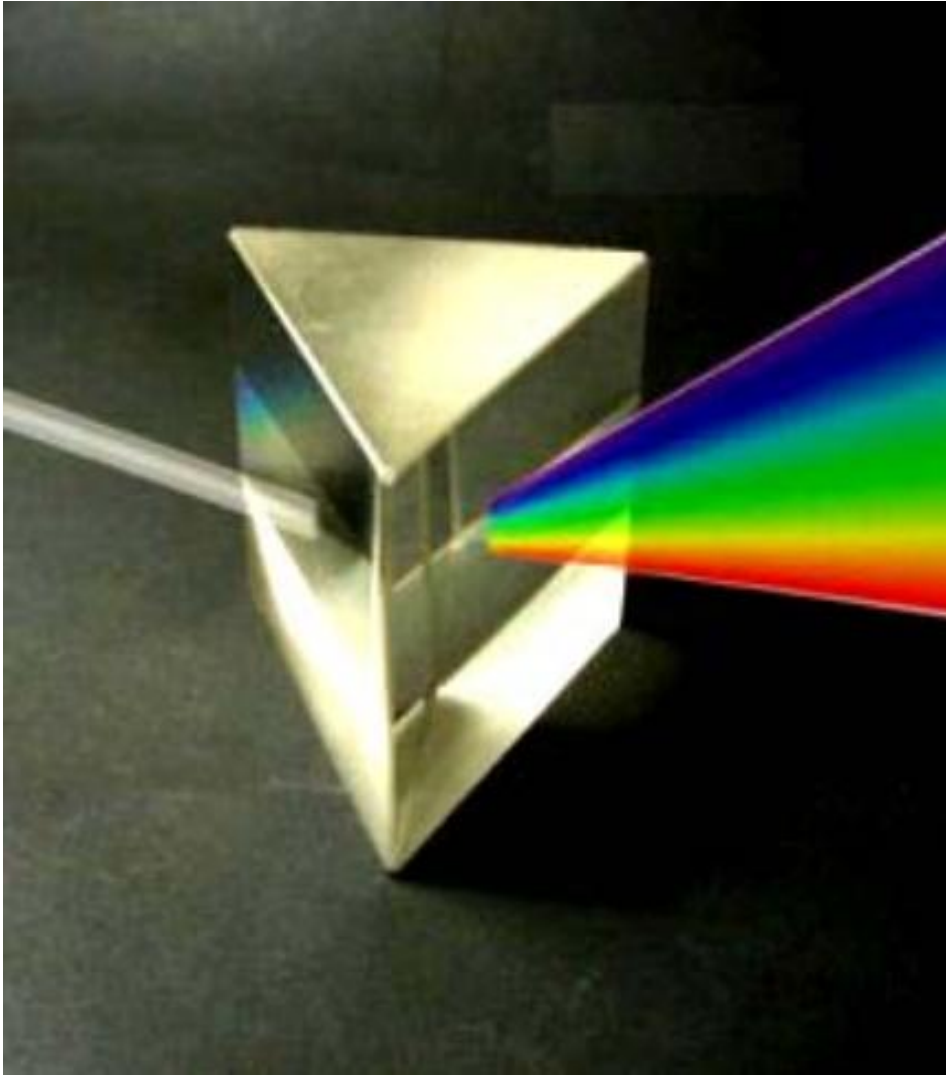
CT Sen: Lamont 52% \$3.5M (as of 7/19)

Lieberman 48% \$6.7M (as of 7/19)

