

<b>Title</b>	<b>How have the principles of Customer Relationship Management that were developed in the corporate sector been incorporated into modern political campaigns?</b>
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*“To succeed in the future, organizations will need to better understand what customers want. To counter the decline of mass media as a vehicle for effective advertising, communications organizations are moving quickly to embrace CRM”*

*Lawrence Handen<sup>1</sup>*

## **Overview**

In early 1990, Don Peppers, who was to become one of the leading authorities on customer focused marketing, gave a speech to the Advertising Club of Toledo about the future of marketing. Although this was before the Internet as we know it had emerged, Peppers had already come to the conclusion that the new communications and information technologies being developed in Silicon Valley would “eliminate the underlying basis for mass marketing.”<sup>2</sup> By the end of the speech, Martha Rogers, a Professor at Bowling Green State University in Ohio, not only recognized a kindred spirit, but also concluded that what Peppers was describing was something she had recently been predicting: the emergence of totally individualized media, enabling people to receive customized news and entertainment that would required companies to engage in two way dialogues and that would ultimately require companies to employ totally individualized marketing<sup>3</sup>. A need for Customer Relationship Management (CRM) had arrived.

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<sup>1</sup> Stanley A. Brown, ed., *Customer Relationship Management* (Ontario: John Wiley & Sons Canada Ltd, 2000), 8.

<sup>2</sup> Don Peppers and Martha Rogers Ph.D., *The One to One Future* (New York: Doubelday, 1993) Preface, i.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, xiv.

The economic environment that business was operating in was changing as well. Andersen Consulting was predicting that life for leading organizations was about to get much harder.<sup>4</sup> In their view, up until the recession of 1990-2, outperforming competitors had been little more than business as usual for many of the world's largest corporations. But the changes observed by Peppers and Roger meant they were about to face such intense competition that traditional formulas for success would be rendered obsolete. If they were to continue to achieve the results expected of them in the future, they would need to "compete in new ways, with new skills, to satisfy ever changing customer demands."<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile, the release of Netscape Navigator in October 1994 as the first modern web browser able to graphically represent information on the World Wide Web announced that a new means on communicating, the Internet, would bring a new set of opportunities and challenges to existing companies. Suddenly, people were no longer limited to their local mall or the magazines they received to research and purchase new products. Anyone with access to the Internet could get the information enabling them to compare two or more companies' products and find the best deal regardless of where they were physically located. In effect, the Internet created a "customer-driven economy, whereby customers

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<sup>4</sup> Tom Siebel, *Virtual Selling* (New York: The Free Press, 1996), 1.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

have a greater influence over a company, its brand and pricing, than at any time in the past.”<sup>6</sup>

### **The Theory of Customer Relationship Management**

To adapt to the changes in mass advertising and the emergence of personalized media, Peppers and Rogers reasoned that companies would have to radically change the way they marketed their products. It would no longer be sufficient to create a new product and then try and build the largest possible market share possible. Instead, companies would need to focus their efforts on “share of customer.” The principle behind this approach is that rather than develop a single product which a company then expends huge resources trying to sell to as many people as possible, the company instead would identify each individual customer, assess their needs as a consumer and aim to sell them as much of the company’s products as possible.<sup>7</sup> But to do so requires a company to alter its business strategy to become one that understands, anticipates and is able to manage the needs of an organization’s current and potential customers.<sup>8</sup>

An organization that successfully adopts such a strategy can realize several significant benefits when compared with an organization that continues to use traditional mass-media marketing techniques. In particular, if an organization is able to target specific customers by aligning what each customer needs with what products the company has to offer, it will:

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<sup>6</sup> Institute of Direct Marketing, *The IDM Guide to CRM Mastery* (London: Institute of Direct Marketing, July 2002), 7.

<sup>7</sup> Peppers and Rogers, *The One to One Future*, 35.

<sup>8</sup> Brown, *Customer Relationship Management*, xix.

- Reduces the cost of wasted advertising to un-interested individuals.
- Prevent overspending on low value clients or under spending on high-value ones.
- Improve the use of the customer channel, thus making the most of each contact with the customer.
- Make it easier to track effectiveness of a given campaign, since each response can be individually tracked and recorded.

But can the principles of moving from a product centric to a customer centric world be made applicable to political campaigns? To answer that question we need to first determine who exactly the “customer” is in the political world, and what is the “product” they are buying.

Fundamentally, the customer is the voter – the ultimate aim of any election is to persuade the voter to choose your “product” and not your opponents. But what is the product? When I have asked people the question, “If a voter is a customer, what is the product they are buying?” many people respond without hesitation, “the candidate.” Considering the media coverage, this is, perhaps, not surprising. For many, the 2004 Presidential Election seemed for the most part to be a popularity contest between George W. Bush and John Kerry as personalities, rather than an election about their ideas or their positions on the issues considered important by the voters. In this celebrity obsessed era, candidates are viewed as just another commodity that uses constant television advertising to reinforce its brand. But is this really an accurate comparison?

Bruce Newman's 1992 book, "The Marketing of the President," seeks to make a different analogy. In his view, the idea that choosing a candidate can be compared to choosing a bar of soap is nothing more than a "myth" made popular by the press that "minimizes the uniqueness of the marketing application to politics."<sup>9</sup> Instead, looking at the 1992 Presidential Campaign, Newman makes a more complex argument about the application of marketing techniques to presidential races, which is worth revisiting here.

In Newman's opinion, the candidate should be seen as a "service provider [who] offers a service to his consumers, the voters, much in the same way that an insurance agent offers a service to his consumers,"<sup>10</sup> where the service in question is the campaign platform.

Newman argues that comparing the marketing of services with politics is more applicable because services have unique characteristics a product does not have:

- Intangible
- Variable, depending on the service provider
- Perishable, since they only exist for a finite time and cannot be stored
- Inseparable, i.e. you can't separate service from the provider

Thus, from Newman's perspective with the product as the campaign platform, the campaign's role is to ensure that research and polling shape the platform to the voters' preferences and use the candidate's physical presence, experience and record in office to reinforce the overall impression created in the mind of the voter. So when a person votes,

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<sup>9</sup> Bruce I Newman, *The Marketing of the President* (California: Sage Publications Inc., 1994), 9.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

Newman argues, they are not choosing a particular politician but rather making a choice about which candidate's positions on certain issues most reflect their own.

