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Political Campaign Revolutions:
Case Study Barack Obama 2008

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Introduction

In 2008 Barack Hussein Obama was elected 44 th President of the United States and first African-American President. Less than 50 years ago Obama could have not sat next to a white man in a bus, let alone become President. 2008 is not only revolutionary for his historical meaning, it also revolutionary for what the campaign accomplished: it changed forever how political campaigns are run. Few campaigns in history managed to obtain such passionate involvement and world wide visibility. The campaign broke many political records. But more than a campaign, Obama formed a movement. People were giving time they did not have and donating money they could not afford. This is how much he inspired them. The "Yes we can" campaign was also the first which successfully used new media to organize support and solicit donations, making Obama "America's first Internet President".[1] Quoting presidential adviser David Gergen, no other campaign or candidate in modern history was "connected with culture" as Obama was.[2] A brilliant example is that the Apple Iphone went first on sale in June 2007, by September an Obama application was already available to download. No other candidate was able to react with such timing to new technologies. These elements and many more, that we will later analyze made Obama's 2008 campaign unique and showed us what politics in the future will be like.

It is astonishing to think that merely two years before Obama's election, at the outset of the Democratic Primaries this historical result would have seemed pure fiction. Obama was unknown outside of his home State of Illinois and had served less than a term in the United States Senate. Obama's road to the White House started in 2004 when he unexpectedly won the Democratic Primary Senate race for the State of Illinois and even more surprisingly was asked to give the 2004 Democratic National Convention Keynote address. This was the first time Democrats heard of him outside of Illinois and the speech would end up changing his life. He initiated with great self

1 Greengard, S. (2009) The first internet President, ed. Communications of the ACM, Vol. 52 No. 2, P. 16-18
2 Hendricks, J. A. AND Denton, R. E. (2010). Communicator-in-chief. ed. Lanham: Lexington Books, p.124

consciousness: "Tonight is a particular honor for me because, let's face it, my presence on this stage is pretty unlikely"[3]. If his presence on that stage was "unlikely" his election in the Oval Office seemed beyond the bounds of possibility.

At the dawn of the 2008 Democratic Primaries Hillary Clinton's nomination seemed unquestionable. Most candidates spend a life time preparing their candidacy, and Clinton sure did. She had a strong background, a recognizable name, organization set up in every state and a colossal fund-raising machine. Obama had none of this. But he defeated Clinton and won the Democratic Nomination. He then went to face war hero John McCain in the Presidential race and defeated him too. Winning 365 electoral votes (67.8%) with the highest turnout in United States history and 53% of the popular vote.[4] The third highest Democratic Candidate percentage ever recorded. And won 66-31% of the under thirty votes.[5] Using internet, Obama raised $711,741,924 in the general election. More than two times McCain figure, who raised $296,124,438.[6] His staff sent 1 billion emails to more than thirteen million people.[7] More than a political campaign, 2008 was a grassroots movement. The latest internal sources talked about six million volunteers by election day.[8]

To achieve these remarkable results, Obama and his staff rewrote the Political Campaign playbook. They ran the most unconventional political campaign the world has ever seen and achieved something that seemed impossible to most: changing the electorate. They captivated new voters, won in traditional republican States and enchanted Clinton's supporters. Iowa is an example. First polls were projecting Obama in third place. Voters over sixty-five were two time more than people under

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3 FDCH E-Media (2004) Transcript: Illinois Senate Candidate Barack Obama
        (Online)Available at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A19751-2004Jul27.html
4   Election Center (2008) President-Elections & Politics from CNN.com. (online) Available at:
     http://edition.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/results/president/
5   Election Center (2008) Local exit pools-Elections & Politics from CNN.com. (online) Available at:
     http://edition.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/results/polls/
6   Marian Currinder, "Champaign Finance: Fundraising and Spending in the 2008 Elections," in The
     elections of 2008, ed. Michael Nelson (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2010), p. 177.
7   Jose Antonio Vargas, "Obama Raised Half a Billion Online," Washington Post 2008, (online)
     Available at: http://voices.washingtonpost.com/44/2008/11/obama-raised-half-a-billion-on.html
8   James Ridgeway, " How Obama's army of volunteers could prove key in this election", the
     Guardian 2008 (Online) Available at:
     https://www.theguardian.com/world/uselectionroadtrip/2008/oct/29/obama-campaign-volunteers

thirty. On January 3, election day, there were more people under the age of thirty than sixty-five and Obama won. In the general election Obama won 50-49% of those who voted for Bush-Kerry in 2004 Presidential election. But won 71-27% of those who did not participate in 2004. A crushing result and a truly remarkable achievement.

Obama represented a "change we can believe in". The economy was in its biggest crisis since the great depression, the Iraqi invasion had lost popular support and current President George W. Bush had the lowest Presidential approval rate in history. Without this demand for change there may not have been "Obama". But the internal dynamics are not enough to explain the phenomenon. Obama went well beyond winning an unlikely election and becoming the first African-American President. He and his staff changed political campaigns. They did it by using revolutionary technology combined with innovative strategies. Running a campaign that was years ahead of their competitors. David Plouffe, Obama's campaign manager, often compared the campaign structure to a start-up. But by the end of the race it seemed as if Clinton's and McCain's campaigns were startups trying to compete against Obama's multinational.

This thesis has the ambitious task of trying to explain the Obama phenomenon. What made this crushing victory possible? Who were the minds behind the operation? What tools did they use and what made them so revolutionary? The combination of revolutionary technologies and innovative strategies worked marvelously for Obama. Could they have worked for any other candidate? And if so, could the Obama model be exported in other countries? The work will be divided in the following way. The first part will be dedicated at Barack Obama's background and his difficult childhood, helping us appreciate even more his future achievements. The second part will historically examine the evolution of political marketing and of technological innovation in the United States. The third part will be dedicated to the latest technological innovation: Internet. Without internet Obama would still be an Illinois senator. The Fourth section will analyze the main 2008 Campaign events. The choices that were made and how the staff reacted to setbacks. The Fifth chapter will technically analyze Obama's Revolution. How was Internet used to fundraise and

mobilize support and what are the lessons to be learned? The Sixth and last part is even more ambitious. If these technical innovations and the same expert advice were given to a different candidate would he have still have won?

1. Who is Barack Obama?

1.1 Early Childhood

Barack Hussein Obama II was born on August 4, 1961 in Honolulu, Hawaii. His mother, Ann Dunham was born in Kansas while his father, Barack Obama Sr. was born and raised herding goats in Kenya. He earned a scholarship that allowed him to study in Hawaii, where in 1960 he met Dunham. Barack Obama was born one year later and was Obama's Sr. third child. On late August 1961 Dunham moved to Seattle with her newborn son while Obama Sr. stayed in Hawaii until he earned an Harvard University scholarship. Obama's parents officially divorced in 1964 but had not lived together since Dunham moved to Seattle. Obama Sr. then returned to Kenya where he had five more children and came back to visit Barack Obama only once. His mother on the other hand was struggling to finish her degree, pay the bill and raise him. Obama certainly did not have an easy childhood. Dunham remarried in 1965 to an indonesian foreign exchange student, Lolo Soetoro and in 1967 they moved with Obama to Jakarta. Obama returned in 1971 to Honolulu and lived with his grandparents while his mother remained in Indonesia. After completing high school in Hawaii, Obama moved to Los Angeles where he enrolled at the Occidental College. He then transferred to New York City and graduated in political science in 1983 at Columbia University. One year before his graduation, his father passed away in a car accident. In his book Dreams from my Father, Obama wrote: "At the time of his death, my father remained a myth to me".[9]

In 1988 Obama was admitted to Harvard Law where he graduated with Magna Cum Laude. He also became Harvard Law Review Journal first black President and constitutional professor Laurence Tribe's research assistant. Coming from a very modest background he was able to attend such prestigious faculties because of his hard work and dedication which earned him scholarships. In 1989 Barack became a summer associate at Sidley Austin law firm in Chicago, where he met Michelle

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[9] Obama, B. (2004) "Dreams from my father : a story of race and inheritance". ed. New York : Three Rivers Press, p.5

Robinson who one year later became his wife. The couple have two children, Malia (born in 1998) and Sasha (born in 2001).

Before pursuing a political career Obama was a Chicago community organizer, constitutional law teacher and civil rights lawyer. In 1995 Obama published Dreams from My Father: A Story of Race and Inheritance. A biographical memoir about his early years. The book received great coverage, was critically acclaimed and later turned into a Presidential draft. His civil rights work and the book's visibility helped Obama enter in 1996 the Illinois Senate. The Illinois Senate and Illinois House of Representatives form the legislative branch of the government of the State of Illinois.

1.2 Start of Political career

In 2000 Obama was a Democratic primary candidate for the Illinois first congressional district in the United States House of Representatives but lost the nomination to Bobby Rush. Rush still is the US representative for the district and has been since 1992. Since that date there have been eleven elections and Rush always won by a large margin. Obama understood that he could not defeat him and had to find another way of entering the National Parliament. He then started planning his candidacy for the United States Senate race of 2004 and in March was unexpectedly asked to deliver the keynote address at the Democratic National Convention. He gave a brilliant speech about equality, meritocracy, dreams, hopes and the greatness of the United States. "Tonight is a particular honor for me because, let's face it, my presence on this stage is pretty unlikely (...) I stand here knowing that my story is part of the larger American story, that I owe a debt to all of those who came before me, and that in no other country on Earth is my story even possible."[10] The speech was perfect. Obama himself wrote most of it and delivered it brilliantly. 1984 Presidential Candidate Gary Hart adds "During the Convention there is chaos, the audience is restless and people are talking all the time. Virtually all the standard speeches are drowned out but his presence and his delivery caused people to quiet down, listen and

10 FDCH E-Media (2004) Transcript: Illinois Senate Candidate Barack Obama
        (Online)Available at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A19751-2004Jul27.html

then respond to him."[11] David Mendel, author of "Obama from Promise to Power" remembers: "I am sitting in the crowd and there is a woman next to me crying, balling her eyes out and she keeps screaming this is history, this is history."[12] And was she right. The speech gave Obama visibility within the party and served as a starting point for the 2008 Democratic Primary race.

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11 FRONTLINE | The Choice 2008
   2008). (DVD): PBS Home Video
12 FRONTLINE | The Choice 2008 (2008). (DVD): PBS Home Video

2. Evolution of Political Campaigns

Revisiting John Donne poem we could say that no campaign is an island. Every campaign is a product of previous ones and subject to continuous renewal. Game changing innovations in one election are already outdated in the next. Technology defines political participation and shapes how the campaign is ran.[13] To understand the 2008 revolution we must first take a step back and analyze how political campaigns have evolved throughout history.

2.1 Newspapers, Symbols, Logos and Rail Roads

During the very first presidential elections, candidates principally relied on their parties. Social conventions deemed as inappropriate for a candidate to campaign on his behalf. Campaigns were limited to small newspapers and local supporters. Few citizens actively participated and even less felt enthusiastically part of something bigger.

In the beginning of the 19th century, newspapers were printed around the United States and became the most effective way of spreading messages. This marked the birth of political advertisement. With the increase in newspapers we witness a common trend to shorten the content of public speeches, the number of articles increased while their length decreased.

Symbols and slogans began to appear in mid 19th century. One of the first effective slogan and campaign song was created in 1840 Presidential election by William Henry Harrison campaign. The "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too" catchy slogan reminded the public that Harrison was a patriotic war hero. "And Tyler Too" refereed to Andrew Tyler who was Harrison's vice-presidential candidate. Harrison defeated running president Martin Van Buren and showed the importance of having a memorable slogan.

In 1860, Abraham Lincoln needed the support of the working class to win the presidency. His campaign relied on an advertising strategy that depicted him as a rail

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13 Newman, Bruce I. (2016) *The Marketing Revolution In Politics*. ed. Toronto Buffalo London: Rotman-UTP Publishing, p 37

road worker. At that time Lincoln was an established lawyer and his days as a manual worker were long behind him. Nonetheless the strategy worked and Lincoln was elected president with great support from the working class, showcasing the power of advertisement.

A few years later, rails roads covered a large portion of the United States territory making it possible for candidates to travel around the country. Voters would now have a chance of personally meeting the candidates. Face to face interaction was a lot more effective in convincing voters. To this regard it is interesting to note Bryan "Whistle-stop strategy". In 1896 Presidential candidate Williams Jennings Bryan traveled eighteen-thousand miles, reaching twenty-seven states and giving seven hundred speeches in less than four months. Far more than his opponent. We should nevertheless note that this strategy was not enough to win the elections. Bryan was defeated by William Mckinley in a very complex and dramatic race. Almost fifty years later, in 1948 the same strategy inspired Harry Truman who traveled thirty thousand miles to promote his candidacy and win the election.

2.2 First Media Revolution- The Radio

The first media revolution came in the 1920s with the invention of the radio. This new media enabled candidates to directly speak to voters and the 1924 Democratic Convention was broadcast to over five million Americans, making Radio the dominant political media until the invention of television.[14] The directness of the media decreased the speeches length and made them more colloquial. Franklin D. Roosevelt was praised as being particularly good in using this new media. He was able to create a very familiar environment and seemed as if he was personally talking to each voter. A natural talent that gave him an enormous edge. Undeniably his successful media strategy helped him become the only United States President to serve for more than two terms, being elected four times winning the 1932, 1936, 1940 and 1944 presidential elections.

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14 Hendricks, J. A. And Denton, R. E. (2010). Communicator-in-chief. ed. Lanham: Lexington Books, p.2

2.3 Second Media Revolution- The Television

The second media revolution came with the invention of television. Voters could now not only ear but also see the candidates while staying at home. This created a personal dimension between candidates and voters. An illusion of intimacy between the candidate and his voters that required a new eloquence style. Political rhetoric became even more short and direct. Boston Globe used an algorithm called the Flesch-Kincaid readability test that examines sentence structures and word choices and establishes a school grade of comprehension. The study found that President George Washington 1796 "Farewell Address" was written at a graduate degree level of 17.9. President Abraham Lincoln 1863 "Gettysburg Address" was at an eleven grade level.[15] A 2012 review by the Sunlight Foundation found that the grade level speeches of United States Congress members have decline from eleven point three in 1996 to ten point six in 2012. Direct speeches to US citizens score even lower, with Barack Obama speaking at an average eight grade level. Donald Trump 2016 speeches could have been written by a fourth grader.[16] We should note that longer and more complex sentence structure does not mean brighter concepts. Quoting an exchange of opinions between two great twenty century writers: Ernest Hemingway and William Faulkner. Faulkner accused Hemingway: "He has never been known to use a word that might send a reader to the dictionary". Hemingway response serves our point "Poor Faulkner. Does he really think big emotions come from big words?".[17]

The greatest candidate-voter connection allowed by television shifted the focus from the political party to the candidate which became the center of the campaign. Dwight D. Eisenhower was the first to use television advertisement in his 1952 presidential campaign. The campaign aired an advertisement cartoon showing Eisenhower

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15 Viser, M (2015). For presidential hopefuls, simpler language resonates-The Boston Globe. (online) Available at: https://www.bostonglobe.com/news/politics/2015/10/20/donald-trump-and-ben-carson-speak-grade-school-level-that-today-voters-can-quickly-grasp/LUCBY6uwQAxiLvvXbVTSUN/story.html

16 Viser, M (2015). For presidential hopefuls, simpler language resonates-The Boston Globe. (online) Available at: https://www.bostonglobe.com/news/politics/2015/10/20/donald-trump-and-ben-carson-speak-grade-school-level-that-today-voters-can-quickly-grasp/LUCBY6uwQAxiLvvXbVTSUN/story.html

17 Goodreads- Ernest Hemingway quotes (Online) Available at: http://www.goodreads.com/quotes/83305-poor-faulkner-does-he-really-think-big-emotions-come-from

supporters marching toward Washington D.C. and singing: "You like Ike, I like Ike, Every body likes Ike for President". "I like Ike" latter became one of the most recognizable slogans in the history of political campaigns.