MA Gov: Patrick \$5M 50%

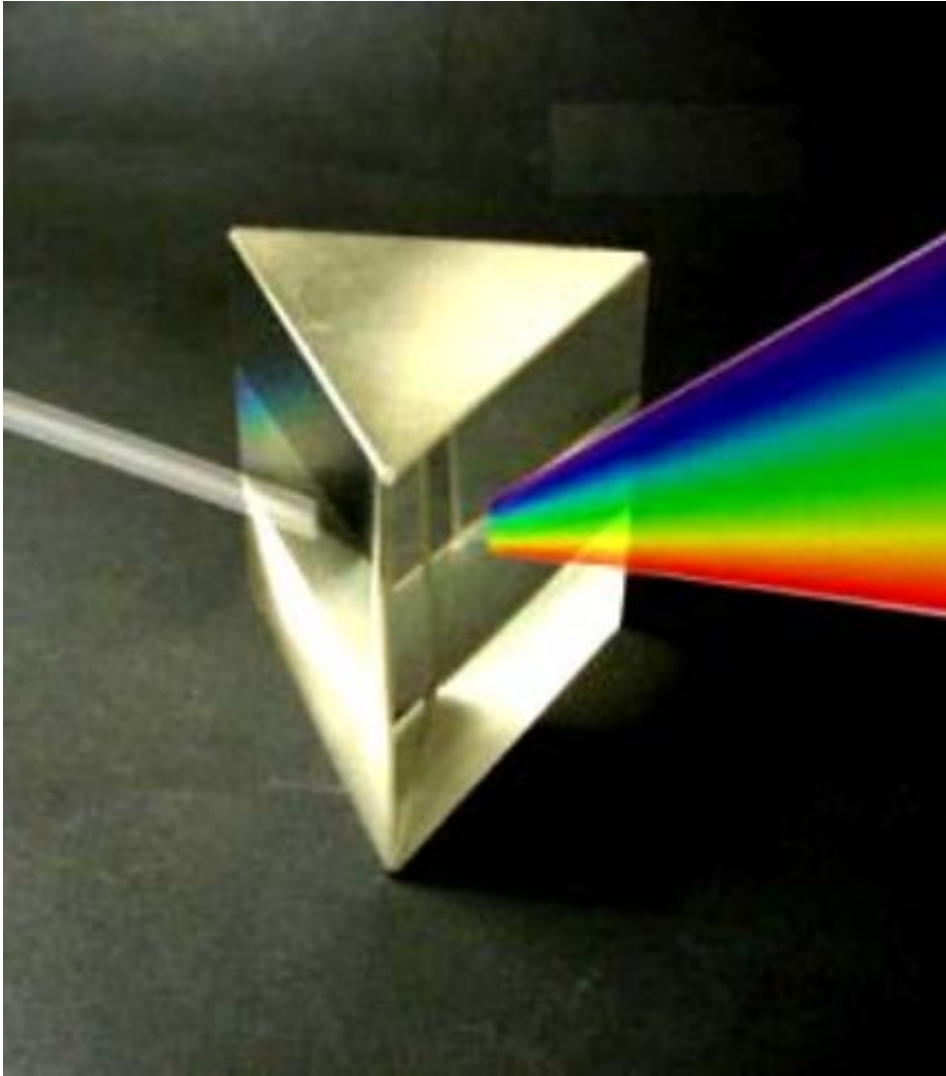
Reilly \$7M 23%

Gabrieli \$8.5M 27%

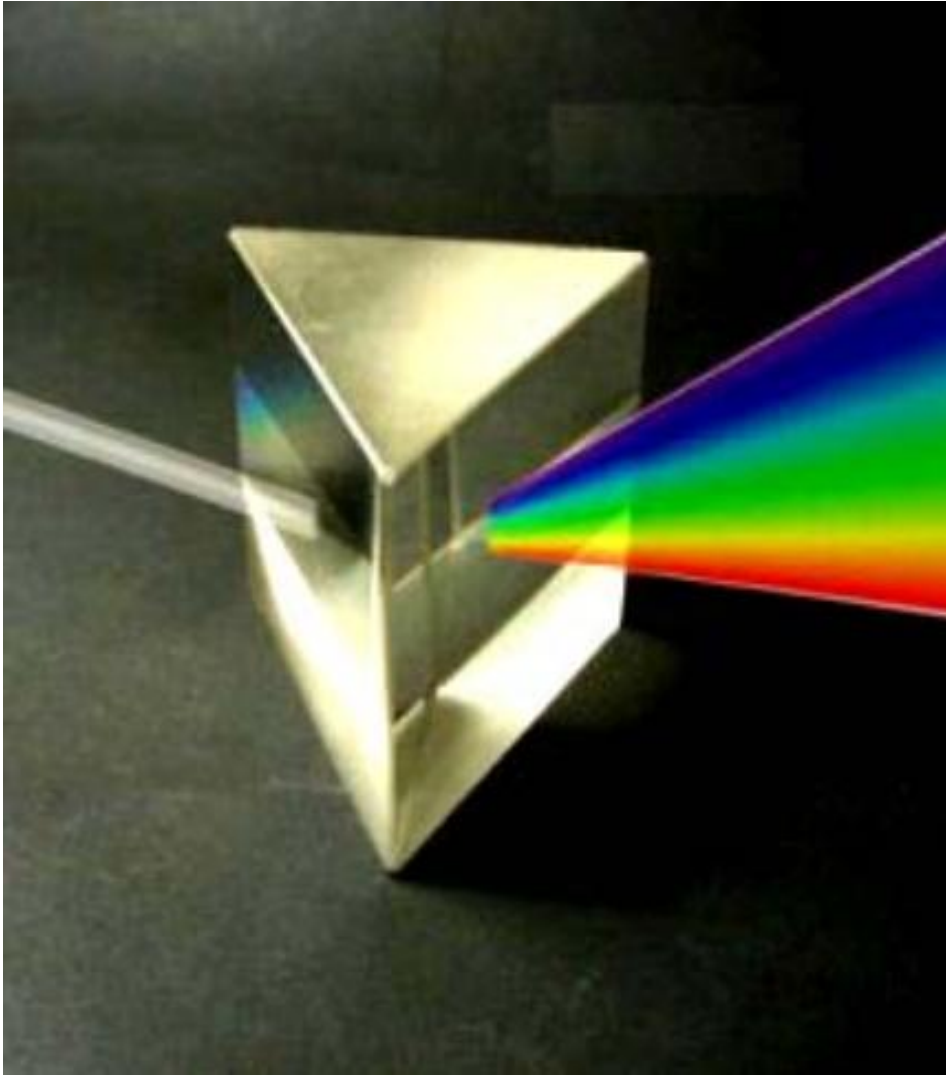


The mass media is being replaced by niche media.

Messages must be sent through many channels to reach a majority of the electorate.