In an age of special interest groups and the so-called “Culture Wars,” people are increasingly likely to vote based on their position on a few issues rather than their loyalty to a particular party. If the product is the campaign platform, then it is surely true that a campaign needs to work out which issues are important to each individual voter, identify their concerns and then seek to persuade them to “buy” as much of the campaign’s platform as possible. Just as when people are buying a service, the Internet has made it easier than ever to compare the features they consider important about a product and determine which best satisfies their needs.

I would argue that campaigns are increasingly taking this approach, whereby they determine who the voters are that will most likely vote for them, and then construct their platform around those voters. Some might argue that this is not a healthy model for defining the issues of government, preferring candidates to follow a more traditional model of defining their positions and then seeking to persuade enough people of the merits of those positions to win the election. But it seems to me that political campaigns are simply having to adapt to an electorate that is used to having many of the features that Peppers and Rogers envisaged about 1:1 marketing in their everyday life, and campaigns will struggle in the future if they do not fully embrace those concepts.

The most recent example of a campaign that sought to embrace some of the concepts behind creating a two way conversation with the voter was Howard Dean's campaign for the Democratic Presidential Nomination. More than any other campaign before them, they used technologies such as blogs and the social networking abilities of websites such as MeetUp.com to attempt to build a genuine two way relationship with the voters.

Although some of the reason for taking this approach was necessity (the campaign lacked the resources to build an infrastructure to rival anything candidates like John Kerry had in place), it was more due to Joe Trippi's belief in the power of the Internet to create a new kind of political community. It was a deliberate strategy to "decentralize the campaign...and let the momentum and decision making come from the people."<sup>11</sup>

Although Dean's campaign ultimately failed, he certainly demonstrated that if you enable people to feel part of a campaign and have a stake in that campaign, it will yield results. The relationship with the voters that his campaign fostered greatly enhanced the amount of time and money that was donated to the campaign compared with those who chose to pursue the more traditional approach to campaigns.

### **Defining the Customer Centric Organization**

As the interest about CRM increased in the late 1990s, many companies wanted to demonstrate they were ready to embrace a customer centric world. But instead of acknowledging that wide reaching changes would be required to fulfill this new business paradigm, they instead immediately sought out the CRM software vendors who could promise fast results. As one CRM strategist put it, "There is a very strong tendency in the

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<sup>11</sup> Joe Trippi, *The Revolution Will Not Be Televised* (New York: ReganBooks, 2004), 82.



world of senior management to let CRM sexiness get in the way of clear corporate business processes and methodology.”<sup>12</sup> But unless companies were willing to change the way they did business by altering their core business processes, any new CRM system ended up replicating their current, outdated methods.

In retail finance, for instance, most banks at the start of the 1990s were still organized along product lines. If you went into the bank, you were often seen by different people depending on whether you wanted a checking account, a mortgage with the bank, life insurance or advice about savings and investments. Any data stored on your transactions with the organization were kept in that product area’s silo of data, separate from the other products in the system. If a new product was launched, the marketing team was tasked with selling that one product to as many people as possible. But in the new world of 1:1 marketing those financial institutions needed to have customer focused managers who would aim to sell each individual as many products as possible, not staff dedicated to selling one product.

If that seems normal now, it is because the competitive pressures described by Peppers and Rogers led to customers having greatly increased expectations about what the banks and financial institutions could offer them. When you deal with a mortgage advisor, customers now expect them to know what other products they currently have with that institution, and be able to recommend suitable products that will compliment it. When customers deal with a service agent, they expect good service, and the company should

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<sup>12</sup> Paul Greenberg, *CRM at the Speed of Light* (Berkley: McGraw-Hill/Osborne,2002), 85.

ensure they receive it. If they leave that experience with a positive view of the company and its products, the customer might be more willing to read a marketing brochure about their other products.

Tom Siebel, who created the largest CRM software company, Siebel Systems, had no doubt that a company must change the way it interacted with customers before it could reap any benefits from his software: “If the fundamental task of the corporation is to sell, then the customer is the ultimate arbiter of the company’s success. Given that, it follows that every action the company takes and every decision it makes must be in support of the relationship with that customer.”<sup>13</sup>

Political campaigns seem to me to be no different in these requirements. Most people who vote for a candidate will never actually meet that candidate. At best, they may attend a rally where your candidate appears for a short time to speak. But many more people will come into contact with the campaign, whether as a donor, as an attendee at an event or when a volunteer comes to their door to canvass them. Just as Tom Siebel said that every action a company takes must be in support of its relationship with the customer, so must every action a campaign takes be in support of its relationship with the voter, regardless of whether it is the campaign manager dealing with a press inquiry, the accountant querying a donation or a volunteer handing out signs.

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<sup>13</sup> Siebel, *Virtual Selling*, 237.

Most campaigns lack the time, money and continuity to implement a corporate-style assessment of how they operate. However, a good campaign manager should still be able to take a look at any processes used by the campaign and evaluate them based on three criteria:

1. How important is that process to the campaign or the company?
2. Is it effective – i.e. does it make sense to do it that way and does it deliver value?
3. Is it efficient – i.e. is the process being done properly in terms of speed, output or throughput?<sup>14</sup>

By thinking in these terms, a campaign should be able to continually ask itself whether the way it is operating as a voter-focused campaign, either in terms of involving the voters, improving the campaign's knowledge about the electorate or delivering votes on election day. Just as in business, campaigns are often fighting the last campaign, and doing things because that is the way they have always been done, rather than because that is the most effective or efficient way to use new techniques or technology.

As a starting point, any good technology solution in political campaigns should have a few core features:

- There will only be ONE repository of customer and product data.
  - Like many organizations in the corporate world, the political world still struggles to be able to know that a voter in the database is also listed as a volunteer, a donor or an influential in their community.

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<sup>14</sup> Michael Gentle, *CRM Project Management Handbook* (London: Kogan Page Ltd, 2003), 39-40.