But it was on the 26 of september 1960 that political marketing changed forever. On this date John F. Kennedy debated against Richard Nixon on the first US televised debate. At the time televised mass media campaigns were exclusively run by corporations selling commercial products and services. Historically, those were the heated years of the Cold War. The Soviet Union was leading the space race having had just launched the Sputnik Satellite, the first artificial earth satellite. Fidel Castro had just overthrown dictator Fulgencio Battista and instituted a communist regime in Cuba and communist Cuba represented a great threat to the United States security. On the domestic front, the nation was divided. Civil Rights movements against discriminatory racist laws emerged all over the country. The movements were generally non violent and consisted of protests and civil disobedience but in some occasions protests escalated in violent clashes and created tensions all over the country. The United Stated needed a strong leader and Nixon was leading the polls. Kennedy came from a very powerful Massachusetts family where his grandparents, Patrick Joseph Kennedy and John Francis Fitzgerald were politicians. John Francis Fitzgerald was Boston Mayor from 1906 to 1908 and 1910 to 1914 and a mentor to JFK. Kennedy served little more than a single unremarkable term in the US Senate and was relatively unknown outside of his State. In contrast to Kennedy's inexperience and despite being peers, Nixon already had an illustrious career in Congress and was currently serving his second term as Dwight D. Eisenhower's Vice President. He therefore seemed to be the obvious solution to lead the country in such an anguished time.

In 1960 not every American had a television. The debate was therefore also broadcast on radios but he number of television viewer was considerably larger than radio listeners. At the end of the debate an interesting and surprising result emerged. Those who heard the debate on the radio thought Nixon won while those who watched the debate on television thought Kennedy had won. This is a very fascinating discovery

and a clear example that communication goes beyond words. Issues are important, and especially in politics they should be, but are just the tip of the Iceberg.

To this very day, the debate is one of the favorite examples used by communication experts when teaching the power of body language. Only a small percentage of our brain process verbal communication. Doctor Albert Mehrabian, one of the most influent body language experts, conduced a largely quoted study in which he found that 93% of communication is nonverbal. Only 7% of any message is transmitted through words. 38% is conveyed through vocal elements (tone, intonation, speed...) and 55% through nonverbal elements (such as posture, gestures...).[18] During the debate Nixon made several mistakes, underestimating the power of body language and the role of television in influencing people's decisions. Some of the mistakes were his fault, others were simply a matter of bad luck. Nixon had just come out of the hospital having injured his knee and wasn't feeling well. He had lost 20 pounds and still could not balance his weight on both knees. Luck was on Kennedy's side but it would be too simple to leave it at that. Kennedy played his cards to perfection. The television crew asked both candidates if they wanted make-up. In front of Nixon, Kennedy refused. Having a very masculine reputation Nixon was afraid that he would be criticized if he wore make-up while Kennedy didn't and therefore he decided to decline it. Kennedy then snuck-off and got his face done. Another brilliant move by Kennedy was that just before the start of the debate he left the stage. No one knew where he went and everyone was visibly shocked and concerned. A few seconds before the start of the debate he then reappeared and sat down as if nothing happened. This may seem as an odd move, but it work magnetically. It is well known that the two most important moments are the first and the last. When we first meet someone we already know in the first few seconds if we like him or not, if we trust him or not. Get the first impression right and you are half way, get it wrong and you will have to pass the rest of the interaction trying to make your listener change idea and we all know how hard it is to change someone's opinion. Kennedy little trick made Nixon and everyone else feel uncomfortable while he was sitting next to them calm and

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18 Chapman,A. Mehrabian's communication research (Online) Available at:
    http://www.businessballs.com/mehrabiancommunications.htm

confident. Another mistake Nixon made was the choice of his suit, both color and material were poorly chosen. Nixon wore a brown suit, the same color of the background. Not very pleasant to see and made him look very pale and sick, he material of his suit was heavy and made him sweat a lot. Without make-up the sweating was noticeable and Kennedy staff kept pressuring the television crew for close ups. On the other hand, Kennedy wore a lighter and dark suit. He seemed very calm and confident and with the addition of make-up he also looked tan and in shape. In reality Kennedy was all but the opposite of an healthy man and suffered various health problems in the course of his life. There were subsequently three other debates where Nixon performed much better but the damage was done.

Kennedy staff knew that this debate was important but could not predict that it would be such a game changer both for his and for all future campaigns. On election day polls revealed that more than half of voters were influenced by the first debate and 6 percent claimed that the debate alone made their choice.[19] Kennedy won the election by 0.17% of the popular vote, 6% weights like a stone. Kennedy himself acknowledged the role of televisions in his victory: "It was the TV more than anything else that turned the tide."[20] From that moment on, political marketing changed for ever and to this day television is the most used propaganda media. Funny to note that after Kennedy and Nixon, no other candidate agreed to debate on television for the next 16 years.

2.4 Evolution of Political Marketing- Branding, Big Datas and Micro-Targeting

Continuing with the chronological evolution of political marketing, Ronald Reagan in 1980 emphasized as never before the role of branding and communication in political campaigns. His public relations expert, Michael Deaver grasped the importance of "consistency in message and backdrop as a way to create a brand identity for a politician".[21] To create the image of Reagan as a patriot who would dismantle the

19 History.com. The Kennedy-Nixon Debates - U.S. Presidents – HISTORY.com (Online) Available at: http://www.history.com/topics/us-presidents/kennedy-nixon-debates
20 Webley, K. (2010) How the Nixon-Kennedy Debate Chaged the World (Online) Available at: http://content.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,2021078,00.html
21 Newman, Bruce I. (2016) *The Marketing Revolution In Politics*. ed. Toronto Buffalo London: Rotman-UTP Publishing, p 26

Soviet Union, Deaver made sure that Reagan would always have an American flag on the background when appearing in public speeches. The campaign was successful and Reagan was elected President of the United States. This was a great achievement but the real game changer came in his second campaign. Commercial marketing has always been a step ahead of political marketing but Ronald Reagan 1984 campaign closed the gap. For the first time a political candidate hired several executives from commercial advertisement agencies. They formed a marketing team known as the Tuesday team. The goal was to depict Reagan as a great leader who made America great and inspired optimism in what could be achieve if Reagan would be reelected. His campaign advertisements resembled those of successful consumers products and showcased high quality camera work as if it was directed by award winning directors. Reagan won forty-nine of the fifty states. An astonishing accomplishment which had occurred only once in history with Richard Nixon in 1972.

Another very important innovation is the use of big datas in politics. In 1935, George Gallup formed the American Institute of Public Opinion. One year later, by polling only 50,000 people Gallup correctly predicted that Franklin D. Roosevelt would defeat Alf Landon. A new era was ushered where it was possible to predict the results of elections weeks before the ballots were cast. John F. Kennedy would be the first candidate to officially hire a polling firm, Louis Harris and Associates, to work for his campaign. Pat Cadell, a polling expert hired by Jimmy Carter took it a step further in 1976. Cadell collected the wider possible range of datas, going beyond simple voting predictions. The intuition was that to successfully sell a product one must first identify the needs of their customers. People might choose to support the same candidate but for different reasons and therefore campaigns should not produce general messages but individually target each voter according to their interests. This strategy is commonly known as "Target Advertising" or "Micro Targeting" and was already used in commercial advertising. As already said before, commercial firms have always been a step ahead of political campaigns. In order to expose different groups to different issues, Cadell needed to collect every possible information available. To foster this strategy an enormous research and organizational work must be done.

Generally during campaigns both time and staff are very limited this why this strategy proves to be very difficult to implement in a scale large enough to affect the outcome. This is why in politics the strategy had never been used but Cadell team succeeded and helped Carter become President of the United States.

During both of Clinton's campaigns in 1992 and 1996, "the world of politics became more like what many would say was an organization run like a corporation but selling a candidate rather than a product or service"[22]. Especially with the use of the "War Room", the high-tech center of the campaign headquarters and the use of technical experts. "Target Advertisement" was taken a step forward, collecting even more datas. George W. Bush in 2000 and 2004 brought in expert Karl Rove who was able to use mathematical algorithms to determine the exact number of votes necessary to win. Rove estimated that to be reelected in 2004 Bush needed to enlist 3 million new voters. Understanding the deep connection between Republican voters and the Evangelist movement, Bush's staff asked church leaders to sign up ten new members to vote in the general election.Bush effectively used Micro Targeting in battle ground States such as Ohio where he sent anti-gay messages to conservative African-Americans resulting in a 7% support increase compared to 2000.[23] This was an innovative and intelligent way of approaching every State, knowing how to maximize the utility of resources and cutting waists. This scientific innovation made it possible to determine how much had to be spent, where, whom to target and how. In other words to effectively allocate resources in the field. "American presidential campaigns have gone through, from campaign organizations run by party bosses; to campaigns whose goal has been to find the best possible candidate to represent each of the two major political parties; to campaigns that centered on voters' reactions to the selling points put forward by the candidate representing each of the two parties; to organizations run by marketing experts whose goal is to identify voters' needs and wants and then develop platforms to meet those needs"[24]

22 Newman, Bruce I. (2016) *The Marketing Revolution In Politics*. ed. Toronto Buffalo London: Rotman-UTP Publishing, p 26
23 Newman, Bruce I. (2016) *The Marketing Revolution In Politics*. ed. Toronto Buffalo London: Rotman-UTP Publishing, p 44
24 Newman, Bruce I. (2016) *The Marketing Revolution In Politics*. ed. Toronto Buffalo London:

We have therefore seen how political campaigns have evolved through time according to media revolutions and innovative strategies. We have seen how the first campaigns were run, how political advertisement was born, how media innovation such as newspapers, radios and then televisions rewrote the rules of the game. How political marketing learns from commercial marketing heritage and how to maximize resources using polling, big datas, mathematical algorithms and target advertisement. All these innovations wrote an important chapter in the political campaign playbook but one innovation in particular rewrote the complete book: internet. Without it the Obama phenomenon would have not been possible. The world and political campaigns would be different. To remotely understand internet's impact we need to dedicate an entire section to it.

3. The Power of Internet

Internet has been the latest big media revolution. While television brought candidates face-to-face with voters, internet allowed candidates to directly and personally communicate with voters.[25] Increasing even more the "illusion of intimacy".

3.1 Evolution of Internet in Political Campaigns

Internet was first used in politics in Bill Clinton's 1992 Campaign, but was limited to emails and informations. In 1996 only twenty-five thousand among more than one hundred thousand candidates who ran for office had an Internet page. A ratio of 1 to 4 and even those who had a web page, used the web only as a supplement tool for campaign communication.[26] In 1998 the election of Jesse Ventura as governor of Minnesota was the first demonstration of the power of Internet.[27] Ventura was a third party candidate who understood the fundraising potential of internet. At the start of the campaign, Ventura did not even have a physical headquarter but was able to gather a large e-mail list. This was his strength and managed to raise online two thirds of his founds.[28] Ventura became especially popular among young voters, where he easily won half of under 30s vote.[29] Even though Jesse Ventura's campaign strategy was brilliantly effective, many doubts rose whether this strategy could be replicated on a bigger scale.

A first attempt was made in the 2000 Republican Presidential primaries. McCain developed a campaign strategy that heavily relied on the use of internet to send out e-mails list and solicit supporters to donate and volunteer. The campaign organized more than 140,000 volunteers and raised $6.4 million through small donation ($10-

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25 Newman, Bruce I. (2016) *The Marketing Revolution In Politics*. ed. Toronto Buffalo London: Rotman-UTP Publishing, p. 31
26 Richard, D. (1999) *The Web Of Politics*. ed New York: Oxford University Press, p. 118
27 Rice, A. (2004) Campaigns Online: Reports and Analysis (Online) Available at: http://www.campaignsonline.org/reports/1104.html
28 Rice, A. (2004) Campaigns Online: Reports and Analysis (Online) Available at: http://www.campaignsonline.org/reports/1104.html
29 Rice, A. (2004) Campaigns Online: Reports and Analysis (Online) Available at: http://www.campaignsonline.org/reports/1104.html

$20).[30] McCain eventually lost the Republican nomination to George W. Bush but his web strategy served as inspiration for both 2000 Presidential candidates, George W. Bush and Al Gore. They created websites and sent out e-mail to solicit their supporters to donate. Nonetheless with the exception of online fundraising both Presidential campaigns remained pretty conventional. Internet was mainly use to distribute information and not to build an emotional relation with voters.

3.2 Howard Dean's Innovation

Of all these big innovations led by some of the biggest names in politics, perhaps the most important one comes from a lesser known candidate: Howard Dean. Dean used internet to mobilize people and raise money, following Ventura's example. He then influenced Obama's campaign strategy. In 2004 Dean was the governor of Vermont and a candidate for the Democratic party Presidential primaries. His campaign was at the same time revolutionary and a colossal flop. Dean was not the establishment candidate and took controversial positions which did not always grant him consensus inside his party. Some of those very same controversial positions, four years later proved to be a decisive factor in favor of Obama, as for example opposing the Iraqi war. Thanks to his innovative strategy and early start, in Autumn of 2003 Dean became the apparent front-runner. He won the first contest in the primaries, the district of Columbia but loosing five days later in Iowa put an early stop in Dean's ambitions. He eventually finished in third place, winning only two contests, well below initial expectations.[31] John Kerry easily won those primaries with 2,573 delegates and 61% of the popular vote but then lost the presidential elections to George W. Bush by 35 delegates and 2.4% of the popular vote.[32] Even though Howard Dean campaign was a flop, his web strategy has become a model. From Kerry who was able to financially compete with George W. Bush in 2004 Presidential elections to Barack Obama who managed to mobilize people and raise money to unthinkable

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30 Newman, Bruce I. (2016) *The Marketing Revolution In Politics*. ed. Toronto Buffalo London: Rotman-UTP Publishing, p. 106
31 Leip, D. 2004 Democratic Primary Election Timeline (Online) Available at: http://uselectionatlas.org/RESULTS/timeline.php?year=2004&f=0&off=0&elect=1
32 Federal Election Commission (2005) FEDERAL ELECTIONS 2004. ed Washington: Federal Election Commission p.5

proportions. Indeed many among Dean's staffers were recruited by Obama in 2008, as for example Joe Rospars who became his principal digital strategist. Bill Scher, a political analyst, grasped this concept stating that "without Dean, there may not have been Obama".[33]

Let us now look in depth how Dean and his staff revolutionized campaign strategies and which where the 3 lessons Obama learned from Dean. As already said before, Dean lost the primaries and therefore can not be considered a successful example. It was Obama, four years later who transformed Dean's ideas into success. Capable of turning the tides.