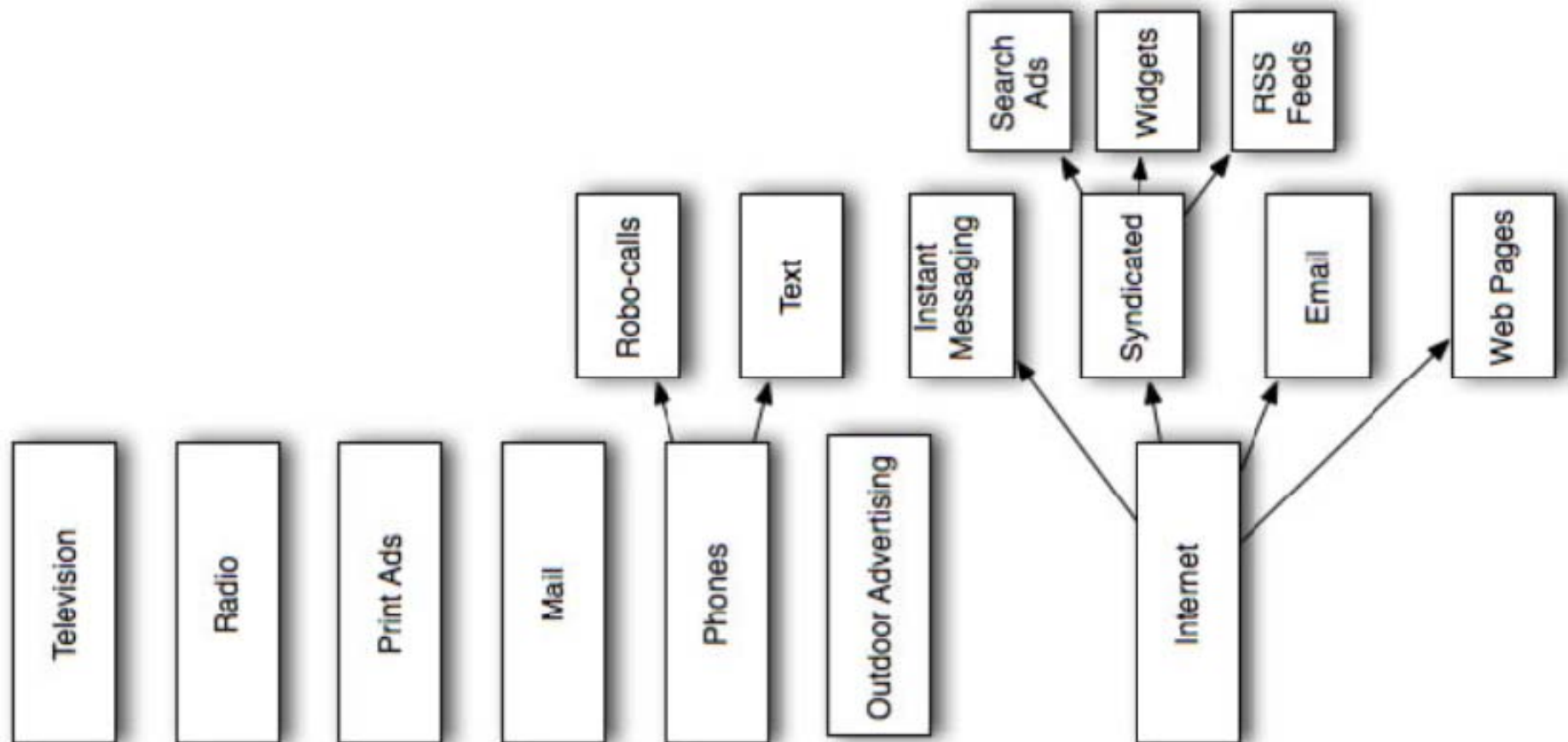


Adapting to the
new environment
means changing
how you
communicate



Messages must be
customized for
niche audiences
but branding and
themes remain
consistent

The Internet is only one medium among many.





