Internet & Politics 2008

December 10 & 11

MOVING

PEOPLE

MOVING

IDEAS

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Internet technologies—whether deployed to entice voters, raise money, recruit and organize campaign workers, or coax voters to the polls—now infuse every step of the electoral process.

This year’s edition of Internet & Politics, *Moving People, Moving Ideas*, will examine how digital technologies reshape the practice of campaigning and the movement of political information. We are bringing together an exceptional group of participants from various constituencies working at the intersection of technology and politics: campaign strategists, political activists and organizers, independent analysts, members of the media, academics, students, and more. Our goal is to meld theory, data, and practice, synthesizing diverse perspectives and experiences in order to facilitate learning and collaboration. In doing so, we will draw upon the unique expertise of the Berkman Center community, the Harvard University Institute of Politics, and the accomplished group of conference participants.

Have digital information and communications tools enhanced critical elements of political strategy, such as leadership formation, community-building, and coordinated action? Are digital technologies influencing offline actions (for example, the ways campaigns contact and interact with potential constituents)? Some observers argue that technologies have enabled the transformation of relationships and created different forms of political participation. Others maintain that social networks, user-generated content, and voter databases are merely the newest ways of achieving old goals.

Is technology primarily a tool to facilitate the deployment of longstanding campaign strategies—or is it fundamentally changing the nature of civic engagement?
We will examine the emergence of the Internet as a means to strengthen relationships, organize effectively, and coordinate distributed collective action. How are virtual technologies employed for real-world action? Are they transforming the way people work together to achieve common goals? Or are they fostering a sense of community that doesn’t necessarily lead to results? What are the biggest barriers to the success of technologically enhanced organizing?

We will explore the effects of the Internet on political communications and the flow of information. How do new participants, messages, and formats influence the movement of ideas? How do key messages filter up (or down) and gain traction? Are digital networks enhancing political strategies, transparency, and democratic debate? Or are they leading to information overload, undermining legitimate authority, misrepresenting reality, or polarizing the electorate?
In convening this conference, we endeavored to illuminate the role that technology has played in this year’s presidential election, from the “air wars” of campaign messaging to the “ground wars” of canvassing and voter registration. Following the 2004 presidential contest, the defining technology story was the emergence of the Internet as a major fundraising tool. While the capacity to finance campaigns on the Net has grown, the role of the Internet and digital media in U.S. elections now encompasses a range of broader, more complex issues. We will seek to evaluate the technological innovations of the 2008 election cycle in this new landscape.

Four years ago, the Berkman Center convened a similar gathering to help separate reality from hype in the wake of the 2004 election. We emerged with new insight and a practical agenda for further research.

With Internet & Politics 2008: Moving People, Moving Ideas, we will bring a fresh perspective informed by recent elections and developments since 2004. We will assess experiences from the field, narratives from the media, and data emerging from empirical research. The event will provide scholars with theoretical and empirical insights to enrich their analyses. It will also be an opportunity for practitioners to evaluate their recent experiences within a broader context. The conference will offer a unique nexus for both reflection and the frank exchange of ideas.

Throughout, we will focus on the core tensions and synergies among new technologies, organization and mobilization, and the flow of political information. We will ask participants to consider how innovations that emerged in the 2008 election cycle might shape the future of American democracy, and discuss the implications of these developments for political and governance agendas across the world.
The event is structured to encourage candid dialogue and to foster the emergence of new insights and thematic areas upon which to build future collaboration between academics, policy-makers, practitioners, and advocates. Over two days we will host a series of closed-door plenary meetings, interactive roundtables, and working groups. We are committed to genuine interactivity throughout the conference. In a setting where every participant merits being on the dais, this means making points efficiently, contributing from wherever you sit, and utilizing ample open time for additional interaction, from brainstorming to focused inquiry. During the second day, we invite your active participation during an afternoon unconference, which we trust will generate a diverse and inspiring mix of sessions, dynamically designed by the attendees and informed by our earlier conversations.

A NOTE ON THE RECORD
The majority of the conference will be governed by The Chatham House Rule, which dictates that all participants are free to use the information received, but neither the identity nor the affiliation of the speaker(s), nor that of any other participant, may be revealed. If you wish for something to be completely off the record, please say so before you speak.

Some of the interviews and keynote addresses will be recorded and posted to our conference website. Those sessions will be indicated with this icon ‡.
Day 1 will explore the two overlapping thematic areas—Moving People: New Forms of Political Organizing and Moving Ideas: Political Information in the Networked Public Sphere—by separating them into a series of moderated discussions. During the closing plenary, participants will extract key themes and questions that will inform the campaign roundtables and open unconference sessions on Thursday.

MORNING SESSIONS
Moving People: New Forms of Political Organizing

9–9:30 AM
INTRODUCTION
Colin Maclay, Berkman Center for Internet & Society

‡ 9:30–10:15 AM
BUILDING COLLECTIVE CAPACITY: NEW FORMS OF POLITICAL ORGANIZING
Marshall Ganz, Harvard Kennedy School
Jeremy Bird, Obama for America

10:30–11 PM
COFFEE BREAK

11–12:30 PM
NETWORKED ORGANIZATIONS AND MOBILIZATION
Dana R. Fisher, Columbia University
Jeremy Bird, Obama for America
Mike Connell, New Media Communications
Peter Daou, Hillary Clinton for President
Ilyse Hogue, Moveon.org
Moderator: Tod Cohen, eBay
Discussion/Topic Ideas:
• How is online political organizing reshaping campaign strategy in the field?
• How do new technologies impact the manner in which volunteers and potential voters are targeted and brought into the process?
• How do new processes come together with existing campaign tools?

12:30–1:30 PM
LUNCH
Day 1: Thematic Tracks
Wednesday, December 10th
(continued)

AFTERNOON SESSIONS
Moving Ideas: Political Information in the Networked Public Sphere

‡ 1:45–2:30 PM
EXAMINING THE NETWORKED PUBLIC SPHERE IN RECENT ELECTIONS
Yochai Benkler, Berkman Center for Internet & Society and Harvard Law School
Interviewed by Eszter Hargittai, Berkman Center for Internet & Society and Northwestern University

2:45–4 PM
BREAKOUT SESSIONS
The following concurrent sessions will explore four facets of the networked public sphere. Each track will help the group to generate ideas, questions, and themes for the final plenary discussion.

