

Political Consulting in Georgia (qualitative analysis of twenty years experience of multiparty election campaign)

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Abstract

The originals of political consulting had been formed event Before Christmas. The preparation for the elections during the election campaign was topical in every era. There always was Advisor Consultant side to side of politician. For the beginning of 1990s in Georgia, after 70 years Soviet governance had been made the first steps on the way of statehood. In the post-Soviet Georgia multiparty, competitive elections gave opportunity political parties to use Western countries experience in the term of political campaign. Transformation of the election campaign model began in a very hard condition, country development perspective, emerged after the independence was outweighed by military operations. In the second half of 1990s there was more stable condition in Georgia; however the fragmentation of the parties and weak institutionalization of party systems was unsolvable problem. The answer on the question – why happened intensive Americanization of political campaign during the “Rose Revolution” is clear: in the conditions where the role of mass media was increasing, the compensation of fragile ideological basis of political parties and weak representation of voters' interests should be carried out through the personalization of politics. In Georgia, like other new democracies the Americanization process of election campaign had been actively implemented. It is noteworthy that personalization of politics and fragile ideological and structural basis of Georgian party system were the main characteristics of the first years of independence. However strengthen of mass media and media technologies played turning role in the term of political campaign transformation. At the initial stage in the Post-Soviet Georgia the task of parties was mobilization of wide mass for demonstration. The comprehensive policy is explicit sign of the election campaign. In the Georgia mediatization of politics had been carried out gradually and reached to the peak during the “Rose Revolution.” In the initial stage of the professionalization of election campaign, the parties apply specialists (consultants) for help only in exceptional cases.

Keywords: Political Consulting, Election Campaign, Americanization, Georgia

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Literature Review

For the last period the interest in the research of political campaign in political sciences had been increased, that is caused due to the mass Americanization of election campaign in new democracies. In these countries the political parties are characterized by a weak organization, lack of the members and particularly focusing of short-term political goals. Taking into consideration the mentioned goals the transformation of the election campaign in new democracies had been carried out much faster and with less threshold conditions than in the Western European countries (Farrell, 1996). It was interesting the opinion of the various authors that the Americanization of political campaign had reached the peak in the color revolutions countries, where the party system is distinguished with weak institutionalization (Anable, 2006, pp. 7-43; Dobbs, 2000, In: Polese & O'Beachain, 2011; MacKinnon, 2007; Sussman, 2006, pp. 15-29; Sussman & Krader, 2008, pp. 91-112). Huntington describes institutionalization as a process, when organizations and procedures reach stability and acquire high values (Huntington, 1968, p. 12). Taking into consideration the fact that series of papers in the term of institutionalization of party system (Huntington, 1968; Janda, 1980; Kuenzi & Lambright, 2001) have general nature, during the study I spent much time to the search of criteria of relevant evaluation of institutionalism of party system. Finally, I focused my attention to the works of Mainwaring, Scully and Torcal (Mainwaring & Scully, 1995; Mainwaring, 1999; Mainwaring & Torcal, 2005).

Early authors Schiller, and Boyd-Barrett discussed the Americanization, as a result of American cultural imperialism (Schiller, 1968; Boyd -Barret, 1977). Such a radical approach was changed later. It became clear that Americanization didn't mean that this process always and everywhere was going on with the same effects and intensity (Swanson, Mancini, 1996, p. 6). Negrine, Papathanassopoulos has outlined that transformation of political campaign mostly is conditioned by the ongoing processes (in politics, media, society) in the country (Negrine, Papathanassopoulos, 1996, p. 59). The model of "Import-Export" of election campaign presented by Norris indicates that Americanization process "implies loans of those campaign technologies, which should be more useful." (Norris, 2004, p. 1). The term Americanization has critics. Holtz-Bacha thinks that it should be replaced by modernization, which is more focused on professionalism and endogenous changes (Holtz-Bacha, 2004, p. 15). Scammel replaces Americanization with globalization and considers that its driving factors are mass media and organizational structures of parties (Scammel, 1998, p. 15). Even though the authors criticize the term Americanization, both of them acknowledge the importance of the experience accumulated in USA during the transformation

process of political campaign. Thus we can say that term “Americanization” implies as mass spread of American electoral technologies, also modernization of political campaign and professionalism.