First Lesson: Use the web to attract volunteers. Don't Run a Campaign, Run a Movement

Dean saw internet as an instrument to transfer traditional community organization to a national level. He used online sites such as Meetups to create a loyal grassroots movement. These groups quickly grew in number and were free to experiment with non conventional strategies. There were hundred of volunteers who would go door to door, write handwritten personal letters, host meetings and convince their peers to donate and volunteer.[34] The strategy behind these groups was to let them grow and act autonomously. Users were encouraged to actively participate and recruit their friends and family. This eventually led to 140,000 members and a huge amount of media coverage.[35] More than running a campaign it seemed as Dean was trying to form a movement. Very importantly, decentralization helped grow enthusiasm. Volunteers were given freedom to act freely and this made them feel part of the campaign. Building this army of volunteers had two major advantages. The first one being of course that the campaign working force increased while the expenditures remained the same. Volunteers were not payed. The second advantage, and the most important one is a fundamental laws of persuasion: we tend to follow those that are similar to us. A passionate conversation between peers is a thousand times more effective than a

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33 Scher, B (2013) 4 ways Howard Dean changed American politics (Online) Available at:
    http://theweek.com/articles/462922/4-ways-howard-dean-changed-american-politics
34 Wolf, G. (2004) How the Internet Invented Howard Dean (Online) Available at:
    https://www.wired.com/2004/01/dean/
35 Wolf, G. (2004) How the Internet Invented Howard Dean (Online) Available at:
    https://www.wired.com/2004/01/dean/

television commercial having the same message. This is shown in the following example. In July 2003 Dean was behind Dick Gephardt in Iowa's exit polls. Dean's volunteers wrote and sent out 30,000 handwritten letters. In august polls showed Dean was ahead of Gephardt.[36] The same thing happened in New Hampshire where before volunteers started writing letters, Dean was behind Kerry. All sellers are aware of this persuasion technique but few have the means to implement it. Especially in political campaign where the staff is usually never enough. Without internet this enthusiastic mobilization would have never been possible.

Second lesson: The web can be used as a fundraising tool.

As already seen before this strategy was first implemented in 1998 by Ventura in the elections for Minnesota Governor. But Dean took it to a whole new level. He developed a small donor strategy where the average donation was under 80$. With this strategy not only was he able to become the top-fundraiser before the Iowa caucus but he also managed to shatter Bill Clinton 1995 record for most money raised in one quarter by a democratic candidate. Clinton record was 10.3 million$, in the third-quarter of 2003 Dean raised 14.8 million$.

One of the most memorable days of the Dean's campaign was when they decided to recreate Cheney's lunch online. Dick Cheney, George W. Bush Vice-President, was having a 2.000$ plate fundraising lunch. Dean campaign had the brilliant idea of uploading on the campaign site an image of Dean eating a Turkey Sandwich which invited people to share their lunch with him and donate to the campaign. On that same day the campaign managed only with online donations to match Cheney lunch contributions.

Online fundraising strategy has four advantages. The first one is that it is usually associated with a small donors strategy. There is a legal limit of money that can be donated to the campaign. This means that traditional big sponsors donates only one time, reaching the quota. When the money runs out, the campaign struggles to find new investors. With the small donor strategy one could always go back to them and ask for more money. Meaning that cash is always potentially available and this makes

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36 Wolf, G. (2004) How the Internet Invented Howard Dean (Online) Available at:
    https://www.wired.com/2004/01/dean/

a difference in the final stages of the campaign when money usually runs out. The second advantage, as the Turkey Sandwich example shows is that it is a less expensive and time consuming event. There is no need to rent spaces, decreasing the costs while at the same time the candidate's time can be redirected towards other activities. The third advantage is that money raised online is immediately available. Money raised by "conventional" means usually comes in the form of checks. This has technical costs such as waiting for the check to arrive by mail and having to go every time to the bank to cash them. The fourth advantage is that donating is one of the strongest forms of commitment. Psychologically it is not that relevant whether you donate 10$ or 30$, the important is that you commit. When people donate, they are more willing to volunteer, participate, convince their peers and donate more than once to the campaign.

Dean was able to raise approximately $50 million. This internet strategy was then adopted by Kerry and Bush in the Presidential Campaigns. Kerry was able to raise 82 million$ in online donation, compared to Bush's 14 million$.[37] Due to Kerry's online fundraising success he was able to compete with Bush financially. Combining this tactic with traditional ones, Obama was able to raise online more than a combined billion$ for both his campaigns.[38]

The third lesson: Fight in every state (the fifty-State strategy).

Especially in the United States there are States that are traditionally won by a party. The fifty-state strategy consists of fighting in every State even those associated with the other party. This vision is usually very ambitious and needs an enormous amount of resources. Making it unusual. Many States representation is not assigned proportionally. Even the smallest margin is enough to gain all the States representatives. For this reason campaigns prefer to concentrate resources in swing states and declare some states as unwinnable. Generally only about sixteen states witness the real contest.[39] Only three times in the history of the Unites States elections

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37 Rice, A. (2004) Campaigns Online: Reports and Analysis (Online) Available at:
    http://www.campaignsonline.org/reports/1104.html
38 Scher, B (2013) 4 ways Howard Dean changed American politics (Online) Available at:
    http://theweek.com/articles/462922/4-ways-howard-dean-changed-american-politics
39 Plouffe, D. (2009) *The Audacity To Win*. ed. New York: Viking, p. 247

all States were won by a candidate: 1788 and 1792 by George Washington and 1820 by James Monroe. Both candidates ran unopposed. Since the United States was composed of fifty States, a fifty-State victory was never accomplished. Two times a candidate manage to win forty-nine States. Richard Nixon in 1972 and Ronald Reagan in 1984.

During the 2004 democratic primary Howard Dean tried to implement the fifty-State strategy. During a Democratic National Committee he received a standing ovation after saying "White folks in the South who drive pickup trucks with Confederate flag decals on the back ought to be voting with us, and not [Republicans], because their kids don't have health insurance either, and their kids need better schools too."[40] In a following interview he polemically said "I still want to be the candidate for guys with Confederate flags in their pickup trucks"[41] Obama followed Howard Dean's example in 2008 and initially tried to implement a 50 state-strategy. The strategy was then narrowed but nonetheless won in traditional Republican states such as Indiana and North Carolina and closed the gap in others.

Dean was not able to put into acting his visions as a candidate but did not abandon them in 2005 when he was appointed as the Chair of the Democratic National Committee. Traditionally Republicans were the first to use new technologies, mainly because of their financial advantage but this time they failed to predict the revolutionary impact of internet. Democratic did not commit the same mistake and in 2006 the Democratic National Committee spent $7.4 million on Web-oriented campaign, against just $600,000 by the Republican Party.[42] In 2006, Internet ranked among the top sources of information and in 2008 ranked second only to television.[43] The Chairman of the House Republican Policy Committee, Adam Putnam admitted that in 2008 "(The Republican Party was) outflanked by new media and social

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40 CNN.com (2003) Dems battle over Confederate flag (Online) Available at:
    http://edition.cnn.com/2003/ALLPOLITICS/11/01/elec04.prez.dean.confederate.flag/
41 CNN.com (2003) Dems battle over Confederate flag (Online) Available at:
    http://edition.cnn.com/2003/ALLPOLITICS/11/01/elec04.prez.dean.confederate.flag/
42 HENDRICKS, J. A. AND DENTON, R. E. (2010). Communicator-in-chief. ed. Lanham: Lexington Books, p.5
43 HENDRICKS, J. A. AND DENTON, R. E. (2010). Communicator-in-chief. ed. Lanham: Lexington Books, p.5

networking sites"[44] and some credit must certainly be given to Howard Dean who was chair of the Democratic National Committee from 2005 to 2009. Dean's ambition and his concrete actions helped Obama defeated McCain and become President.

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44 Friedman, M.P. (2009) Simulacrobama: The Mediated Election of 2008, Cambridge University Press

4. 2008 Campaign Analysis

4.1 David Plouffe and David Axelrod

The two most important figures in Obama's campaign, with the exception of the candidate himself were David Axelrod and David Plouffe. Axelrod is considered to be the mind behind the Obama phenomenon and they first meet in 1992. He then helped him write his book, The audacity of Hope which latter turned into a Presidential draft. The choice of getting involved in the Democratic Primary was not easy for Axelrod because he had previously worked with John Edwards, Chris Dodd and Hillary Clinton with whom he had close personal relationships, all Democratic primary candidates. Axelrod eventually choose to work with Obama becoming his chief strategies and saying to the Washington Post: "I thought that if I could help Barack Obama get to Washington, then I would have accomplished something great in my life."[45] David Axelrod co-founded with David Plouffe, John Del Cecato who served as Obama media advisor, and John Kupper: AKPD Message and Media.

It was Axelrod who introduced Plouffe to Obama. David Plouffe became the campaign manager and is credited with many successful innovative strategies adopted during the race. Especially with the Iowa primary win which latter become the campaign model. Axelrod and Plouffe expertise undoubtedly contributed to the success of the campaign. Lets us now see some of the choices and events that marked the 2008 campaign.

4.2 Iowa

It was clear to all that if Obama wanted to have a chance of winning the Democratic Nomination, Hillary Clinton had to be disrupted early in the primary.[46] The first contest was Iowa on January 3 and if Clinton won, the race would probably be over. As David Plouffe wrote in his confessional book, "The Audacity to Win": "It started

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45 Gress, J. The Player at Bat (Online) Available at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-
     dyn/content/article/2008/05/01/AR2008050103509.html?nav=hcmodule
46 Plouffe, D. (2009) *The Audacity To Win*. ed. New York: Viking, p. 17

and ended with Iowa. If we did not win there, our chances were probably zero."[47] Obama had no assets in Iowa and the first polls were projecting him in third place: Edwards 38, Clinton 25. Obama 18. How can a new firm expand its market share against an establish brand with loyal customers? The only way for the new firm to outsell its competitors is to find new buyers. This was exactly David Plouffe's strategy: the campaign had to expand the electorate. At the time of the first polls, Iowa voters over sixty-five were two time more than people under thirty. To change the electorate, the campaign had to convince first time voters, minorities, independents and republicans to participate. To do this the strategy focused on local volunteers. Obama wanted to create a bottom-up, grassroots movement. By having Iowans talking to Iowans Plouffe hoped of triggering in the mind of voters the following logic "Well, you're supporting him enthusiastically. We think alike, live the same types of lives. You see something in him, and that's important to me".[48] The campaign also decided to focus on door-to-door campaigning while Clinton and Edwards preferred to rely on phone calls. This was a strange decision because studies suggests that door-to-door is more effective. People tend to be more rude on the phone and when someone is at your door in freezing weather we are generally more willing to talk to them. All this combination of strategies worked and on election day Obama won the Iowa primary, gained momentum and enthusiasm and became a serious threat to Clinton's nomination. All of this because he managed through unconventional means to change the electorate. On January 3 there were more people under the age of thirty than sixty-five. The campaign strategy was tuned in Iowa and then followed in every other state.

4.3 Obama's Inner Circle

With regard to the campaign inner circle, Obama and his staff followed the Bush model. Bush had a tight circle of trusted people, with a clear chain of command involved in key decisions. Obama said "I want to be inclusive on many matters in the campaign, so people feel listened to, but on big decisions, I want the circle small. So

47 Plouffe, D. (2009) *The Audacity To Win*. ed. New York: Viking, p. 19
48 Plouffe, D. (2009) *The Audacity To Win*. ed. New York: Viking, p. 94

we can trust each other".[49] The circle could not be expanded. If someone new wanted to be added, someone else had to leave.

In contrast with many politicians, Obama did not have a pathological desire to become president.[50] Presidential campaign are very stressful and generally brutal affairs. When the internal dynamics is corrosive the situation can become unbearable. The Clinton campaign was notorious for screaming at each other, infighting and backstabbing. Obama wanted to run a different campaign, where crisis were dealt calmly and his team served the cause not personal ambitions and when it was possible to also try to have fun. Obama was not the favored candidate so no one was joining his campaign to get a job in the White House.

4.4 David Plouffe's Innovative Strategies

Perhaps the biggest contribution David Plouffe made to the campaign was to have the new media team directly report to him. Forecasting the importance of online communication, he changed the structural organization of the department, making it an independent branch of the campaign and consulting them in every important decision. This important change will latter specifically be analyzed.

Throughout the race, the campaign took many risks. In the end they proved to be worth the gamble and made the campaign so unique and innovative. One of the first risks taken regarded Obama's candidacy announcement. Clinton's candidacy was announced through a very cold video posted online. To immediately differentiate Obama, the campaign wanted to make the announcement in a public gathering with supporters screaming and sheering. This was a good idea if not for the freezing cold and the risk that Obama would start to chatter. This was Obama's first official public event as a Presidential candidate and mistakes were not tolerated. He nonetheless choose to speech outside and the event was a success. This moment lead to an important campaign rule: 'Throughout the campaign, whenever we embraced risk, we were rewarded, a lesson that eventually became a touchstone when making hard

49 Plouffe, D. (2009) *The Audacity To Win*. ed. New York: Viking, p. 22
50 Plouffe, D. (2009) *The Audacity To Win*. ed. New York: Viking, p. 22

decisions. I think seeing him refuse to play it safe reminded voters he was different".[51]

The campaign not only elected the first African-American President but also transformed a US senator into a pop-cultural phenomenon. The Obama brand is one of the best examples of how to create a successful brand, not only a political brand but also a commercial brand. What made the Obama brand so successful will later be explained and one of the best choices made by Plouffe early on was to keep the right of distribution to all Obama's merchandise in the house.[52] This is something that most campaigns do no do, they generally tend to prefer to rely on third parties to sell the candidates product. Keeping full control of the Obama merchandise had high initial costs because everything must be purchase immediately. This is was not seen as a wise move by traditional campaign managers but David Plouffe perseverance later payed off. The campaign ended up raising millions from the sales of Obama's merchandise.[53]

Plouffe not only saw what other did not, he also did what other would not. As repeated numerous times in this thesis, the campaign "only hope of success depended on breaking free of the standard political paradigm and becoming a movement".[54] A large movement as the one that formed around the figure of Obama needs a lot of coordination and incentives. David Plouffe is rarely credited for his behind the scene work. He often personally met local communities and directly talked to staff. Other campaign managers did not do it and rarely had direct contact with local volunteers.[55]

During the campaign there were of course difficult moments, one of them was the Jeremiah Wright controversy. Wright was Obama's pastor and on March 2008 past controversial sermons made by Wright gained national media attention. This was a storm that hit the campaign. Generally the best thing to do is not to directly confront these situations, not to increase its importance but Obama was not a traditional candidate. He chose not to hide and openly confronted what his pastor said giving a beautiful speech titled "A more perfect Union". The controversy began to fade only to

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51 Plouffe, D. (2009) *The Audacity To Win*. ed. New York: Viking, p. 39
52 Plouffe, D. (2009) *The Audacity To Win*. ed. New York: Viking, p. 50
53 Plouffe, D. (2009) *The Audacity To Win*. ed. New York: Viking, p. 50
54 Plouffe, D. (2009) *The Audacity To Win*. ed. New York: Viking, p. 69
55 Plouffe, D. (2009) *The Audacity To Win*. ed. New York: Viking, p. 90

be renewed a few months latter when Wright released several interviews. This time Obama had to forcefully speak against his pastor and resigned his church membership. Nonetheless Obama's behavior in dealing with unpleasant controversies was exemplary. In critical situations Obama always started the meetings with great self criticisms. He was not afraid of admitting he was wrong and apologized to his staff when needed. Rarely political candidates behave this way and this really helped the campaign improve and learn from mistakes.

5. Learning From Obama

Obama's 2008 campaign was unique and to some extent non-replicable. Nonetheless even if the passionate involvement Obama created around himself will hardly be achieved by candidates in the following years, there are many lessons to be learned from his campaign that cannot be ignored. After Kennedy, no political candidate could succeed without a successful television strategy, by the same token after Obama no candidate will succeed without investing in online technology. We identified five ways in which Obama changed political campaigns and five innovations that every future candidate should keep in mind. The first lesson regards Obama's targeting techniques, the second is about branding. The third section will examine the success of Obama's online communication. The fourth lessons is about raising-money using new medias, the fifth and last lesson is about running a movement not a campaign.