CONCURRENT SESSION 1: Assessing Campaign Messaging and Micro-targeting
Sam Graham-Felson, Obama for America
D. Sunshine Hillygus, Harvard University, Department of Government
Ken Winneg, University of Pennsylvania
David All, David All Group
Moderator: Garrett Graff, The Washingtonian

Discussion/Topic Ideas:
• How are new information technologies shaping the way campaigns communicate, whom they target, and what issues they focus on?
• What are the implications of targeted strategies and new information channels for messaging both within and outside of campaigns?
• How are these efforts affecting voters and the electoral process?

CONCURRENT SESSION 2: Media Beyond the Gatekeepers
Jay Rosen, New York University, School of Journalism
Ana Marie Cox, The Daily Beast
Steve Grove, YouTube.com
John Kelly, Morningside Analytics
Moderator: Bob Boorstin, Google

Discussion/Topic Ideas:
• How are new tools—from Twitter to blogs, to social networking sites and YouTube—changing not only how campaigns communicate with their constituents, but also how citizens receive and contribute to campaign messaging?
• How does the growth of participatory media impact who is generating political information?
• How does this impact the political process?
CONCURRENT SESSION 3: Distributed Collaboration

Aaron Shaw, Berkman Center for Internet & Society
Jeff Frazee, Ron Paul Campaign
Adam Connor, Facebook
Julie Barko Germany, Institute for Politics, Democracy & the Internet at George Washington University
Moderator: Scott Heiferman, Meetup.com

Discussion/Topic Ideas:
• The Internet has lowered barriers to group formation and collective action, but will that lead to broader civic engagement and political participation?
• When are online tools most effective for enabling and enhancing distributed action? When do they fail?
• How do enhanced opportunities for online communication impact political discourse and movement-building?

CONCURRENT SESSION 4: Transparency & Participation

Ginny Hunt, Google Elections
Henry Poole, CivicActions
Jascha Franklin Hodge, Blue State Digital
Moderator: Ellen Miller, Sunlight Foundation

Discussion/Topic Ideas:
• Are new forms of transparency and public access to information influencing the electoral process?
• What are the implications of a pervasive information environment for campaign practice, political communications, and data-collection?
• How might these activities influence the voting process by engaging and informing citizens in new ways?

4:15–5 PM
PLENARY: PUTTING IT BACK TOGETHER

Moderator: Jonathan Zittrain, Berkman Center for Internet & Society and Harvard Law School

To assess our first day of discussion, participants will report back from the breakout sessions and extract key themes and questions that might inform the Day 2 roundtable discussion. Participants can also propose additional discussion topics for the Day 2 Unconference Sessions.

5–7 PM
RECEPTION

7 PM
FOOD FOR THOUGHT DINNERS

These self-organized dinners allow attendees to engage in informal, themed conversation with each other. We’ve made reservations at a few local restaurants—all you have to do is show up and enjoy—and pay for your dinner. Please sign up or propose a topic on our wiki:

http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/events/wiki/Food_for_Thought_Dinners
Day 2 will begin with a deep dive into the McCain and Obama campaigns, followed by a joint discussion. The afternoon format will allow participants to organize themselves into groups of their own choosing. The day will conclude with a plenary session in which attendees will share their insights and consider next steps for scholarship, campaigns, organizing, and governance.

9–9:15 AM  INTRODUCTION
Bill Purcell, Harvard University Institute of Politics

ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION
WITH CAMPAIGN REPRESENTATIVES
Governed by The Chatham House Rule (off the record when requested)

These back-to-back sessions will examine the two presidential campaigns, with particular focus on novel and effective uses of technology in mobilization and messaging, highlighting the most compelling stories and innovations from this election cycle. By separating the political parties, our hope is not to reinforce partisan divisions, but rather to hone in on the ways in which each campaign uniquely utilized technology. The panelists will consider:

• What were their biggest failures? What were their biggest successes or innovations? What were their biggest surprises?
• How were traditionally offline activities combined with, enhanced by, or undermined by new technologies?
• How do the virtual elements make a difference? Is there still such a thing as a “web strategy”—or have these elements been integrated into core campaign activities and processes in fundamental ways?

9:15–10:15 AM  MCCAIN CAMPAIGN / REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Cyrus Krohn, Republican National Committee
Eric Frenchman, Connell Donatelli, Inc.
Mark SooHoo, New Media Communications
Becki Donatelli, Connell Donatelli Inc.
Moderator: Chuck DeFeo, The Washington Times

10:15–10:30 AM  COFFEE BREAK

10:30–11:30 AM  OBAMA CAMPAIGN / DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Joy Cushman, Obama for America
Joe Rospars, Obama for America
Chris Hughes, Obama for America
Moderators: Micah Sifry and Andrew Rasiej, Personal Democracy Forum
11:30–12:30 PM  INTEGRATION AND SYNTHESIS

Moderator: Nicco Mele, Harvard University Institute of Politics

This session will integrate the observations from the two previous discussions and put them into a broader theoretical framework, drawing from the assembled expertise of audience members.

‡ 12:30–2:00 PM  LUNCH

Joe Trippi, JoeTrippi.com
Interviewed by Ari Melber, The Nation

2:15–2:30 PM  INTRODUCTION TO THE UNCONFERENCE: PITCHING SESSIONS

Facilitator: David Weinberger, Berkman Center for Internet & Society

Participants propose discussion and meeting topics for the following session.

2:45–4:00 PM  SELF-ORGANIZING UNCONFERENCE SESSIONS

Participants run their own discussions, taking advantage of a unique opportunity to bring together top thinkers and practitioners.

Proposed topics might include:
- Journalism and the Fate of the Fourth Estate
- Meeting Local Needs in a National Campaign
- Hierarchical vs. Horizontal Organizing
- Networked Organizing: Cooperation, Capacity-building, & Performance
- The YouTube Presidency: The Role of New Media in Shaping the Debate
- New Governance: How the Administration Can Make Use of What Was Learned in the Campaign

4:15–5:00 PM  CONCLUSION: WHAT CAN WE EXPECT IN THE NEXT 4 YEARS?