- Everyone in the organization must be able to access the data when they need it, whether they are in the office, at an event or at the voter's front door.
  - Access to the same source of data at all field offices.
  - This will involve the ability to synchronize the data with portable data devices such as handheld Personal Data Appliances (PDAs).
- The voter will be able to communicate with the campaign using their preferred method, e.g. Mail, Email, Website, Phone.
  - This means every communication channel must be integrated with the central database, including donation systems and volunteer sign up on the website.
- All communications must be attached to the correct contact record.
- This data will be stored to enable voters to be profiled, segmented and targeted.<sup>15</sup>

## **Targeting**

*“Targeting: the process of determining which voters you need for victory and identifying them as efficiently as possible.”<sup>16</sup>*

Targeting can take many forms, from targeting an advertising campaign to a certain audience to determining who the most valuable customers, worthy of greater attention and who are the least valuable and so should have less resource spent on them. This need to target is one area of the CRM process that political campaigns have generally already

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<sup>15</sup> Brown, *Customer Relationship Management*, xii.

<sup>16</sup> Hal Malchow, *The New Political Targeting* (Washington D.C.: Campaigns and Elections Magazine, 2003), 12.

absorbed. With limited resources and time, it has always been imperative that campaigns focus their resources on the right voters. As Ron Faucheux succinctly puts it, “The idea is to use your resources where they will do the most good... use those precious resources on voters who need to be convinced.”<sup>17</sup> For Faucheux, effective targeting is vital to ensuring that a campaign uses its resources efficiently and disseminates its message effectively, without which a campaign will not be victorious.<sup>18</sup>

Even in the past when voter history data was only available from the party as a paper report, Campaign Managers and their field staff sought to identify which precincts and wards were strongly for their party, swing areas or strongly supportive of their opponent. As further advances in technology made accurate telephone polling cheaper, campaigns were able to identify segments of voters who were open or hostile to a candidate’s message, and target them accordingly with direct mail, radio and television advertising.

Hal Malchow, in his book “The New Political Targeting”, makes essentially the same argument about the need to focus resources. In his view, often only ten percent of the electorate is persuadable and will actually vote come election day. But Malchow argues that most modern campaigns have failed to adopt recent developments in targeting techniques used by commercial marketing departments. As a result, they do a poor job of finding those voters, mainly because the political establishment now relies too heavily on data gathered by pollsters for performing accurate contact targeting.<sup>19</sup> In his view, while

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<sup>17</sup> Ron Faucheux, *Running For Office* (New York: M Evans & Company Inc., 202), 141.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Malchow *The New Political Targeting*, 2.

polling data is extremely important in shaping the campaign's message, it is poorly suited to contact targeting, since the small sample size and time constraints of a 500 person poll means it is not possible to gain an accurate picture of the sub groups nor gather crucial targeting information such as voter history which can then be compared with voter list files and updated as necessary.

Malchow lists three developments that he considers fixtures of modern commercial targeting solutions – more data, better analysis and measurement, and accountability. Of these, he feels the political world has only progressed in the area of data collection, which while necessary, is of limited value without the other two developments.<sup>20</sup> This presents us with the question of whether this is a fair assessment? If the political campaign did put in place all three elements he describes would it make them more effective and efficient, as demanded by the process measures outlined above?

### **It's the data stupid!**

*“At the heart of targeting is a database of voters. How well you can target depends upon the quality of your data and your skills at analyzing it.”<sup>21</sup>*

At the core of all customer relationship management systems is the data that makes it possible to not only build better relations with an individual customer, but also enables an organization to identify relationships between different customers and, ultimately, target their resources more effectively and efficiently. However, many organizations still fail to

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 209.

understand the value of accurate data. When reports list the reasons for project failures in the corporate sector, failure to properly manage the data acquisition and migration always appears high on the list.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, I can attest to this from personal experience as issues with the data proved to be the main stumbling block on several projects to achieving a successful CRM implementation.

Very often the implementation of a CRM system was considered to be a failure because successful implementation of the software exposed the poor quality of data in the organization's legacy system(s). But it was always an impossible argument to try and convince corporations that after having spent several million dollars on a CRM software solution, they first needed to put it back on the shelf and clean up their existing data. The desire for more immediate, tangible results was always more compelling, if ultimately misguided.

However, political campaigns have one significant advantage over the corporate sector – the core data is already available in the form of voter files which are required to be recorded and made available by each state. Section 303 of the Help America Vote Act (HAVA) states: “...each State, acting through the chief State election official, shall implement, in a uniform and nondiscriminatory manner, a single, uniform, official, centralized, interactive computerized statewide voter registration list defined, maintained, and administered at the State level that contains the name and registration information of every legally registered voter in the State and assigns a unique identifier to each legally

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<sup>22</sup> Gentle, *The CRM Project Management Handbook*, 13.

registered voter in the State.”<sup>23</sup> So in Massachusetts for instance, I asked the election division the current status of their HAVA compliance: “We’ve had a statewide database since 1995. The database connects 351 municipalities and the Registry of Motor Vehicles. Some features needed to be added to be HAVA compliant, such as a statewide search mechanism and connectivity with SSA. All voter information is entered and updated by local election officials.”<sup>24</sup>

This appears to be a tremendously powerful resource and indeed makes the implementation of CRM in politics much more viable. However, the reality of HAVA is not as straightforward as it seems. In many states such as Massachusetts, access to the data is in reality severely restricted by State laws. So although any candidate (or member of the public for that matter) in Massachusetts can obtain local voter registration data at the city/town level, access to state level HAVA maintained data is not available:

“Statewide access is limited to state party committees, statewide candidate committees and state ballot question committees. The jury commissioner also has access. Access to such data on a state level is restricted by state law.”<sup>25</sup>

### **But the Party gives me the data...doesn't it?**

For most candidates, so long as the party has access to the data, state law restrictions on access would appear to remove this as an issue. It is certainly true that both the Democratic and Republican Party have recently begun to understand why the corporate

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<sup>23</sup> [http://www.fec.gov/hava/law\\_ext.txt](http://www.fec.gov/hava/law_ext.txt)

<sup>24</sup> Michelle K. Tassinari, <Michelle.Tassinari@state.ma.us> Director, Massachusetts Elections Division, Personal email (19 April 2006)

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.



sector places so much value on having good quality data. Since 2000, both parties have actively worked to ensure that when a candidate is confirmed as the party's official candidate in a race, they have access to not only the voter registration data outlined above, but to additional data that is appended to the voter data to allow the data to be precisely segmented to improve the ability to target likely voters, volunteers, donors and undecided voters. This data includes “commercially available consumer databases, the census, records of the National Committee for an Effective Congress and state party organizations.”<sup>26</sup> The Democrats system is usually referred to as Demzilla and the Republican’s equivalent is known as Voter Vault. However, although the parties do provide this data there is one significant catch.