We can outline two models of Americanization, in the term of transformation of political campaign: diffusion, which discusses transformation as a result of imitation and external influence and modernization which believes that Americanization is a result of endogenous processes (Plasser & Plasser, 2002). There is different consideration to the contrary of mentioned two radical approaches. Hallin and Mancini use modernization to express deeper meaning. (Hallin, Mancini, 2004, p. 40), which is result of ongoing changes in society and media system (Plasser, Plasser, 2002. p. 16) and communication transaction (Plasser, Plasser, 2002. p. 69). The changes in political communication mustn't be considered as changes inside the society (Hallin, Mancini, 2004, p. 28) and it is important to take into consideration external factors. In Plasser we meet conception of Blumler and Gurevitch that “local campaign practice may be filled by receiving, selection and adaptation of American campaign practice” (Blumler and Gurevitch, 2001; in Plasser, plasser, 2002, p. 20), but the mentioned process may be conducted through the standardization or hybridization of campaign practice (Plasser, Plasser, 2002. p. 19). In research I study the causing factors of Americanization / Standardization.

Research Methodology and Theoretical Framework

The goal of the present dissertation thesis is to define existing political consulting model in Georgia. The theoretical framework of the research is the theory of Americanization / Modernization. In accordance with the mentioned theory the Americanization process isn't progressing by the similar methods, results and intensity everywhere and always (Swanson and Mancini, 1996). The Americanization process is related to the political and communication transformations in the country. Namely, the starting point of the mentioned theory is that the structural changes on the macro-level (mass media, technologies, party system, and social structures (public institutions and relationships) cause appropriate action on the micro-level (parties, candidates and journalists). The ongoing changes in the new democracies create a favorable basis and the “adaptation and introduction of experience of American election campaign” is successfully implemented (Blumler and Gurevitch, 2001), which is known as Americanization / Standardization. The theory of Americanization for evaluation of Americanization of political campaign represents the following criteria: a) mediatization; b) focusing on the research of public opinion; c)

professionalization; except the mentioned criteria, in accordance with the specification of Georgia it is necessary to add one more criteria: d) political instrumentalization of televisions;

One of the goals of work was to study the electorates' perception about election campaign model. At the initial stage of the research had been outlined that between the parties and experts the 2003 year had been discussed as the turning phase, in terms of election campaign transformation. Taking into consideration the mentioned I guided by the following criteria: 1. Should be considered the age of the respondents and interview persons who were watching the ongoing processes in 2003 as voters and at the same time had already participated at least in one election before the 2004 parliamentary elections; 2. The interviewed respondents should be permanent residence of Georgia for the last 25 years, in order their election campaign model perception not to be superficial. Thus it was outlined that should be interviewed the respondents, considering gender and age proportion (40-49 and 50+) and 25 years census of living in Georgia. During the study in total had been conducted 64 in-depth interviews with voters.

Weak Institutionalization of Party System

The interest in research of party system institutionalization especially emerged in 1990s, however we should look for its basis still in 1960s in the Huntington researches (Huntington, 1968), (Mainwaring and Torcal, 2005). The weak institutionalization of party system is the highlighted problem of new democracy. After gaining independence, the political parties in Georgia didn't have sense of stability. The party system suffered crisis in the terms of articulation-aggregation of public interests and program / ideological ties between the electorate and parties. The personalization of the policy and the special dependence on the leader was expressed sign of political parties. The mentioned reasons were undermining their development and caused weak institutionalization of party system. After "Rose Revolution" the ruling party enjoyed with special support of community, however the tendency of focusing on leaders had become even stronger.

The effective number of parties (ENP)² is the indicator, which allows us to define the institutionalization of party system (Laakso, Taguepera, 1979, pp. 3- 27). By using effective number of parties, which is determined through the obtained votes of the parties, we can determine their political weight. The high rate of effective parties means that party system is diffusive, but the low rate indicates on existence of dominant parties. For orientation should be noticed that in accordance with the researchers assessment the highest rate of the effective parties is 6.30, but the lowest one is

² ENP=1/Σ(Si)² Si – number of votes obtained by each party

3,14. In the early years of the independence in accordance with the effective parties Georgia was at the advanced positions across the world; however this meant special fragmentation of the party system. In the second half of 1990s the effective number of parties had been relatively increased, but the fragmentation still remained as a problem. The incompatibility of the parliamentary fractions, political parties and dominant ruling parties against the disconnected opposition were much more exacerbating crisis of party system (Bader, 2008, p. 4).