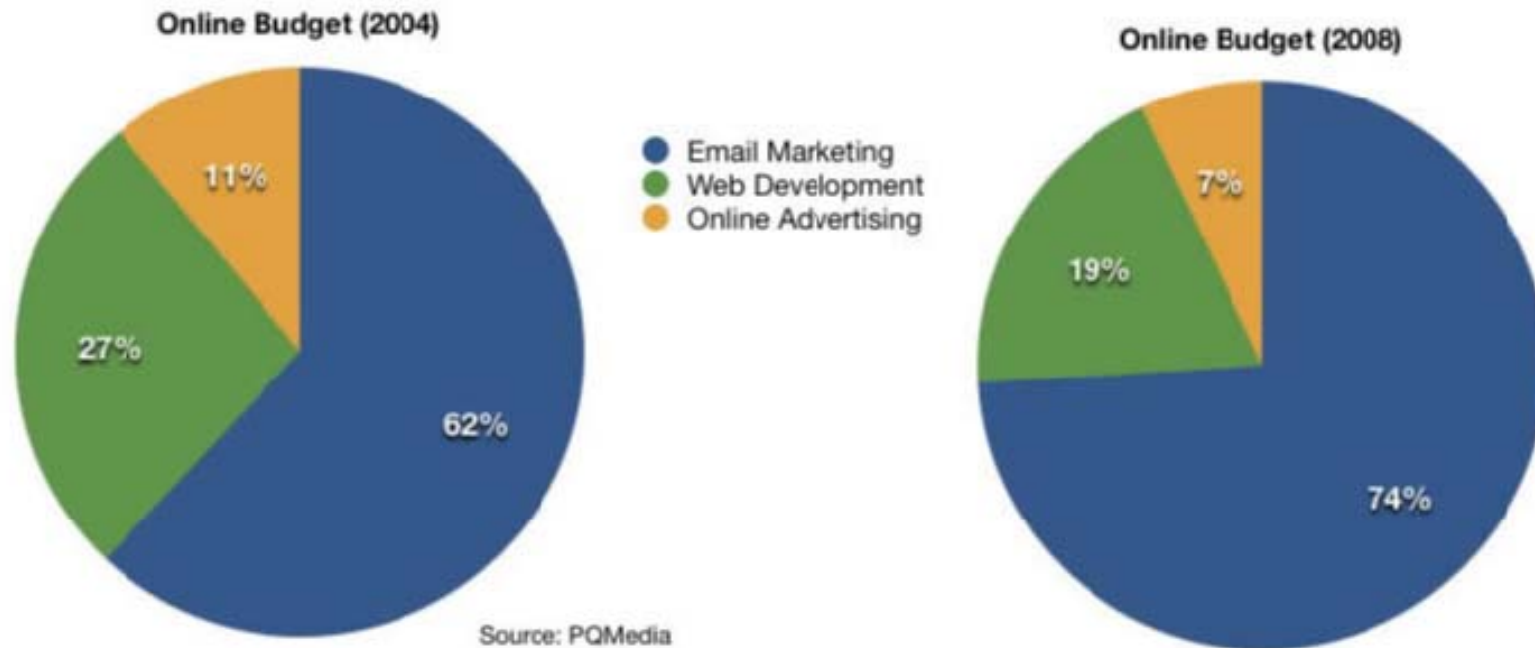
But it has a “force multiplier effect” like a laser beam.



"The Internet is a powerful **organizing** and **fundraising** tool, and it's getting more and more important every day, but it's still **not the persuasion and message tool that TV is.**"

*David Plouffe,
Campaign manager
Obama for President*

Presidential Online Campaign Spending 2004, 2008





Email

The Proven Online Tactic

Email dominates online campaign budgets because it works.

Email is:

- Inexpensive
- Instant
- Effective



Email

Already Obsolete?

Email is less effective in 2008 than it was in 2004.

- Spam filters
- Blacklists
- Poor practices by campaigns



2000

The internet becomes a factor in fundraising.

2004

The internet becomes a major factor.

2008

The internet becomes the primary fundraising tool.



