



The **Politics-To-Go Handbook**

A Guide to Using Mobile Technology in Politics

INSTITUTE FOR POLITICS
DEMOCRACY & THE INTERNET
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THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF
POLITICAL MANAGEMENT

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The Institute is a research and advocacy initiative to promote the development of online politics in a manner that upholds democratic principles and values. One of the Institute's main goals is to help establish the Internet as a locus for trustworthy information and civil discussion of public affairs, with an initial emphasis on campaigns for elective office in the United States.

For more information on the Institute's activities, please visit our Web site at www.ipdi.org.

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Introduction

The Politics-to-Go Handbook: A Guide to Using Mobile Technology in Politics is a departure for the Institute for Politics, Democracy & the Internet. Since its inception, the Institute has produced publications and studies that have focused on the PC as a gateway to the democratizing influence of the Internet.

With this publication, we take online politics out of offices, homes and wireless hotspots and into the streets. The mobile device, a pocket-sized, always-on, go-anywhere communications tool, has become a powerful medium for accessing social networks, sharing information, mobilizing supporters and disseminating political messages.

If the adaptation of the Internet as a political medium is any indication, mobile technology may have a ways to go before the political world uses it to its best advantage. Nonetheless, the process has already begun, and the next four years will prove a critical time for the political experimentation of mobile technology.

Mobile technology is a new medium for most of us in the United States. After all, it has only been since the rise of shows like American Idol that text messaging – a critical component of mobile politics – has swept the nation on a large scale. Many in the political arena have only begun to experiment with mobile technology, and they may encounter a few bumps in the road.

The Politics-to-Go Handbook attempts to make the process a little easier.

This publication presents a first-of-its-kind look into the world of mobile technology for politics. Within these pages, we have anthologized the vision, experiences, analysis, tactics and best practices of some of the most innovative minds in technology and politics. Some of our authors disagree about the best way to incorporate mobile into political strategy. Others offer concrete tips on how to use mobile technology effectively to turn out the vote, raise money and disseminate political messages. Still others point to roadblocks that may occur along the way. Many provide case studies detailing what worked and what didn't in political, corporate and nonprofit mobile campaigns. Combined, they offer a unique look at the future of politics as a mobile, personal, democratizing force.

The views expressed by the authors are their own, and not necessarily those of the Institute.

The Politics-to-Go Handbook is organized according to thematic chapters, beginning with an overview of mobile technology and its audience. Chapter 2 looks at the most widespread use of mobile technology globally – mobilizing large groups of people for political purposes, such as protests and elections. From there, we look at gathering and organizing constituent data through mobile devices, messaging and marketing, fundraising, mobile video, cultivation of supporters, citizen journalism, and privacy and security. We close the book with a look at future roadblocks.

Let's begin.

TOP TEN TAKE-AWAYS

1. Mobile technology is an equalizer and an amplifier. According to Oliver Starr in Chapter 1, mobile technology provides immediate access to information and it allows you to transcend time and space, connecting you to people and data from virtually anywhere.
2. Mobile devices exceed the reach of wired devices because they provide context. As Jim Manis notes in Chapter 10, mobile can reflect geographical location, mood, presences, status, surroundings and mindset. Political groups should leverage this context when creating fundraising appeals, urgent updates and event reminders.
3. Text is king. It is the simplest and most ubiquitous mobile application. In Chapter 4, Jim Manis says that if you incorporate only one thing into your political strategy, making it text messaging.
4. In the beginning, target the networkers. Both Brad Fay in Chapter 4 and Dennis Crowley in Chapter 9 say that Influentials - the networkers, joiners and doers - are the key to making your mobile campaign spread. How do you attract these people? By pinpointing their interests, engaging them in your campaign and giving them a definite action to take.
5. Cell phones are the last "personal oasis," and messages need to be personalized to the interests of the recipient. This means that messages:
 - a. Contain information they want. Do not send mobile messages unless people have opted in to your mobile program. If you employ spam tactics, you will end up isolating your supporters, says Roger Entner in Chapter 9. Make your mobile campaign double opt-in. The Mobile Marketing Association tells you exactly how to do this in Chapter 9. Also, allow people to opt-out of receiving messages at any time and through any medium - text messages, Web site, e-mail or phone call.
 - b. Have an immediate context. Send messages about events that give immediate information (e.g., invite people to an event that evening, send them current news updates or ask them to donate right now).
 - c. Target the individual's location. According to Adam Guy in Chapter 4, you can use geographically-targeted messages to draw people to your events.
6. Use mobile for short messages. Space is limited. Screens are small. Mobile is best used for quick, can't-wait and timely messages. When you send information to a mobile device, think in terms of a condensed executive summary.
7. Mobile devices are a "push" technology. Use mobile to push information out to your constituents. According to DP Venkatesh in Chapter 4, mobile is not a pull medium like Web sites, which require people to log on or search to find you.
8. Make it easy. Mobile technology engages people with greater efficiency when it makes life a little easier for them. In the political world, this means making it a one-click process to donate, forward a message, register to vote, sign up to volunteer or receive information about an event, according to Adam Guy in Chapter 4.
9. Build cohesion across mediums. Place information about your mobile campaign on all of your advertisements, from your Web site to direct mail to billboards and posters. As Vicente Rafael and Ben Rigby note separately in Chapter 2, cross-medium messaging is more likely to mobilize your supporters and increase the number of people who sign up for your mobile campaign.
10. Train your supporters. Over the next few years, you may have to educate people about mobile technology in order to best utilize your supporters as "mobile warriors."
 - a. Teach them how to send and receive text messages. In Chapter 4, Nihal Mehta suggests designing a box on your Web site or WAP that simply tells people how to send, receive and forward messages.
 - b. Show them how to use mobile devices while canvassing or at the polls. In Chapter 3, both Kendra Crowley and Hugh Weber recommend teaching your volunteers how to collect voter data or monitor exit polls on PDAs before sending them into the field.
 - c. Explain how to create effective messages. In Chapter 8, Howard Rheingold warns that it is in your organization's best interest to train people in effective citizen journalism so that they can capture effective images and descriptions about events on their mobile devices and post them online.

Glossary

COMPILED BY CONNIE BARKO

3DPP2 – Third Generation Partnership Project 2, a collaboration of North American and Asian businesses to develop global standards for 3G and radio transmissions technology.

3G – Third Generation wireless refers to developments specifically for mobile users in communications technology that provide access to a range of telecommunication services including voice and non-voice data.

527s – Political organizations funded by soft money contributions whose activities are tax-exempt; most often are advocacy groups mobilizing voters for an election. Expenses and contributions of a 527 group must be reported to the IRS.

ADSL – Asymmetric Digital Subscriber Line. A communications technology related to DSL that enables faster data transmission over telephone lines.

Aggregator – A provider of mobile technology applications.

Bandwidth – Quantity of data that can be sent within a given time within a communications medium. The greater the bandwidth the more information that can be sent.

BlackBerry – A wireless handheld device produced by Research in Motion that provides services, like access to Internet, e-mail, text messaging and telephone.

Broadband – Complete frequency range of a signal over a communication circuit or system. Data received from the signal is proportional to time.

Carrier – A mobile phone operator or provider of telecommunication services that has obtained a radio spectrum license from the government specific to the technology it provides.

CDMA – Code Division Multiple Access. A technique for mobile technology that enables more mobile phone users to be connected at the same time because it utilizes the whole spectrum instead of allocating specific frequencies to each subscriber, which is critical for 3G technology.

Cell Phone Cloning – Refers to the process by which the electronic serial number (ESN) and the mobile identification number (MIN) of a mobile phone is stolen and inserted into another phone to acquire telecommunication services without authorization, outlawed in the Wireless Telephone Protection Act of 1998.

CSC – Common Short Codes. Five digit numbers that can be leased by content providers, aggregators, media companies, and other organizations to interact with mobile subscribers through text messaging.

Content Providers – Companies that produce and deliver content via the wireless service including video clips, images, music, ring tones and games for mobile subscribers.

Cookie – Small text file that is unique to one's hard drive, acts as a message to the Web server indicating sites a subscriber has initially visited and returned to, can help the user by providing helpful information about products, services or Web pages that are user specific. The subscriber is only personally identified if he or she has previously registered with the Web server.

Click-through – Refers to the process by which a user clicks on a hyperlink to reach a particular Web site, often used by Web statisticians to measure the performance of advertisements.

CPM – Cost Per Thousand. Online advertising model where the site guarantees the advertiser so many 'impressions' or visitor page views of an ad banner per unit of cost.

CPP – Calling Party Pays. The mobile user does not pay for long distance, incoming calls or airtime; has not been utilized in the United States, which operates by having the Mobile Part Pays.

CPU – Central Processing Unit. The microprocessor "brain" of the computer or handheld. Controls all calculations in a computer or mobile device.

EIF – Complex programming language that promotes object-oriented programming and was created by Bertrand Meyer in combination with his company Interactive Software Engineering.

EV-DO – Evolution data only or evolution data optimized, wireless broadband radio used by CDMA providers that enables faster network speeds.

Fiber Optics – The scientific study of optical fibers or thin cable wires capable of transmitting light that can be used for telecommunications.

Flashmob – Assembly of people organized as a result of Internet or mobile communication.

GIS Mapping – Geographical Information System. Geographical based technology that analyzes data to demonstrate the relationship between information and location for the specific purposes of a company.

GPRS – General Packet Radio Service. Wireless communication technology that is used to send packets of data across the GSM network.

GSM – Global System for Wireless Communication, a wireless system that utilizes narrow-band TDMA to allow eight calls to be made concurrently on the same frequency.

Handset – Handheld phone hardware, which can be used to receive or to transmit calls across a wireless network.

Hotspot – Access location for mobile subscribers. Particularly used for WiFi, which has a range limited to 100 feet.

Interoperability – Capability of a system or product to be interchangeable with other systems or products.

Interstitial Advertising – Placing advertisements or other messages between the current and desired Web page that interrupts the normal flow of data in order to utilize vacant space.

iPod – Portable technology marketed by Apple that serves as an audio player and can store data like music files when connected to a computer.

Killer Application – Software so useful that people will buy it in order to obtain the program or service it provides.

Microcontent – Term coined by Jakob Nielsen to describe short quantities of text 40 to 60 characters that describe and clarify larger portions of information within a Web site, increases the significance of titles and headings to grab the viewer's attention.

MMS – Multimedia Messaging Service, similar to SMS but also enables mobile subscribers to send not only text but also images, video and audio with e-mail instead of as an attachment.

Moblog – Publishing data from a camera-equipped cell phone onto an Internet site.

Mososo – Mobile Social Software, wireless service that links friends to a specific location and time; first mobile social software was Dodgeball.com.

MP3 – The name for the file type of MPEG audio layer 3. Compressed audio data files that can be transferred over the Internet or over high speed cellular networks. Soon to be replaced by MP4 format.

MVNO – Mobile Virtual Network Operator. A company that does not own a frequency spectrum and often does not possess a network infrastructure but markets services under another licensed mobile operator.

Opt in – Refers to when a mobile subscriber has granted permission to be sent marketing e-mails or other bulk promotional messages.

Opt out – Refers to when a mobile subscriber chooses to withdraw permission to be sent e-mails or other bulk promotional messages.

Packet – Piece of a message broken into bytes that is transmitted over a network and includes information about the message like the address from which it came and where it is going.

PAM – Pluggable Authentication Modules. Enables several authentication schemes to be integrated into an existing structure without modifying it. New technologies can be added by utilizing pluggable modules.

PBX System – Private Branch eXchange, telephone switchboard owned by a business that circumvents having to connect all of its telephones separately to the public network.

PDA – Personal Digital Assistant. Handheld technology that combines services such as Internet, mobile phone and organizer. Connected PDAs may offer wireless capabilities.

Phishing – Act of trying to obtain sensitive information from an Internet user by impersonating a company and then sending false e-mails to direct the user to a fraudulent Web site to update personal information.

Podcasting – Process of online publishing which allows users to access chronologically-sequenced MP3 files and can be played using audio playing software.

Quickstream – Microsoft based software that uses a graphic user interface to analyze quickly in order to develop a model.

SMS – Short Message Service. Method of sending short text messages between wireless devices.

Smart Mob – Term coined by Howard Rheingold. Refers to the fast mobilization of people by mobile technologies for a specific purpose.

Spam – Bulk junk mail or postings sent via the Internet, generally advertising or other unsolicited e-mail.

Streaming – Continuous, steady data transfer by which the information can be seen before it is completely processed.

Swarming – The way in which groups receive instructions and immediately act accordingly without prior planning.

Syncing – Process by which information can be placed on or removed from a PDA

TDMA – Time Division Multiple Access. Enables one radio frequency to be used by several concurrent data channels by dividing the frequency into time slots.

Text Messaging – Sending short messages via mobile technology.

TXMob – Service where a mobile subscriber can receive text messages giving updated details for the meeting of a group of people.

Upload – Process of sending a file to a specific network.

Upoc – Wireless service that allows you to send text messages to other subscribers and form groups where one message can be sent to several people simultaneously.

VCM – Video Compression Manager. A way to encode Windows (WMV) Video to be played in older versions of Windows Media Player.

Viral Advertising – A method of marketing that utilizes the Internet and relies upon the “word of mouth” spread from one person to the next of a particular slogan or campaign.

VoIP – Voice Over Internet Protocol. The transfer of voice data using digital packets over the IP network (Internet Protocol) instead of a public telephone switchboard.

VRM – Voter Relationship Management. The process of collecting information about a chosen audience in order to customize a message to reach that audience and attain a particular goal, has moved from paper to digital form because of advances in mobile technology.

WAP – Wireless Application Protocol. Allows mobile subscribers to obtain information similar to the service provided by a Web browser.

WAP Gateway – Server based in a wireless carrier that transfers data between mobile technology and content sites.

Weblogs - Publication on a Web site that is regularly updated and reflects the author's perspective, often allows readers to post their thoughts and responses to the author.

Wi-Fi - Wireless fidelity, products or services certified by the WiFi alliance that connect computers and laptops to a network, wireless network protocol.

CHAPTER 1

Mobile Matters: What Politicos Need to Know about the Mobile Population

As this chapter will explain, if your political organization, issue advocacy group, campaign, or nonprofit has not investigated the power of mobile technology to cultivate and activate your base of support, you could already be falling behind. In fact, Thomas Friedman, in his book *The World is Flat*, lists mobile technology as one of the areas facilitating globalization. According to Friedman, mobile technology is “Flattener 10,” which he calls “The Steroids.” The term flattener refers to technologies including mobile that amplify and turbo charge all the others.¹

Mobile technology is the “hardware steroid” that brings all of the other flatteners together.² It will “make open-source innovation that much more open” by enabling “more individuals to collaborate with one another in more ways and from more places than ever before.”³

Consider the following:

- Text messaging is a global phenomenon that has just recently crept into usage in America — and its popularity is spreading. To cite a recent example, over 26 million text messages were sent supporting Live 8 during the summer of 2005.⁴ In many countries, including Turkey, Kenya, Iran, Italy, Ukraine, Hungary and Lebanon, text messages are driving elections.
- Mobile marketing is considered the only true one-to-one marketing tool, and in many cases, mobile marketing has higher response rates than direct mail — a political staple.⁵
- It is the most personal medium, allowing you to reach your supporters with highly targeted messages and immediate action alerts anywhere and at any time of the day. *The Economist* calls the mobile phone “man’s best friend” and a “faithful companion that always stays with its owner.”⁶

Mobile technology isn’t just for political powerhouses and presidential campaigns. In fact, sometimes mobile is at its most effective when utilized by small groups, opposition parties and individuals. Howard Rheingold, author of *Smart Mobs*, writes, “New technology and social contacts make it possible for a relatively small number of people to do what used to require huge

1 Thomas L. Friedman, *The World is Flat* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2005), 159.

2 *Ibid.*, 164.

3 *Ibid.*, 161.

4 “Over 26 million text messages sent backing Live 8”, Reuters, July 4, 2005.

5 Lisa Modisette, Are mobile phones the only true one-to-one marketing tool, *The Wise Marketer*, <http://www.thewisemarketer.com/features.read.asp?id=40>.

6 “Man’s Best Friend,” *The Economist*, April 2, 2005.

corporate monopolies.”⁷ What makes a difference is the way you incorporate mobile technology into your organization or campaign and whether you use it to fuel a grassroots mobilization campaign or a top-down messaging blast.

The chapter presents an overview of the mobile industry and its audience and explains some of the basic concepts and terms used throughout the book.

MOBILE COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY: AN OVERVIEW OF THE INDUSTRY, ITS PLAYERS AND ITS DISRUPTIVE POTENTIAL

BY OLIVER STARR

EXECUTIVE IN RESIDENCE, ANGEL STRATEGIES

Mobile communications: The most disruptive technology in political history

If there's only one thing that sticks with you from this handbook let it be this:

There is more power in the tiny device you have in your pocket than you can possibly imagine; yet you are not the only one that can capitalize on its power. In fact everyone can, and this is what makes the mobile phone as disruptive as it is powerful.

At various times throughout history technological innovations have had fundamental and permanently altering effects upon the power structure of human societies. The plow, the wheel and the aqueduct all augmented man's ability to improve the yield in a given area, thus fostering the

ability of smaller and smaller tracts of land to sustain larger and larger groups of people – and, indeed, civilization itself. As civilization grew, communication and the means to control and dispense information became significant in the ascension to and maintenance of political power. By controlling who had access to what information, relatively few people could gain and hold power over much larger groups.

Even today the ability to disseminate and control information is a key component of political strategy. What your base knows or doesn't know, what your opponent is or is not privy to, what gets publicized versus what you wish to quash all bear heavily upon strategy and can determine whether it is you or your opposition doing damage control or trying to spin an uncomfortable topic.

At its essence, the mobile device is an equalizer and an amplifier. Far beyond the simple technology that lets you make or receive a one-to-one call, this tool provides unparalleled access to information, and it allows you to transcend space and extend your presence far beyond the confines of your physical body. It gives you the ability to search for things you want to find and to determine what you want to know from *virtually anywhere*.

This mobile communications tool provides the ability to navigate as well as search, and makes it possible to localize yourself and for others to locate you. It increases your ability to gather information from your environment, even information left by others that is undetectable via un-augmented human sensory abilities. The networked mobile device allows its user to communicate discretely and privately or to broadcast a message to thousands or even millions. It can prove your identity, save your life in an emergency or cost your candidate his entire career. Although it may appear to be trivial to the uninitiated, those who respect the power of the mobile phone and gain the greatest mastery of its myriad uses will become the modern kingmakers of the digitally networked world.

The industry in figures

To understand the scope of this industry and gain a better appreciation for the number of users, as well as the speed at which this technology has been adopted, it is helpful to start by recalling the cellular phone you had in 1980.

If you can't recall the particular phone it's probably because you didn't have a mobile phone in 1980.

In 1984 Motorola introduced the first “Brick” phone, the Dynatac 8000x.⁸ Looking very much like a brick and of similar weight it retailed for an equally weighty \$4000.

Just how big is the market?

Twenty years later, in 2004 there were estimated to be more than one billion end users of devices categorized

7 Howard Rheingold, *Smart Mobs* (Cambridge, MA: Perseus Books, 2002), 135.

8 Google, Inc. Web Search “cellular phone 1980”

as mobile phones around the globe.⁹ Within the United States, mobile phone service subscriptions and handset sales more than doubled between 1999 and 2004 to reach \$113 billion.¹⁰

About 23.4 million new subscribers were added to the U.S. Wireless market in 2004 alone, according to Global Insight,¹¹ bringing the domestic total to an estimated 181.1 million or an approximate penetration rate of 62 percent. Perhaps as important as these raw numbers is the fact that the market appears to be maturing: since the inception of mobile phones, every year except one has seen more annual growth than the previous year.

During the last five years \$45 billion in additional capital investment was made by service providers to improve quality, support increased subscriber density and deploy the new equipment necessary for upgrading networks to the 3G standards.

Handset sales

To a large degree handset sales parallel subscriber growth as well as protocol innovation.

Mintel's 2005 Wireless Industry Report pegs handset sales growth at 45 percent between 1999 and 2000, compared with a 27 percent growth in subscribers over the same period. Clearly, in addition to the many new subscribers who had no phone previously, a large percentage of people were upgrading to more feature-rich equipment, replacing old worn out equipment or taking advantage of promotions when they switched carriers.

On the whole, handset sales increased 69 percent between 1999 and 2004, compared with 112 percent growth in the total number of subscribers. The discrepancy between subscribers and phones represents the practice of accounting for individuals subscribing to shared minute plans but not counting the fully subsidized low cost handsets that are frequently distributed with these new accounts. It is reasonable to assume, however, a nearly perfect ratio of one subscriber or plan to a minimum of one phone.

Handset manufacturers

In the United States, the handset market is highly competitive among a limited number of the world's larger telecommunications equipment manufacturers. Some limits on competition do exist, however, as all operators do not support (or subsidize the purchase of) all handsets. As a result the relationship between the operator and the handset manufacturer has complex significance for all parties – the operator, the handset manufacturer and the consumer.

The primary consumer brands in the United States include Nokia, Motorola, Samsung, LG, Sony Ericsson, Panasonic and a host of other smaller competitors, such as Research In Motion – RIM – the makers of the popular “BlackBerry.”

Handset demographics

Surprisingly, there is a substantial amount of demographic variation among customers of various handset vendors. Samsung users have the most youthful demographic, with an estimated 11 percent of users 18-24 having models made by the Korean company. It is speculated that in addition to innovative styles and features that drive youthful adoption, the fact that Samsung is a less established brand might drive away older adults, thus causing these numbers to skew to the youthful market.

Certain manufacturers recognizing the rapidly growing population of mature “baby boomers” as customers with differentiated needs have begun to investigate manufacturing handsets that are more convenient and less complicated for this market to use. Overseas a number of new companies have sprung up focused on making and marketing phones specifically designed for this demographic.

The global perspective

The United States is one of the three largest mobile markets, along with China and Japan. Of the 29 countries that have substantial populations of mobile phone subscribers there is a wide range of development – from countries that have leapfrogged from having little to no telecommunications infrastructure to those that have fairly mature markets that are now migrating to more advanced service offerings, such as 3G and even early 4G networks.

It is estimated that the United States represents 20 percent of the total worldwide market in revenue and 12 percent in the number of subscribers.¹²

In general there is a global trend towards falling ARPU (Average Revenue Per User), mainly due to competitive pressure from operators attempting to gain market share from one another as maturing markets become saturated with nearly all prospective customers having service.

In these more mature networks carriers face a different set of challenges than in those markets with far lower penetration. Prior to enacting number portability,¹³ operators had a certain degree of insulation from customer churn; however, this protection has now been removed and as a result network operators are forced to offer competitive pricing, more frequent phone subsidies, and other incentives to hold onto customers, who are becoming progressively more expensive to capture and more costly to keep.

9 “Mobile is Open for Business,” The Netsize Guide, 2005 Edition, 74.

10 Mintel International, Mobil Phones, May 2005.

11 Maili Torma, “WMRC Country Report,” Global Insight, June 2005.

12 “Mobile is Open for Business,” The Netsize Guide, 2005 Edition, 217.

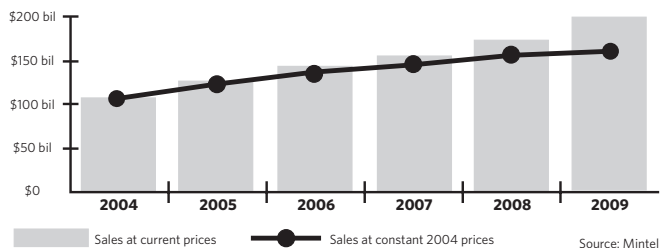
13 Federal Communications Commission, “FCC Number Portability,” http://hraunfoss.fcc.gov/edocs_public/attachmatch/DOC-241057A1.pdf.

What does the future look like?

Combined handset sales and service revenues are projected to sustain an increase of 76 percent at current prices from 2004-2009 compared with a 144 percent increase at current prices in the period from 1999 to 2004. Unlike the prior period, much of the growth will be in alternative services including gaming, gambling, mobile browsing and other location based services. SMS messaging will still play a significant role in both communication modalities and revenue generation; however MMS messages will increase as people become more familiar with this means of communication and operators become more capable of receiving cross network messages of this kind.

While the average local monthly bill increased only 1.5 percent per person in 2004 to \$50.64, the number of minutes used increased 33 percent to one trillion total messages. This dynamic continues to affect carrier revenues and demonstrates the importance of mobile data services. Based upon the minutes delivered for the price paid, there has been an 81 percent decrease in per minute cost of voice calls during the ten-year period that ended in 2004.

Forecast of U.S. Sales of Mobile Phones and Service, at Current and Constant Prices



SOURCE: Mintel

Actionable Information

In order to truly take advantage of the enormous leverage the connectivity of these mobile devices provides, it is essential to understand how people are using the handsets today as well as how they are going to be using them in the future. This is especially important if you generally use your own handset for making calls and little else.

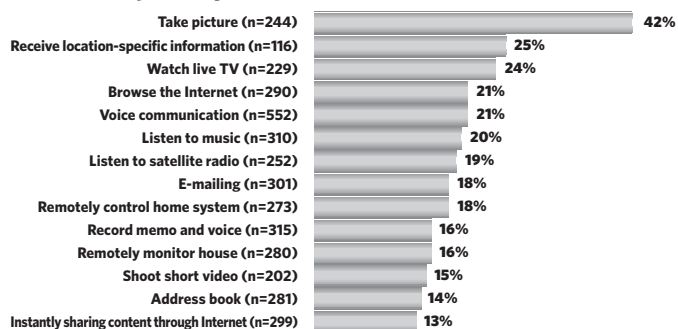
How Do People Use Mobile Devices?

Understanding this is arguably more important than having intimate knowledge of the statistics. While certain rules clearly apply to large groups and various predictions can be made to within a few percentage points of accuracy given the appropriate analysis, **the public isn't swayed one group at a time or one community at a time, but one individual at a time.**

It is this distinction that makes the mobile phone both powerful and dangerous. Unlike a television broadcast or a newspaper or magazine interview where you and your staff control the medium and the dialog flows in essentially a single direction, every phone is equally connected to every other phone. You might have a nice unit with a bigger screen and you may have public funds to subsidize your calls, but **when your fingers start depressing the keys on the keypad you've entered one of the most democratic mediums on the planet.**

Parks Associates posed the "wish list" question to 2112 Internet users and this is what they said:

Important Functions Consumers Want to Have on Most Frequently-Used Mobile Devices



Source: Mobile Entertainment Platforms and Services, a survey of 2,112 Internet users. Copyright 2005 Parks Associates

Although there are a few points to be gleaned from this information, it says almost as much about the analyst's lack of understanding of the medium as it does for the people queried. Conspicuously absent is the application most commonly used after voice, namely SMS, as well as MMS. These are not the same as e-mailing and in reality can be likened more to "chat" or "instant messaging" for SMS and "multimedia messaging" or even "picture-sharing" for MMS.

What's more, many of your constituents know how to use their phones to better advantage than you do, and by wielding this power they have the ability to help or hurt you tremendously.

Based upon current billing, however, what we know today is that **VOICE** is still far and away the killer application when it comes to cellular telephony. In fact, a recent report by JD Power and Associates highlighted this fact with the following statistic: **The average cellular customer spends 6.9 hours a month on his or her mobile phone.** This represents a seven percent increase from 2004. Calls made per month have also increased from 77 per month in 2004 to 84 per month in 2005.

As mentioned previously, SMS is still among the most popular secondary applications on mobile devices. In fact, a brief summary by ZDNet states:

\$4.3 Billion in Text Messaging Revenues forecast for 2006: *Some 4.7 bln text messages were sent in the US in December 2004, compared with 2.1 bln in December 2003 and 253 mln in December 2001, according to CTIA. Revenue from text messaging is projected to grow to \$4.3 bln in 2006 from \$2.5 bln in 2004, says Forrester Research. CTIA estimates that in 2004, US cellphone users sent 203 text messages on average, or 37 bln in total, while in China, cellphone users exchanged 651 per user, or 218 bln in total, according to the Chinese information industry ministry. About 71% of European cellphone users send text messages, more than twice the age in the US.*

Another survey conducted by Ipsos found that just shy of 25 percent of all U.S. mobile users had downloaded a ring-tone in 2005, compared with just five percent in 2004. Roughly six percent of users also claim to have downloaded a full-length song to their phone.

In what might be one of the more reliable indicators of where things are headed, another Ipsos survey found that over 40 million consumers 18 years of age or older wanted mobile e-mail access; 82 percent said they wanted to be able to exercise control over which messages made it to their phone's inboxes. However, in spite of the very rapid growth of the smartphone segment, 96 percent of those polled said they would not buy an expensive phone just to get e-mail.

That is the real world. And that provides a lot more usable, actionable information with which to make decisions about how to approach your mobile market.

It is particularly important to consider the fact that with each successive decade, fewer and fewer people have physical landlines and more people communicate exclusively using mobile devices. One area in which this has had a substantial impact is polling. Last year MTV Rock the Vote/Zogby broke new ground by conducting a poll via text messaging or SMS. Among the most interesting facts derived from this poll was that a much smaller percentage of respondents – 2.3 percent – indicated that they WERE NOT planning to vote. Prior to this it had been assumed that this youngest group of eligible voters was least likely to show up at the polls.

The take away from that is two-fold: first, this is the most technology savvy component of the constituency, and second, you won't reach them through traditional means. They don't watch TV – or if they do they use time shifting like TiVo, they don't read newspapers (the news there is so “yesterday”), and they don't have landlines. Why have your presence tied to a building when your tiny personal computer can be with you and even make a fashion statement.

Seeing Beyond the Numbers

Clearly, looking at the numbers, both from a global and a domestic perspective one can get an idea of the power of this market. In 2008 our domestic market will be worth nearly \$200 billion, and cellular penetration will substantially exceed that of fixed lines.

Mobile phones will become smarter, more customizable and even more ubiquitous. Third Generation (3G) deployments will make many new features possible and even prominent. Location awareness will be built into networks and this alone could have a profound effect upon how the political process develops during the next elections.

Mobile phone users will be far better informed; legislation will be available for review, discussion, dissection, even citizen editing, allowing people to have a much more active role in the democratic process. Even today, it is possible over a mobile device to check the voting records of every senator and every member of Congress without so much as going to a computer or placing a phone call.

Viral messaging by the public – and not just by the campaigns – will have the potential to buoy or confound candidates. Clever marketers working on campaigns can create easily shared messages with the potential for more impact at less cost than defamatory television commercials that lower the public's opinion of both candidates.

- Phones will be tied to individuals instead of locations, and the granularity of this will support activities like polling, which will provide unheralded accuracy.
- Marketing strategies must change to accommodate this new paradigm.
- One to One and One to Many Messaging will enable highly targeted and individualized messaging.
- Mobile technology supports two-way communication not speaker and listener.
- Candidates will have the ability to gain actionable data during speeches and presentations. Mobile user responsiveness will allow presenters to fine-tune their messages in real time.
- Phone security becomes crucial. Blue-sniping and blue-snarfing (hacking into Bluetooth enabled mobile devices) are real threats that cannot be ignored. Phones belonging to critical personnel must be secured and proper training in use and security of Bluetooth devices is a must.

These are just a few of the ways in which that simple piece of technology that you probably used to take for granted can be used to make or break you or your team in the political arena.

Beyond this, mobile devices are changing all the time. Once a closed system that did not foster innovation, today there are more brilliant young developers focused on applications for mobile devices than there have ever been before. There's more money, more devices, more practical applications and more ultimate power than when the dot

com craze was in its naissance.

By staying abreast of what is happening in this arena or making certain that someone on your team is intimately familiar with this technology and the ways in which it can be deployed to hurt or benefit you, you will be able to access a resource far more immediate, far more powerful and far more difficult to master than radio, television, TV or even the Internet. If you achieve this aim, not only will you have a truly powerful tool at your fingertips and one that can mobilize thousands of die-hard believers, but you'll also gain access to nearly instant information and intelligence that can help you tune your message, uncover your opponent's weaknesses and capitalize on mistakes that the other side has made before they even know they've made them.

CHAPTER 2

The Portable Political People Herder: Mobile Technology and Mobilization

Consider these facts:

- The music group U2 used cell phones to register concert goers in the tens of thousands for the nonprofit group One, which wants to increase spending on global development by the United States by one percent of the budget.
- College students in Ukraine used cell phones to mobilize a half million of their peers to protest in Independence Square. Their actions are known as the Orange Revolution, which led to a court-mandated re-election in December 2004.
- During the Republican National Convention in August 2004, protesters used cell phones to organize protests across the city – many of the incidents occurring at the same time or just a few minutes apart and most of them disclosed only a few minutes ahead of time via text messages.

Judging by these examples, cell phone-powered mobilization may appear to be a tool of rock stars and disgruntled youth, but don't let appearances fool you. Although cell phones have become the ubiquitous accessory of young people planning spontaneous get-togethers in restaurants, malls and bars, in the hands of seasoned politicians, the cell phone has become a tool for organization, mobilization and the empowerment of the masses.

As discussed throughout the chapter, the past five years have seen political groups use cell phones to monitor election fraud, turnout voters and, in some cases, start a revolution.

Will the next big story be mobility?

In this chapter, we look first at how various political groups across the globe used mobile technology to win an election, support a cause and, in some cases, start a revolution. From there, we move into a section on mobilization tactics—what every politician needs to know before launching a mobilization effort. Finally, we give you concrete examples of ways in which American groups used mobile in 2004 and 2005.

I. THE MOBILE GLOBAL OUTLOOK

THE MEDIUM IS IN THE MESSAGING

BY JUSTIN OBERMAN
FOUNDER, DIGITISMS

In the summer of 2005 when Justice Sandra Day O'Connor dropped her resignation bomb, *The New York Times* pictured C. Boyden Gray, founder of Committee for Justice, a conservative group supporting constitutionalist judicial nominees, as he received the news via text message.¹

When Washington insiders began favoring news sent via text message over other media, it became clear that mobile technology had come to American politics. What we don't know is what the political ramifications of that will mean, at least that is, when it comes to the United States. The rest of the world has always been ahead of the United States when it comes to the mobile medium and has had a head start in considering the technology for political usages.

Just last month the global press reported that something as simple as a ring tone was used to expose potential presidential corruption in the Philippines. A tapped conversation that Filipino President Gloria Arroyo had with an election official named Garcí before the Filipino elections was made public and turned into a ring tone by the Filipino Web site TxtPower. The ring tone, which is titled "Hello Garcí," features a few moments of music followed by a woman who sounds like Arroyo saying "Hello? Hello? Hello Garcí? So, will I lead by more than one million?" Possession of the audio file was declared illegal under Filipino wire-tapping law, but it spread quickly in a country where text messaging, also known as SMS (short messaging system), is the major outlet of communication and where the ability to share ring tones over SMS is widely available. Arroyo has since admitted the voice is hers.²

The political ramifications are playing out as we speak. But this wasn't the first time Filipinos used mobile technology to bring down a presidential regime. On January 20, 2001, a sea of Filipino protesters converged on the Epifanio de los Santos Avenue in the capital city of Manila, known as EDSA, within an hour after an initial SMS message went out: "GO 2EDSA, Wear Blck." Over the next four days EDSA, once the site of the 1986 "People Power" demon-

strations that toppled the infamous Marcos regime, was filled with over a million protesters in black, all wanting one thing: the resignation of then Philippine President Joseph Estrada. It worked. The military withdrew its support and Estrada fell from power, going down in history as the first political figure to lose power directly by means of the non-violent mobile revolution.

And this was just the beginning. Since the 2001 march on EDSA, political groups around the world have been harnessing mobile technology to deploy, organize and just plain out-mobilize their political opponents:

- When South Korean President Roh Moo-Hyun was down in the polls and was predicted to lose on the day of the 2002 South Korean presidential elections he used mobile technology to send out millions of text messages to mobilize the vote. It worked. Roh won in the largest upset South Korea has ever seen during a presidential election.
- In Ethiopia, opposing political parties are taking advantage of SMS techniques to call on their supporters to vote and ask the receiver to forward the message to 10 more party supporters.
- Even Canada, our friendly neighbor to the north, launched Youth Text 2004, which "enables people to engage in a dialogue with the political parties through the direct and instantaneous medium of text messaging."
- And as democracy begins to take hold in the Middle East, a March 29, 2005, Washington Post article points out that "cell phone text messaging has become a powerful underground channel of free and often impolite speech, especially in the oil-rich Persian Gulf monarchies, where mobile phones are common but candid public talk about politics is not."

Unlike the computer, which was originally built for military computational purposes, the mobile phone has an advantage: namely, being a telephone, it is a social technology tool from the very get-go. So, any software built around this technology—including SMS—is and will be social by its very nature. And it is the inherent social quality of SMS that makes its potential for political deployments extremely potent. We discuss the social aspect of the mobile phone later in this publication.

Mobile SMS has been shaping and reshaping the social space of communication for millions of people around the world for some time now. Textually.org, a blog dedicated to exploring the political implications of mobile technology, reports a plethora of political SMS and mobile activity daily from around the world. Sifting through the short SMS-like posts at Textually.org, it is abundantly clear, however, that most political groups in the United States have yet to go mobile.

Perhaps the greatest political SMS success stories in the United States occurred last summer during the Republican and Democratic National Conventions, when social tech-

1 Emily Turrettini, US Senator finds out about Justice Sandra Day O'Connor resignation by SMS, <http://www.textually.org/textually/archives/2005/07/008930.htm>.

2 Emily Turrettini, It is my voice on poll tape (and ringtone), admits embattled Arroyo, <http://www.textually.org/ringtonia/archives/2005/06/008873.htm>.

nologies such as TXTmob and Updoc allowed protesters to organize and coordinate events (as well as stay safe) in real-time via text alerts. The technology works a lot like an e-mail bulletin board where a person can sign up to send and receive messages to and from various groups. The subsequent unavailability of SMS services for T-Mobile customers during parts of the protests has of course been shrouded in heated conspiracy debates. Nevertheless, even crowd control specialists are calling the TXTmob tactics a victory, putting the protesters a step ahead of the police when it came to mobile technology and its ability to organize on-the-go.³

But since that time the political world of mobile technology inside the United States has been pretty quiet. The SMS campaign alerts and text-messaging communities enabled by Howard Dean's 2004 presidential primary campaign are among the few major examples of a U.S. political group embracing the mobile medium. Then there was the "Rock the Vote Mobile" campaign in which Rock the Vote and Motorola teamed up to engage young adult cell phone users in the political process via SMS polls and messages about the 2004 elections. Register and Vote 2004 also sent young voters politically themed text messages and reminders to vote.

The same kind of technology was used by the mobile marketing company EnPocket in the '04 elections. The firm sent SMS messages regarding a particular political issue to a database of Oregon residents. But Scott Pearson, VP of sales for EnPocket, says that these methods are now frowned upon. "Frankly," Pearson stated, the Best Practices Committee of the Mobile Marketing Association "has basically indicated that we don't want to send messages to third party lists anymore." As far as the 2004 presidential campaigns went neither the Bush nor the Kerry camp touched mobile communication to any substantial degree.

It is not surprising, of course, that we find that the first success story concerning the merger between mobile technology and politics involved protesters at the DNC and RNC conventions. Progressive activists have always been on the cutting edge when it comes to using communication devices for political purposes. Additionally, a majority of these protesters were below 35 — the same age demographic that already comprises a substantial amount of text message users.

What is surprising, however, is the failure of everyone else to catch on. Usually, when the political advantages of a new technology are demonstrated out in the open, every political group or organization immediately tries to take advantage of it. The blogosphere is a case in point. But it seems that when it comes to mobile technology, political groups in the United States either took a step back from the progressive techniques of TXTmob and Updoc in favor of more traditional methods, or they just ignore the technology altogether.

This of course makes perfect sense when you consider the novelty of the technology in the United States. And by technology I am not talking about the cell phone. We have had cell phones as long as anybody else. By technology I mean non-voice features and services like SMS, MMS, photos, streaming video and music, MP3s, GPS, Internet, etc. — what Pearson and those in the industry have come to term as "the third screen," after television and the computer. Of course, the U.S. has always been behind the rest of the world when it comes to cell-phone and telephony technology. The Third Generation phones (3G) that enable a convergence of all these features were available in Asia and Europe long before they were available in the United States.

Still, marketers of such advanced gadgets express hope. The key word here is "convergence." Mobile companies, phone manufacturers and other technology and software giants around the world are working together, buying each other out or deleting each other in what many see as the race towards the future mobile revolution. "We're excited about the possibilities," says Ed Colligan, interim CEO of PalmOne. "Everyone is more mobile, and all their data — pictures, music, documents — have gone digital. We think this is the future of computing because it will be these types of devices that you'll turn to first, as opposed to your PC."

Peter Lawson, chief counsel and a senior officer at Motorola, agrees, "The device technology is advancing and getting easier to use every day," he says. "There will be more text type content, movie content, news content and political content available. Don't think of it as a cell-phone, think of it as a portable device, a little miniature computer that does all sorts of stuff but it fits in your pocket. It's the device formally known as the cell phone. It's mobile, and it's personal to you."

According to a June 2005 BigResearch study, 58 percent of 18- to 24-year-olds surveyed use text messaging regularly or occasionally, compared with 46 percent of 25- to 34-year-olds, almost 28 percent of 35- to 54-year-olds and just 8 percent of those 55 and older.

While the technology and features may become more mainstream and simpler to use, the 'non-voice world' of the cell phone is still relatively new in the United States and therefore lacks the historical and practical experiences that make it an obvious tool of choice for political movements and organizations.

Lawson is quick to point out that social conditions and economic practices have an extremely important role to play regarding the level of non-voice cell-phone use in the United States and therefore, greatly influence its political usages. "We just make the technology and offer the features . . . it's up to everyone else how they use it."

So is there a future for the fusion of mobile technology and politics? "Absolutely," says Pearson, "There are certainly a lot of different opportunities to use mobile in a political way" Pearson contends that "in order for people

3 Defense Tech, TXT 4 RNC PRTST, <http://www.defensetech.org/archives/001083.html>.

to be communicated with on their mobile," Pearson points out, "They are going to have to be the ones that initiate the communication via other methods."

The method Pearson has most in mind involves Common Short Code, a technology that allows a mobile phone user to send a prescribed text message to a certain 5 digit number which registers them to receive SMS alerts, allows them to vote a certain way, or sends the user more information on a certain subject. This is the same technology used to allow fans of the popular TV show American Idol to vote from their cell-phone.

"So for example," Pearson explains, "any lawn sign can have below the Web site URL something which tells you to text the candidate's name to a certain short code to get more information." What would happen after that depends on what the political group or campaign intends, but most likely it would involve something like a text message coming back to the sender that either included information for someone to 'consider now' or 'look up later.' Perhaps it would even link to a mobile Internet site about that candidate or political issue. The Internet site would have to be a WAP (Wireless Application Protocol) site, a type of stripped-down Web site, so that it could easily be rendered on any mobile device. Smart-Code involves a layer of interactivity that database-driven SMS campaigns lack and therefore are more in line with all that the mobile medium has to offer.

Some argue that the first political group to truly benefit from the mobile revolution in the United States will focus neither on the technology nor the applications currently being explored "It's got to be a little more effective than just extending the current tools to one more space," says McKenzie Wark, professor of cultural and media studies at Lang College, New School University, and author of the newly released book *A Hacker Manifesto*. The essence of an electronic medium determines how best to use that medium in unique but practical ways. The stress here is on fusing the technology with social practice. Howard Rheingold, author of *Smart Mobs: The Next Social Revolution*, writes, "The killer apps of tomorrow's mobile infocom industry won't be hardware devices or software programs but social practices."

For Rheingold and Wark, the mobile medium has its greatest political impact when it is doing exactly what the technology was built to do in the first place, that is, it is most political when it is creating personal, friend-to-friend networks of communication. Not one Filipino citizen who received the SMS, "GO 2EDSA, Wear Blck." that subsequently sparked the 2001 march on EDSA signed up for a single mailing list to receive that SMS. Nor were the SMSs sent out by a central database controlled by a central group of people. There was no organizing structure involved in the SMS other than the self-organizing structure of the network. The message began spontaneously by an individual or a group of friends who sent it to their friends who then passed it along to their friends, etc. In other words the political message became viral. And, according to Wark, it's easy for these messages to become viral. "Short messages from friends," Wark points out, "are much more

likely to be read because they are based on affect, that is, they are based on things people will want to read, from people who they want to read, and they will thus learn the tool in order to be able to read it." And as the technology advances people will be doing more than reading. With mobile devices encompassing audio and text as well as still and moving picture capture and distribution you have in the palm of your hands a fully featured mobile media machine. Mix this with the viral communication of friend-to-friend personal networks and you have yourself an extremely powerful means of political deployment.

The Filipinos' march on EDSA, the use of SMS by political demonstrators in the Persian Gulf and the SMS organizing skills of the DNC and RNC protesters are models of the kind of impact on politics that the organic networking created by mobile technology can have. These and other examples relay to us one of the most important ironies of the mobile medium. The more technological features there are, the less important the actual technology becomes when putting it into action. While the technology is necessary in order to make the functions happen, focusing alone on the technology, the featured software and applications, is not enough. And this is the dilemma that the American mobile revolution finds itself in.

The technology is cheap and is becoming easy enough to use. The failure or fear of using mobile technology for political discourse comes from trying to apply a "medium is the message" philosophy to a new media technology. To be truly successful one must be willing to give up central control for the self-organizing control of the network. As examples from around the world have already taught us, the political link to the mobile medium is the way those messages are deployed rather than what they say. For political networks, such as those created by the social practices of mobile communication, the medium is in the messaging, not the message.

CELLULAR POLITICS: A LOOK AT MOBILE TECHNOLOGY IN THE UNITED STATES

BY EMILY MILLER
EDITOR, POLITICS ONLINE

Where is mobile canvassing in the United States?

The 2004 election saw some major advances in digital politics — voters went online to get news, register to vote, vent on their blogs, and be entertained by cartoons like JibJab’s “This Land.” The question now is when will we see the next big step with mobile canvassing?

“Mobile canvassing” sounds pretty esoteric, but the reality is quite simple. Mobile canvassing is using cell phones and other wireless technology to enhance voter awareness, reach and inform new demographic groups, and increase political participation. Cell phones have become invaluable to a huge proportion of the U.S. population. Now more than ever, cell phones need to be integrated into the realm of political communication.

In 2004, there was some experimentation with mobile canvassing — most notably by America Coming Together (ACT) — but as yet there have been no real breakthrough stories.

Text messaging in America is on the rise. In December 2004, U.S. phones transmitted one billion text messages, quadrupling from 253 million a year earlier, according to the Cellular Telecommunications & Internet Association. The integration between politics and cell phones, however, is still developing,

Interestingly enough, although the use of text mobile-politicking has found greater success internationally, it actually originated in America. Coordinating demonstrations by using the Web to send text messages to supporters’ cell phones was used first by WTO protesters in Seattle in 1999⁴. But since then, the international community has taken mobile canvassing and run with it, while in comparison the United States is back at the starting line.

4 Scott Proudfoot, *The Interweaving of the Internet and Politics*, Hill Watch, http://www.hillwatch.com/Publications/Bulletins/Interweaving_Internet_Politics.aspx.

Here is a synopsis of some of the high points:

- **Rock The Vote Mobile** – In the 2004 election, over 120,000 Americans participated in Rock the Vote Mobile, which aimed to increase younger voters’ awareness and participation. The campaign was successful, helping to produce the largest youth (18-30) voter turnout since 1972. Rock the Vote Mobile included a cell phone-only poll of young voters in late October, and a “Find Your Candidate” program, which was created to help users identify the candidate that best represented their own political views. More than 4,500 Rock the Vote Mobile participants sought voter registration materials via cell phone.
- **American Idol** – Although call-ins still provided the bulk of the votes, American Idol viewers sent a record 41.5 million text messages during the last season. The popular Fox show solicits viewers to vote for their favorite contestants via telephone or SMS. Only Cingular customers could vote, which makes the 41.5 million messages look even more impressive. The third season had 13.5 million SMS votes (since it took place before the Cingular/AT&T Wireless merger, only AT&T Wireless customers could use the SMS voting system).⁵
- **Howard Dean** – Despite his subsequent defeat, Howard Dean defied almost everyone’s expectations with popular support, mostly due to online grassroots tactics.