The Effective Number of Parties in Georgia

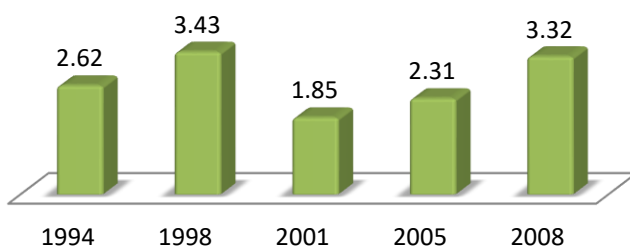


Diagram №1; (Source: a) Dawisha & Deets, 2006, *Intended and Unintended Consequences of Elections in Russia and Postcommunist States*, p. 17. b) Gallagher, 2014, *Election Indices*, p. 14).

After the “Rose Revolution” the institutionalization problem of party system had been accelerated by artificial threat. Was formed several “satellite” parties, which blocked unwanted parties for the ruling group. Pseudo-opposition parties were oriented on weakening of opposition. For the last period the number of the parties reached to 220, however most of them don’t participate in active political processes. Due to the existence of small parties the social votes having identical interests are scattering and the parties are weakened.

The parties in Georgia in the conditions of weak representation of voters’ interests were trying to compensate the mentioned problem with political populism. They couldn’t play role of a mediator between society and state. The “pre-election program is only a cover to show that the party considers the public interests” (Wheatley, 2005, p. 158). Traditionally the parties are reluctant to occupy drastic left-wing or right-wing position. In these circumstances it is difficult for electorate to perceive ideological differences and during vote they still are focusing on leader. In accordance with the research the personalization of the politics indicates parties as well as the electorate:

“Leader’s charisma, speaking type, height, gender, biography and others have a very serious impact on the election. The ideology seriously loses against the leader” [*Interview with Levan Berdzenishvili Leader of “Republican Party”*].

“The leader always played a great role in Georgia. If we look at the history of parties the ideological difference retreated and strong personalities come forward. It could have been Gia Chanturia, Shevardnadze or someone else [Interview with Davit Darchiashvili, Leader of “United National Movement”].

In the study of electorate mood had been observed one interesting tendency. The respondents indicate that the ideology is important for parties; however they say that the Leader’s factor during the voting in elections is crucial.

“In our country people trust personality factor and this determines the success of the party in the elections” [Romani, 55 years old, Auto locksmith, Mukhiani].

“In Georgia party hasn’t any perspective without an influential leader.” [Tamari, 40 years old, Philologist, Rustavi].

The interviewed voters don’t consider themselves as stable voters of certain party and they tell that the reason of the mentioned is the frustration over the years. It is interesting that even that unit voter, who sees himself as a stable voter of this or that party thinks that this is caused due to the faithfulness of the party leader:

“I am stable voter of one of the parties. The leader as well as ideology is important for me, but I think that the leader is more defining factor” [Ilona, 45 years old, Svanetisubani].

The instability of development of political parties in Georgia threatens institutionalization of party system. Pedersen Index (Pedersen, 1983) studies electoral volatility of parties (type A) and electorate (type B). In accordance with the Pedersen Index Georgia belongs to those countries where electoral volatility of the parties reaches to the high indicator and sometimes exceeds to the instable electorate indicator.

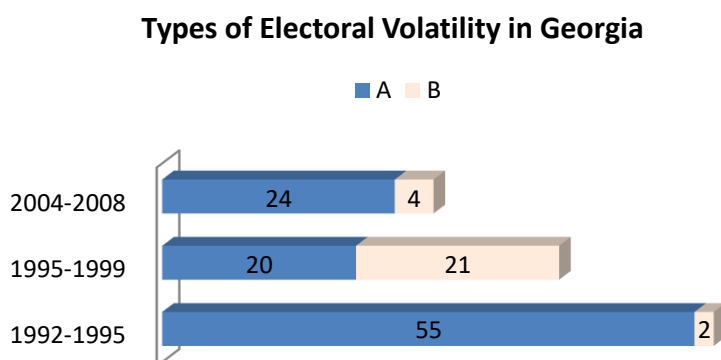


Diagram №2; (Source: Nef Powel & Tucker, 2009, *New Approaches to Electoral Volatility: Evidence from Postcommunist Countries*).