Moderator: David Weinberger, Berkman Center for Internet & Society

Working groups are invited to reflect on their afternoon sessions and engage in a broader discussion of key questions.

1. How can research reshape, confirm, or challenge existing hypotheses and theoretical frameworks for understanding the relationship between technology and politics? How can scholarship come together with practice and data from the field to inform new political processes, tools, and understanding?

2. How can these learnings and campaign experiences shape the channels, processes and tools of governance? How can a winning candidate govern in a more transparent, participatory, and inclusive way?

3. How will future historians write about the effects of networked technology on participation in the public sphere?
DAVID ALL is the President of The David All Group, LLC (davidallgroup.com) where he works with a small team of highly-skilled web strategists and conversation engineers who collaborate with a select group of clients to help them communicate better. This year David was named a “Rising Star” by Politics Magazine and one of the “Top 10 Who Are Changing the World of Internet and Politics” by PoliticsOnline and the World e-democracy Forum. Prior to starting DAG, David served as communications director for Congressman Jack Kingston (R-GA), the 2006 Online Politician of the Year.

RACHEL HOPE ANDERSON is the co-founder and executive director of the Boston Faith & Justice Network. A lifelong Lutheran, originally from Milwaukee, she served in the Lutheran Volunteer Corps in Baltimore in the late 1990s. There she came to see service and justice as lifelong calling. Prior to starting the BFJN, Rachel graduated with a dual degree from Harvard Law and Divinity Schools, worked in legal aid, and led public policy advocacy at the Episcopal City Mission in Boston.

DAVID ARDIA is a fellow at the Berkman Center and the director of the Citizen Media Law Project, which provides legal education and resources for individuals and organizations involved in citizen media. Prior to coming to Harvard, he was assistant counsel at The Washington Post where he provided pre-publication review and legal advice on First Amendment, newsgathering, intellectual property, and general business issues. Together with legal counsel from other major media organizations, he helped develop strategies for dealing with important media law issues, including court access, prior restraints, and the reporter’s privilege.

AMAR ASHAR is the Berkman Center’s Program Coordinator.

YOCHAI BENKLER is the Berkman Professor of Entrepreneurial Legal Studies at Harvard, and faculty codirector of the Berkman Center for Internet and Society. Before joining the faculty at Harvard Law School, he was Joseph M. Field ’55 Professor of Law at Yale. He writes about the Internet and the emergence of networked economy and society, as well as the organization of infrastructure, such as wireless communications. His books include The Wealth of Networks: How social production transforms markets and freedom (2006), which received the Don K. Price award from the American Political Science Association for best book on science, technology, and politics.

JEREMY BIRD started with the Obama campaign as the South Carolina Field Director in April of 2007. He also served as the Maryland State Director and Pennsylvania Field Director. Following the primaries, he was the Co-Director of the Post-Primary Organizing Task Force that assessed the field organizing structure through the primary and helped create the national field plan for the general election. He served as the General Election Director in Ohio. During the 2004 presidential elections, Jeremy was the Congressional District Director for Howard Dean’s Presidential Campaign and the Deputy National Field Director for Training and GOTV for the DNC. Jeremy graduated with a masters degree in theological studies from Harvard Divinity school. He is a Community Organizer.

BOB BOORSTIN is currently Director of Corporate and Policy Communications in the Washington, D.C. office of Google Inc. For more than 25 years, Mr. Boorstin has worked in national security, political communications, research and journalism. He served for more than seven years with the Clinton Administration, acting as the President’s national security speechwriter; communications and foreign policy adviser to Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin; and adviser on the developing world to Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

CATHERINE BRACY is the Berkman Center’s administrative director.

TOD COHEN serves as vice president and deputy general counsel of Worldwide Government Relations for eBay Inc. Cohen is responsible for global public policy for eBay and PayPal and manages their government relations’ offices in San Jose, Washington D.C., Brussels, Bern, Berlin, Beijing, Shanghai, Hong Kong, and London. In 2000, he was eBay’s first full-time public policy employee in Washington, D.C. and now leads the eBay government relations efforts out of corporate headquarters in San Jose.


ADAM CONNER is the Washington DC Associate for Privacy and Global Public Policy at Facebook, where he focuses on privacy and regulatory issues, political outreach, and directed the company’s 2008 election efforts. Prior to Facebook, Adam was the Director of Online Communications for Congresswoman Louise Slaughter, Chairwoman of the Rules Committee in the U.S. House of Representatives. He previously served as the Deputy Director of Online Communications for Forward Together, the presidential exploratory committee for former Virginia Governor Mark Warner. Adam holds a bachelor’s degree in political communication from the George Washington University.

ANA MARIE COX most recently covered the McCain campaign for Time, Radar, and, ultimately, you, raising thousands of dollars from total strangers so that they could continue being amused by her not entirely straightforward political reporting. She continues to try and be worthy of their generosity. Previous to working at Time, she was the founding editor of Wonkette.com. She’s the author of Dog Days, a novel, and lives in Washington, DC. She cut her internet teeth as an editor at Suck.com, wrote a column about television for FeedMag.com and knew early on that Inside.com was doomed.

CHRISTIAN CURTO was the eCampaign Director for the Mid-Atlantic for McCain/Palin 2008.

JOY CUSHMAN is the Georgia Deputy Field Director for Barack Obama’s presidential campaign. During the primary, Joy was Deputy Field Director in SC, GA, MD, and PA before she headed to Chicago to help organize the Obama Organizing Fellows program and the Unite For Change kickoff. Before joining the campaign, Joy worked as a community organizer in Lowell and Lawrence, Massachusetts, working with churches, synagogues and unions to get more affordable housing and stable jobs as industrial jobs left the area. Joy grew up on a farm in Maine, and learned to organize in the Baptist Church her family attended.