In an effort to target college-age voters and inspire activism, the Dean campaign sent texts to supporters through upoc.com, which allows texters with similar interests to organize and communicate. Dean supporters were among the company’s most active groups, leading in both the U.S. politics and news categories. Dean’s use of new technology for grassroots activism has permanently reshaped politics.⁶

With 45 percent of 18- to 24-year-olds using SMS, it is a tool that is best not ignored. Campaign manager Joe Trippi said, “Whether text messaging [reaches] critical mass in this campaign or not, I think we’re pioneering a method that will be used even more extensively in the future.”⁷ But he later added, “Well, cell phone text messaging didn’t work the way we had hoped. We really went after that hard. It went, but just didn’t really do anything.”⁸

5 Mobile Tracker, *American Idol attracts 41 million text messages*, <http://www.mobiletracker.net/archives/2005/05/27/american-idol-sms>.

6 Susan Page, “While losing, Dean has transformed race, politics,” *USA Today*, February 8, 2004, http://www.usatoday.com/news/politicselections/nation/president/2004-02-08-dean-cover_x.htm.

7 Ibid.

8 David Pogue, “The Internet and Political Campaigns,” *New York Times*, March 11, 2004, <http://www.uazuay.edu.ec/bibliotecas/cibercultura/The%20Internet%20and%20Political%20Campaigns.htm>.

Why didn't Dean's text campaign work? During the 2004 campaign season, texting was still too unfamiliar in America to be used effectively, especially in politics. Politics and campaigning are viewed by many voters as structured and traditional, so introducing text messaging to politics when it hadn't yet been integrated on lower, more casual levels proved to be ineffective. However, the huge increase in text voting for American Idol illustrates that Americans are becoming more comfortable communicating through texts, at least on entertainment and social levels. If the United States follows the pattern of other countries, once texting becomes socially common it will ultimately become acceptable in politics as well.

THE GLOBAL POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF MOBILE TECHNOLOGY: AN OVERVIEW OF DEMOCRATIC MOBILIZATION

BY MICHAEL COLOPY

FOREIGN POLICY SPECIALIST, ARISTOTLE INTERNATIONAL

My interest has always been on how political movements develop and their cultivation of human synaptic networks, which rely on technology for change. Around the globe today, we see many political movements in which people used mobile technology to communicate, mobilize, and in some cases, overthrow the government.

China

China, in particular, is a good example of how a government has sought to control the major Internet portals. It is relatively effective for the simple reason that in a pictographic language—which Mandarin is—you can assign meaning to certain symbols used in a certain way that will represent higher ideas or thoughts. In China, the government seeks to be both the teacher and the voice of the people. For protests, the government approves the topic and seeks to control the level, intensity, breadth and scope

of the event, as well as the ways in which any discussion topic leads to anything that might resemble political action.

In all its history, China never really possessed a free-flowing intelligentsia unconnected to the civil service or unconnected to the imperial system. And for that reason, people had to rely on very rudimentary system of communication, a rumor system. In fact, there has never been a country-wide or society-wide free communications system at any time in China. Whatever existed was clearly the organ of whoever controlled it. This rumor system created a fairly sophisticated way of using symbols that have echoed throughout history as a mnemonic device or concepts—prior to general computing and general wireless devices. This culturally developed rumor system, coupled with the new mobile technology, allows people to self-organize.

When the United States bombed the Chinese embassy in Belgrade in 1997, we saw the beginnings of the use of text messaging among the ordinary people, particularly the intelligentsia. They were able to mobilize using wireless devices, and as a result, demonstrations against the bombing occurred spontaneously across the country. And so for the first time in 1997, the party leadership had to work to control the political fervor.

Demonstrations form very, very fast. Because the 1997 protests could have grown out of control, the government thought that they had to be carefully monitored. However, the government could barely control it or even stay ahead of it.

Instead, the rumor system benefited from text messaging and lap-top computers. In other words, the new mobile devices enhanced a very traditional communication system. The result: the power of the state to control political action struggled against a very traditional rumor system newly empowered by real-time electronic communications.

Ukraine

The Orange Revolution in Ukraine possessed some similarities to the events in China. In the communication operation that I directed for the opposition party, we relied virtually entirely on redundant electronic communications - satellite phones, cell phones, laptops and even digital cameras. At the center of it all was the War Room.

Mobile technology allowed us to feed the international news media in real-time around the clock. At that time, it was against the law to broadcast anything about the election just before and during Election Day. We were in a concealed area under control of the opposition coalition, because we were helping them. But since the law said nothing could be discussed in Ukrainian, we put it out in other languages - primarily French, English, and German. And virtually all of it was sent out over dialup and other connections from our War Room.

On the walls of the War Room, we had large maps on which we pre-printed all the data that we had accumulated

PHILIPPINES: PEOPLE POWER II

BY VICENTE RAFAEL

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF
WASHINGTON - SEATTLE

Background

In 2001, hundreds of thousands of Philippine citizens took to the streets of Manila to oust President Estrada. Over the course of several days, the crowds grew tremendously, all powered by over 70 million text messages.

What caused the mass protest?

The popularity of texting began to peak around the time of the impeachment trials, and those text messages, coupled with television and radio coverage, disseminated information about the protests to the public.

Philippine politics are spontaneous and combustible. Because the people are not likely to take ideological stances or mobilize around a particular ideological platform, political participation begins with curiosity. Events are less likely to occur as a concerted mobilization of already organized groups. Instead, when people hear about something, such as a political protest, they go to see it for themselves.

Cohesion across the media

It is important to note that texting in isolation did not trigger the mass mobilization. Rather, texting was a tool that, when coupled with other mediums, drove people to see the events for themselves and join in.

The most important medium in the Philippines is the radio: it's the most accessible, the cheapest and the most widely available, especially in rural areas where not everyone has access to cell phones. Television and to a lesser degree newspapers played a role as well, providing visual stimuli for people to speculate, make judgments and exchange ideas and opinions.

It is within this mediascape that cell phone use and texting became the primary tools for mobilization. The cell phone provided a circuit system of information that was much more direct than either foreign broadcasts or local news. In a way, the cell phone put people in contact in a much more immediate fashion.

Technology Reversal: How the United States differs from the Philippines

There are many reasons why the United States has not experienced the rise of mass mobilization via cell phone, the way that it occurred in the Philippines:

over the prior four or five months – residents, registrations, where the vote had come from in the earlier elections. Understanding that the elections were rigged, we tried to match official population or residency data against these other votes. We also knew, for example, in some parts of the country the community was solidly in the reformed camp, and parts of the eastern sector were solidly in the Russian camp. We developed a computer model to monitor our own observations of turn-out through about 250 data collecting points and pre-selected precincts. Then, we measured what was being observed at these locals against the model prior constructed ahead of time. Based on this, it predicted what the level of fraud was.

Sunday, September 21, 2004 was St. Michael's Day, a patron Saint of Ukraine. It was Election Day. On that day, we knew that some geographical areas held traditional mid-day Sunday service, which kept people in church and out of the phones in the middle of the day. Turnout at the polls start climbing at about 8:30 a.m. It peaked around 10 a.m. and then dropped sharply at 11. Non-religious geographical regions, by contrast, were expected to produce a constant stream of voters throughout the day, since people were not attending church in the same large numbers. We built this expectation in turnout into our model, and the graph showed the mid-day voting drop-off in real-time.

The Central Election Commission also monitored the polls, and it reported spikes in voting at the end of the day for nonreligious areas, where voting was constant throughout the day. We suspected that the ballot boxes were being stuffed. Some precincts had 110 percent voter turnout, and that same precinct generated people traveling in buses to other precincts for the opposition to have the advantage. They cast thousands and thousands of absentee ballots in other precincts because they were paid for every additional vote that they cast. In addition, state-controlled industries were giving workers credit for turning over their ballots to management to be cast in whole blocks.

Some of our people witnessed and even participated in trying to stop these events by interfering with the bus convoys. They used cell phones to report campaign misconduct back to us, and they organized protested with text messaging, laptops and cell among the younger intelligentsia, similar to the demonstrations in China.

- Technology culture - Text messaging is really an extension of e-mail, and in the United States, access to e-mail is much more common than access to e-mail in the Philippines. For example, some estimates point to the fact that less than 10 percent of the population in the Philippines actually has access to personal computers. However, between 75 and 80 percent of the people have access to cell phones.

The technology situation in the United States is different. People have cell phones, but their relationships to telephones or telephony certainly tend to be much more voice oriented than text oriented. Contrast this with the Philippines, where people's relationships with cell phones tend to be text-driven, not voice oriented.

There are historical reasons for this. Cell phones have been in used in the United States for several decades now, and the United States has watched cell phone technology evolve and advance. Americans pay extra for texting on top of the voice services. By contrast, when cell phones became popular in the Philippines, some of the cell phone providers encouraged the use of cell phones to provide free texting, thereby building an economic advantage into the use of text messages that then developed into a cultural phenomenon. It is far more expensive in the Philippines to communicate by voice than it is to communicate by text.

In the United States, people use television and e-mail as dissemination or communication tools. The Internet has been one of the most effective forces for political mobilization among new media in the United States because it is interactive. In fact, it plays the same role that cell phones play in the Philippines.

- Open vs. closed media - In many countries, the cell phone provides a way of circumventing limitations placed on the media by governments. The prominence of the cell phone and texting has to be seen within the larger context of what other immediate technologies are available. In countries with more open media, such as in the United States, the cell phone will be important less for political reasons and more for personal or business reasons.
- Opposition political parties or movements - Mobile technology as a tool for mobilization works best in countries with political or social opposition groups. All technology operates within the particular social-political context of a country.

Take a more holistic look at the relationship of technology and politics in any particular context. For example, the situation in the United States will have differences and similarities with situations in Guatemala, China or the Philippines.

Do not assume that just by introducing a particular kind of technology that you will change the calibration of political forces and your ability to mobilize political forces.

In the Philippines, the larger politico-economic

context is why cell phones became so useful for mobilization in ways that probably differ from other countries, such as the United States

Live 8

BY MIKE GRENVILLE

FOUNDER, 160 CHARACTERS

Live 8, the summer 2005 event that drew fans to different, simultaneous concert venues around the world, used text messaging to bolster community. Their tactics can be adapted for a political audience:

- They asked people in the audience to send pictures in during the concert. These images were shown on the screen behind the stage.
- They asked people to send a text message to join a petition. Those names scrolled behind the people on stage.

However, the event could have incorporated a few more ideas that would have sustained a more lasting movement.

Here are some of my thoughts:

- They could have easily used it as a database to communicate with people after the event or even during the event.
- They could have used text messages to communicate with security at the event.
- They could have sent text messages directly from the organizers to their audience, updating them about how many people attended or how many signed the petition.
- They could have sent messages to organize people for other events.

II. TACTICS AND STRATEGY

THE MISSING LINK: HOW MOBILE TECHNOLOGY CONNECTS INTERNET ACTIVISM TO THE OFFLINE WORLD

BY HOWARD RHEINGOLD

AUTHOR, SMART MOBS

As political groups adopt mobile tactics into the strategy, it is important to consider the two very different dimensions or philosophies involved in mobile campaigns.

- Bottoms-up - The grass roots, many-to-many lateral use of mobile technology that occurred in the Philippines and Korea. People organize on a grassroots level without receiving direct marching orders from a central campaign.

Reaching disengaged segments of the population, getting them active and giving them the ability to do something is what real political power is all about. Text messages and mobile technology have the ability to reach and motivate the people that each traditional political party needs to persuade and mobilize in order to be successful.

In this sense, mobile politics is less about the technology and more about the challenge it poses to the political operations machine. After all, when it comes to political parties in the United States, both sides are uneasy about giving up some of the control and allowing people to self organize.

- Top-down - The old fashioned, hierarchical method of communication wherein a central campaign, committee or organization passes orders down to the troops. Mobile technology is used as an effective tool for a top-down campaign when it is employed in traditional electoral activities, such as get-out-the-vote and election monitoring.

Mobile technology possesses incredible potential to develop more honest electoral processes across the globe. In other countries, people at the polls communicate with their political network through

cell phones, allowing them to respond very rapidly and work with legal authorities to file formal legal complaints.

Mobilizing a large number of people at the polls requires maintaining a level of balance between these two very different dimensions - the grass roots and the top down messaging. This equilibrium is difficult to achieve.

Consider the 2004 Presidential election. Why did the Republicans succeed at turning out more voters at the polls?

Even though 2004 was the year of the mass-mobilization employed by the Howard Dean campaign in the primaries and the liberal 527 groups in the general election, the Republicans actually used the grassroots media much more effectively than the Democrats did. In fact, the 2004 election presents the struggle between the old political culture, which does not want to lose control, and the power of the grassroots.

This occurred in part because the John Kerry campaign largely ignored the lessons learned by the Dean phenomena - lessons that apply directly to mobile politicking. The Kerry campaign employed old style, top-down politics. The Bush campaign, on the other hand, incorporated grassroots tactics into its top-down formal campaign structure, ensuring that everyone stayed "on message," and, more importantly, turned out to vote on Election Day.

As the 2004 campaign showed, ignorance of the use of technology in the political process is self-defeating and marginalizing. **It is not just about the technology.** Technology is a tool, but the important lesson is how you use it and develop a whole set of practices around it. **The effectiveness of political activities multiplies when people know what to do with the tools you give them.** This enables politicians to mobilize the masses.

Mobile Phones and Electoral Politics

Around the world, citizens are using cell phones to track votes to catch election fraud at the polls. Here are some examples:

- Hungary – In 2002, SMS traffic surged during two rounds of elections that occurred April 7 and 21. Some estimates suggest that users sent as many as four to five million text messages daily during the election – a 20 percent increase over normal SMS traffic.
- Kenya – In 2003, Kenyans used mobile phones to organize get-out-the-vote efforts, share campaign messages and disseminate poll results – even in the most remote areas, where ballot boxes were notoriously tampered with during transport.
- Spain – After the terror attacks in Madrid, Spain, in 2004, the Spanish people sent a barrage of text messages to turn out the vote and defeat the governing Popular Party. Most of these texts occurred the evening before and the day of the election on March 14, and many of them were in support of the winning Socialist Party. Text messaging traffic was increased 40 percent higher than its normal rate on election. As a result, election turnout exceeded 77 percent.
- Italy – The office of Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi sent a reported 56 million text messages reminding people to vote.
- United Kingdom – During elections in the spring of 2005, the BBC launched a service that allowed people to track the election on their mobile phones. Sign-up was available online.

TRACKING YOUR SUPPORTERS: EVENTS AND LOCATION-BASED SERVICES

BY JIM UDALL

RESEARCH DIRECTOR, MOBILE MUSE; AND PRESIDENT, SYMPHONETICS INC.

You have a great idea. You want to use the same located-based services and GPS to draw people to your political event that groups like Dodgeball and Google are using to link social networks and direct you to the nearest pizza place.

You want to send people text messages to let them know that in a few short hours, your candidate will be just four blocks away to talk with them about their thoughts and needs. You think your plan will increase turnout and motivate people to get involved.

Sounds like a great idea. But can you do it? What are the cold, hard facts?

There is no question that location specificity is the Holy Grail for mobile phone services. Once the FCC mandated E911 service for mobile operators, application developers have been chomping at the bit to roll this service out. Unfortunately location specificity has been a little difficult to achieve.

In spite of the fact that handheld GPS units have been around for quite some time, it is taking a considerable amount of time and effort to integrate this technology into mobile devices. Specifically the problem with GPS technology is that it works extremely poorly indoors. Consider that so much of our time is spent indoors; relying on GPS technology alone to address the emergency 911 requirements is a non-starter. This results in a variety of technologies trying to enhance GPS based location determination with other sorts of carrier network technology. Getting this working—just to satisfy E911 requirements—has been extremely difficult for the operators. E911 is short for Enhanced 911, a set of rules designed by the FCC to improve effectiveness and reliability for emergency services by providing 911 dispatchers with information about 911 calls from mobile phones.

My carrier says he supports the FCC mandated E911 requirements. Will my location sensitive application idea work there?

Maybe. Just because the E911 requirements are satisfied doesn't mean that an application – either network or handset based – can use the location information. This depends on a number of factors including the handset model; the software APIs (Application Interface Programs) available on the device and the deployed backend network infrastructure.

Some carriers already advertise these services. However there are a few caveats to that claim. Most such carriers who promote such a service are basing their location not so much on the location of the user but the location of the particular cell they are currently using. There may be applications where this gross resolution is perfectly adequate. For example, knowing you're located in Washington, DC, is probably good enough when you're looking for local sites and attractions. However, finding the closest washroom

would probably require a much higher degree of resolution.

To further complicate this, cell location may not be an ideal indicator in any event. In seaside communities, it is entirely possible that your associated cell could be on a nearby offshore island whereas you the user could be sitting at the beach on the mainland. In this case, location sensitive information is of questionable value.

The other caveat is that the availability of location information is very spotty even within a carrier's national network. The result is that location sensitive applications are very spotty in applicability.

When will we have truly precise location data?

Well, not for a while yet. The E911 mandate has been enormously difficult to meet and the deadline for implementation has been extended several times. The shake-out of this technology is still underway. Moving that to a value-added service is even further away. If you were looking for a hard number, I would estimate that ubiquitous availability of precise location information is at least three years away.

But even assuming there are no technical hurdles to location determination, there are a number of business issues associated with this information.

The first issue is ownership. Who in fact should own the location information associated with a user? An obvious answer might be you the user. But even this comes with a number of caveats. Whom do you wish to know your location? Most location sensitive services allow a single parameter as to whether your location should be advertised to applications or not. You as a user may well wish that your location be known to a particular application or service but not to another. For example if you were using a tour guide application, you would probably feel comfortable letting that application know your whereabouts in order to provide an interactive real-time tour. However, there may be an advertising application on the network that would like to deliver coupons to your phone as you walked by certain stores – redeemable in those stores. You may or may not want to expose your location to that application.

And all of this brings lots of very scary privacy questions in any event. How do you know that your tour guide is only benignly interested in your location simply to help you tour? It is entirely possible that such applications could become Trojans for much more nefarious applications to track your whereabouts. How much confidence do you have that the applications to use this information in a trustworthy fashion?

Though you may feel that you are the rightful owner of your location information, wireless carriers have a slightly different view. Their view is though the user may own his own location information, determining that location is the property of the carrier and hence the carrier is entitled to some benefit when that information is determined. In

other words, carriers feel they should be monetarily compensated when applications wish to determine the location of a user. And indeed carriers are in a very good position here.

Networked based applications cannot reasonably determine the location of a particular user without the explicit consent of the supporting wireless network. Access to that network is not going to be granted to applications unless some sort of explicit relationship is entered into between the carrier and the application developer.

Now this creates a plethora of ethical and privacy related concerns as well as liability issues. If an application is either deliberately designed or maliciously hacked such that the location information is improperly used, who bears the liability associated with that? In some sense it could be any of the parties involved: the carrier, the application developer or the abuser of the application. Carriers are extremely wary of privacy issues surrounding location determination.

Will this idea every really take off?

Oh, I think so. The value of location information is simply too high to ignore. However, like experiences on the wired Internet today, there are wondrous things possible and there are bad things and abuses along the way. Location information in the wireless world will simply be another one of those things such as conveying credit card information over the Internet that some users will embrace without fear and others will avoid altogether. You will find occasional breaches of privacy surrounding location as you do today surrounding credit card information.

The point is that technically implementing location determination technology is a long way from implementing a viable system for supporting services based on this information. Today we are just beginning to come to closure on the technical side of this story. Early pioneers of applications or this technology can certainly be found. However, applications are limited by significant social inertia as well as by underdeveloped business criteria.

M-Voting

In May 2003, the Sheffield City Council in the United Kingdom allowed citizens to vote in local election via the Internet, SMS text messages and touch-tone phones, as well as in Public Access Kiosks throughout the city.

The City Council wanted to make voting easier, more accessible and secure.

In 2004, Sheffield was a finalist in the Stockholm Challenge, an annual IT award.¹³

13 Sheffield City Council, eVoting – May 2003, <http://www.sheffield.gov.uk/facts-figures/digital-democracy/evoting>.

SWARMING: WHY MOBILE- POWERED MOVEMENTS SOMETIMES SUCCEED AND SOMETIMES FAIL⁹

BY JEFF VAIL

COUNTER-TERRORISM INTELLIGENCE ANALYST,
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Swarming, Open-Source Warfare and the Black Block

Swarming is an ancient military tactic – in fact, Alexander the Great pioneered the first effective counter-swarming maneuver over 2,000 years ago. However, it is also one of the most contemporary of military issues: how to defeat asymmetrical swarming tactics in counter-insurgency operations, how to effectively employ swarming in a modern military, etc. It also has contemporary political applications. In the 1999 World Trade Organization protests in Seattle, the anarchist “Black Block” pioneered a new swarming technique by using text-messaging and cell phones.

What is Swarming?

Swarming is the tactical (or, in some cases, operational) maneuver of converging highly distributed forces at a single point to leverage the military principle of mass. That is, you don’t need to have more powerful forces than your opponent, you just need more powerful forces than they have at the point of conflict. For example, the anarchist “Black Block” in Seattle consisted of a relatively small number of individuals prepared to use violence among a sea of peaceful protesters. From this highly dispersed position, using their superior communications capability (in the form of text-messaging), they were able to quickly converge on a single place, overwhelm the localized police presence with brief but intensely violent protest, and then disperse and blend back into the crowds before the police could reallocate forces. They repeated this pulsing nature of swarming forces over and over again, and the police were never able to adapt.

9 Jeff Vail, A Theory of Power, <http://www.jeffvail.net/2005/01/swarming-open-source-warfare-and-black.html>.

Principles of Swarming and Counter-Swarming

Swarming depends on a few very simple principles: achieve them, and it will succeed, but deny these principles to a swarming force and it will be defeated:

1. Elusiveness, in the form of mobility or concealment.
2. Standoff firepower, relative to the opposing force.
3. Situational awareness of the local environment, relative to the opposing force.

No swarming force has ever been defeated if it has achieved these three principles. In several instances, swarming has succeeded even without one or more of these principles. However, swarm tacticians should aim to ensure all three principles, while those hoping to defeat a swarming force must be concerned if they cannot deny all three.

NYC Police Obviously Learned from Alexander

Anarchists, among other protesters, had great hopes that the 2004 Republican National Convention in New York would be another repeat of their success in Seattle. Their efforts largely failed, as they were unable to secure any of the three principles of swarming. In particular, the NYC police were able to deny the protesters their principle strength of elusiveness/mobility. Borrowing directly from the playbook of Alexander the Great, police rolled out mobile plastic-mesh fences to quickly create artificial terrain obstacles, trapping large groups of more violent protesters before they could blend away into the city masses. Anarchists and other protesters, for their part, facilitated the police’s successful tactic by advertising the locations of their actions well in advance (by reacting to convention events they forfeited the initiative), eliminating the need for police to find them, and facilitating the staging of the forces required to fix and defeat.

Mobile for Protest

In March 2005, women in Kuwait used mobile phones to organize the largest protest for women’s voting rights in the country’s history. Although each text message costs 40 cents in Kuwait, the movement succeeded in turning women into the streets. Despite the cost per message, SMS is seen as way to evade government control of speech.

One Washington Post reporter called text messages the “powerful underground channel of free and often impolite speech, especially in the oil-rich Persian Gulf monarchies.”¹⁵

15 Steve Coll, “In the Gulf, Dissidence Goes Digital,” Washington Post, March 29, 2005, A01.

What is a Rhizome and what does it have to do with mobile politics

The conflicts of the twentieth century forged current theories of rhizome - the name for non-hierarchical, asymmetrical and networked patterns of organization. Empowered by a revolution in communication technology and the spread of democratic freedoms, the conflicts of the twenty-first century will be defined not by past political ideologies, but by a much more fundamental, structural conflict: hierarchy vs. rhizome.

Rhizome has a long history of application within military theory, but its use as a non-violent political tool is still rapidly developing. Rhizome tactics such as swarming have been used successfully at the 1999 WTO protests in Seattle, and less successfully by protesters at the Republican National Convention in 2004. A methodology of decentralized "leaderless resistance" first formalized by white supremacists is now being used with some success by the Earth Liberation Front and the Animal Liberation Front. Rhizome tactics have found notable success in economics as well, with rural communities using localization policies, increasing distributed power generation, the spread of farmers' markets and an increased focus on "slow food" and regional cuisine.

But despite recent successes, the value of rhizome structure and strategies continues to be constrained by a failure to frame conflicts in clear "hierarchy vs. rhizome" terms. Political activists seeking to use rhizome concepts to improve a hierarchal structure such as America's hierarchal democracy will ultimately fail. Similarly, the protestors at the Republican National Convention were effectively controlled by police because they failed to identify their purpose—and frame their tactics—in terms of rhizome pattern and structure. The OODA Loop suggests that the victorious party is the one that can more quickly Observe lessons learned from past conflict, Orient themselves to identify their shortcomings in light of these lessons, Decide on a course of action to address identified shortcomings and then put those decisions into Action.

GOAL-ORIENTED POLITICS

BY CLAY SHIRKY

CONSULTANT AND ADJUNCT PROFESSOR AT NYU'S INTERACTIVE TELECOMMUNICATIONS PROGRAM

All political groups look for some degree of openness because they see lower costs, an increased ability to fund-raise, a better way to build supporter lists and an activated, energetic corps of volunteers.

Most political organizations have people they call members, but organizations do not engage their members enough to make them feel committed to the well-being of the organization. Instead, most organizations use their members as levers to accomplish the goals.

To me, this is the real fight, and it is one in which mobile technology could make a difference.

Howard Dean vs. John Kerry

We see this most sharply in the differences in behavior between the Dean and Kerry camps. The push in the Dean camp for high degrees of openness paradoxically produced a culture in which the Deaniacs forgot that influencing voters to vote for Dean was the goal.

The Kerry camp employed a strategy that was almost the opposite of the Dean camp. And while the Kerry campaign did not see nearly as much activism as Dean, they did receive many more votes. The Kerry campaign was so much more disciplined that by the time Dean lost New Hampshire, Kerry's nomination was a done deal.

What does this mean for mobile technology?

Think about it this way: mobile politicking replaces planning with coordination.

On an elementary level, this means that when people start using cell phones, they stop making formal plans - "Let's meet at Bobble at eight o'clock at the bar." Instead they say things like "Call me when you get off work" or "Call me if you're in the neighborhood."

SMS applies this type of coordination to political groups.

How will mobile politicking play out in the United States?

Coordination and mobilization with mobile technology is better suited to things like fundraising, NGO membership, political participation and lastly, the kind of Flash Mobs

that occurred in Spain, Philippines and South Korea.

I don't see mass mobilization happening on a national scale, the way it has in the countries listed about. The United States won't have an Orange Revolution like Ukraine did.

Why? Because this type of mobilization does not reflect our political culture or our particular set of problems:

- **Happiness** — The idea that pure, physical mobilization in a protest, the likes of which have occurred abroad, as the only way for politics to incorporate mobile technology ignores the structure of the American political system. American politics boasts a two-party system, and the maturity of our system means that the kind of galvanic issues that bring people together during, for example, the Vietnam War, are few and far between. We run a relatively non-corrupt, representative government.

Stable democracy is fueled by complacency, and our system is quite good at producing contented complacency, strongly prefaced by the association that happiness and satisfaction lead to complacency.

- **Geography** — The layout of Washington, DC, discourages mass mobilization. The U.S. Capitol is completely removed from the financial centers. There's really only one game in town. And if you are an outsider not already working in government or politics, DC is a mystifying city: the layout is not obvious and people have a hard time getting around the town. Consequently, it is relatively easy for Washington, DC, to defend itself from the attack of outsiders — even if those outsiders are other citizens.

Because our capital city is not a major population center nor is it a site of anything other than politics, it defends a vertical establishment against a swarming style of attack. The geographic structure of the rest of the United States is suburbanite, meaning there are more places in this country where few people live than there are places where people condense in one area.

Does this mean that massive, mobile-fueled events will never occur in the United States?

Mobilization on the scale of what occurred in the Philippines may happen at the state or local level. In fact, this type of organization may be particularly effective during the elections for sheriff or mayor, particularly if local corruption or financial issues hit people in their pocket books.

We saw this localized coordination occur in 2004 with the Internet organization Meetup. People used Meetup to coordinate locally and then link together.

Mobile technology adds another dimension to the

Meetup phenomenon. Instead of signing up online to meet in the same place at the same time, mobile tech will coordinate 10,000 local marches of a hundred people each.

It is precisely this kind of event that would affect the House of Representative more than it would affect the presidency: the threat of being turned out locally is much higher with a few hundred or a few thousand vote swing than being turned out at a national level.

A word to the wise

The mobile phone is not the new computer; it is the new phone.

Its major function is communicating with other people. It becomes an integral part of the social life of the people who use it. Everything mobile is more emotional. People have much more personal relationships with and are more engaged by their phones than almost anything on a PC screen.

This is one of the things that will affect politics — the ability to activate people about an issue at a moment when you want them activated. That's how it could affect politics.

SOUND-BYTE POLITICS: WILL MOBILE TECHNOLOGY INCREASE POLITICAL POLARIZATION?

BY CPT LUCAS CIOFFI
U.S. ARMY

One reservation I have with the employment of mobile technology in politics is the possibility of oversimplifying complex issues. While serving as an information operations officer during a yearlong deployment to Iraq, I was able to study how a battle of ideas can turn into armed conflict. Religious leaders there can easily motivate the populace to take action against the new Iraqi government. The primary underlying factor which facilitates this lightning-like mobilization is a lack of understanding across cultural boundaries. We as Americans have a hard time

understanding why young Arabs would give their life in jihad, and it is impossible for the extremists to believe that we are actually there to help the Iraqi people.

This lack of understanding is a result of narrow perspectives developed over time. Arab and Western points of view have grown apart as both cultures for centuries have had relatively little positive interaction. Until this fog of misunderstanding and distrust is lifted, the propensity toward conflict will remain high.

Iraq's struggles as a nascent democracy put the historical evolution of our own system of government into perspective. In America the failure of both parties to come together and participate in meaningful dialogue reduces mutual understanding and allows them to grow farther apart. Political polarization can similarly narrow the citizenry's tolerance to the point where there is little common ground between factions. Without tolerance, a democracy cannot remain healthy.

The advent of digital technology can exacerbate this problem by perpetuating sound-byte politics and taking ideas out of context. The text message, "Protest war 1hr @ public square, wear black" is less likely to stimulate dialogue than to attract youths wishing to do something fun for an afternoon. Protests can play a beneficial political role if they represent an informed, collective opinion. If, however, the participants know nothing more of the cause than what they read in a text message, then the size of the protest will give it a disproportionately large influence on lawmakers. A sizeable turnout for a trivial cause could give it precedence over other, more significant matters.

Similarly the text message, "Vote yes on Proposition 13" sent from one friend to another can be more harmful than helpful. This new brand of reduced-calorie political participation does not require much exertion and may even supplant more meaningful individual involvement. Voter turnout is important, but only informed political participation can steer a government in the right direction. An involved and informed citizenry will help to keep us from the demagoguery so routinely seen in Iraq.

III. CASE STUDIES

CASE STUDY: HOW MOBILE VOTER REGISTERED AND TURNED OUT THE VOTE

BY BEN RIGBY

FOUNDER, MOBILE VOTER PROJECT

The Problem

In 2003, Mobile Voter tried to enhance civic participation among youth. Our firm, Mobile Voter, saw the way text messaging affected election outcomes in other countries, such as South Korea and the Philippines. In countries like South Africa, the government used text messaging to help people gather and access voter information. We looked at the U.S. market and saw a big opportunity.

Mobile Voter searched for ways to have an impact on the 2004 election, other than simply volunteering and going door-to-door. We wanted to leverage our existing expertise in a way that would be more significant. When we investigated the various ways we could contribute to the election, we decided to apply our expertise in the area of mobile technology.

The Solution

Mobile Voter built a system that enabled people to retrieve voter forms and information via their phones. At the beginning, we had neither time nor money to test the system on a national level. Instead, we conducted a few test runs in San Francisco. In order to target young voters, we coordinated with a performer named Kid Beyond, who appeals to a hip-hop crowd.

At the beginning of the set Kid Beyond said, "Hey, it's important that you guys vote. What you can do is send your e-mail address via text message to this number. We'll send the information you need to get registered to vote, and you'll also be entered to win a prize." He repeated the announcement in the middle of his set.

Each time he made the announcement, we watched all the heads in the crowd go down while people started texting. Because it was instantaneous, we knew how many people responded in the audience and instantly selected a winner. At the end of the set, Kid Beyond gave out the prize. We set all the mobile data to our system, e-mailed

the registration forms and instructions relevant to that person's state as indicated by their area code.

Here is a breakdown of our system:¹⁰

- Service is advertised. – The potential voter sees or hears an ad that says: "Text message your e-mail address to 800-Vote-Now to receive registration packet.
- Information stored. – Text message is received by Mobile Voter application, which stores the voter's phone number and e-mail address in a database.
- Registration packet e-mailed to the user. – A state-specific registration form is e-mailed to the new voter. He or she then prints and mails the form.
- Reminders sent. – A reminder is sent on Election Day. The reminder can make use of exit poll data in swing states to create a sense of urgency.

Lessons from the field

After the election, we started refining the system to make it more effective and more applicable to other organizations. Based on our experiences in 2004, we developed two new components:

1. Cross-media promotion. – 'Get youth registered' was promoted across many mediums, including flyers, print advertising and TV. We use this multi-media approach for our non-profit activities, when the group can raise sufficient funds.
2. Customize your system. – Our for-profit arm began customizing and selling this technology to reflect the unique purposes of our clients and register a particular demographic.

This allows our clients to send political messages, either relevant to a voter's locality or more broadly, such as supporting a proposition, or go out and vote on this date. They can also use polling location database to send Election Day reminders that say, "Your polling location is 44 Elsing Street. Go between the hours of 7 and 9 on November 2."

Voter Registration by SMS?

During a voter registration drive in South Africa in 2004, the Independent Electoral Commission received text messages from about 183,398 people, registering to vote.

CASE STUDY: TXTMOB

Background

Tad Hirsch and John Henry of Massachusetts Institute of Technology created TXTmob, a program that allows groups to use text messages during protests, using a swarming-based model. In the summer of 2004 protestors during the Democratic National Convention and the Republican National Convention used the TXTmob program to organize protestors, evade law enforcement and guarantee that communication networks remained open and undisrupted.

Success

Users signed up for the service by entering their cell phone numbers on the TXTmob Web site. The system then sent a machine-generated authorization code to each user, which had to be reentered on the Web site to activate registration.

TXTmob users can sign up for various groups. A group is defined by the TXTmob site as a collected of TXTmob members who share text messages by their cell phones. Some of these groups are public, meaning anyone can join. Other groups are private, restricting membership by group administrators. Some groups are moderated, meaning messages are only sent by the group's administrators. Others are unmoderated. In each case, TXTmob members can only send messages to other people in their group.¹¹

A total of 5,459 people registered with TXTmob during the conventions. They sent 1,757 messages between 322 different groups.¹²

10 Mobile Voter, Voter Project Description, http://www.mobilevoter.org/mobile_voter.friends.pdf.

11 TXTmob, TXTmob Help, <http://www.txtmob.com/help.html>.

12 Tad Hirsch and John Henry, "TXTmob: Text messaging for Protest Swarms," CHI 2005, April 2-7, 2005.

CHAPTER 3

Give Your Voter Information Legs: Mobile VRM, Canvassing and Targeting for Political Campaigns

What do businesses know that political groups and campaigns are beginning to realize?

Managing relationships with your supporter, donor and voter base is a critical tool for success. This process requires data — information about Jane Q. Voter, her interests and her political persuasion. Knowing your constituents is the first step to persuading them to vote, donate or volunteer.

In 2005, Forrester Research described as “crucial” the rapid adoption of something called customer relationship management (CRM) to increase productivity in the banking sector.¹ But CRM is not just limited to banking. Companies like Siebel have helped businesses across the globe grow and manage relationships with clients, giving those who effectively use CRM the competitive edge over those who do not.

Mobile technology puts the power of CRM in the salesperson or the politico’s pocket, improving the efficiency and quality of your contact information.

You may have heard of these tools before. They have been used by issue advocacy groups, trade associations and political campaigns. You may have even seen them in action on the 2004 presidential campaigns, when both the Republican National Convention and the liberal group America Coming Together launched dueling voter relationship management (the political equivalent of CRM) campaigns intended to turn out more voters on Election Day.

What can business teach politics about creating effective communication with constituents? What is mobile voter relationship management and how can it help politico groups?

This chapter will discuss mobile relationship management and show you how to incorporate it into political strategy for organizations of all sizes.

1 William Band and others, “People Plus Technology Determines CRM Success,” Forrester Research, May 31, 2005.

I. THE CORPORATE PERSPECTIVE

MAKING MOBILE CONTENT MANAGEMENT A POLITICAL TOOL

BY PETER CHURCHILL

RESEARCH ASSISTANT, INSTITUTE FOR POLITICS, DEMOCRACY & THE INTERNET

When contact management solutions were first conceived, they were intended both to assist sales personnel in the field as they met with new and existing customers, and at the same time enable managers to monitor the performance of their teams and to meet sales targets.

Slowly, this functionality was expanded to include marketing, customer service and links to the production systems. Customer Relationship Management sought to make excellent customer service a selling point for the

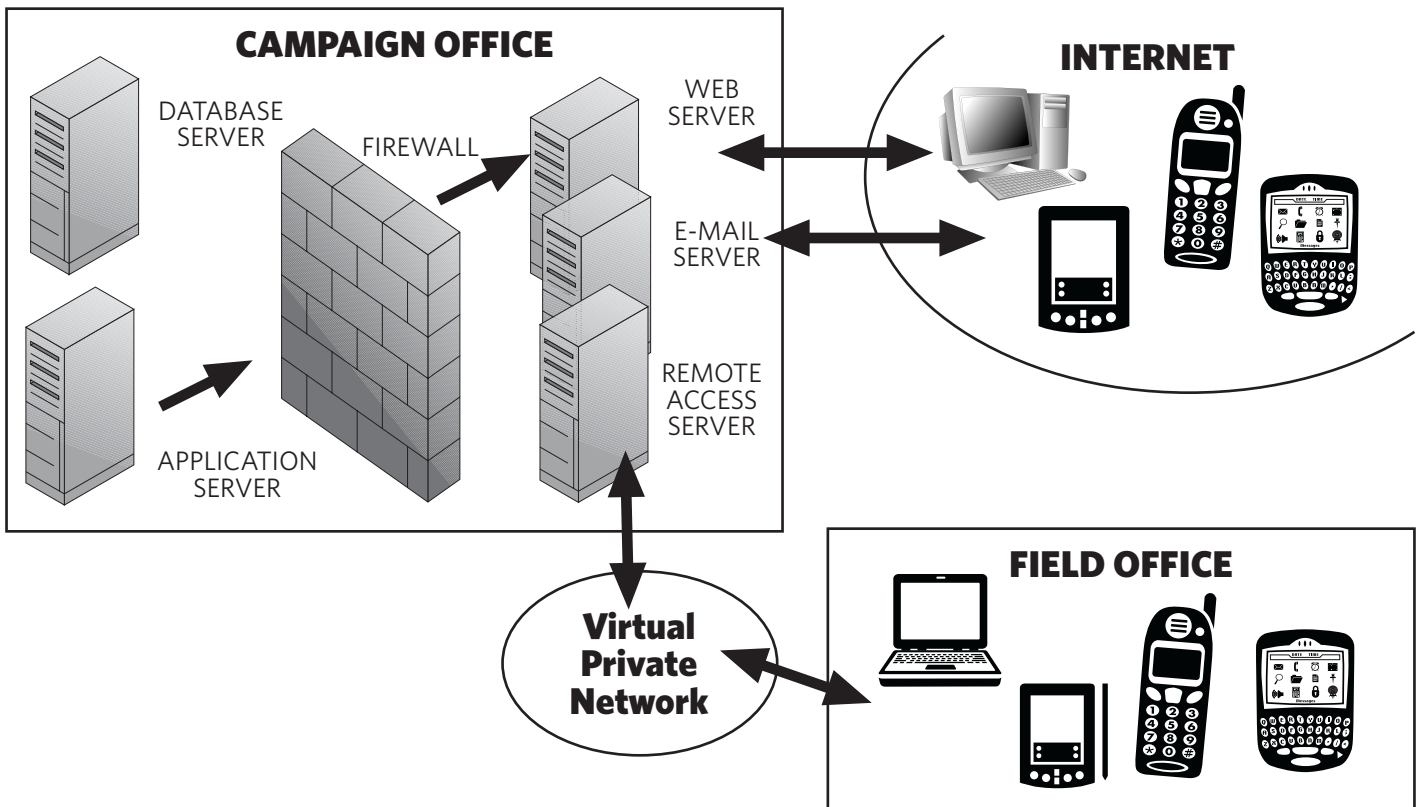
company, putting the customer, rather than the product, at the centre of the process. However, product centric systems were easy to manage – they were traditionally in central mainframes accessed using dumb green screen terminals.

To automate the sales process (early Contact Management systems were often referred to as Sales Force Automation, or SFA) required a new understanding of how data was organized, distributed and kept secure. New technologies were required to ensure it was properly managed. These concepts are as applicable to politics today as they were to hi-tech in the 1990s, and they are even more key today in ensuring that the transition toward ever more mobile technologies is a success.

Enabling a salesperson to access key contact and sales data on the move required some key things to happen.

- Synchronize data quickly, simply and without error.
 - Sales people were usually very skeptical about the need for software, and unwilling to spend much time learning it or using it.
 - They were often less technically literate than others in the office – they were there to sell.
 - Because they were out of the office most of the time, it was difficult to support them remotely, so the technology needed to work without error.

CRM on the Move



- Compartmentalize data to prevent other sales people from seeing each other's sales data.

Achieving these two aims was complex and required certain values that are even more important when customer relationship management is mobile:

1. Make the synchronization process quick. — Remember, in the early days, most synchronization was achieved via dial up modems from expensive hotel phones. It was crucial to limit the amount of data being transferred between the central server and the sales person's laptop. The most successful solution was to only send delta level changes. For example, if I changed the e-mail address of a person, I only sent that piece of data and an identifying row ID to the database. That may sound obvious, but up until then, most synchronization tools only operated at row level changes.
2. Make the process simple. — The synchronization process had to produce minimal errors. The most common errors were due to data conflicts, where the same contact's data had been changed by someone in the office and by the sales person. In that circumstance, rules were designed to avoid such conflicts and to manage any that did.
3. Compartmentalize the data. — Sales people were very territorial about their data and usually very unwilling to share it with anyone who did not need to see it. The less data that had to be synchronized, the better. Companies such as Siebel developed rules to enable companies to assign data based on teams. If you were on the team, then you were able to see certain data or change certain data. If you were not on the team, then you were not able to see or change the data. The rules were very complex, but could be applied automatically as records were changed or updated. So if a contact was created for a company in California, and I was the sales person responsible for California, then I would see the new contact next time I synchronized my laptop with the server. Similarly, if I as the sales person found a new lead, I could synchronize my laptop with the central server, and the system would automatically add the other team member to that lead so they saw it (e.g. a proposal writer, product specialist, etc.).

Making It Mobile

Even now, today's ultra thin and light laptops are not the ideal tool for a sales person. They are still relatively heavy, take time to boot up and are a pain to carry around. The advent of PDAs seemed like the ideal solution, and it wasn't long before CRM vendors sought to provide support for the Palm and PocketPC platform.

They developed two methods — one that allowed you to synchronize subsets of data from your laptop, and one that enabled you to synchronize directly with a server, removing the need for a laptop completely.

The recent increases in bandwidth and the availability of GPRS have meant many systems can now be connected permanently, allowing them to receive real time updates. Many of the bigger CRM solutions added field functionality, enabling service technicians to receive fault requests and updates from customers on the road.

Your PDA May Not Always Work. What You Need to Look Out For.

PDAs offer a light, quick and easy alternative to update voter, constituent and donor data. However, PDAs can sometimes be problematic.

Here's what you need to know:

1. Most PDAs have limited memory. They don't support sophisticated database systems, so they can handle only a limited number of records, far fewer than a laptop. For a field person, this may not be so important, since your canvassers will only deal with each day's workload one day at a time.
2. Most PDAs speak a different language. PDAs typically do not use the same language scripts that your software packages — and thus your computers in campaign headquarters — use to enforce bespoke business rules (e.g. VB, Java). Unless you—or your mobile VRM consultant — work out these problems ahead of time, the data sent back to the server could be invalid and cause errors.
3. PDAs have limitations that laptop computers do not. Synchronization software for PDAs is far more limited than for laptop computers. This can restrict what errors could be easily managed.

What Your Campaign Can Learn from Corporations

Customer relationship management has evolved into a science for most businesses. Through trial and error, they have developed solutions to problems you may not realize ever existed with the system, and they offer two solid lessons for political campaigns attempting to establish a mobile VRM program.

- Security – For a political campaign, security remains a paramount concern. When you send your mobile VRM team out into the field, use the software rules developed by big business to ensure that they only receive the data they NEED to see for that night — the same way companies assign teams to accounts and sales leads. This reduces the risks should a PDA get lost or stolen. You can also limit the data they see, down to only the information you want them to talk about with the voter, one voter at a time.

For more information about what you can do to

secure your data, see Chapter 9: Privacy and Security Issues.

- Targeting – What makes a business CRM strategy successful? Its ability to target marketing messages to its customers and engage them in personal dialogue. This becomes even more crucial for political campaigns and groups that want to build active, loyal support communities, create a donor base, increase democratic participation and gain new voters — all of which are enhanced by a healthy, personal dialogue with the people on your lists.

PDA's are at their most powerful when you use them for a data management campaign that targets voters.

How do you accomplish this? Here are two examples:

- Win New Voters — If you have tagged a geographical area as a crucial persuasion area for your political, you send your volunteers out into the field to capture the following data on their mobile devices.
 - Party ID of each member in household.
 - Likelihood of voting.
 - Accuracy of current data.
 - Contact details (e-mail, phone) and preferred method of contact.
 - If they are undecided, key issues they are interested in, and that might make them likely to vote for your candidate.

This last piece of information will help you target your messaging more effectively. Instead of blanket e-mails, you can send people information they are more likely to be interested in.

- Get Out the Vote — In GOTV areas, you can improve the process of registering people, by capturing details that help your GOTV effort on Election Day. With this information, you will be able to:
 - Tell them where their voting precinct is.
 - Find out how interested they are in volunteering.
 - Take donations.
 - Sign them up to e-mail lists.

This process continues back at the field office, where the synchronized data is used to create and send follow-up letters based on the information captured that night.

II. THE POLITICAL SPIN

HOW POLITICAL GROUPS HAVE ADAPTED CONTACT MANAGEMENT

BY SEAN KEWLEY

CO-FOUNDER, VOTER SOLUTIONS

Let's start at the beginning. By now you have read about how businesses and corporations use contact management, and you've learned how to incorporate corporate techniques into your political campaign.

However, politics is a slightly different animal, and voter relationship management (VRM) has developed through centuries of political activity and canvassing.

Why voter relationship management is different

We call the political use of contact management voter relationship management, but it has assumed many forms over the years — voter contact management, candidacy polling, constituent relationship management. It concerns collecting information about the people you want to target, such as voters, potential donors, supporters or activists, and using that information to tailor messages that help you reach your bottom line, whether your goal is to win an election, raise money, increase awareness about an issue or gain volunteers.

The process used to collect and manage this information effectively has changed considerably over the years. The last decade in particular has been a time of tremendous change in the field. Mobile technology played an important role, causing an enormous jump forward. With the increase of the computers, the Internet and mobile technologies, such as handheld PDA devices, voter relationship management moved from the paper to the digital environment.

Yesterday's VRM campaign involved sending hundreds of people door-to-door to collect information on paper surveys, the information from which was entered by hand into a computer database.

Today's mobile VRM technology has changed the game. You still use the basic communication and voter relationship techniques politicians have used for centuries — contacting voters, discovering their stances on issues or candidates and essentially using that information to your advantage. Now, mobile VRM has streamlined the process.

When your staff or volunteers go door-to-door, they carry handheld PDA devices instead of paper and pens. When information is entered, the devices quickly send it back to your database, and a targeted, personalized message can be instantly sent to each person.