In Georgia electoral volatility of opposition parties is extremely high and in the term of institutionalization of party system is considered as one of the most important problem. After gaining independence the Communist Party disappeared from the political arena, the same fate had the block “Round Table-Independent Georgia” during the ruling period of Shevardnadze, which before played role of a dominant political party. The “Union of Citizens” and “Revival Party,” which had quite great influence and support in 1990s had been disappeared after the “Rose Revolution”. In this regard the only exceptional is “United National Movement”, which after 2012 parliamentary election went in opposition and continues its political activity.

The absence of ideological watershed between the parties contributes to the instability of electorate. The ephemeral political blocks formed in the pre-election period in order to win in the elections weaken representativeness of political parties (Bader, 2007, p. 8). The voter often can't see fundamental difference between the parties; this is the basis of frequent changes of parties:

„The acting parties in Georgia are very similar to each other, they become active during the election period and are giving factually neglected promises” [*Temuri 65 years old, Physicist, Phanaskerteli Str.*].

Sociologists indicate on instability of electorate and find interesting explanation for it:

“In accordance with the research there is great chance the person support party, which doesn't promise anything concrete or promises something that can't be kept” [*Interview with Koba Turmanidze President of CRRC*].

In the transition period in Post-Soviet society the trust of political parties had been ruined, which may be explained as weakness of representativeness of voters' interest by elected political force (Sapsford Abbott, 2006, pp. 59-71; Stzompka, 1999). The pre-election promises in Georgia most of all are fixed on the attraction of electorate and there is often observed the communication problem with electorate:

„The relationship with electorate is very difficult art, that requires nearly 20 times more reserve than has this or that party” [*Interview with Levan Berdzenishvili, Leader of “Republican Party”*].

“The election year is most active when the voter and certain parties communicate with each other; the remaining period is passive mode” [*Interview with Shorena Khorbaladze, Representative of “National Forum”*].

As a result of analysis had been revealed that Georgian party system suffers crisis in the term of institutionalization. On the one hand the weakness of program / ideological connection between parties and electorate and articulation-aggregation of public interests remains as an unsolved

problem in party system. The political parties do not have a sense of stability and are focused on short-term success. And on the other hand the personalization of politics and special dependence on the leader even more escalates crisis in the party system institutionalization.

Americanization of Election Campaign

During the last decades, many election campaign of the world democracy became similar to the USA election campaign. Due to the special similarities of the characteristics, the current process in different countries had been granted common name and was called Americanization of election campaign. Georgia is among those countries where Americanization of election campaign began from 1990s and especially was activated since the period of “Rose Revolution.” The ground of the mentioned was important political, social and cultural ongoing changes in the country. The institutionalization crisis of party system and formation of powerful commercial media outlets were related exactly to these changes.

Mediatization

Mass media played central role in the collapse of Communism regime (McNair, 1991), for the following period for Post-Soviet leaders it became clear that media and especially TV were political tools having significant influence.

Like other Post-Soviet countries, the professionalization of political communication in Georgia hasn't long history and it was developed half century later. The mentioned circumstance has left its mark, because in the shortest period had been adapted the communication technologies. However media, which subjected censorship during the decades obtained increasing confidence and influence in society, and took place mediatization of politics. The mentioned process was accompanied by the personification, personal attack on political opponents and radicalism.

Television was under the strict control during the short-term governing period of Gamsakhurdia, when were functioning only two independent editions (Nodia, Scoltback, 2006, p. 9). During the Presidential elections (May, 1991) Gamsakhurdia used control on media, which was one of the main reasons of his victory in election. In accordance with the Political consultants' inquiry had been revealed a number of key stages, when in the first decade of independence media played a crucial role:

“It was merit of TV and printed media that Gamsakhirtia came into power, the mentioned media sources had much more readers for that time. After this the Channel One made everything for overthrown [*Interview with Valerian Gorgiladze*].