The problem with relying on the party is best exemplified by the presidential races. The data is only available to a candidate when they are confirmed as the party's candidate for the general election – it is NOT available in primaries. Looking back at 2004, it is clear that this process can produce a competitive dynamic for the primaries themselves, and allows candidates such as Howard Dean to emerge because the party isn't seen to favor one particular candidate by giving them the data. But since John Kerry's nomination was only confirmed a few months before the November election in 2004, he could only use the Demzilla database for a few months. The Republican Nation Committee (RNC), knowing George Bush would be their candidate, were able to put in place a far more comprehensive infrastructure because they had much earlier access to the party’s data that had been cleaned and segmented to then target and recruit volunteers.

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<sup>26</sup> Miles Benson, “‘Demzilla’ and ‘Voter Vault’ Are Watching You,” (Newhouse News Service, June 9<sup>th</sup> 2003), <http://www.newhousenews.com/archive/benson061003.html>.

The effect of redistricting has meant that many more races are now decided by the outcome of the primary rather than the general election. But if the data is only available after the primaries, the winning candidate has already spent months building relationships with their most committed voters using data they have had to compile themselves. Once they win, the campaign has to then combine all the existing contact history with the party's data – a time consuming process when they need to be focusing on reaching out to undecided voters who have yet to engage in the race.

The political world is increasingly turning to the corporate sector to fill this gap, using companies who specialize in compiling detailed sets of data. Just as companies offer lists of financial companies or lobbying companies in the corporate sector, so companies now offer voter data lists for national, state-wide races or even specific congressional districts. As long as a company does not sell lists about states that prohibit online sales of voter data – such as Arizona – a company is legally allowed to buy and sell the data on to candidates and issue groups. And as long as the site selling the data includes a notice informing buyers of permissible uses for the data, the onus for adhering to usage laws is on the buyers. However, the companies selling these data sets need to be mindful of potential backlashes from voters unaware that their voter registration data is being made available commercially (see Privacy Concerns, below).<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Kim Zetter, *For Sale: The American Voter* (Wired News, 12 Dec 2003), <http://www.wired.com/news/evote/0,2645,61543,00.html>

Companies such as [Election Data Services](#), Aristotle, and Advocacy Inc. are for-profit entities that can supply voter lists along with extra data such as validated email addresses, date of birth and cleaned address data. Advocacy Inc., for example, has a list of over thirty five million email addresses which can be segmented by various criteria including zip code, voter precinct or age.

Some observers argue that the parties should change their role to be purchasers, not suppliers, of data since the private sector has consistently demonstrated it is the best place to develop robust and cutting edge databases. John Simms, founder and CEO of CMDI, a database management company, feels the current presence of the parties in the supply of data is effectively “chilling” the marketplace for companies supplying data, and is thereby limiting the private sector’s incentive to deliver the type of innovative solutions being developed seen in the corporate sector.<sup>28</sup> For if a campaign can get through the primary, it will get all of the data it needs for free, which, as Mr. Simms pointed out, is impossible for a company to compete with.

Certainly, one veteran of the Clinton era, Harold Ickes, has decided the party cannot deliver the functionality required. In March of this year, it was reported that Ickes was in charge of a team looking to build a totally separate data warehouse for progressive causes. In his view, leaving the process of data compilation to the party has failed: *"The*

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<sup>28</sup> John Simms, CEO, CMDI. Interview at CMDI, Tysons Corner, April 5<sup>th</sup> 2006.

*Republicans have developed a cadre of people who appreciate databases and know how to use them, and we are way behind the march.*<sup>29</sup>

Who will win out in the end remains to be seen.

### **Managing the Data**

Having gathered all of this data, it is crucial that an organization or campaign ensures that they extract the maximum value from the data. The corporate experience of implementing CRM has revealed that three main issues arise when manipulating data – whether the format of the data is uniform, what unique identifiers exist to identify each record so data can be matched against it, and of course, whether the data is accurate. These issues become crucial for the successful ongoing operations of a political campaign since any issues with the initial data will be amplified as the campaign seeks to use the data for more complex purposes, such as mailings and targeting. Malchow offers a useful checklist to any campaign.<sup>30</sup>

1. Assess which data will be most valuable for this campaign – race, religion, education?
2. Clean the list.
3. Educate your users as to what data is available.
4. Enhance the list with commercially available data, such as census figures and so-called lifestyle data like magazine subscriptions that will build on point 1.

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<sup>29</sup> Thomas B. Edsall, “Democrats' Data Mining Stirs an Intraparty Battle”, (Washington Post: March 8, 2006), [http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/03/07/AR2006030701860\\_pf.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/03/07/AR2006030701860_pf.html).

<sup>30</sup> Malchow, *The New Political Targeting*, 235.

Another task that the many CRM projects spend months completing is the “[data dictionary](#).” The principle of a data dictionary is to define what each field in the database is for and what format it will be stored and captured in.<sup>31</sup>

*“One benefit of a well-prepared data dictionary is a consistency between data items across different tables. For example, several tables may hold telephone numbers; using a data dictionary the format of this telephone number field will be consistent... Data dictionaries are more precise than glossaries (terms and definitions) because they frequently have one or more representations of how data is structured.”*

This needs to be agreed on as early as possible in the process of capturing, collating and then importing the data. The CRM solution being used may enforce some of these rules, but if those rules are determined early on, it will ensure that any data received or captured can be analyzed and processed to fit the need of the database without creating errors further down the road. A key example of this is when data is being captured by third party systems e.g. donation systems, or volunteer sign-up forms. It is critical that the data is captured in such a way that it matches what is already in the voter database, so the campaign can immediately identify that person.

Several commercial companies exist that will clean the data. Although this can seem expensive at first sight (60 cents an address is typical), it will save considerable time and

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<sup>31</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Data\\_dictionary](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Data_dictionary)

money in ensuring that any mailings will have the correct addresses, reducing returned mailings and producing more successful first time mail deliveries.