2000 Presidential election:
625,000 small donors

2004:
2.8 million small donors

2008
Obama alone already has more
than 1.5million small donors.

*Campaign Finance Institute and the Institute for
Politics, Democracy & the Internet

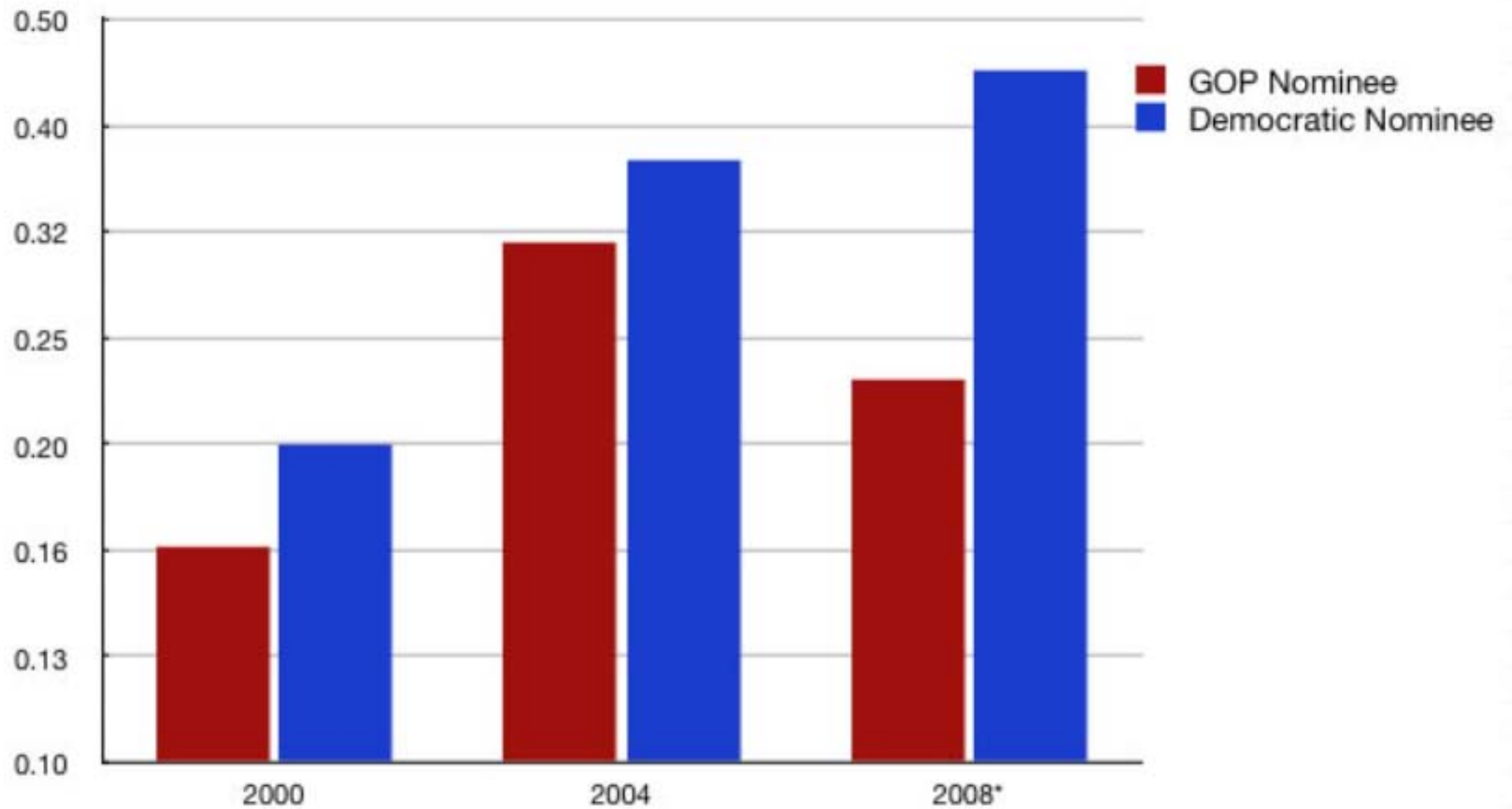


Online Donors, Small Donors Make a Big Difference

- \$28 of the \$32 million that Obama raised in February came over the Internet.
- 90% of the online donations were \$100 or less
- 40% were \$25 or less

*Obama campaign spokesperson

Small Donations as % of Total Contributions



*Projected

Source: The Campaign Finance Institute & Associated Press



"The main thing that has changed is the heading to **collapse of broadcast TV** and heading to dominance of **systematic, organized word of mouth** and more targeted communication."

*Mike Podhorzer,
Deputy Political Director AFL-
CIO*



Broadcast campaigns never increased turnout.

For years research has shown that face-to-face outreach can.

New tools have made such outreach scalable and affordable.



Turnout is much higher in Democratic primaries in 2008.

- Iowa turnout doubled.
- New Hampshire up 30%



Rock the Vote, in 2004, registered [1.2 million voters](#) with a simple online voter registration download tool.

More than doubling their previous record from 1992.

They are on a pace to double 2004's numbers in 2008.