“The role of television was very big during the National Movement, it played important role in the overthrown and in 2000 when we cut vector toward the West” [*Interview with Soso Galumashvili*].

During Gamsakhurdia’s ruling period media wasn’t the only dominant communication source, because for that period manifestations were quite strong influential communication channels. Mass media expressed comparative wide range of political opinions during the first years of Shevardnadze’s ruling period because the state was weak to have any influence on the media (Broers, 2005, pp. 333-350). The free media created image of Shevardnadze as experienced and democrat politician.

Since 1995 year Shevardnadze managed to form semi-functioned state (Wheatley, 2005, pp. 84-85) and most of media outlets began to conduct sharp governmental course. For this period emerged influential media source “Rustavi 2,” this determined political agenda itself. Association of mentioned media outlets against anti-government direction became clear in 2001, when in July was killed popular TV journalist (Welt, 2006), but in October the Security Service entered in the company. These events were followed by demonstration and the government resignation. Later “Rustavi 2” became catalyst of demonstration once again, in 2003 during the parliamentary election, when the Exit Poll results published by it did not match to the official results, the people went out in the streets and as a result of „Rose Revolution” Shevardnadze resigned. Sociologists have interesting interpretation regarding such development of the processes:

“Television played an important role before the “Rose Revolution.” In Georgia people don’t have immediate reaction on one or two frustration; they gather the frustrations and respond later. The same happened during the “Rose Revolution” [*Interview with Koba Tutberidze, President of CRRC*].

“Rustavi 2” through the professional use of aggressive tone, signs system and adventurism, which is so necessary for the journalist gradually reached to the status of uncompetitive creator of public opinion” (Iakobishvili, Piralishvili, 2007, pp. 172-175). Should be considered that in the circumstances when the mentioned media outlet didn’t cover all Georgia, according to the ratings was on the second place after (for that time) state television “Channel One.” This fact played crucial role in the development of further processes.

During the “Rose Revolution” “Rustavi 2” broadcasted the demonstration in live mode, uninterruptedly and determined the sequence of events, which were repeated by other media sources. For this period TV “Imedi” maintained a neutral position, while the TV “Mze” shared criticism rhetoric of government. During the revolution days one of the important factors was resignation of Chairman of State Television and protest of staff. Political consultants note about special mediatization during revolution:

“In fact, television has played a crucial role in 2003. The society and political leaders were not ready for what happened. Exactly television played important role in mobilization of society and in terms of pressure on political leaders” [*Interview with Soso Galimashvili*].

The “Rose Revolution mostly was construed on visual effects. We, Georgian are very close with figurative thinking” [*Interview with Zurab Bigvava*].

After revolution “Rustavi 2” has slow down usual activity and turned focused on public entertainment. The propagandistic feature of television diversity is shown in the fact that it can move audience attention from one event to another by the entertainment and educational programs (Shoshitashvili 2010, p. 87). During Saakashvili’s ruling period media activation in politics had been observed in the events of November 2007. However in the politically dangerous period the government considered that opposition TV Company “Imedi” was broadcasting dangerous information for society and its broadcasting was suspended based on the mentioned charge. During the governance of “United National Movement” the country most top rated TV “Rustavi 2” in the permanent election campaign regime tried to form successful image of ruling party.

Political Instrumentalization of Television

In the Americanization process of election campaign, media indicated on the “Carnivalization” function, when a concrete media source has special power and influence on politics (Caspi, 1996, p. 182). As a result of inquire had been outlined that key stage, when media, namely TV had drastic influence on political processes. The majority of interviewed in this regard allocates “Rose Revolution” of 2003 and pre-election period of 2012 Parliamentary election:

“Everyone who remembers that period agrees that this was previous period of “Rose Revolution” when in fact in half TV made the revolution. We remember those TV footage, which were broadcasting by “Rustavi 2”, when cars were coming with switched on headlights from the

West. Media never had such impact on the political process” [Temuri, 65 years old, Physicist, Panaskerteli Str.].

During the “Rose Revolution” „Rustavi 2” was very active and began the end of ruling period of Shevardnadze” [Giorgi, 42 years old, TV-Editor, Vazisubani].