You used to do everything on paper; now you keep everything digital from start to finish, eliminating all that time-consuming grunt work. But old habits are hard to change. Campaign consultants, campaigners and canvassers integrated these new mobile technologies into their old paper-and-pen system. The result is a bar code system. With this system, canvassers print a bar code for each person they contact on the block list (if they are going door-to-door) or the phone list (if they are surveying people over the phone). The bar code is unique for each person and reflects their answers to each question. These answers are then read using a bar code scanner or an optical scanner.

This bar code system still leaves a mountain of paper-work, and you still have to do data entry twice – first when the volunteer or the phone banker made the initial contact and recorded the initial responses on paper and second when the volunteer processes the data and scans it into the computer.

One of the most important resources in a campaign is time. You can always raise more money or enlist more volunteers, but you simply can't get more time. Time wasted may be the difference between a successful and an unsuccessful campaign. Mobile VRM can tell you who plans to vote for your candidate on Election Day, enabling you to spend more time and money mobilizing your base of support.

There is a quicker and more effective way to get the job done by cutting out all of the middle work and directly entering information into the database at what we call the POC, or point of contact. This point of contact can be at the voter's door or on the phone. With this system, canvassers collect information from the voter and then synchronize their mobile devices back to a central database – all at the push of a button.

Mobile VRM is a growing trend. Over the next few years, it is going to become easier to access necessary, timely information via an always-on, mobile Internet. Right now, the information you collect has to be targeted, uploaded to an installed client application and manipulated. This will change in the near future, as devices increasingly have Web-browsing capabilities and more readily available Internet access. This will cut the process down even more, since canvassers will not have to go back to a campaign to synchronize the information on their mobile devices with your databases.

Is mobile VRM right for my campaign?

If you are a candidate beginning to think about running for office or an interest group organization that wants to accomplish an agenda, then your supporter, donor, voter

and activists lists are valuable commodities – and ones that require a lot of attention and upkeep over time. Mobile VRM or voter relationship management will help you keep track of the changing needs and status of your base of support.

The Colorado Democrats are a good example of how mobile VRM played a large role in a pretty successful election year. In 2004, they took both the Colorado State House and the Senate for the first time since 1974.

Another example is Illinois Congressional District 8, which *The Wall Street Journal* called the House upset of the year. A candidate named Melissa Bean beat Phil Crane, a 35-year incumbent Republican, in what is probably the most Republican district in Illinois. The Bean campaign employed an intensive grassroots effort that used mobile VRM and barcode scans.

It's all about the data

A mobile VRM strategy harnesses the power of your campaign staff, volunteers and consultants to keep the data you collect about your supporters continually up to date and accurate.

Mobile VRM works with two types of data:

1. Preexisting voter or supporter data – Information that your campaign or organization has already collected. Mobile VRM enhances this information.
2. New data – If your campaign or organization is starting from scratch, a consulting firm can help you locate useful files.

Will the mobile devices I ordered break?

The truth is simple: people drop things. Chances are good that when your volunteers take their mobile devices out on the street eight hours a day, something will break. Sometimes, the weather – particularly snow or unexpected rain – will do the breaking for you.

Here are some tips to keep your mobile VRM team equipped and ready for what the environment throws at them:

- Think cheap. – When you're on the campaign trail there is no reason to have the fanciest mobile devices developed. Money is a valuable commodity. Don't spend too much money on your devices.
- Prepare for unexpected weather. – Bad weather happens unexpectedly. Equip your mobile VRM team with Ziploc bags and umbrellas.
- Charge it! – Keep your mobile VRM efforts on task by ensuring that devices are charged, and keep them charged during the day. Keep extra batteries on hand and equip your offsite groups with the equipment they need to recharge their mobile devices as necessary. For example, supply your team captain with car adapters so that the devices can be charged without returning to campaign headquarters.
- Realize that technology breaks. – Keep extra mobile devices on hand. It is inevitable that something will break, so prepare your team ahead of time. Otherwise you put yourself at a disadvantage.

What about me? Mobile VRM for smaller campaigns

Mobile VRM is not just for “big league” political players. Oftentimes it's more beneficial to smaller organizations trying to harness a few thousand votes, as opposed to organizations that are trying to reach several million.

Smaller groups, such as school district tax referendums, have launched mobile VRM, to pass needed tax increases that keep their schools up and running. Because groups like these have less money to spend on paid media like TV and radio, the quality of personal voter contact is at a premium. Mobile VRM devices equipped with voter lists really help facilitate that level of communication. Often, groups who employ a strategy like this win – precisely because of the attention to detail and contact that mobile VRM brings to the campaign.

Obviously a lot of human resources are involved in any mobile VRM effort. Smaller organizations have just as many needs as large ones, but their objectives require less

time and money. Typically, smaller efforts do not spend large portions of their budgets on message development and message delivery.

In the example of the school district referendum, the group did not spend millions of dollars on message development and message delivery for TV, radio and mail. What really mattered for them was what their neighbors said to each other about the referendum. They had to have more personal contact. Being able to quickly and accurately record information they collected from their neighbors was important. Picture the scenario: they only had three months to get the job done. They had to pass this tax referendum or they would lose activities at their schools. They utilized mobile VRM more at a better level because their goal depended upon getting more use from it.

Compare this example to a statewide or national campaign organization or issue, and you'll see a huge difference. Larger groups spend most of their money on big-time paid media. They spend money on Internet communications, radio, TV, print. They tend not to forget about their grassroots. When they do use mobile VRM, they use it in targeted areas, where they think the effort will have the most success.

Large campaigns do use mobile VRM; they just use it differently. They break their efforts down into very small, localized sections, and they often work in conjunction with smaller, localized organizations and groups. Big campaigns rely on their smaller counterparts to pull weight at the grassroots level, while they concentrate more on mass media. It is easier for them to do it this way.

Map the Neighborhood

Mapping is time-honed canvassing tool, and one that has become easier with new technology. Many canvassers use GIS mapping to spot certain types of voters. This is particularly useful in bilingual areas.

Consider a heavily Hispanic area. Using GIS mapping, your team can overlay census data illustrating the percent Hispanic speakers by census block. You can flag those areas and send your most experienced bilingual canvassers.

Improve personal contact with your supporters

Personal voter contact occurs when a campaign, an organization volunteer or a staff member reaches out to others — either by phone, e-mail or door-to-door canvassing — and talks to the voter, gets to know her concerns and answers her specific questions about issues that the organization has determined are important to its success.

Personal contact is best. And the people who conduct this voter conduct are extremely important — the more local and neighborly the face, the better. People talk ideas

back and forth while picking their kids up for school, at barbecues, in the grocery store, in their yards. Their opinions have tremendous impact. When one neighbor approaches another about a political issue, it has the potential to change minds — particularly the minds of fence-sitters. Neighbors win votes. Strangers who hold signs in the middle of rush hour traffic do not.

On a mobile VRM level, good personal voter contact could include something as simple as a volunteer knocking on a door and saying “Hi Ms. Smith, I’m a volunteer for Jan Schakowsky’s campaign. I just came out today because I wanted to introduce myself as a neighbor and as a volunteer to this organization, and I was wondering what you thought about issue A and issue B. Are these concerns of yours? Oh really, well, Jan Schakowsky feels that same way.”

As your volunteer engages the voter in dialogue, he uses his mobile device to answer questions that the organization has created and uploaded into his devices. Arm each of your canvassing staff or volunteers with handheld PDA devices.

Don’t forget the Internet

When it comes to mobile VRM, the Internet can be one of your greatest tools. Here’s why:

- Canvassers will increasingly transmit the data they collected to campaign headquarters via the wireless Internet. This will create incredible fast turnaround.
- The information you collect with a mobile VRM campaign is useless if you do not put it to good use. E-mail is one of the quickest ways to communicate with your supporters. Remember to make these communications targeted, personalized and timely.

Even phone banking will change

The answer to this question depends upon what happens with cell phones. Landlines are becoming less effective for VRM. If cell phone lists become available for political purposes, then groups will call you on your cell phone.

Cell phones are becoming the norm, as e-mail and instant messaging have become. But people in politics are hesitant to use them. Politicos feel uncomfortable calling cell phones because they are such personal devices, and privacy is such a delicate issue.

What makes a successful mobile VRM campaign?

Mobile VRM is a method campaigns use to accomplish a goal. There are several keys to success for any political initiative. These things apply to mobile VRM. They are:

- A candidate or an issue that stirs and agitates people, that gets them up and motivated.

- Raising enough money to be effective.
- Hiring the right people, as I mentioned above, the right people will deliver a more effective political message.
- Collecting the right information, which allows you to tailor and personalize your messages into order to conduct the next key successfully.
- A well-tested and persuasively communicated message.
- Efficient follow-up to ensure that you meet your goals—from turning your supporters out at the polls on Election Day to raising money.

Mobile VRM is just a process. It uses the same political principles and functions that have been performed for hundreds of years. In the old Chicago ward blocks, they go out, hand out turkeys, collect the votes and deliver the votes. The same process holds today, with the exception that new technology makes the process a little less intrusive and a little more efficient.

Overcoming problems in the field

Some volunteers are scared to death when they receive their mobile device; some are perfectly comfortable with them. Train them well, and give them time to acclimate to the devices. Of course it takes a small adjustment period – something you should realize ahead of time.

Sometimes new technology can startle people – and I’m not just referring to your volunteers.

People are a little hesitant about new technology, especially with mobile voter relationship management. Some of the people your volunteers meet will think that the mobile devices have files other than public voter record files. Some think you have “big brother” information about them. In actuality, the only information on your mobile devices is publicly available knowledge—the sort of thing a person fills out on her voter card or census survey.

As a general rule, in 2005 people in major metropolitan areas are more accepting of new technology. In some rural areas, I still recommend using paperless and barcode scans. In fact, a good strategy will combine a paper walk list with mobile VRM palm devices.

What should I look for in a mobile VRM consultant?

Consulting firms can assist you with each step in the process. A good consultant can build a program for you and install it at your office or headquarters, organize your information, help you analyze it and train your staff. They can:

- Provide software.
- Collect voter information.
- Integrate new information into your system.
- Help manage your databases.
- Train your staff.
- Communicate with your supporters and constituents.

Hiring a consultant has its advantages. Many consultants are well-established and have many years of experience and knowledge under their belts. Most political organizations simply do not have the luxury of time to reinvent the wheel that others have perfected over many, many years of trial and error.

If you are thinking about hiring a consultant to assist with mobile VRM, ask a few questions:

- Do they have a good track record and enough experience?
- Who makes up their team?
- What is unique about what they offer compared to all the other competitors?
- Does that uniqueness fit your needs?
- Does the consultant show the interest to go that extra mile?
- Have they worked locally?
- Do they know your political environment?
- What is their pricing?

Best Practices for mobile VRM

1. Begin with your preexisting information. — Choose and install a program to help you manage your data. Format your preexisting data, enhance it with phone numbers, demographic details and census data, then pipeline it into what is called a voter contact management system, or the “backend.”

After you collect and organize the information, you analyze it. You identify certain characteristics that you need to add to your database. In an election, you look at something called voter frequencies – the number of times a particular voter, or any voter, voted in a given number of past elections.

For example, if you are running a democratic primary in Chicago you want to target those who

voted religiously in the last four democratic primaries. Mobile VRM will append information about past voting patterns to add value to your data. Once this step is completed, quality control is done for each entry, and the analytics are adjusted.

2. Train your staff. — Make sure they are comfortable with their mobile devices. Train your volunteers on how to use them effectively and appropriately.
3. Keep it simple. — Simply giving your canvassers, volunteers or staff members a list of precisely calculated polling questions and expecting them to go out and do a good job is not enough. The most you can expect to receive from phone banker, typical volunteers or door-to-door canvassers are the answers to a couple of questions. Sometimes they can fit in a follow-up question or two.

A typical dialogue might be, “Hey, can I count on your vote for my candidate? Here’s a little bit of information on him, what do you think? Are you going to support him on Election Day? Yes, no, or are you undecided?”

If the answer is “yes,” then the canvasser checks the yes box on his mobile device. Another question may pop up, prompting the canvasser to ask whether the person wants to volunteer or if they want a yard sign.

If someone is undecided, the canvasser says, “Great, I’d be happy to send you some additional or find out the information you’re concerned about and get it to you.” Make a note of it on the mobile device.

If the answer is no, end the conversation and move on to the next house.

4. Know what questions to ask.
5. Synchronize new information into your database early and frequently. Make it a priority to always synchronize your data. Batteries die; devices break. You do not want data that was collected over a week sitting on a Palm device that was stolen or broken. You lose valuable information this way.
6. Use your data wisely and effectively. — Follow up with a letter or phone call. Use the information you have collected and added to your database to create personal, targeted communication with the public. One unhealthy trap that many campaigns fall into is putting the tools ahead of the message. Campaigns spend a lot of time and money purchasing fancy technology and collecting a lot of unnecessary information. They collect so much information that they are too overwhelmed to take the most important step — putting the information they collected to good use.

III. STEP-BY-STEP

HOW TO IMPLEMENT A MOBILE VRM CAMPAIGN

BY PETER CHURCHILL

RESEARCH ASSISTANT, INSTITUTE FOR POLITICS, DEMOCRACY & THE INTERNET

Picture this scenario: You are in charge of contact strategy for a congressional Democratic candidate. The campaign consists of a headquarters and two field offices for the entire district. HQ has a contact management system with a central list of prospective voters, including addresses, and some phone numbers and e-mail addresses. It also has some basic demographic information, such as age and education, based on previous lists compiled by the party and publicly available information about voter history.

Your data is grouped by three geographical locations – the field areas covered by HQ and those areas covered by Field Office 1 (FO1) and Field Office 2 (FO2). Each office only has access to data that is considered relevant to their field plan. Using your data, you have sorted your precincts according to the following criteria: Strong Republican, Persuasion and Strong Democratic.

You have already had a successful phone banking campaign in Persuasion precincts, and you used this information to identify potential voters. You allocated various houses in certain streets to each volunteer. Each volunteer has a synchronized PDA, whether they are in HQ or the FO, which contains a list of houses for them to visit.

What do your volunteers do next?

Send your volunteers into the streets to perform the following tasks at each house along their prescribed route:

1. Communicate. – Try to engage residents in conversation. Find out if they are indeed potential voters, and if so, what would persuade them to vote and what their most important issue are.
2. Capture their information. – All of the above information can be captured easily and quickly. Your volunteers should be able to click on an address and open a series of tabs for each household—similar to how a pollster might capture a response.
3. Verify their basic information. – If a respondent seems interested and you have created a reasonable level of trust, the canvasser then seeks to verify that the campaign has the right contact data for the household:

- a. Number of occupants.
 - b. Names.
 - c. Gender.
 - d. Addresses.
 - e. Phone Numbers.
 - f. E-mail Addresses.
4. Collect demographic details. – If possible, we then collect other demographic information. This includes:
 - a. Age ranges of occupants.
 - b. Education.
 - c. Whether they rent or own their residence.
 5. Synchronize your data. – At the end of the day, the volunteers return to their field office and synchronize their PDAs. All captured changes are updated in the central contact management system.
 6. Follow-up with the people you contacted. When your contact management system is integrated with a program like MS Office, it can create a mail merge with your newly captured information. The program adds the new information, and a new letter or e-mail is drafted, printed out and mailed or e-mailed. An electronic copy remains on file in the contact management system, so that any further correspondence with that voter can acknowledge it.

Follow-up can be accomplished in a variety of ways. For example,

 - a. If you added an e-mail address for a contact, then send her an e-mail with links to the campaign Web site.
 - b. If someone expressed an interest in a certain topic, send him a personalized e-mail based on pre-defined templates with links to the topic of interest.
 - c. If a potential voter is new to the area, send them a welcome e-mail, introduce the candidate and discuss some of the issues in the new community and the candidate's solutions.

Mobile Phone Banks

BY CHRIS BROOKS

FINANCIAL MANAGER, INSTITUTE FOR POLITICS, DEMOCRACY & THE INTERNET

The return to grassroots politics and the push towards mobile technologies are redesigning your grandmother's landline phone bank. Campaigns are progressively moving beyond "senior" community members and staffing their local outreach efforts with a more mobile alternative.

Instead of volunteers meeting in a confined campaign office, campaign officials are realizing the benefits of taking phone banks straight to the volunteers. Campaigns are harnessing the grassroots power of students to drive their mobile operations. A campaign staffer armed with some cell phones and a few pizzas can travel to the nearest campus and enlist the help of many eager (and hungry) students. After an hour of work during free airtime, hundreds of potential voters have been contacted at very little cost to the campaign.

Of course campaigns can also set up mobile phone banks in community centers, retirement communities and other readily accessible locations for volunteers. The bottom line: everyone benefits from the cost effectiveness and convenience of mobile phone banking.

IV. CASE STUDY ONE

HOW TO TURN OUT THE VOTE: THE RNC'S 72-HOUR WIRELESS PROGRAM

BY HUGH WEBER

POLITICAL AND BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT DIRECTOR, VERTICAL SYSTEMS, INC.

The RNC's 72-hour wireless program was an effort in 2004 to use mobile technology to turn out the vote on Election Day. Blaise Hazelwood, political director at the RNC, developed the program to identify voters and turn them out in an efficient and real-time manner. They built a system that armed volunteers with mobile devices to collect information at the polling station.

Here's how they did it.

The problem

In the past, campaign volunteers sorted through piles and piles of paper, crossing off the names of people as they voted. These lists were then transported back to the phone bank or a door-to-door team, which would contact people and remind them to vote.

This strategy had plenty of room for error. It also gave the campaign a painfully long turn around time to get the information into the field. Phone bank volunteers were still calling people who voted hours ago. Volunteers going door-to-door to turn out the vote were still knocking on doors whose residents had already returned from the polling station.

The solution

The volunteers at the polling station were given an entire list for that precinct on mobile devices. Some of the devices had wireless Internet connection; others did not. This list was in its final form and had an easy-to-use interface. When Susie Smith emerged from the polls, the volunteer double-clicked on her name, indicating that she voted. Volunteers with wireless connections uploaded the information instantly, allowing the volunteers back in headquarters to remove people who already voted from the list. At regular points during the day, volunteers without wireless access downloaded their information to a wireless device for immediate transfer to campaign headquarters. This allowed the program to keep cost at a minimum.

At the same time, back at headquarters, volunteers received continually updated lists of people who had not voted.

Training played a crucial role. The program explained the technology as if the volunteers were using paper and pens to poll voters, keeping the technical terminology at an extreme minimum and making sure the volunteers fully understood their devices. Then, volunteers were given the opportunity to become comfortable with their devices. They used test files to practice recording voter information. Each volunteer had hands-on experience checking off names. Then the volunteers conducted a test upload, so that they understood the uploading process.

The 72-Hour program set a goal of uploading 250,000 voters. By the end of the day, the program had uploaded over 700,000 voters. It helped the Republicans stay ahead of the curve, and it allowed them to explore innovative technology.

The Technology

The 72-Hour program experimented with different mobile devices. However, they largely settled on Dell Axions because the non-wireless devices were inexpensive. They also used a Samsung device with the wireless capability.

Lessons from the field

- Know the law. – At first, the 72-Hour program encountered legal barriers in states that did not allow volunteers into polling locations. For example, Minnesota couldn't participate. Since it was the first time wireless technology had been used in a major election, the program raised question marks in states where it was not addressed by statutes and even in states where it was perfectly legal.

Research this before you map your GOTV strategy and train your volunteers on what their legal rights are. Give them talking points to take with them to the polls.

- Check your coverage. – Some polling stations lacked adequate coverage. States like West Virginia certainly were much more difficult than a state like Pennsylvania, with two major cities – Philadelphia and Pittsburgh – anchoring each side of the state. States like Florida and Ohio were very easy because they had incredible coverage. In a problem spot, volunteers accumulated data, but they spent the better part of a half hour trying to find a spot with good coverage so that they could upload it. When they finally moved outside of that cloud of non-coverage, they were fine. But that sometimes meant returning to campaign headquarters.

Test coverage in each polling location prior to Election Day. Make sure your volunteers know what to do in case they don't have coverage.

- Train your volunteers. – There is another reason why

Florida and Ohio were so successful: their volunteers were better trained. A training curve does exist, but do not judge your volunteers based on appearances. The oldest volunteers who had never been exposed to a mobile device were able to learn these skills relatively quickly with good training. Often, the mobile interface isn't the problem; untrained volunteers are.

An effective training session should not last longer than an hour. Keep the process simple and give your volunteers time to gain confidence with the technology. Let them use the devices and the software. Use test practices, and walk them through each step. As a precaution, train them with paper and pen exit polling. This is an absolute necessity.

- Create a central command. – The Republican success in 2004 has been largely attributed to the discipline of developing a command structure and staying on target.

Make sure that all of your volunteers and local headquarters are on target by creating a chain of command and sticking to it.

Designate a campaign staffer to reassure volunteers and answer questions about the devices on Election Day. There were very few issues that the 72-Hour program staffers could not control or handle from headquarters.

- Get your volunteers to the polls. – The logistics behind getting your volunteers in place is critical. The 72-Hour program ran a test in Kansas City during its primary earlier in the year. Local county officials had trouble getting volunteers to the polling locations.

Plan the logistics ahead of time and create a system that puts your volunteers and devices in place at 8 a.m. on Election Day.

- Upload the data. – Make sure that each of devices completes at least one cycle of uploads, and check to be certain that you receive the data. Your effort will be useless unless it produces useable data.

Practice your mobile efforts ahead of time and run through test-scenarios. Encourage your volunteers to keep each other accountable throughout the day. Take the guesswork out of uploading for them. Supply guidance when necessary.

The Next Four Years

Consider this scenario. A canvasser uses a paper survey to go door-to-door asking people about the issue of abortion for a pro-life candidate. The first question on that survey will ask the resident if he or she is pro-life. If a respondent answers that first question negatively — if he or she is pro-choice — then the rest of the survey is going to be very difficult to complete. The rest of the questions will be offensive and confrontational — not exactly the right way to gain a supporter.

Now imagine the next four years with mobile VRM.

A canvasser goes door-to-door with a mobile device asking people about the issue of abortion for a pro-life candidate. If a respondent answers negatively to that first question about abortion, the survey within the mobile device will automatically adjust to prompt the volunteer with a series of questions that are much more agreeable and focused on that line of belief.

This changes a potential negative confrontation into a positive contact with the individual or the individual voter.

Both parties have become good at reaching out to voters through everything from automatic calls to direct mail to people knocking on doors. At some point, they will exhaust the possibilities for maximizing that contact. In order to gain a competitive edge, your campaign will have to do more to make each door-to-door conversation or phone call count.

V. CASE STUDY TWO

MOBILE VRM FOR STATEWIDE INITIATIVES: THE 2002 SHELLIE PINGREE CAMPAIGN

BY KENDRA ANN CROWLEY

MASTER OF ARTS CANDIDATE, GRADUATE SCHOOL OF POLITICAL MANAGEMENT AT THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

In 2002, a Democratic candidate in Maine named Shellie Pingree ran for the Senate against incumbent Republican Susan Collins. The Pingree campaign was one of the earliest adapters of mobile VRM. It serves as an early example of how campaigns can use mobile VRM to reach across the state.

The Problem

The Pingree team wanted to run a competitive race against a well-known senator. In the months leading up to the election, Shellie Pingree still did not have much name recognition. The campaign wanted to make up as much ground as possible by improving name recognition for its candidate and building an effective database to help turn out the vote on Election Day.

The Solution

The Pingree field team consisted of 60 campaigners across the state, who canvassed door-to-door with mobile devices for two four-hour sessions a day. The program ran from August until Election Day.

Campaign headquarters in Portland, Maine, was the central hub for the mobile VRM campaign. From here, six teams rolled out like spokes reaching across the state. The campaign set a goal of hitting each person — Democrat and independent registered voters — three times before the election.

The mobile VRM campaign started with preexisting data from registered voter files. This information was supplemented with street addresses and loaded onto mobile devices. As a canvasser approached the door of a residence, he or she would receive the name, the address and the party affiliation of the resident. During each canvasser's first contact with a voter, the voter's enthusiasm for Shellie Pingree was recorded on a scale from one to five. Voters

who ranked themselves as either fives (ardent supporters) or ones (ardent opponents) were taken off the list. Voters who ranked themselves as a two, three or four were tracked over time. During each subsequent contact, the voter's words and questions about the Pingree were recorded. Campaign headquarters used these notes to send targeted e-mails to the voters. For example, if a respondent asked question about health care, the campaign sent a follow-up communication listing Pingree's platform on prescription drugs.

The mobile VRM campaign was one of the larger grassroots efforts at the time, until Howard Dean and the 2004 elections. The opposing campaign had the advantage of a two-term incumbent candidate who had no grassroots team in place. Pingree entered the race with only a 12 or 13 percent name recognition. She was expected to receive only about 25 percent of the vote, but after the polls closed, she lost by only about 10 percent of the vote.

Lessons from the field

- Prepare for problems, even if they don't occur. – At the beginning of the mobile VRM campaign, the team encountered problems with their mobile devices. Until those problems were worked out and the team adjusted to the new technology, they conducted several weeks of canvassing on paper. Granted, both the technology and the mobile VRM strategy have evolved since 2002. Nonetheless, problems may occur, and you want to empower your field team to work through them.

Keep paper forms, pens and clipboards on hand in case of technical difficulties— particularly at the beginning of your mobile VRM efforts. You don't want to put time, human resources and information to waste by bringing the process to halt every time you encounter problems in the field.

- Realize that your respondents may not be comfortable with mobile technology. – Sometimes, new technology makes people nervous. Imagine how you would feel if you had never seen PDA before and an unknown canvasser comes to your town, PDA in hand. She already knows several key points about you—your name, your voting record, your address. Then she asks you what you consider personal information about your political preferences and issues that you care about and records that information in a mini-computer.

People always ask, "So what is this for? What are you writing down?" You may need to overcome their discomfort in order to make the experience a positive communication. As mobile technology becomes more spread, this problem will decrease, but over the next few years, you may encounter hesitant voters.

The Pingree mobile VRM canvassers overcame this problem by training themselves to hide their mobile devices in their pockets while talking to each voter. They plugged in the information once they left the doorways and returned to the street.

Train your staff to handle these types of situations and recognize nervous or hesitant behavior.

- Know that it may take time for some of your canvassers to adjust to a new piece of technology. – Not everyone can pick up a new device and use it intuitively. In the 2002 Pingree campaign, PDAs were still relatively expensive, and some people had to adjust to the new technology. Things that seem simple, such as using the stylus and writing notes, may be hard in the beginning.
 - Be prepared for the adjustment. Give your canvassers about a week of trial and error to get used to the technology. Make sure they feel supported in the field, and give them the opportunity to ask questions as problems arise without feeling stupid or intimidated. Once they adjust to their mobile devices, the mobile VRM effort will run a lot more smoothly.
- Set goals. – The Pingree campaign set a goal that each mobile VRM team would return to each route three times. Each team had an average of about thirteen precincts to reach. The mobile VRM campaign worked their tails off – eight hours a day, six days a week for three months. The mobile teams reached an average of 200-250 contacts a day.

The goals for each mobile VRM campaign will be different, but setting daily, weekly, monthly and campaign-wide goals will help keep your mobile VRM team on track. And reaching those goals will encourage your team and boost their confidence – two things that boost spirits during the long, eight-hour days of hitting the pavement.

- Bring campaign literature with you. – Even though campaigns are growing increasingly technologically-savvy, don't forget the old tactics! Build name recognition by arming your mobile VRM team with an assortment of campaign literature.

CHAPTER 4

The Pocket-Sized Ad: Mobile Messaging and Marketing for Politics

In the previous chapter, we discussed how political groups can incorporate mobile in their preexisting data collection and microtargeting programs. In this chapter, we will discuss how your organization can put your constituent data to work.

Mobile marketing, called “a child born of the Internet Revolution” by the Mobile Marketing Association,¹ has the ability to reach the over 180 million Americans² with cell phones or PDAs through text messaging and mobile Web advertising. Over 60 million Americans currently use text messaging and about 18 million use a WAP browser,³ and the numbers are growing.

Before the word “spam” creeps into your mind, consider the fact that while mobile is the most personal communication tool for many people,⁴ mobile marketing done correctly will result in a more individualized relationship with your constituents and allow for instant interaction. As one writer put it, “Folks who have willfully passed along their contact info are an eager bunch. The very people who salivate at having the latest news at their fingertips correlate strongly with the type of people willing to listen to a targeted marketing message.”⁵ Take this with a grain of salt, but his point remains. If they’ve signed up for marketing messages, assume they are open to receiving them.

The following pages tell you exactly what you need to know to reach this segment of the population with your political messages.

We divided authors in this chapter into six sections. The first two sections, *Text Messaging* and *The Mobile Web* discuss two different ways to market with mobile: through the SMS or text messages every mobile device sends and receives and on the mobile Web, which is accessible on most PDAs and a growing number of cell phones. The third section, *Mobile Messaging and Marketing Tactics*, introduces you to several different ways of creating a mobile messaging campaign. Two of our authors engage in a lively debate about whether mobile is a good political communication tool in section four, *Is Mobile A Realistic Political Medium*. In section five, we provide a look at what the future has in store for political marketers. Finally, in section six we look at case studies to help you create a mobile messaging and marketing campaign that meets your goals.

1 Mobile Marketing Association, Industry Overview, <http://www.mmaglobal.com/modules/content/index.php?id=51>.

2 Dawn Anfuso, “Unwired for the Future (Part 1),” iMedia Connection, April 2, 2005.

3 Media Buyer Planner, MMA: Spam Not a Threat to SMS, http://www.mediabuyerplanner.com/2005/07/22/mma_spam_not_a_threat_to_sms/index.php.

4 Lisa Modisette, Are mobile phones the only true one-to-one marketing tool?, <http://www.thewisemarketer.com/features/read.asp?id=40>.

5 Matthew Maier, “How Your Cell Phone Will Become an Ad Machine,” Business 2.0, April 2005.

I. TEXT MESSAGING

TEXT - THE CORE OF MOBILE STRATEGY**BY JIM MANIS**

GLOBAL CHAIRMAN, MOBILE MARKETING ASSOCIATION

Mobile technology allows marketers to create many different forms of messages – sound, video, graphics – but text is the king of the heap. If you can only incorporate one mobile application into political strategy, choose to use text messaging.

Here's why: text messaging is the lowest common denominator. It is the one mobile tool (other than voice calls) most widely available in the marketplace today. This means handsets have text; more people use it; and more services support it. It stands to reason that the safest technology to use is the one that is the most ubiquitous. Today, that space belongs to text. It has been true for a while. It will be true in the near future. Text is the crux of the mobile marketing industry.

How Text Became King

Recent developments in the United States have opened the doors to marketing through text messages. These changes developed over a very short period of time, and they provide a good indication of how the mobile industry is changing.

- **Interoperability** — Interoperability allows subscribers of one carrier to talk to subscribers of the other carrier.

It was first employed in July 2002. Before this time, data transfer between networks was impossible. This is called tier-to-tier traffic. Once interoperability occurred, subscribers could send text messages across networks. Suddenly, people had the ability to send a text message on a Cingular device to a friend on a Verizon Wireless device. This led to a huge spike in tier-to-tier traffic, and it became an application-to-tier communication.

- **Common Short Code** — The second barrier was the ability to develop a common means to access value-added messaging. In October of 2003, we created what was known as the common short code – an abbreviated equivalent to a phone number. The ten-digit phone number that you use to call a friend is now a five digit short code in the data world. Think of a common short code as the mobile equivalent of a Web site URL.
- **Premium Investment Selling Model** — In order to

have both interoperability and a common means to communicate, you have to be able to monetize the process. The industry accomplished this in February 2004 by establishing a premium investment selling model. Under this method, all phone interactions are billed to your handset and appear on your carrier bill. The carriers disperse revenue from premium services, such as financial updates, jokes-of-the-day or wallpaper to the brand or to the content owner. Now, the whole mobile channel can be monetized. Since a premium investment selling model was established, growth in the industry has been substantial.

- **WAP** — To be successful you want to provide flexibility and create a user experience based on user preferences. This requires the use of text – the most ubiquitous form of data. It also requires something called a WAP push, which allows the delivery of content like ring tones, graphics and richer format to the handset.
- **Multimedia Services** — A newcomer to the mobile universe, peer-to-peer multimedia services (MMS), was released in December 2004. This takes the content mentioned above and enhances it with other services, such as video, audio and graphics. MMS interoperability was agreed upon in December of 2004, and the application of tier transaction will occur in the fourth quarter of 2005.

What is SMS?

SMS stands for Short Message Service, the method of sending short text messages from one mobile device to another.

In this handbook, the terms SMS, text and text message are synonymous.

The last barrier to mobile communications

Believe it or not, the last remaining barrier to text messaging is NOT cost. Consumer behavior dictates that cost is simply not a problem. The industry has seen continued growth patterns of ten percent a week. In the future, some costs will be covered by the marketers themselves. When brands want to launch interactive mobile campaigns, they simply do not want their customers to be charged for receiving messages. Therefore, they want the carriers to eliminate charges. These brands are willing to pay the carriers in order to remove the final roadblock of cost. It is no different than public advocacy groups or candidates buying air time or bandwidth.

Perhaps the last remaining barrier is simply knowledge among the stake holders. Candidates, campaign managers, staff, public advocacy groups need to learn how to communicate with mobile.

Two years ago, people looked at mobile as a strategy. Today, mobile technology is a channel. In the world of politics, which focuses strongly on engaging the voter, the viability of adding mobile to traditional channels of communication has proven itself. As other authors in this publication have discussed, mobile reaches people where other channels in the marketplace, such as television, print and radio, cannot.

Mobile Short Codes

Thousands of companies today advertise their short codes as a means to entice a consumer like you to interact with them. This may take the form of a mobile coupon offering a discount for a product. It might be a trivia game with a give-away. It may be a chat program with an actor to promote a new movie. Or, it could be an advertisement for a new CD by an unknown artist with a ring tone download attached to it.

In the 2004 presidential election, the industry reserved two short codes—one for Kerry and one for Bush. Both candidates considered using short codes as a mechanism for fundraising. Unfortunately, neither campaign activated its short code.

Fundraising with short codes contains several steps:

Step 1 - A supporter receives a text message or e-mail or sees a fundraising appeal on a billboard asking her to donate to a candidate's campaign.

Step 2 - The supporter sends a message with the word "donate" in the text to the number 57795.

Step 3 - The campaign generates an instant "opt-in" message that asks the supporter if she wants to continue.

Step 4 - She sends a message with "yes" in the text back to the campaign.

Step 5 - The campaign follows up to collect information, such as name and citizenship, that is required for federal candidates according to campaign finance regulations.

Step 6 - The campaign processes the donation and a charge appears on the supporter's next telephone bill.

For a campaign initiative, think twice about buying a list

BY GEOFFREY MACKLER

ACCOUNT EXECUTIVE, MSHC PARTNERS

Buying or renting lists is a tradition in modern politics. Every major campaign or initiative in one way or another makes use of the names, phone numbers, e-mail and mailing addresses collected in the past by other candidates, groups or companies.

Remember, mobile is a personal medium and as such you will achieve a much higher response rate if your supporters remember signing up for your mobile program.

Consider this example. In 2004, I worked to design a mobile campaign targeting people aged 18 to 30 with text messages. We bought the list and received a decent return. Obviously, not all of them were happy when our messages suddenly started appearing on their cell phones.

Buying the list didn't work.

First, it did not match well with the voter file. Many companies see the potential of mobile and are building lists, but those lists do not match the voter file. Generally you receive a name and a cell phone number, nothing more. With only that information, it is very hard to do a match.

Secondly, a bought list is a bought list. When people haven't bought into the campaign, they're not going to be true supporters. Even if you buy or rent an opt-in list.

Don't kill your message

BY DAVE HUGHES

TECHNICAL AND POLICY FACILITATOR IN
GRASSROOTS COMMUNITY NETWORKING

Colorado Springs was the first capital of Colorado. Since it was first settled as a frontier gold rush town, the west side of Colorado Springs has been a blue collar, Democratic stronghold in the larger, very conservative Republican city.

There, in west Colorado Springs, sits Roger's Bar. Like visitors to bars and restaurants around the world, people come to Roger's Bar to discuss local issues and Democratic politics — the same types of conversation that occurred over the early online bulletin boards and in the more recent online discussion groups.

Roger's Bar provides a metaphor for the American political system. Remember, it takes three to politic, not two. Two people barter or argue about politics. But the third person listens to the conversation, makes up his or her mind and then casts a vote or decides to support a candidate or an issue.

Keep this metaphor in mind. If your political outreach begins and ends with only your closest supporters, then you have not engaged undecided listeners in the dialog and you haven't changed minds, gained new supporters or raised more voters.

If your supporters cannot share the information you send them in your mobile campaign, then persuasion begins and ends in that one communication. Give your supporters the information and tools they need to share your message with others.

LIKE NO OTHER MEDIUM: HOW TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF TEXT MESSAGING'S UNIQUE NATURE

BY MIKE GRENVILLE

FOUNDER, 160 CHARACTERS

Every medium is different. We react differently to information coming through different channels in different ways, whether it takes the form of canvassers standing in the doorway or an article in a newspaper or a landline call or a cell phone call. Each medium has its own rules. Because mobile is such a personal device, more sensitive rules apply.

Even most seasoned politicians in the United States have never used SMS or texting as a messaging and marketing medium. Here are some things to keep in mind as you develop a text campaign.

- Make it the glue of your campaign. — Mobile is more than a push medium. Use SMS as a glue between different mediums. Include your short code on all of your advertisements — from television and print to the Internet and billboards. It becomes a response tool to get people to participate, sign a petition and receive more information. Mobile is the ideal tool for all of these things.
- Don't overestimate your cell phone. — Mobile is a communication tool that can empower a group of core, internal supporters with information, but a single mobile phone is neither effective nor useful in sending mass messages to millions of people within a short period of time. To push messages to people through mobile devices, the most effective campaigns will use Web-based tools that send text to mobile phones much the same way that they already send mass e-mail.
- Create a community learning process. — Mobile is not about how many millions of members, donors or supporters you have. It is about developing a campaign that provides the most effective form of communication between your organization and your constituents. So, engage your members by asking for their feedback about your mobile messages. This is a great way to build community around your candidate or issue and make your supporters feel involved. It will also provide your organization with

the education and research to create more effective messages.

- Ask yourself: Is this the right medium? — One of the problems with new technology is that people still think in terms of the old medium. SMS is not e-mail. Remember, the average American SMS is only 160 characters. At the beginning of each campaign, ask yourself:
 - What is the appropriate *message* for the communications channel?
 - What is the appropriate communications *channel* for what we are trying to achieve?

Some messages may be more appropriate to send in an e-mail; others are more likely to reach people the right way at the right time via mobile communications. When you reach people through mobile, they are usually out and about, so tailor your content to their location and needs.

- Concentrate on the beginning. — Consider the structure of a text message. Most cell phones do not display whole messages on the screen at the same time. Users only see the first part and you scroll down to read the rest. Therefore, it is important that the first part of the message grabs your attention, so that people want to read the whole of it.
- Make the message important. — Effective mobile messages come from trusted sources — ones that the user has been in communication with already. Good messages also bring valued information. Getting a text message from a known source that says something useful will have an impact.
- Hire the right staff. — The best strategy for any mobile campaign is to employ a good copy writer. Hire someone who knows how to use the space effectively.
- Think: Quality not quantity. — In the political arena, it is very important to communicate responsibly. Bombarding people with messages tends to annoy people and make the medium less effective.

Tools from Across the Pond

In the United Kingdom, mobile marketers employ what is called the universal stop command. This means that at any point, mobile phone users can text the word "Stop" to a business, group or campaign in response to any messages, and they are automatically unsubscribed from that service.

The universal stop command built consumer confidence by allowing people to cease the flow of messages immediately regardless of their source, content or length of the subscription.

The process is not complicated, and it does not require users to make a phone call or visit a Web site. They can do it through a text message.

How Big is SMS in the United States?⁶

SMS has finally made an impact in the United States with messaging traffic up 59 percent in the last year according to an Informa report.

The value of the U.S. mobile data market increased by around 80 percent during the year preceding March 2005, according to the June 2005 edition of Informa Telecoms & Media's World Cellular Data Metrics, as interoperability agreements finally helped SMS make a significant impact on the market, which has traditionally lagged behind Europe and Asia.

Total revenues from non-voice services for the four largest U.S. mobile operators totaled more than \$1.2 billion in Q1 2005, compared to \$689 million in the same period of 2004.

GSM operator T-Mobile was particularly noteworthy: its subscribers sent a total of 3.6 billion messages during Q1 2005, the equivalent of around 67 per subscription per month, more than double the volume 12 months ago. The operator's recent launch of bundled SMS packages, including one offering unlimited messages for \$15 per month, is sure to drive traffic still higher. Interoperability, as well as continued subscriber education and growth in popularity of interactive TV programs have boosted SMS traffic levels in the United States.

⁶ 160 Characters, *Stats & Research: US mobile data market grows 80%*, <http://www.160characters.org/news.php?action=view&nid=1651>.

FROM YOUNG VOTERS TO SOCCER MOMS: MOBILE IS MORE THAN A KID'S MEDIUM

BY NIHAL MEHTA

FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT, IPSH!

In 2001, before interoperability allowed users to send text messages to different carriers, party promoters used mobile to advertise clubs and performers. They sent text

messages on Saturday nights at 10 p.m., and in return, they saw tremendous conversation rates. The demographic in 2001 was largely youth-focused. The early adopters – young, urban music fans – spread the technology with their family and friends.

Today, one of the biggest demographic groups using text messages is mothers, who communicate with their children via text. Businesses have noticed, and they have integrated mobile as a tool to reach the mother demographic. Kraft sends recipes and ingredient lists to mothers to assist with grocery shopping. Members can text questions to Kraft about how to make a recipe, and they receive all the ingredients on their cell phones — the very device they will take to grocery stores with them. Kraft also e-mails the recipe to their inboxes. Of course, the recipes require Kraft products — a great example of how an organization can create a timely message that addresses the needs of its users while promoting its own product.

Who sends text messages?

Right now, around 60 percent of the text messaging occurs in the 18-34 demographic. About a third of all users are over the age of 34.

Create a Text Tutorial

Teach people how to use text messaging.

On your Web site or WAP, create a “text tutorial” that explains what text is and how people can use it. In the United States, you may encounter many constituents who have not sent a text message before or who never realized that they can send text messages with their cell phones. Think about it: there are 190 million cell phones in the United States and every phone can receive a text message. The technology has been sitting in the palm of their hands all along, but some people still do not know how to find it.

Educate them about the process. Let them know that sending a text message is a lot easier than they think. Teach them

- How to use predictive text.
- How to send a message.
- How to receive a message.
- What to do if they receive a “message sent” or “message failed” reply.

Don't leave anyone out in the cold.

Conversion rate

We expect between a three to five percent response rate for our corporate clients. Of course, the rate for a well-articulated campaign will be greater than that, as the targeting gets more specific and the nature of the content is more compelling.

Components of successful mobile marketing

- Make sure you have supporters. – Build your database and market to the right people. Create a community of mobile supporters big enough to ensure that your message spreads far enough virally and that enough people participate in it to make your efforts worthwhile. For example, don't send a text message blast to ten people and expect the same results you would achieve if you sent the message to 100,000 people.

You create a ripe environment for a text campaign when you promote your message across all forms of media. Place your short code on your Web site, e-mail billboard, posters and print ad. In every aspect of the campaign, your supporter ideally has an opportunity to engage with you, and you have an opportunity to get his or her mobile phone number.

- Write good copy. – Make your messages very concise and compelling. Under no circumstances should you waste the power of the mobile medium on silly or irrelevant messages that have absolutely no consequence for your supporters. A constant stream of meaningless or unimportant messages means that your mobile supporters are more likely to unsubscribe from your service.

Offer them an incentive. Offer them an opportunity to use their voice. Offer them information that they cannot get from any other source. That is what makes a text messaging campaign compelling.

Right now text messages have a read rate of close to 95 percent. This means 95 percent of all text messages are read. Because of that, any response rate or call to action is also very high.

- Check the frequency of your messages. – Whether you are a corporate or political organization, you want to use text messages to develop your brand. However, if you inundate your supporter's inboxes with too many text messages, you weaken your brand – whether it's a candidate, an ideology or an issue.

During the most urgent and active times of the political calendar, such as during elections, do not send more than two or three text messages a week. Never send messages in the evening, overnight or early in the morning. We like to send them in the late morning, around 11:00 a.m.

- Give a call to action. – Make every message an action message. The actual action you ask your supporters to take should occur as close as possible to the time you sent the message.

If you are sending out a text message to remind people to watch a debate, send them a text message an hour before the debate starts. For events, send a message on the day of the event.

II. THE MOBILE WEB

WEB SITES TO GO

BY PHIL TAJITSU NASH

CEO AND GENERAL COUNSEL, CAMPAIGN ADVANTAGE, AND

EMILIEENNE M. IRELAND

PRESIDENT, CAMPAIGN ADVANTAGE

In this section, we will explore the considerations in designing for the latest handheld devices, which often strip out images and colors, reduce the number of fonts and font sizes, display a single column of text, and diminish the significance of video and other non-text messaging.

DESIGNING FOR HANDHELD DEVICES

What are handheld devices?

The term “Handheld Devices,” for our purposes, includes cell phones, Personal Digital Assistants (PDAs), such as BlackBerries and Palm Pilots, and other mobile technology devices that use Small-Screen Browsers (SSBs) to download and display Web-based information.

What are the considerations in designing for these devices?

Designing for the full spectrum of handheld devices is difficult, because design specifications have not been standardized around one type of hardware, one size of screen, one download protocol, one display standard, or one maximum file size. In addition, these devices often have slow downloads, so graphics are made smaller or not downloaded at all. Tables sometimes download cell by cell, and background colors and special fonts do not display as expected.

Designing for handheld devices requires rethinking the Web site’s layout, both vertically and horizontally, because features that might be next to each other on a big screen are on top of one another on a small screen. Mobile phones have device widths that range from 120 to 320 pixels, and PDAs have widths that range from 320 to 640 pixels. For this reason, to be conservative, Web pages should be no more than 120 pixels in width to prevent the bane of small-screen users: horizontal scrolling.

What does this mean, in practical terms, for the political Web site?

While the Web can readily be used to communicate through images, handheld devices take us back to the world where text dominates. Graphics should be using sparingly and, as a rule of thumb, should be no more than 100 pixels in width. Image file sizes should be as small as possible

but, in any case, never larger than 100 kb in file size. Each image must be accompanied by an ALT-tag text description in case the image itself is not displayed.

In particular, designing for a small screen requires strategic thinking. Do I really need those cool features that will only cause a “Page cannot be displayed” error in many SSBs? Frames and pop-ups should be avoided when designing for handheld device users, and dynamic effects and Javascript should be programmed with a backup in case they cannot be displayed.

Should I create a separate Web site for visitors who use handheld devices?

For the near future, many more people will access your Web site using conventional desktop and laptop computers, so make sure your Web site has been checked to perform well in all conventional platforms and browsers (for example, browsers such as MSIE, Firefox and Netscape, and platforms such as Windows XP, Macintosh and Unix/Linux).

A growing number of visitors will be viewing your Web site on handheld devices, however, so some campaigns may opt to create a separate Web site or individual pages that are optimized for SSBs.

How can I tell if my Web site is displaying properly in handheld devices?

Handheld device browsers will attempt to fit your Web site to the size of the monitor window, even if it causes distorted layout. Some browsers for mobile devices, however, are able to recognize special instructions in your Web site code (CSS style sheets) that tell the SSB how you want the Web page to be displayed in a handheld device.

As in any other Web site development project, testing is essential when designing for handheld devices. Try to test on actual versions of the handheld devices your campaign will be targeting, because the Software Developer Kits (SDKs) available for many products are not always reliable or easy to use. Make sure to test your site with graphics turned off, with Javascript turned off, and with no mouse available.

You also might consider using a Web site emulator, such as Opera’s Small Screen Rendering (SSR) using Small-Screen view, although they make no guarantees that what you see on the emulator will be the same thing you will see in an actual handheld device.

PRACTICAL USES FOR HANDHELD-OPTIMIZED WEB SITE PAGES

Which pages should include stylesheets optimized for handhelds?

Small-screen versions of the news, e-mail registration and donation pages would be a good investment of campaign resources, as would any campaign intranet accessed by campaign staff from the field, such as results pages filed online after completing door-to-door canvassing.

Can supporters make donations using handheld devices?