PETER DAOÛ is an Internet strategist who has advised leading campaigns and organizations including Hillary Clinton for President, Kerry-Edwards ’04, the United Nations Foundation, Clinton Global Initiative, Planned Parenthood and AARP. Since 2006, Peter has been an Internet Adviser to Hillary Clinton. He blogs at UN Dispatch.Philip de Vellis is the creator of the “Vote Different” ad. The ad, which mashed up Apple’s iconic “1984” spot with footage from Sen. Hillary Clinton’s campaign website, has received more than 3 million views on YouTube and was featured on every major US television network, cable news channel, newspaper, and political blog. De Vellis previously worked as a senior strategist at Blue State Digital, a progressive Internet consulting firm. He was director of Internet communications for Sherrod Brown’s successful 2006 U.S. Senate race in Ohio, deputy Internet
communications director for Wal-Mart Watch, and was a field staffer for Cuyahoga County, Ohio on the Kerry-Edwards presidential campaign. De Vellis graduated from UCLA with a BA in history. Currently, de Vellis is a senior associate and VP of New Media at Murphy Putnam Media.

CHUCK DEFOE was VP and general manager of conservative online community Townhall.com, as well as the websites for Salem Communications’ five nationally syndicated news/talk radio hosts and its twenty-six owned and operated news/talk radio station websites. Prior to joining Salem, DeFeo served as eCampaign Manager for Bush-Cheney ’04, where he developed the online strategy and managed Internet operations for President Bush’s re-election campaign.

PHILIP DE VELLIS is the creator of the “Vote Different” ad, which he posted online under the pseudonym ParkRidge47. The ad, which mashed up Apple’s iconic “1984” spot with footage from Sen. Hillary Clinton’s campaign website, has received more than 3 million views on YouTube and was featured on every major US television network, cable news channel, newspaper, and political blog. The San Francisco Chronicle called it “a watershed moment in 21st century media and political advertising.”

CORINNA DI GENNARO is a Fellow at the Berkman Center for Internet & Society and a Research Associate at the Oxford Internet Institute (OII) at the University of Oxford. She is a sociologist working on the social implications of Internet adoption and use for civic and political engagement. Her main expertise is in political sociology, survey analysis and quantitative methods of social research. At the Berkman, Corinna is working on the Digital Natives project and on her research on social capital and political participation, with a particular focus on how young people are using new information and communication technologies to become politically engaged.

R. REBECCA DONATELLI is the President of Campaign Solutions and eDonation.com, as well as Chairman of Connell Donatelli, Inc. Becki Donatelli was the lead Internet consultant to the McCain for President campaign, and as such directed the successful fundraising campaign that brought the Internet into the forefront of political consulting. The first political consulting firm to raise political donations online, the firm now represents Bush Cheney ‘04, the Republican National Committee, the National Republican Congressional Committee and a host of Senate, House and gubernatorial campaigns. Campaign Solutions has designed and managed the face of this year’s Republican National Convention.

DANIEL W. DREZNER is professor of international politics at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, and a senior editor at The National Interest. Prior to Fletcher, he taught at the University of Chicago and the University of Colorado at Boulder. Drezner has received fellowships from the German Marshall Fund of the United States, the Council on Foreign Relations, and Harvard University. He has worked previously with Civic Education Project, the RAND Corporation and the Treasury Department. Drezner is the author, most recently, of All Politics is Global: Explaining International Regulatory Regimes (Princeton University Press, 2007), which explores how and when regulatory standards are coordinated across borders in an era of globalization.

JESSE DYLAN, the director behind will.i.am’s music video “Yes We Can”, which was inspired by Barack Obama’s speech following the New Hampshire primary during his 2008 presidential campaign, and created the “A Shared Culture” video for Creative Commons. He attended New York University, made pop videos, and television ads for the Los Angeles production company Straw Dogs, which merged with Paradise Music Entertainment Inc., a publicly traded company. Jesse was a major investor and was appointed Chairman, becoming a successful businessman. In late 2004, the company was reorganized as Paradise Industries Inc., and specializes in developing and producing music festivals, events and branding campaigns for such corporate clients as Coors. Dylan’s recent video direction credits include Eels’ “Trouble With Dreams” music video, several television commercials for the American Express Open campaign through his production company Form.

PETER EMERSON is a resident scholar in Kirkland House where he initiated a program called "Conversations with Kirkland." He has been a national and an international media, political and communications strategist. He has written op-ed pieces for national newspapers. He received his Master’s degree at the Kennedy School of Government focusing on terrorism/homeland defense, failing/failed states, medical ethics and the moral use of force.

BRUCE ETLING directs the Internet & Democracy Project at the Berkman Center. Before joining Berkman, Bruce was the Director of USAID’s Office of Democracy and Governance in Kabul, Afghanistan, and worked on democracy programs for USAID in Russia and Cambodia. Before USAID, he worked on a large independent media development program in the NIS and Central and Eastern Europe for the International Research & Exchanges Board (IREX). Bruce’s current research interests include the Iranian, Arabic, and Russian blogospheres, online organizing, and the Internet’s impact on the Georgian-Russian conflict over South Ossetia. He has a Master’s degree in International Affairs from the Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy at Tufts University, and a Bachelor’s degree from West Virginia University in Russian, Slavic Studies, and International Studies.

ROB FARIS is the Berkman Center’s Research Director. His research interests concentrate on the integration of communication technology and participatory policy research to improve the effectiveness of public policy, and his recent work is motivated by the belief that economic development is predicated on sound collective decision-making and that successful governance of the commons is best achieved through the active engagement of the public in a well-informed dialogue. Rob holds a M.A. and PhD. in International Relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University and a B.A. in Anthropology from the University of Pennsylvania.

HENRY FARRELL is Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Relations at the George Washington University, where he is affiliated with the Center for International Science and Technology Policy. Previously he was Assistant Professor at the University of Toronto. In addition to a book forthcoming with Cambridge University Press, Professor Farrell has authored or co-authored eighteen peer reviewed articles for journals including International Organization and Comparative Political Studies and non-academic articles for Foreign Policy, the Financial Times, the Boston Review, the Chronicle of Higher Education, The Nation and The American Prospect.

RENEE FELTZ is a fellow with the Toni Stabile Center for Investigative Journalism at the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism.