### **Making the Data Work for You**

The best organizations in the corporate world knew that CRM should not only lead to an increase in sales, but could also save them money as well: "...it is often overlooked that CRM can also generate very significant cost savings in the form of the most effective (i.e. right) and more efficient (i.e. speedier) processes."<sup>32</sup> Ron Faucheux, in *Running for Office*, is clear that one of the first and most important steps in determining a campaign strategy is to work out which demographic groups need to be won.<sup>33</sup> Once a campaign identifies the coalition of voter groups that can deliver the votes needed to win, this will determine everything else that needs to stem from the campaign plan. To do this a campaign needs to not only have the data described above available, but also know how to ensure it is used in the most efficient way. According to Malchow, the *efficiency* of direct mail is best described as how economically a candidate is able to reach those groups of voters that make up the winning coalition.<sup>34</sup> The higher the percentage of targeted voters on the mailing lists that are being used to raise donations or persuade undecided voters, the more efficient the mailing is said to be. As an example, a campaign decides that the most effective way to persuade undecided voters is via a direct mail piece. The only way to be sure to reach all undecided voters is to mail every voter in the voting area, but that is a huge waste of resources to reach perhaps only ten percent of the

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<sup>32</sup> Gentle, *CRM Project Management Handbook*, 41.

<sup>33</sup> Faucheux, *Running For Office*, 69.

<sup>34</sup> Malchow, *The New Political Targeting*, 13.

electorate. So the more accurately the campaign determines which voters in its database are undecided voters, the less mail it has to send to reach that ten percent of the electorate, and the more efficient the mailing will be.

The savings to a campaign can be considerable, as Malchow explains.<sup>35</sup>

If a persuasion piece of mail costs 50 cents, but only 25% of the undecided voters are reached, the effective cost to reach each undecided voter is \$2.00. Using data profiling the list can be segmented more effectively to reduce the amount of mail needed to reach that same group of people. If the same mailing now reaches 43% of undecided voters, the effective cost of the mailing is now only \$1.43, since fewer pieces of mail are needed to reach those voters.

However, there are clearly drawbacks to this approach. No mailing will be one hundred percent accurate, so if the profiling is incorrect, there is a risk of never reaching the voters needed to win. Malchow offers various suggestions on how to improve the quality of the targeting. In particular, he advocates CHAID – a tool that is used widely in the commercial sector to identify which demographics will respond best to a mailing or phone call. Unlike polling, Chi Square Automatic Interaction Detector (CHAID), contacts large samples of voters but only asks them one or two profile questions. This data is then appended back into an existing database. Statistical models are then used to determine which attributes in the database are most effective for identifying the groups the campaign needs to win. Although Malchow is only discussing the use of CHAID to

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<sup>35</sup> Malchow, *The New Political Targeting*, 12.

enhance mailing lists, it seems certain that this could be expanded to give every voter in the CRM system a score based on the CHAID analysis. Those scores could include propensity to donate, volunteer, vote in a primary and actually vote on election day. Just as corporations seek to focus on their most profitable customers and avoid wasting money on the least profitable, so techniques such as these will assist a campaign in identifying similarly “profitable” voters.

This leads to a second example where techniques in the corporate world have been replicated successfully by political campaigns. Just as a sales person’s time is best served by focusing on their most valuable customers, so in the political world, the techniques described above ensure those identified as most important are focused on by the field team. In *Winning Elections*, Lorene Durgin argues that because each candidate has a limited amount of time to maximize their exposure to the electorate, a campaign must try and *target* the most appropriate voters when doing any form of door-to-door canvassing.<sup>36</sup> If the campaign has a sophisticated CRM system in place that can be segmented using data captured in a CHAID analysis, it can begin to identify those voters who would be most persuaded by canvassing from the candidate and/or a regular field canvasser.

The system, using pre-determined database rules based on geography and available volunteers and skills, would allocate the voter addresses to individual field workers and volunteers. The CRM system produces the information, either in paper format or

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<sup>36</sup> Lorene Hanley Duquin, *Winning Elections* ed. Ron Faucheux (New York: M Evans and Company Inc.,2003), 449.



electronically if the staff has access to Personal Digital Assistants such as an IPAQ or a PalmPilot. In the same way that Faucheux suggests coding each house A to E based on their response during door-to-door canvassing (A is someone who offered to volunteer, E said they were definitely supporting the opposition),<sup>37</sup> the people visiting can capture the same information – in effect a even more in depth door-to-door CHAID analysis. With electronic devices they can also validate the information currently stored in the central system, capture missing information such as email and cell phone numbers, and ideally capture what issues each member of the household visited is most concerned about.

When canvassing is complete, the staff returns to the field office and either enter in the information they have captured to the central system or, preferably, synchronize data they have captured in their PDAs. The campaign can then not only use the data to test their current assumptions about the voter profiles, they can also ensure that people who have been visited automatically receive a follow up letter from the candidate based on the responses the field staffer received, thus beginning the process of building a relationship between the campaign and the voters. All this data can then be fed back into the central database to not only further refine the profiling that the campaign can perform, but using workflow rules, it can ensure that those who have offered to volunteer to help the campaign in some way can then be allocated to a campaign staffer to be contacted.

I believe the scenarios described above will become much more common in the 2006 and 2008 elections cycle. In the 2004 campaign cycle, volunteers and employees of

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<sup>37</sup> Faucheux, *Running for Office*, 118.

American Coming Together (ACT) went door-to-door on behalf of John Kerry using PDAs. Despite the potential for using them successfully in a CRM application, they instead focused on asking people what their biggest concern was, and then showed them a video highlighting Kerry's position. As a persuasion technique, I have my doubts about whether this was very effective, though I haven't seen evidence either way on the topic.

However, an experienced field operative<sup>38</sup> agreed that more sophisticated uses of profile information could deliver results. As an example, he suggested that if a field worker was able back his argument with facts from the newspaper the potential voter actually read, this would make it a far more effective and credible source of information. Such information is usually available, and with the right tools, it would be possible to match that information with a voter's record. The voter need not know that the choice of newspaper was deliberate, and the ability to give a field worker that precision of data is already available.

### **Data Privacy**

At this point, it seems prudent to not only consider the ethical and increasingly legal responsibilities that the capture and management of data by a campaign entails, but also how the use of this data carries the risk of alienating the very people a campaign is trying to build a relationship with. Most people are not aware of how much data about them is publicly available. When the Institute for Politics, Democracy & the Internet (IPDI) mailed people a survey last year asking about their political donation practices, several

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<sup>38</sup> Interview with Cody York, Political Director, Tennessee Senate Republican Caucus, in Washington D.C., April 25<sup>th</sup>, 2006.

people challenged where IPDI had obtained their data from, even though the survey packet said their name was taken from the FEC register. While these voters had donated to a campaign, they had no idea this data was then publicly available. Similarly, I am sure some people would find the idea that a campaign knew which newspaper they subscribed to be unsettling, even invasive.