Secure Socket Layer (SSL) encryption, cookies, and forms are all supported in SSBs, so making donations and volunteering can be done using handheld devices. Also, because handheld device users tend to be more directed in their web usage, they are a good bet to be donors, volunteers, and subscribers to your campaign newsletter if they have a good experience on your campaign Web site.

STRATEGIES AND COSTS

How else does campaign strategy differ between small-screen and standard Web sites?

Standard Web sites have been used for fulfillment for several campaign cycles, and increasingly have been used for persuasion as well. The strategic design of Web sites as well as the warehousing of campaign video and audio files allowed the Web site to be a place where voters made up their minds, not just a place where they consummated their financial transactions or added their names to a form.

Small-screen devices, with their minimal graphics and limits in font size, font face, layout, and color, reverse this trend. What is lost in persuasion is gained in instant communication, however, so the tradeoff is worthwhile if a campaign can create top quality small-screen and standard Internet experiences for visitors to its Web site.

What are the costs of designing a handheld-compatible Web site?

The coding for a handheld-compatible Web site may be cheaper than that for a conventional Web site, but the planning and testing costs are comparable. Lack of uniform standards for handheld devices makes testing imperative, and developers must constantly update their code to address changes in hardware, software and conventions.

CONCLUSION

As of this writing, leading Web site developers agree that there is no single practical solution for creating Web sites that display properly in all mobile devices. Presumably, within the next few years, hardware manufacturers, software developers, and other key players in the mobile technology sector will agree to the urgently needed standards. Until then, a reasonable approach for campaigns that want to provide content to mobile users is to keep the code simple and the interfaces clear, logical, and easy-to-use. Just as the movement to provide easy-to-navigate Web sites for the disabled has resulted in a better Web site experience for all who visit your Web site, making your Web site uncluttered and easy-to-use will make it more accessible to all visitors, including those using handheld devices.

How will I know that my campaign Web site has been successful in meeting the needs of handheld device users?

Start by considering the tradeoffs between the latest technologies that are available to you and the percentage of your target audience that would be lost if you implement those technologies. Consider implementing redundant strategies so that more tech-savvy visitors, who correspond in many cases to “online Influentials,” can have an optimal experience while those with less bandwidth or less access to the latest devices can still have a good experience. “Failing gracefully” to a serviceable but less glamorous presentation of information is always better than presenting a large percentage of your visitors with a jumbled page display or a “page cannot be displayed” message.

Few Web sites in the political sector (or in any other sector, for that matter), are completely compliant with the different screen sizes and other considerations that affect handheld devices. Graphics can be stripped out on some handheld devices, and video, audio, and other enhancements enjoyed on a laptop or desktop computer may not play on handhelds.

In future election cycles, handheld devices will be used by growing numbers of Web site visitors, so political campaigns should begin now to design for smaller screens and text-based messaging. Even if screen resolutions improve and more can be fit on a screen, the absolute size of devices is limited by the size of pockets, so make sure that your campaign develops strategic Web sites for conventional browsers as well as strategic small-screen Web sites-to-go.

Get a .mobi address

In July 2005, the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN), the group that assigns Internet names, allowed the creation of .mobi address for organizations or individuals who want to create content for mobile devices. These sites must be formatted for small screen.

INTERNET ADS AT YOUR FINGERTIPS: HOW TO MARKET ON THE MOBILE WEB

BY BOB WALCZAK

FOUNDER, MOBILE PHONE APPLICATIONS, INC.

The mobile Web offers a tremendous opportunity for marketing and advertising. However, mobile marketing and messaging is something that has to be done in the right way.

What does this mean? People use their cell phones and trust the information they receive on their cell phones more than their computer or their television because the mobile phone is on all the time, and it is attached to them in a very individual way. It fits in a pocket. It carries information, such as the names and contact information of friends. That is personal.

“Opt in” is the phrase that people identify with when mobile is concerned. Users who access information on mobile devices are typically willing to expend two precious commodities in finding what they want: a little time and a little money – particularly on a cell phone. If you send a text message or receive a text message, the carriers charge you for the service. If you use the Internet, you have to buy a telephone plan for it. Some of those Internet plans are based on data downloads; some of them are unlimited.

At the same time, mobile marketing and messaging can be highly effective. People are starting to access their mobile webs in ways people haven’t in the past. The mobile web is speeding up. It is a more interactive world. People want on-demand information, which is something they often already have at their fingertips.

Marketers can use mobile as a tie-in between traditional formats of media, such as putting a short code to receive

text message updates on a billboard or placing Web site links on television commercials. Mobile technology ties everything together. If you surf the Internet on your phone and click on a button to receive more information about health care policy, you can receive a text message on your phone that has the link of a site you can visit on your computer for more information. The subscriber can really go as deep as she wants, and she can use all media types in one day. We live in an interactive world — one in which political marketers cannot simply use newspaper advertising to persuade. You have to hit people from every direction.

What is a mobile interstitial ad?

Interstitial advertising appears during the down time you experience when switching from one Web page to another on your mobile device. Typically, when you switch between mobile Web pages, you see only a typically a blank screen. While you are waiting for your screen to appear, an interstitial ad can fill that blank space, delivering a full screen, color, interactive ad.

When a user clicks on the ad, he is redirected to a jump page with information about the company or organization, along with a signup to receive text messages, which could range from a coupon to political updates to mobile newsletters about campaign issues. Interstitial ads can have a click to call option, where users click on a number jump page, and the phone will dial a line that is set up for advertisement purposes or will connect the user to a sales rep who can provide further information that they are requesting at that point or redirect the user to a webpage with contact information. Once the user finishes with the jump page, she can press continue and move forward to the page she originally intended to access.

In other words, as you wait for the next page to load on the mobile Web, you typically look at a blank screen. Interstitials give the user more content information. It also gives advertisers the attention of a captive audience.

Picture this. Voters who use their mobile devices to check the headlines while traveling can receive a message while they wait for their mobile Web page to appear that gives them more information about a campaign, allows them to sign up for a text messaging group that gives constant updates on the campaign or helps them start a Web site for your candidate.

Isn't this intrusive?

The mobile Web is the least intrusive area of marketing and messaging because it uses space that otherwise is blank. Believe it or not, this makes the mobile web a little bit more efficient. Interstitials are not spam. When people receive spam on their computers, it disgusts them because they did not request it. Marketing on the mobile Web is a vehicle that gives information to people on the fly and does not intrude on their time or their space. When people receive interstitial ads, they receive information only at their request.

If a user sees an interstitial advertisement and does nothing, the next page will load automatically within four seconds. If a user decides to opt in and click on the message, then he receives more information and has the opportunity to create a profile about himself either on his mobile device or his computer.

One of my most important best practices is to only send interstitial advertising at their request. I explain exactly how you can do this below.

Further, mobile advertising actually helps the mobile Web grow by providing a revenue source for the mobile Internet. The Internet is a space tightly controlled by the carriers. Yet, whether they know it or not, most people in the United States have access to the Internet on their cell phones – even when they don't have it at home.

Here's how it works in two steps.

Step 1 — The Carrier's Homepage: When someone accesses the mobile web, she first sees a homepage for the carrier.

Step 2 — Sites from Companies that Pay to Play: When a user hits on the news section of the carrier's homepage, he is then taken to a news source like the New York Times. The companies that users access from the carrier's homepage pay for that position. But while these news, sports or entertainment companies have paid the carriers to have an innovative seat on the mobile lap decks, their position on the mobile Web does not produce a real revenue source (the way online sites earn money through advertising) to pay for their place on a carrier's homepage.

Adding a revenue source will help the market expand by giving the companies a reason to invest in mobile content. But first, you have to make your message personal.

Make it personal

The key to creating an effective mobile message is to use the personal nature of the mobile device. This is accomplished through profile-specific advertising. Here's the method I use with my clients:

- **Create a profile.** — When a subscriber accesses your mobile Web site for the first time, the screen asks her to create a user name and login. The page then prompts her to fill in a little information about her profile. The three demographics we start collecting first are age, gender and zip code. Once she logs in, the program sets up a unique identifier that identifies her through her phone every time she accesses your Web site in the future. She never has to login again. Her information is linked to her phone, so you can feed her with information that is specific to her unique needs and interests.
- **Make it opt-in.** — If a subscriber decides that he does not want to fill in that information, he can opt out and continue straight to your Web site. To avoid annoying people you want to attract to your mobile

Web content in the future, do not make the personal information a required field.

- **Give your users control on their phones and their computers.** — In the future, your subscribers should be able to access their profiles online in their computers, as well as check off more categories of information that interest them, such as the environment or healthcare. This helps personalize the interstitial advertisements they receive, making it more efficient to surf the Web. They only receive information that they actually request.

The audience

Anyone with a cell phone can sign up for data access and receive information. Using mobile devices to reach the Web will spread throughout both rural and city life. Obviously, people in all areas of the country are on the go. They like the energy and the efficiency of mobile. No matter where you are, your cell phone can provide information in a way that is gaining on the efficiency of the computer.

Think about it this way: if you want a lot of information quickly, you access it on your computer, but if you need information on the go, you use your cell phone. You can interactively receive information anywhere, any time, with devices that are around you right now.

Cost

Many pricing structures for the mobile Web — such as those for interstitial advertising — are based on the same format that is used with Internet advertising. The Internet model provides a standard pricing model with which the political world already identifies. Usually, companies sell advertising based on a cost per click pricing structure or a cost per thousand image displays. Right now, you can expect to pay around \$20-40 cost per million and 50 cents to one dollar for cost per click. Expect to pay more money if you want to incorporate an interactive text message.

Click-through rates

With mobile, you receive more bang for your buck. People trust the information that they receive over their mobile devices. In fact, people are more apt to click through mobile campaigns than they are on the Internet. Mobile campaigns see a click-through rate of 30 percent, while Internet campaigns see only about ten percent.

Types of mobile messages

Because we base mobile marketing on the unique and specific profile of each users, the number of different messages you can deliver are enormous. Here are some ideas to get you started:

- **Target different demographics.** - Use the information people provide in their profiles to send specific messages to them about topics they find compelling.
- **Choose different Web sites for your ads to go over.** - Go through a distribution channel for several Web

sites. This helps you deliver messages to many different sites in one blow.

- Specify the time of day the advertisement is released. — You can configure your ads so that they are released in the same amount every day. You can release an increasing number of ads every day — 10 one day, 20 the next and so on. You can also release a declining number of ads per day. Or you can release ads on a bell curve leading up to a specific date — such as Election Day — and then have the ads trail off.

Target your messages by time of day

Target the release of your ads to the time of day when the demographic you are trying to target logs onto the mobile Web. This links to different traffic volumes on different Web sites. For example, many people use their mobile phones to check the news at the end of the day, while they are on the train going home. This may be a good time to put your ad on a financial site, if you are trying to target the business professional. Alternatively, if you want to target young kids, you may want to release your ads around 3:00 p.m. or 4:00 p.m. when kids get out of school. People often check sport scores in the evening, particularly on game night, when they are already watching a game but want to see what is happening at other games.

As you can see, mobile is your anywhere, anytime medium. It is always with you. It is always on. It is always readily acceptable. It is the “fill the space” medium when you do not have access to a computer or television.

III. MOBILE MESSAGING AND MARKETING TACTICS **BANG FOR YOUR BUCK: HOW TO REACH AN ACTIVE AUDIENCE**

BY BRAD FAY
INDEPENDENT CONSULTANT

Audience courtship

The train station is an ideal location for mobile marketing.

Think about it: as you sit in the train station at the end of the work day with nothing to do, you become more susceptible to receiving mobile marketing messages. Maybe you look up to see a transit advertisement about the war in Iraq across the platform. The advertisement tells you to

send a text message to receive more information and even directs you to a mobile-web accessible site to read about the topic. You can read about it right there on the train platform, no waiting until you get home, no forgetting the site’s address.

Certainly, mobile technology increases the total amount of time and places where people are reachable with messages. A note of caution, however: if you want to be effective, do not use the easy access and personal nature of the mobile phone to broadcast unsolicited messages to people. Rather, you first want to build a relationship with your audience by obtaining their permission to communicate with them. This can be as simple as asking a commuter on a train platform to send a text message to receive more information. A lot of people will be receptive to your message. Other people simply will not be receptive. They are probably not receptive to receiving text messages — even from their closest friends.

Why you want to keep things personal

Take a cue from the world of Internet marketing. An increasing number of Web sites ask people “when is a good time to contact you?” This is just one step in making your message personal. More and more we ask our audience questions about preferred e-mail addresses, preferred time of day and preferred interests. Over time, as databases tag information by personal interests and preferences, the importance of single issue voters will increase because political marketers will finely tune their ability to know exactly who the single issue voters are.

Right now, somebody in your voter database is a NARAL contributor. We can assume this person is highly active on the abortion issue. The contribution is like a red flag, signaling an issue of personal importance. Until recently, political marketers stopped identifying single issue voters at the level of a contribution or membership. With this method, too many people slip through the cracks. There are a lot of people who feel the same way as your NARAL donors. Before, these people were almost invisible. We now have the ability to find them and send them information appropriate to their interests.

Somewhere in your database, one of your supporters wants to be alerted when a new nominee is announced for the Supreme Court. This supporter signs up to receive a briefing text message on the nominee’s position about education delivered directly to his cell phone. Suddenly, the moment the nominee is announced, you send an e-mail to him on her positions. This text message is highly desirable piece of information. One supporter will forward it to his ten friends. Your supporter feels like he is an “in the know” expert, and by forwarding your text message, he has just made ten other people plugged in. What a great way to improve public relations for your organization. By empowering your supporter with information, you have allowed him to begin building a relationship between your organization and the ten other people on his list.

Who is your audience?

I want to begin by listing a few roadblocks.

- There will always be a ceiling to how many people are going to be involved.
- There are still financial barriers for people who cannot afford it.
- There is a barrier of interest. Some people simply aren't interested, and your mobile campaign may ask for much more participation than they are willing to give.

Yes, there is a barrier of interest, but this also means that the types of people who respond to your marketing and messaging are going to be better informed and more willing to act.

This also means that using a mobile marketing strategy will further increase the intensity of participation of people who are already very active. Each of us has a friend or two who is always so informed. They know who they support and why. They have the latest information in front of them, and of course they know how to use it.

Do you have an influential supporter base?

Consider the work conducted by NOP World on Influentials – the one in ten Americans who tell the other nine “how to vote, where to eat, and what to buy,” according to the book *The Influentials* by Ed Keller and Jon Berry.⁶ Influential Americans have always been ahead of the general population in adapting or sampling new technology. How successful those technologies ultimately are depends on whether Influentials find them useful.

Accessing information, which I discuss in greater detail in other parts of this section, is one way to capture that audience. The other big opportunity exists in using the influential nature of your supporters to distribute information and ideas. When Influentials are excited about something, they want to tell their entire networks. Mobile technology has allowed them to do just that at that very moment they are inspired and motivated. This leads to my next point – making Influentials your biggest advocates.

Use your audience to spread your political message

If your mobile marketing and messaging strategy begins and ends solely as a way to reach people with just one piece of information, then you limit the potential reach of your campaign. The mobile strategies that make the most impact on politics will use mobile channels to empower supporters so that they can reach ten other people, and so on. In other words, use your core audience to spread your message, and engage and persuade other people.

At a very basic level, this means making sure that your audience can forward every message you send. But mobile can do so much more. You can employ mobile strategies that empower your supporters with the information they need to evangelize at family dinners, at work or in social situations.

Put yourself in this scenario. You are at a cocktail party after work, and some of the guests are engaged in a heated debate about a new environmental bill. Imagine having access to quick references about the environment via your mobile phone, just by texting the word “environment” to a short code already filed under your contacts. By signing up on a political group’s site, you registered your phone to receive three talking points on the bill delivered to you when you ask for them. You will be able to make your case right on the spot with the facts and figures you need to be authoritative. You can quickly say, “Well, let’s find out what the answer to that is. Is environmental spending going up or is it going down right now? Let’s find out.”

Try another scenario. You are at a dinner party, having an argument about the election, and an argument you read earlier in the day about foreign policy rests just at the tip of your tongue. You simply cannot remember what it is, but you think it will make your point. Imagine being able to register for your candidate’s “mobile talking points” to quickly reference a few key points and win an argument.

What is the killer app?

More than a decade ago, when the Internet was coming into its own, many people spoke of the killer application – the one usage that suddenly emerges and causes everyone to use the Internet.

One of the things we learned over time was that there is no one single killer application. Everyone finds a different must-have reason to use the Internet. The same will happen with mobile technology. For teenagers, the killer app may be communicating with friends or downloading ring tones. For a farming community it might be receiving instant weather updates. For an investment banker, it may be the killer app will be the ability to reach the financial market on mobile devices. For some, the killer app is going to be the use of mobile technology for politics.

The art of mobile marketing and messaging is pinpointing those people, cultivating them and then developing a plan to help them engage others. Turn their interests in a particular issue into the basis upon you can engage them in political discussion. That will be a challenge.

6 Ed Keller and Jon Berry, *The Influentials* (New York: The Free Press, 2003).

LOCATION, LOCATION, LOCATION: MAKE YOUR SMS MATTER

BY ADAM GUY

DIRECTOR OF WIRELESS PRACTICE, COMPETE INC.

Voters are overwhelmed with information. Every day, they are bombarded with messages on the airwaves, in magazines and over the Internet. Their cognitive capacity is overloaded with messages.

Yes, a certain slice of the constituent base wants only the most basic messaging.

Yes, a portion of the population is influenced by a negative TV commercial in which Candidate X proclaims, "My opponent is an idiot, and she has a checkered past."

Then there is another slice of the population — a large slice — that either wants or needs to understand the issues and the political track record of the candidate.

And there is another slice of the population that simply wants to know what's in it for them. Is this going to cut my taxes? Is this going to help my business?

Politics, more than any other industry, pits just two or three products against each other and asks the population to choose just one. When products are similar, such as Pepsi and Coke or Candidate X and Candidate Y, personalized message can address the wide variations of opinion and level of information among your constituents.

How do you stand out in a sea of marketing messages?

1. Make it personal - Down to the time of day and location of your contact. This is where the data you collected in your mobile VRM campaign comes into play. Learn about your voters and then make their lives easier by marketing to them in a personalized or customized way.

Today, political marketers have an opportunity to take personalized messages one step further. No message channel is more personal or more customizable than the wireless cell phone — the pocket-sized communication and information device that more and more Americans carry with them everywhere.

Cell phones are a highly personal medium. Most

cell phones have just one user, and they are with their users all the time. This leads to my next point.

2. Location matters. - Cell phones travel with their users, and newer cell phones with satellite tracking allow you to market to people based on who they are, what they like and where they are this very moment.

Location-specific advertising is catching on with businesses. Say you are coffee lover. One morning, walking past the local Starbucks, you hear your cell phone beep. You pull it out of your pocket and check your message: "Have you had your cup of coffee today? Bring this message in to Starbucks and get 10% off a grande coffee. We're just one block away."

How does this translate into politics? Think Election Day. When people sign up for your get-out-the-vote program, you will be able to send them vote reminders, including directions to the closest polling station.

Throwing a fundraiser for a local candidate? When your local supporters sign up to receive event updates, you can send them a text reminder on the day of the event and follow up with directions from their homes or offices.

Trying to drive more people into campaign headquarters? Text your supporters a message to stop by and pick up bumper stickers or yard signs when they are in the neighborhood.

Running a blood bank or a donation drive for school supplies at the local grocery store? Remind people about your nonprofit event while they shop. Send them a text message about what you are doing and where they can find you in the parking lot.

3. Think hassle mitigation. - Use your mobile messaging and marketing campaigns to make life easier for your constituents. I call this aspect hassle mitigation. It is a killer incentive that I predict will personalized mobile marketing.

Life today for the American voter is too busy - we all have too much work, too many errands to run, too many goals to accomplish, too many different media messages 24 hours a day. We have so many things to think about, so many lists of things to do, we end up with little free time to relax, visit with friends or do things that most of us want to do with our lives, such as volunteering with a political group or making a donation to a cause we care about. American culture is ripe for tools that will save time and brain capacity.

Wireless technology and location-based services can really mitigate the hassles of being a consumer in America today. And one of the hassles is just the overwhelming number of options. Use your mobile messaging strategy to make fundraising as simple as sending a text message. Let people sign up for events, volunteering or vote registration through their cell phones and PDAs.

Does this sound a little creepy to you? Remem-

ber, the goal of your mobile messaging campaign should be to make life easier for your constituents. Many people want to get involved in your campaign, nonprofit or issue advocacy group, but they may lack time. If a supporter has taken the time to sign up for mobile reminders from your group, then he has taken the first step and probably wants to be involved in other ways – if only he had the time! Mobile technology makes it easy for your supporters to donate, receive vote reminders, register to vote or sign up to volunteer.

MOBILE IS A PUSH MEDIUM

BY DP VENKATESH

FOUNDER AND CEO, MPORTAL

The mobile phone: It's not just for calls anymore

No doubt, wireless technology in general is more advanced outside the United States than it is in the United States. For people in other countries, the primary phone is the mobile phone; in the United States, people have home phones, work phones and mobile phones. Mobile phones in the United States are almost always accessories or even secondary or tertiary devices, not primary devices as they are in other countries. However, the mobile phone is not just a communication device.

When people look for information in some countries, the mobile phone is their primary information device. In other words, people do not use their mobile phones for calls alone; they also use them to send and receive information. Although Internet penetration is growing in the United States, Internet penetration in many other countries is not nearly as high as it is here. Instead of turning to the Internet, people use their mobile phones. This is a growing trend in the United States as well.

The big pusher

If you want to reach people and gain a political edge in an increasingly mobile paradigm, rather than launching a Moveon.org-style Internet presence, you need to incorporate mobile technology into your campaign strategy. A last minute information or GOTV push is equally effective – perhaps more so – when it incorporates mobile and Internet efforts, instead of Internet efforts alone.

Why is mobile a good push medium?

- Instant action. – The biggest advantage of the mobile phone is that it is just in time: it is both contextual and real-time. The biggest difference between the Web and wireless is that the Web is primarily a pull

mechanism, while wireless is a push mechanism. What does this mean? When you want to broadcast information on the Internet, you update your Web site, send an e-mail or advertise and hope that visitors log on. They do not actually receive the information until they seek out your site. With mobile, the process is instantaneous. When you send a message to someone, you can actually push the information out to them, and they receive it in real time.

- Easy Communication. – In politics, communication is the cornerstone of any organization or movement, which is why the media has been a very important part of American politics for many years now. As technology has evolved, the media has tried to adapt – from Internet news sites to blogs. Their next step: wireless. And as the media business moves into wireless, politics will follow. Even the government has caught on, using mobile phones to supplement their public emergency broadcast system or sending text alerts about terrorist levels.

A word from the pros: When you send information to a mobile device, think of it as a condensed executive summary.

The advantages of mobile as an information push medium

- How the wireless networks are designed. – In times of distress or clogged networks, data can get through. To cite two extreme examples, during the July bombings in London and the 9/11 attacks, the networks were clogged with cell phones and many people could not get through. Messages always get across. This occurs for two reasons:
 - The messages actually use a different part of the network.
 - When a message cannot get through to a certain phone, it goes in the queue and it keeps trying until it gets through. With voice calls, when you make an attempt and if you don't get through you get a busy signal, and you have to try again.
- Ability to tease people with information. – You can pace the amount information your supporters receive by sending of a little bit of information and then directing them to your site to pick up more information later. You can send an alert, saying “here are the latest poll numbers,” “Bush is leading in the polls,” or “Bush is lagging in the polls.” The recipients of your messages can then access additional information one of three different ways:
 - They can visit your Web site.
 - They can request a little more information via text message.
 - They can call for more information.
- Interactivity – People can interact with the information you send them. Be sure you use the interactive

nature of mobile by giving people an action to take with their cell phones and PDAs to help support the cause instantly. Some ideas include:

- A forward this message function.
- A one-step fundraising appeal.
- The time, location and directions to a local rally, protest or event.
- The phone number or e-mail address of an elected official.
- Real-time transfer of communications. – Your supporters receive updates the moment events occur, and they can access them immediately. This lends an immediacy to your messages that compels people to take immediate action.

Overcoming the cost-to-text barrier

One of the reasons why text messaging is such a prominent tool in other countries is because the cost of sending or receiving a text message is practically nothing. The U.S. market is moving towards the “all you can eat” model, but at the time of writing, it is not there yet. People sign up for data plans that allow them to send anywhere from 300 to an unlimited number of messages, but at the end of the day, they still have to pay for it.

In this sense, mobile now is where the Internet was years ago. Just as the early Internet providers charged subscribers by the megabyte of data, so the mobile providers sell text message packages by hundreds of messages. As the past reveals, there is hope for people who use text messages. As the early Internet networks got better, the storage prices fell. Now, when you log onto your e-mail, you aren’t charged by the number of messages you send or receive. It is a flat fee. Mobile technology is moving in this direction. In fact, it is already happening, with some service providers.

Carriers stand to make more money by selling unlimited text messages. Even at the cheaper rates in Europe, the more text messages people send, the more money the carriers make.

IV. IS MOBILE A REALISTIC POLITICAL MEDIUM?

POINT

MOBILE IS NOT THE INTERNET - AND THIS COULD HOLD IT BACK AS A POLITICAL COMMUNICATION TOOL

BY JONAH PERETTI

DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, EYEBEAM

Yes, today’s cell phones and PDAs can access the Internet. However, mobile is not the Internet. It is a different medium, and messaging on mobile requires a different approach. The Internet is by nature a democratizing medium – perfect for political messages. Mobile technology, on the other hand, possesses some inherent differences.

Can politics adapt to mobile? Can mobile adapt to politics?

While the medium will provide many opportunities in the future, political groups will have to overcome several roadblocks before mobile politicking reaches the level at which political groups used in the Internet during the 2004 election. There are several reasons for this.

1. No Open Source — Unlike Internet Web sites and e-mail, cell phones have been dominated by big corporations – in particular, the mobile carriers. Historically the carriers have kept a pretty tight grip on the technology and what other groups can do with it. For most applications, a standard way of doing things on mobile has not yet been developed, and it is something that mobile technology needs. For example it is still a lot more difficult to set up a distribution platform on cell phones than it is through a Web site.

This means that a mobile campaign may cost a little bit more than you might expect to pay. Registering a domain name costs around \$6, and setting up a decent Web site is fairly inexpensive. Setting up an SMS gateway, on the other hand, means you may have to pay a lot more to access the mobile network.

Different carriers may not work well together. When launching a viral campaign over the Internet, you can e-mail 10 people, and if you deliver the right message at the moment, your message can spread to millions of people entirely through word of mouth, by people e-mailing each other, forwarding your message or linking to your organization on a blog. To be frank, we have not yet seen viral information spread as quickly through cell phones in the United States – partly because the carriers typically do not work that well together.

The true potential of mobile technology as a political tool will require open standards and a more open network.

2. **Technology Culture** – People relate to their mobile devices differently than they relate to the Internet. Online technology has developed a culture of shared media, and mobile technology is only just evolving in this direction. This does not mean that cell phones aren't a powerful tool or that political campaigns can't use them effectively. In the short term, mobile messaging is effective when it follows a broadcast model. This includes sending vote reminder SMS messages or news alerts reminding your supporter base that a new health care bill passed. Yes, right now mobile technology has a lot of unrealized potential, but I suspect that interesting and exciting things will happen on cell phones once open standards and industry consolidation occur.
3. **Cost** – Mobile technology costs more to use. People pay money to download wallpaper or ring tones for their phones, receive news alerts and send text messages. In the online world, most of these services are free. You can surf the Web, visit a Web site, find a funny picture and make it the desktop on your PC – without paying a dime. This relates to my first point: people pay for these things because the network is locked up and proprietary, which inhibits a free flow of information. After all, the system is based on the short term profit of the cell phone carriers.

When an organization develops a mobile political tool, it must negotiate with the carriers in order to get the tool out to the public. If the carrier wants to make money off of it, the organization will have to charge a minimum price for users to access its application. The carrier then receives a portion of that cost. Unfortunately, by locking up the network and saying “you need to pay, you need to get our permission to distribute your software on our network, and you're required to charge for it,” the carriers are holding back the medium.

In politics, you simply do not want to charge for your applications – you want people to access them and use them without the cost barrier.

This will not last forever. Until then, cost may be an issue for your mobile strategy.

Mobile Innovations Break New Political Ground

Mobile political tools are currently evolving, including social applications that will change the way campaigners take their messages to the streets.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

A new program called Fundraise, now undergoing research and development, will allow people to type in an address and see the people in that area who gave to the political campaigns — a tool that will be particularly useful during the run-up to a presidential election.

WHO ARE YOUR NEIGHBORS?

A cell phone application called Red or Blue shows canvassing politicos if the neighborhood they are in has more Democrats or Republicans. The device uses a Geiger-counter method with a blue donkey (Democrats) and a red elephant (Republicans), based on geographically tallied campaign contributions. The meter will tilt to one side or the other depending on whether the concentration of party contributors on one side outweighs the other.

Politics Is Not Like Business - And This Could Kill a Contagious Message

In the 2004 presidential campaign, more voters viewed a Web video titled “This Land” by a little-known organization called JibJab than visited the Web sites of the two presidential candidates. Why?

To be blunt, politics has difficulty adopting a viral communications strategy. Mobile will become a key tool in the viral process. However, politicos should consider three issues before designing a viral mobile campaign.

1. **The Numbers** – Politicos are very familiar with numbers and conversion rates. However, the conversion rates that are considered high in politics are not high enough to be truly contagious. In the political realm, people are happy when 20 percent of their e-mails are opened or when two percent of people donate money. For something to be contagious, the reproduction rate needs to be greater than one.

What does this mean? Take an example from the Internet world. Say that you are launching a viral e-mail. Most political groups already know the response rate and open rate of their e-mail, but they are missing one key factor. In order to determine whether a message is viral, you need to measure the forwarding rate – not just the response rate or open rate of your messages. Let's say a hundred people receive your e-mail, and out of those hundred people ten of them forward it to their friends, and those

friends forward it to 15 other friends. This will leave you with a reproduction rate of 1.5. Since this figure is greater than one, your message is contagious.

Let's change the numbers a little more. What if ten people open your e-mail, and they send it to five of their friends? This leaves you with a reproduction rate of 0.5 - not high enough for your message to be contagious. Text messages work the same way.

In order to make something contagious, you need two things: the percentage of people who forward it and the average number of people to whom they forward it. By looking at those two things you can have a good sense of whether a campaign will grow with each generation or shrink with each generation. If a message grows with each generation, the numbers will take off like crazy. If the message shrinks, which is the most common thing in politics, TV and the Internet, it will die out quickly.

Thus, when a big political organization e-mails a message and asks its supporters to "send this to your friends," the e-mail dies out within a week or two.

2. The Technology - How are my messages forwarded? These days, people are used to forwarding messages through e-mail and instant messaging. Look at the underlying social networks and the way people use technology to share information. This will tell you if your messages have the possibility of being contagious. We have not reached the point where we have seen the first mobile equivalent of the dancing baby. And at some point we certainly will have it. The underlying social network and the communication technology have to be right for viral mobile messages to work. Even if you create a hilarious message or an image everyone wants to see, you have to know how to spread it.
3. The Content - How do you create content that people want to forward to their friends? To be honest, viral content does not have to be good: it just has to contain some kind of social imperative. Politics possesses that social imperative. You see something political, and you want to tell all your Democratic or Republican friends. Often, political messages are partisan, which narrows the scope of its forwardability. That is exactly why the most viral video before the last election was JibJab's "This Land." It made fun of both sides, so people could forward it to their friends without worrying about whether they were Democrats or Republicans. This bipartisan nature was one of the reasons it was so contagious. The viral spread of prayer concerns in religious communities is another example.

Remember, humor is not as important as creating a message that balances what is provocative, new and shocking with what is socially acceptable enough for people to feel comfortable forwarding it to all of the names on their contact list. For example, pornography is very popular on the Internet, and it is growing in popularity on mobile devices, but it is not very socially acceptable.

COUNTERPOINT

THE BELTWAY COULD TEACH BRITNEY SPEARS A THING OR TWO

BY JED ALPERT

CEO, POLITXT

Using mobile technology as a political medium makes sense. It's very simple technology. It's ubiquitous. It's not particularly expensive. Yes, it costs a little bit of money, but anyone can have access to it, and today it is a lot less expensive than a personal computer or broadband Internet access.

Effective mobile political messaging combines appropriate use of the technology with creativity, and I would say we proved that in May 2005 with a campaign I put together for People for the American Way (PFAW), called the Mobile Immediate Response Program. After several years of creating mobile campaigns for big names in the entertainment industry, I found that the campaign I created for PFAW had higher response rates than any other program I created by almost a power of ten - that includes having worked on programs for American Idol, Justin Timberlake, and Britney Spears. For PFAW we measured about 20,000 responses.

We developed a new process

Political organizations spend a lot of time and effort asking members to reach out to Senators and Congressmen to voice their opinion about a particular piece of legislation, or the nomination of a Supreme Court judge. This type of constituent activity is how political organizations exercise their clout and get their opinions heard. The mobile program allowed provided a much more efficient way to do it than was ever done before. Most organizations call people and say "You're a member of People for the American Way, and we would like you to call your Senator." Phone Banks are extremely time-consuming and expend a lot of human resources. Thus, the cost is very expensive, and I would speculate that it probably has a fairly low success rate.

When we took the campaign mobile, we sent out an e-mail to every member of PFAW, asking people if they wanted to be part of our national media response program. When we wanted our supporters to call their Senators, we sent them a text message with their Senator's name and number and the message of what we wanted them to say. With one click of a button, they were on the phone with the Senator's office. The mobile message took almost all the friction and transaction costs out of the process of trying to mobilize people to express their voices as constituents.

The numbers speak for themselves

Of the approximately 100,000 members who opened the e-mail about 22,000 people opted in to be a part of the program. That is the highest opt in rate PFAW ever had.

More significantly, it is the best response rate I have ever seen, mobile or otherwise, in any affinity program. We ran comparable programs for Pop Idol and Justin Timberlake in the UK (when he was the number one pop artist there) and Britney in the US when she was the number one pop artist in the United States. The artist-oriented programs targeted fans in areas where the artists toured and offered value, such as free tickets to winning participants.

The results between the PFAW campaign and those organized for music artists are comparable because we worked off lists of membership fan clubs - the same way we used supporter lists from PFAW. Remember, these are people who have already expressed an interest in receiving information. The difference is staggering: 22 percent opted in from opened e-mails for PFAW, while the music artists averaged 4.5 percent. The entertainment figures ranged from as low as two percent to as high as six percent.

Mobile technology is an ideal political medium

The PFAW campaign worked for several reasons. As we discovered, the political audience has several built-in qualities that a big industry like entertainment does not.

- The Enormous Political Appetite — Politics will never have the broad appeal of entertainment, but it has something more important than broad appeal. People who are interested in politics are more interested in it than people are interested in entertainment. Political junkies are more interested in being on the inside of politics. By contrast, people have a very surface-level interest in entertainment. Politics draws people who have a deeper, emotional attachment to the issues. Mobile devices deliver this close proximity to politics.
- Ease — We are building a mobile political infrastructure in the United States that will allow the paid members of our clients' campaigns to coordinate in a very specific way with volunteers. During the busiest political season, a campaign or organization can send out of message saying, "We need 200 volunteers in County X at this address tomorrow morning at 8 a.m. for a rally."

This message reaches 3,000 people with mobile phones. They don't have to check their e-mail, or print out the information. The address is right on the phone - the one device that people carry with them throughout the day. The process gets even easier, since the recipients can immediately send a short message, "yes I'll be there."

- Marketing — Mobile is going to be the equivalent of a take-anywhere bumper sticker. Supporters will

be able to digitally download phone wallpaper that identifies a candidate, issue or organization. That's a very powerful method for identifying a political brand.

V. GLOBAL AND GROWING WHAT POLITICOS NEED TO KNOW ABOUT THE FUTURE OF MOBILE MARKETING ⁷

BY MIKE SHORT

VICE PRESIDENT - RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, O2

Twenty-first century mobile services in 2005-2006 are set to become more multi access, multi speed, multimedia and multicolor. This will provide many more investment opportunities for businesses, government and consumers, and the mobile industry is preparing for this.

The Mobile Data Association (MDA) publishes monthly text figures (www.text.it) charting the monthly growth of text messages. Recent estimates have suggested a global total of around 1,000 billion or one trillion forecast for 2005 on GSM networks worldwide. However, it is clear from the trade partnerships in the MDA that there are much broader mobile data growth trends under way.

The 4th screen of mobile (after film, TV and the PC) is now much more pervasive and personal. It may not compete directly with these other screens, but now it is often colored and with a larger viewing or display area. . . . With the 4th screen there are also "push" and "pull" services, location-based facilities, billing/pricing and customer care models (and revenue shares) often not available with the other screens. The MDA announced in October 04 a forecast for 2005 of 15 billion WAP page impressions, which already looks as if it will be exceeded.

The trend towards multi mode (2G/3G, 2G/WIFI, and 2G/DVB-H to name only three), higher speeds and more functionality will continue. These developments, coupled with the likely global mobile volume heading towards two billion cell phones in use, and 750 million new handsets shipped in the year by the end of 2005, will provide many

7 Mike Short, "Liquid Media," O2, August 1, 2005.

new opportunities. Over 75 3G networks globally are now open with fast growth rates already stimulating further 3G network investment, and a flourishing market for content partnerships.

The variety of content on the move, or liquid media, will also grow and diversify in areas that can be used by political groups. These include:

- Participation TV – From text voting, to text to screen, to text response. Mobile messaging, mobile cameras and picture to screen will take us beyond political debates and Sunday morning talk shows to more interactive, real-time politicking.
- Mobile Marketing – Think of a mobile device as an interactive poster or yard sign. Imagine the possibilities for building awareness of an issue or brand.
- Mobile Commerce and more Web/Intranet activities – All the mobile portals will develop into a much wider shopping mall of content and services for all our pockets. Search, storage, sharing and security will all become more important.

Although the wireless world to date has really been the Cinderella of the broadband (wireline) world, this is set to change rapidly.

Voice is already going mobile but, with liquid media flowing, politics is ready to go more wireless than ever before.

VI. CASE STUDIES

MOBILE BUSINESS MARKETING

BY KATHIE LEGG

RESEARCH ASSISTANT, INSTITUTE FOR POLITICS, DEMOCRACY & THE INTERNET

Mobile message marketing is a growing trend in consumer outreach strategy of private companies. One attribute that resonates with all mobile marketing campaigns is the goal of being more interactive with the consumers. The consumers are no longer passively observing billboard advertisements and television commercials; they are now participating in scavenger hunts and completing trivia quizzes for exclusive purchasing power and prizes. “With people always on the move, wireless technology is an increasingly attractive way to serve our fan base and stay connected with them,” described Showtime EVP Mark Greenberg.⁸

8 Mobile Marketing Association, Showtime Launches Mobile Store, <http://mmaglobal.com/modules/wfsection/article.php?articleid=32>.

Some companies have explored this new frontier and the following describes their goals, applications, and the end results:

DUNKIN' DONUTS

- Goals — The coffee and baked goods chain wanted to encourage the trial of hot lattes by high school and college aged students.
- Application — A SMS coupon was sent to 7,500 mobile phones. Mobile numbers were gathered through radio advertisements and WAP ads in the Boston area.
- Results — There was a 21 percent increase in the traffic to area stores. “Seventeen percent of participants forwarded the message on or showed the message to a friend. In the research subsequent to the campaign, 35 percent considered themselves more likely to buy lattes and coffee from Dunkin’ Donuts.”⁹

EXPEDIA

- Goals — The online travel company wanted to increase web traffic and improve customer service offerings.
- Application — When the consumer purchased tickets online they would be offered the opportunity to opt-in to have an SMS itinerary confirmation sent to their mobile phone. Expedia could then also provide the user with flight updates and solicit them closer to their departure date by offering them other services like hiring a car or insurance.
- Results — Nine out of ten SMS recipients read the message. Because of the SMS experience, three out of five consumers said they were more likely to use Expedia in the future. Four of those solicited after the travel purchase purchased another item.¹⁰

FCUK

- Goals — The clothing and accessories retailer wanted to increase customer interaction with the brand.
- Application – Consumers sent an SMS to the short code 8FCUK and answered up to three trivia questions for a chance to win prizes. The outreach was Transatlantic.
- Results — FCUK was able to build a database and send targeted tailored messages. As a result brand awareness increased significantly.¹¹

9 Mobile Marketing Association, Dunkin’ Donuts, <http://mmaglobal.com/modules/wfsection/article.php?articleid=19>.

10 Enpocket, Expedia Uses Mobile in Cross-Media Campaign to Drive Customer Acquisition and CRM Services, <http://www.enpocket.com/content/clients/pdf/expedia.pdf>.

11 Mobile Marketing, FCUK Uses Mobile CRM in First Transatlantic Mobile Marketing Program, <http://mmaglobal.com/modules/wfsection/article.php?articleid=8>.

GENERAL MOTORS

- Goals — The car manufacturer wanted to generate a buzz about the Pontiac G6 with hip trendsetters between the ages of 24 to 45.
- Application — Digitas, with the help of m-Qube, and General Motors created an eye-spy game for camera phone and digital camera users. Every time a consumer captured a picture of the Pontiac G6 and sent it in, they were eligible for a \$1 million prize. Those who sent their photos via mobile phone were also given a ring tone of the Clash's Should I Stay or Should I Go.
- Results - Web traffic to the G6 Web site increased significantly.¹²

THE HISTORY CHANNEL

- Goals — The television channel wanted to increase brand awareness, promote new shows, and encourage consumer interaction.
- Application — Enpocket and The History Channel created an opt-in interaction to promote a new show. The evening before the program aired, a targeted teaser SMS was sent out.
- Results — Eighty-eight percent read the message and twelve percent forwarded it on. Forty percent of those who received the text message watched the program. Fifty-eight percent of viewers said they were more likely to watch The History Channel as a result of the SMS.¹³

MASTERCARD

- Goals — Mastercard wanted to strengthen the relationship between MasterCard and 18-to-24-year-olds by creating a buzz around the MasterCard's Priceless Experience internship program.
- Application — A WAP advertisement site was created by Vindigo and MasterCard. At the site consumers could access popular ring tones and wallpaper. "The ads enhanced the consumer experience by allowing them to click on non-intrusive, targeted messages from MasterCard. Each ad included a click thru page where the active consumer can opt-in for a follow-up MasterCard e-mail, providing program details and direct links to apply for the internship."¹⁴
- Results — The WAP click rates and the opt-in rates for MasterCard were well above the Vindigo average.

SNAPPLE

- Goals — the beverage company wanted to increase sales among 18-to-24-year-olds, increase interaction with consumers, and increase brand awareness.
- Application — Consumers who had already opted in received SMS alerts about new contests. They could also access the Snaffle (Snapple's summer promotion) mobile channel from their phones as well as receive the winning Snaffle numbers via SMS.
- Results — Ninety-three percent of consumers who received the SMS read it. Thirty-three percent of those who received the text messages bought an increased amount of Snapple products, and 24 percent were more positive toward the brand.¹⁵

TODD TV

- Goals — The Fox Television Network wanted to strengthen the relationship between viewers and the television show, involve the public more, and keep viewers engaged, even when the show was not on.
- Application — Live Direction was introduced. Viewers, via SMS messaging, were able to control what Todd did that day. T-Mobile subscribers were sent a multiple-choice question and their response was what he ended up doing. Todd TV also gave the viewers the ability to receive text messages from Todd as the show was airing. He would share private thoughts of that moment.
- Results — "Giving television viewers immediate control over Todd through their mobile phones not only changed the way television is watched, but it also transformed the viewers' relationship with a program. Todd TV was an important step because it illustrated how advanced mobile technology can weave television and text together in a compelling way," said Peter Larsen, CEO of Enpocket."¹⁶

12 Mobile Marketing Association, Pontiac G6, <http://mmaglobal.com/modules/wfsection/article.php?articleid=35>.

13 Enpocket, How The History Channel used two-way mobile interaction via SMS to boost ratings and to build a Mobile Community, <http://www.enpocket.com/content/clients/pdf/history.pdf>.

14 Mobile Marketing Association, MasterCard's Priceless, <http://mmaglobal.com/modules/wfsection/article.php?articleid=27>.

15 Enpocket, Cross Media SMS Sweepstakes Campaign, <http://www.enpocket.com/content/clients/pdf/snapple.pdf>.

16 Enpocket, Fox TV Puts Viewers in the Director's Chair with SMS-to-TV Interaction, <http://www.enpocket.com/content/clients/pdf/fox.pdf>.

CHAPTER 5

From One Pocket to the Other: The Instant Fundraising Tool

Amidst the vast global response to the tsunami disaster in Indonesia, Sri Lanka and India in 2004, organizations like CARE began to explore mobile technology as a fundraising tool – a start to what could become the easiest one-click-away method of fundraising.

In 2004, the Institute for Politics, Democracy & the Internet published *The Political Consultant's Online Fundraising Primer*, a handbook incorporating Internet tools into fundraising strategy. Here, the consultants suggested that fundraising appeals become even more effective when they are urgent and immediate and when people can respond to them immediately—before they are distracted by a commercial, a phone call, making dinner or another Web site.

Mobile technology makes the donation process even quicker. Because the cell phone is such a personal tool, urgent fundraising appeals have an increased potential to persuade people to make a donation. At the click-click of a few buttons, potential donors can text a donation in amounts as low as just a few dollars. And more importantly, they can make a donation the moment you ask them for it.

In this chapter, Michael Dumlao reviews current uses of mobile technology for fundraising and offers a look at what is ahead, providing lessons in obtaining simple donations for your political group, issue advocacy organization or nonprofit.

MOBILE PHILANTHROPY: DIGITAL TELECOM AND THE GREATER GLOBAL GOOD

BY MICHAEL DURLAO

COMMUNICATIONS DESIGN SPECIALIST,
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

On December 26, 2004, a devastating earthquake in the Indian Ocean generated a tsunami that quickly inundated seaports and low-lying villages in some of the most economically impoverished areas of the world. Resulting in hundreds of thousands of deaths, millions of people displaced and billions of dollars in obliterated infrastructure, what is now considered one of the most devastating natural catastrophes in modern history has also become a global philanthropic success story. According to the international news sources, millions of dollars, euros, yen and pounds poured into hastily-assembled relief efforts within a matter of days; eleven million euros from Italy alone matched Australian efforts totaling over fifteen million dollars — all amassed within a week of the disaster. While the outpouring of assistance from a truly global community is impressive enough, what makes this act of international altruism particularly powerful is that it was largely organized and executed using the smallest, most ubiquitous of modern devices: the mobile phone.

The near-omnipresence and efficiency of digital mobile communications transform its devices into powerful tools for affecting social change through the ease by which its users can organize micro-donation schemes and collective action. By infusing market consumption with humanitarian aid, savvy non-profit entities and socially progressive mobile service providers are contributing to an emerging culture of “mobile philanthropy.” Recognizing a growing need (or rather, market) for innovative giving mechanisms, digital donation facilitators such as *M-Donate* and *The Wireless Giving Association* have sprung up (not surprisingly during the most accelerated increase of world-wide mobile phone usage) to help charities and political groups mine the social networks created by mobile telephony for fundraising opportunities. While recent tsunami efforts can now be used as an ideal (if not, standard) for how digital communications can efficiently channel resources, it was not the first time such efforts were attempted. Indeed, research reveals that charitable giving mediated by short-message-services (SMS) existed as “early” as 2001.

With the ease of information sharing through digital communicative devices such as SMS (text messaging) and MMS (multi-media message service), it is quickly conceivable how mobile phones can contribute to the mass-mobilization of its users and their resources. However, it is far less clear how this heavily-networked mode of communication affects our interactions with others — especially those whose very salvation seemed at one time entirely dependent on the dance of thumbs above miniscule keypads. Are we any more informed about global poverty, the daily ravages of starvation, the widespread urgency for sanitation or aware that true aid to tsunami victims requires a possibly decade-long commitment for social and structural resuscitation? Furthermore, are we any more apt to act on addressing these dire concerns now that a conscience-driven hunger to help mankind is quickly satiated by the press of the “send” button?