DANA FISHER is an Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology at Columbia University. The major aim of her research is to understand the ways that social actors engage in decision-making processes and the successes and failures of such efforts, and her most recent work focuses on the relationship between civil society actors—including social movement organizations and activists—and politics at different scales. Her first book, National Governance and the Global Climate Change Regime, was published in summer 2004. Her second book, Activism, Inc. focuses on activism in America and was published in September 2006.

JEFF FRAZEE served as National Youth Coordinator for the Ron Paul 2008 Presidential Campaign. Now, he is the Founder and Executive Director of the Young Americans for Freedom.
Director of Young Americans for Liberty, a youth-based organization to continue the successes of Students for Ron Paul. Prior to his work on the campaign, Jeff worked as a Deputy Campus Services Coordinator for the Leadership Institute and interned for Ron Paul’s congressional office in the summer of 2005. Jeff is a graduate of Texas A&M, Class of 2005, with a degree in Telecommunications & Media Studies and a minor in Political Science.

JUDITH FREEMAN is the co-founder and Executive Director of the New Organizing Institute. She recently returned from leave working for the Obama campaign in Chicago. Previously she was the Senior Political Strategist for the AFL-CIO and the Director of Information Technology for Working America at the AFL-CIO. During the 2004 presidential election, she worked for the Kerry campaign at national headquarters as an online organizer, playing a key role in mobilizing hundreds of thousands of volunteers nationwide. Before combining her two passions of organizing and technology, she worked for 5 years as a Network Engineer and Systems Programmer for the Network Security Center at the University of Chicago where she also organized for human rights campaigns.

ERIC FRENCHMAN is the founder of the online advertising and marketing consulting firm PardonMyFrench and Chief Internet Strategist for the D.C.-based online advertising agency, Connell Donatelli Inc., and was the Chief Internet Strategist for McCain-Palin 2008. He holds a Bachelor of Science degree in Engineering from Rutgers University and a master’s in business administration from the Rutgers Graduate School of Management.

ARCHON FUNG is Professor of Public Policy at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. His research and teaching aim to understand whether and how participation and deliberation can make contemporary public governance more fair and effective.

MARSHALL GANZ is Lecturer in Public Policy at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. In 1964, a year before graduating from Harvard, he left to volunteer as a civil rights organizer in Mississippi. In 1965, he joined Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers; became a civil rights organizer in Mississippi. In 1965, he joined Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers; in 1968, he moved to Chicago where he organized for the community and civic associations, and politics.

DAVID GERGEN is a professor of public service and the director of the Center for Public Leadership at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. He is also editor-at-large at U.S. News & World Report and is a Senior Political Analyst for CNN. Mr. Gergen also regularly serves as an analyst on radio shows, and he is a frequent lecturer at venues around the world. In the fall of 2000 he published a best-selling book titled, Eyewitness to Power: The Essence of Leadership, Nixon to Clinton. In the past, Mr. Gergen has served in the White House as an adviser to four Presidents: Nixon, Ford, Reagan, and Clinton.

JUSTIN GERMANY is the end of days for the standard 30-second ad as a campaign's water carrier. But video isn't resting at the last outpost on the campaign highway; in fact it's just begun exploring new frontiers. No one understands this better than Justin Germany who served the McCain campaign as Director of Online Media. As a part of the media team, Germany produced hundreds of web videos as well as broadcast advertising. Named a Rising Star by Politics magazine, Germany previously worked on Bush-Cheney '04 as the eCampaign videographer. He holds a Masters in Political Management from the George Washington University.

JULIE BARKO GERMANY serves as the director of the Institute for Politics, Democracy & the Internet and director of marketing and communications for The George Washington University's Graduate School of Political Management. Julie is the principal author and editor of several publications, including Constituent Relationship Management for State Legislators, Best Practices for Political Advertising Online, Constituent Relationship Management: The New Little Black Book of Politics, and Person-to-Person-to-Person: Harnessing the Political Power of Online Social Networks and User-Generated Content, as well as The Politics-to-Go Handbook: A Guide to Using Mobile Technology in Politics and The Political Consultants’ Online Fundraising Primer.

DAN GILLMOR is a Berkman Center fellow and runs the Knight Center for Digital Media Entrepreneurship, a new project of the Walter Cronkite School of Journalism & Mass Communication at Arizona State University. He is involved in citizen-media efforts, and is a blogger, author of the book We the Media: Grassroots Journalism by the People, for the People, media investor and co-founder of several online businesses. From 1994-2005 he was a columnist at the San Jose Mercury News, Silicon Valley's daily newspaper, and wrote a weblog for SiliconValley.com. The blog is believed to have been the first by a journalist for a traditional media company.

ROBERT GREENWALD is a producer, director and political activist. Greenwald is the founder and president of Brave New Films, a new media company that uses moving images to educate, influence, and empower viewers to take action around issues that matter. Under Greenwald's direction, BNF has produced a series of short viral videos, including the Fox Attacks and Real McCain campaigns. In total, BNF's short videos have been viewed over 35 million times in the past year and a half, inspired hundreds of thousands of people to sign petitions and forced pressing issues into the mainstream media.

STEVE GROVE is the head of news and politics at YouTube. He directs all news and political programming for YouTube, including You Choose '08 (YouTube's political coverage for the 2008 election), CitizenTube (YouTube's political video blog), and all citizen journalism on the site.
Originally from Northfield, Minnesota, Steve worked as a journalist at the Boston Globe and ABC News before coming to YouTube.

HANRIE HAN is Knafel Assistant Professor of the Social Sciences in the Department of Political Science at Wellesley College.

ESZTER HARGITTAI is a Berkman Center fellow and Associate Professor of Communication Studies and Faculty Associate of the Institute for Policy Research at Northwestern University, where she heads the Web Use Project. She received her Ph.D. in Sociology from Princeton University where she was a Wilson Scholar. Before joining the faculty at Northwestern, she was a post-doctoral fellow at the Center for Arts and Cultural Policy Studies of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton. Her research focuses on the social and policy implications of information technologies with a particular interest in how IT may contribute to or alleviate social inequalities. Her research projects have looked at differences in people’s use skills, the evolution of search engines and the organization and presentation of online content, political uses of information technologies, and how IT are influencing the types of cultural products people consume.