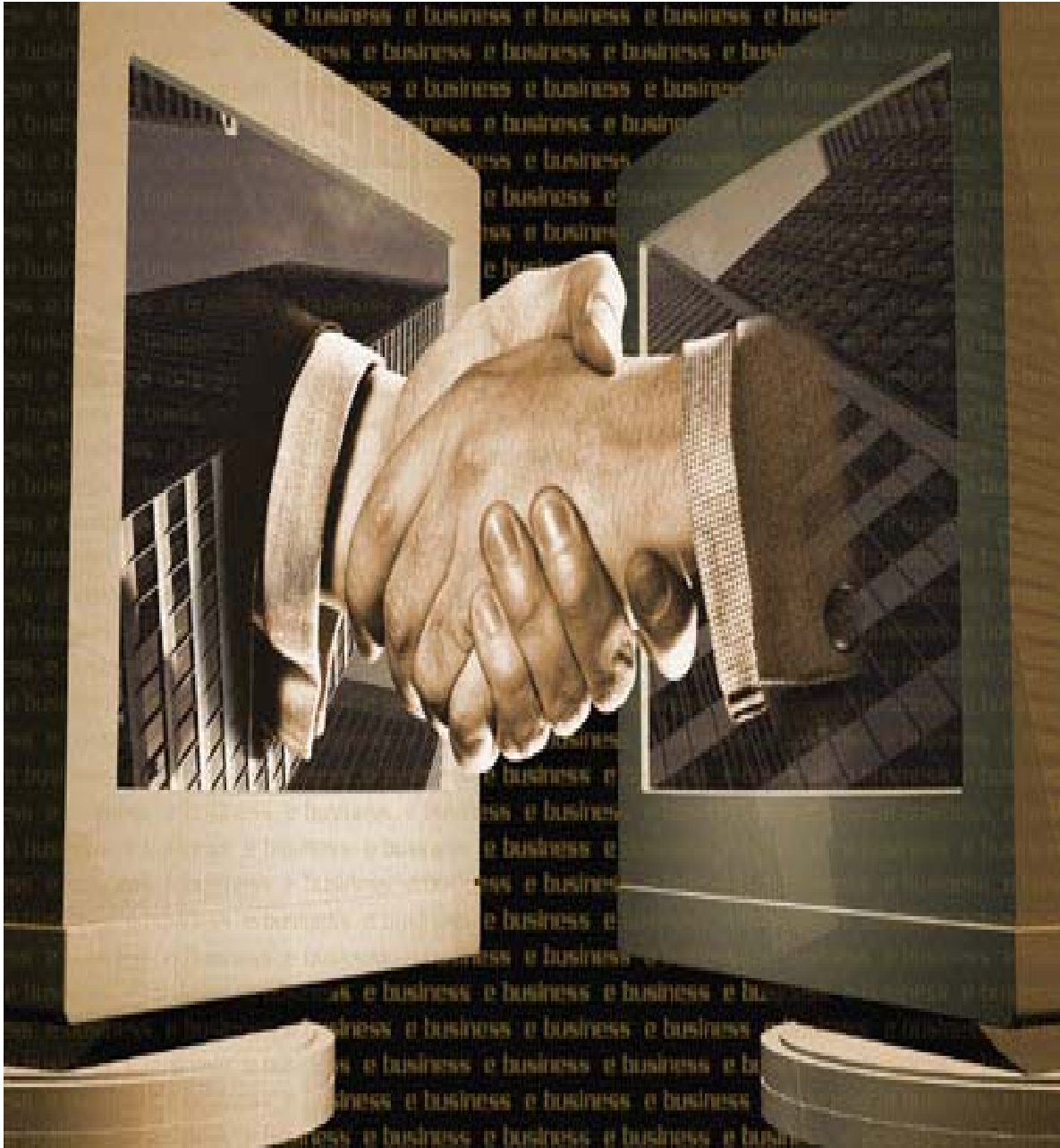
"Since July 2007 more than 860,010 people have used our online system to register to vote, including 592,016 under-30 voters!"

*Kat Barr
Rock the Vote*



Systematic, Organized word of mouth

New tools allow field and
Get Out the Vote (GOTV)
operations of
unprecedented scope
and effectiveness.



New Tools

- Voter files
- Google maps
- Social networking sites
- CRM - Constituent Relationship Management

**...but it's still not the
persuasion and message
tool that TV is."**

*David Plouffe,
Campaign manager
Obama for President*



"The internet has
not displaced king
TV, **yet.**"