For political campaigns, sophisticated data profiling is still rarely used, and only by the largest campaigns. But like polling before it, it will gradually become more readily available to smaller campaigns and they will need to understand the implications of capturing and using this data. The dilemma of needing to capture personal data without upsetting the people being targeted was acknowledged by Peppers and Rogers: “Every dialogue with a customer is an opportunity to build the scope of the relationship with that customer...But how can you reconcile the need for more and more information on an individual customer with that customer’s likely desire to preserve his or her own privacy?”<sup>39</sup>

One solution is that the political world will need to increasingly adopt the techniques used by Permission Marketers which should ensure that all contact with voters is positive and welcome. Most critically, whenever possible, the people on any list a campaign plans to contact should have explicitly opted to receive communication from the campaign and they must always be able to easily and quickly request that the campaign stops any communications with them. When people sign up for email lists on a website, this is

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<sup>39</sup> Peppers and Rogers, *The One to One Future*, 329.

relatively easy – the website just needs to ensure that people are aware they will receive emails as a result of signing up, and can always opt out at any time.

The possibilities that modern communications now offer make the issues of permission marketing increasingly complex to monitor. As an example, SMS, or text messaging via cell phones is one technology that is likely to play an ever larger role in contacting voters for fundraising and mobilization. Although America has been slow to adopt mobile technology when compared with Europe or Asia, the U.S. is rapidly catching up. The recent immigration protests in major U.S. cities were often coordinated by text messaging. Companies such as Mobile Accord are offering campaigns the ability to not only use SMS to coordinate people for rallies and meetings, but also to receive campaign donations using SMS short code technology.

This will present situations for a campaign that few will have previously encountered, and they must look to industry for guidance. As an example, I presented the following scenario to Dan Weaver at Mobile Accord:

*Two candidates are running in a primary race, and candidate B encourages people to sign up to receive text messages from his campaign. However, Candidate A wins the primary. If Candidate B endorses candidate A for the general election, can he now “give” Candidate A that text message list, so Candidate A can now also send text messages to those people? Or is the agreement only relevant to Candidate B?*

His response was that the Mobile Marketing Association's (MMA) Best Practices Guidelines state that any opt-ins to Candidate B's race pertain only to that candidate and should not be used to promote any other products unless an opt-in has been obtained from the subscriber to receive this information. In his view, if Candidate A wanted to possess Candidate B's list of mobile numbers and control the messages that are sent (rather than just have Candidate B send messages on his behalf) then Candidate B would first have to ask permission of all the people on the list. This could take place via a simple SMS opt-in, i.e. "I endorse Candidate A. If you would like to receive important information via SMS about Candidate A's campaign reply with 'Y', which could then be appended to any list Candidate A already had."<sup>40</sup>

As Seth Godin said in a piece about Permission Marketing, "As new forms of media develop and clutter becomes ever more intense, it's the asset of permission that will generate profits for marketers."<sup>41</sup> The key is to always ensure that people have opted in to your communications, and therefore your campaign.

### **Data Brokerage**

The private sector also has the ability to enhance the data used by campaigns in ways that the political parties, for legal and practical reasons, do not.<sup>42</sup> For instance, a for-profit broker could offer an advocacy group a subset of their data at a discount in return for

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<sup>40</sup> Dan Weaver, <[dweaver@mobileaccord.com](mailto:dweaver@mobileaccord.com)>, Personal Email, Apr 19, 2006.

<sup>41</sup> Seth Godin, *Managing Customer Relationships eds.*, Don Peppers and Martha Rogers Ph.D. (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons Inc, 2004), 222.

<sup>42</sup> Daniel Bennett, Chief Technology Officer, Advocacy Inc. Interview at Advocacy Inc., Washington D.C., April 12 2006.

extra information the group in question gathers as part of their ongoing operation. They could then append this information to their main data set when they offer this to a candidate for a campaign. This is only really practical where the data firm themselves are partisan though. For instance, a left leaning group would only be willing to assist a candidate they believed would further their cause. Problems could of course arise where a candidate's position differs from that of the issue advocacy group who own that data, but if the legal complexities in such transactions can be overcome, the ability to effectively "broker" data is a powerful tool, especially when the potential to target is considered.

Take as an example a democrat leaning data firm that works with a pro-choice group to match and enhance the data residing in that organization's database. In return, the data firm is able to not only flag all the people in the system who are on the mailing list for that organization, but based on CHAID techniques, flag all the people in its own voter data files system who also fit that profile. Suddenly, when a candidate is looking to target pro-choice people, it can target its messages at that subset with some confidence they will be receptive to that message.

### **Partisanship**

As stated above, all the parties involved have to trust their most valuable commodity – their data – not only with other groups but also with the commercial enterprises involved. This requirement highlights a notable difference between the political and corporate sector – the decision to be partisan. For people in the corporate sector, it seems extraordinary that many of the most successful firms choose to exclude themselves from

fifty percent of the marketplace by only dealing with candidates and campaigns that are Republican or Democrat. But as the example above demonstrates, for the people operating in the political world, the decision is not only logical; it is often a requirement for success.

The data being processed and managed by political CRM systems is considered the heart of a campaign. It contains the names and preferences of donors, volunteers and the people considered to be most reachable. As explained by one observer, if a firm served both sides of the fence, they would always face suspicion from campaigns as to whether people in the company were favoring their personal political preferences in how they allocated work and fixed problems. But beyond that, political beliefs are usually very personal and passionately held. John Simms at CMDI told me, as a Republican supporter, he personally wants to assist Republicans get elected, and if he has built a good tool to do that, he wants it to be available to people he believes in.<sup>43</sup>

### **Professional Services**

*“Modern Campaigns, increasingly sophisticated and technologically complex, are taken over by professional consultants and because of that professionalization, there is little room for the amateur or volunteer campaign worker.”<sup>44</sup>*

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<sup>43</sup> John Simms, Interview.

<sup>44</sup> Dennis W Johnson, *No Place for Amateurs* (New York: Routledge, 2001), Introduction, xvi.