SCOTT HEFFERMAN is CEO and a co-founder of Meetup, an online network that makes it easy for anyone to organize a local group. Meetup originally gained notoriety as the grassroots backbone of the Howard Dean presidential campaign in 2004, As of April 2008, five million people had registered on Meetup. Hefferman also co-founded Fotolog and i-traffic. In 2004 M.I.T. Technology Review awarded Scott "Innovator of the Year" for his work with Meetup. He graduated from The University of Iowa in 1994 and has posted a photo on his personal Fotolog for every day since 2001.

D. SUNSHINE HILLYGUS is the Frederick S. Danziger Associate Professor of Government and director of the Harvard Program on Survey Research. Her research and teaching interests include American voting behavior, campaigns and elections, survey research, and information technology and society. Her work has been published in the American Journal of Political Science, the Journal of Politics, the British Journal of Political Science, and Political Behavior, among others. She is co-author of *The Hard Count: The Social and Political Challenges of the 2000 Census* (Russell Sage Foundation, 2006) and *The Persuadable Voter: Wedge Issues in Political Campaigns* (Princeton University Press, 2008). She is also a faculty affiliate of the Institute for Quantitative Social Science and on the executive committee of the Center for American Political Studies.

MATTHEW HINDMAN is an assistant political science professor at Arizona State University. He holds a Ph.D. in politics from Princeton, and was previously a fellow at the National Center for Digital Government at the Harvard Kennedy School. His first book, *The Myth of Digital Democracy*, has just been published by Princeton University Press.

JASCHA FRANKLIN-HODGE is a founding partner and chief technical officer for Blue State Digital, a Washington, D.C.-based Internet strategy and technology firm that provides custom Internet applications and communications strategies to Democratic political candidates and organizations and non-profit organizations. The company provided a variety of technology and services to the 2008 Barack Obama presidential campaign, including online fundraising, voter outreach, social networking, and Web hosting.

ILYE HOGUE is the Campaign Director for MoveOn.org. Before joining MoveOn, she spent seven years as a Program Director for the Rainforest Action Network (www.ran.org), working to pressure Wall Street to institute environmental and social screens on lending and investment. A long time social change activist, she is also the co-founder of smartMeme (www.smartMeme.com), a national strategy project that links story telling and social change.

CHRIS HUGHES co-founded and served as spokesperson for the online social directory, Facebook, with Mark Zuckerberg and Dustin Moskovitz. Hughes currently serves as a consultant for the popular site, but primarily acted as coordinator of online organizing within the Barack Obama presidential campaign on My.BarackObama.com, the campaign’s online social networking website. He also served on the National Board of Directors of the Roosevelt Institution in 2005 and 2006.

GINNY HUNT is the General Communications and Public Affairs Manager in the Washington D.C. office of Google, Inc. In her role at Google, Ginny builds partnerships and initiatives with campaigns, non-profits and governments to make the public sector more accessible and participatory through the use of technology. Ginny brings to Google a background in national political campaigns, foreign policy and coalition building.

MARY JOYCE is the co-founder of DigiActive.org, a community blog whose goal is to inform grassroots activists of how to use digital technology to achieve social and political change. She ran her first digital activism web site, Demologue.com, from 2005 to 2007. She is also the founder and principal of ZapBoom digital activism consulting. Joyce recently finished her first year of a masters program at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government. She also worked as New Media Operations Manager on Barack Obama’s presidential campaign.

CHRIS KELLY is the Chief Privacy Officer and Head of Global Public Policy at Facebook, where he brings more than a decade of business, information privacy, public policy and legal experience. Previously, Chris served as Chief Privacy Officer at Excite@Home, Kendara (which was acquired by Excite@Home) and Spoke Software. Through his in-house work and service at international law firm Baker & Mckenzie and technology law firm Wilson Sonsini Goodrich & Rosati, Chris advised major Internet and media clients on the increasing challenges of intellectual property and privacy protection for the digital age. Chris also served as an education advisor in the Clinton Administration. Chris holds a bachelors degree from Georgetown University, a masters from Yale University and a J.D. from Harvard Law School.

JOHN KELLY is a researcher at Columbia's Interactive Design Lab and a Ph.D. student in Communications. His research interests include design processes and the development of content for interactive television and mobile devices. Kelly has focused on the innovative adaptation of emerging digital technologies to the demands of professional media production during his twelve years as a sound designer and producer of film, music, video and digital effects. In 1995, Kelly became Director of Digital Media for Columbia's School of the Arts, with the responsibility of integrating digital tools into the school's graduate programs in Film, Visual Arts, Theatre and Writing.

ALEXANDER KEYSAR is the Matthew W. Stirling Jr. Professor of History and Social Policy. His current research interests include election reform, the history of democracies, and the history of poverty. He is the author of award winning books including *Out of Work: The First Century of Unemployment in Massachusetts* (1996) and *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States* (2000), a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize and the Los Angeles Times Book Award.

DAVID C. KING is Lecturer in Public Policy at The Harvard Kennedy School of Government and Lecturer in Government at the Harvard Graduate Department. He lectures on the U.S. Congress, Political Parties, and Election Reform. Professor King joined the Harvard faculty in 1992. In the wake of the 2000 presidential elections, Professor King directed the Task Force on Election Administration for the National Commission on Election Reform, chaired by former presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter. That effort culminated in landmark voting rights legislation signed by President Bush in late 2002. He later...
oversaw an evaluation and new management structure for the Boston Election Department.

GENE KOO is a fellow at the Berkman Center. He focuses on emerging methods of education in a digitally networked world. In collaboration with the Center for Computer-Assisted Legal Instruction, he is developing a commons where law professors can collaboratively create teaching materials. He also studies the intersection of video games and moral development. Gene helped found Legal Aid University, which provides training and professional development to poverty lawyers across the nation. He is also involved with efforts across several law schools to use virtual environments for legal instruction.

CYRUS KROHN is Director of the Republican National Committee's eCampaign Division. Prior to joining the RNC, Krohn developed election websites & political advertising programs for Yahoo and Microsoft as well as launching Slate.com, formerly owned by Microsoft.