While I cannot argue that a single dollar-per-text campaign is equal in direct affect to frontline disaster relief or to multilateral state-based assistance, SMS fundraising does present an act of considerable, collective political will. Recalling Robert Putnam’s lament over modern society’s increasing civic disengagement (and consequent dilution of broad social ties and a community’s collective social capital), it appears that mobile telephony — through its ubiquity and consequent social network — offers a possible countermeasure.¹ In accordance with Mark Granovetter’s seminal thesis on the power of weak ties, mobile philanthropy offers opportunities for civic engagement through a dual system of strong interpersonal relationships and peripheral membership in wide-spread organizational systems.² Mobile-based involvement in networks beyond immediate kinships provides access to disaster volunteer opportunities, thereby recovering a sense of social capital predicted on detached but nonetheless effective altruistic endeavors.

Mobile philanthropy: An overview

France, Australia and the United Arab Emirates. Nextel, T-Mobile and Telefonica. Croix-Rouge, Breast Cancer and UNICEF. In addressing social ills and the devastation of natural disaster, these otherwise disparate entities (countries, mobile service providers and charities) have become increasingly interconnected through the growing popular practice of mobile-mediated civic action. In a world of pre and post tsunami donor fatigue, creative solutions which harness a user’s impulse to contribute *while* consuming have become both a major fiduciary pursuit for non-profits and a booming brand-building exercise for big business. While innovations certainly abound, there does arise at least four standards for mobile contributing: direct-donation SMS, accessory purchase, surcharge reimbursement and social mobilization.

What each service provides are simple yet far-reaching

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- 1 Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2003), 48.
 - 2 Mark Granovetter, “The Strength of Weak Ties,” *Sociological Theory*, vol. 1 (1983): 2.

mechanisms (such as SMS fund transfers) and products (such as ring tones) that cultivate single-unit micro-donations from impulse-driven consumers; when mini-funds from millions of on-the-spot text-donors are combined, one or two pesos and euros rise to multi-zeroed amounts, channeling the old adage that one drop can cause a tidal wave (no pun intended). With even a cursory glance through the following examples of mobile-giving pioneers, one immediately notices the global reach of mobile philanthropy; although communities can devise home-grown schemes to tackle indigenous circumstances, the global network of SMS giving can bring both resources and political will to what is increasingly become *everyone's* global village.

SMS direct account donation

1. The marketing materials for the Wireless Giving Association (based in Atlanta, Georgia) describe their wireless software Mobile Giving™ as a way to seamlessly facilitate impulse giving by addressing ease of use and convenient billing. Like all SMS-based direct donations, Wireless Giving offers a specified short code attached to a pre-authorized charity selected by the user to which she can text-message her contribution via her phone bill, payment of which forwards the designated amount to the charity with a responding thank-you message confirming that the tax-deductible donation had been sent to the contributor.³
2. In March 2005, London-based mobile marketing group MindMatics launched the first text donation campaign for Breast Cancer Care. Taking advantage of the popularity of SMS, Marcus O'Shea, head of fundraising, said "giving people the opportunity to donate to us using their mobile phone is an ideal way for us to do this and we are confident that our campaign will be a great success."⁴
3. Coinciding with the holy month of Ramadan, an ambitious SMS-based campaign was launched in Dubai to aid local charities such as Al Noor, Rashid Paediatric Centre and Sharjah Charity International. "For a long time charities have been seeking a way to attract micro-donations by a simple, fast and effective method and this is exactly what Mobile-Aid will offer," said Tariq Querishy, the businessman behind Mobile-Aid, a non-profit-making organization that lends its services and technology completely free of charge to registered charities in the Emirates.⁵
4. Shortly after the tsunami hit the shores of South East Asia, Czechoslovakia's Donor's Forum partnered with the country's mobile carriers to launch a major text-mediated appeal to benefit the Adventist Devel-

opment and Relief Agency (ADRA) of the Czech Republic; the agency received over 500,000 text messages and a subsequent three-quarters of a million dollars in aid.

According to the ADRA's president, Vitezslav Wurst, "text messaging has the potential to revolutionize how charities fundraise. But the campaign has to be planned carefully... the media have to be partners because without any publicity... you end up only addressing a small group of people and that's the end of the effort. The next group that helped us a lot was all the Internet servers that displayed our banner on their Internet pages." Noting the need for cross-media marketing (Internet and broadcast), Wurst's comments embody the community building that these projects enable.⁶

5. The Greeks employed similar tactics when viewers of Public Television donated more than 16 million Euros for the victims of the tsunami during a two-day tele-marathon.⁷
6. In a heartwarming effort to infuse the deluge of digital donations with a more empathic sentiment, Malaysia's "From the Heart" campaign collected messages like "Karma said good things come after bad things go" to accompany funds sent to The Star Earthquake Tsunami Relief Fund.⁸
7. Overall, funds reaching into the high millions have been mobilized through simple text messaging towards charitable endeavors across the world. Efforts continue today in places as diverse as Germany, Spain, Singapore, Pakistan, Australia, South Africa and the United States.

Accessory and service donations

Applying the tenets of social marketing (defined by the Social Marketing Institute as "the use of commercial marketing concepts and tools in programs designed to influence individuals' behavior to improve their well being and that of society"),⁹ several telecommunications companies have aligned with non-profit organizations in quintessential forms of public-private partnerships. Private industries are likely driven towards charitable work by both genuine altruism and a savvy eye for innovative public vehicles. However, humanitarian work still strengthens the brand; and with funds pouring in through previously untapped channels, charities are far better for it:

1. The designation of charity ring tones and wallpapers appears to be the most popular way for mobile content providers to encourage customers to raise funds while continuing to purchase products and ser-

3 The Wireless Giving Association, About Us, <http://www.wirelessgiving.org/about.html>.

4 Julia Pearlman, "Breast Cancer Care launches first SMS donation service," Brand Republic Digital Bullentin, March 15, 2005.

5 Anne-Birte Stensgaard, "'Mobile-Aid' launched in the UAE." AME Info, March 15, 2003.

6 Emily Turrettini, Czech charity ADRA raises \$ 500,000, <http://www.textually.org/textually/archives/006619.htm>.

7 Emily Turrettini, Tsunami 2005: Greece- SMS donations, <http://www.textually.org/textually/archives/006780.htm>.

8 Emily Turrettini, French and Malaysian fund raising campaigns by SMS, <http://www.textually.org/textually/archives/006591.htm>

9 Social Marketing Institute, About Us, <http://www.social-marketing.org/aboutus.html>.

vices. In January, 2005, Leap Wireless International, Inc. offered its Cricket Clicks™ FunMail™ customers the opportunity to contribute to tsunami relief efforts by purchasing and downloading dedicated tsunami relief wall papers to their mobile phones via FunMail's Wallpaper Universe 2.0 application. In the same month, Boost Mobile, Nextel Communications Inc.'s youth lifestyle brand, encouraged American youth participation by offering a catalog of mobile phone ring tones dedicated to the United Nations' Children's Fund (UNICEF).

Similar donation schemes were provided by Bell Canada and Zaptop phones. Also, an online group known as Charity Rings announced, "buying your ringtones, wallpapers, games, etc. At Charity Rings means that you pay the same or similar prices as other Web sites. However with Charity Rings you help charities to help others at the same time! Our content teams ensure that we always have the latest and coolest content."¹⁰

2. After ring tones, other companies donated large amounts of funds from corporate profits. Mobi-Mate®, a leading provider of business and travel management applications for mobile devices, donated corporate revenue from January 2005 licensing sales of its popular DataMate and WorldMate software to UNICEF and IsraAID. In the same season, Handmark®, another mobile software developer, announced it would donate all first-month proceeds from new Pocket Express® subscriptions to the International Red Cross. Shortly thereafter, Motricity, provider of mobile content and solutions, committed 100 percent of all proceeds from selected software titles purchased through January 31 at PalmGear.com to the tsunami relief fund.¹¹
3. As early as the Australian summer of 2001, the national telecommunications company Telstra offered its clients a Red Nose logo sent directly to their mobile phone screens. For each logo, Telstra donated micro-funds to the Australian Sudden Infant Death Syndrome organization. By ordering the logo via SMS, Telstra customers donated about \$10,000 Australian to research.¹²
4. Illustrating the potential for the cell phone to educate, in December 2003, a partnership between Vodafone and Fauna and Flora International (the world's longest established international conservation body), produced a conservation-awareness series of mobile content called WildLive! According to Vodaphone, "customers [were] able to download high-quality wildlife and landscape images, ring tones of the calls of endangered and protected species as well as entering competitions and quizzes, [receive] news

alerts, and [get] in touch with others who share their interest."¹³

5. In December, 2004, the United Kingdom witnessed the largest snowball fight in history, albeit on their mobile phones. A brainchild of Andrew J. Scott, creator of playtxt.net mobile social network, Snow Ball Wars allowed users to send SMS text or animated MMS "snowballs" at friends and family. The unsuspecting target receiving the message had to then login on SnowBallWars.com to read the private message. Users were charged nominal amounts after their free five "snowballs" were exhausted. The profits from over 100,000 SMS and MMS snowballs were given to the National Association for Prevention of Cruelty to Children.¹⁴

Surcharge rebates and donations

Amidst the flurry of SMS activities, there were growing worries that consequent surcharges and value added taxes (VATs) would not only siphon funds from charities to bureaucracy, but also inhibit consumers from what is otherwise a very easy and inexpensive way to contribute. To combat this concern, several governments and mobile operators waived charges and fees for calls and text messages either made during a specific calendar window, or for a pre-specified purpose.

Following word that SMS donations were subject to charges levied by cellular services providers, Malaysian Airtime Media Productions assured donors that the company would make up the difference during its tsunami relief campaign. In Czechoslovakia, Finance Minister Bohuslav Sobotka agreed with using revenues from VAT on SMS messages sent by Czechs for tsunami aid, saying during a press conference that "the SMS campaign is very important. It's a very easy way of donating money. The popularity of SMS donations is increasing since the system was used when floods devastated the country in 2002."¹⁵

Social mobilizing

Mobile philanthropy derives its efficacy from the far reaching social networks that mobile technology creates and sustains. Recognizing its potential, several organizations have devised advocacy programs to effectively *mobilize* the mobile. New Consumer magazine, Britain's fair-trade publication, is currently working to collect one million digital signatures as part of an SMS petition urging world leaders to discuss fair trade at the next G8 summit. While the target can be considered ambitious, Editor-in-chief Mel Young hopes that the "quick, easy and instant" nature of text messages will make the target attainable.¹⁶

10 Emily Turrettini, SMS and Charities, http://www.textually.org/textually/archives/cat_sms_and_charities.htm.

11 Business Wire, January 26, 2005.

12 Emily Turrettini, Donating by SMS, <http://www.textually.org/textually/archives/2003/02/000045.htm>.

13 Emily Turrettini, Vodafone teams with FFI for charity content, <http://www.textually.org/textually/archives/002571.htm>.

14 Emily Turrettini, Start a mobile-snowball-war and raise money, <http://www.textually.org/textually/archives/006483.htm>.

15 Emily Turrettini, SMS and Charities, http://www.textually.org/textually/archives/cat_sms_and_charities.htm.

16 Emily Turrettini, Vodafone teams with FFI for charity content, <http://www.textually.org/textually/archives/002571.htm>.

In the Netherlands, Amnesty International uses premium text messaging as both a fundraising tool and an action mechanism for covering campaign costs. By signing up online and giving their mobile number, participants in their campaigns receive “action” SMS messages every two weeks, which is then invoiced directly to their phone bill. For example, an affirmative reply to a recent SMS “action alert” concerning the plight of an abducted Guatemalan boy added the user’s digital signature to an Amnesty petition urging the Guatemala government to release the 16 year old. In keeping actions and responses digital, the campaign not only pays for itself but is also a clever and personalized way of keeping Amnesty’s members informed of their efforts while allowing them to be active participants in a cause they believe in. Doing so recovers an appreciation for civic engagement that is often lost in the social milieu of mobile telephony.¹⁷

Mobile philanthropy and social capital

“We are Generation Text” was a widely-circulated text message in the Philippines and described by Howard Rheingold in *Smart Mobs* to discuss how people can express a collective political will through ubiquitous network devices to affect significant social change.¹⁸ Within four days in January 2001, over one million black-clad citizens, recruited en-masse through SMS and e-mail, gathered at the site of the historic 1986 Filipino “People Power” Revolution, ultimately toppling a corrupt regime (again) and birthing a digital reincarnation of a non-violent project. In describing mobile phone usage in the Pacific archipelago, Vincent Rafael notes that, “cell phone users themselves [become] broadcasters, receiving and transmitting both news and gossip...[bringing] a new kind of crowd about, one that was thoroughly conscious of itself as a movement headed towards a common goal.”¹⁹

Harnessing the power of Rheingold’s smart mobs, mobile philanthropy allows the consumer to assist and thereby affect society through social networks strengthened by devices which enable “individualized electronically mediated interaction.”²⁰ Ironically, the strength of these networks lies not in the immediate relationships which comprise the majority of the device’s use, but in the “weak ties” beyond closely-familiar kinships. Mark Granovetter describes these weak ties as essential to the full development of both society and the individual, warning that:

*Individuals with few weak ties will be deprived of information from distant parts of the social system and will be confined to the provincial news and views of their close friends. This deprivation will not only insulate them from the latest ideas and fashions but may put them in a disadvantaged position...Furthermore, such individuals may be difficult to organize or integrate into political movements of any kind, since membership in movements or goal-oriented organizations typically results from being recruited by friends. While members of one or two cliques may be efficiently recruited, the problem is that, without weak ties, any momentum generated in this way does not spread beyond the clique. As a result, most of the population will be untouched.*²¹

The global ubiquity of media ensured that news of the tsunami, its dire affects and the myriad of opportunities to make a difference would hit news wires, broadcast stations, web logs and SMS networks within a matter of days, if not hours. This immediacy of information would not have its crucial cultural consequence if not for the vicarious, at times ephemeral weak-tie networks of e-mail updates, news groups and opt-in alerts that predicate much of our activities on and off line. With the increasing convergence of media, communications and computing within the ever-growing capabilities of the mobile phone, such weak-tie networks become our action-alerts on the go, as illustrated by every example above of mobile-mediated civic action.

But is the rise of mobile philanthropy enough to recover and sustain the greater sense of communal interconnectedness that electronic media is generally accused of eroding?²² Richard Ling posits that “the extremely personal nature of the device and the fact that it lowers the threshold for interaction means that social groups will likely use the device to strengthen already strong ties. Thus, the clique might not get information about various opportunities...since the network is too tightly bound.”²³ While mobile telephony certainly serves to sustain existing kinships, it does not sever the individual from the greater community of mobile users. Furthermore, the convergence within and constant inter-referencing of media (mobile-broadcast-Internet) assures that mobile usage will never exist within a telecommunications vacuum; weak-ties are *strengthened* because mobile communications form only one part of our daily acquisition of information. However, what actions are generated by devices such as SMS and MMS will ensure that civic engagement (and therefore, social capital) is recovered when consumption is infused with charitable consequences.

17 Emily Turrettini, In the Netherlands, Amnesty International uses SMS as an action tool, <http://www.textually.org/textually/archives/000551.htm>.

18 Howard Rheingold, *Smart Mobs* (Cambridge, MA: Perseus Books Group, 2002), 20.

19 *Ibid.*, 157.

20 Richard Ling, Where is mobile communication causing social change?, http://www.rheingold.com/texts/Ling_2004_Social_change.htm, 12.

21 Granovetter, p.2

22 Putnam, p.180

23 Ling, Conclusion

Mobile will improve your bottom line

BY DP VENKATESH

FOUNDER AND CEO, MPORTAL

The Red Cross in Spain did it. CARE did it. Both of these organizations, among the many others discussed in this book, used mobile technology to raise money.

But is it worth it?

The keyword is immediacy. Fundraisers often talk about the importance of “making the ask” - asking people for a donation - while the coals are hot, when the need is visible and immediate and the events are still unfolding. Immediacy also means that you have to get people to make the donation quickly, before they are distracted by a phone call, a television program, another issue or the concerns of the day.

Mobile fundraising allows you to accomplish both: with mobile, it is easier than ever to express a need, ask for a donation and guide your potential donors through a one-click donation process.

Here’s another way of looking at it: if you send 20 million people a message, and they all agree click one button to send you one dollar, you can raise \$20 million in a matter of minutes.

The mechanisms are already in place to make mobile fundraising happen, and people are already using the technology. They already spend \$2.99 or more downloading ring tones.

Remember: There is also a cap on how high a micro-payment can be over the phone. Right now, that cap is \$9.99.

CHAPTER 6

Mobile Moving Pictures: When Political Ads Meet the Cell Phone

A little-known event occurred on September 30, 2004, beneath the radar of most Beltway insiders, an event that could alter the way political operatives reach audiences. That event – a live broadcast of the presidential debates to cell phones on the Sprint PCS network – didn't create a large wave of attention to presidential politics.¹ But it silently pointed the way toward a potential future of political communications.

Consider the following:

- The mobile industry wants it. – Mobile video is becoming one of the “key drivers” in the push toward the adoption of 3G networks in the United States.² In fact, MIT's Technology Review reports that companies like Sprint PCS and Verizon Wireless are using mobile television as a way to increase data usage among their customers.³ Sprint PCS introduced 1KTV in February 2003 and released an upgraded version, Sprint TV, in 2004 with 17 channels. Sprint now has about 400,000 subscribers to its mobile TV.⁴ Verizon released its own VCast in March 2005. In fact, the industry is adopting something called Evolution Data Optimized (EV-DO), a wireless radio broadband that will improve speed and quality.⁵
- It gives your messages new meaning. – Because of its take-anywhere nature, mobile video brings an element of immediacy to political messages – a particularly useful trait to have when fundraising, changing minds and turning out the vote. Imagine being able to target your constituents with stirring political images as events unfold across the country or the world – everything from a State of the Union address to a political debate to footage from global hotspots like Iraq or Sudan.
- Visual images stir us in a way audio and text cannot. – Due to the cell phone's uniquely personal nature, even amateur videos have the ability to persuade people when they are created or forwarded by a close friend, family member or associate.
- The length of videos is perfect for many political messages. – Today, many mobile videos run from 30 seconds to three minutes — the perfect length for current political ads and short, eye-catching messages.
- Users want good information. – *The London Times* recently reported that people who view mobile television do not want “dumbed-down news.”⁶ They want hard-hitting, challenging information, allowing your organization to craft and filter messages designed for a sophisticated want-to-know audience.

1 Kevin Fitchard, “Fishing in the Video Stream,” *Telephony*, October 25, 2004.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Karen Epper Hoffman, “The Small Screen Gets Smaller,” *Technology Review*, June 5, 2005.

4 Elizabeth Biddlecomb, *Vegging Out in Front of the Phone*, *Wired News* <http://www.wired.com/news/wireless/0,1382,66771,00.html>.

5 Hoffman, “The Small Screen Gets Smaller.”

6 Dan Sabbagh, “New media gives a different view to poll coverage,” *The Times*, April 22, 2005.

What are the drawbacks?

- Normal broadcast quality video does not work. – Smaller screens and limited bandwidth mean that videographers have to adjust to a strange new format of mobile cropped images and reduced resolution.⁷
- Cost. – Networks like Sprint price subscriptions to mobile TV at an extra \$30 a month,⁸ and the cost of sending videos via MMS costs about twice as much as a text message.
- It's a new medium. – Mobile video has only begun to reach people in the United States. Despite its promise, the next few years may be a bumpy ride for organizations that focus solely on mobile video as technology evolves and people experiment with the new medium.

As one journalist states, mobile video is “the littlest screen [that] may have the biggest of futures” as the first source for news and entertainment.⁹ In the following chapter, we discuss some of the issues surrounding mobile videos as a political medium – including the roadblocks and bumps along the path of this new medium – and we give you tips and techniques to employ as your organization launches its first mobile political video. Finally, we look into the future and discuss what your campaign will need to know into to reach viewers five or ten years down the campaign trail.

I. POLITICAL VIDEO TO GO

MOBILE VIDEO IS CHANGING THE PROCESS OF PERSUASION

BY DAN MANATT

PRINCIPAL, MANATT.NET/WEB VIDEO FOR POLITICS
AND **IAN KOSKI**
PRESIDENT, ON DECK COMMUNICATION STUDIO

There's a simple reason campaigns pour so much of their precious financial resources into television ads: Americans respond to video. Since the very first motion pictures, video has had the ability to capture viewers' attention and often to affect their hearts and minds.

As technology has evolved, video hasn't lost its grasp

on our awareness. In fact Americans are watching more video than ever in a variety of formats – on television, at the cinema, during electronic games, at live events and on the Internet. Indeed, the World Wide Web is the very epitome of multimedia convergence, bringing the best features of the printed word, pictures, sound, and now video, together in an always-accessible, very-low-cost format.

Now that the technology has caught up, video is becoming increasingly prevalent both on the Web and on mobile devices.

Mobile Video Devices have become ubiquitous. From smartphones with built-in video recording capacity to lightweight laptops that can play an array of video formats, including DVDs, users with even modest technological ability have access to a wealth of mobile video resources. PlayStation Portable is putting high-resolution mobile video feature-length motion pictures – into the hands of children. And Apple is expected to introduce a video-enabled model of its wildly popular iPod portable music device in 2006.

With the technology in place, content providers are finally catching up. ESPN.com offers sports news and highlights in high-resolution mobile video downloadable through wireless providers Verizon, Cingular, Sprint and Midwest Wireless. Major League Baseball's Web site carries live broadcasts of every game on the Internet and transmits game highlights to subscribers' video-enabled phones.

Between CNN and CBS News, both of which recently made news video freely available on their Web sites, only CNN allows users to watch newscasts on their cell phones – and even then only with Sprint and Verizon Wireless.

Even the Republican National Committee has begun offering video-for-download through its Web site. With a few clicks you can download short videos (and longer audio files) to your local computer or portable device.

The rapid pace of modern campaigning makes mobile video a particularly useful vehicle for daily operations. For national and statewide campaigns, pre-recorded videos can be particularly useful for volunteer training. Videos featuring the campaign's top staffers and consultants can be sent over the Internet or on DVD to field offices, ready to be replayed as often as necessary. Not only is it cost-effective, but it will help ensure the training is consistent across the board.

In the run-up to the 2004 election, volunteers for Americans Coming Together staged an unprecedented nationwide voter registration and outreach effort, using some of the oldest and lowest-tech techniques to persuade voters: face-to-face contact, literature drops, and community meetings.

But they were also armed with video-enabled Personal Digital Assistants that carried pre-recorded campaign videos – advertisements, really – that were played for would-be voters in their doorways.

7 Brough Turner, Mobile Video in the US, NMS Communications, <http://blogs.nmss.comcommunications/video/>, June 28, 2005.

8 Biddlecomb, *Vegging Out in Front of the Phone*.

9 Gregory M. Lamb, The Christian Science Monitor.

Indeed, the very notion of a campaign commercial is changing.

The cost of producing a television spot has always been a fraction of the cost campaigns pay to actually show the commercials on television. With the Internet and mobile technology, commercials can be tailored like never before – focusing on a specific region, state, city, or even on the neighborhood in which they'll be shown.

Campaign Web sites can also display those videos alongside digital versions of their traditional television spots. Innovative campaigns are also posting “video blogs” from their candidates and top staffers, discussing talking points, issue positions and campaign strategies. Although not meant to be persuasive, they have found a niche with supporters and volunteers who need to feel deeply involved in the campaign.

With a few clacks of a keyboard and clicks of a mouse, those videos can be transmitted electronically to any number of users' e-mail accounts or mobile devices in seconds.

It works the other way, too.

Campaign staffers have long been known to stake-out opponents' campaign events with cameras in hand, ready

to document any gaffe or vulnerable statement for use in attack ads. But the emergence of Mobile Video Capture Transmission has compressed turnaround time to a mere fraction and allowed campaigns to capitalize on opportunities in minutes.

With even a \$200 digital camcorder, a staffer can now record moderate-quality video at an opponent's event, go to his car and transfer the useful clips to his laptop and by using a cellular modem, transmit that video back to headquarters and be on the road within minutes. Talk about rapid response.

The same kind of technology package is transforming election day poll-watching by recording bona fide evidence of tampering in a format that allows for real-time action by the campaign's legal team.

Within 10 years, nearly every campaign will have an in-house video producer who will write, produce, film, edit, compress and transmit video content for the Internet and mobile devices. Although the technology, talent and costs involved with it are already at reasonable levels, permeation will remain an incremental process. It's only the campaigns able to see beyond the traditional air-and-mail strategy that are harnessing it today. Those who fail to embrace mobile video will be left behind.

My phone lets me capture and playback video. Can I really play video off the Internet with it?

BY JIM UDALL

RESEARCH DIRECTOR, MOBILE MUSE; AND PRESIDENT, SYMPHONETICS INC.

The answer is yes – sort of. There are a couple of things to understand here. Current data networks based on 1xRTT or GPRS technology are almost certainly assured to give you a miserable video experience. Though when first introduced the advertised bit rates certainly seemed capable of delivering a palatable user experience, in reality the problems with radio link quality and congestion have made this into nothing more than wishful thinking.

But assuming the data rates are not a problem, probably the most important question to ask is, “What video content would I like to see on my phone?” Given the size of the screen, the resolution and the frame rates, it's highly unlikely you would enjoy watching *Star Wars: Revenge of the Sith*, no matter how great the throughput of your network. However there may be some content particularly timely that you would tolerate in this environment. With the launch of Verizon's EV-DO network, they are putting a lot of emphasis on video. I personally don't see a market for repackaging existing television content to view on a mobile device. However, I do see two areas where video may be useful.

The first of these is video content specifically designed to augment traditional media. As an example,

perhaps there is a market for mobile video content built around augmenting reality TV shows, like “Behind the Scenes of ‘Survivor’” or “How do they build a house in seven days on ‘Extreme Makeover’?”

The other area where video might play a role is personalized video. For example I might have video cameras as part of my security system in my home. It would be nice if I could use my mobile phone when I'm away to peek into my security system at home. A sort of hybrid idea between these two is something I referred to as engaged viewing. Picture a soap opera type production with daily output. Mobile users could both view the production on their phones, but also using interaction with the producers to guide the evolution of the soap opera. Users could vote, for example, about the fate or role of a character. Due to the very real-time nature of the broadcast, writers could then drive the next episode according to the wishes of the majority.

My point is that video will have a very important role to play but the actual video content is going to have to be compelling and must leverage the strengths of the mobile environment rather than shoe horn old content into a new form.

II. THE MOBILE VIDEOGRAPHER'S TOOLKIT

WHAT YOU NEED TO KNOW BEFORE YOU LAUNCH A MOBILE POLITICAL VIDEO

BY DOUGLAS BUSK

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR - MARKETING, VERIZON WIRELESS

Different carriers use different mobile video suites

Today, mobile providers work with two different versions of mobile video. The differences between these two types of mobile video significantly impact the network. Let's review what they are, then discuss which carriers use them.

1. Download clip - Downloading a clip is much akin to receiving a clip as an attachment to an e-mail or downloading a movie clip online through a browser.
2. Streaming - The word "streaming" is self-descriptive: a wide broadcast that is streamed to the handset.

Different carriers require a different suite or model or video. For example, MobiTV, which is offered by Sprint and Cingular, uses a streaming broadcast model. Each of these carriers offers live television channels, such as MSNBC, CNN, CSPAN, etc. on their mobile devices. Verizon, by contrast, offers Vcast, a clip-based service that allows the customer to browse different clips and then choose which one to watch.

Can I place my political video on a carrier's mobile video service?

Right now, each carrier is different, and consequently, each carrier requires something different. Verizon works signs up content providers and then makes their videos available in its clip catalog. At this time, video messages from political groups are rather limited, unless they are already incorporated on a politics channel. Work with each carrier individually to meet their requirements.

An alternative: Make and send short videos with your cell phone

Camera phones can film and play back fifteen to thirty

second videos. Phones can also send these videos, which are delivered exactly the same as an SMS or MMS. Making and forwarding short video is an area of greater opportunity for smaller groups or individuals: it does not require a signed agreement with the carrier and allows amateurs to get in on the action.

Videos sent as SMS messages can be spontaneous or taped and edited ahead of time. Here are some tips to remember:

- Learn the rules. - Know the restrictions of the phone you are delivering to.
- Work on a smaller scale. - Make sure that the video looks good on a two inch screen.
- Watch the production values. - Your video should play back with a high enough resolution, without a lot of jerky movement.
- Time is not an issue. - It does not really matter if you are recording something two hours or two weeks before you send it.

The best area of opportunity for political groups to disseminate video through mobile is with an MSN Wireless program called "video messaging," which allows its users to film things with their mobile phones and send them to an e-mail address for posting on a Web site. MSN also offers picture messaging, which uses the same concept to share and store pictures from phone mobiles.

Cost

Different carriers pursue cost from different perspectives. Most carriers will not charge an aggregate for getting connected, but the aggregator - any company that provides connectivity for the delivery of content or messages to carrier subscribers - has to recoup for its cost in connecting to the content provider. For example, if your group wanted to film and disseminate a professional film to a carrier, you would have to pay the aggregator a fee per message. Presume this fee will be more expensive than an SMS message.

If you pay about two cents to an aggregator to send an SMS message to just about any carrier, you probably would pay five to seven cents per MMS message.

The cost doesn't stop there. Remember, it will also cost the people who receive the message. Most carriers charge a quarter for MNS message or offer a SMS-MMS bundle for one price.

Use your PC

You can edit any video you film for mobile on your computer, using the movie editors available from Microsoft or Apple.

As you edit, keep your end result in mind: you have to deliver your video in a different format for each one of the carriers.

Verizon keeps this process simple. Deliver your video to a format named 3DPP2 and limit the video to no bigger than 300 kilobytes and no faster than thirteen frames per second. Verizon uses Apple as its standard, which has made it easier for developers. Use Quicktime Pro to export the movie that you created into 3DPP2, attach that to an e-mail and send it to Verizon.

Make sure your video isn't spam

MMS can be sent to e-mail addresses, just like with text messaging.

Be careful that your message isn't picked up as SPAM! If your message is detected by a carrier's spam shield, it will look for either the sending address or the IP address and shut you down if they do not know who you are.

Work with someone at each carrier so that they can assist you if you encounter this problem. They will know who to call to assure the carrier that the video is legitimate content, and the recipient has opted-in.

III. THE TECHNOLOGY

HOW MOBILE POLITICAL VIDEOS WILL DEVELOP

BY JASON L. OWEN

MANAGER, VERIZON WIRELESS, MCLEAN

Right now video clips are downloadable to your phone in different forms — for example, thirty second to several minute clips can be downloaded right into your phone. When you access these videos on your phone, you essentially log onto the Internet. Do you remember how slow videos were when we first put them online? Phones are currently undergoing the same transition. I suspect that mobile video will improve immensely as universal 3G networks (see Chapter 1 for more information) bring streaming video to a wide audience. Down the road, a fourth generation of cell phones will emerge with fiber optics, but it will take a while for 4G technology to hit the United States.

What will 4G mobile videos look like? Mobile technology in Japan provides a good illustration of the kinds of things that phones in the United States will do in a few years. There, phones are capable of downloading a full-length movie into their mobile devices. And once you

download that movie, you might put it on the memory card that's in your device, pull the memory card out, put it into your computer or into your TV and watch it at home.

In fact, the two major entertainment companies, Microsoft and Sony, have different philosophies about where moving pictures are going. Sony believes the television will be the center of the entertainment unit, whereas Microsoft believes that the computer will be the central point. Microsoft is introducing equipment and hardware cards that transfer data and subscription services for downloading movies and music. This increases interchangeability and paves the way for moving pictures to be truly mobile. Look at the way games have already reached that point. Small devices have fast enough graphics to handle complex, quick-moving games.

How will this happen? The answer is interchangeability, which can be handled by either a little memory card or by Bluetooth. The future of mobile video will look very much like Napster in the 1990s, where you downloaded MP3s for free, transmitted them for free and copied them onto CDs. The same type of revolution will happen in the cell phone world. Hardware will develop that allows interchangeable downloads of your favorite Sunday morning politics show into your phone. And then, you can take it out onto your memory card and put it into your computer.

We may also start seeing mass broadcasts, where the cell phone picks up whatever is in that range of the cell tower, no matter who you are. Down the road, mobile videos will look more like network television. As the medium evolves even more, we will tailor broadcast uniquely to the individual and mobile videographers will target specific people who want or need to see this information.

Tip from the Expert

When composing mobile video for a large or viral audience, make sure you use a file extension that cell phones can handle.

For example, MPEG-4 and H.264 are easily compressible formats that travel the Internet well. You are sacrificing in some ways with the file extension's quality, but they are easier to transmit. And you do not face latency issues, which is where Quicktime Apple and Quicktime Microsoft's video codes fail.

You can create videos specifically suited for cell phones with smallish screen sizes, sharp quality and easy transmission over the 3G networks. Think movie trailers, Good Morning America or news programs.

CHAPTER 7

The Mobile Village: Building an Active Base of Political Support

Imagine engaging your supporters in instant dialogue. Imagine asking their opinions about a policy issue or answering their questions about your platform.

We see mobile dialogue taking several forms:

- Polls - Mobile opinion polls aren't just for American Idol. On October 20, 2004, exactly 52,427 people responded to a mobile poll about the Presidential Election. The results of the poll eerily predict voting patterns on Election Day: 55.4 percent of respondents to the mobile poll voted for President George Bush, compared to 44.6 percent who voted for Senator John Kerry.¹
Across the Atlantic Ocean, groups in the UK are using mobile poll to gauge public opinion about a proposed smoking ban.²
- Mobile Government - From New York City to Indonesia, candidates and public officials are asking their constituents to text complaints about government services or city improvements. When President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono of Indonesia launched a government services complaint program via text message, the local media reported thousands of respondents.³
- Dialogue with Constituents - In Australia, Premier Mike Rann launched a "Message Mike" text campaign, allowing people to text questions to his office. Similar to the live chats used by the Bush-Cheney 04 campaign to put voters in touch with key political leaders and American Idol programs that allowed viewers to chat by text with contestants, text conversations give people what they want most — direct access to decision makers.

This chapter covers some of the ways your campaign or organization can use mobile technology to cultivate your base of support. Section One discusses building a dialogue with your supporters and engaging them in your issues. In the second section we discuss the power of mobile social networks, and we offer tools to help your organization reach your supporters' friends, neighbors and associates. Finally, in section three, we take a look inside the mobile office, a dynamic space that will allow politicians instant access to their offices.

1 Greg Wilfarht, "Bush Holds Lead over Kerry in America's Largest Mobile Presidential Poll," SMS.ac, October 21, 2004.

2 Robin Langford, "Smoking ban ignites SMS vote campaign," Reuters, November 16, 2004.

3 Richard Baum and Dolly Aglay, "What did he think was going to happen?," Reuters, June 13, 2005.

I. BUILDING DIALOGUE

THE POWER OF THE MOBILE POLL

BY DP VENKATESH

FOUNDER AND CEO, MPORTAL

For better or for worse, the U.S. population is obsessed with polls. Everything is a poll or a survey, and polls and surveys depend on asking the right set of people the right questions, then compiling and collating the data.

Mobile technology allows you to survey people in real time. Other sections in this publication talk about collecting and maintaining data on your mobile supporters. Once you know who your supporter is, you can send him or her polling questions based on his or her interest. You can collate the data in real time and push the information back to the user.

For example, one poll question might ask, “do you think that Bolton’s nomination will go through, yes or no?” If the recipient says yes, you can immediately send her a text that says, “Out of the 10,000 people polled, 47 percent said yes and 53 percent said no.”

While they may seem like fun and games, polls are useful in several ways: They give your campaign feedback. Instead of charting public opinion based on outside sources, such as newspapers, you can develop your own data sets unique to your organization.

They hook your supporters. Everyone likes to be asked his or her opinion on an issue. Asking people what they think makes them feel as if they are an active part of the process, making them more willing to donate, volunteer or vote in the future.

How do you run a mobile poll?

Choose a company to run your poll that works across all of the carriers. Remember, each wireless carrier has different rules, costs and regulations. If you go through Cingular, you reach only Cingular customers; if you go through Verizon, you reach only Verizon customers. Political organizations need to reach constituents across the country – regardless of which carrier they use. Some of your supporters living in Atlanta will be Cingular customers. Some of them living in California will be on Verizon. Others will use Sprint.

To run a good mobile poll, your organization needs to find someone who aggregates and send the data out across multiple networks. Ask yourself two questions:

- Which companies are the aggregators?
- Which companies push the information out most effectively?

INITIATING A GLOBAL CAMPAIGN: USING MOBILE FOR ITS GLOBAL REACH

BY FIROZE MANJI

FOUNDER AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, FAHAMU

In Africa last year, I helped organize a regional campaign to persuade African countries to ratify the Protocol on the Rights of Women at the African Union’s Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights. Fifteen countries have to sign and ratify the protocol before it can come into force. Last May, only one country had ratified. We worked with a coalition of about twenty women’s organizations across the region to create an online petition, and we developed the technology for people to sign the petition using text messaging from mobile phones. Our success led to a second campaign, the Global Call to Action against Poverty.

Why go mobile?

In Africa, there are approximately 12 million e-mail users, compared to 81 million mobile phone users. To make it easier to obtain signatures, we used the more widely adopted medium.

How we did it

The user called or sent a text message to a single number. The text was then sent automatically to a mailbox, where we developed a script which took the content of the text message, put it onto a MYSQL database and placed it on the Web site. We also sent messages to people who subscribed to our SMS alert system, enabling them to receive the latest campaign updates on their mobile phone.

It proved to be a rather successful campaign. As of June 2005, twelve countries ratified the protocol.

The follow-up campaigns

In March 2005, over seventy organizations from twenty-six African countries met in Nairobi, Kenya to discuss the Africa initiative on the Global Call to Action against Poverty. We were asked to help set up a facility that would enable people to send a text message with their comments, which would be reproduced on our Web site. We also used the facility to send out information for mobilizing.

The next stage is to work with a grassroots women's organization in KwaZulu-Natal Province in South Africa, called the Rural Women's Movements, an alliance of about 515 grassroots women's organizations. We designed a system to enable them to manage the content of their Web site using text messaging. And they will now be able to communicate with the rest of the world by making their voices heard directly through mobile technology.

Now, they suddenly have the ability of hearing voices from the grassroots.

Youth culture: A critical component of success

A whole culture is emerging amongst young people in the way they organize, what they communicate and how they develop relationships, which has a much greater impact than most people realize. Through relationships, a completely new culture developed with the cell phone.

We tapped into that because computers are not widely available everywhere. A similar culture of e-mail has not developed. A lot of young people use text messaging. It has become a big trend, and it is a prime communication - quick and easy. We still have a lot to learn about how to make these tools available for socially useful purposes.

Audience

In Africa, mobile campaigns still only touch the middle classes. For the vast bulk of people in many countries, the technology is still not available, and young people will not necessarily have access to phones. Others do use their mobile phones in a variety of ways. Farmers certainly make decisions based on information they receive from each other about where the best place is to sell their goods, which market to go to, etc., all on their cell phones. In a place like South Africa, many more mobile phones

are available. The possibilities for using mobile phones in grassroots organizations are much greater in South Africa than in other countries.

Letter writing: The next mobile step

Many ideas exist about how to use mobile technology to reach the grassroots in Africa. At this time, we are developing mobile letter writing to send messages to senior government officials. We just had an award to develop SMS as a way of supporting women farmers in KwaZulu Natal get information that they need and use cell phones as a way of sounding warnings when violence against women or other violations of human rights occur. But, we have only scraped the surface. We need to experiment and learn more about the medium. Mobile has huge potential in some of these areas.

CASE STUDY: ANDREW RASIEJ FOR PUBLIC ADVOCATE

BY MICAH SIFRY

CO-FOUNDER AND EXECUTIVE EDITOR,
PERSONAL DEMOCRACY FORUM

Background

The Andrew Rasiej campaign made it possible for anyone to register to receive a vote reminder via text message on cell phones. But, the campaign did not stop there.

The campaign developed a mobile program to demonstrate both in action and as a metaphor for what kind of leader Andrew Rasiej is. The campaign asked people to take pictures with their cell phone of things in New York City that need to be fixed. These pictures are posted on a site called www.wefixnyc.com. All of these pictures are posted directly onto a dynamic Google map of New York City.

Why go mobile?

The We Fix NY campaign has two purposes

1. Reinvent the role of government so as to make better use of technology. - We Fix NY is demonstrates what a good leader can do, and what the people can do to improve their city. Tomorrow, if the city wanted a real picture of much-needed infrastructure improvements, the city leaders can use our map as a key. This system empowers the people of the city, instead of

relegating repairs to an industrial age bureaucracy, which supposedly finds and fixes the problems on its own.

2. Engage people. – Cell phones are a powerful new way to engage people. The byproduct of the We Fix NY campaign is the thank you message we send people after they post a picture on our site: “Thank you, now you’re a public advocate too.” They are taking power into their own hands to identify a problem that needs to be fixed and help draw attention to it.

That’s the role of the public advocate in a reinvented fashion. We want to build a general public advocates network involving the thousands and thousands of civic-minded volunteers who already put time and their own resources into helping make the city a better place.

When you look at all that social networking accomplishes online, it just seems like the natural thing to do is to move a social networking model into the campaign sphere. Yes, the citizens could take pictures with a digital camera and e-mail them to We Fix NY, but it’s so much easier just to do it from a cell phone.

If you count cell phones as computers, then the digital divide no longer exists. Even in the United States, a lack of computers is no longer the obstacle. Instead, the true obstacle is the lack of money to get high speed access. But if you count mobile devices like cell phones as computers, the digital divide beings to disappear.

Anyone can launch a similar program

Because of the way the Google API works, if you took a picture of a pothole in Washington, DC and e-mailed it in with the location information, then We Fix NY could easily map it. In short, anyone can use this technology.

Track the candidate

But the mobile campaign does not stop there. In order to demonstrate the accessibility of public officials and the power of new technology to make life easier, we outfitted Andrew Rasiej, our candidate, with a GPS enabled cell phone. When we turn it on, it responds to a Web page. This will enable people to see – literally in real-time – where he is.

We want people to see that the public advocate should be someone who makes sure that peoples’ voices are heard and should be as accessible as possible to the public. Mobile technology is one more way to make him accessible. People will be able to register their own location and then subscribe to an alert that will tell them when Andrew is within a mile of where they are. The program will send them an invitation saying, “Tomorrow Andrew is going to be a half a mile away from you. He is doing an event at 1 p.m. Would you like to come?”

The idea of showing people where Andrew is in real-time opens people to the endless possibilities of mobile technology.

II. MOBILE SOCIAL NETWORKS

WHAT'S A MOSOSO?

BY ZACH KLEIN

VP DEVELOPMENT, CONNECTED VENTURES

In truth, mobile phones are really a first form of a personal computer. Mobile social software, or mososo, is any program that allows users to interact with other users on a mobile network, perhaps using a technology like GPS. For example, with a mososo program, you can open your mobile phone and see the profiles of everyone standing within a radius of 20 feet or an entire block. For example, you would be able to see the other Republicans in your network.

All the data you receive about a person is information that person has decided to broadcast in his or her profile, which can include photos, personal details, etc. This information is immediately available to anybody that joins the same mososo service and has a GPS-enabled phone.

Mososo: A political medium?

American culture is evolving. Thanks in large part to the social networks formed over the Internet and on mobile phones, people are engaging in issue-specific groups, spreading messages virally and meeting each other face-to-face. Politicos have yet to capitalize on the power of the social network, much less its mobile cousin. These areas have tremendous potential for political groups, parties and campaigns.

It comes down to sheer numbers. All new cell phone product lines boast text messaging. Over 4.7 billion text message were sent in the United States in December 2004. In 2004, U.S. cell phone users sent an average of 203 text messages.⁴ These figures are enough justification to take the social power of mobile technology seriously.

Political mobile social networks need to incorporate elements of instant messaging and text messaging. Instant messaging, in particular, is essential to text messaging and rests at the mobile core. It prepared a generation of Americans to take the social networks on the road via mobile devices.

4 Li Yuan, Text Messages Sent by Cellphone Finally Catch On in U.S., Wall Street Journal Online, http://www.careerjournal.com/myc/officelife/20050812-yuan.html?cjpos=home_whatsnew_major.

Cell phones are capturing a younger audience

Some of us in the United States still approach cell phones as a tool for adults. Current cell phone service here has an archaic, dinosaur feel to it. When my generation came of age, cell phones were something that Mom and Dad had, and kids typically didn't have one until they grew older.

This perception is changing.

Look at the development of Mobile Virtual Network Operators (MVNO), where companies are licensing out Verizon services and rebranding them as something geared towards kids. They look less like business tools and instead match current fashion trends. These cell phones are prepackaged and come with giant multimedia headphones, similar to a Walkman. They also come preloaded with movies and have different mobile television channels, such as Comedy Central and ESPN.

This is going to become a prolific trend. The U.S. cell phone market - Verizon, T-Mobile and Cingular - have struggled to capture this young audience. As a result, they will change their approach by redesigning cell phones to make them more fashionable and adding features that will entice young people to ask their parents for them as a holiday gift.

Mobile social software is geared for people who have known computers and the Internet all their lives. My generation grew up entirely on Instant Messaging. Having the ability to type and converse through text messaging is essential to communicating in this time period.

DANGER OR CAMPAIGN BOOSTER? GIVING THE MOBILE MICROPHONE TO YOUR SUPPORTER BASE

BY DAVID HARPER

FOUNDER, WIRELESS INC

Mobile chat is probably better suited to serving the communication needs of smaller, more densely clustered communities.

Why? Because social software, such as chat, is designed as a replacement for face-to-face conversations. While it generates a lot of usage within these small community settings (think village hall) it's hard to use it as a tool to communicate with large audiences in the millions. Then there is the issue of scalable mechanisms to moderate and control what goes on in these environments. Security issues involving minors has led Vodafone in Australia to shut down their mobile chat rooms indefinitely. I suspect that candidates for the same reasons will not embrace mobile chat any time soon.

On one hand you have all these technologies for mobile messaging, publishing and community that are extremely compelling. Yet on the other hand in the case of mobile chat the outcomes can range from the counterproductive to the dangerous. Campaign managers don't normally provide mechanisms that encourage unfettered free flowing conversations. In the case of approving blog posts and comments within the community areas of an "official" campaign site, official campaign staff seem obsessed with approving everything that is published, with the possible exception of the Dean Campaign which seemed to embrace all feedback even that which was in opposition to their own positions.

This approach, while understandable, is at odds with the goals of engaging the diversity of opinion within a group, reaching consensus and channeling that involvement into coordinated action. For the time being I think grassroots organizations are more apt to use these tools to force change within the major parties.

I expect though that eventually (maybe sooner than we think) a new type of candidate running a new type of campaign will emerge, unafraid of technology that engages the public head on. This candidate would be the precursor to a political system that evolves away from the broadcast style of managed consensus to a democratic style of collective consensus derived from “many-to-many” conversations.

Joichi Ito wrote in his paper *Emergent Democracy*, “If information technology could provide tools for citizens in a democracy to participate and interact in a way that facilitates self-organization and emergent understanding, we can evolve a form of emergent democracy that would resolve complexity and scalability issues associated with democratic governance. In complex systems the role of the leader is not about determining direction and controlling followers. The leader maintains integrity, mediates the will of the many, influencing and communicating with peers and with other leaders. The leader becomes more of facilitator (or hub), and custodian of the process, than a power figure.” Technology goes hand in hand with sweeping changes, even revolution.

Text messaging is affecting election outcomes across the world. One of our advisory board members Howard Rheingold, author of *Smart Mobs*, in a statement to *Wired* Magazine reported that mobile phones “were instrumental in the election of President Roh Moo-Hyun. Early election-day exit polls showed Roh’s opponent was winning. But when hundreds of thousands of Roh’s supporters got involved and began texting their friends urging them to get out and vote, Roh ended up winning.” Korea’s OhmyNews declared that the Election Day should be remembered as the day when Internet smashed the entrenched power of old media.

CASE STUDY: DODGEBALL

BY DENNIS CROWLEY
FOUNDER, DODGEBALL.COM

Background

Dodgeball started as a friend finder service when I was in graduate school and grew from one program in New York City to programs in 22 cities across the nation. The general premise is not too dissimilar from social networks in the Internet, including MySpace and Friendster. People visit the Dodgeball Web site to create an account, tell the system who your friends are or invite people to join the network. Whenever a user is out in the city, he or she uses Dodgeball to share his or her location with friends. The system uses text messages to capture the location of a user and broadcast it out to the people in the network.

