

## When the Brand is Losing its Archetypes it Dies - Georgian Political Marketing at Elections

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### Abstract

The main hypothesis, making me to write this article was about the importance of archetypes, sounded as the following: when political brand is losing its archetypes it dies. To confirm or deny this hypothesis the goal was to explain the importance of video tape of abuse in a prison released during 2012 Parliament Elections of Georgia. The question is why it was so effective and damaging for the governing "United National Movement of Georgia"? The comparison of TV advertisement budgets of the main rival political organizations is very surprising. It shows that the governing political party - "United National Movement" spent 10 times more than (approximately 11 million GEL - more than 6 million USD) its main competitor "Georgian Dream", (having spent only 123833 GEL - around 71000 USD) but lost historical elections, against the fresh political alliance. "Opinion polls taken by the U.S. National Democratic Institute in June and August 2012—before the release of the videos-seemed to indicate that more Georgians preferred United National Movement to Georgian Dream and that support for GD may have weakened" (Nichol, 2012). The survey of focus group members was conducted for the purposes of this article to know their attitude to subjects of elections – political parties and their leaders - five focus groups consisting of the total of 63 people before and after the elections.

**Keywords:** archetypes, elections marketing, political branding, political marketing

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### Introduction

#### *The Financial Part of Political Subjects and their Expenditures in 2012*

The negative advertisement of competitors and rivals, known as "mudslinging", made both American Senators John Kerry and President George Bush to spend over \$365 million (or 69.9 percent) of the total amount on negative advertising (Gandhi, Iorio, & Urban, 2012). Georgian "mudslinging" was used by the "Georgian Dream". As we can see, the funding for 2012 Parliament Elections included state funding, membership fees, and donations. These elections were distinguished with funding from the previous one - What distinguished these elections from the previous ones, was finding. The legal regime of financing political parties was changed in December 2011. In particular, money could be donated by natural and legal entities, with limits of 30 000 and 100 000 GEL, accordingly. The natural person was allowed to donate no more than 10 000 GEL, while a legal entity - 30 000 GEL. The restriction did not apply to political parties if they transferred their funds for the campaigns of their election subjects. Donations from other countries, legal or natural persons from other states, stateless persons, international organizations and movements, religious orga-

nizations and non-profit legal entities, business entities with states as shareholders were prohibited.

The "United National Movement" received three times more state funding than its main counterpart "Bidzina Ivanishvili - Georgian Dream".

The "United National Movement" attracted ten million GEL when their opponents came up with only two million. From 54 million USD entirely spent on advertisement in Georgia that year, 8 million USD were spent by political organizations. In 2012 full advertisement budgets of political parties of Georgia were completely spent on TV advertising.

"United National Movement" imagined itself as a savior of their country believing that they would definitely win - victory was in their pocket. Having bought some big time in media, the United National Movement relied on its old image, financial strength and administrative power. The United National Movement spent 11.5 million GEL on TV Advertisement. One million GEL was spent by the "United National Movement for print media. Other small political parties: Georgian Rightists and Christian Democrats collectively spent one million GEL for TV advertisement and 450 000 GEL for print media (see Table 1).

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Table 1. Advertisement Expenses of Georgian Political Parties for 2012 Parliamentary Elections in GEL

Name of Political Party	TV	Print Media	Online	Party Symbolic	Other
United National Movement	11503061	1085403	53097	253146	1816548
Georgian Dream	123833	20483	Not known	Not known	Not known
Christian-Democrats	730071	318932	899	Not known	Not known
New Rightists	427152	124987	Not known	Not known	17239

(Source: International Transparency, 2013)

In the Expenditures part, the "United National Movement" has great advantage as it significantly exceeds the rival - "Georgian Dream". In the period of August to September 2012 "Bidzina Ivanishvili - Georgian Dream" had spent only 7,5 % of the advertisement sum spent by the "United National Movement".

### Lost Archetypes and Immediate Defeat

According to the information from the central electorate commission, the number of voters reached 61.3% and amounted to 3613851. Three percent of voting papers were announced as invalid. In 2012 elections, 2,8% of voting papers were declared as invalid. From 2003, participation of voters was decreasing and only some factors motivated voters to come to elections of 2012. Hence, these were extraordinary elections. The questions of gender are very relevant. Female voters equaled 53,4% whereas male ones amounted to 46,3%. Results of Georgian Parliament Elections were as follows (see Table 2):

The five percent barrier had been overcome by two political subjects: "Bidzina Ivanishvili Georgian Dream" and "United National Movement – More Benefit for People."

From 77 places at the Georgian Parliament the "United National Movement" received 33 places whereas "Bidzina Ivanishvili – Georgian Dream" guaranteed 44 ones. From the number of deputies elected by a single member district plurality system "Bidzina Ivanishvili – Georgian Dream" – added 41 more places at the Parliament of Georgia. In the same group "United National Movement – More Benefit for People" added 32 places.