COLIN M. MACLAY, Acting Executive Director of the Berkman Center, works in diverse capacities with faculty, staff, fellows and extended community to realize Berkman’s goals. His aim is to effectively and appropriately integrate information and communication technologies (ICTs) with social and economic development, focusing on the changes Internet technologies foster in society, policy and institutions. As Co-founder of the Information Technologies Group at Harvard's Center for International Development and at Berkman, Maclay's research has paired hands-on multi stakeholder collaborations with the generation of data that reveal trends, challenges and opportunities for the integration of ICTs in developing world communities.

PATRICK MCKIERNAN currently serves as Web Communications Coordinator for the Center for Public Leadership at Harvard Kennedy School, where he manages the media strategy and online communications.

ARI MELBER is the Net movement correspondent for The Nation magazine, the oldest political weekly in America, and a writer for The Nation’s 2008 campaign blog. He is a columnist for The Politico and a contributing editor at the nonpartisan Personal Democracy Forum. During the 2008 presidential campaign, Melber travelled with the Obama campaign on special assignment for The Washington Independent. Melber has also served as a Legislative Aide in the U.S. Senate and was a national staff member of the 2004 John Kerry Presidential Campaign.

NICCO MELE is a fellow at the Harvard University Institute of Politics and the founder and president of EchoDitto, a leading internet strategy consulting company with offices in Washington, New York, and Cambridge, Massachusetts. Mele has broad experience working with emerging technologies and is a considered a pioneer in the social media and Web 2.0 field. As the Internet Operations Director of Gov. Dean's presidential primary campaign in 2003, Mele managed all technical, functional and design aspects of Gov. Dean's national web presence.

AMANDA MICHEL is Director of OffTheBus. Amanda started in politics during the 2003-2004 campaign cycle, working as the National Director of Generation Dean and then creating and managing the MediaCorps program for the Kerry-Edwards campaign. Along with several other Kerry-Edwards colleagues she helped co-found the New Organizing Institute in the wake of the 2004 election. Since then she’s taken her online organizing skills to media, working at Harvard’s Berkman Center for Internet & Society and on Assignment Zero, a Wired and NewAssignment.net collaboration.

ELLEN S. MILLER is the co-founder and Executive Director of the Sunlight Foundation, a Washington-based, non-profit catalyst that is using new technology to open up Congress. In just two years, Sunlight has created more than two dozen Web sites, databases, distributed research projects, tools and widgets to make information about Congress’ activities more accessible through the Internet. She is the founder of two prominent Washington-based organizations in the field of money and politics—the Center for Responsive Politics and Public Campaign—and a nationally recognized expert on campaign finance and ethics issues.

CAROLINE NOLAN is a Research Associate at the Berkman Center for Internet & Society.

JOSEPH S. NYE, Jr. is University Distinguished Service Professor and former Dean of Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government. He received his bachelor’s degree summa cum laude from Princeton University, did postgraduate work at Oxford University on a Rhodes Scholarship, and earned a Ph.D. in political science from Harvard. He has served as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, Chair of the National Intelligence Council, and a Deputy Under Secretary of State. His most recent books include Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics, The Power Game: A Washington Novel, and The Powers to Lead. He is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the British Academy, and the American Academy of Diplomacy.

JOHN PALFREY is the Henry N. Ess Professor of Law and Vice Dean for Library and Information Resources at Harvard Law School. He is the co-author of Born Digital: Understanding the First Generation of Digital Natives (Basic Books, 2008) and Access Denied: The Practice and Politics of Internet Filtering (MIT Press, 2008). His research and teaching is focused on Internet law, intellectual property, and international law. He is a faculty co-director of the Berkman Center. He is also a Venture Executive at Highland Capital Partners and serves on the board of several technology companies and non-profits.

HENRY POOLE, a social entrepreneur and board member of the Free Software Foundation, has three decades IT experience, including over fifteen years with online communities. In 1993 he co-founded Vivid Studios (sold in 1998) where he oversaw the worldwide online launch of Microsoft's Windows95. In 2000/2001 he was CEO of French GNU/Linux publisher MandrakeSoft, and in 1993 he served as US presidential candidate Dennis Kucinich's Technology Director. In 1994 he co-founded CivicActions, LLC, to offer network-centric Free and Open Source technology solutions for non-profit, political, and socially responsible ventures. Henry currently provides strategic services for Amnesty International, WITNESS, and MyGovernment.org.

CHRIS RABB is a consultant, writer and social commentator on the confluence of race/identity, politics/civic engagement, technology/new media and social enterprise/entrepreneurship. Chris has worked in the U.S. Senate, the White House Conference on Small Business, and a nationally-recognized urban business incubator in Philadelphia where he lives with his wife and two young sons. He is a regular on the speaking circuit, has written for an array of publications, and has been a recurring guest on a number of radio/TV programs. A native of Chicago, Chris is a graduate of Yale College and the University of Pennsylvania's Master's Program in Organizational Dynamics. He consults on organizational productivity for small businesses, non-profits and progressive causes and campaigns. In his spare time, Chris runs Afro-Netizen, which he founded in 1999.

ANDREW RASIEJ is the Founder of Personal Democracy Forum, an annual conference and website covering the intersection of politics and technology; as well as techPresident, a group blog that covers how the 2008 presidential candidates are using the web, and how content generated by voters is affecting the campaign. He has served as an advisor to Senators and Congressman and political candidates on the use of Information Technology for campaign and policy purposes since 1999.
CHRISTOPHER RHoads is a writer at the Wall Street Journal.

JAY ROSEN is the author of PressThink, a weblog about journalism and its ordeals (www.pressthink.org). He blogs at the Huffington Post. In July 2006 he announced the debut NewAssignment.Net, his experimental site for pro-am, open source reporting projects. The first one was called Assignment Zero, a collaboration with Wired.com. A second project is OfftheBus.Net with the Huffington Post.