Here’s how it works. Let’s say you are out with friends at a restaurant. As soon as you get here, send a text message to nyc@dodgeball.com with your location. Dodgeball then looks up all the friends and associates in your network and rebroadcasts a message that says, “Hey. Dennis is at The Magician on 171 Rivington Street at 9 p.m. Why don’t you stop over and say hello?” When that message broadcasts, it hits about 120 of your friends and associates. More often than not, there will be people who are within a couple blocks of you and are on their way home from work or out with other friends. They will alter their paths, stop by and say “Hi.”

It works the same way as business or politically oriented social networking. The difference is that mobile technology allows you to take your online social networks into the offline world — an environment where people can take advantage of social capital.

The political implications

Consider the protests that occurred during the 2004 Republican National Convention in New York City. While the media didn’t always cover it, many groups used to mobile technology on a very simple level to organize and turn people out at protest sites. The system had flaws, but the mobile tools they used were better than nothing. Protests organized a lot more efficiently through text messages than through e-mail because the mobile technology kept people updated and on the go.

However, the protest groups did not use a formal mobile social software system. Follow-up is hard to develop, as is keeping people accountable. Imagine the impact an event or political movement could have if it created a supportive member network with the spontaneity of the RNC protest groups and the structure of a large family.

Lessons from the field

- Develop a very strong filter. – Design your mobile social network so that it targets the right people.
- Find the Influentials. – Find the networkers and leaders among all demographics, from soccer moms to college students. Every city using Dodgeball, regardless of size, always has a small pocket of users who spread the message. All you need to do is recruit five or six people to get value out of the system. Trust the people you enlist to share the news with their friends or write about it on their personal Web sites or blogs.
- Look at the tools built by other groups. – Most mobile social software uses all the same technology. When we founded Dodgeball, we built a lot of tools from scratch. Since then, many people have started designing similar programs. A lot of the tools you need are already out there, too.
- Don't bother people unless they sign up. – Opt-in is one of the most important phrases for effective mobile campaigns, and it applies with particular emphasis to the field of mobile social software. Make sure you only send messages to people who "opt in" to be part of your political cause.
- Make your messages timely. – A mososo message is effective when it is timely and relevant. Take the geography of your supporters into account, and only send network messages that are geographically relevant. For example, people typically will not travel out of state or event out of the county to meet your candidate in the middle of the afternoon. A message is relevant if it comes from a trusted source and if it refers to events within a geographic proximity, so users can easily act on it.
- If you start to SPAM, the system will catch you. – If a network provider thinks that the 10,000 messages you sent out are SPAM, it will restrict your messages. Occasionally, even benign, opt-in messages will raise a red flag or exceed preset limits for what the network provider believes is SPAM.

III. THE MOBILE POLITICAL OFFICE

PERSONAL CONTACT AND THE WIRELESS TOUCH: HOW LOBBYISTS ARE ADOPTING MOBILE TECHNOLOGY

BY ROBERT HOOPES

PRESIDENT, HOOPES STRATEGIES INC.

When young Nick Carraway of *The Great Gatsby* arrived on Long Island Sound it was "...to go East and learn the bond business." As Nick unpacked his things and settled into his summer cottage across from Gatsby, he lifted his study books with great care into the proper place. He gave them a near reverence, almost dreaming of the knowledge in the books:

"There was so much to read...I bought a dozen volumes on banking and credit and investment securities, and they stood on my shelf in red and gold like new money from the mint, promising to unfold the shining secrets that only Midas and Morgan and Maecenas knew."

Nick, of course, spends his summer discovering there is so much more to life than books and the Bond Exam. Gatsby, Daisy and Tom, all teach Nick about love, money, greed and, of course, jealousy. By the end of Fitzgerald's tale, the books on banking credit and investment securities seem meaningless to Nick.

Today, the role of "technology," in business, commerce and politics sits like those red and gold bound books, promising to unfold shining secrets. For many this is true, but in politics, the endeavor remains intensely personal.

Even before the first online voter registration site was launched in 1996, political operatives have been looking to technology for declarative solutions to every thing from low voter turnout, negative campaigning, declining civic engagement and costly advertising. No doubt, some tech-

nology has helped facilitate a greater and better political discourse in this country. On the other hand, some have pointed out that the increase in the use of technology has corresponded with a spike in divisive and partisan campaigning and a polarized electorate. I will leave it to others to solve this conundrum.

My point is this: while technology may have transformed some elements of politics, campaigning and lobbying, the fundamentals of political advocacy remain unchanged since Moses went to the pharaohs and uttered one of the first political demands: "Let my people go."

Lobbying is about influence. Convincing members of Congress to do what you and your clients/membership/party want them to do. The primary tool in this trade remains contact, a lobbyist's ability to interface with elected officials in the pursuit of mutually beneficial goals. In the case of the members of Congress this means re-election.

This chapter will explore the role of wireless technology and lobbying. Specifically, we will explore how lobbyists use wireless technology to do their jobs, the types of devices and software they use and how they view the evolution of wireless technology. The quotes and observations contained in this chapter come from a series of surveys completed by a set of lobbyists who cover both political parties, and both chambers of the Congress. We will also dedicate some thought and observation to state lobbying and the role of wireless technology in state capitols around the country.

What sort of wireless devices do you use?

It seems you cannot be a lobbyist without a cell phone and a BlackBerry/Treo. Second to these devices is a laptop with wireless Internet.

These technological gadgets need to be strapped to your body at all times. I was unable to find a DC lobbyist who didn't own one of these two devices. Walk around Washington, in and out of its bistros, airports and sports stadiums and you will see people talking into an ear piece or engaged in a "BlackBerry Prayer." You know it: the slight pitch forward, head rolled reverently toward your palms and instead of the Good Book, you hold in your hands the lifeline to the outside world — clients, congressional staff and members of the media. If you are lucky and hang around long enough, you might actually see a lobbyist multi-tasking on both of his devices simultaneously!

Lobbyists trade on information. They are true practitioners of buying and selling information. The best information is not just relevant, but most of all timely. Cell phones allow for instant updates. Indeed, the sneaky BlackBerry user can actually use her wireless technology to send an e-mail directly from a meeting while it is still being conducted. This can take the form of an e-mail to a client, to convey timely and useful information, a member of the media, thus providing a scoop for a friendly reporter, or an e-mail back to the home office to alert other lobbyists and

grassroots networks of good or bad news.

While many lobbyists consider themselves early adopters of technology, the current set of devices is like the dark suit and the power tie for Washington's lobbyists — everybody has them. It remains to be seen if there is, therefore, a competitive advantage for those who are early adopters in the space.

Content

On each of these handheld devices a variety of useful pieces of information can be delivered directly to the hip of its owners in real time. The online versions of the Washington Post, New York Times and online Google news searches seem to dominate the content lobbyists depend on for their wireless devices.

Additionally, attachment software now seems standard for lobbyists. This enables Washington's elite lobbyists to view relevant attachments that might include draft legislation, dear colleague letters, industry "talking points" and/or position papers.

Benefits of wireless technology

Based on my survey and conversations with lobbyists about wireless technology, the benefits tend to be largely practical. Universally, lobbyists praised their wireless devices for the ability to facilitate "last minute schedule changes." If you have ever spent a day lobbying on Capitol Hill you know that your day is planned in 15-30 minute increments and totally dependent on the fluid schedules of members of Congress and their staffs. The ability to send and receive e-mails and phone messages to alter meetings and schedules, especially of groups of people, is something even the best executive assistants can't do as efficiently as a BlackBerry.

The other cumulative benefit of wireless devices/technology — cell phone, BlackBerry and laptop — is the ability to be "on the job" virtually anywhere. For some sole practitioner lobbyists this means the ability to set up office anywhere — K Street, Nantucket or Italy — where virtually all of the tools of the trade arrive in real time.

One Monday morning I called a colleague at his desk to get information about a client conference call scheduled for later that day. I got dial-in information and was pleased that I didn't have to divulge that I was in Maine and not Washington, DC. I later found out that my colleague, who is on my payroll, was even more pleased as he was in Florida on vacation. This little story highlights a trend in business in general that more and more jobs can be done anywhere. Thomas Friedman provides extraordinary detail of this in his book *The World is Flat*. This said, however, I return to my original premise: politics remain an intensely personal business and while wireless technology can help facilitate communications and lobbying efforts, this remote access to Washington is not a substitute for being there, interacting with members of Congress and their staffs.

Threats of wireless technology

One lobbyist told me about an experience we have all had, in which he e-mailed a nasty-gram to a distribution list that included the subject of his ire. Oops. As a result, he and his lobbying firm have adopted a strict “no negative words” on e-mail policy. That is to say, if this lobbyist has something unkind to say about a client, member of Congress or their staffs, they won’t write it down in an e-mail – period. It is a valuable lesson even if it is learned the hard way.

A cursory look at Al Kamen’s weekly columns in the Washington Post will highlight any number of silly e-mails that the senders, often senior government officials, wish they never sent.

Speed in any sport is both vital to winning and a threat if it gets out of control. Wireless technology facilitates the movement of information at great speeds. On the upside, this can lead to a competitive advantage for a lobbyist and his organization if he can make use of the information first. On the other hand, wireless devices can also facilitate the broad distribution of erroneous or partial information that could doom a lobbyist or her organization.

Finally, many lobbyists will tell you that their wireless devices do not work in the halls of Congress. Thus, the carrier you use, where you are physically standing in the miles of underground tunnels in the Capitol may limit your ability to even use your wireless devices.

Could you do your job without your wireless devices?

On this question many of our respondents are split. Some are confident they could do their jobs just as they are now without their wireless devices. “Sure” declared one respondent. Others are emphatic that they could not: “No. Emphatically no.”

But there is a distinction as you dig a little deeper into the “job” of a lobbyist. No doubt, I believe all good lobbyists could lobby members of Congress without their wireless devices. Where the disconnect occurs is in the aspect of running their lobbying business. For the sole practitioner, wireless technology is the lifeblood of the business. It keeps costs down, avoids the need for support personnel, research services, and in many cases helps you cover for yourself while on vacation. Lobbyists from larger, more institutionalized organizations have a deeper reservoir of resources to help them do their jobs, including administrative help, other lobbyists, news clipping services, etc.

Like many small businesspeople, lobbyists are dependent on wireless technology to help them run their businesses.

Conclusions

Wireless devices are now standard issue for Washington’s lobbyists. Indeed, lobbyists appear completely

dependent on them. The cell phone and BlackBerry keep them connected to the office, clients, the media and each other 24 hours a day and seven days a week.

I am not convinced wireless technology has made any one lobbyist a better lobbyist. Rather, wireless technology has made the business of lobbying easier to enter and at a lower cost.

The best lobbyists know they can do their job with or without a BlackBerry or cell phone as theirs is an ancient profession and as long as they have access to lawmakers and their staffs, they will be in business.

Like our friend Nick, we have discovered that wireless technology is not the “red and gold bound” source of wisdom and omnipotence. Rather, the art of lobbying remains dependent on personal wisdom, a study of human nature and an expertise relevant to members of Congress and their staffs.

CHAPTER 8

Information-to-Go: Citizen Journalism and Empowering Your Base of Support with Information

Will your cell phone become the next editorial page? From mobile blogs to podcasts, people are pocketing the lessons they learned from world of online citizen journalism in their cell phones. In fact, mobile blogging is a market that Barak Berkowitz, chairman and CEO of Six Apart, says “will be as big as the market for camera phones.”¹

The most stirring example occurred during the London bombings in July 2005, when people on the Underground captured the events as they happened through picture and video phones. They posted these clips on Web sites and sent them to mainstream media sources, such as the BBC, which received over 1,000 still photos and 300 video in the days following the explosions.² The images left a chilling reminder of the event and depicted a community of people who inspired each other to stand strong and unwavering against violence.

In Europe, the flow of information from one friend to another through the mobile network has become so ubiquitous that newspapers are worried. At a two-day media summit in Italy, mainstream media sources issued a warning against what they called “nontraditional communications” – the text messages people send each other containing news and gossip. Newspapers, they claimed, have declined among the younger populations since the advent of text messages. Pedro Ramirez, editor of Spain’s *El Mundo*, said text messaging “is a communications circuit very difficult to control but easy to manipulate because it’s as if every citizen had a printing press at home, and whoever wants to insert himself into the chain can have an exponential effect during a crisis.”³ Ramirez credits the spread of messages through cell phones with affecting the result of Spain’s election in 2004, when he claims text messages assumed the role that editorial pages once held in swaying public opinion.

One author online, Andy Carvin, coined the term “mobcasting” to describe a combination of mobile podcasting and Smart-mob coordination to empower people with information.⁴ Carvin’s prediction comes close to reflecting reality: citizens empowered with mobile phones can create a viral chain of information through passed through their social networks and posted on the Internet.

The authors in this chapter give you a peek at the coming trend. In the first section, we discuss podcasting – an audio blog that your supporters can take on the road with them. Section two discusses mobile blogging and enlisting your supporters to act as citizen journalists when your organization or issue is not the eye of the mainstream media.

1 Eric Sylvers, “Wireless: For those often on the go, blogging from a cellphone,” *International Herald Tribune*, June 6, 2005.

2 Tim Burt, “Mobile phone images present dilemma for TV,” *Financial Times*, July 10, 2005.

3 Dennis Redmont, *Newspapers See Dangers in Text Messaging*, *All Headline News*, <http://www.allheadlinenews.com/articles/1083959472>.

4 Andy Carvin, *When Mobile Podcasting Leads to Mobcasting*, *Andy Carvin’s Waste of Bandwidth*, <http://www.andycarvi.com/000712.html>

I. PODCASTING

PODCASTING FOR POLITICOS

BY ZEF HEMEL
FOUNDER, ZEFHEMEL.COM

What is a podcast? Is it like a blog?

Well, yes – sort of. Unlike a blog, a podcast is heard, not read. People download podcasts from the Internet, put them on an MP3 player and listen to them anywhere. Podcasts, can be listened to while driving to work or while taking a daily walk – no Internet connection required.

If you're thinking about developing a regular podcast for your organization, remember that audio is richer than plain text: the way you say something and how it sounds (the sound of a real voice) enhances its content.

Is Podcasting just a fad?

At this stage it is still hard to tell. Podcasting was “invented” recently and only seriously took off even more recently. It occurred by happy accident – the right factors came into play to pave the way for podcasting to take off.

One of these factors is broadband Internet. As broadband Internet connections become more and more widespread, it becomes possible to share audio files. Before, podcasts were too big for people with dialup modems. The question down the road is whether we will switch from audio podcasts to video (called vidcasting). as Internet connections become even faster. This is a technological possibility, but its desirability remains unseen: people can listen to podcasts anywhere while doing anything; video, however, requires full attention. You can't drive a car, walk to work or work-out with the videocast the way you can with a podcast.

It will take months, if not years, to see if podcasting is actually here to stay.

Podcasting gives a new direction to blogging, and we can draw many parallels between the blogging world and what is happening with podcasting:

- Many people thought blogging would be fad, but it has grown tremendously. People take blogging seriously.
- Blogging, like podcasting, gives everybody a voice and creates a new way for previously unheard people to publish their thoughts.
- Everybody can start a blog or podcasting show at practically no cost.
- If you publish something interesting on your blog, people will eventually find you.

Will podcasts become a political medium?

Again, look at blogging. There is an incredible amount of political blogging. People who care about politics use blogs to express their views directly to others. Blogging fulfills a need for political speech, and podcasting can fill the same role.

Take this example: politicians who want to be reelected need to communicate with their constituents and supporters. The public wants and even needs to know what their elected officials do and where they stand on the issues. Podcasting allows you to communicate your goals and ideas to the constituents back home in your own voice.

How do I get started?

Just do it.

Set up your software using some of the simple instructions below and get started. Before you begin, develop a simple outline for the show.

The only piece of technology you need is a computer with a microphone. You need software that records everything and saves it as an MP3 file. You also need some place to publish your podcast.

A good podcast allows your listeners to get to know you and give them relevant, hard-hitting information. If I want to hear people talking nonsense and playing music, I'll put on my radio. When I subscribe to a podcast I want to learn about a topic or gain information. Let your listeners get to know you. Humanity in a podcast, I think, is very important.

How can small groups or individuals promote a podcast?

Apple added podcast support to their iTunes music player recently. iTunes also contains a directory of podcasts. Get your podcast listed on iTunes, then use libraries, such as iPodder.org and podcastalley.com.

However, the best way to promote your podcast is by word-of-mouth advertising. As with blogging, the start is the toughest. It requires stamina to keep doing podcasts with just a couple people listening. If you create good content, people will find you.

How to Podcast⁵

Podcasts are quickly becoming a political tool in the United States. They are an easy way you're your organization or group to reach out to your supporters. Here is a simple formula to get you started:

What you need

- Windows XP
- Audio recording software, such as the open source Audacity. Be sure to also download the LAME encoder library there to convert your output to mp3.
- A microphone
- Optional: songs, jingles or background music and a player to play them, such as iTunes, Winamp

Steps

First connect your microphone to your computer. Depending on the microphone and how close you sit next to your audio speakers, you might want to route your audio output to your headphones instead.

Next comes the hard part. Find the correct settings to record both your voice and any background music at the same time. To do this open up your volume controls by clicking on the Volume tray icon or through Start > Control panel > Sound and audio devices > Audio tab > Click one of the volume buttons.

You're now on the Play Control screen. You can switch between the Play Control screen and the Record Control screen through File > Properties:

In this window you can also enable the volume controls you see. Be sure that at least the microphone one and the record master one are enabled.

Go to the record control screen and select the "record master" volume control as the active one. This will make Windows record all audio being played. This includes media players, but it also MSN logon sounds, so be sure to switch other software off during recording.

Now switch to the play control screen and uncheck the mute checkbox on the "microphone" volume control. If you talk into the microphone you should now hear yourself through the speakers (or headphone, if that's what you're using). If not, increase the volume of the microphone using the slide bar.

You are now set to podcast. Start up a media player, play a tune and while it plays start talking, if you hear both through the speakers you're probably OK. Now, start up your audio recording software. In my case Audacity:

Record a little something and play it back to see if it works. If not, the problem most likely is in your play and record control settings. It's really hard to give settings that work with every soundcard setup, so you'll just have to test things out.

Now you're almost ready to record your show. First you have to set the sample rate to something lower, I use 16Khz. This is done in Audacity by going to File > Preferences...

On the "File formats" tab you have to locate your lame encoder installation and set the bitrate for your target MP3 file (I use 48kbit). After this, you're ready to record your first show. When you're done you can export it to an MP3 using File > Export As MP3.

Test your MP3 file in a media player to see if it's OK. Then, upload it to your webhost and set up an enclosure into your RSS feed. Such an enclosure is placed within the <item> tags and looks something like this:

```
<enclosure url="http://www.zefhemel.com/podcast/ZefHemel.com%20podcast%201.mp3"
length="10306438" type="audio/mpeg" />
```

People can now aggregate your podcasting show using iPodder and adding the URL to their list of channels.

5 Zefhemel.com, How to: Create Your Own Podcasting Show on Windows, <http://www.zefhemel.com/archives/2004/10/11/how-to-create-your-own-podcasting-show>.

CASE STUDY: RNC PODCAST

BY MINDY FINN

DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE eCAMPAIGN,
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The problem

Upon first hearing about podcasting, the Republican National Committee (RNC) recognized the potential it has for reaching an additional group of Americans in our time-constrained, on-our-own-terms media world. As users realize they can obtain new and original information from GOP.com, they will keep coming back for more. With the myriad choices Americans have for news and entertainment today, they are not committed to one or a few sources: they're just looking for something engaging and different. The RNC also wanted to engage people to visit more pages of the GOP.com site, such as the action center, speeches, etc.

The solution

At the RNC, we strive to stay ahead of the curve and take every opportunity to use new media for sharing our message. We started podcasting in April, kicking off our *BookCast* series with an interview with Senator Bob Dole about his new book *One Soldier's Story*. Then, we began offering some of our video programming as podcasts, namely the GOP.com *Off the Record* series. The RNC podcasts allow us to provide longer form programming that users are interested in but won't necessarily have the patience to view or listen to while sitting at their computers. In effect, our goal is to empower visitors to take "GOP.com to Go." The beauty of downloading podcasts: users can listen as they commute, work, work out or mow the lawn.

Through our podcasts, we reached our goal of providing those engaged in the happenings of the GOP with new, interesting content to chew on. The *Off the Record* series allowed listeners to learn more about our Republican elected officials and key spokesmen than they would get from a typical TV soundbite or may miss while reading a profile about them online. And podcasts like our *BookCast* series provide exclusive interviews with the hottest conservative authors about their works and motivation. *Wireside*, our newest series, features candid one-on-one interviews with leading GOPers and kicked off with an interview with former President Reagan speechwriter and Wall Street Journal columnist Peggy Noonan.

New podcasts were added several times a month and consisted of 5-10 minute interviews. Some of our *BookCast* guests have included Dole, former Sen. Zell Miller, Brian Anderson who wrote *South Park Conservatives*, Michael Deaver and others who talked about their works. Republi-

can leaders featured on *Off the Record* included RNC Chairman Ken Mehlman; Maryland Lt. Governor Michael Steele, who is running for Senate; Senator John Thune from South Dakota; Arkansas Governor Mike Huckabee; Senator John Cornyn from Texas and others. During their interviews, these GOP superstars talked about everything from policy to their career dreams as children to favorite music and hobbies.

The response

The response we received was healthy, considering the fact that podcasting is a young and growing form of communication. Tens of thousands of individuals have pulled our feeds so far – a number that increases as we offer more segments, MP3 players grow in popularity and word gets out about how easy it is. By further cultivating our relationship with GOP activists, we feel all of us will be more motivated to achieve our end goals of growing our party and helping Republicans get elected to office.

The press

We receive quite a bit of earned media for our podcasts. Their launch was covered by the *Washington Post*, *U.S. News & World Report*, the *BBC*, *National Journal*, the *Hotline*, among others. This news coverage helped in the sense that it showed the entire RNC team that podcasting holds weight as a serious political tool and raised the bar for other political organizations.

Lessons from the field

- Have original content and interesting guests. – All of the RNC podcasts have been successful, since they have followed a formula of notable guests, and engaging content.
- Include multimedia cohesion. – Podcasts are still in their infancy. On GOP.com we expand the role of on-demand multimedia to include not just podcasts but videocasts as well. New, exclusive online video content can be delivered directly to various personal devices such as the Creative Zen, Sony PSP and others. I would expect in the future that, just as we do with GOP.com, we will focus the media we offer for download around our three main goals at the Committee – communications, finance, and political, or what I like to call message, money and mobilization.

Similar to how blogs were just a blip on the political radar screen a couple years ago and are now a mainstay of American politics, podcasting and videocasting will become just part of the campaign and committee tradition.

II. CONNECT, INFORM AND EMPOWER

WHAT'S A MOBLOG?

BY JUSTIN OBERMAN
FOUNDER, DIGITISMS

Syntactically, the word moblog is a combination of the words “mobile” and “weblog.” The term was coined (according to Joi Ito) by Adam Greenfield on November 5, 2004, in order to best describe the interface behind the happenings at Hiptop Nation, which Greenfield describes as “the future-becoming-present in real time,” the inevitable outcome when you fuse digital cameras and text-entry functionality with a way to publish it to the Web.

The history of the moblog goes back much farther than that. A good resource to trace the origins of the moblog can be found at Joi Ito’s History of Moblog Page at <http://joiwiki.ito.com/joiwiki/index.gci?moblog>.

When it comes down to the end result, however, a moblog is really nothing other than a blog whose posts are either maintained or produced via a mobile or portable device, such as a cell-phone or PDA. The blog can be entirely a moblog or a regular blog with occasional moblog posts included.

The original technology behind moblogging actually has nothing to do with mobile technology at all. The majority of moblogging depends upon a “mail-to-post” technology provided by either your blog-software or a third party service provider, such as Flickr, Newbay’s Foneblog Software or Mfop2. The way mail-to-post works is fairly simple and makes posting to a blog as easy as sending an e-mail – literally.

If you use moblogging software, then it provides you with an e-mail address to which you must send the content you wish to be published on your blog. If you use a third party service, then you must take a few extra steps, depending upon what type of blog software you use (Radioland, Movabletype, Wordpress, Blogger, etc.), as well as the username and password you use to access the blog normally. Some services, like Mfop2, actually require you to provide that information at the top of every e-mail.

The exception to the “mail-to-post” technology is software like Kablog, which does not rely on e-mail or text messaging to update weblogs. Kablog, like many desktop blogging tools, is an integrated moblog client software that you download directly onto your portable device. Via the Kablog software you can then log directly into your blog to update or post. Kablog’s method may become the future of moblogging, as manufacturers of popular desktop blogging tools begin to produce software for Palms or Pocket PCs.

In the near future, you will be able to access your blog via the Web on your phone – the same way you access it on your computer. However, until the data-transfer improves it remains for now only a frustrating possibility.

All of these options, of course, require the ability of your phone to connect to a network, which requires you to activate a data-plan from your service provider. I strongly recommend that heavy mobloggers purchase the unlimited data-plan.

What makes moblogging “mobile” blogging, therefore, is the ability to send and receive network data from your portable device of choice, a technology that only three years ago was not considered mainstream in the United States.

Moblogs are usually short and to the point with an emphasis on documentation in real-time over journalistic exactitude. Most moblogs are purely graphical and consist of nothing other than low-pixel resolution photos taken with camera phones, which are then immediately uploaded to the blog. Some of them provide a textual explanation or musing to go along with a picture. Very few of them contain strictly textual content. All of them are based on a spontaneity fueled by the ability to capture and share moments wherever you are.

This graphic emphasis makes a whole lot of a sense because of the speed in which you can take pictures and then load onto a message or client based software. And as anyone who uses their phones dial-pad or small QWERTY keyboard buttons knows, typing long messages can be quite daunting and time consuming. It doesn’t lend itself well to the real-time spontaneity that the moblog has evolved into. But this is exactly what makes the moblog distinct: the moblog, when compared to its other blog counterparts, balances limitations with possibilities – a dialectic that has allowed the moblog to develop into a cultural medium all its own.

One of the main issues when it comes to moblogging is that its spontaneous, real-time nature requires an event or happening to make it interesting. No one but you and your family looks at Aunt Petuna’s cat moblog. Some of the earliest moblogs became popular because of the blogger’s coverage of or participation in a certain event, such as a conference, party, rally or protest. Some of the first pictures we saw of the horrible tsunami that devastated the South Pacific were camera phone images.

But it is for this very reason that moblogging and politics can fit together so perfectly. Politics, besides being an event in and of itself, is a catapult for a plethora of events, issues and happenings that occur everyday, all of which moblogging can capture and spread instantaneously, no matter where you are. When you stop and think about it, that’s an extremely powerful tool. The political ramifications of this are enormous, but not in the traditional political way we are used to thinking. Moblogging takes the New Media political critique created by the blogosphere and explodes it into real-time.

Web sites and Articles about Moblogging

<http://moblog.busythumbs.com/>
<http://joiwiki.ito.com/joiwiki/index.cgi?moblog>
<http://tom.paamand.dk/moblog.htm>
<http://v-2.org/archive.php?search=moblog> &
http://www.v-2.org/displayArticle.php?article_num=59#59
<http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2003/11/280531.html>
<http://www.ojr.org/ojr/technology/1057780670.php>

Political Moblogs

<http://wec.textamerica.com/>
<http://nornc.buzznet.com/cat/>

Other Moblogs

<http://www.basedonatruestory.com/moblog/>
<http://hiptop.bedope.com/>
<http://joi.ito.com/moblog/>

Moblog Services

<http://new.bastish.net/cgi-bin/mfop2/index.cgi>
<http://www.kablog.org/>
<http://www.flickr.com>
<http://www.foneblog.ie/>
<http://www.textamerica.com>
<http://www.newbay.com>

MOBILE BLOGGING: THE TAKE-ANYWHERE HANDSHAKE

BY DAVID HARPER
 FOUNDER, WIRELESS INC.

Mobile blogging or “moblogging” is a concept still in its relative infancy. When the discussion began several years ago, the activity of moblogging was thought of as simply pushing text and photos one way from a “remote” location or mobile device to a Web site or blog. That content was then available for desktop access.

Two years later, moblogging as a label fails to describe all the emergent activity occurring – much of which is still under the radar. This activity goes beyond mobile publishing and participatory journalism to encompass the consumption of content on mobile devices by the public. Once you move beyond content creation and consumption you can see the people who connect, the dialogue that develops, the communities that form and the collective actions that result.

The question that emerges is “how can a mobile device approach the effectiveness of a handshake?” Replacement is not the point. Instead, effective mobile is all about distribution. People are moving from their TV screens – to their computer screens – to their mobile phone screen. To distribute your message you need to move to where the audience is moving. From candidates and their campaign staff to organizations to individuals, all benefit from utilizing mobile technologies.

Mobile provides what other media cannot: an opportunity to build deeper relationships with an audience and the additional benefit of coordinating group action. Brands are learning the value of engaging their customers through lifestyle marketing efforts. Organizations with a political agenda can learn from those experiences and nurture supporters for life.

With mobile, there exists the potential to build a relationship that extends beyond any given campaign or issue. A perfect storm is rising where distribution of your message meets high bandwidth mobile networks on powerful handsets. This perfect storm has created the single largest connected audience on the planet. How many inventions in history have become part of your person like the mobile phone has – something you always have with you? Individuals and groups that become part of an individual’s address book or bookmarks will have tremendous access and influence.

People are engaging media and social networks from their

mobile devices in record numbers. Fueling this increase has been the rapid rise of blogs along with the proliferation of Web-enabled phones. The most enthusiastic bloggers can now go mobile. With the adoption of Web-enabled camera phones by the mass market this opportunity is rapidly spreading to the mainstream. This summer, we saw in our newspapers photos of people fleeing the London subway moments after the bombings. Photos taken by someone with a mobile phone. Photos that impacted people across the globe.

In my local newspaper there was a story about a nine year-old girl who sent a text message for help from a cell phone when her grandfather suffered a heart attack. The message included a video clip of her grandfather slumped over unconscious. If a child in an extreme situation has the presence of mind to use this technology, think of what a whole generation who is growing up with these tools will collectively do with mobile technology.

Already you can observe how blogging, text messaging and mobile communities are being used to coordinate social activities. Add to this mix the activities of lifestyle brands that market to these age groups. Brands such as ECKO understand how to fuse disparate elements of youth culture into a singular expression of lifestyle. These brands have embraced street team concepts – consumers marketing to consumers. It is only natural that organizations such as Rock the Vote try to channel this behavior into activities that build a politically involved audience.

For tens of millions the mobile phone is becoming their primary pipeline onto the Internet, to knowledge it contains, and into the social networks to which they belong. It is my belief that the availability of simple tools that enable social media across mobile networks with the added benefit of scaling to reach large audiences is essential to empowering the masses. Technology will continue to impact the way people access not only each other but their representatives. Let's connect everyone to all the great content and thoughts bouncing around the Internet. Don't leave anyone out or behind or without a voice.

What Hip Hop can teach you about political moblogging

Once again we can draw inspiration from people who understand lifestyle marketing. For example, Hip Hop artists were among the first to pioneer the use of street teams to get their messages and promotions out to the street and generate revenue. Entrepreneurs such as Russell Simmons and Sean "P. Diddy" Combs, who brought hip-hop culture into the American mainstream, are now using the same methods to generate votes. I think that the best practices for using a mobile community are as yet not clearly defined. My advice is to observe the ways the technology is being used in the street, adapt it to your circumstances and experiment.

Mobile blogging has until recently revolved around the activities of pushing text and photos one way from a mobile device to a blog. What had been missing were solutions that provided a space where individuals could meet, share and interact with that content from mobile device-to-mobile device and from PC-to-mobile device – "closing the loop."

Now, in minutes, you can set up a mobilized edition of your blog (using your choice of blog service) that is viewable worldwide on any web-enabled phone. You can then choose to activate ancillary mobile channels that transform this mobilized blog into a collaborative space. The goal is to remove technology barriers to using this new medium, make it more transparent, then get out of the way and let people communicate simply and freely.

Moblog tips

Keep in mind a few points about the mobile medium as you develop your mobile blog.

- Update your material. – People look for fresh and accurate content.
- Build a community. – You need to personalize the experience, solicit reactions and responses. People want to connect with others and have their voices and opinions heard.
- Give them a call to action. – People want to know how they can help, so provide them with specific activities and then recognize them for it.

Mobile RSS

RSS stands for Really Simple Syndication. Syndication is the process of using feeds to share, distribute and access content. By using these feeds, content providers, services and individuals can easily distribute content.

People use programs known as news aggregators (also called news readers or feed readers) to collect, update and

display feeds for you. This is useful for accumulating news and blog posts in one place so you can scan headlines and read items without having to visit multiple sites. Using feed search tools such as Feedster and Technorati that index feed content you can discover and follow news as it breaks. For example, during the last presidential campaign you could monitor at Feedster what people were blogging about within minutes of posting.

That's a fundamental change from waiting for the morning newspaper to learn what happened the night before. It's a consumption model that leads to quicker responses. At WINKsite we use feed syndication as a simple way to publish existing web content to a mobile site or distribute news to a community. With RSS, we are able to distribute content, commentary and conversations in real time to mobile devices.

People will be able to access these feeds on their mobile devices. One of the features that WINKsite provides is a "Syndicated Feeds" channel where you can subscribe to your favorite feeds. Unlike other mobile feed readers, the feeds you subscribe to at WINKsite can be shared with the visitors to your mobile site. That content provides the basis for community. This single difference changes the potential of how feed syndication can be utilized in a mobile environment.

Mobile in Action

Who's using mobile to disseminate information? Here are some of the projects I've worked on:

- **Progressive U Mobile** - Progressive U was founded to build a new generation of leaders and influencers. It provides a voice for progressive students and other problem solvers using mobile media channels, allowing people to study and discuss creative solutions to social problems, economic issues, and cultural conflict.

Progressive U publishes its site feeds to mobile devices on a WAP page.

- **Chechnya Mobilized** - War rages on in Chechnya. Human rights violations and violence against civilians continue unabated. People affected have a story to tell, and they want the world to hear it. What they do not have is a computer, or meaningful access to one.

Utilizing mobile phones as their printing press participants of Chechnya Mobilized bring the world the latest news, opinion and commentary direct from the Chechen war. About 1,000 people access the WAP page.

- **Creative Commons Mobile Library** - A nonprofit corporation, Creative Commons offers a flexible range of protections and freedoms for authors and artists. The Creative Commons Mobile Library brings a series of those works to mobile phones. Over 13,000 people use the mobile service.

- **Mobile Reporter** - Mobile Reporter brings firsthand information concerning the Crisis in Andizhan to the cell phone screen. The project was designed to fill the informational vacuum and make citizens in Uzbekistan as well as citizens of other countries throughout the world aware of what is happening in Andizhan. Mobile Reporter operates round the clock by its own staff correspondent from the streets of Andizhan. Over 1,500 people use the mobile service.

- **Sluggor O'Toole Mobile** - Sluggor O'Toole is a news and research portal, looking at various strands of political aspects of life in Northern Ireland. It brings together and records news, commentary and diverse opinion. From time to time, Sluggor O'Toole seeks to create substantial debate in given areas, like Unionism or Nationalism, or in more particular subject areas like the economy, cultural issues or the environment.

Sluggor O'Toole Mobile reaches an audience whose primary access to the Internet is through the mobile phone.

- **Dean for America Mobile Blog** - Seizing the opportunity provided by the proliferation of mobile devices across campuses nationwide a student built the Dean for America Mobile Blog as a vehicle to help spread support. The content for this unofficial Dean for America mobile site, which included Spanish language alternatives, was made available via RSS-To-Mobile Syndication. In addition, student volunteers had the ability to post comments in a forum and chat with each other from their mobile devices providing its users with a sense of community. These simple activities went a long way toward evoking the sense of active participation students would otherwise be missing while juggling work, studies and friends. In turn, using survey functionality the mobile site organizer was able to get a far better sense of what it was fellow students wanted and needed, and make better resource-allocation decisions in response.

- **InstaPundit Mobile** - Law Professor. Author. Correspondent. Musician. Techno-Libertarian. InstaJournalist. Glenn Reynolds is the InstaPundit. Glenn's blog is one of the most widely-read blogs in the world, making him one of the most successful brokers of political commentary on the blogging scene. With an eye towards the intersection between advanced technologies and individual liberty, InstaPundit has gone mobile so to widen its audience. Not everyone uses computers to access information. Teens heavily rely on mobile devices to retrieve and share information. Over 17,000 users have logged onto to the mobile service.

Internationally, phones are used just as much for information as communication. By publishing to a mobile site, InstaPundit Mobile broadens the scope of its audience, providing news and views the way a new generation prefers to see it.

Don't throw the baby out with the bathwater

BY HOWARD RHEINGOLD

AUTHOR, SMART MOBS

The potential is tremendous for citizen journalists empowered with camera phones.

However, what's missing is *knowing how to do journalism*. It's not just a matter of sending a rumor or snapping a photo. We need to develop literacy and a training program to help people present the information they gather more effectively. Perhaps the most important step to take is to train citizen journalists to use mobile technology and transmit knowledge of how journalism is done to broaden it beyond the traditional corporate media.

OhMy! News in Korea offered training to its citizen journalists. Simply going out and sending in narratives about what is perceived as happening is not necessarily good journalism. But, journalism is not rocket science, either. It requires a lot of common sense. Political groups can train people, and train people to train others.

THE POLITICAL ACTIVIST'S MOBILE TOOLBOX

BY BRENT MCMILLAN

NATIONAL POLITICAL DIRECTOR, GREEN PARTY

The first time I started using mobile phones was in 1994, when I worked with Greenpeace on a Columbia River project at a place called Lyle Point. The whole incident was blocked by the local media. We were on CNN and TBS, but you couldn't find it on a local television station.

Another early use of mobile technology occurred when I was at the World Trade Organization protests in 1999. I was one of many organizers involved in that protest. Cell phones played an integral part of the protests. We used them for keeping track of law enforcement, altercations and the location of the delegates.

Events like these things occur all over the country, and in my line of work, I have seen many similar events blacked out in the corporate media. This makes it really important for those of us that are involved in activism to set up our own communications network—and our own news network. Technology like the Internet and mobile phones makes that happen.

Tools

I use the following tools to disseminate information

1. Blogging – By now, almost everyone knows that blogs enable activist to communicate directly about an event and reach a wide audience immediately. Mobile phones make that process even easier. If you cannot or have not created a way to mobile blog from your cell phone, simply use your cell phone to call in your post, and have someone update your blog or Web site for you.
2. Digital Camera – Photograph events with your cell phone and send the pictures directly to your blog or Web site.
3. Network – Never underestimate the speed by which news can travel in a network. The ability of networks to spread the word is absolutely amazing. If your organization is well-connected and you know key bloggers and sites, you can disseminate information quickly.

CHAPTER 9

Watch Your Supporters' Backs: Privacy and Security in the Mobile Age

Does mobile technology have a dark side? After all, doesn't it wave the personal information of my supporters—and even my coworkers—out in the open? What happens if an opponent gets his hands on my information? Never mind Bluetooth hackers—what about a competing campaign?

Gerrit Visser, the creator of the CoWorking Institute, thinks “any device can be misused.”¹ The power is in the hands of the political groups, organizations, campaigns and nonprofits that launch mobile campaigns to take every possible precaution in protecting the privacy and security of their supporters.

As political groups increasingly reach out to supporters and voters through very personal devices, privacy and security will play an important role as the most prominent best practice in “customer” relations.

Protecting the privacy of your supporters and securing their information is good business.

This chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, Russell Buckley presents an overview of some of the privacy issues involved with mobile technology. In section two, we gathered the best warnings, tips and techniques of our authors.

1 Drew Turney, The People's Network, <http://www.drewturney.com>.

I. PHILOSOPHY

THE DEATH KNELL OF PRIVACY

BY RUSSELL BUCKLEY

FOUNDING PARTNER, UNSTATIC, AND EDITOR, MOBHAPPY

A new service has recently been introduced that tracks employees' movements. It sends out alerts to management of the organization when they stray outside a designated "Geofence" and reports a "breadcrumb" trail of where they have been. It can tell managers which employee is nearest to a given point in the event of a service need – think the nearest taxi or plumber.

Welcome to the world of the 21st Century, where technology generally and mobile technology in particular heralds an age where privacy is fast disappearing.

I've written about these kinds of employee tracking devices before and especially about the insensitivity of the companies promoting such schemes. Their CEOs' enthusiasm for the technology frequently results in unsubtle jokes about electric shock therapy and they just manage to stop chortling about death squads to round up straying employees.

I've also pointed out that studies show that when employees are trusted, productivity increases. The opposite is also true: when you patently don't trust people and use this kind of technology, you're encouraging them to try to beat the system. It doesn't take a genius to work out that these systems track devices, not people. So, just as we used to clock work colleagues in and clock them out, in the old days of punching bits of card, some employees will find themselves sitting in a warehouse surrounded by colleagues' mobile phones on Friday afternoons.

If you hear of an organization that is considering one of these services, they have a real personnel issue at the heart of the organization and there's no remedy for it; pressure the managers to resign at once. Anyone who confuses treating a symptom, rather than the disease itself, simply lacks judgment.

In the United Kingdom, privacy died years ago as we happily allowed politicians, local councils and private contractors to install CCTV cameras everywhere. So much so that the average citizen living or working in an urban area gets filmed 70 times a day, or so. This has led, among other things to a rise in hoodies and baseball caps as fashion items among kids, as they seek to avoid identification.

Sure, wearing a hoodie doesn't make you a criminal. But just as low slung jeans was a homage to the hard homies who had gone to jail (and had their belts taken away) in urban America, hoodies nod at the hard kids who wear

them with crime in mind.

Next we now pretty much have the camera phone in every pocket – and soon it'll be a video phone. This means that any crime or private moment has a very good chance of being filmed. You kiss your girlfriend (or mistress!) with a bit of passion, to find a couple of kids are filming you. Or they preempt the action with a little Happy Slapping, where British kids initiate and then film violent personal attacks and share the video with friends.

Sting recently had to abandon a skiing holiday, as he was fed up with the crowd of amateur paparazzi following him around.

If you're a politician in the public eye, this might start sounding a little scary on a personal level. There are never going to be private moments in the future where you can truly let down your guard. If there's anyone with you, he or she could be filming that little lapse or indiscretion. This may discourage the best candidates to stand in the first place.

Fellow blogger Russell Beattie was also violated a few weeks ago, privacy-wise. While he was trying to activate his Boost mobile phone account, he was asked such intrusions as the age of his father and brother – not information he had ever given them.

The other area that springs to mind in this little essay is reputation. One of the next big boom areas, in my opinion, is online reputation management systems. These will collate data on all of us, specifically for prospective employees. Not only will resume/CV accuracy be monitored factually, colleagues' and managers' opinions might be collected, leaving no room to hide.

While you might reasonably object to having your name on these databases and possibly even succeed in requesting removal, this may be like being asked to be removed from the employment market altogether. After all, if you ask for removal, you must, de facto, have something to hide.

It's bad enough having your credit constantly monitored if the company has made a mistake and downgrades you. Apparently, it can take months to get it corrected. But suppose effectively your "right to work" gets accidentally compromised or deliberately so, by a colleague with a grudge?

Even worse for some, people in public life, including politicians will have dossiers online, compiled both centrally and with contributions from constituents. Want to know how your representative voted on abortion? Or how often she votes or speaks in debates?

If this sounds far fetched, TheyWorkForYou.com in the United Kingdom already allows you to do this online. They even arrange an e-mail to be sent when the Member of Parliament speaks, so you can watch it on TV.

Couple that with the power of blogs and politicians have no secrets any more. You must assume that everything

about you will become public knowledge. Bloggers can't be leaned on or influenced like some branches of old media could be. They think the public have a right to know all.

A final worry is that while defenders of these anti-privacy systems say that "law aiding citizens have nothing to hide," this is only relatively true in a democracy. Even then, surely everyone has some right to be able to switch off and relax - ask Sting!

But the worry is, if we ever see a return to some of the regimes (of the left or right) that dominated Europe in the last century, such exhaustive information on every citizen and politician would make Orwell's Big Brother look optimistic. While we may think a return to those politics is impossible these days, I don't think we can be complacent. These schemes all make the rise of such regimes much, much easier than in the past.

Information is power.

II. MARKETING AND MESSAGING

BUILD PRIVACY INTO YOUR MOBILE CAMPAIGN

BY ROGER ENTNER

VICE PRESIDENT OF WIRELESS TELECOM, OVUM

Mobile provides the most direct, up to date, immediate access to the individuals you want to target. It also happens to be the last oasis of privacy we have in this country. That is why we protect the medium so much.

Think of it this way: if you abuse the privacy of our members, you will render the incredible power of mobile politicking useless because effective mobile communications rely on the very private, personal, take-everywhere nature of the cell phone or the PDA.

Here are some steps to help you along the way.

- Begin with the law. - Most states, as well as the federal government, have pretty tight anti-SPAM legislation on wireless devices. Every mobile campaign you develop should begin with the caveat that all messages to a cell phone have to be invited. If a candidate or an organization sends an unwanted e-mail to somebody, their actions can violate the law.
- Recruit from other mediums. - Political marketers

who incorporate mobile into their strategy can use other communication tools to recruit members.

- Use other media to ask people to send you a text message. Place "text 56789 for more information" messages on your Web site and on your Internet, television and radio ads, as well as on your print ads or billboards.
- Use other media to collect cell phone numbers. Allow people to register for your mobile campaign on your Web site. Draw them to your site by sending them an e-mail about your new mobile campaign, and include registration forms at your events or in your direct mail.

We cannot stress this often enough: you must first acquire the permission of individuals in order to send them text messages. It all has to be opt-in. Once that hurdle is taken, the mobile world is your oyster. You can bring things immediately to their attention and actually prompt them to do things very quickly.

- Verify their registration. - Send them a text confirmation about their opt-in. Tell them to reply STOP or some other simple word if they received the message in error.
- Keep a safe record. - Once an individual volunteers her telephone number to you, make a note of the registration and keep that information secure.
- Allow them to opt-out. - Your members should be able to opt-out of the process at any time, and the process should be as easy as possible.
 - Text message. - Tell your members to text the word STOP at any point to ease the flow of messages.
 - Online. - Members should be able to update their profiles on your Web site. Make it mobile accessible.
 - Phone. - Some people prefer to make phone calls to disconnect a service.
- Don't forget the cost. - Warn your members ahead of time that text messages cost a small amount. This varies by carrier. For some carriers, it typically costs ten cents to send an SMS and two cents to receive it. For others, such as T-Mobile, it cost five cents to send and five cents to receive.

Spam

BY ADAM GUY

DIRECTOR OF WIRELESS PRACTICE,
COMPETE

Privacy and intrusion always emerge as barriers to mobile marketing. People are saturated with spam messages, but any type of barriers posed by the threat of spam can be overcome if the message is targeted, personalized and valuable for the person who's receiving it, and if he or she opted in. This includes creating messages to help people save time.

What about Mobile VRM?

BY SEAN KEWLEY

CO-FOUNDER, VOTER SOLUTIONS, INC.

Privacy and security are big concerns with mobile VRM - especially with Bluetooth hacking and phishing.

However, I do not see personal data being used negatively or intrusively by politics or mobile VRM consultants. Certain organizations, such as the American Association of Political Consultants keep consultants and political professionals informed about behavior that is acceptable and unacceptable. Consultants who belong to an organization like the AAPC will not abuse the privilege of working with your constituent data. To do so would be simply bad for business. When abuses are found, they are brought to light. Further, the information that mobile VRM collects is limited to what the people divulge in the public forms when they register.

III. PROTECTING THE MOBILE OFFICE PRIVACY AND SECURITY ON THE MOBILE WEB

BY JIM UDALL

RESEARCH DIRECTOR, MOBILE MUSE; AND
PRESIDENT, SYMPHONETICS INC.

Suddenly I'm a little nervous about privacy! Any other things I should be afraid of?

Many phones are now coming equipped with Bluetooth technology. This is (yet another) wireless technology that is extremely low-power and hence very close range. It is really intended to operate more or less within the same range as an equivalent piece of wire. You wouldn't run a wire from a device to a cell tower, but you would run a wire from a device to a printer for example. In other words, the range for Bluetooth is roughly the size of an office. Think wherever you see a piece of wire and think about whether Bluetooth could do a cleaner job there.

In fact Bluetooth was originally promoted as a simple wire replacement in the office but has now blossomed into more. In particular it is being developed as a socialization technology in small geographic areas. For example four people may meet in a room and using Bluetooth technology begin playing some sort of head-to-head game on their mobile devices.