5.1 The Micro-Targeting and Big Data revolution

Micro-targeting is an innovative advertising technique that allows to maximize resource utility. One of the biggest achievement in Obama's campaign was the use of this innovative approach and the immense work done with customer analytics. The success or the failure of any organization is based on the correct understanding of their customers and the campaign collected such a wide range of datas that allowed them to accurately identify the needs and wants of the American electorate, subsequently breaking it down into different segments and targeting each voter individually. From these studies it emerged that there was a strong hunger for change. Obama tailored his message around this concepts to meet the desires of the electorate. Change is a very vague and demagogical concept but its ambiguousness is also its strength because it allows everyone to interpret it as they please. Obama went beyond the work done by Karl Rove and took micro-targeting to a new level of sophistication, using Big Datas to carefully target voters.[56]

The successful Rove strategy in 2004 targeted voters according to their geographic

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56 Abse, N. (2012) Big Data Delivers on Campaign Promise: Microtargeted Political Advertising in Election, IAB

position, age and socio-economic profiles, supposing that these parameters were enough to understand their wants. The risk with this approach is to misclassify some voters who are not consistent with their socio-economic and geographic profiles. Indeed not every wealthy southern is a convinced Republican. In 2008 Obama targeted voters more efficiently adding personal behavioral information about each voter to the equation. This allowed the campaign to minimize classification errors. Knowing the interlocutor needs is a distinct advantage because it allows to directly connect with him at an emotional level. Connecting with voters at a deep emotional level was one of Obama's communication strengths. The problem is of course how to gather voters personal informations to permit a powerful connection?

Once again Internet played a decisive factor. Obama increased his voters data-base information through the use of "cookies" on his web-site and social network pages. A cookie is an hidden file that collects informations about the page visitor habits. All web sites affiliated to Barack Obama were therefore key strategic weapons.[57] By election day, the campaign sent out more than seven thousand different emails, landing in over one billion in boxes. Voters additionally received on average 20 text messages per month.[58] In the final days of the campaign supporters received up to six messages per day.[59] Surprisingly to note few people negatively responded to this badgering. "Obama's campaign tracked the success of every e-mail, text message and Web site visit, capitalizing on the analytics that are inherent in digital communications. Each ad and e-mail was created in multiple versions (e.g., different headers, buttons vs. links, video vs. audio vs. plain text) to test what worked and what did not. (…) Adjustments were made daily to improve performance and conversion."[60] People did not unsubscribe to Obama's message lists because micro-targeting made them feel personally and emotionally involved in the campaign. Obama's communication techniques deserve a more detailed analysis that will be carried out in

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57 Eggen, D. (2013) Obama 2012:The most micro-targeted campaign in history? (Online) Available at: http://bigthink.com/age-of-engagement/obama-2012-the-most-micro-targeted-campaign-in-history
58 Jose Antonio Vargas, "Obama Raised Half a Billion Online," Washington Post 2008, (online) Available at: http://voices.washingtonpost.com/44/2008/11/obama-raised-half-a-billion-on.html
59 Delany, C. (2009) Learning from Obama p. 39
60 The Social Pulpit (2009), Barack Obama's Social Media Toolkit Edelman (Online) Available at: http://www.mikekujawski.ca/ftp/ObamaToolkit.pdf, p.9

the following sections.

Volunteers also contributed to filling-up voters information. They were given a "walk list" of houses to visit and phone books of people in their neighborhood to contact. The strategy as we will later see was always to have voters-volunteers compatibility. Volunteers were later asked to upload a report on how the interactions went. This increased voters data-base and was used by the campaign as valuable insights to understand how they were doing at the local level. This is also why the Obamas campaign internal polling were generally much more accurate than the public ones. McCain did not have the same amount of voters information as Obama, and especially in politics knowledge is power. Nonetheless all sellers know that advertisement is crucial but the most important element is the product.

5.2 The Obama Brand

The first element for a sale to be successful is of course, to have a marketable product. Brands serve the purpose of facilitating consumers choices. Consumers loyalty is an important element in commercial marketing and some brands enjoy almost religious loyalty. For a brand to be successful it must be trusted, well-recognizable and emotionally connected to customers. The same is true for political leaders.

2014 study carried out by Morgan Stanley Research found out that Apple smart phones enjoy a 90% consumers brand loyalty.[61] 9 out of 10 Apple costumers buy the new Iphone mainly because it is an Apple. This data shows that loyalty is an indispensable advantage in commercial marketing and so is in politics. According to Gallup polling in 2010, one in three democratic candidate supported the democratic congressional district candidate because they "always voted Democrat".[62] Political candidates must struggle to find a balance between representing their party brand and their own.[63] However in the last decades party identification has decreased and more

61 Richter, F. (2014) Apple Beats Competitors In Smartphone Brand Loyalty (Online) Available at: https://www.statista.com/chart/2460/brand-retention-in-the-smartphone-industry/
62 Jones, J.M. (2010) Party Loyalty Primary Factor in Democratic Vote in 2010 (Online) Available at: http://www.gallup.com/poll/143396/party-loyalty-primary-factor-democratic-vote-2010.aspx
63 Menefee-Libey, M. (1999) The triumph of campaign-centered politics. Ed New York: Chatham House Publishers, p. 213

people consider themselves as independents.[64] The candidates brand was so powerful that he was able to gain the support of long time Republican voters. Indeed Obama won in traditional Republican States such as Indiana and North Carolina. The results of the Obama brand phenomenon shows us that a strong candidate brand can redefine party identification. We will now try to analyze the Obama brand.

Obama was capable of building such a well-recognizable, coherent and strong brand that he became as Ben Arnon's notes a "pop culture phenomenon".[65] The 2008 campaign was not traditional for it resembled an organization managing a brand.[66] As John Allen Hendrick and Robert E. Denton, Jr note: "Obama emphasized brand management over traditional political strategizing".[67]

With an electorate that was demanding a radical change, he transformed his biggest weakness, his inexperience into a decisive advantage, focusing on change. His digital media strategy reinforced this view, making him appear modern and helped him emotionally connect with people. However, his inexperience also meant that he had no brand recognition and voters had to get comfortable with his candidacy. For a political candidate being unknown is worst than being hated. In every business it is extremely important to have full control over one's own brand image and the risk with Obama was that his opponent would try to set his image for him. As a matter of fact, many false rumors circulated about his background but thanks to an expansive branding strategy the Obama team was able to regain control over the candidate's image. Many of his campaign advertisements such as "Country I Love" focused on his humble origins, depicting him as a middle-class citizen who through hard work and strong moral values achieved the American dream. Obama could be trusted because he could have been your cool neighbor.

Obama untraditional political branding shifted the focus to his extraordinary

64 Newman, Bruce I. (2016) *The Marketing Revolution In Politics*. ed. Toronto Buffalo London: Rotman-UTP Publishing, p. 16

65 Arnon, B. (2009) Politics meets brand design: the story of Obama's campaign logo (Online) Available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/ben-arnon/politics-meets-brand-desi_b_151317.html

66 Newman, Bruce I. (2016) *The Marketing Revolution In Politics*. ed. Toronto Buffalo London: Rotman-UTP Publishing, p. 99

67 Newman, Bruce I. (2016) *The Marketing Revolution In Politics*. ed. Toronto Buffalo London: Rotman-UTP Publishing, p. 74

charismatic personality. John Allen Hendrick and Robert E. Denton, Jr say that the campaign: "played on the candidate's natural personal and very positive appeal (...) No other candidate, Democrat or Republican, had the personal "it" factor of candidate Obama".[68] Max Paul Friedman, an history professor at the American University in Washington, DC adds: "Obama was the Mac: youthful, creative, nimble forward-thinking, and sleekly stylish".[69] He was the opposite of 72-years old McCain who was a traditional, out of touch Washington politicians. Contributing to Obama coolness was the various public endorsements he received from opinion leaders and celebrities. The importance of opinion leaders in forming the public opinion is well documented in Paul Lazarsfeld "Two-step flow of communication model". Some of these celebrities were popular TV host Oprah Winfrey, musician Will.i.am who produced the "Yes we can" video staring many famous actors and singers, actors George Clooney and Sara Jessica Parker who participated in fundraising diners, youtube sensation BarelyPolitical.com who produced the "I've got a Crush... On Obama" video or the Kennedy family who compared Obama to John Fitzgerald Kennedy. These endorsements contributed in making Obama the coolest choice and socially pressure voters.

Another indispensable element in branding is to have a memorable slogan and logos, this is the brand business card. Creating a memorable brand message is not easy but failing to do so may give your opponent the chance to create it for you. Obama 2008 slogan was "Change we can believe in", "Yes we can" was mainly use as a chant. As slogan was very effective because of two reasons. The first being that it is tailored around the needs and wants of American population who demanded change. The second reason is that the message is suited to the general electorate. The generic meaning of "Change" allows voters from different backgrounds to interpret it as they wish, making it relevant to them personally. "Change we can believe in" should be interpreted as a criticism of traditional politics where promises are made but not

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68 Newman, Bruce I. (2016) *The Marketing Revolution In Politics*. ed. Toronto Buffalo London: Rotman-UTP Publishing, p. 74
69 Friedman, M.P. (2009) Simulacrobama: The Mediated Election of 2008, Cambridge University Press

kept.[70] Obama was to be set apart from McCain and all other politicians, implying that he was the only one who could really be trusted. Another important element is that Obama had only one slogan, Clinton had several.[71]

Obama communication strategy tried not to spend to much time on the competition, preferring to focus on his ideas. When it was necessary Obama of course attacked McCain but he generally tried to avoid this sort of politics. Instead of creating a pessimistic, almost apocalyptical atmosphere as many modern politicians would do in this sort of situation, he tried to establish hope and optimism about the future. To my opinion this is what distinguishes a competent politician from the many political opportunists. Fundamental with this strategy as Newman notes: "The point is that people are always more interested in the positive than the negative".[72] Likewise, the campaign logo was coherent with the brand image and message. A great logo must be simple, well-recognizable and unique. Notable examples are the McDonald's golden arches, Apple's bite mark or Nike's trademark. The campaign choose as logo a picture of the sun rising over the horizon, meaning the start of a new day.[73] The logo contains the colors red, white and blue suggesting that Obama's promise of hope was based on patriotic values. Interesting to note that the campaign allowed each group of supporters to alter the logo, making it more personal.[74] This strategy was in line with the campaign general concept of making every supporter feel indispensable and appreciated. To achieve this they were given in various sectors freedom to act as they best see fit.

Another famous campaign visual was the Obama "Hope" poster designed by street artist Shephard Fairey. The campaign itself hired Fairey in a calculated strategy. The poster contributed to Obama's uniqueness, inspired other modern artistic works and was well shared on social networks. The poster is one of the most recognizable pieces

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70 Newman, Bruce I. (2016) *The Marketing Revolution In Politics*. ed. Toronto Buffalo London: Rotman-UTP Publishing, p. 93

71 Plouffe, D. (2009) *The Audacity To Win*. ed. New York: Viking, p. 236

72 Newman, Bruce I. (2016) *The Marketing Revolution In Politics*. ed. Toronto Buffalo London: Rotman-UTP Publishing, p. 34

73 Arnon, B. (2009) Politics meets brand design: the story of Obama's campaign logo (Online) Available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/ben-arnon/politics-meets-brand-desi_b_151317.html

74 Arnon, B. (2009) Politics meets brand design: the story of Obama's campaign logo (Online) Available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/ben-arnon/politics-meets-brand-desi_b_151317.html

of modern art making Obama an iconic symbol of pop culture. A political candidate can not get any cooler than this. But being too cool and perfect can actually backfire. It is of extraordinary importance for a politician to be likable and appearing too perfect may actually decrease popularity. Therefore in any sort of sale it always helps to show a human side to the customers and this is where Michelle Obama played an important role. She was very active during the entire campaign and her contribution was decisive in winning the female vote. For a political candidate, gaining the women support is extremely important because they usually represent the majority of the population. As a matter of fact, in 2008 they represented 53% of the electorate and Obama managed to win their vote 56 to 43%.[75] Without Michelle Obama the result would not have been so net. On the other hand she also helped show the voters a personal side of her husband, making him appear more likable. Even if Obama was one of the most successful and influential men in the United States he was still bullied around the house by his wife. These little details gave Obama a human side most married men can relate to.

We have seen that internet can be a powerful tool to create a strong brand but it can also easily destroy one. Unverified rumors have always played an important role in politics but today they can easily be shared on the web to friends and family, reaching thousand of people. Internet significantly increased the amount of negative publicity and personal attacks during political campaigns. Barack Obama's unusual background made him an easy target for false rumors. An e-mail titled "Who is Barack Obama" circulated saying that "The Muslims have said they plan on destroying the U.S. From the inside out... what better way to start than at the highest level?"[76]. This clearly absurd lie was even aired by Fox News. Rumors shared on the web became so strong that the campaign had to create two Web Pages "Factcheck.barackobama.com" and "Fightthesmears.com" to deal with persistent myths.

The conclusion about Obama's branding section is that it is today indispensable to hire

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75 CNN election center(2008) Exit Polls (Online) Available at:
    http://edition.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/results/polls/
76 Smith, B. And Martin, J. (2007) Untraceable e-mails spread Obama rumor, Politico (Online)
    Available at: http://www.politico.com/story/2007/10/untraceable-e-mails-spread-obama-rumor-006314

professional campaign consultants. According to Newman, consultants have "not only taken over as the new party bosses in politics, resulting in a radical shift in power, but they are recruited and sought out like superstar actors for a high-budget film".[77]. Indeed Obama's two leading figures were professional campaign consultants who in 2004 founded AKPD Media, a campaign consulting firm: David Plouffe who served as campaign manager and the campaign chief strategies David Axelrod. Undoubtedly without their expertise the 2008 campaign would have not been so innovative.

5.3 Online communication and Social Media

Obama's 2008 campaign was characterized by the use of social medias which earned him the label of "First Internet President". The campaign strength was in adapting to a world where the concept of community is evolving and the 2008 election marked a shift from traditional political communication to social media networks.[78] The point here is that Obama's competitors had access to the same technologies, every candidate set up a web page, social networks accounts, uploaded videos and sent out e-mails but none achieved Obama's results. Therefore the first important lesson to understand is that: "the tools you use don't matter as much as how you use them"[79].

Obama's campaign had a capacity to comfortably embrace changes like no other. In May 2007 Facebook launched the "Platform" which allowed users to customize their Facebook pages. Obama was the only Presidential candidate to develop his own platform in the first weeks after the launch. Hillary Clinton for example did not develop it until late February 2008.[80] Before getting into details, let's first take a step back to understand how Obama started the campaign from scratch, having few resources and a limited name recognition to ending up with an internet presence twice as large as that of John McCain's.[81]

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77 Newman, B.I. (1994) The marketing of the president Newman, Bruce I. ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, p. 15
78 Newman, Bruce I. (2016) *The Marketing Revolution In Politics*. ed. Toronto Buffalo London: Rotman-UTP Publishing, p. 131
79 Delany, C. (2009) Learning from Obama p. 12
80 Hendricks, J. A. AND Denton, R. E. (2010). Communicator-in-chief. ed. Lanham: Lexington Books, p. 56
81 Hendricks, J. A. And Denton, R. E. (2010). Communicator-in-chief. ed. Lanham: Lexington Books, p. 87

The first thing Obama had to do was to close the gap in name recognition and build a solid candidate's image. Internet allowed him to connect with supporters in a time and cost effective way, as Colin Delany notes: "Internet excels at relationship-seeking and relationship-building".[82] Without internet Obama would have probably not become President. The central question in this section is: What made Obama's online communication so effective and how does it differ from McCain's?