However there were several cases when respondents except in the “Rose Revolution” and 2012 parliamentary elections saw role of TV in the political processes:

“The role of TV was especially great during confrontation of 9 April and TV raid in 7 November” [Lamzira, 52 years old, Teacher, Gldani].

The party representatives interviewed by me are noting that media bears crucial role in election campaign in Georgia:

”Media doesn’t reflect reality simply, it creates reality and the technologies of this is quite developed. Who manages media, who stands behind media this is policy and it comes out certain linked circle” [Interview with Davit Darchiashvili, Representative of “United National Movement”].

“Media has great role in communication with voters. Any politician who tries to come to power is trying to influence mass media” [Zurab Gongadze, Representative of “National Democracy Party”].

Sociologists and Consultants talk about special influence of mass media on election campaign:

“It is shown by surveys and is obviously that TV has great influence in Georgia. TV hasn’t any competitor so far. Often the Society starts thinking in the similar form as the events are packed by televisions and the mentioned is very important for elections” [Interview with Koba Turmanidze].

“In Georgia the formation of politics is largely performed through media. In this regard should be distinguished TV. All crucial stage in Georgia is connected with television, the “Winners TV”– “Rustavi 2” and after “Rose Revolution” has emerged the Channel 9, which based on the famous footages could transform public opinion” [Interview with Vaka Gorgiladze].

Public Opinion Survey

The orientation on results of public opinion survey during the formation of pre-election strategy by political parties is considered as one of the feature of Americanization. In this regard more often is used general concept marketing, which implies proper delivery of “Product for Sale“(O’Shaughnessy, 1999, p. 725). In the transition democracy conditions the results of surveys of

impartial public opinion adds credibility and makes voters to trust parties. In the developed democracy it is strategic instrument of elections monitoring, formation of party platform and image.

In Georgia the research of public opinion hasn't such a long history as in the most part of Western European democracies. In Post-Soviet Georgia many years vicious experience of one-party rule, in terms of public opinion research created a significant obstacle.

“For the beginning of 1990s there were occasions that who worked in this regard tried to conduct researches himself through some methods. However, in many times they hadn't relevant knowledge” [*Interview with Zurab Bigvava*].

The positive results of public opinion survey enhance the support of party's supporters or may be directed towards the politicians, media, their supporters or opponents (In order to demoralize (Nancarrow & Evans, 2004, pp. 639-655)).

“The attitude toward the public opinion research differs according with the parties. There are very skeptical parties, are parties which do not understand anything and look at research as a means of propaganda. There are parties which are watching it very seriously. For example, “National Movement” always treated survey very seriously [*Interview with Koba Turmanidze, President of CRRC*].

In the research had been outlined that in terms of public opinion researches the international donor organizations (National Democratic Institute - NDI and International Republican Institute - IRI) intensively cooperate with the parties:

“We begin active cooperation with these organizations from their foundation. When we were in parliament we were actively involved in the training programs organized by the mentioned organizations, we still have contact with them. However we aren't parliamentary party and have less touch with NDI” [*Interview with Zurab Gongadze, Representative of “National-Democratic Movement”*].

“NDI and IRI as a rule come into contact themselves. They cooperate with each political party and it is natural we have the same collaborative relationship with them” [*Interview with Tamar Koberidze, Representative of “Free Democrats”*].

The public opinion research in Georgia has been developed into two directions: real result, which is intended only for party internal use and declared that is used for advertising own political power.

“Unfortunately in our country the public opinion research often is a part of PR and its objectivity is under the question” [*Interview with Zurab Tkemaladze, Leader of “Mretsvelebi” (Industrialists Party)*].

During the “Rose Revolution” the public opinion research had a great influence on the processes. More over the “manipulation” with the results of public opinion research was considered as assistance in the resignation of Shevardnadze. The Western influential press about the “Rose Revolution” wrote that exit-poll results conducted in accordance with the order of USA and Non-governmental organizations were broadcasting by “Rustavi 2,” in order to show that Pro-Shevardnadze forces tried to falsificate the elections (Sussman, Krader, 2008, pp. 91-112).