One slant on this idea is to use Bluetooth phones in a social setting to find like minded individuals - for example in a bar. This concept is discussed earlier in the publication. The idea is that you can put in your phone certain characteristic profile items about yourself - perhaps your age, gender, likes, dislikes. You then enter perhaps another profile indicating the characteristics of someone you're seeking. Again this could perhaps be age, gender, likes, dislikes. Now within a relatively small area, your mobile device would then broadcast your profile and concurrently listen for other people's profiles. You might get an indication that there are four people in the room that match your search criteria.

I'm not sure if this particular application has any merits but it does raise a number of interesting issues. One is that the nature of Bluetooth is to continually broadcast its availability to other Bluetooth devices that may be listening. Current phones are typically pretty promiscuous about this broadcasting capability. They either enable the broadcast for all to hear, or disable it from everyone. Like location information, I think in general people might like a more discretionary policy here.

In an attempt to placate critics of some Bluetooth behavior, proponents remind us that Bluetooth has a very small range. These broadcasts really only travel a few meters at most. However, recently clever engineers have demonstrated a targeted Bluetooth receiver that can be used from a distance. Held like a rifle, the parabolic antenna on the device can be aimed from afar to a targeted user and the Bluetooth broadcast received. It's unclear if the advantages of Bluetooth enabled applications will circumvent the privacy fears surrounding its abuse. Bluetooth could very well be beaten back to its original roots — as a cable replacement.

Are there any other ugly stories about wireless data you can tell me?

Well, one perhaps. Some people seem to feel that wireless data services are similar to high-speed wired service in providing an “always-on” experience. The always-on experience enables us to simultaneously be connected to the Internet as well as engage in other activities. For example high-speed DSL services provide simultaneous Internet service as well as voice service. The current generation of cellular technology in North America does not provide such “always on” service. When your phone is being used for data access that means you are unable to use it for a voice call simultaneously. EV-DO is the first generation of data service, which theoretically supports simultaneous voice and data. However it is not until true third generation technologies such as EV-DV and UMTS are deployed that we will see “always on” technology widely deployed. The biggest drawback to not having the always-on experience is that it makes push services very difficult to implement. Popular wired services include instant messaging and RSS feeds. Both of these in principle rely on the capacity of the far end service to asynchronously deliver content to you. Without an always-on capability, a number of somewhat unwieldy solutions are used to get around this limitation. This typically manifests itself as technical roadblock to innovation for such services.

CELL PHONE SECURITY

BY JASON L. OWEN

MANAGER, VERIZON WIRELESS McLEAN

People are using their cell phones for more than just communication. They are making transactions over cell phones, sending and receiving e-mail and even watching videos. The more people use their cell phones to send and retrieve information, the more they will need security and protection. In order to make a campaign contribution or retrieve a mobile video, phones have to be secure from point A to point B — particularly as users access the actual Internet itself from their wireless devices.

The good news is that the wireless networks have stepped up security. From the cell phone to the cell tower, the connections have been more secure.

The nearly dead beast: Cell phone cloning

One of the security problems of the almost-past is called “cell phone cloning.” This occurred mostly in analog networks, where security was not as tight. With cell phone cloning, the perpetrators looked at the frequency of a cell phone call, and on the analog networks, they were able to stamp out the dedicated line, called channel hopping. In other words, if I pick up your frequency, I can also pick up your cell phone number. Then I can then take your cell phone number, put it into my cell phone, which functions as a blank slate, and then use it to make calls under your account. All the while, you are billed for my calls. To help solve this problem, each company built departments to track international calls very closely.

If you see something fishy, tell your carrier, and the fraud department can look at the calls or the call detail. Review your call detail report every month. Be alert.

What about the transmission of data?

Securing data over cell phones does not pose a major threat right now because not enough transactions — particularly financial transactions — have occurred to make it worthwhile. In many ways, the only data you really have to worry about is e-mail. But don't worry too much. E-mail is almost impossible to intercept because doing so requires you to break into the packets of information that carrying e-mail and travel over the network. These packets are encrypted, and they are usually limited in size. As a result, if security gets any tighter, you may only receive a portion of your messages.

IV. CASE STUDY

DEVELOP A PRIVACY POLICY

BY THE INSTITUTE FOR POLITICS, DEMOCRACY & THE INTERNET

In 2002, the Institute for Politics, Democracy & the Internet published a set of best practices for privacy policy in our *2002 Online Campaigning Primer*. We believe that the privacy recommendations provided in that primer still hold true today.

Develop, Post, and Live By a Privacy Policy

Basic decency requires respect for the privacy of people who, by coming into contact with your Internet and mobile campaign, risk exploitation of data that has been, and could be, compiled about them. The advent of the digital age has intensified popular awareness about privacy. Americans know how easy it is for all sorts of people to “mine” online databases compiled by other organizations. You don’t want privacy to become an issue at your expense. But drawing a fair line between legitimate and illegitimate data collection, data sharing, and online interactivity is a delicate undertaking. There are different kinds of personal information, different methods and routes of acquisition, and different relationships between a campaign and those who contact it via the Internet. So you need a privacy policy, an explicit set of guidelines, in plain English, by which your campaign will proceed.

As you construct your privacy policy, three principles should stand out: notify users, give them options and be first to respond to any problems.

You should post a statement about your privacy policy on your campaign Web site. Better yet, you should supply a brief explanation about data collection, and option boxes to procure consent, at each threshold point of your Net operation. We have already discussed one such point: **your e-mail and text messages should include an “unsubscribe” option.** You become a spammer with the very next text you send to someone who received text messages from you without that option, regardless of whether the person subscribed in the first place or received it unsolicited.

Some Net operations presume from users’ actions that they have consulted the privacy policy statement (such as it is, wherever it has been placed) and tacitly assented to it, in as much as they did not “opt-out” of the arrangement (such as was allowed, by removing a check from an option box, for instance). As the parentheses and clauses of the preceding sentence suggest, this opt-out approach places a labyrinthine burden of privacy protection on potential victims. Although opt-in menus can be an improvement,

they are not if the options offered do not specify the entire range of data uses. **You should ask individuals to consent to each category by which your campaign will collect, use, and release data about them.** Of course, there is one category where neither you nor they have a choice: the law requires many campaigns to collect and report certain information from certain donors.

In general, the less people associate with your campaign, the larger zone of privacy you need to extend to them. To illustrate, moving outward:

- Privacy and campaign staff/volunteers – Your staff and volunteers should understand from the outset that their campaign activities may, as the familiar telephone phrase goes, be monitored for purposes of quality assurance. Again, this can be a delicate line to draw, as when you encourage volunteers to contact friends by text message. But draw a line for all to see. That affords protection to them and to your campaign principals in the event of controversial activities. It keeps a record that may be made public, whether to brag or to defend. A record of online campaign actions also helps a politician sustain political competence across election cycles.
- Privacy and subscribers to campaign text messages, newsletters or e-mail – These individuals should understand that they will be contacted now and then (with increasing frequency as election day nears), but that the campaign will not share anything it knows about them with anyone else unless they approve.
- Privacy and Web site visitors – These individuals should understand that they will not be contacted by e-mail unless they subscribe to your newsletter, volunteer or donate and that their movements will only be monitored inside your site and in the aggregate.
- Privacy and children – This is a particularly sensitive issue. President Clinton, prior to the end of his second term, signed a privacy law applicable to commercial and general audience Web sites, the Children’s Online Privacy Protection Act (COPPA), that prohibits asking children for their name, address, and other identifiable information without their parents’ consent. COPPA, however, does not apply to the Web sites of most non-profit entities, including campaign committees.

Third parties are where it really gets complicated. There are third parties from whom you collect data, as when a volunteer sends an e-postcard to a friend via a form you supply, and you thereby obtain information about the friend. And there are third parties with whom you share and exchange data: political, commercial, nonprofit, and (voluntary) government organizations. There is no calculating all the permutations and transfers. But, on the intake side, **your privacy policy should explicitly cover individuals contacted on your behalf.** Meanwhile, on the outgoing side, **your privacy policy should establish a line of responsibility for data you possess about individuals, a line that extends beyond the life of your campaign.**

This means you should take responsibility for what volunteers, vendors, and partners do in the service of your campaign. There may be discrepancies between your policy and theirs; learn about them, make them explicit, and incorporate a sensible division of accountability into your policy. Be aware that, even if you do not release data to any outsiders, the information your campaign collected will not disintegrate on Election Day. You need to tell people up front how you plan to retain or dispose of it.

The permanent security of data is one of several aspects of the privacy problem best solved by establishing a campaign privacy officer. This person can take the lead in answering questions, resolving disputes, and modifying the policy. **Provide contact information for privacy matters.** Your campaign will benefit immeasurably when people from vendors to users to their lawyers know that problems can best be ironed out if they come to you first.

V. IMPLEMENTATION

HOW TO INCORPORATE A PRIVACY POLICY INTO YOUR MOBILE ADVERTISING AND PROMOTIONAL CAMPAIGN²

BY THE MOBILE MARKETING ASSOCIATION

When promoting programs, content providers should ensure that:

- All advertising and promotional material clearly indicates whether the service is a subscription.
- All material terms and conditions of the program are clearly communicated.
- Service pricing information is clearly and conspicuously indicated.
- All advertising, promotional material and service

2 "Consumer Best Practices Guidelines for Cross-Carrier Mobile Content Services," Mobile Marketing Association.

help messages clearly display the opt-out information.

- The service is not promoted as "free" when premium fees are associated with the service that the subscriber will pay with a reasonable level of participation in the program.
- Subscription term and billing interval is specified/disclosed to the customer.
- Notice that the charge will be billed on the customer's wireless phone bill or deducted from their prepaid balance.

Single opt-in

For standard rate programs, subscribers should indicate their willingness to participate in a program and receive messages from the program as follows:

- Subscriber sends a Mobile Originated (MO) message to the short code.
- Program responds with pertinent phone, program and contact information via a Web/WAP/handset application based form.

This opt-in applies only to the specific program to which a customer is subscribed and should not be used as a blanket approval to promote other programs, products and services unless specifically agreed by the user via their handset after complete detail regarding the opt-in scope has been communicated to the user. Selling of opt-in lists to third parties is discouraged and can only occur if the content provider/agggregator:

- Maintains a publicly-available privacy policy which clearly discloses that users' personal information will be sold to third parties and otherwise complies with applicable federal and state laws, rules and regulations.
- Offers users the ability to restrict sale of their personal information by contacting provider/agggregator.
- Has prior approval from the carrier.

Double opt-in

Premium subscribers must positively acknowledge the acceptance of a premium charge prior to the application of premium charges to their account. The first time that a user participates in any premium service, they should be required to double opt-in. This requirement applies to the first time a user tries a specific service on a specific short-code. The content provider or aggregate is responsible for tracking program opt-in information by subscriber.

There are two mechanisms for acceptable opt-in activity: Web-based and handheld. In all instances, however, the subscriber must take affirmative action to signify acceptance of the program criteria. Within the double opt-in flow, the following information must be provided to the participant (at a minimum):

- Identity of the program sponsor – This is defined as the organization that markets the program.
- Contact details for the program sponsor – Either a toll-free number or Web site address.
- Short description of service.
- Pricing terms for the service.
- Notice that the charge will be billed on the customer's wireless phone bill or deducted from the prepaid balance.
- Opt-out information.

Examples of affirmative double opt-in include Yes, Y, Go, Okay, OK, K, O.K., Sure, Yep and Yeah.

Double opt-in from the Internet

Many consumers prefer to provision and interact with SMS programs via the Internet. If the second opt-in is via the Internet, the content provider must positively confirm that the authorized user is acknowledging the opt-in. This can be done via a Web-based PIN or phone MO message. Additionally, it is expected that the content provider will use this channel to provide more detailed information about the program.

Additional opt-in considerations

- Carrier ability to waive double opt in. – In certain instances, carriers may waive the double opt-in on a program-by-program basis. Factors that go into the carrier decision include: premium price and type of program.
- Opt-in expiration for interactive programs. – If a consumer is inactive in any program for six months, then the opt in should expire. At that time, it is permissible to send the subscriber one final MT message notifying them that their username and other information will be deleted from the program. No messages to the subscriber after the expiration are permitted. This provision does not apply to programs where the subscriber may have stored value with the content provider.
- Service flow and information must not be misleading in any way.
- As opt-in and opt-out messages are administrative in nature, they should not result in any premium charges for the subscriber.
- When a subscriber ports between carriers, he or she should be required to re-opt-in to all short code programs.

Help

Program information transparency is important for subscribers to feel they understand and are in control of their participation in short code programs. To facilitate consumer understanding, each program should respond with the program details listed below when the subscriber sends the keyword "Help" to the program short code. If the

short code has multiple programs (keywords) on the same code, the application should respond with the information for the program the subscriber is opted-in to, or a multiple choice question asking the subscriber what program they would like to help on if the subscriber is opted-in multiple programs on the short code. These messages should not result in premium charges to the subscriber's bill and should be available to anyone who requests help information from the short code via SMS.

- Identity of program sponsor. – This is defined as the organization that markets the program.
- Contact details for the program sponsor. – Either a toll-free number or Web site address.
- Short description of service.
- Pricing terms for the service.
- Opt-out information.

Should there be multiple services running on the short code, user can be directed to a Web site, WAP site, SMS session or toll free number that provides a better customer care experience, as long as basic information about the service is in the help reply message.

Opt-out

It is fundamental to the concept of control that a subscriber maintains the ability to cease participation and messages from a short code program when desired. To facilitate this capability, the following general rules govern program opt-out:

- The subscriber must be told how to opt-out of the program upon entering the program.
- A subscriber can terminate participation and messages from any program by sending STOP to any short codes used for the program. END, CANCEL, UNSUBSCRIBE or QUIT should also be opt-out words for all programs; however, content providers should feature the word STOP in their advertising and messaging.
- These words should support mixed case and ignore subsequent non-keyword text.
- These words, when sent, cancel the subscriber's previous opt-in for messaging.
- An MT message confirming the opt-out may be sent to the subscriber. This should not be a premium message. This message should reference the specific program the subscriber has opted-out from. No further messages should be sent to the subscriber from this service including marketing messages for any related or unrelated service.

CHAPTER 10

Lost in Translation? Why the United States Appears to Fall Behind the Growing Mobile Trend

How do I send a text message?

What's a WAP?

You mean, I can actually send the pictures I take on my phone to other people or even my e-mail?

What is all the fuss about?

Over the past few months, you may have asked some of these questions. You may even have been the recipient of some of these questions.

Even though many of us have tucked our cell phones or PDAs quietly in our pockets for years now, mobile technology as an information pusher, as well as a political and social networking medium has only just begun to capture the attention of the American public.

We spent the first nine chapters of this book discussing how mobile technology will shape future politicking. In this chapter, we take a different approach: we asked our authors to weigh in on the question of why mobile technology has only just begun to catch on in the United States.

The good news is that the United States is not technologically behind the rest of the world. Rather, American culture has become so comfortable with broadband Internet, home computers and instant messaging that until recently, many Americans simply did not need to use their cell phones to send messages or check their e-mail.

As discussed throughout the publication, mobile technology is catching on, and the Institute predicts that it will impact future campaigns and political movements. However, scattered roadblocks still exist, as the authors in this chapter point out. While their analysis isn't all "doom and gloom," they shed light on why mobile politicking caught on a littler later in the United States than elsewhere and what potential challenges may arise in the future.

I. TRAILING THE LEADERS: WHY THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN SLOW TO ADOPT MOBILE INNOVATIONS

BY CHRIS HARE

VICE PRESIDENT OF BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT,
DIGIT WIRELESS

Why does the United States seem to be so behind the rest of the world when it comes to mobile technology? Is it real or a myth?

Americans have computers in almost all homes and businesses. While these services aren't free, they do provide a level of instant communication through e-mail, instant messaging and voice over IP. We also have a proliferation of landline telephones.

The picture looks a little different in the rest of the world. Consider the following examples:

- Computers and landlines simply aren't as prolific elsewhere. – Africa provides a very vivid case study: Africans can purchase a mobile phone easier and more cheaply than a computer. In Africa, people use mobile phones to counteract election fraud and keep farmers informed about their crops.
- Some cultures are used to being connected all the time. – One country that illustrates this point perfectly is Korea, where people are used to being “in the loop” all the time, wherever they are and through any medium. Koreans are accustomed to much faster Internet connection in their homes and offices than throughout much of the United States or Europe. Their wireless connections are equally as speedy. Keep this mind: You don't need a super fast mobile network for lots of voice calls. You need it for data transfer—something the United States has just begun to explore.
- A cultural divide exists. – In the United States, mobile traditional has more social acceptance when it is used for voice calls. In other places, such as Japan, it is used for data transfer. Still other places see mobile used for a combination of voice calls and data transfer. The United States is moving in this latter direction. Adoption will occur, but at the time of publication, most people in the United States still used their phones to talk with other people, rather than as data devices.

- People interact differently with their mobile devices. – You don't think about how to use a toaster. It's part of your life. You take it out. You plug it in. You put toast in it. You press a button. It's simple. Mobile phones in the United States are not there yet.
- In some places, the devices are more sophisticated. – Korea provides another good example. Companies like Samsung and LG are test marketing in their own, not insignificant, domestic market and then delivering devices that possess mind-blowing capabilities. Over 70 percent of the phones sold in Korea today have MP3 players – a feature we have only begun discussing in the United States. Almost every phone in Korea has a camera, and some even have seven mega-pixel cameras.

Is anything being done to improve mobile infrastructure in the United States?

Yes! A lot of money is being spent on GSM and CDMA infrastructure in the United States to close the gap. The game of catch up is truly afoot, and in many cases 3G will reach more people more quickly in the United States than in many other countries.

Devices now have bigger, color screens. They have expanded memory, additional features – all sorts of bells and whistles – that are incrementally changing the way people use their mobile devices. The question is: how we will use it?

A change is already afoot—something on a far more personal and individualized level than wireless coverage. In fact, you could say that a different, more human type of infrastructure is improving in the United States, as people get to know their cell phones a little better.

What is changing dramatically is the way that people interact with their mobile devices. The difference is whether you consider the device to be a part of life or whether it is something you use periodically. After all, people buy phones to make phone calls. But the real change will occur when people realize that they need to be able to access data quickly. We see this change already occurring. Increasingly, when people want to check the weather report, they pick up their phones, instead of their newspapers or remote controls. This change will radically shift the way all consumers interact with devices, opening the doors to innovative new uses and more rapid adoption of mobile tools across the board – including in politics.

Wireless is really just an extension of politicking in general and online campaigning in particular. Dissimilar demographic groups use computers in differing ways. Suddenly, mobile has become a way of reaching all of these groups. Text messages are the gateway to this process: they just another form of communication, like instant messaging and e-mail.

Once people begin to make their mobile devices an ex-

tension of their lives they begin to do this, the phone will become even more part of life in the United States than the computer or toaster. This will mean the United States will not only have caught up, but based on the social infrastructure and high level of consumer spending, will have overtaken much of the developed world.

A Conversation with Joichi Ito

BY JUSTIN OBERMAN

FOUNDER, DIGITISMS

In August 2005, I spoke with technologist and author Joi Ito about mobile adoption in the United States. Below are his thoughts about why Americans seem “behind the pack” when it comes to mobile technology and politics:

Joi Ito: Basically, public transport in Japan allows for texting for hours while commuting. In the United States people drive, so they talk instead of text. In trains in Japan, you can’t talk so you text, but these are sort of well-known cliches. . . .

People in the United States spend more time sitting in cars and offices or at home. In cars, you can’t text. In homes and offices, you have computers. There is no time to play with mobile devices, no context.

Competition between carriers in the United States led to horrible coverage and crappy service. This slowed adaptation.

Marketing PDAs to enterprise was stupid. Just look at sales of PDAs compared to mobile phones. People don’t want to sit there with a pen and screen. PDAs are growing now, but they do not have the explosive growth that happened with mobile phones. These are “computer-terminal-people” concepts, while real mobility is about seamless interaction with the real world. That means no pens. You don’t have to stare at the screen or go into cyberspace and come back again. That’s the wrong metaphor for mobile, but it is the most pervasive metaphor for mobile in the United States.

Mobile devices should be things that are on the periphery of your attention and are always there. People in the United States are used to computers, where they have a real life and a cyberspace life—two different modes. Ubiquitous computing in the United States often focused on making portals to cyberspace, instead of bringing the network to the real world.

II. MOBILITY AND THE INTERNET: THE GOOD, THE BAD AND THE UGLY

BY JIM UDALL

RESEARCH DIRECTOR, MOBILE MUSE; AND PRESIDENT, SYMPHONETICS INC.

Soon one in two Americans will carry a mobile phone. As impressive as this may sound, this penetration rate still pales in comparison to other cultures, such as South Korea or Finland, where penetration rates surpass 100 percent. Nonetheless a 50 percent penetration rate is a formidable market size. Couple this with the increasing capabilities of the mobile phone as not just a voice device but also a ubiquitous data device. Imagine 50 percent of Americans having unfettered wireless access to the Internet and all the services available there. Add in new technology, such as location determination, digital cash, video streaming and capture, and the imagination runs wild.

Unfortunately, the reality for mobile phone usage is much more mundane than the vision. Enthusiasm for data services in America remains muted. In 2002, approximately 10.6 percent of subscribers in the United States had used phone-based Internet access. Even by 2007 predictions are that this rate will climb to only 22.4 percent. Even worse, the retention rates for this access are extremely low. It is clear that the enthusiasm for new uses of mobile devices remains significantly lower than the hype surrounding the new mobile technologies.

If one were a regular reader of *engadget.com*, one might be tempted to conclude we are currently living in the age of the Jetsons. Streaming interactive video effortlessly coming to your mobile phone, multi-party video conferencing, swift mobile Internet access, geographically sensitive applications, guided tours, mapping applications, online digital payments, multi-mega pixel video capture and sharing. All these applications and more seem to be at our fingertips.

Yet the reality belies a different story. As mass consumers precious few of us are even aware of the existence of these services, let alone are able to use or even understand how to use them. The reality is that for the vast majority of North Americans, the most exciting, innovative use of mobile phones in the past 15 years has been the pleasure of paying \$3.00 a pop to get a ring tone from Eminem asking “Who’s your Daddy?”

Why is there such a disconnect between the technological visions for mobile phone usage and the day-to-day

practical use among the consumer masses? When will we all begin to use in a meaningful way the advanced services being described today? What will be the impact on our society if and when we begin to use our mobile devices in such a ubiquitous manner?

Can I really access the Internet from my mobile phone?

Well, yes – sort of. For some time now the technical underpinnings have been in place to allow users to access any Internet site from their mobile phone. There are a number of issues that make this sort of broad statement quite misleading however.

From a sociological perspective, there is a deep disconnect between what users think of as the Internet and what technologists think of the Internet. From a technical perspective, the Internet is a network of networks and ultimately machines. These machines use Internet protocols to deliver services and content to each other. However the mass consumer views the Internet as sitting at a PC using a Web browser. Though technically Web browser traffic is simply one type of usage of the Internet, sociologically, it is THE Internet. Hence there is a social mindset that views a large screen, keyboard and mouse as the Internet. Saying the Internet is available on your mobile device usually prompts puzzled stares from naïve users.

How is this PC experience shrunk down to a tiny mobile phone?

In short, the answer to this question is “Not very well.” Technically it is very much like viewing a single Web page through a postage stamp size viewer, using panning and scrolling to navigate. Hence access to any Internet site is usually possible in principle but rarely useful in practice – unless that site is specifically tuned to present its material for mobile phone users.

But never mind simply shrinking down Web pages. Formatting any data for mobile devices is a technical nightmare. Approximately seven years ago, device manufacturers and service providers banded together to define the WAP standard. The WAP standard was intended to do for mobile devices and wireless data networks what Netscape and HTML did for the PC. Unfortunately the result fell remarkably short of this goal. WAP eventually evolved to leverage XML and in particular XHTML – the newest and latest Web language on the Internet today. So technically, today’s mobile phone browser supports XHTML and works just as well as any desktop based PC. In practice things aren’t nearly so easy.

Well, viewing the Internet through a postage stamp viewer doesn’t sound like my idea of fun. What sort of mobile oriented Web sites are available?

The short answer is many. Carriers provide their own Web sites specifically formatted for small screen devices. In addition, many popular Web sites, such as Google or Yahoo, also have small screen versions. And finally, a group of mobile manufacturers and service providers have petitioned to the IETF IANA board, an international community of network designers, operators, vendors, and researchers concerned with the evolution of the Internet, to develop a new top level domain: .mobi. All sites in this domain would by definition be specifically tuned for mobile devices.

What are some of the problems with Web browsing from my phone today?

Where to begin! I think it really starts at the actual wireless network one uses. There are primarily two distinctly different kinds of cellular networks in North America. These are CDMA networks and GSM networks. Sprint and Verizon are the two largest CDMA operators in the United States, whereas Cingular is the largest GSM service provider. These networks operate in two radically different ways. Phones from one network are hopelessly useless on the other network. As a result, the manner in which these two networks deliver data differs radically and the end user results differ as well.

The current evolution of GSM data networks is based on GPRS technology and is moving forward to EDGE. The current evolution of CDMA data networks is based on 1xRTT and is moving forward to EV-DO. Relatively speaking when it comes to data throughput, CDMA data networks beat GSM data networks – no matter what the flavor of the data network protocol.

Another way of describing this situation is that GPRS networks are pathetically slow and 1xRTT networks are just plain bad. Moving forward to EDGE and EV-DO networks, the relative experience will probably range from tolerable to bad.

Unfortunately carriers like to advertise their high data rates but these figures are misleading for a number of reasons. The primary reason is that wireless data is a shared experience among users on a particular cell. The more users accessing data on a particular cell, the more contention there is for the available bandwidth. Increase the complexity of this situation by adding coverage, signal strength, and signal echoes, and the actual throughput on even the best networks can be a brutal experience.

On top of the poor data rates there are other complexities that affect your Web experience. The reality is that most phones have a relatively small display of relatively small resolution. It is difficult to deliver the rich multi-media experience given these constraints. Today’s mobile services are almost always text based just because it conveys a lot of information in a minimum amount of space.

To further complicate things, it turns out that the WAP or XHTML implementations vary wildly from phone to phone.

Something as simple as varying point size for characters in a browser implementation can transform a Web page from being usable into a mess. This adds a tremendous amount of complexity to mobile Web designers who have to understand and test the myriad number of mobile phones out there and how their Web pages will be displayed on them. As consumers who are in a habit of upgrading phones every 12-18 months, we run the real risk of not being able to access the same content we could with our old model phones.

But if I get past all that, I can really access the Internet from my phone right?

Well, maybe. Wireless carriers are very protective of their territory. In particular they fear creating literally the wireless Internet. The Internet has proven a notoriously difficult territory in which to make money with most users feeling everything on the Internet should be free. Carriers desperately want to avoid being cast as providing no more than the wireless bit-pipe and let others reap the rewards by monetizing content.

How carriers execute this strategy differs from carrier to carrier. Some carriers simply will not permit users to access Web sites outside the carrier's domains. Others simply make it very difficult. The most obvious method carriers use to discourage general Internet usage is to control the user interface on the phone.

From a desktop perspective, we think of typing in a URL address in a Web browser to go to a particular site. Some carriers explicitly forbid their handheld devices from allowing the entering of a specific URL. The only real way in which to navigate is to point and click and as long as the home page is pointed to a location within the carrier's network, then they can control how far a browser may venture.

End users can fumble past this barrier by being clever. Most operators provide the mobile equivalent of Google. Using this link, the user can search for a specific term and Google will present the hyper-links. The hyper-links can then be selected to go to points outside the carriers' network.

So let me see if I understand: the data rates are crappy, the service is crappy, the Web experience is crappy and my carrier makes it difficult for me to get to the Internet. What's the point?

Well the point is probably this: if all you're thinking about is Web browsing from your phone, you're probably thinking about the wrong things in life. The way to think about mobile data services is to think of the Internet as providing a buffet table of content, services and applications. The

question, then, is which of those buffet items am I interested in gaining access to from my mobile device?

Another way of framing that question is to understand how the benefits of mobility can be used to enhance the service potential of the Internet. If looked at from that perspective, the limitations on user interfaces and bandwidth are downplayed in favor of mobility's strengths. As an analogy consider the issue of voice quality of mobile phones versus voice quality of landline phones. In general the quality of a voice call over a landline is far superior to a mobile phone. There is no latency associated with compression/decompression technology. There is almost never any issue with dropped voice snippets or interference. Yet mobile phones for voice communication is not only tolerated but also preferred over landline communication simply because of the advantage mobility provides. Data services that succeed will have to leverage that same advantage if they want to succeed

In particular, mobile devices provide a unique advantage over wired devices by providing context. Because mobile devices are with us all the time, they have the capacity to reflect our context. This context can be our geographic location, our mood, our presence, our status within a community, our mindset within the working day. This context can also reflect the context of our surroundings. Are we part of a global event, a local event, a time sensitive event? These questions have little meaning when seated behind a desktop computer but are of paramount interest in the mobile space. Applications, content and services that leverage context will be very much of interest to mobile users.

My rose colored glasses fell off a while back. Can you please give me some good news?

Absolutely! My point here is not to discourage anyone away from the brave new world of wireless data. And my point isn't to make wireless carriers look like demons. My point is to really try to ground expectations about what is and is not possible and the difficulties in realizing some of the visions being discussed. In fact I am thoroughly optimistic about the prospects for mobile content and applications.

I think there are a few key points to remember here:

1. Carriers are an intrinsic part of the value chain for mobile content and applications. They refuse to be relegated to bit-pipe providers and demand a share of the value chain. As such, applications and services that aim to succeed necessarily require the explicit cooperation of the service providers. Not to say they can't be circumvented. Only that to gain mass market momentum, their co-operation is key.
2. Just because a key piece of technology suddenly starts being promoted in the marketplace is no reason to assume there is a plethora of utility associated with that technology. Location determination is one

example in which, though the underpinning technology is very much there, the evolution of applications and service and the associated privacy issues and business models are still very cloudy. Nothing but time will sort these kinds of problems out.

Almost every technology that is introduced to the mobile arena becomes a double-edged sword. The potential of Bluetooth sounds promising but the potential for abuse seems scary as well.

3. In the final analysis, technology is nothing more than technology. It will be content that drives consumer uptake. And the content in the mobile arena must leverage the advantages of the mobile space and downplay the constraints of that space. These will be the applications and content that people and carriers will ultimately value.

III. POWER, POLITICS AND PHONES

HOW LEADERS WILL EMERGE IN MOBILE TECHNOLOGY

BY MCKENZIE WARK

PROFESSOR, EUGENE LANG COLLEGE

Will all media converge in the mobile phone?

Devices for interfacing with information are becoming cheap and portable. Unfortunately, the communication industries are attempting to build communication networks with protocols that can be effectively controlled — much unlike the Internet.

Combined, increased access despite increased control results in what I believe is a pseudo-democratization, the real aim of which is proprietary systems with sophisticated monitoring and metering.

It is curious that when the state stepped in and mandated a protocol (such as GSM), things took off rapidly, whereas left to their own devices the corporations could not achieve the same result. Much of this evolution is discussed earlier in the publication.

Why is the process taking so long?

I have speculated elsewhere that there may be a cultural dimension to the slow adoption of mobile technology. Like many other authors in this publication, I believe that the cell phone took off in countries with a strong public space, where people used the cell phone to organize a social life that took place in public. This contrasts usage in the United States, where a more suburban culture is dominant, where the Internet connection in the basement study has recently captured the attention of the public the strongest.

As you may have guessed from my statements above about the industry, I think that some of the blame may exist in the wireless community. In my opinion, the wireless marketing people really shot themselves in the foot in the United States. Compare the process of getting a mobile phone in the United States to acquiring it in other countries: it all seems much more confusing in the United States.

Finally, keep in mind that we currently lack good comparative studies of mobile culture, so it is more difficult to pinpoint exactly why the process is so slow.

Suffice to say that America lags in most ways and that this surprises nobody but Americans.

Adopting mobile into American political culture

If the communications companies do not screw it up, mobile technology will become ubiquitous. It will saturate the market. Everyone will have a phone. In my old hometown of Sydney you find homeless people with cell phones, using prepaid cards. Pre-teens. The elderly. Everybody. Meanwhile the market evolves to include services, cameras and video. Content usually does not drive the process as much as user-created sharing of information.

I am talking mainly about phones here, but mobile devices are already everywhere. Every UPS person has one. What it makes possible is a new kind of logistics, where you close up all the gaps in the movement of people and things. Anything can meet up with anything else, anywhere, at any time, within the laws of physics.

This is the culmination of a long revolution. It goes back to the telegraph, which is the first communication vector to separate the speed of the movement of information from the speed of the movement of objects and subjects. It is the start of what I call a third nature, a plane upon which information stays one step ahead of the movement of people and things and comes to dominate and coordinate the movement of people and things. This is the beginning of the 'market,' in the abstract sense we use it now, the beginnings of the modern state, the beginnings of modern warfare. But the telegraph only connected fixed points. What we see is the capacity of the telegraph expanding, becoming mobile, making the third nature ever more dominant over the second nature of our built environment and processes of production, which in turn dominates our relation to 'nature,' raw materials and resources.

Dominance, power and early adapters of technology for politics

The process of commoditization ends up polluting the very channels of communication it relies on in the first place to make the market efficient. The post clogs up with junk mail, the Internet with spam. Mobile communications will be next.

When that happens, people tend to refuse communications that do not come from a reliable source. So if you want to get out an e-mail, send it to a friend, ask her to pass it on to a friend and so on. That's how the Republicans used e-mail in the 2004 election. Nothing as over-hyped as Moveon.org. Just networks that could fly under the radar of public scrutiny and bypass the spam filters at the same time.

I would argue that in media terms, the dominance of the Republicans goes back to their early lead in direct mail technology. It's all built on that. Plus you have to hand it to Rupert Murdoch. Fox News came out of a brilliant un-

derstanding of how the media landscape had changed. Same with Matt Drudge, Rush Limbaugh. These guys are geniuses. They just intuitively knew the political potentials of shifts in the structure of third nature. And it is not always 'new' technology. Limbaugh spotted the old AM band radio as an undervalued resource.

I think liberals tend to approach it in terms of looking for channels to fill with a content they already have. They don't take media seriously as politics and culture in and of itself. You have to think the politics of the media, not politics in the media.

APPENDIX A

Mobile Revenues

BY OLIVER STARR

Figure 1 below, courtesy of Mintel International illustrates the growth of wireless carrier service sales from 1999 to 2004¹

Total U.S. sales of mobile service, at current and constant prices, 1999-2004

Year	Sales at current prices			Sales at constant 2004 prices*		
	\$ billion	Index	% change	\$ billion	Index	% change
1999	40.0	100	-	45.4	100	-
2000	52.5	131	31.3	57.6	127	27.0
2001	65.0	163	23.8	69.3	153	20.4
2002	76.6	192	17.8	80.4	177	16.0
2003	87.6	219	14.4	89.9	198	11.8
2004	102.0	255	16.4	102.0	225	13.4

* Adjusted for inflation using the All Items CPI. **SOURCE: Mintel/CTIA**

¹ Mintel International, *Mobil Phones*, May 2005.

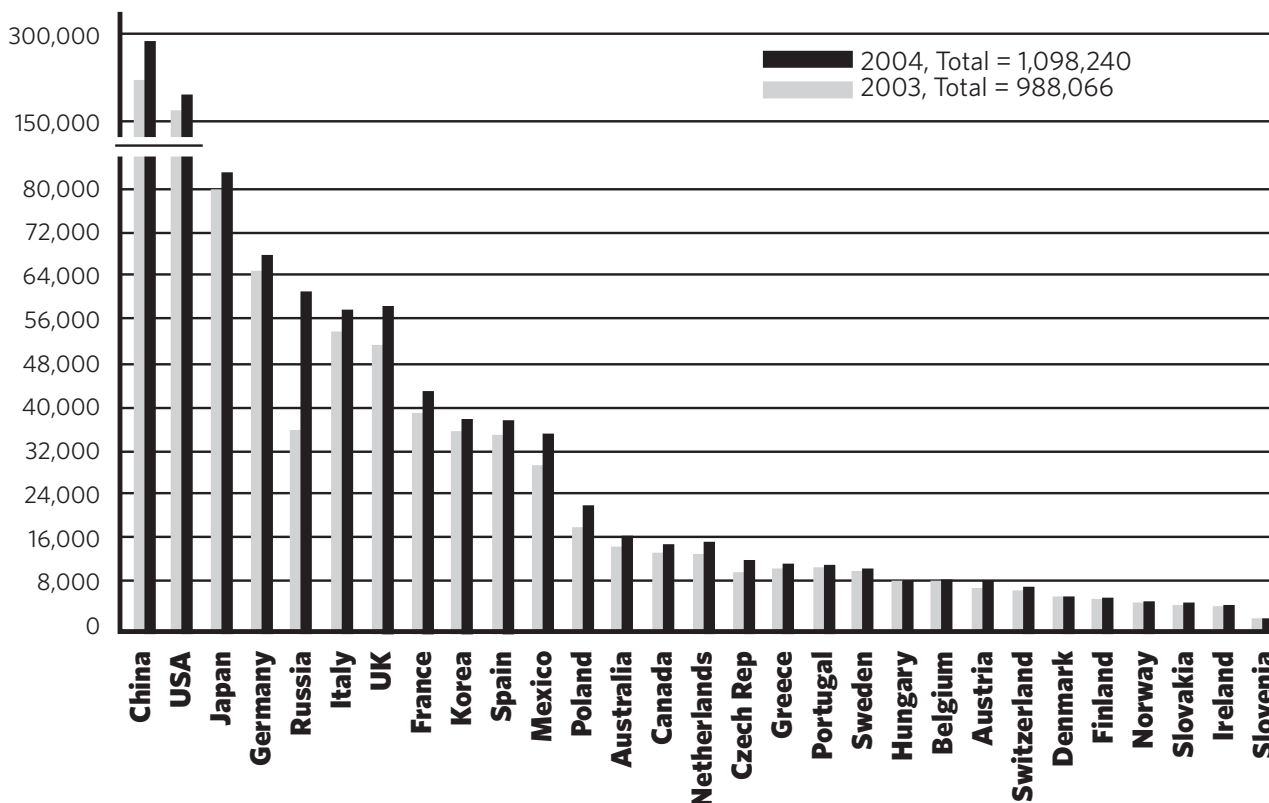
Manufacturer retail sales of mobile phones in the United States

Manufacturer	Sales 2002		Sales 2004		Change 2002-04	% point change 2002-04
	\$ billion	%	\$ billion	%		
Nokia	3.4	38.0	3.3	31.0	-3.8	-7.0
Motorola	1.7	19.0	1.7	16.0	-0.7	-3.0
Samsung	1.0	11.0	1.5	14.0	50.2	3.0
Sony Ericsson	0.7	8.0	0.5	5.0	-26.3	-3.0
LG	0.4	5.0	0.7	7.0	65.2	2.0
Other	1.7	19.0	2.8	27.0	67.7	8.0
Total	8.9	100.0	10.5	100.0	18.0	-

Data represents Mintel estimates based on multiple sources, including both full year and quarterly data.

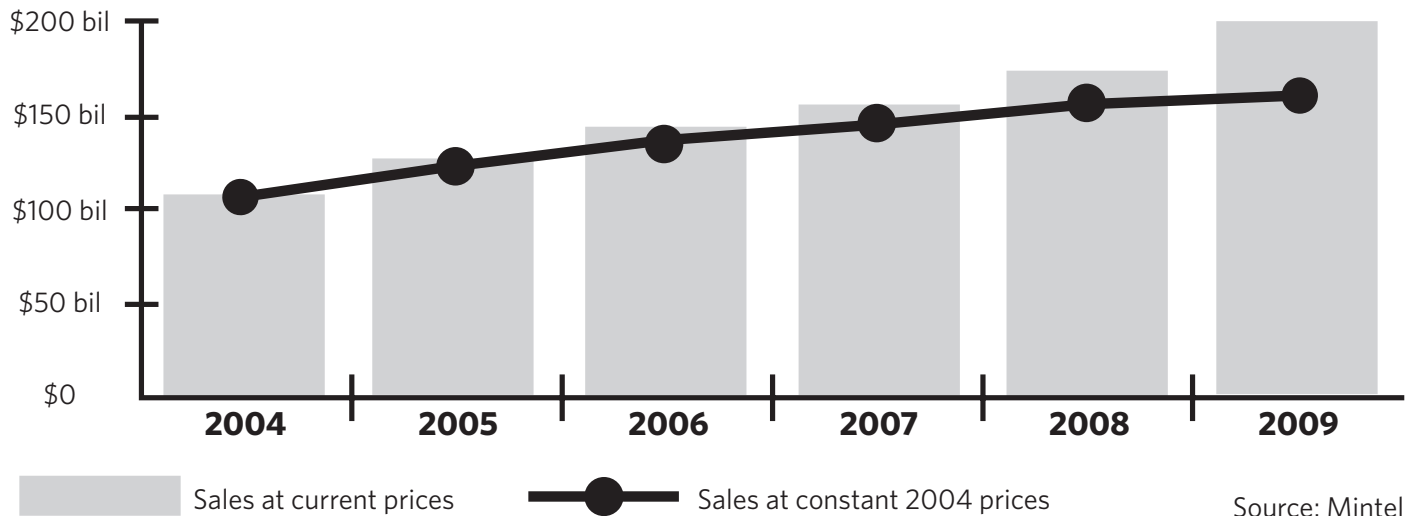
SOURCE: Mintel/CEA/IDC/Company filings

Number of mobile end-users (in millions)

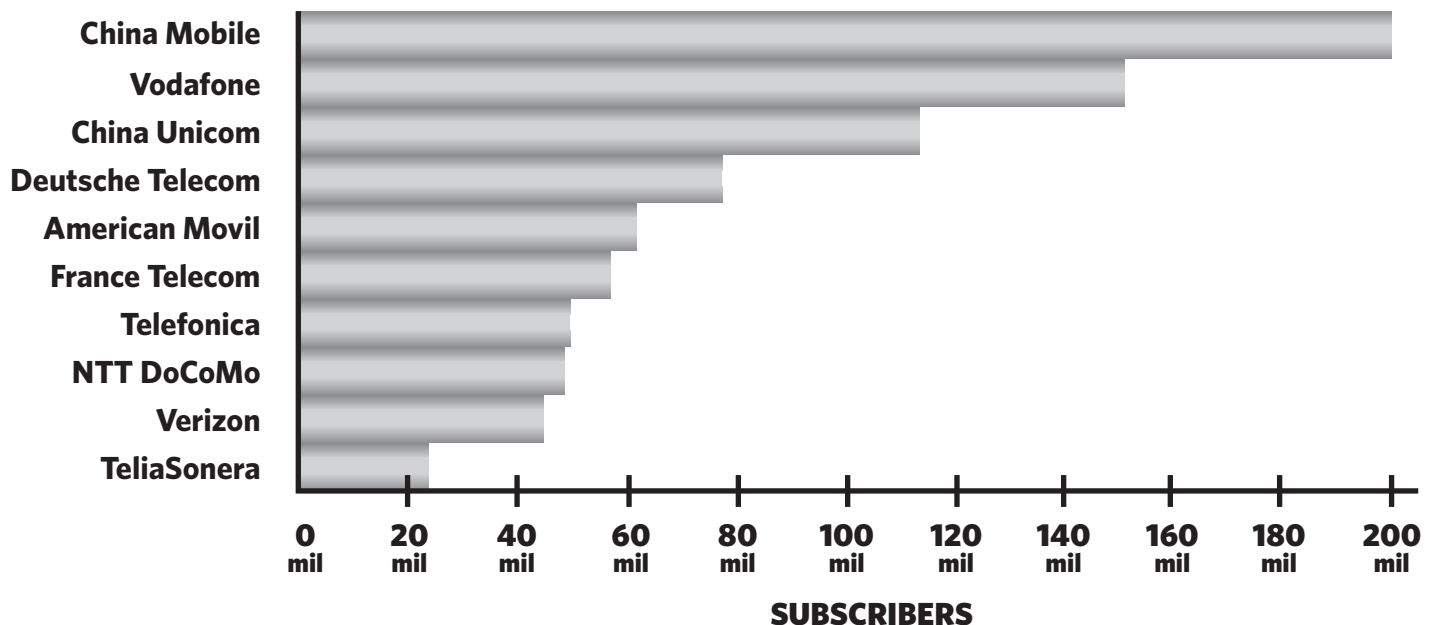


Courtesy The Netsize Guide 2005 illustrates the global market in 2003 and 2004 - "Mobile is Open for Business," The Netsize Guide, 2005 Edition, 73. **SOURCE: Mintel/CEA/IDC/Company reports**

Forecast of U.S. Sales of Mobile Phones and Service, at Current and Constant Prices



Top 10 Mobile Operators by Proportionate Subscribers, Dec. 2004



Source: International Telecommunication Union, *PTO Database*, <http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/ict/statistics>.

APPENDIX B

Online Resources

BY CONNIE BARKO

WEB RESOURCES AND BLOGS

3G Americas

<http://www.3gamericas.org/English/index.cfm>
Headlines, statistics, maps, industry links and other resources on 3G mobile technology. Includes a technology center with tutorials, presentations and white papers.

3G Newsroom

<http://www.3gnewsroom.com/index.shtml>
News and discussion relating to 3G mobile technology.

3G Today

<http://www.3gtoday.com/wps/portal/3ghome?page=home>
News, technology, operators, providers, applications and services related to 3G mobile technology. All technologies and services are commercially available.

Akiba Live

<http://www.akibalive.com/>
Global technology and gadget news.

All about Mobile Life

<http://mobile.kaywa.com/>
Moblog that centers upon mobile technology and its application to daily life. Provides other resources relating to wireless technology.

Audioblogging 2.0

<http://radio.weblogs.com/0100368/>
Audioblog discussion and podcasts within a community.

bestkeptsimple.org

<http://www.bestkeptsimple.org/>
Blog that documents the acceptance of SMS technology into daily life.

Blackberry Forums

<http://www.blackberryforums.com/>
Discussion forum for Blackberry mobile technology.

BlogSnaps

<http://blogsnaps.com/>
Moblogging discussion forum with iBlog, specifically for posting pictures taken with a mobile camera.

BlueRoots.org

<http://www.blueroots.org/>
Includes instructions for starting a BlueRoots campaign, which enables mobile subscribers to place a slogan embodying their opinion on their Bluevoice device.

Blueserker

<http://www.blueserker.com/html/index.php>
Forum to post news, opinions and helpful tips for mobile technology.

Cellular News

<http://www.cellular-news.com/>
Listing of news articles, phone databases, job advertisements, conferences, shopping and discussions dealing with wireless technology.

Center for Digital Education

<http://www.centerdigitaled.com/>

Resource for education technology. Organizes events, publications and surveys. Includes online business development, sales tools and other advisory services.

Center for Digital Government

<http://www.centerdigitalgov.com/>

National institute that provides research and advisory services on information technology for local and state governments. Ideal resource for leaders in the public and private sectors.

Computer World

http://www.computerworld.com/?source=nav_tab

Electronic magazine for information technology that includes headlines, news organized by topic, white papers, blogs, buyer's guide, webcasts and events.

Converge Online

<http://www.convergemag.com/>

Listings of news and events related to technology.

Creative Weblogging

<http://www.creative-weblogging.com/>

Blog has access to other political blogs, a blog reader and guide to starting a personal blog.

David Davies' Weblog

<http://radio.weblogs.com/0001161/stories/2003/02/26/mobileBloggingHowtoGuide.html>

Blog that includes instructions for starting a mobile blog.

del.icio.us

<http://del.icio.us/>

Social bookmarks manager that helps the user make a personal collection of Web page links and organize them by keywords that can be shared with others users and accessed by any Web browser.

Digital Divide Network

<http://www.digitaldivide.net/>

Blogging community of policy makers, activists and educators that is used primarily for sharing news, opinions, articles and events.

Dmeurope

<http://www.dmeurope.com/>

European digital news that organizes news by country, contributor and headlines.

dottocomu

<http://www.dottocomu.com/b/>

Discussion forum for politics and technology in Japan.

Egovernment for Development

<http://www.egov4dev.org/topic4.htm>

Web page designed by Dr Emmanuel C. Lallana to answer questions about mobile and communications technology for the public sector.