First of all, Obama created a new organizational model for the social media department. In political campaign social medias are generally a branch of the tech team, buried in a basement and excluded from important decision-making reunions. Forecasting the importance of online communication, Obama changed the structural organization of the department, making it an independent branch of the campaign. Joe Rospars who worked for Howard Dean online-fueled campaign in 2004 was called to run the department. Rospars was consulted in decision-making processes and reported directly to campaign manager David Plouffe.[83] According to one account Obama had ten times the number of online staff than McCain.[84] Four different platforms made a difference in Obama's online communication. They are social networks sites (Myspace, Facebook and Twitter), the campaign official web site barackobama.com, e-mails and online videos. We should analyze each of them independently and divide the section accordingly.

5.3.1 Social Networks

Social networks allow to connect with people who share similar interests instantaneously and free of charge. For politicians social networks represent an easy way to connect with voters. One study suggests that in 2008, 75 percent of eighteen to twenty four year olds and 57 percent of twenty-five to thirty-four years old had a profile on a social networking site.[85] This age range is generally disenchanted form politics and does not vote, to win the presidency Obama had to inspire and persuade

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82 Delany, C. (2006) What We Can Learn About Online Politics From the 2006 Campaign (Online) Available at: http://www.epolitics.com/2006/11/08/what-we-can-learn-about-online-politics-from-the-2006-campaign/
83 Delany, C. (2009) Learning from Obama p. 12
84 Hendricks, J. A. And Denton, R. E. (2010). Communicator-in-chief. ed. Lanham: Lexington Books, p. 56
85 Hendricks, J. A. And Denton, R. E. (2010). Communicator-in-chief. ed. Lanham: Lexington Books, p. 54

them. "The pivotal use of social media on the part of the Obama campaign in 2008 brought out millions of new voters who had previously lost interest in politics".[86] Indeed Obama won 71-27% the vote of those who did not participate in 2004 presidential election. Social media surely played an important role in this result, without a strong presence on social networks Obama would have surely not managed to change the electorate and win the election.

From a strategical point of view, social networks represents a gold mine for political candidates. Today the number of young people who do not vote is still very high and social network users increased. 78% of the United States population has a social network profiles[87] and fully 90% of 18 to 29 years old use social networks.[88] Making social network even more important in today's politics. Obama had in total 5 million supporters and was present in 15 different social networks. In 2008, the three most important social networks were Myspace, Facebook and Twitter. Let us briefly look at the evolution of social medias and then analyze the campaign presence in each three networks.

Geocities was the first social network to be created in 1994. The site allowed users to create their own web sites and grouped them geographically and according to the different interests. The first social networking site to gain widespread popularity was Friendster in 2002. In 2003 due to fear that it would start charging for its services, users moved to MySpace and in 2005 Myspace was getting more views than Google. In the same year, the site was acquired by Rupert Murdoch for $580 million. Today the most popular social networking site is Facebook, created in 2004 by three Harvard students: Mark Zuckerberg, Dustin Moskovitz and Chris Hughes. The site counts 1.71 billion active users.[89] Putting this number into perspective, Facebook population is 5

86 Newman, Bruce I. (2016) *The Marketing Revolution In Politics*. ed. Toronto Buffalo London: Rotman-UTP Publishing, p. 28
87 The statistics portal, Percentage of U.S. population with a social media profile from 2008 to 2016 (Online) Available at: https://www.statista.com/statistics/273476/percentage-of-us-population-with-a-social-network-profile/
88 PewResearch Center (2015), Social Media Usage: 2005-2015 (Online) Available at: http://www.pewinternet.org/2015/10/08/social-networking-usage-2005-2015/
89 The statistics portal (2016), Number of monthly active Facebook users worldwide as of 2nd quarter 2016 (Online) Available at: https://www.statista.com/statistics/264810/number-of-monthly-active-facebook-users-worldwide/

times the size of the United States population and if it were a country, it would be the most populous in the world. Let us now analyze Obama's impact on Social Networks. Obama advantage was to have a head start: after being elected Senator in 2004 a supporter named Joe Anthony created an Obama MySpace page and by the time Obama announced his candidacy, the page had more than thirty thousand friends.[90] The campaign officially requested the use of the page and Anthony became a full time member of the campaign. Nonetheless he did not receive any remuneration and his relation with the campaign soon started to deteriorate. Anthony offered the campaign to buy the page rights for $39,000 but the campaign refused and directly complained to MySpace administrators. They turned over the control of the page and Anthony received nothing.[91]

Facebook is and already was in 2008 the most important social networking site. Its most interesting aspect is that whenever someone writes a posts, shares a video or joins a group his entire network is notified. Facebook is therefore a perfect platform for the diffusion of content which can easily become viral phenomenons as for example the "I got a crush on Obama video" or Will.i.am's "Yes we can". By the end of the campaign, Obama had 2.5 million Facebook friends, four times more than McCain's. Facebook represented for Obama what Meetups was for Howard Dean, a platform to organize supporters. Obama's supporters groups were created by ordinary people encouraging supporters to actively participate, approximately five hundred Facebook groups dedicated to Barack Obama's candidacy were created. Obama had a privileged relation with Facebook because Chris Hughes, one of Facebook co-founder decided to collaborate with the campaign. Hughes gave Obama a decisive advantage in the online community and Obama was always a step ahead of his competition. The Facebook "Platform" launch example proves it since Obama was the only Presidential candidate to develop his own personal platforms in the first few weeks after the launch. Obama seemed to be a natural social network politician, the opposite of McCain. The Republican candidate never managed to connect with online supporters

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90 Hendricks, J. A. And Denton, R. E. (2010). Communicator-in-chief. ed. Lanham: Lexington Books, p. 55
91 Hendricks, J. A. And Denton, R. E. (2010). Communicator-in-chief. ed. Lanham: Lexington Books, p. 55

as Obama did. When setting up a Facebook page, the site asks the user to enlist some of his favorite activities and movies. McCain gave fishing as a hobby and choose Letters From Iwo Jima in movies.[92] Not very popular choices among social network users.

Also Twitter played an important role in the campaign. The platform provides an easy way to release informations. Important events are generally first posted on Twitter and then broadcasted on mainstream media.[93] In 2008, Twitter had approximately 3.5 million users and 118,000 of them followed Barack Obama, 23 times more than McCains. Obama's campaign posted a total of 262 tweets,[94] releasing informations, redirecting voters to the campaign web site and mobilizing support. Indeed 79% of Obama's tweets regarded campaign events and 63% redirected people to the campaign official website. By inviting people to visit Barackobama.com, Twitter also played a passive role in fundraising. Only 10% of Obama's tweets were policy statements.[95]

5.3.2 Barackobama.com

Barackobama.com was the campaign official site. The site was developed by Chris Hughes who was inspired by Obama's previous experience as a community organizer and wanted to recreate an online community. David Plouffe, Obama's campaign manager said that: "Technology has always been used as a net to capture people in a campaign or cause, but not to organize", "Chris saw what was possible before anyone else".[96] To create an online movement, the campaign communication strategy was based on storytelling. Supporters were encouraged to write their personal stories and what inspired them about Obama. The campaign also hired the market research and new media company Blue State Digital to help with the site. This firm was created in 2004 by four members of Howard Dean's staff, showing once again the influence of

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92 Dutta, S. And Fraser, M. (2008) Barack Obama and the Facebook Election (Online) Available at: http://www.usnews.com/opinion/articles/2008/11/19/barack-obama-and-the-facebook-election
93 Hendricks, J. A. And Denton, R. E. (2010). Communicator-in-chief. ed. Lanham: Lexington Books, p. 39
94 Hendricks, J. A. And Denton, R. E. (2010). Communicator-in-chief. ed. Lanham: Lexington Books, p. 41
95 Hendricks, J. A. And Denton, R. E. (2010). Communicator-in-chief. ed. Lanham: Lexington Books, p. 42
96 Blodget, H, (2009) How Facebook Co-Founder Chris Hughes Got Barack Obama Elected (Online) Available at: http://www.businessinsider.com/henry-blodget-how-facebook-co-founder-chris-hughes-got-barack-obama-elected-2009-6?IR=T

Dean on Obama's 2008 campaign.[97] The site was the campaign online headquarters. The approach was to always redirect people to the site where they could get information, volunteer and donate money. Indeed most of the campaign online advertisement or social network posts invited people to visit the site.

Under mybarackobama.com, the site worked as a social network allowing users to personally customize their profiles. Uploading pictures, writing personal status and other features of the site that made users feel personally connected to the campaign. By election day more than two million profiles were created and more than 1,800 videos were uploaded. In comparison, McCain supporters uploaded 330 videos to McCain campaign site.[98] The site also helped volunteers organize and create event, transforming the campaign into a movement and allowed supporters to create their own personal fundraising page. More than 200,000 offline events were planned using mybarackobama.com and 70,000 personal fundraising page were created collecting millions of dollars.

5.3.3 Youtube videos

2008 was the first election that saw the use of Youtube. Youtube is a video-sharing web site created in 2005 by Chad Hurley, Steve Chen, and Jawed Karim and acquired in 2006 by Google for US$1.65 billion. Videos can be watched freely by anyone but only account owners can post and comment videos. Creating a Youtube account is of course free and political candidates took advantage of this service for free advertisement. The great advantage of Youtube videos against traditional advertisement is that users can watch them on their own time, therefore when they are more receptive. Barack Obama valued his video presence and hired an Emmy winner and former CNN journalist to lead the video team This resulted in the creation of the youtube page BarackObama.com where 1,820 videos were posted and viewed more than ninety million times for a total of 14.5 million hours.[99] The equivalent in

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97 Hendricks, J. A. And Denton, R. E. (2010). Communicator-in-chief. ed. Lanham: Lexington Books, p. 25
98 Dutta, S. And Fraser, M. (2008) Barack Obama and the Facebook Election (Online) Available at: http://www.usnews.com/opinion/articles/2008/11/19/barack-obama-and-the-facebook-election
99 Hendricks, J. A. And Denton, R. E. (2010). Communicator-in-chief. ed. Lanham: Lexington Books, p. 11

television broadcast would have cost the campaign $47 million.[100]

Other than saving money and being more effective than traditional advertisement, digital videos could also be shared through social networks transforming them in viral phenomenons. Some of the Obama videos that went viral were not produced by the campaign but by average citizens as for example BarelyPolitical.com video "I've Got a Crush...On Obama". The video reached more than thirteen million views, two times more than the most watched campaign official video.[101] This new media allows people who were previously excluded from the system to actively participate and make a difference in the electoral process. Scott Church in his paper about Youtube and politics found out that Youtube triggers only passive political involvement and that it meanly focuses on the candidate's character and not on his policies.[102] This may of course explain Obama's impressive online success due to his exceptional, inimitable charisma.

Another great novelty was when Youtube broadcasted the presidential primaries debates. For the first time on July 23 2007 a debate featuring all eight democratic candidates was held and voters were encouraged to use the site to upload video questions to the candidates. More than two thousand people uploaded videos for consideration. This online initiative provided a mean for Americans to become engaged in political discussions but not everyone was delighted with this new way of debating. Many Republican candidates such as Mitt Romney and Rudy Giuliani were reluctant to participate in such debates fearing the unpredictability of questions.

Indeed Youtube and similar sites represent a great opportunity but also a great threat. Today everything a candidate says and have ever said is recorded and available to all. Even the smallest gaffe can potentially be catastrophic and George Allen learned it the hard way. In 2006 Allen was running for reelection for the United States Senate in Virginia and was the favored candidate. On August 11 2006, during a rally Allen recognized a young man in the crowd, pointed at him and said "This fellow here, over

100 Miller, C.C. (2008) How Obama's Internet Campaign Changed Politics (Online) Available at: http://bits.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/11/07/how-obamas-internet-campaign-changed-politics/?_r=0
101Stelter, B. (2008) Some media companies choose to profit from pirated youtube clips (Online) Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/16/technology/16tube.html?_r=0
102Church, S.H. (2010) YouTube Politics: YouChoose and Leadership Rhetoric during the 2008 Election, ed. University of Nebraska – Lincoln. p.124

here with the yellow shirt, Macaca, or whatever his name is, he's with my opponent."[103] Macaca is a racial slur which means monkey. A few decades ago this comment would have passed almost unnoticed but this time Allen was recorded on video and posted on Youtube. The negative publicity resulting from the video buried Allen's campaign and he eventually lost the election. As Jim Rutenberg, a political correspondent for the New York Times notes "The most attention-grabbing attacks are increasingly coming from people outside the political world. In some cases they are amateurs operating with nothing but passion, a computer, and a Youtube account".[104] In 2007 Senator McCain was filmed during a public appearance singing the Beach Boy's song "Barbara Ann" substituting the lyrics with "Bomb Iran".

5.3.4 E-mails

E-mails also played an important role because they allow to directly and individually target voters. As we previously saw in the Micro-Targeting section, e-mails were carefully designed and tested. It is interesting to note that the first national campaign to extensively use e-mail was McCain's in 2000. Through e-mail his campaign organized more than 140,000 volunteers and raised $6.4 million dollars through small donations.[105] But Obama's 2008 campaign took it to a all new level, sending more than a billion e-mails to upward of thirteen million addresses. Thanks to micro-targeting and big data gathering few people negatively responded to this badgering. Through these analysis, each message tried to make supporters feel as a valued asset. An example is the e-mail about Obama's vice candidate, reading: "You have helped build this movement from the bottom up(...) Barack wants you to be the first to know his choice".[106] Data analysis also helped understand when to send e-mail. It is better to post on week-end when people are more relaxed and there is less competition for their attention. Obama's messages were clear and concise, asking supporters to volunteers, donate and often containing links to the campaign official web site. Even though

103Stout, D. (2006) Senator says he meant no insult by remark. (Online) Available at:
    http://www.nytimes.com/2006/08/16/washington/16allen.html?_r=0
104Rutenberg, J. (2008) Political freelancers use web to join attack (Online) Available at:
    http://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/29/us/politics/29opposition.html?_r=0
105 Hendricks, J. A. And Denton, R. E. (2010). Communicator-in-chief. ed. Lanham: Lexington
Books, p. 106
106Malcom, A. (2008) Obama's VP choice imminent via website, e-mail, text message (Online)
    Available at: http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/washington/2008/08/obama-vp.html

McCain was the first to successfully use e-mails in a Presidential race, he was not able to adapt his communication to modern electors. His campaign messages contained more than five hundred words and had few links attached[107]. In the last months of the campaign Obama aired a controversial advertisement called "Still". This advertisement was part of an effort to make McCain look old and out of touch and criticized his inability to send e-mails. In an interview with a New York Times reporter McCain stated:"I don't e-mail, I've never felt the particular need to e-mail." This is a bit paradoxical due to McCain's innovative use of e-mail in his 2000 campaign. The Obama's advertisement attacked McCain saying: "1982, John McCain goes to Washington. Things have changed in the last 26 years, but McCain hasn't. He admits he doesn't know how to use a computer, can't send an e-mail(...) After one President who is out of touch, we just can't afford more of the same."[108] The advertisement backfired against Obama. If Team O would have been more cautious they would have found an online article explaining why McCain could not send e-mails. Boston Globe reported in 2000: "McCain's severe war injuries prevent him from combing his hair, typing on a keyboard, or tying his shoes. Friends marvel at McCain's encyclopedic knowledge of sports. He's an avid fan – Ted Williams is his hero – but he can't raise his arm above his shoulder to throw a baseball." Or another article published in 2000 by Forbes Magazine: "His nightly ritual is to read his email together with his wife, Cindy. The injuries he incurred as a Vietnam POW make it painful for McCain to type. Instead, he dictates responses that his wife types on a laptop."[109] Obama's attack missed the target and seemed as a disrespect to war veterans.