Professionalization

The Americanization of political campaign in its turn implies professionalization. Moreover, in some cases the professionalization of the election campaign is discussed as synonym of Americanization (Negrine and Papathanassopoulos, 1996; pp. 45-62).

“National Movement has reached to the special professionalization of election camping. This was shown in its election campaigns, how National Movement planned election campaign, what symbols it had and this largely relied on the Western experience. Later in 2012 when National Movement was in opposition it conducted many actions in the same style and manner. The opposition seriously used so called Russian technologies against us. This is compromising style in election campaign” [*Interview with Davit Darchiashvili, Representative of “United National Movement”*].

In 1990-2012 years in Georgia had been conducted 22 elections. From this 5 were Presidential elections (1991, 1995, 2000, 2004, 2008), 8 Parliamentary elections (1990, 1992, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2004, 2008, 2012) and 4 Local Self-Government Elections (1998, 2002, 2006, 2010). In the same period had been held 2 referendums (1991, 2003) and 2 Plebiscite (2008, 2008). According to the professionalization of election campaign and Americanization of political technologies we can divide the mentioned elections into three stages:

1. The initial stage - 1990-1994 years – the country made first steps on the statehood way. The euphoria of independence had been replaced by internal confrontation and wars. However, in Post-Soviet Georgia multiparty competitive elections gave opportunity to political parties to use western countries experience and apply assistance of professionals. On the political arena had been

emerged ruling party “Union of Citizens of Georgia”, and in subsequent years the strong regional political block “Revival Party.” In the same period had been formed first local consulting centre and in the country entered international donor organizations having political marketing profile. At the initial stage the role of political consultants in election campaign was minor.

2. Development Stage – 1995-2003 years – in the mentioned stage was adopted Constitution, began building of state institutions and national currency was put into circulation. Had been formed Company “Rustavi 2,” which had great influence on public opinion. In the mentioned period had been established many consulting centers and was strengthened the alliance with the foreign professionals. The pre-election political campaign was moved on the next stage of professionalization and entered in active phase.

3. Permanent election campaign stage – 2004-2012 years – after “Rose Revolution” in Georgia the government was changed. During revolution and in post-revolution Georgia in political processes role of media (television) was significantly increased. In pre-election campaign the modern technologies of political communication were actively used. In this period the modernization requirements of election campaign were well understood and used, that means impact of commercialization, globalization and visual effects (where – mass media, especially television has important role). In terms of election technologies use the ruling party “United National Movement” was especially ahead.

Conclusion

The interest in research of Americanization of election campaign had been emerged after I knew that in different countries had been observed identical characteristics of election campaign and they came from USA. I was more interested in the issue because it revealed that there weren't fundamental researches about Georgian experience in this point of view. My goal was to determine if ongoing modernized transformations in technologies and mass media create foundation for Americanization of election campaign within the weak institutionalization conditions of party system in Georgia.

The research showed that characteristics of Americanization had been sharply emerged in election campaign process in Georgia. The special personal trust from the voter side to the politician, ideological weakness of parties and indecisive electorate indicates to the weak institutionalization of party system, however it creates favorable soil for Americanization of election campaign. In these conditions the election campaign isn't separated by ideological watershed and

the indecisive electorate easily falls under the visual-technological effects. During the election campaign in the sharp mediatization of politics, focusing on public opinion and active cooperation with consultants are the distinguished signs of Americanization. Thus we can say that there are found modernization factors causing Americanization in Georgia.

In accordance with the research results, the Americanization of election campaign began by ongoing transformations on the macro-level of society (Party System, Mass Media and Technologies) and was continued to the changes on the micro-level (Party, Television). The best example regarding Georgia is commercial media outlet (“Rustavi 2”), which played tipping role in the regard of Americanization of election campaign within the weak institutionalization of Party System. As a result of summarizing theoretical basis and empirical data in Georgia was approved Americanization / Modernization theory of election campaign of Swanson and Mancini, based on which transformation comes from macro-level and is continuing by micro-level changes. Hereinafter was expressed that Americanization process was conducted toward the standardization (and not a hybridization direction). Namely, in Georgia party system (one element of macro-level) is distinguished with weak institutionalization, which caused intensive import of election technologies (macro-level second element) and adaptation on micro-level (party, media sources).

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