Engadget

<http://www.engadget.com/entry/1234000360050681/>

Posting forum for digital technologies organized by topics.

feedbeep

<http://www.feedbeep.com/>

Alerting system for global events that is designed for SMS-enabled mobile devices.

Flashmob

<http://www.flashmob.com/>

Resource for information and discussion about flashmobs. Began as a social software project initiated by Cina Hazegh that predated Meetup and Friendster.

Geekzone

<http://www.geekzone.co.nz/default.asp>

Technology Web site that includes news, reviews, articles, blogs, guides and shopping.

Gizmodo

<http://www.gizmodo.com/gadgets/cellphones/indian-man-goes-sms-crazy-103050.php>

Blog that primarily discusses new mobile technology and other gadgets. Organized by types of devices with a search option.

Government Computer News

<http://appserv.gcn.com/mobile-wireless/>

Electronic newspaper that organizes articles by topic and includes product descriptions, white papers, eSeminars and event listings.

Government Technology

<http://www.govtech.net/>

Technology news for local and state governments that lists events, publications and other resources.

GSM Arena

<http://www.gsmarena.com/>

GSM technology Web site that incorporates access to news, a forum for discussion, links and mobile phone ring tones and logos.

Hot Spot Locations Directory

<http://www.hotspot-locations.com/modules.php?name=MobileEdition>

Directory that searches by country, city or zip code for mobile hotspots.

I4U

<http://www.i4u.com/index.php>

Global technology news.

IFTF's Future

<http://future.iftf.org/>

Group blog founded by the Institute for the Future that is directed towards the future of Asia, new technologies and their economic and social effects.

infoSync World

<http://www.infosyncworld.com/>
 Digital news, reviews and product center.

Itweb

<http://www.itweb.co.za/sections/telecoms/2005/0504041200.asp?A=CEL&S=Cellular&O=FTP>
 News resource relating to technology. Includes research, events and ITWEB information.

JAMDAT Mobile

<http://www.jamdat.com/JamdatWeb/Catalog/>
 Global wireless publisher of games and other entertainment applications for mobile devices.

Juxt

<http://www.juxtinteractive.com/>
 Internet marketing and design resource.

Loose Wire

<http://loosewire.typepad.com/blog/>
 Blog edited by Jeremy Wagstaff, a technology columnist for the Asian and online Wall Street Journals.

Market Reach

<http://www.market-reach.net>
 Web site devoted to marketing and consumer profiling through mobile marketing, events, retail, college and sponsorship activation.

Meetup

<http://www.meetup.com/>
 Social service software that links people who share a common perspective or interest within a local community.

Microcontent

<http://www.microcontentnews.com/>
 Online magazine for self-publishing and blogs. Also includes business microcontent, such as corporate blogging.

Mizuko Ito

<http://itofisher.com/mito/>
 Anthropological blog centered on the study of technology and its impact on Japanese and American young people.

Mobhappy

http://mobhappy.typepad.com/russell_buckleys_mobhappy/
 Blog authored by mobile technology practitioners and speakers Russell Buckley and Carlo Longino.

mobileburn.com

<http://www.mobileburn.com/>
 Online resource consisting of reviews, forums and press releases for high quality mobile devices, Bluetooth products and GSM phones.

Mobilemag

<http://www.mobilemag.com/>
 Wireless technology magazine with news and discussion postings.

MobileWhack.com

<http://www.mobilewhack.com/>
 Detailed information including news and reviews on emerging mobile technologies.

Mobile in a Minute

http://www.mobilein.com/what_is_a_mvno.htm
 Relevant information, such as market research, training and white papers, specifically for Mobile Virtual Network Operators.

Mobile MNS.com

<http://www.mobile3g.com/>
 MMS contracts, devices, news, publications, reports and network listings.

Mobile Tracker

<http://www.mobiletracker.net/>
 Cell phone news and reviews organized by topic.

Mobile Weblog

<http://www.mobile-weblog.com/>
 Blog for mobile technology by Oliver Starr. Centers upon technology trends, the implementation of broadband, location based services and mobile marketing.

Mobile World Forum

<http://www.w2forum.com/index.php>
 Business development network that supports corporation leaders in telecommunications, media and technology with up-to-date information on developments in mobile technology.

Moco.news

<http://www.moconews.net/>
 Mobile news site affiliated with paidContent.org.

Moblogging News

<http://moblog.busythumbs.com/>
 Discussion forum for emerging trends and developments in moblogging.

newswireless.net

<http://www.newswireless.net/>
 News, events, PR releases, gossip and links edited by Guy Kewney's.

Phonemag

<http://www.phonemag.com/>
 Wireless technology articles and reviews. Includes an area for reader discussion.

Phone Scoop

<http://www.phonescoop.com/>
 Mobile phone news and other related articles, carrier listing, phone finder, discussion forum, emerging products and glossary of terms.

Public CIO

<http://www.public-cio.com/>
Information technology magazine specifically for leaders in the public sector.

Reiter's Camera Phone Report

<http://www.wirelessmoment.com/>
Informational resource focused primarily upon mobile cameras and photography.

Ringernews.com

<http://www.ringernews.com/>
News and articles related to mobile ring tones and ringback tones.

Slashdot

<http://slashdot.org/>
Technology news, reviews and discussion forum.

Slashphone

<http://www.slashphone.com/>
Wireless technology article listings, shopping, discussion forum and information about trade shows and eStores.

SmsSummit

<http://wiki.advocacydev.org/cgi-bin/wiki.pl?SmsSummit>
Non-partisan discussion of the use of SMS during elections.

Smart Mobs

<http://www.smartmobs.com/>
*Web site and blog specifically for discussing the book *Smart Mobs: The Next Social Revolution* by Howard Rheingold.*

SMS Chronicle

<http://smschronicle.com/?q=node/54>
SMS industry news and applications for business and the consumer.

SMS Forum

<http://smsforum.net/>
SMS discussion, news and events.

SMS News

<http://sms-news.tm4b.com/>
Exclusively SMS news and articles.

TeachBeat

http://www.businessweek.com/the_thread/techbeat/
News, blogs and directory for the emerging developments and trends of business technology.

TechJapan

<http://www.techjapan.com/>
Resource centered upon technological developments in Japan. Includes encyclopedia, downloads, links and translated articles.

Technorati

<http://technorati.com/>
Search engine for blogs.

Techsmec

<http://www.techsmec.com/>
Reviews and shopping for technology and gadgets.

Tech Digest

<http://techdigestuk.typepad.com/>
U.K. and European resource for news and reviews on the latest technology and devices.

Telecoms Korea

<http://telecomskorea.com/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=2294&Itemid=2>
Korean technology resource consisting of news, industry updates, research and photo gallery.

Total Telecom

<http://www.totaltele.com/>
News for global communications that includes a document database, white papers and posting forum. Provides both an industrial and technological perspective.

The Guardian

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/online/0,3147,782450,00.html>
Resource for several different blogs, including an election blog and Newsblog. Also contains mobile technology links like eGovernment, new media sector and special reports.

The Joy of Text

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/joyoftext/>
BBC resource primarily about SMS and other texting information.

The Mobile Music Blog

<http://www.mobilemusicblog.com/>
Blog devoted to the developments and increasing popularity of music on mobile phones.

The Register

<http://www.theregister.co.uk/>
News services for mobile and Internet technology and software.

The Wireless Weblog

<http://wireless.weblogsinc.com/>
Blog centered upon mobile industry news.

WAP Zon

<http://www.wapzon.com/web/index.asp>
Wireless resource including reviews, shopping, downloads and discussion forum.

Washington Technology

http://www.washingtontechnology.com/ad_sup/govunwired/1.html
Washington news web site with a concentration on the technological applications.

Webopedia

<http://www.webopedia.com/TERM/G/GSM.html>
Online dictionary for terms related to computer and Internet technology.

Webwise

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/webwise/>
BBC guide for using the Internet.

UTMS Forum

<http://www.umts-forum.org/servlet/dycon/ztumts/umts/Live/en/umts/Home>
Resource devoted to the spread and success of 3G technology. Includes forum, news and glossary.

Unwired News

<http://www.wired.com/news/wireless/0,1382,,00.html>
Affiliate of Wired News that focuses on news and articles relating to mobile technology.

WAP Resource Center

<http://www.palowireless.com/wap/>
Lists wireless application protocol news, resources, events and software.

Wireless Watch Japan

<http://www.wirelesswatch.jp/>
Wireless resource that documents the mobile revolution and its impact on business developments in Japan. Includes an e-newsletter and streaming video. Tailored to a community of wireless professionals.

Wireless Week

<http://www.wirelessweek.com/>
Magazine that offers an online EXPLO along with news and discussion forums.

Wireless Wonders

<http://wirelesswonders.blogspot.com/>
Blog by Paul Golding that focuses on mobile phones and services.

Yackity Blog Blog

http://press.teleinteractive.net/yackity/2005/04/30/sms_spam
Contains technical and non-technical discussion.

GOVERNMENT RESOURCES

Wireless Telecommunications Bureau of the FCC Wireless Division

<http://wireless.fcc.gov/>
Supervises all wireless programs and policies of the FCC Wireless Division. Enforces the competitive bidding authority for spectrum auctions under the 1993 Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act.

National Telecommunications and Information Administration

<http://www.ntia.doc.gov/>
The president's primary advisor for developing the administration's policies towards telecommunications and information. Manages the federal use of the spectrum, issues telecommunications facilities grants and performs research and engineering for the industry.

APPENDIX C

Cellular Service Providers/ Operators¹

BY OLIVER STARR

Cingular Wireless (www.cingular.com)

A joint venture between the domestic wireless divisions of SBC (60 percent) and BellSouth (40 percent). These numbers also represent Cingular's acquisition in Q4 '04 of AT&T's wireless division.

Cingular reported revenues of \$8.2 billion at the end of the first quarter of 2005. Its customer base is increasingly GSM-based: 72 percent of subscribers in the first quarter of 2005 used GSM, compared to 65 percent in the previous quarter. Eighty-four percent of minutes of use (MoU) are now carried on the GSM network. Pro-forma ARPU decreased by 3.3 percent year-on-year (y/y) from US\$51.3 in the first quarter of 2004 to US\$49.6 in the first quarter of 2005. Data as a percentage of ARPU was 7.46 percent in the first quarter of 2005. The customer churn rate is 2.2 percent.

U.S. market focus. Cingular Wireless has the most extensive EDGE network in the United States Through its own network and roaming agreements with other operators, EDGE covers some 250 million people, including 13,000 cities and towns and in areas along nearly 40,000 miles of highways. In addition, with the AT&T purchase Cingular obtained 13 municipalities where AT&T had deployed UMTS (3G) equipment. Cingular is upgrading these UMTS locations during 2005 to a new even more robust standard,

WCDMA, and eventually to one of the most advanced, fastest and highest density capable standards, HSDPA (High Speed Download Packet Access).

Features include:

- Developing value-added services by leveraging EDGE and Wi-Fi.
- Network infrastructure (GSM1900, GPRS, Mobitex packet data network).
- Digital/analogue wireless voice.
- Wireless data: GPRS, interactive messaging, corporate e-mail access (RIM Blackberry support), MS, wireless Internet/WAP, EDGE.

Sprint Nextel (www.sprint.com and www.nextel.com)

A merger with Nextel is to be finalized some time in 2005. Net operating revenues in the first quarter of 2005 stood at \$3.87 billion. There were 26 million customers at the end of the first quarter of 2005. ARPU stood at \$61 in the first quarter of 2005, compared to \$62 a year ago. The churn rate has continued to decrease from 2.9 percent in the first quarter of 2004 to 2.7 percent in the fourth quarter of 2004 and 2.5 percent in the first quarter of 2005.

There are 8 million data subscribers. Data as a percentage of ARPU stands at 9.83 percent of the total in the first quarter of 2005. Nextel's first quarter 2005 revenue was up 16 percent to \$3.6 billion y/y. However, 2004 full-year

¹ Maili Torma, "WMRC Country Report," Global Insight, June 2005.

net profit declined to \$468 million from \$631 million y/y.

The operator added 810,000 net customers in the first quarter of 2005 and the pre-paid service Boost acquired 314,000 new net customers. The customer base at the end of the quarter was 17 million. ARPU was reported at \$67 in Q1 2005, compared to \$69 in the first quarter of 2004. Customer churn remained low at 1.5 percent in Q1 2005.

Sprint has historically tried to bundle Sprint PCS services with that of Sprint Communications' fixed-line services to expand cross-selling capabilities. It wants to go after the mobile data market by bringing its 3G network roll-out forward by one-year.

Sprint network infrastructure is CDMA IS-95A 1900 MHz, CDMA 1X, and it is focused on the United States market. Features include:

- PCS Ready Link push-to-talk service, launched in November 2003.
- PCS Vision - video clips, gaming, picture messaging, web-related services.
- Business connection - Access to Microsoft Outlook and Lotus Notes from any WAP-enabled device, PDA or other suitable devices.
- Voice features - voice-mail, directory assistance, conferencing, call-waiting, etc.
- Network infrastructure (iDEN, WiDEN, Flarion's FLASH-OFDM).
- Digital voice, Direct Connect - push-to-talk service, mobile messaging, Java technology, Web-based services such as e-mail and wireless-enabled Internet sites.

Recently, Sprint and Yahoo! announced the launch of downloadable Yahoo! Mail on mobile. The service is available nationwide on selected handsets.

Sprint PCS has also just launched location-based enhancements to its existing Roadside Rescue and Sprint PCS Directory Assistance services.

T-Mobile USA (www.tmobile.com)

T-Mobile USA is a wholly owned subsidiary of Deutsche Telekom's T-Mobile,

International. Revenue in the first quarter of 2005 was 2.6 billion Euro (\$3.3 billion).

The number of subscribers stood at 18.3 million in the first quarter of 2005, a 28 percent increase y/y. T-Mobile USA acquired over 950,000 customers in the first quarter of 2005. Monthly ARPU stood at \$51. The company reported a customer churn rate of 2.8 percent.

T-Mobile has subsidiaries and affiliates, as part of the

Deutsche Telekom Group, that serve more than 87 million mobile customers worldwide. Improving network quality and capacity to reduce its churn and stimulate ARPU. Competes on price to attract customers. Network infrastructure is GSM 1900 MHz, GPRS, EDGE, Wi-Fi.

Features include:

- Worldwide roaming services using GSM technology.
- Short messaging, enhanced messaging, instant messaging, multimedia messaging. High-speed wireless data—GPRS, EDGE, Wi-Fi.
- Bundled high-speed data services.

T-Mobile launched Wi-Fi services in July 2004. Almost a year later, the company boasts half a million Wi-Fi customers.

Verizon Wireless (www.verizonwireless.com)

Verizon Wireless is 55 percent owned by Verizon Communications and 45 percent by Vodafone. Total operating revenues in the first quarter of 2005 stood at \$7.42 billion.

Verizon Wireless added 1.64 million new customers in the first quarter of 2005—a 16.8 percent growth y/y, bringing the total customer base to 45.5 million. Customer turnover remains at an industry record low at 1.33 percent, with post-paid customer churn at an even lower 1.1 percent. Post-paid customers made up 92 percent of Verizon's wireless customer base in the first quarter of 2005. ARPU in the first quarter of 2005 was \$49.03, up 2.1 percent y/y, but slightly down from \$50.3 in the fourth quarter of 2004. The company's percentage of data revenue stood at 5.6 percent of total revenues in the first quarter of 2005.

Maintain position as the US's leading mobile operator by continually enhancing network coverage and quality, as well as customer satisfaction. Rapidly increase mobile data capability to supplant its position in the marketplace by rolling out its 3G network. International roaming enabled through Vodafone.

Network infrastructure is CDMA IS-95A, CDMA 2000 1X, CDMA 2000 1X EV-DO.

Features include:

- 'Get It Now' - Download games, ring tones, pictures, send and receive instant messages, e-mails and browse the Web. Push-to-talk voice service. Wireless Internet - access, e-mail and downloading documents. Voice-activated services - access e-mail, news and other information using speech.
- Enterprise solutions - customized broadband solutions, using cellular, fixed wireless and fixed access.

Verizon and Lucent have recently (August 18, 2005) announced successful test of Wireless VoIP calls placed over EV-DO Revision. This network enabling speeds up to 1.8 Mbps will be the platform for the new service which also

supports simultaneous voice, video and data.

Earlier this year, Verizon also launched a mobile music-video download service in co-operation with Warner Music Group on V-CAST EV-DO.

Authors' Biographies

Jed Alpert

Jed Alpert is President and CEO of Rights Group, LLC, a leading mobile marketing and content company whose clients include Coca-Cola, Visa, and Pepsi. Its Politxt division is the leading provider of mobile services to political campaigns and advocacy groups in the United States. Jed was also President of Sunshine Amalgamedia, Inc, and practiced law as a partner at Rudolph and Beer, and as an associate at Paul Weiss. Further, Jed produced numerous feature films including *Sunday*, winner of the 1997 Sundance Film Festival Grand Jury Prize. He has also served on the board of a number of film festivals and arts organizations, including Genart and The Newport Film Festival. Jed holds a BA from Connecticut College and a JD from Cardozo School of Law.

Connie Barko

Connie Barko, a resident of Pennsylvania, is currently a student at Bucknell University where she is a Biology major and participates in Army ROTC. She interned with the Institute of Politics, Democracy & the Internet this summer.

Chris Brooks

Chris Brooks serves as Financial Manager for the Institute for Politics, Democracy & the Internet. He has been with the Institute since 2004 when he worked as Work Study Research Assistant. Chris is currently working towards a degree in Political Communication from The George Washington University. At the young age of 15, Chris worked as the Assistant Director of Intergovernmental Affairs for the New Jersey Department of State where he developed his interest in government. He has since worked on several campaigns including the Bush-Cheney '04 Presidential Campaign, serving as a GOTV wireless volunteer in Michigan.

Russell Buckley

Russell Buckley is a leading practitioner, speaker and commentator on mobile marketing. He has spent 15 years in marketing, working with some of the world's largest brands

such as Coca-Cola, Diageo, BT, Texaco and Mars. In 2000 he helped found ZagMe, as Marketing Director of this VC funded start-up. He is the author of "Messaging Applications Yearbook - The Definitive Guide to Strategy, Creation and Deployment." Russell consults in Mobile Marketing for agencies and their clients and is a founding partner of Unstatic (www.unstatic.co.uk). He lives in Munich, Germany.

Douglas Busk

With over eight years' experience in high tech fields, ranging from interactive marketing to wireless strategy, Doug Busk serves as Associate Director of Messaging for Verizon Wireless, where he leads product management of intercarrier, premium, international, and B2B SMS-based initiatives as well as Instant Messaging product lines. From 2001-2003, Doug provided strategic development direction for another domestic wireless carrier as well as wireless solutions provider AnyDevice, both based in Atlanta. From 1997-2000, Doug led CIMStudio, the in-house advertising creative unit of nationwide city site network Cox Interactive Media.

Peter Churchill

After completing a politics degree at the University of York in England in 1995, Peter pursued a career in IT consulting, specializing in the implementation of Customer Relationship Management (CRM) solutions. Working for KPMG Consulting in London, Peter spent several years assisting companies such as Microsoft, GE and Reed Elsevier to implement their CRM system. Peter also worked for a subsidiary of the American Express Group in London for three years as their senior CRM analyst. In 2005, Peter moved to DC to pursue his Masters degree at GW's Graduate School of Political Management, where he hopes to be able to bring his knowledge of contact management solutions to the world of political management.

Lucas Cioffi

Lucas Cioffi is currently serving as a Captain in the US Army at Fort Hood, Texas.

Michael Colopy

The emergence of China and America's role in the world today constitute the special focus of Michael Colopy. He is a graduate of Princeton University and has studied in several countries including Iran and the UK. He has worked on several major international questions, including SALT II and the Camp David Accords. He has also served as an advisor to many Members of Congress, a senior aide to Senator John Glenn and assistant chief of staff for the presidential campaign. In 1988 he co-founded International Commerce Consultants Incorporated (ICCI), and in 1992 became a partner at O'Connor & Hannan. In 2004, as an advisor to Aristotle International, he designed and managed a communications strategy for the company's fraud monitoring effort in Ukraine in support of the pro-reform coalition.

Dennis Crowley

Dennis Crowley is the founder of dodgeball.com, a New York based service that focuses on merging location-based services with social networks to help people connect with the people and places around them. Dodgeball was acquired by Google in 2005. Dennis has developed and managed mobile applications for Vindigo, MTV Networks and ABC and was previously a member of Jupiter Research's technology and operations research group. He has recently been involved in the creation of Big Games such as Pac-Manhattan and ConQwest(tm). His work has appeared in The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, Wired, Time Magazine, Newsweek, MTV, Slashdot and NBC and he has presented examples of his work at Microsoft, Intel and at O'Reilly's Emerging Technology conference. Dennis holds a Master's degree from New York University's Interactive Telecommunications Program and a Bachelor's degree from the Newhouse School at Syracuse University.

Kendra Ann Crowley

Kendra Ann Crowley began her political work experience as an undergraduate student at The George Washington University. She has worked as a program operations assistant at Common Cause, and in the office of Representative Christopher Shays (R-4th/CT), on the BCRA legislation. She served on the field team of Chellie Pingree's campaign for the Senate in 2002. She has also worked with the Alliance for Better Campaigns, Kendra is currently enrolled a Master of Arts program at GW's Graduate School of Political Management. She is expected to graduate in July of 2006.

Michael Dumlao

Michael Dumlao is a Philippine-born dual Australian-American citizen. He graduated with high honors in June, 2000 from the University of California, Santa Barbara after studying photography and multi-media design both at UCSB and at the Sydney College of the Arts, University of Sydney. Michael currently works as the Director of Global Classrooms - DC for the United Nations Association in Washington, DC where he specializes in program management, communications and art direction. Michael is also a freelance photographer and web designer (having shot for Latina Style Magazine and DC's MetroWeekly).

Roger Entner

Roger Entner is the VP Wireless Telecoms for Ovum, covering market developments, technology trends and companies in the North American market place. He formerly served as the Director of Yankee Group's Wireless/Mobile US advisory service, and as strategic marketing manager for LCC International. He also was a managing analyst at Markowitz & McNaughton. He has been recognized as one of the leading wireless analysts in the US and has been widely quoted in national and international newspapers and broadcasts. Roger is also an advisor for the National Science Foundation's Small Business Innovation Research/Small Business Technology Transfer Research programs. He holds a BA in Business Organization from Heriot-Watt University in Edinburgh, Scotland and an MBA in International Business from George Washington University.

W. Bradford Fay

Brad Fay is an independent consultant based near Princeton, NJ, working on opinion polling, market research and word-of-mouth marketing. Until mid-2005, Brad was Managing Director or NOP World Consumer, responsible for the NOP World's Roper Public Affairs & Media practice, Starch Communications, and Omnibus Services businesses. In 1998, Fay formed the firm's Roper Public Affairs & Media practice. He has written numerous articles, is a frequent lecturer, and has appeared on the NBC Nightly News with Tom Brokaw, National Public Radio, and has been quoted in publications such as the Wall Street Journal, and Business Week. Fay studied survey research under Burns W. Roper at the University of Connecticut where he received his Master's in Political Science. His B.A. is in government from Colby College in Waterville, ME. He can be reached by email at Bradfay@aol.com.

Mindy Finn

Mindy Finn is the Deputy Director of the eCampaign for the Republican National Committee. The eCampaign develops creative online components for the RNC's offline efforts in order to advance the Committee's political, communication, financial and member service goals. Additionally, the RNC's eCampaign is committed to institutionalizing within the Republican Party, an understanding of and capability to execute effective online campaigns at the national, state, and local level. Finn served as Deputy Webmaster for Bush-Cheney '04, where she facilitated email outreach and online grassroots activism. Previously she worked for Congressman Lamar Smith (R-TX) and Senator Michael Enzi (R-WY). Prior to entering politics, Finn worked as a congressional correspondent for a Connecticut daily newspaper. She is originally from Houston, Texas.

Julie Barko Germany

Julie Germany serves as the Deputy Director of The Institute for Politics, Democracy & the Internet. Previously she served as the Assistant to the President of Rome Foundation International. She previously worked as a writer, editor and program manager for international initiatives in Korea, Ukraine, Haiti and the United States. Julie is a founding member of Young Champions, a non-profit that works with youth health issues. She served as the principal author and editor of the Institute's The Political Consultants' Online

Fundraising Primer and co-authored Putting Online Influentials to Work for Your Campaign and Under the Radar and Over the Top: Online Political Web Videos in the 2004 Campaign. She is a graduate of Messiah College and at Keble College, Oxford University, and studied in Edinburgh, Scotland. She was a Pew Younger Scholar of Literature at the University of Notre Dame. In 2003, she received an M.A. from The George Washington University, where she was a University Fellow.

Mike Grenville

Mike runs 160 Characters and is Chairman of VC backed mobile content company Kwickee. He is a frequent conference chairman, speaker, writer and commentator on the mobile messaging industry. He developed the first ever conference and exhibition dedicated to the marketing and business applications of SMS in 2001. In developing the event, it became apparent to Mike that the emerging mobile messaging industry needed more opportunities to meet and learn from each other and the idea to form 160 Characters as an association grew. Since then he has produced many seminars and a weekly newsletter that offers a global perspective on the mobile messaging industry. Previously Mike was founding employee at alerting company Adeptra (previously RealCall) where he undertook a variety of entrepreneurial roles including VP Country Operations, Business Development Manager and Head of Customer Services. He joined Adeptra from Internet travel company Deckchair.com where he was Marketing Manager, having many previous years experience in travel technology with both Galileo International and British Airways.

Adam Guy

As Managing Director of the Wireless practice, he leads a team of client services professionals and analysts to deliver competitive intelligence and comprehensive analysis of wireless consumers to wireless carriers, MVNOs, equipment vendors and distribution channels. Prior to joining Compete, Adam was a Sr. Analyst at the Yankee Group where he focused on wireless carriers and their approaches to distribution, pricing, market segmentation and enabling technology platforms. Previously, he was the Director of Wireless Research at InfoTek Research and a Senior Analyst of Mobile Wireless Research at The Strategis Group. Adam has a BA from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and an MBA from American University.

Chris Hare

Chris Hare is the VP of Business Development at Digit Wireless, where he is responsible for channel development, sales licensing, and partner relationships. He has over 15 years of international sales, engineering, and business development experience with handheld devices at companies such as Lucas Varity, TRW, and in private practice. Chris created and led sales and engineering teams for a \$60 million revenue operation and drove dramatic growth and profitability improvements. In addition, Chris started his own international technology-licensing consultancy focusing on human machine interface and mobile communications. He has received various awards including the IBM Design & Innovation Award for the design of a new monitor keypad. Chris holds a graduate degree in Operations Management,

Certificate in Marketing, and Certificate in Industrial Management from Trevenson Management College in the UK.

David Harper

In 2001, Mr. Harper founded Wireless Ink with the goal of making the Mobile Internet more accessible to the masses. He has more than 20 years experience as an entrepreneur, technologist, and senior level executive. During this time Mr. Harper successfully founded several software development companies. Mr. Harper has also been instrumental in capital raises and P&L for companies under management. His clients have included: Cablevision, FUSE TV, adidas, Computer Associates, Comverse, Verint, Schering Plough Key, Nickelodeon, Lazio 2000 Senate Campaign, Time Warner, RIA Group, Nortel and Heidelberg Publishing Group among others. He resides in New York, with his wife, three sons, and daughter. He can be reached at dharper@wirelessink.com.

Zef Hemel

Zef Hemel is a twenty-two year old Computer Science graduate from the University of Groningen, the Netherlands. Today he is taking the Networks and Distributed Systems master program at Trinity College Dublin, Ireland. Zef's professional interests include emerging internet technologies and their applications, programming paradigms, and distributed systems. He frequently writes about these on his weblog (<http://www.zefhemel.com>).

Robert Hoopes

Robert Hoopes heads Hoopes Strategies, a lobbying and PR firm and is a nationally recognized expert on public affairs and issue advocacy. Robert has been active in electoral politics for 20 years, getting his start in national campaigns in 1987 when he worked for Senator Biden in New Hampshire on his run for President. Robert joined the Senator. He has also worked for Senators Chris Dodd and Alan Dixon. Robert ran the grassroots advocacy program for MCI from 1996 to 1999. Most recently he served as a Senior Vice President/Management Supervisor at Powell Tate/Weber Shandwick. Robert is an Adjunct Faculty member at the Graduate School of Political Management and Fellow at the Institute for Democracy, Politics and the Internet.

David Hughes

Dave Hughes is one of the leading technical and policy facilitators in grass-roots community networking. In 1981, he started what may be the first bulletin board system (BBS) whose goal was to empower the local public politically. In Colorado Springs, Colorado, citizens organized by Hughes online have won changes in the procurement policy by local government. His local private bulletin board has evolved into a city-run "City Link" on which the city council communicates openly with the entire community online. Hughes's work in other communities ranges from Hawaii to Russia. He designed the decentralized Big Sky Telegraph educational network in Montana, and designed a project in San Luis valley. In December 1992, Hughes was asked by the transition team of President-elect Clinton to submit a low-cost plan for bringing computer networks into all public schools.

Emilienne Ireland

Emi Ireland is President of Campaign Advantage, which provides strategic websites, fundraising, and online communications services for candidates, causes, organizations, and corporations. She was named a "Rising Star of American Politics" by Campaigns and Elections magazine in April 2002, and her firm pioneered the only technology for accepting donations via secure online checks that has received explicit approval from the Federal Elections Commission (FEC). Emi appears regularly in print, and has given training lectures and seminars in Europe, Canada, and across the United States. Her work has been cited by publications such as the New York Times, USA Today, Wired, The Hill Online, and Campaigns & Elections. Emi graduated from Columbia University, and holds an M.A. in Anthropology from Yale University, with a concentration in Legal and Political Anthropology. She and her husband, Phil Nash are members of the Adjunct Faculty at GW's Graduate School of Political Management.

Sean Kewley

Starting out as a precinct captain in Chicago's north side, Sean Kewley worked for Congresswomen Jan Schakowsky's successful bid for the Illinois 9th Congressional District in 1998. He also worked as a consultant with the Strategic Consulting Group in Chicago IL. In June of 1999 he co-founded Voter Solutions, a political consulting firm specializing in voter contact management software and data services. He has served as a consultant to over 400 successful Federal, State, and local campaigns. During the 2000 redistricting process he served as a lead consultant to many Illinois Congressmen, and was responsible for pioneering today's mobile VRM software solutions. Mr. Kewley was also the founding president of the American Association of Political Consultants Midwest Chapter. He is a graduate of Illinois State University.

Zach Klein

Zach Klein is a partner and chief developer of Connected Ventures, and which creates and manages websites, including CollegeHumor.com. His company was founded in 1999 and maintains an office in New York City. Their network boasts a monthly reach of more than 8 million unique persons, 75 percent of which are 18-24 year olds. They display 280 million pages each month, and their email-based content reaches more than 240,000 opt-in subscribers. Klein is a graduate of Wake Forest University.

Ian Koski

A writer, strategist and graphic designer, Ian Koski founded On Deck Communication Studio in 2004. He previously served as the Director of Public Policy and Communications at The Performance Institute, a nonpartisan government management reform think tank. As a journalist, Ian covered a wide variety of issues, including education, crime, local, state and national politics, as well as intercollegiate and professional sports. Ian holds a bachelor's degree in communication from Villanova University and a master's degree in political management from The George Washington University. He resides in Alexandria, Virginia.

Kathie Legg

Kathie Legg is a research assistant for the Institute for Politics, Democracy & the Internet and a Masters student at the Graduate School of Political Management at The George Washington University. She served as the deputy conference manager for the successful 2005 Politics Online Conference and is currently the project manager of Politics to Go. Kathie is a recent graduate from the State University of New York at Albany with a degree in Political Science and Information Science and Policy. During her time in Albany she conducted research for the Center for Policy Research. Kathie's first experience in the political world was a four-year internship with local New York State Senator in Binghamton, NY. Shortly afterward, she went abroad to accept an internship with a Member of Parliament in the British House of Commons. Kathie lives and works in Washington, DC.

Geoffrey Mackler

As an account executive at MSHC Partners, where Geoff's geek-like knowledge of political minutia found a receptive audience of like-minded hacks, dweebs and wonks. He has worked on legislative, Congressional, independent expenditure programs and initiatives. Prior to joining Tribe MSHC, Geoff graduated from Boston University and worked on campaigns in several states - most notably, the 2000 Michigan Coordinated campaign. Next to politics, Geoff's other sustaining passion is following the ongoing saga that is D.C. sports. Much of Geoff's free time - and quite likely huge chunks of work time - is spent discussing all that is wrong with the Capitols, Redskins and Wizards.

Daniel Manatt

Daniel Manatt is the founder of Manatt.net/Web Video for Politics, to date the first and only dedicated Political Web Video production and consulting firm. In 2000, he served as producer at FreedomChannel.com, and was the founding Executive Director of YDemsCan.Net. His multimedia work for the Jack Conway for Congress campaign earned him IPDI's 2003 Golden Dot "Internet Moment" Award. He produced the first ever-daily video blog for Ben Chandler's gubernatorial campaign, and has worked for a number of high-profile candidates and committees. In addition, he has worked as an election attorney and as advance staffer on the 1992 Bill Clinton for President campaign. He also served as legislative counsel to Congressmen Marty Meehan and Scotty Baesler. He writes frequently on politics and the Internet. He edits the blog, PoliticalWebVideo.com.

Jim Manis

Jim is the Senior VP of Carrier Relations and Industry Development at m-Qube, Inc., and has over 20 years of experience in developing international markets for technology based companies, advocating the advancement of wireless data services and technology, and promoting the mobile Internet industry on a global scale. At m-Qube, he is responsible for wireless carriers and the strategy to develop the wireless data industry. Prior to joining m-Qube, Jim held leadership positions with Openwave Systems, Software.com, @mobile.com, the Universal Wireless Communications Consortium, and Westbridge International. Jim is the

Global Chairman of the Mobile Marketing Association, and sits on the Leadership Council of CTIA's Wireless Internet Caucus, and advises companies in the mobile industry. He holds a Masters degree from the University of Washington.

Firoze Manji

Firoze Manji, a Kenyan, has more than thirty years of experience in international development, health, and human rights. He previously worked as regional representative for health sciences in Eastern and Southern Africa for the Canadian International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in Nairobi. Prior to that he was chief executive of the Aga Khan Foundation (UK) and was Africa programme director at the International Secretariat of Amnesty International. He is currently visiting fellow at Kellogg College and associate tutor at the University of Oxford. He has authored a number of textbooks and interactive training manuals. He is editor of Pambazuka News (www.pambazuka.org), and senior editor of the Learning for change series published by Fahamu in association with the Department for Continuing Education, University of Oxford. A member of the editorial board of Development in Practice, he is also a member of the steering committee of the Network for Equity in Health in Southern Africa. Originally trained as a dentist (BDS) in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, he holds an MSc and PhD from the University of London. He is co-director of Fahamu.

Nihal Metha

Nihal Mehta, the founder and President of IPSH, is a noted expert in the emerging Gen X / Gen Y adoption of wireless technologies. He also co-founded UrbanGroove Networks, Inc., His latest venture, ipsh! (which stands for instant power single-handed) was originally created as a service that allowed event managers to selectively summon individuals based upon their preferences, location, and area code. Mehta's work has earned him a nomination at this year's Ad:tech Awards, as well as profiles in a number of national publications, including The Hollywood Reporter, Los Angeles Times, and Tech-TV. Aside from his work with some of the world's most recognized brands Nihal still keeps his finger on entertainment's pulse through his hobby as a DJ, where can be found spinning events across the U.S. in cities such as San Francisco, New York, Washington D.C., and Miami. A graduate from the University of Pennsylvania, Mehta obtained an honors BA in Philosophy of Science and a BS in Computer Science and Engineering.

Brent McMillan

A former Republican, McMillan first became involved in the Green Party in 1991 with the Delaware County Greens in Muncie, Indiana and served as secretary for the first state-wide gathering of Greens in 1992. In 1996 he co-founded the Green Party of Seattle and served on the first coordinating council. In 1998 he co-founded the Green Party of the 36th District and served as its Treasurer until 2004. In 2000 he co-founded the Green Party of Washington State, and in 2002 he was elected as one of two delegates to represent the state of Washington on the coordinating committee of the Green Party of the United States. In 2003 he was a candidate for the newly created Seattle Monorail Board. He finished third out of seven candidates. He began

as the national Political Director for the Green Party of the United States on February 11, 2004. He received a BS and a BA from Ball State University.

Emily Miller

Emily Miller is PoliticsOnline's summer editor and communications director. Originally hired as an intern, Emily is enjoying her new (if temporary) position. She is a rising senior at Bucknell University majoring in English and political science and hopes to pursue a career in political journalism after graduation. Previously Emily has worked as a research assistant for PBS Frontline in Washington, D.C. She lives in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Phil Tajitsu Nash

Phil co-founded Nash Interactive after nearly two decades as a lawyer, educator, non-profit executive, and website developer. Phil has worked as a newspaper editor and magazine journalist, and currently writes "Washington Journal," a weekly political commentary column for Asian Week. He has provided commentary to BBC World News radio and other news outlets, and served as host of a nationally-broadcast weekly public radio program on the U.S. Supreme Court. He also is a certified television producer. Phil practiced law in New York and New Jersey, taught law at Georgetown University Law Center, and served as Executive Director of a national not-for-profit legal services foundation. An honors graduate of New York University, Phil holds a J.D. from Rutgers Law School and is currently admitted to the bar in New York and New Jersey.

Justin Oberman

A graduate of Brandeis University, Justin Oberman is a freelance writer, blog maestro, graphic designer and self-proclaimed digital consultant, and recently founded Digitisms. He is the Interim Webmaster and Senior Project Associate at Wheredowego.org, a web based progressive community, and the co-founder and webmaster of Whatwoulddumbledoredo.com, a Harry Potter themed community blog. Justin also contributes articles to various online publications, and his digital artwork has been displayed at various locations in the Boston area. Justin is currently attending the New School University, and is the assistant policy debate coach at Edgemont High School in Scarsdale New York. Justin lives in New York City. He can be reached at justin@digitisms.com or at his AOL AIM: Letsdebate

Jason Owen

Jason L. Owen is the President of Kanoche Corp. He has been involved in the domestic and international telecommunications field for over 7 years. While working as a project manager at International Mobile Communications, he established, developed and maintained international vendor and service relationships. He introduced US clients to new business avenues and technology that were already being used abroad. Currently working as a consultant to an Authorized Retailer for Verizon Wireless, he offers a broad knowledge base to clients who depend on connectivity and integration in the wireless world. Jason studied industrial design at Principia College.

Jonah Peretti

Jonah Peretti is the Director of R&D at Eyebeam and is a pioneer in the field of Contagious Media. He created or co-created the Nike Sweatshop email, the New York City Rejection Line and the BlackPeopleLoveUs.com web site. Each of these projects started small but spread virally to millions of people, illustrating the practical application of concepts like emergence, 6-degrees of separation, and tipping points. Peretti is a graduate of the MIT Media Lab, and has taught at NYU's Interactive Telecommunications program and Parsons School of Design. He speaks regularly on contagious media, technology, activism, and art, and consults for leading technology and media companies. Peretti's work has been covered by a number of national publications and broadcasts, including The New York Times, the Economist, CNN, NPR and the BBC.

Vincente Rafael

Vicente L. Rafael is Professor of History at the University of Washington in Seattle. He is the author of *Contracting Colonialism* (Duke Univ. Press, 1993), *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History* (Duke Univ. Press, 2000), and *The Promise of the Foreign: Nationalism and the Technics of Translation in the Spanish Philippines* (Duke Univ. Press, 2005). He has also written many essays on the cultural and political history of the Philippines, including "The Cell Phone and the Crowd: Messianic Politics in the Contemporary Philippines in *Public Culture*, v.15, no.3, Fall 2003.

Howard Rheingold

Howard Rheingold is the author of *Smart Mobs*, *The Virtual Community*, and *Tools for Thought*. He was the editor of *The Whole Earth Review*, *The Millennium Whole Earth Catalog*, and *HotWired* and founded *Electric Minds* and *Brainstorms*. Rheingold teaches "Toward a Literacy of Cooperation" at Stanford University and "Participatory Media and Collective Action" at the University of California - Berkeley.

Ben Rigby

After graduating from Stanford University in '95, Rigby co-founded Akimbo Design, a web development firm that created and managed the consumer web sites and projects for a number of high profile clients, including The North Face, Sony Pictures, and MGM. Akimbo Design has won numerous awards such as Yahoo!'s Pick of the Week, USA Today's Hot Site Award, Macromedia's Shocked Site of the Day and People's Choice Award. From '01 to '03, Rigby worked as CTO of DFILM, creating viral communications software such as SMAC—a youth-oriented visual communications system for iMODE mobile phones which is currently running on the KPN network in Holland and The DFILM Moviemaker which won many web awards and has been licensed by companies including Yahoo!, Old Navy, MTV Europe, Hyundai, Sam Adams Beer, Calvin Klein and the Sierra Club. Rigby founded the Mobile Voter project in January '04.

Clay Shirky

Mr. Shirky divides his time between consulting, teaching, and writing on the social and economic effects of Inter-

net technologies. Current clients include Nokia, GBN, the Library of Congress, the Highlands Forum, the Markle Foundation, and the BBC. Shirky is an adjunct professor in NYU's graduate Interactive Telecommunications Program (ITP). Previously he was a Partner at the investment firm The Accelerator Group, and was the original Professor of New Media in the Media Studies department at Hunter College. He also served as the Chief Technology Officer of the NYC-based Web media and design firm Site Specific. He also served as VP of the New York chapter of the EFF, and wrote technology guides for Ziff-Davis. He appeared as an expert witness on internet culture in *Shea vs. Reno*, a case cited in the Supreme Court's decision to strike down the Communications Decency Act in 1996. His writings are archived at shirky.com, and he currently runs the N.E.C. mailing list for his writings on networks, economics, and culture.

Mike Short

Mike Short is the Chairman of the UK Mobile Data Association. His career spans 29 years in Electronics and Telecommunications, with the last 17 years in Mobile Communications. He was appointed Contracts Director of Cellnet in 1989, dealing with multi-million dollar infra-structure investments and UK interconnect agreements. In 1993 the focus moved to establishing Cellnet's GSM service. He was elected Chairman of the GSM Association for 1995/96, and served on its Executive Board for 3 years. Mike's focus today is on Third Generation (UMTS) cellular and steering mm02 R&D from GSM evolution towards UMTS and beyond. He also is a member of the OFCOM Spectrum Advising Board (OSAB) and the Home Office Internet Task Force. He has been chairman of the UK Mobile Data Association since 1998.

Micah Sifrey

Micah L. Sifry is a co-founder and executive editor of the Personal Democracy Forum (www.personaldemocracy.com). From May-September 2005 he served as the eCampaign Director of the Andrew Rasiej campaign for New York City Public Advocate. He is also senior analyst with Public Campaign. Prior to joining Public Campaign in 1997, Sifry was an editor and writer with *The Nation* magazine for thirteen years. He is the author of *Spoiling for a Fight: Third-Party Politics in America* (Routledge, 2002) and co-edited *The Iraq War Reader* (Touchstone, 2003) and *The Gulf War Reader* (Times Books, 1991). His latest book, co-authored with Nancy Watzman, on how money in politics affects people in their everyday lives, is titled *Is That a Politician in Your Pocket?* (John Wiley & Sons, 2004). He is also an adjunct professor at the Political Science Department of the City University of New York/Graduate Center, where he teaches a course called "Writing Politics." His personal blog is at micah.sifry.com.

Oliver Starr

Oliver Starr's has done everything from racing bicycles professionally alongside Lance Armstrong, to recently become an Executive in Residence with Angel Strategies, a \$300 million dollar venture capital fund. Beyond his career as an athlete, Oliver has also become a notable author, public

speaker and successful entrepreneur. He also serves as CTO for Hello, Inc, a phone systems management company servicing Fortune 1000 clients including McDonald's and Kroger Stores. He is also a nationally syndicated blogger with two technology blogs, one of which has over 80,000 subscribers. He has recently sold a distribution company that he founded less than 3 years ago, capturing over 30,000 accounts in this short time, and continues to keep his finger on the pulse of the biological sciences with ongoing consulting engagements.

Jim Udall

Jim Udall is the Research Director of Mobile MUSE and the President of Symphonetics, Inc. He has participated in five startups and personally co-founded two of them. His latest startup venture - Vienna Systems - was a pioneer in the Voice Over IP arena, which ended in the successful acquisition of Vienna Systems by Nokia in December of 1998. Mr. Udall moved to Vancouver in 2000 to lead the growth of the nascent Nokia Mobile phone product creation centre from 35 to over 400 people by 2003. His latest passion is the Mobile MUSE activity and its promise to deliver compelling social experiences based on the three technology pillars of location awareness, mobility and rich media. He is a graduate of the University of Waterloo.

Jeff Vail

Jeff attended the US Air Force Academy in Colorado, graduating in 1999. After graduation he went to Intelligence Officer school. As an Intelligence Officer he did a number of things: targeted bombs and cruise missiles for the American invasion of Afghanistan with the 36th Intelligence Squadron, was Chief of Intelligence with the 41st Electronic Combat Squadron (EC-130H COMPASS CALL, for those who care), and also Chief of Intelligence for the 41st Expeditionary Electronic Warfare Squadron deployed to the Middle East during the war in Iraq. While bored, sitting in a tent in the desert, Jeff decided to write a book, "A Theory of Power", which resulted in his web site, JfVail.net. He separated from the Air Force in June of 2004. At present Jeff lives in Colorado with his wife, Julie.

DP Venkatesh

DP Venkatesh, Founder and CEO of mPortal, where he oversees all aspects of strategy, sales and marketing, and raising capital. Prior to founding mPortal, Mr. Venkatesh was with McKinsey & Company in their Hong Kong Office as part of their global Telecommunications Practice. Mr. Venkatesh also has led the Asia Pacific telecommunications practice for Computer Sciences Corporation (Nasdaq:CSC) and started CSC's office in Asia in Hong Kong. Earlier in his career, Mr. Venkatesh held several positions in product management and marketing for Convergys (Nasdaq:CVG) in North America while working with communication providers in their BSS/OSS infrastructure. Mr. Venkatesh holds an MS in Industrial Engineering and an MBA both from the University of Cincinnati, as well as a BS in Chemical Engineering from Anna University. Currently, Mr. Venkatesh resides outside Washington, DC.

Mackenzie Wark

McKenzie Wark is the author of *A Hacker Manifesto* (Harvard UP 2004) and many other books. He teaches media and cultural studies at Eugene Lang College and the New School for Social Research in New York City.

Robert Walczak

Mr. Walczak is the founder and CEO of Mobile Phone Applications, Inc. He graduated from the University of Denver with a BSBA in Finance and Marketing. After college he went on to work as a corporate development analyst at an early stage software company focused in Mobile Resource Management (MRM). By the end of his term there he had moved up to Director of Client Services and Technical Support. He later left to pursue his entrepreneurial passion by starting Mobile Phone Applications, Inc.

Hugh Weber

Hugh Weber is the Political and Business Development Director for Vertical Systems, Inc., a political technology firm in Eden Prairie, MN. In 2002, Hugh served as Regional Field Director for John Thune's first campaign for Senate. In 2003, Hugh was appointed by President Bush to serve in the Department of Agriculture. Hugh has previously managed a gubernatorial bid in West Virginia, served the Governor of South Dakota as a Regional Economic Representative, and was Political Director and Legislative Affairs Coordinator for the South Dakota GOP. During the 2004 cycle, Hugh served as Director of Political Education for the Republican National Committee. In addition, he served on the three-person Executive Team that traveled to target states to review and revise 72 Hour plans, which have been credited with providing the margin of victory for many of the Presidential target states. After the election, Hugh served President Bush as Deputy Director for Public Liaison at the 55th Presidential Inauguration Committee. Hugh serves as the Republican Consultant for Young Voters Strategies. Hugh is a graduate of Swarthmore College and George Washington University's Graduate School of Political Management.

The Institute for Politics Democracy & the Internet
The Graduate School of Political Management
The George Washington University
805 21st St., NW, Suite 401
Washington, DC 20052
1.800.367.4776 toll free
ipdi@ipdi.org

INSTITUTE FOR POLITICS
DEMOCRACY & THE INTERNET

WWW.IPDI.ORG



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