Another problem with emails was that Obama campaign always encouraged people to sign up friends and family members to the e-mail list. This exponentially increased the e-mail list but some people also took it as a joke and subscribed friend with fake

107 Hendricks, J. A. And Denton, R. E. (2010). Communicator-in-chief. ed. Lanham: Lexington Books, p. 110

108 BarackObama.com (2008) Still Advertisement Online Video: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bQ2I0t_Twk0

109 Morrissey, E. (2008) Why can't McCain e-mail? Boston Globe explained it in 2000 (Online) Available at: http://hotair.com/archives/2008/09/12/why-cant-mccain-email/

names. Therefore some campaign e-mails began with "Dear Stupid"[110], not really the best way to address potential supporters. The enormous amount of emails the campaign gathered also lead to some confusion. Some e-mail addresses were misplaced and some received e-mails about gathering that were taking place thousand of miles away. The campaign also confused voters by sending emails under different names. Subscribers would receive messages signed by David Axelrod, David Plouffe and other staff members. This practice was intended to make supporters feel part of the campaigns inner circle, but not knowing who these people were they may have been inclined to delete or mark those e-mails as spams.[111] Emails communication undoubtedly helped Obama raise during the twenty-one months of his campaign half a billion dollars from three million online donors.[112] In the final days before the election, emails contained the names of five people in one's neighborhood who could possibility be Obama's supporters and asked them to personally contact them and convince them to vote for Obama.

Obama successfully used these sites "as a vehicle for generating excitement among a vast online community".[113] The Los Angeles Times reported in June 2008 that 81 percent of Obama's supporters were enthusiastic about their candidate against 45 percent of McCain's supporters.[114] 2008 established a new era of online politics and social networks: youtube videos and e-mails are no longer a campaign novelty but a necessity. The use of new media allows candidates to directly communicate with voters, encourage them to participate and helps the campaign collect precious voters datas. All of these means of communication served two concrete goals for Obama in 2008: raise funds and create a movement.

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110 Hendricks, J. A. And Denton, R. E. (2010). Communicator-in-chief. ed. Lanham: Lexington Books, p. 114
111 Hendricks, J. A. And Denton, R. E. (2010). Communicator-in-chief. ed. Lanham: Lexington Books, p. 110
112 Hendricks, J. A. And Denton, R. E. (2010). Communicator-in-chief. ed. Lanham: Lexington Books, p. 109
113 Hendricks, J. A. And Denton, R. E. (2010). Communicator-in-chief. ed. Lanham: Lexington Books, p. 51
114 Hendricks, J. A. And Denton, R. E. (2010). Communicator-in-chief. ed. Lanham: Lexington Books, p. 75

5.4 Fundraising

In 2008, Obama broke both primary and general election records for fundraising, outspending McCain by hundreds of million dollars and setting a new standards for future elections. The first step in breaking these records was to refuse public campaign funds. Obama was the first major party candidate to refuse the fundings since the system was first created in 1976, following the Watergate scandals.[115] His decision was motivated in a video posted on the campaign web site saying that: "The public financing of presidential elections as it exists today is broken, and we face opponents who've become masters at gaming this broken system".[116] Refusing public fundings allowed the campaign to continue relying on private individual donations. This strategy proved to be successful because Obama was able to raise in total $711,741,924 while McCains raised $296,124,438.[117] The vast majority of the money, more than $500 million came through the internet and by small donations. Approximately 3 million people made 6.5 million donations. Of these donations, 6 million amounted to $100 or less, with an average donation of $80.[118]

Receiving money online and by small donations has different advantages compared to traditional fundraising. The first advantage is that there is a limit of money that individuals can donate to the campaign. In 2016, the Federal Election Commission set the ceiling for individual donation to $2,700 per election.[119] The limit was approximately the same in 2008. In traditional fundraising, campaign sponsors donate only one time reaching the quota and becoming of little help in the future. This is exactly when the campaign needs them the most. In the final months of the campaign, the battle becomes decisive, every vote counts and traditional campaigns usually struggle to find new donors. In contrast, with the small donor strategy money potentially never runs out. This is exactly what happened in the final months of the

115Nagourney, A. And Zeleny, J. (2008) *Obama Forgoes Public Funds in First for Major Candidate* (Online) Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/20/us/politics/20obamacnd.html?_r=1

116Nagourney, A. And Zeleny, J. (2008) *Obama Forgoes Public Funds in First for Major Candidate* (Online) Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/20/us/politics/20obamacnd.html?_r=1

117 Marian Currinder, "Champaign Finance: Fundraising and Spending in the 2008 Elections," in The elections of 2008, ed. Michael Nelson (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2010), p. 177.

118 Jose Antonio Vargas, "Obama Raised Half a Billion Online," Washington Post 2008, (online) Available at: http://voices.washingtonpost.com/44/2008/11/obama-raised-half-a-billion-on.html

119Federal Election Commission (2016) CONTRIBUTION LIMITS FOR 2015-2016 FEDERAL ELECTIONS (Online) Available at: http://www.fec.gov/info/contriblimitschart1516.pdf

Democratic primary when Clinton was running out of money and struggling to find new investors while Obama went back to his small donors base. The success of this strategy is that small donors generally tend to donate more than once and in the new contribution tend to increase the amount donated. The second advantage regards time managing. Raising money online requires less effort than organizing fundraising events. Instead of having to spend time in social gathering, smiling and shaking hands the candidate and his staff can focus on other issues. The third advantage is that the cash is immediately available. Money raised by "conventional" means has technical costs such as waiting for the check to arrive by mail and having to go cash it but also having to carefully store the datas. As Democratic Presidential primary candidate Gary Hart learned in 1984, not being able to mobilize resources immediately can prove to be fatal for a campaign. Hart won in New Hampshire but donations came in to late to help him in the next round.[120] The fourth advantage is that donating is one of the strongest forms of commitment. Psychologically it is not that relevant whether you donate 10$ or 30$, the important is that you commit. People who are committed will generally donate more than once and will increase donations every time. The Obama campaign was particularly good in understanding this psychological behavior and through data analysis and micro-targeting knew how to scale the ask.

Every communication tool used by the campaign, from social networks to online advertisement played an important role in fundraising. Every tool was part of a broader, winning equation. Nonetheless three quarters of the money raised can directly be related to one instrument: emails.[121] Upwards of one billion emails were sent to more than thirteen million people. There were seven thousand different types of emails but not all of them asked for money, it should not be thought that the campaign treated supporters as ATMs. Anyone can send a message asking for money but it takes a professional to entertain a relation with million of peoples over a long period without irritating them. It is especially difficult to understand when to push and ask for money and when it is more productive not to.

The biggest day in the campaign fundraising was on september 3 2008, when

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120 Delany, C. (2009) Learning from Obama p. 33
121 Delany, C. (2009) Learning from Obama p. 34

McCain's vice presidential candidate Sarah Palin made fun of Obama for being a community organizers. Obama was particularly proud of his days as a community organizers in Chicago, having turned down a Wall Street job to help unemployed people find jobs. Palin speech in the Republican National Convention is here reported: "Before I became governor of the great state of Alaska...

... I was mayor of my hometown. And since our opponents in this presidential election seem to look down on that experience, let me explain to them what the job involved.

I guess -- I guess a small-town mayor is sort of like a community organizer, except that you have actual responsibilities."[122]. Without realizing it Palin's mockery helped Obama's grass-root organization to become even stronger. In the following 24 hours, 130,000 donors mobilized in support of Obama and donated $10 million.[123] The trend continue throughout September where the campaign broke a fundraising record, receiving $150 million.[124]

People kept donating to the campaign and did not feel harassed by the considerable amount of emails they received because micro-targeting made them feel part of a broader movement. They understood why the campaign was asking for more money and that it was imperative that they helped. Every supporter felt enthusiastic and a vital part of the campaign. The campaign achieved these results by being completely honest with their supporters. When asking for money they would always specify why they needed it, how much they needed and where they planned in investing it. Campaign managers are generally reluctant to openly declare their strategies but for Obama in 2008 the gamble proved worth the risk.

Supporters were so enthusiastic and really understood why the money was important that many not been able to donate more, created personal fundraising pages. Indeed as we saw in the section about the campaign web site, barackobama.com spurred people to create their own personal fundraising pages. By the end of the campaign, 70,000

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122 New York Times (2008) Transcript Palin's Speech at the Republican National Convention (Online) Available at:
http://elections.nytimes.com/2008/president/conventions/videos/transcripts/20080903_PALIN_SPE ECH.html
123 Pitney, N. (2011) Obama Raises $10Million After Palin Speech (Online) Available at:
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2008/09/04/obama-raises-8-million-af_n_124023.html
124 Cooper, C. And Meckler, L. (2008) Obama Takes in a Record $150 Million, But McCain Narrows Gap in Some Polls (Online) Available at: http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB122441294251948009

personal fundraising pages were set up raising 30 million dollars. In total the campaign raised $711,741,924 breaking every fundraising records and doubling McCain's figure.[125] It does not happen often that a Democratic Presidential candidate raises more than his Republican opponent, let alone that he raises twice as much. The reason for Obama's fundraising success are multiples but the most important part of the equation are: Use of Internet, small donors strategy, honesty and maybe the most important element and the most difficult to replicate: supporters enthusiasm. How did Obama create enthusiasm?

5.5 Creating a Movement

As we already said before, rather than a political campaign, 2008 was a movement. Changing the American electorate and transforming passive electors into active campaign advocates were perhaps the Obama's campaign biggest achievements. Had it not been for the campaign's ability to create an enthusiastic movement, Obama would probably not be in the White House today. According to the New York Times " Obama's campaign changed the way politicians organize supporters, advertise to voters, defend against attacks and communicate with constituents".[126] It is difficult to explain how the campaign achieved this result and to elaborate general principles for future candidates to follow. There is no mathematical equations or a step-by-step manual demonstrating how to turn a campaign into a movement and Obama himself in 2012 was not able to emulate the same level of enthusiasm as 2008. Today the average voter is disinterested in politics and almost half of the population does not vote. As John Allen Hendrix and Robert E. Denton, JR puts it: "The public has become superfluous to the system as democracy moves forward along its own momentum".[127] Therefore the first task of political campaigns is to get people interested and voting. The under thirties, the generation of internet is the category of voters who are the most disenchanted with traditional politics. Social media proved to

125 Marian Currinder, "Champaign Finance: Fundraising and Spending in the 2008 Elections," in The elections of 2008, ed. Michael Nelson (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2010), p. 177.
126 Miller, C.C. (2008) How Obama's Internet Campaign Changed Politics (Online) Available at: http://bits.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/11/07/how-obamas-internet-campaign-changed-politics/?_r=0
127 Hendricks, J. A. And Denton, R. E. (2010). Communicator-in-chief. ed. Lanham: Lexington Books, p. 47

be effective in motivating young people and getting them involved in politics.[128] Many of the under thirties where first time voters and getting them involved changed the electorate. In the general election Obama won 50-49% of those who voted in the 2004 Presidential election but won 71-27% among those who did not participate in 2004. "The pivotal use of social media on the part of the Obama campaign in 2008 brought out millions of new voters who had previously lost interest in politics".[129] This new voters who were mainly under thirties did not stop in voting but also formed an army of volunteers that became the extension of the campaign.

2008 is the Presidential election with the highest number of participants in the history of the United States and registered the highest voter turnout, 58.23% since 1972.[130] However while I believe every candidate should at least try to create a passionate movement and get supporters involved, I do not think that every candidate must attempt to change the electorate. First of all the task is extremely difficult, almost impossible. It takes an exceptionally charismatic leaders to transform disinterested voters into active enthusiasts. Secondly in 2008 Obama was the underdog, he had to change the electorate. David Plouffe, Obama's campaign manager said "The only way to think about beating her (Clinton) in Iowa or anywhere else was to build at the grassroots levels".[131] It would not be in the interest of well established and favored candidates to change it. Let us now try to understand from a technical point of view how the campaign achieved such a high level of enthusiasm. This means that while the candidate's character is perhaps the most important element, in this section to try to extract general principles we will not take the candidate's charisma into account.

One of the most important points of this paper is that technology changes how political campaigns are run and it also shapes the mechanisms of political participation. Obama's campaign took full advantage of internet to create an enthusiastic movement, opening up new ways for the american electorate to

128 Newman, Bruce I. (2016) *The Marketing Revolution In Politics*. ed. Toronto Buffalo London: Rotman-UTP Publishing, p. 129
129 Newman, Bruce I. (2016) *The Marketing Revolution In Politics*. ed. Toronto Buffalo London: Rotman-UTP Publishing, p. 28
130 The American presidency project (2012) Voter Turnout in Presidential Elections: *1828 – 2012* (Online) Available at: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/data/turnout.php
131 The Institute of Politics,John F. Kennedy School of Government,Harvard University (2009) Campaign for President: The Managers Look at 2008 ed. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. p. 99

participate. Technology helped find new supporters and transform them from passive electors into active campaign advocates. The campaign understood that the needs and wants of the electorate were centered around the concept of change. To be convincing this powerful desire must come from the bottom-up and there is no stronger tool for grassroots organization than internet.[132] David Axelrod, Obama's chief strategist said about the campaign: "We returned politics to the people at the grassroots, and it was a tool that we were able to use to give people the ability to organize door to door."[133]

Not only was the campaign able to change the electorate, getting people interested in politics for the first time which is already an amazing achievement, the campaign also managed to put this army of supporters to work. Having a large groups of volunteers in each states can shift the political equilibrium because of a general law of persuasion: people tend to be influenced by those that are similar to us. A passionate conversation between peers is a thousand times more effective than a television commercial having the same message. The campaign understood this and every communication tool used by the campaign, from emails to advertisements invited people to actively participate in their neighborhoods. By the end of the race the Obama volunteer army counted about six million active participants.[134] No other campaign ever created such a widespread movement, and very few ever reached such a high level of supporters enthusiasm and dedication. Every single volunteer really believed he could make a difference. Supporters wrote posts, blogged, created videos, fundraised, called undecided voters, went door to door, essentially did whatever was needed. Each volunteer team had a clear hierarchy, the same in every state that made it easier for the campaign to coordinate, communicate and analyze their progress. The campaign gave each supporters group real responsibilities and expected a lot from them. Volunteer teams had a clear vote-getting and vote-contact they were strictly accountable for and were asked to upload on the campaign web site datas collected

132 Stelter, B. (2008) the facebooker who friended Obama (Online) Available at:
    http://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/07/technology/07hughes.html?_r=0
133 The Institute of Politics,John F. Kennedy School of Government,Harvard University (2009)
    Campaign for President: The Managers Look at 2008 ed. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. p. 99
134 James Ridgeway, " How Obama's army of volunteers could prove key in this election", the
    Guardian 2008 (Online) Available at:
    https://www.theguardian.com/world/uselectionroadtrip/2008/oct/29/obama-campaign-volunteers

from their work.[135] This allowed the campaign to clearly map how they were doing in every state, better taylor their message through micro-targeting and at the same time control their volunteers. If they were not able to complete the assignments the campaign was not afraid of criticizing them or in extreme cases fire them.