The processes and technologies described in this paper are probably the most technical aspects for campaigns to set up and manage, even more so than a website or FEC filing requirements. Yet the professionalization that Johnson talks about has been mostly limited in political campaigns to traditional roles such as Campaign Managers, General Consultants, Pollsters and Media Buyers. Unlike the corporate world, no industry has really developed around the implementation of CRM systems for political campaigns. In the corporate world, the major suppliers of software such as Oracle, Siebel, SAP and Microsoft are almost never directly responsible for implementing their software for a purchasing company. Having completed their sales pitch, the job of making the software work is left to System Integrators such as Accenture, PriceWaterhouseCoopers and my former employer KPMG (now Bearing Point in the U.S.). Indeed, for most organizations, the cost of the software was dwarfed by the cost of the consultants who actually implemented it. But in the political world, this has not happened.

Several reasons appear to exist for this. One is the size of the marketplace. When most companies that operate in the political sphere are partisan they can effectively only reach out to fifty percent of the marketplace. Apart from the Presidential races, there are only a limited number of races with money available to bid for. In the current environment, only Congressional, Senate and Gubernatorial races are likely willing to spend the money, and according to the vendors, only some of these races at the present time. These races are by definition geographically separate, so are hard to efficiently support. Furthermore, they are relatively small, short-term enterprises which do not have the money upfront to invest in expensive professional services.



But perhaps the more significant reason is that from a process perspective campaigns are all fundamentally the same. The cost of professional services for the corporate world is high because having bought the software solution, they are then required to perform considerable analysis of their existing processes, data, change management and training requirements as discussed earlier. A campaign has fewer of these requirements. The process itself is fairly well defined, even if the execution plan is not yet agreed. Most of the time goes into defining the message using message grids, research and polling. The requirements of the CRM system are very similar from race to race, so the need to analyze and customize the software is much reduced.

Finally, a radical change in the way software is supplied and delivered has reduced the need for such extensive consulting. In the 1990s, the vast majority of software was a client/server model. This consisted of a central server containing a database which stored all of the data and each computer running the CRM system having its own “client” installed that then connected to the central server enabling the user to enter new data and retrieve and manipulate existing data. The installation, configuration and maintenance of this infrastructure was a considerable task in itself, and required considerable (and expensive) expertise only practical for large organizations that could afford the dedicated IT staff.

The arrival of companies such as Salesforce.com into the corporate sector transformed this model. Now, to use the software, a user simply goes to a website, enters their user name and password, and the system is instantly available and ready to use. All the user

needs is a fast internet connection. Also, the cost of this software is far cheaper than the traditional CRM solutions and is much easier to perform basic configuration with little technical knowledge required in order to change fields or load data. Many of the leading CRM solutions in the political world such as NGP Software and CMDI have similarly adopted this technology model for their own systems, enabling campaigns to implement a solution far more quickly and cheaply and without the need to hire expensive system integrators

### **Putting the Technology to Work – Implementing a Comprehensive Solution**

As well as improving the ability to capture data in one place and ensure everyone had sufficient visibility of the data to provide them with single view of the customer, companies developed other tools to ensure that every part of the business was dedicated to building a relationship with the customer.

A key requirement of many of the first CRM solutions developed, especially those involved with field sales or field service, was to provide tools that could make the data in the central database available to employees on the road when they were not able to connect to the main CRM system. However, the core principle of one data source and a the ability to maintain a single view of the customer meant this could not be a separately maintained set of data – it had to be generated from the central database and it had to be possible to synchronize the data back into the central source when it was updated. So the first companies to build CRM software such as Aurum and Siebel made it a priority to create sophisticated methods of keeping a central database in sync with the changing data of the employees away from the office

This is a legacy that is being slowly utilized by political campaigns, but could be adopted far more aggressively. Numerous opportunities exist for when campaign personnel are away from the office, but would benefit from access to voter and campaign data. In addition to during door-to-door canvassing, there are many occasions when it should be possible to capture information, such as at a campaign event and ensure that all follow up requests are processed immediately, often before the person has even returned to the office.

Cost, of course, has always been a factor in implementing such solutions – PDAs such as a HP IPAQ often cost over \$400, too expensive for most campaigns to consider. Yet, even where cost is less of an issue, the use of PDAs linked to a central CRM system has remained relatively rare. In reality, even the most powerful PDAs lacked the capacity and processing power to overcome significant issues with data storage and data synchronization. However, with the ownership of cell phones becoming increasingly widespread, they may offer a solution to this problem. As the average cell phone becomes more powerful in its functionality and its ability to connect to more powerful networks increases, it may become possible to give more people access to campaign data for much less cost, using a cell phone they already own. The arrival of a third generation networks capable of delivering a far higher bandwidth makes “always on” devices viable. Just as Blackberry devices mean people can receive their email wherever they are, so in the future, campaign staff will be able to view and update campaign data on their cell phones, wherever they are.

Another factor that has to be considered when discussing maintaining data on multiple devices is the security of the data. Most campaigns are rightly concerned about the security of their data since the value of the data is considerable to any political campaign. So how do you marry the need for people to have visibility of needed data with the need to restrict the availability of data to ensure you limit the risk of data being lost or stolen?

In an article I wrote in the 2006 Politics Online Conference Magazine,<sup>45</sup> I discussed how industry uses team based selling models to structure their data to limit access to the people who need it. But this model also serves as an excellent way to restrict access to data. If someone is going door-to-door, they only need access to the doors they are visiting. If someone is visiting a press event, they only need access to data about the press, not the entire list of voters. The key to making this work, however, is to make the assignment of data automatic, using similar rules used for targeting. So if a volunteer signed up, they would automatically be assigned to the team responsible for volunteers in a particular zip code, or if a large donor sent an email to the campaign it would be flagged up to someone senior in the campaign.

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<sup>45</sup> Peter Churchill, “Using Techniques from Industry — Organize your Data by Applying the Principle of Team-Based Sales”, *2006 Politics Online Magazine, Institute for Politics, Democracy & the Internet*, 34-35.  
<http://ipdi.org/uploadedfiles/Politics%20Online%202006%20Conference%20Magazine.pdf>

## **An Ever Expanding Range of Options**

Many of the other innovations that are becoming available to campaigns will not be built by the CRM system vendors themselves. Just as the corporate world now focuses far more on integrating their existing CRM systems with other systems that deliver specialized functionality, so many of the new tools in political campaigns will be separate ones delivered by third party vendors that are then closely integrated with the core system. The model of how this might operate in the future in the corporate world is provided by Salesforce.com. They have recently launched AppExchange, designed to allow third party vendors to build additional functionality that will seamlessly integrate with a customer's current Salesforce.com implementation.