JOE ROSPARS A Blue State Digital founding partner, Joe Rospars served as the New Media Director for Barack Obama’s presidential campaign, where he oversaw all online aspects of the fundraising, communications and grassroots mobilization effort. Joe led a wide-ranging program that integrated design and branding, web and video content, mass email, text messaging, and online advertising, organizing and fundraising. Prior to the campaign, Joe led Blue State Digital’s work with Gov. Howard Dean at the Democratic National Committee; during Dean’s campaign for party chairman; and at Democracy for America. Joe was a writer and strategist in New Media for Dean’s 2004 Presidential campaign.

AARON SHAW is a Research Fellow with the Cooperation Research Group at the Berkman Center and a PhD student in the Sociology Department at the University of California, Berkeley. A specialist in qualitative methods, he currently oversees the cooperation case studies and is collaborating on a multidisciplinary analysis of cooperation in the political blogosphere. Before coming to Berkman, Aaron completed the requirements for a Master’s Degree in Sociology at UC Berkeley and previously obtained an M.A. in Humanities from Stanford University.

ANDREW SHUE is co-founder of CafeMom and MyDemocracy.org, as well as the national non-profit youth leadership organization Do Something, which has inspired and trained millions of young people to take action in their communities. As an actor, Andrew starred in FOX television’s “Melrose Place” for six years and made his feature film debut in “The Rainmaker,” directed by Francis Ford Coppola.


MICHAEL SILBERMAN is a founding partner of EchoDitto, a leading internet strategy firm dedicated to building vibrant communities online and empowering people through the creative use of emerging technologies. Recent work includes exciting projects with the William J. Clinton Foundation, the SEIU, and FreePress. Silberman is also the Internet Director for the 1Sky climate campaign. Prior to EchoDitto, Silberman served as the National Meetup Director for Howard Dean’s presidential run in 2004, where he managed the grassroots field organizing and leadership development programs for Dean’s renowned activist base. He is a frequent writer and speaker on the effective use of technology for converting online activity into real-world action. He graduated on skis with a B.A. from Middlebury College.

MARK SOOHOO serves as Senior Vice President of Campaign Solutions, a leading Republican online consulting firm. He is currently Deputy eCampaign Director for John McCain 2008 and recently managed the online campaigns for several statewide candidates during the 2006 election cycle, including the winner of the 2007 Golden Dot Award for Best Website (Federal Candidate).

REBECCA TABASKY is the Community Coordinator at the Berkman Center for Internet & Society.

TIM TAGARIS is the Internet Director for the 2 million member Service Employees International Union. He served as Chris Dodd’s Internet Director during the 2007-2008 Democratic Presidential Primary and in the same capacity for Ned Lamont during his 2006 Senate run in against Joe Lieberman. Prior to that, he ran online operations for Congressman Sherrod Brown as he prepared to run for U.S. Senate and Paul Hackett during his 2005 Special Election. He also spent time at the Democratic National Committee as their Online Outreach Coordinator. Tim is graduated from Southern Illinois University and served in the United States Marine Corps.

JOE TRIPPI worked on his first presidential campaign for Senator Edward M. Kennedy in 1980. His work in presidential politics continued with the campaigns of Walter Mondale, Gary Hart, Richard Gephardt, Howard Dean and, most recently, John Edwards. He heads up Trippi and Associates a multimedia consulting firm. Trippi appears regularly on CBS as an election analyst and commentator. He is the author of, The Revolution Will Not Be Televised: Democracy, the Internet and the Overthrow of Everyday. The father of three, he lives with his wife, Kathleen, on the eastern shore of Maryland.

JOSE ANTONIO VARGAS is a reporter for the Washington Post, where he covers the marriage of politics and the Internet. Previously, he wrote about video game culture and HIV/AIDS in Washington, and won a Pulitzer Prize as part of a team that covered the 2007 massacre at Virginia Tech.

DAVID WEINBERGER is a fellow at the Berkman Center for Internet & Society and is author of Everything is Miscellaneous, Small Things Loosely Joined, and co-author of The Cluetrain Manifesto.

KEN WINNEG is Managing Director of the National Annenberg Election Survey (NAES), a project of the Annenberg Public Policy Center at Penn, where he is also completing his PhD in Communication. His research focuses on mobilizing and reinforcing effects of ICTs on political participation. Winneg has over 20 years experience in political polling having managed surveys and exit polls for ABC News, The Washington Post, and a consortium of major media organizations. Before joining Annenberg, Winneg was a political strategist at Penn, Schoen and Berland. Winneg holds two Master’s degrees from Penn and a BA in political science from the George Washington University.

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JONATHAN ZITTRAIN is a Professor of Law at Harvard Law School, is a co-founder of Harvard’s Berkman Center for Internet & Society and served as its first executive director from 1997-2000. Zittrain’s research includes digital property, privacy, and speech, and the role played by private “middlepeople” in Internet architecture. He has a strong interest in creative, useful, and unobtrusive ways to deploy technology in the classroom. Professor Zittrain was educated at Harvard Law School, J.D.; Harvard University John F. Kennedy School of Government, M.P.A.; Yale University, B.S. Cognitive Science and Artificial Intelligence and he recently wrote The Future of the Internet – And How to Stop It.

ETHAN ZUCKERMAN became a fellow of the Berkman Center in January, 2003. His work at Berkman focuses on the impact of technology on the developing world. His current projects include a study of global media attention, research on the use of weblogs and other social software in the developing world, and work on a clearinghouse for software for international development. Ethan’s primary focus at Berkman is on Global Voices, Research on the Global Attention Gap, Blogging in the Developing World and Digital Democracy.
A Note on Briefing Materials

In addition to a conference website http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/events/2008/12/internet-and-politics we have invited attendees to contribute short essays addressing the themes and questions raised by the Working Hypothesis. Cross-posted to our Publius platform, http://publius.cc, these op-ed style pieces will initiate conversations regarding the roles technology has played in recent political contests and are intended to help build the foundation for our joint inquiry. This collection of narratives and theories, provocative questions or telling reflections, coupled with accounts from the field and the media, will enhance our subsequent dialogue about the conference themes. We also welcome submissions post-event that reflect on the conference or inform our projections for the future.

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Tag articles, blogposts, videos, and other content on delicious and flickr using the tag “internetpolitics”

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