Each group was given the freedom to create their own campaign material and distribute it. The campaign even let locals volunteers officially represent the campaign in public events and news media.[136] Campaign managers are generally reluctant to relinquish message control but David Plouffe was surely not afraid of taking risks. Having a strong, coherent brand is crucial for any organization and having an army of uncontrolled campaigners speaking on behalf of the campaign may damage the brand's image. Of course to avoid to much confusion, supporters needed to be trained and coordinated. The campaign staff held many bootcamps but the most effective way proved once again to be through internet, using Mybarackobama.com. The site allowed people to create their own page, host events, download campaign materials and learned the basics of working for a political campaign. Through online video lessons members of Obama staff taught how to communicate with people and how to organize events.

The responsibility and trust that the central campaign gave volunteer motivated them and make them really feel as what they were doing mattered, which translated into more votes. Soon pro-Obama groups emerged in every state and volunteers were already campaigning for Obama weeks before the campaign arrived in their states.[137] A huge advantage and a remarkable achievement thinking that at the start of the contest Obama was unknown outside of his home state and after a few months he was transformed into a superstar. All of this because of the hard work and dedication of local volunteers. The lesson to be learned here is that "If you want to create a successful national grassroots outreach effort, focus on context, training and accountability. I.e., take your people seriously and they'll return the favor-they want to know that they aren't just blindly making calls or knocking on doors".[138]

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135 Delany, C. (2009) Learning from Obama p. 16
136 Delany, C. (2009) Learning from Obama p. 26
137 Plouffe, D. (2009) *The Audacity To Win*. ed. New York: Viking, p. 167
138 Delany, C. (2009) Learning from Obama p. 17

People were not only put to work in their communities they were also put to work in the virtual world where supporters created more than 400,00 pro Obama videos and Obama was mentioned six times more than McCain on blogs. In total Obama had ten times the number of online staff than McCain.[139] The campaign would have certainly not been able to generate so much content on its own.

To show gratitude and to build an even stronger emotional connection Obama prioritized informing its supporters first rather than the press. He wanted to directly communicate with them without traditional media as an intermediary as if they were an extension of the campaign. The most significant text sent during the campaign was the announcement of Joe Biden as Obama's running mate. However the news was leaked first to CNN and other major news and to keep his promise of first informing its supporters the campaign had to sent the text messages at roughly 3 a.m. when most people were in bed. The campaign also welcomed supporters to directly text the campaign asking questions about Obama and his policies. The campaign would respond with his position and citing links.

Other than a vital force in generating content, volunteers played an important factor in motivating Obama and his staff. Obama would often say "I feel such an obligation to them. They believe in me. In us. In themselves. What keeps me going day after day? Besides a clear sense of why I am running for President, it's them, our volunteers. It is a special thing we've built here and I don't want to let them down".[140]

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139 The Social Pulpit (2009), Barack Obama's Social Media Toolkit Edelman (Online) Available at: http://www.mikekujawski.ca/ftp/ObamaToolkit.pdf
140 Plouffe, D. (2009) *The Audacity To Win*. ed. New York: Viking, p. 238

6. Can the Obama model be exported?

We saw that the 2008 campaign was revolutionary and changed the way experts look at political campaigns. There are several lessons political candidates can not ignore but does this mean that from today on every political campaign will become a movement and trigger such passionate popular involvement? What if Obama's campaign would have been run in the exact same way but instead of Barack Obama there would have been a different candidate? Would the campaign have reached the same result? Could David Plouffe, David Axelroad and their staff have transformed any candidate into the next United States President and a "pop culture phenomenon?"[141]

We already partially answered this question in the previous section saying that 2008 was unique and to some extent non-replicable. The explanation to this is a variable that we consciously chose not to talk about before: The candidate. While preparing this thesis I had the pleasure of encountering Dott. Claudio Velardi. He told me that one of the biggest mistakes campaign managers can do is to think that they can run every campaign in the same way. Every candidate is different and therefore also campaigns must be different. It is the campaign structure that should adapt to the candidate not the candidate that should try to adapt to the campaign. Otherwise the candidate will not feel at ease, and this will show in his performance. Appearing authentic is an essential component of a candidate's image. This is a very common mistake, even with experienced campaign managers and strategists. As Olivia Fox Cabane states in her critically acclaimed book The Charisma Myth, How Anyone Can Master the Art and Science of Personal Magnetism: " One of John Kerry's mistakes during the 2004 presidential campaign was trying to "dumb down" his focused, intellectual charisma to become more "accessible". Not only was this ineffective, it also backfired by alienating those who had been drawn to his original personality. His discomfort made him appear awkward and inauthentic".[142] I believe this mistake was

141 Arnon, B. (2009) Politics meets brand design: the story of Obama's campaign logo (Online)
    Available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/ben-arnon/politics-meets-brand-desi_b_151317.html
142 Cabane, O.F. (2013) The Charisma Myth, How Anyone Can Master the Art and Science of
    Personal Magnetism, ed. Portfolio/Penguin, p.108

also committed by David Axelrod during the 2013 italian elections when he was hired by Prime Minister Mario Monti. Axelrod tried to transform Monti from a cold intellectual premier to a warm and charismatic political leader, following the Obama model. In the 2012 elections, Obama was loosing consensus while Romney popularity was increasing. Axelrod managed to turn the tables by advising Obama to use a stronger vocabulary and to directly attack Romney on personal issues. This strategy worked very well for Obama, who was re-elected. But when he tried to apply the same strategy with Mario Monti, the results were completely different. Mario Monti didn't seem authentic and it seemed clear that many political moves were imposed on him. This transformation didn't pay off and his party came in fourth place, gaining only 10.5% of the votes.

Obama's charismatic persona played an important role as Clinton's success was closely tied to his ability to put people at ease. Bill Clinton has this unique ability of making people feel like the only person in the room when meeting him. Even Newt Gingrich, Clinton's political arch-rival said that Clinton was "one of the most charming and effective people I've ever negotiated with". There are countless stories of strangers meeting for the first time Bill Clinton and feeling magnetized by his presence. One of these stories regards Gillian Anderson, star of the Tv show X-files. After Bill Clinton finishes with his speech he walks off stage and shakes hands with several guests and Gillian Anderson is one of them. She has never meet President Bill Clinton and the entire interaction lasts just a few seconds. " Clinton finishes his speech, exits the stage, and start working his way towards the line of guests. Anderson was nervous before, but when Clinton looks directly at her, it's more intense than she imagined. Her heart races. The way he looks at her... she is sure that he has some special feelings towards her. She finds his presence intoxicating. They exchange a few words and he starts to move to the next person. But before he leaves, he looks back for one last glance. Gillian leaves the event in a haze. She gets back home excited, knowing what awaits her. "When I got home, I expected to have a message from him", she later said. "I didn't. I bet women across America expect it too."[143] There are some

143 Houpert, C. And Altman, B. (2014) Charisma on Command: Inspire, Impress, and Energize Everyone You Meet, ed. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform p. 65

specific techniques Clinton uses that have been scientifically studied and published. But even knowing what these techniques are will not make you magnetic as Clinton. Of course Clinton was not born with such charisma, he developed it throughout the year but this does not mean that every candidate can do it.

As not everyone can be as magnetic as Clinton, not everyone can inspire people as Barack Obama. In 2008 most of the focus was shifted to Obama's persona. No other political candidate had the "it" factor to become a "pop culture phenomenon". A candidate can have the greatest online team, unlimited funds and the most talented staff ever and yet loose the campaign. "That's because assembling the greatest talent s cannot overcome a poor candidate".[144] Obama's campaign manager noted: "Without the candidate who excites people, you can have the greatest strategy and machinery, and it won't matter".[145] And Obama sure knew how to excite people. Obama galvanized his audience like no other and inspired support from the moment he first appeared in the national scene with his 2004 speech at the Democratic National Convention.[146] People's reaction to his speech as documented by Gary Hart and as said before was exceptional. Online petitions, Joe Anthony's Myspace page and Facebook groups such as "Barack Obama for President" emerged even before Obama announced his candidacy.[147] Only an extraordinary candidate is able to achieve this level of enthusiasm: his unique charismatic personality, ability to inspire and organize people and fundraise made him a one-in-a million candidate. In todays politics electoral campaigns are becoming more and more centered around the image of the candidate. New Social media have created an illusion of intimacy between candidate's and voters. Jonathan Karush, an expert in political technology and social media organizing said that because of this Obama would have been successful online even without the extraordinary talented team he assembled.[148]

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144 Hendricks, J. A. And Denton, R. E. (2010). Communicator-in-chief. ed. Lanham: Lexington Books, p. 153
145 Nagourney, A. (2008) The '08 campaign: Sea change for politics as we know it (Online) Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2008/11/04/us/politics/04memo.html?_r=0
146 Hendricks, J. A. And Denton, R. E. (2010). Communicator-in-chief. ed. Lanham: Lexington Books, p. 57
147 Vargas, J. A. (2007) Young Voters Find Voice on Facebook (Online) Available at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/02/16/AR2007021602084.html
148 Hendricks, J. A. And Denton, R. E. (2010). Communicator-in-chief. ed. Lanham: Lexington Books, p. 142

We already underlined the importance of his staff and the importance of knowing how to attract talent. No one gets to the top alone. It is indispensable to have professional marketing figures running the campaigns and to create a healthy professional environment. If it was not for the extraordinary talent Obama was able to attract he would probably still be a very charismatic figure, but a charismatic senator.

Conclusion

In 2008 Obama and his staff set a new standard for political campaigns. They successfully used new media to organize support and solicit donations. Just as after Kennedy no candidate could succeed without a successful television strategy, after Obama no candidate will succeed without investing in online technology. The "Change we can believe in" campaign used revolutionary technology and innovative strategies to change how political campaigns are run. Obama and his staff managed to achieve a passionate involvement and world wide visibility that were rarely seen before. 2008 transformed an unknown Senator into the first African-American President and a pop-culture phenomenon.

The success or failure of any organization is based on the correct understanding of the needs and wants of their customers. In those years there was a strong hunger for change. The economy was in its biggest crisis since the great depression, the Iraqi invasion had lost popular support and most Americans blamed Washington. Obama managed to transform his biggest weakness, his inexperience into a decisive advantage, focusing on the desire for change.

In the 2008 election, Obama was facing some of the biggest names in Politics. They had strong backgrounds, recognizable names, organizations set up in every State and colossal fundraising machines. Obama who was still serving his first term in the United States Senate, had none of this. To win the election he had to achieve something that seemed impossible: Changing the electorate. Obama inspired and motivated people restoring their interest in politics and 2008 saw the highest turnout in the United States history. In the general election Obama won 50-49% of those who voted in the 2004 Presidential election but won 71-27% among those who did not participate in 2004. Not only did the campaign change the electorate, getting people interested in politics again but they also managed to put this army of supporters to work. 2008 became a grassroots movement where six million people actively

participated[149] and approximately 3 million people made 6.5 million donations.[150] People were giving time they did not have and donating money they could not afford. This is how much Obama inspired them.

The campaign overall strategy focused on having supporters campaign on their behalf. Having local staff going door-to-door was key to Obama's success. The campaign understood that people tend to follow those who are similar to them and a passionate conversation between peers is more effective than a television commercial having the same message.

Using Micro-targeting and Big datas, the campaign was able to specifically target voters maximizing time and resource utility. The campaign sent one billion emails to more than thirteen million people. Few people negatively responded to this badgering because micro-targeting made them feel personally and emotionally involved. They understood why the campaign was asking for money and that without their help Obama would have lost.

New media also played a crucial role in Obama's success. Without internet Obama would have not been able to mobilize so much support, raise $711,741,924 doubling McCain's figure[151] and target voters with such precision. Clearly without internet Obama would have not become President. No other campaign or candidate in modern history was "connected with culture" as Obama was.[152] New media establishes a personal dimension between candidates and voters, creating an illusion of intimacy where the spotlight is on the candidate's character. Social media seems to care more about the candidate's personality than his policies. The campaign understood this and shifted the focus on Obama's extraordinary charismatic persona, giving birth to one of the strongest political brands ever. Obama received endorsements from opinion leaders and celebrities. This, the Obama posters and the many pro-Obama youtube

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149James Ridgeway, " How Obama's army of volunteers could prove key in this election", the Guardian 2008 (Online) Available at:
https://www.theguardian.com/world/uselectionroadtrip/2008/oct/29/obama-campaign-volunteers
150 Jose Antonio Vargas, "Obama Raised Half a Billion Online," Washington Post 2008, (online)
Available at: http://voices.washingtonpost.com/44/2008/11/obama-raised-half-a-billion-on.html
151 Marian Currinder, "Champaign Finance: Fundraising and Spending in the 2008 Elections," in The elections of 2008, ed. Michael Nelson (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2010), p. 177.
152 Hendricks, J. A. AND Denton, R. E. (2010). Communicator-in-chief. ed. Lanham: Lexington Books, p.124

videos contributed in making Obama the cool choice and socially pressuring people to vote for him.

Obama ran one of the most unconventional campaigns the democratic world has ever seen gambling on unorthodox strategies. To mention some risk taken: Obama was the first to refuse public campaign funds, the campaign relinquished control over the campaign messages to volunteers, openly declared the campaign strategy and kept the Obama merchandise in the house. Campaign manager David Plouffe was certainly not afraid of taking risks and these risks later payed off. Citing a few of the many difficult decisions that were taken is enough to remind us how hard and complex it is to run a political campaign.

Technology defines political participation and shapes how campaigns are run. Game changing innovations in one election are already outdated in the next. To have a decisive advantage over its competitors a candidate must continue to find new and innovative strategies. Nonetheless it is not always indispensable to create something new, sometimes it is enough to copy. As Newman says: "the world of politics became more like what many would say was an organization run like a corporation but selling a candidate".[153] Commercial marketing has always been a step ahead of political marketing and to be successful a political candidate must try to close this gap. Today there is an indispensable need to hire professional campaign consultants. Indeed without the knowledge of David Axelrod, David Plouffe and in spite of all his talents, Obama would still be a charismatic figure but a charismatic Senator.

153 Newman, Bruce I. (2016) *The Marketing Revolution In Politics*. ed. Toronto Buffalo London: Rotman-UTP Publishing, p 26

Riassunto in Italiano

Nel 2008 Barack Obama fu eletto come 44esimo Presidente degli Stati Uniti, primo Presidente Afro-Americano. Questo risultato e' straordinario, si pensi solo che fino a 50 anni fa in diversi Stati degli Stati Uniti Obama non si sarebbe potuto sedere su un autobus vicino a un bianco e che meno di due anni prima della sua elezione egli era pressoché sconosciuto al di fuori dell'Illinois.

Obama riuscì a intercettare la domanda di cambiamento ottenendo un coinvolgimento popolare appassionato che si trasformò in un movimento con milioni di volontari e sbaragliando i precedenti record di donazioni ricevute. Nelle elezioni Presidenziali, Obama vinse 50-49% tra coloro che avevano votato nel 2004 ma vinse 71-27% tra coloro che non avevano votato, particolarmente tra i giovani. Per ottenere questi sorprendenti risultati, Obama usò i nuovi media e in particolare internet. Nessun candidato o campagna elettorale e' mai stato culturalmente connesso con il suo tempo come Obama nel 2008, diventando un fenomeno della pop-culture.