*Matt Stoller,
OpenLeft.com*

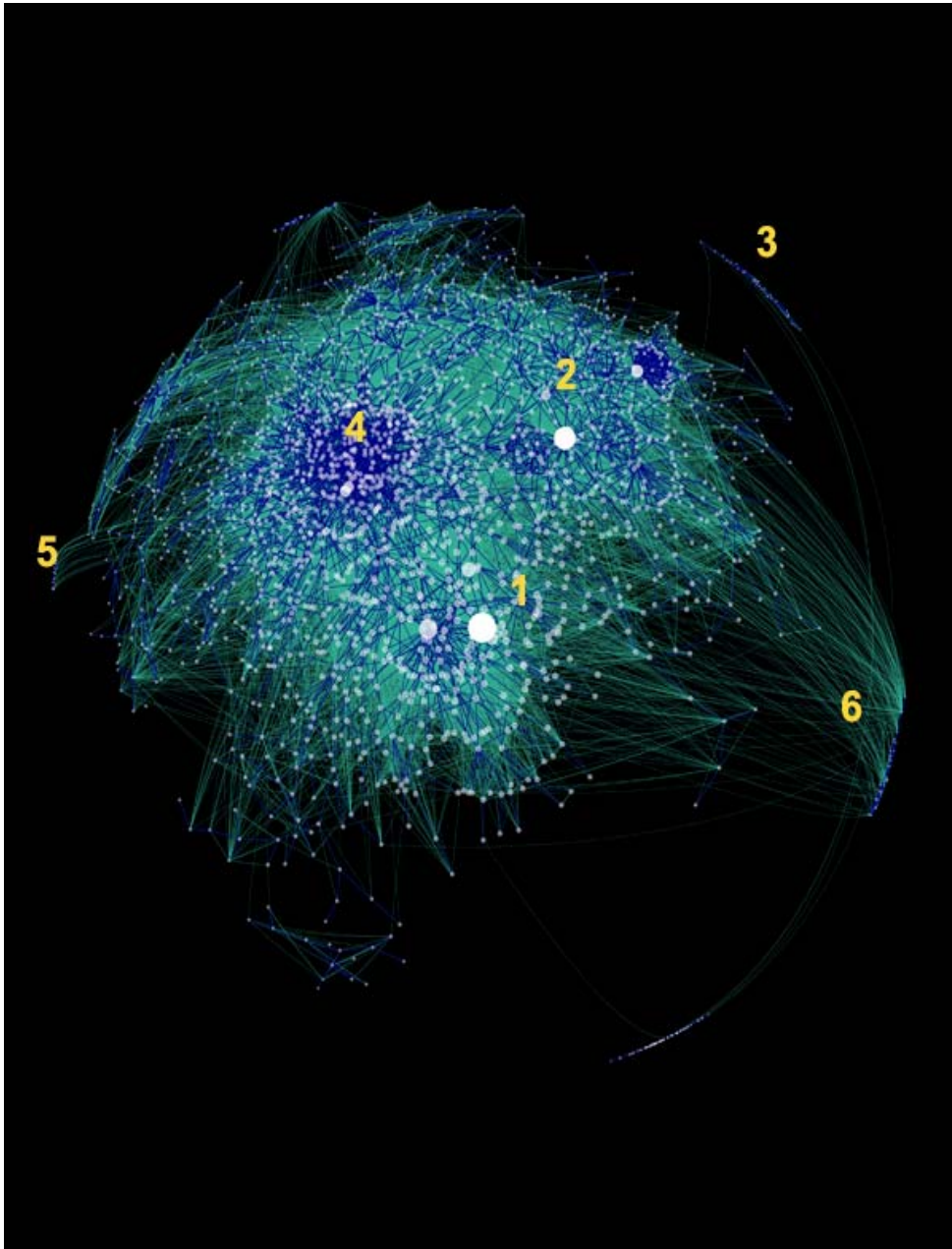


But in 2003, the Internet did upend the Democratic primary race.

One tool in particular transformed Howard Dean from an underfunded long-shot to the best-funded candidate, leading in the polls.....