The political CRM vendors I talked with agreed that although they would continue to make enhancements to their core system, they would mostly look to the commercial sector to enable customers to fully exploit features such as email and text messaging. Although they could deliver the core email functional relatively easily, the complexity involved in ensuring that email is CAN-SPAM compliant and can navigate the ISP filters makes partnering with firms that provide these service and functionality mutually beneficial to the vendors, and ensures the campaigns get the best solutions.

Many of these tools will assist a campaign in working more effectively and more efficiently. But to really build a relationship with the voters, a campaign needs to get them involved. Some of the techniques discussed in GSPM courses, such as blogging, have increased the voter sense of involvement. However, a sophisticated CRM system

should be able to ensure that participation is increased overall. One emerging technology that is proving effective is offering new ways to host volunteer phone banks

Previously, hosting a volunteer phone bank required an organization with enough space and available phone lines for the volunteers. The volunteers would have to come to that location, wherever it was, and someone from the campaign would need to provide call lists and scripts and ensure that any data captured was entered back into any database after the phone bank's completion.

One alternative to this method is what Advocacy Inc. describes as their Phone Bank in a Box™ system.<sup>46</sup> It is the size of a large suitcase and all that is required to host the phone bank is a single high speed internet connection. Using Voice over IP (VoIP) Technology (the same technology used by companies such as Skype and Vonage), the Phone Bank in a Box can create ten or twenty phone lines that are available for volunteers to use, at a fraction of the cost of traditional phone installation. Because it can be set up anywhere, the phone banking can take place at places more convenient for the volunteers to get to. Furthermore, it should eventually be possible to configure the phone bank to access a campaign's CRM system, so that it can directly make use of a campaign's existing targeting data and ensure that all data updates are made directly into the CRM system.

A second method of phone banking that is proving to be popular is "virtual phone banking". This also makes use of VoIP technology, but rather than setting up an entire phone bank in

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<sup>46</sup> Daniel Bennett, Interview.

someone's house, an individual is simply allocated a list of names which they can call from their home computer. The advantage of this is that it can be done by people wherever they are geographically located, and enables people to volunteer who could not travel to a help at a phone bank – e.g. someone with children couldn't leave them at home, but could make calls once they have gone to bed.

Examples such as will become more common in the next election cycles, especially as CRM vendors partner with more specialized technology firms and enable campaigns to extract the maximum value not just from their data, but from their volunteers and staff.

### **The Era of the Permanent Campaign**

With Congressional campaigns occurring every two years and the need to raise money more important than ever for all candidates, it has become necessary for many elected officials to run what Bob Blaemire describes as the “Permanent Campaign.”<sup>47</sup> Like the corporate world, a campaign must continue to market to the customer to ensure they continue to buy their “product” in the future. However, unlike the corporate world, the campaign has one significant restriction. Data from the campaign cannot be used by the elected official in office, nor can data captured about constituents in the course of executing their official duties be later used in a campaign. As such, the model of achieving sales through excellent service – a core tenet of the CRM process – is not available to a campaign.

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<sup>47</sup> Bob Blaemire, *Winning Elections* ed. Ron Faucheux (New York: M Evans and Company Inc., 2003), 144-6.

This is not to say that an elected official should not employ CRM principles to ensure good governance – quite the opposite. If a constituent receives an excellent level of service from their elected official it will surely benefit their re-election effort and hopefully make government more effective and efficient. It should be noted, within the scope of this paper, it is nevertheless far more difficult to apply those CRM processes that utilize data captured from servicing the customer to increase knowledge of that customer.

However, it is not only possible but recommended that a campaign continues to maintain a relationship with the voters in addition to any official outreach. Blaemire offers three reasons for maintaining a Permanent Campaign:<sup>48</sup>

- Continue to grow the database of donors and if possible raise money earlier in the campaign cycle.
- Continue to capture data about voters concerns to enhance the voter profiles.
- Reduce the cost of mailings and outreach by eliminating votes known to be in opposition.

Everything Blaemire describes as necessary to maintain this infrastructure is part of a CRM solution. Furthermore, companies such as NGP Software provide an “off year” service to enable campaigns to maintain their data in one place at a reduced cost.<sup>49</sup> NGP, in partnership with companies providing data service, could also maintain the quality of the data by matching it against current voter files so when the campaign team is

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<sup>48</sup> Blaemire, *Winning Elections*, 145.

<sup>49</sup> Nathaniel Pearlman, President, NGP Software. Interview at NGP Software, Washington D.C., 25 April 2006.



reconstituted, it is able to quickly ramp up. As Blaemire observes, for anyone looking to challenge in a forthcoming primary or general election, it “sends a message that the candidate is serious about keeping his or her job.”<sup>50</sup>

## **Conclusion**

It seems to me that political campaigns have begun to understand the changes predicted by Peppers and Rogers and begun to adapt their processes and systems to fit this new world of 1:1 marketing and individualized media. Howard Dean’s campaign is considered by some to have been a watershed by changing the way campaigns interact with their supporters. Meanwhile, the rapidly changing world of communications technologies unleashed by the Internet revolution of the 1990s makes it ever harder for a campaign to resist the voters’ demands to play a more active role in political campaigns. Finally, political CRM vendors have moved rapidly to ensure that they are no longer following the corporate sector, but are ready to lead the way, especially as they partner with other specialist corporate vendors.

Yet, as the discussion of targeting demonstrated, techniques that can improve the effectiveness and efficiency of a campaign are only slowly being adopted, even though the underlying data and the CRM systems to manage and analyze that data are available. But just as political campaigns still rely on television advertising when the corporate world is moving increasingly to online advertising, so it will take time for people familiar with the CRM tools available to move into more senior positions where they are able to demand

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<sup>50</sup> Blaemire, *Winning Elections*, 145.

that these tools are properly utilized. The corporate world has taken many years to even begin to fully implement genuinely customer focused organizations, and it will take time for the political world to catch up. Just as customer expectations forced companies to adopt CRM, so voters will increasingly expect the same from their politicians.

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