Il lavoro della tesi e' stato diviso in sei parti. La prima parte racconta della vita di Barack Obama e della sua difficile infanzia. La seconda parte esamina storicamente l'evoluzione del marketing politico e delle innovazioni tecnologiche. La terza sessione si dedica all'ultima grande innovazione tecnologica, internet. La quarta studia il ruolo del suo staff, da David Plouffe a David Axelrod e le scelte innovative che influirono sul risultato finale. La quinta parte individua cinque modi in cui la campagna del 2008 cambiò per sempre la gestione delle campagne elettorali e che nessun candidato in futuro potrà ignorare. L'ultima parte si interroga se qualsiasi altro candidato usando gli stessi media e avendo la stessa squadra di esperti, avrebbe avuto lo stesso risultato. David Plouffe e David Axelrod avrebbero potuto trasformare qualsiasi candidato in Presidente e in un fenomeno pop-culturale?

1. Chi e' Barack Obama?

Barack Hussein Obama II nasce il 4 agosto 1961 a Honolulu, Hawaii da Ann Dunham e Barack Obama Sr. Obama Sr nasce e cresce allevando capre in Kenya finché non

riceve una borsa di studio per gli Stati Uniti dove conosce Dunham. Il matrimonio durò molto poco e Barack Obama vide il padre una sola volta all'età di 10 anni. Nel 1965 Dunham sposò uno studente Indonesiano e nel 1967 si trasferì con Obama a Jakarta dove Barack rimase fino al 1971. Nel 1988 Obama fu ammesso a Harvard dove si laureò Magna Cum Laude e nel 1989 conobbe Michelle Robinson. Prima di entrare in politica Obama lavorò come community organizer e come avvocato per i diritti civili. Nel 2004 venne eletto Senatore per lo Stato dell'Illinois e venne a sorpresa selezionato per fare il keynote speech alla National Convention dei Democratici. Il discorso fu brillante e gli portò per la prima volta notorietà nel partito.

2. Evoluzione delle campagne elettorali

Ricordando la poesia di John Donne si potrebbe dire che nessuna campagna elettorale e' una isola, intera in se stessa. Le campagne elettorali sono in continua evoluzione e dipendono dai progressi tecnologici. Sono proprio essi a definire la partecipazione politica e a inspirare strategie innovative. In questa sezione esaminiamo le rivoluzioni tecnologiche più significative e il loro effetto sul marketing politico.

All'inizio del 19 secolo i giornali erano l'unico modo di comunicare con l'elettore a metà secolo nacquero i primi slogan e simboli. L'espansione delle ferrovie permise un contatto diretto dei candidati con i propri sostenitori.

La prima grande rivoluzione mediatica arrivò nel 1920 con l'invenzione della radio che consentì ai candidati di comunicare costantemente e direttamente con una larga fetta dell'elettorato senza vincoli di mobilità. Ricordiamo qui l'importanza di questo mezzo nei successi di Franklin D. Roosevelt. La radio divenne il mezzo di comunicazione dominante fino all'invenzione della televisione. Questo nuovo strumento rafforzò ulteriormente il rapporto con l'elettore: una sorta di intimità che cambiò l'arte oratoria, valorizzando la personalità del candidato. Da ricordare qui la prima pubblicità elettorale di Dwight D. Eisenhower nel 1952 ma soprattutto il primo dibattito televisivo tra John F. Kennedy e Richard Nixon nel 1960. Chi guardò il dibattito in televisione pensò che Kennedy avesse vinto mentre chi l'ascoltò in radio sosteneva il contrario. Questo dibattito cambiò per sempre il modo di fare politica.

Altra importante rivoluzione riguarda l'uso di Big Datas e i primi sondaggi elettorali del 1935 di George Gallup. Kennedy fu il primo a servirsi di sondaggisti nella sua campagna elettorale. Il loro uso rendeva possibile prevedere l'esito delle elezione prima ancora del conteggio finale e quanti voti servissero per vincere. Nel 1976 Pat Cadell, ingaggiato da Jimmy Carter iniziò a raccogliere informazioni riguardanti non solo le abitudini di voto ma anche quelle quotidiane degli elettori. Nacque quindi il "Micro targeting", una tecnica importata dal marketing commerciale che permetteva di associare i messaggi elettorali alle preferenze dei singoli elettori. Importanti nel processo evolutivo le campagne presidenziali di Ronald Reagan, Clinton e i servizi di Karl Rove per George W. Bush nel 2004.

3. Il potere di internet

Internet e' l'ultima innovazione tecnologica e permette ai candidati di comunicare personalmente e in qualsiasi momento con i propri sostenitori. Questo nuovo mezzo di comunicazione si focalizza sulla personalità del candidato e ha cambiato nuovamente lo stile comunicativo.

Internet fu usato per la prima volta nel 1992 da Bill Clinton ma il suo utilizzo fu molto convenzionale, limitandosi a mezzo d'informazione. Nel 1998 Jesse Ventura fu il primo a intuire il potenziale di internet e questo gli permise di diventare governatore del Minnesota. Ventura raccolse due terzi delle donazioni online da piccoli contribuenti. Probabilmente l'innovazione più importante degli ultimi decenni proviene da Howard Dean nel 2004. Dean usò internet per mobilizzare supporto e raccogliere donazioni a livello nazionale. C'e' una chiara continuità tra Howard Dean e Barack Obama tanto che alcuni dei collaboratori di Dean lavorarono per Obama nel 2008. Obama imparò in particolare tre lezioni da Howard Dean: La prima lezione e' di usare internet per attrarre volontari e creare un movimento. (Da notare che il sito web Meetup utilizzato da Dean per organizzare eventi viene tutt'ora usato con lo stesso scopo dal Movimento 5 stelle). La seconda e' di usufruire del web per raccogliere fondi basandosi su piccole donazioni. La terza lezione e' quella di combattere in ogni Stato e in effetti Obama vinse in Stati tradizionalmente associati con i Repubblicani.

Senza le innovazioni di Dean, Obama probabilmente non avrebbe vinto le elezioni.

4. Analisi della campagna del 2008

Le due figure più importanti della campagna a parte ovviamente lo stesso Obama, furono David Plouffe e David Axelrod. Plouffe era il Campaign Manager mentre Axelrod il Chief Strategiest. Entrambi furono indispensabili per il successo della campagna elettorale e non esitarono nei momenti cruciali ad adottare strategie innovative e quindi rischiose. Alcune tra queste furono il dichiarare apertamente i proprio piani ai sostenitori, lasciare agli stessi volontari ampia autonomia decisionale e lasciarli personalizzare il brand Obama. Inoltre la campagna cambiò totalmente la struttura del team dei New Media e con notevole rischio finanziario puntò sul merchandising con il quale in seguito ricavarono milioni di dollari. Molte delle decisioni più importanti vennero prese in Iowa, che fu la prima sfida nelle primarie e servì come modello per il resto della campagna elettorale. Perdere in Iowa avrebbe sicuramente significato lasciare la nomination a Hillary Clinton. Anche la gestione del team fu molto interessante e insolita per un evento così importante. Lo staff fu gestito con una insolita armonia e amicizia in contrasto con le tensioni e opportunismi che abitualmente prevalgono in queste circostanza.

5. Imparando da Obama

Così come dopo Kennedy nessun candidato poteva avere successo senza la televisione, dopo Obama nessun candidato potrà pensare di vincere senza una strategia digitale. Per molti versi la campagna del 2008 e' unica e non replicabile tuttavia ci sono alcune lezioni che nessun candidato potrà ignorare. Tra queste citerei: l'uso del micro-targeting, l'importanza del brand, la comunicazione online, la raccolta di fondi dal web e infine la capacità di creare un movimento.

5.1 Micro-targeting e Big Data

Il micro-targeting e' una tecnica pubblicitaria innovativa che permette di massimizzare le risorse. Obama usò questa tecnica per comunicare con i sostenitori e i big datas per raccogliere informazioni sui loro desideri. Da questi studi emerse che c'era un forte

desiderio di cambiamento che Obama riuscì a intercettare trasformando la sua l'inesperienza in un punto di forza. Il micro-targeting creò una forte connessione emotiva tra il candidato e i suoi sostenitori che si sentirono personalmente coinvolti nella campagna.

5.2 Obama Brand

Queste nuove tecnologie hanno cambiato il modo di comunicare e si focalizzano sul carattere del candidato più che sul suo programma politico. Per questo motivo i candidati si rivolgono sempre con maggiore frequenza a consulenti esterni come Obama fece con Plouffe e Axelrod. Certamente senza le loro conoscenze la campagna del 2008 non sarebbe stata così innovativa. Obama riuscì a creare un brand riconoscibile, coerente e forte trasformandosi in un fenomeno pop-culturale. Ancora più impressionante la rapidità con la quale il brand fu creato e il modo come rispose ai numerosi pettegolezzi sul suo passato. Il brand si focalizzò sullo straordinario carisma di Obama e l'endorsement da parte di diverse celebrità, i poster Hope e diversi video che divennero virali lo resero la scelta più popolare.

5.3 Comunicazione Online e Social Media

Obama fece registrare il doppio della presenza online di McCain e senza internet Obama non sarebbe mai diventato Presidente. Il primo passo fu di creare un nuovo modello organizzativo per il dipartimento della comunicazione online, rendendola una parte indipendente della struttura della campagna elettorale. Quattro piattaforme fecero una sostanziale differenza nella comunicazione online: Social networks, BarackObama.com, i video online e le email.

I Social networks rappresentano un modo facile e diretto per comunicare con gli elettori creando un legame emotivo. L'uso innovativo di questo mezzo permise a Obama di attrarre milioni di nuovi elettori, particolarmente i giovani fino a allora delusi dalla politica. In totale Obama creò profili su quindici Social networks, i più importanti Myspace, Facebook e Twitter. Su Facebook Obama aveva 2.5 milioni di "amici", quattro volte e su Twitter 23 volte quelli che aveva McCain.

BarackObama.com era il sito ufficiale della campagna creato da Chris Hughes, co-fondatore di Facebook. La strategia comunicativa del sito si basava sulla diretta

partecipazione dei volontari che erano incitati a raccontare le loro storie. Il sito permetteva di trovare informazioni, partecipare e contribuire economicamente. Con la variante mybarackobama.com il sito si trasformava in un Social network dove gli utenti potevano creare e personalizzare pagine, pubblicare video, organizzare eventi e sviluppare le loro proprie pagine di raccolta fondi. In tutto furono creati due milioni di profili, caricati 1,800 video (contro i 330 di McCain), organizzati più di 200,000 eventi e create 70,000 pagine personali che raccolsero 30 milioni di dollari.

Oltre ai vari Social Network un'altra novità della campagna elettorale del 2008 furono i video caricati sul sito web Youtube. Più di 1,820 video furono postati dal profilo Youtube di Obama e furono visti novanta mila volte, per un totale di 14.5 milioni di ore. L'equivalente in pubblicità televisive sarebbe costata sui $47 milioni. Youtube permise anche a persone finora escluse di partecipare attivamente al processo elettorale, creando e postando video che divennero virali. Un esempio e' il video creato da BarelyPolitical.com intitolato "I've got a crush... on Obama".

Obama e il suo staff inviarono più di un miliardo di email a tredici milioni di persone. Grazie alle informazione raccolte con i big datas, e al micro-targeting ogni email era specificamente progettato per il destinatario. Questa individualità permise agli utenti di sentirsi emotivamente coinvolti e come una parte indispensabile della campagna.

Questi mezzi di comunicazione online visti finora avevano due obbiettivi ben precisi, raccogliere donazioni e incitare la partecipazione.

5.4 Raccogliere donazioni online. Fundraising

Obama raccolse il doppio di McCain, stabilendo nuovi record e cambiando il modo di fare fundraising. Obama basò la sua strategia sulla raccolta fondi online, puntando su piccole donazioni. In questo modo raccolse $711,741,924. Più di $500 milioni provennero da internet e da piccole donazioni, tre milioni di persone donarono 6.5 milioni di volte con una media di $80 a donazione. Ci sono quattro vantaggi nel basare la propria strategia di raccolta fondi online e su piccole donazioni. Il primo e' che il limite alle donazione individuali e' fissato a $2,700. Una volta raggiunto questo limite i candidati devono cercare nuovi contribuenti, compito che si rivela assai arduo. Invece con i piccoli donatori, questo limite non viene quasi mai raggiunto e i

contributori possono sempre essere sollecitati. Il secondo vantaggio e' che queste donazioni richiedono meno sforzi rispetto ai sistemici più tradizionali di organizzazione di eventi. Il terzo riguarda sempre i costi e la produttività di questi investimenti. Tramite internet i fondi sono immediatamente disponibili e conteggiati, a differenza degli assegni che richiedono tempo. Il non essere in grado di mobilizzare immediatamente i proprio fondi può risultare fatale come imparò a sue spese Gary Hart nel 1984. Il quarto e ultimo vantaggio e' il fatto che la donazione sia uno degli impegni più vincolanti. Generalmente chi dona e' anche propenso a partecipare attivamente perché l'aver investito lo rende personalmente coinvolto nella causa.

Tutti i mezzi di comunicazione sono stati fondamentali ma il micro-targeting e le email hanno direttamente determinato la raccolta di tre quarti delle donazioni. Nelle email lo staff di Obama dichiarava apertamente la strategia: quanto gli serviva e dove avrebbero investito questi soldi. Questa fiducia contribuì ad aumentare l'entusiasmo dei sostenitori. Lo straordinario successo del fundraising di Obama é dunque dovuto a un combinazione di elementi tra cui l'uso di internet, small donors strategy, onestà e entusiasmo. Come ha fatto Obama a creare tanto entusiasmo?

5. 5 Creare un movimento

Obama e' riuscito a cambiare l'elettorato interessando milioni di giovani ma anche a entusiasmarli a tal punto da creare un esercito di volontari. Non e' certamente facile spiegare come Obama creò così tanto entusiasmo e tanto meno riuscire a replicarlo. Ma sicuramente, ancora una volta internet ebbe un ruolo chiave creando nuovi modi di partecipazione. Senza questo esercito di volontari la campagna da sola sicuramente non sarebbe stata in grado di generare così tanto materiale. I gruppi di volontari ricevano una formazione ma poi gli veniva lasciata completa autonomia di azione. Essi potevano personalizzare il logo, distribuire materiale, creare eventi, raccogliere donazioni e in alcuni casi anche ufficialmente rappresentare la campagna in eventi pubblici e con i media locali. Questa responsabilità li motivò ancora di più e fecero un lavoro di promozione costante, riferendo in seguito tutti i data e contribuendo a rendere il micro-targeting sempre più preciso. Questo sostegno riuscì a ribaltare le aspettative in diversi stati dove Obama era dato inizialmente perdente. I volontari

furono un'arma così importante anche perché le persone sono tendenzialmente influenzate da persone simili a loro per questo la strategia si basò sempre su volontari locali.

6. Il modello Obama potrebbe essere esportato?

Obama ha cambiato il modello di fare campagna elettorale e ci sono diverse lezioni che i futuri candidati non potranno ignorare. Questo non vuol dire però che da Obama in poi tutti i candidati riusciranno seguendo queste lezioni riusciranno a emulare l'entusiasmo del 2008. Anche se il modello Obama e' sicuramente un modello da cui trarre ispirazione, un campaign manager non può pensare di trasformare ogni candidato nel prossimo fenomeno culturale come lo fu Obama. Egli dimostrò una personalità e un carisma ineguagliabile che lo resero un candidato eccezionale. Così come pochi hanno la capacità di magnetizzare l'interlocutore riconosciuta a Bill Clinton, pochi hanno la capacità di entusiasmare come Obama. Tuttavia senza il suo staff e le loro brillanti intuizioni Obama sarebbe sicuramente una figura carismatica ma probabilmente non il 44 esimo Presidente degli Stati Uniti.

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