Blogs

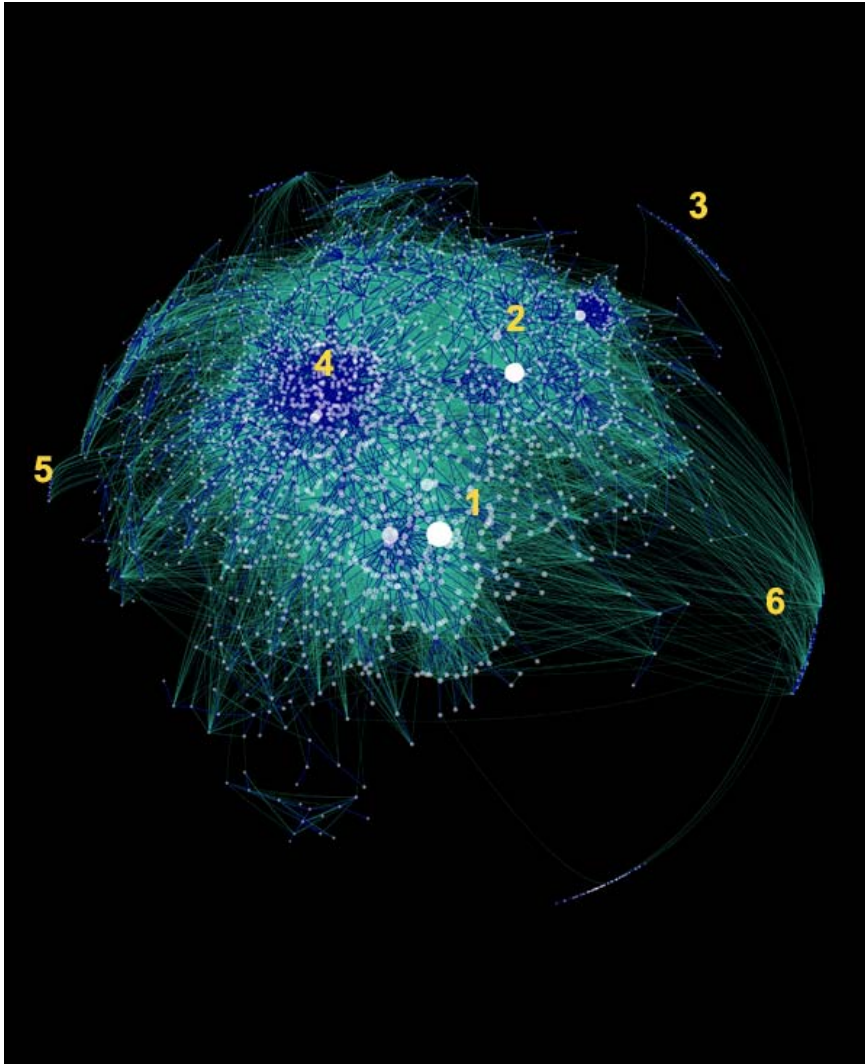




Dean combined political opportunity -- the sole anti-war candidate with a new approach -- the open campaign.

BlogforAmerica was the first political blog to allow comments.

Combined with email and online advertising, helped trigger a huge surge in fundraising for Dean.



Dean's success hasn't been duplicated.

Political terrain is more crowded.

Blogs are hard for campaigns to control.

Major bloggers are now established political actors.

Online Ads Beginning to Have Impact

The image is a screenshot of a web browser window displaying Google search results. The browser's title bar reads "Window Help" and the system clock shows "Fri 4/16/04". The address bar contains "Google Search: american candidate" and the search bar has "30-8859-1&q=american+candidate". Navigation links include "Groups", "News", "Froogle ^{New!}", and "more »". A "Search" button is present, along with links for "Advanced Search" and "Preferences".

The search results show "Results 1 - 10 of about 2,890,000 for **american candidate**. (0.22 seconds)". The first organic result is a link to "View all the latest headlines" with a sub-headline "ianova - 4 hours ago" and a snippet mentioning "ansas staff - MLive.com - Apr 15, 2004" and "Newsday - Apr 15, 2004".

A "Sponsored Links" section is highlighted with a red circle. It contains three advertisements for "American Candidate":

- American Candidate**
Watch **American Candidate**, the Showtime reality show. Details here americancandidate.com/
- "An American Candidate"**
Tired of Boring Politics?
Hlinko for President!
www.AmericanCandidate.com
- Beat Bush, save America**
American Candidate on Showtime
www.CraigX.com
www.americancandidate.com
[See your message here...](#)

Below the sponsored links, the organic search results continue with a snippet mentioning "reality series on Showtime in Candidate, a reality series on Showtime" and "ine who has the talent to ...".

Obama, McCain, Romney all poured money into online ads.

Obama's online advertising is aimed at recruiting new donors and volunteers, not persuasion.

U.S. campaigns lagging far behind corporate America on % of ad budgets spent online.

Window Help Fri 4/16/04

Google Search: american candidate

30-8859-1&q=american+candidate > go

Groups News Froogle ^{New!} more »

Search Advanced Search Preferences

Results 1 - 10 of about 2,890,000 for **american candidate**. (0.22 seconds)

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[reality series on Showtime](#)

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[nd prove that you have what it takes](#)

merican Candidate on Showtime. ...

(S) SHOWTIME MONTHLY HIGHLIGHTS.

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Sponsored Links

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[Beat Bush, save America](#)
American Candidate on Showtime
[www.CraigX.com](#)
[www.americancandidate.com](#)

[See your message here...](#)

**2006: YouTube costs a
Senator his seat.**



The sudden ubiquity of online video brought the emotional impact of video to internet campaigns.

The results were immediate and dramatic.



"The key distinction between what we have now and a fully functional 21st century political apparatus is that the content creation is still fairly centralized and distributed."

*Matt Stoller
OpenLeft.com*





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The Holy Grail of 21st Century Politics

- Microtargeting
- Use of Niche Media (Cable TV, Online Ads)
- Word of Mouth tracked and scaled using online tools
- Distributed content creation enabled by the campaign

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