Table 2. The Results of Parliament Elections

Parties and alliances	The number of electoral voices	The number of proportional representatives in the Parliament of Georgia	The number of deputies elected by single member district plurality system	Total seats in Parliament of Georgia
Bidzina Ivanishvili – Georgian Dream	54,9	44	41	85
United National Movement	40,4	33	32	65
Giorgi Targamadze – Christian Democrats	2,05			
People's Movement	0,03			
Shalva Natelashvili – Georgian Labor Party	1,24			
Jondi Bagaturia Georgian Dasi	0,11			
National Democratic Party	0,14			
Future Georgia	0,19			
People's party	0,02			
Merab Kostava Society	0,05			
New rightist	0,43			
Kakha Kukava Independent Georgia	0,27			
Others	0,53			

(Source: Georgian statistics)

### Methods

To study political brand's archetypes we went through the marketing research. What was the research hypothesis and methods? When a political brand is losing its main archetypes, it is lost – this is the working hypothesis of the research we want to prove during the survey done before and after elections 2012. Deeply understanding the phenomena of archetypes of competing political parties and their leaders, focus groups were based on group interviews, giving us the chance to capture deeper information about archetype positioning of main competitive political organizations. Focus group research was divided into five stages:

Stage one: defining study purpose to understand the archetypes of main competitive political parties. Our general purpose was to compare archetype positioning of political parties before and after the elections. But, we changed our main task in the process of the research because the Prison Abuse Video tape was suddenly put on social sites.

Stage two: defining the study population and sample. The sample was subset of Georgian population. We used convenience sampling and selected 12 participants. At this stage five questions were selected. We planned firstly to brainstorm the focus group and after that prioritize which questions to ask. The questions selected were open ended

with the ability to promote the discussion. Example of open ended questions:

- A) How would you describe political organization Georgian Dream?
- B) How would you describe political organization United National Movement?
- C) Can you describe Georgian dream, by Archetypes visualized in these pictures?
- D) Can you describe United National Movement by Archetypes visualized in these pictures?
- E) Can you explain your choice?

Stage three: all preparations were made and a pre-session meeting was appointed to get familiar with group dynamics to understand people better, especially, who are experts, dominant talkers and shy or active participants.

Stage four: analyses were made immediately after closing focus group sessions.

Stage five: Preparing the narrative report and using it to describe the archetype development of main competitive organizations in 2012 Georgian elections.

### Why Archetypes Are so Important?

Why archetypes are so important for brands? "All that happens is a symbol, and as it represents itself perfectly, it points to all the rest" (Goethe, 1818). According to Jung, Archetypes show "forms or images of a collective nature which occur practically all over the earth as constituents of myths and individual products of unconscious origin" (Jung, 1980).

The survey of focus group members was planned to be made before the Parliament Elections of 2012 to know their attitude to subjects of elections – political parties and their leaders.

Also, the fact that opinion polls taken by the U.S. National Democratic Institute in June and August 2012—before the release of the videos—seemed to indicate that more Georgians preferred United National Movement to Georgian Dream (Nichol, 2012) was considered. To answer the general question of the research regarding the change of the people's attitude so fast, the following hypothesis was proposed:

when archetypes are lost, the brand dies.

Having demonstrated to respondents the figures of 12 archetypes and describing their meaning to them, they selected the following combinations:

- The United National Movement: caregiver, creator, jester, outlaw;
- The "Georgian Dream": Ordinary man, caregiver;

After releasing the video tape about the prison abuse, the situation was cardinally changed.

Table 3. Archetypes of the "United National Movement" and its Leader President Mikhail Saakashvili before Parliament Elections 2012, One Week after the Video Tape about Abuse in Prison Was Released

	Archetypes prior to videos about torture parliament elections 2012	Oneweek after the Video Tape about abuse in prison was released	Archetypes 3 months after Parliament elections of 2012
United National Movement	Caregiver, warrior, ruler, jester	Outlaw	Outlaw
Mikhail Saakashvili – leader of United National Movement and President of Georgia	Lover, Sage, creator, hero, explorer, caregiver	Outlaw/creator	Outlaw

(Source: research of the author)

The Table 3 illustrates that the situation is dramatically changed in the Archetype Portrait of the brand of Mikhail Saakashvili and his political organization. The "United National Movement" is not any more caregiver, the warrior for people's rights. All great archetypes were "swallowed" by guerilla attacks through old and new media. Three months after the elections this party is only positioned as an outlaw in the mind of society.

Table 4. The Archetypes of Political Alliance "Georgian Dream" and Bidzina Ivanishvili

	Archetypes long before parliament elections 2012	one week after the Video Tape about abuse in prison was released	Archetypes 3 months after Parliament elections of 2012
Alliance "Georgian Dream"	Caregiver, ordinary man	Warrior, hero	Warrior, caregiver, ordinary man
Bidzina Ivanishvili leader of "Georgian Dream"	Sage, creator, hero, explorer, care-giver	Magician, warrior, sage, creator, hero, explorer, care-giver	Magician, warriors, jester, sage, creator, hero, explorer, caregiver

(Source: research of author)

Bidzina Ivanishvili, who seemed to have an archetype of Caregiver added archetypes of the Hero creator and sage (see Table 4).

### Results

The result of our marketing research is the totally new model, what can be used either into new political brand development or improvement of existing political brands. Suggesting a totally new model – Political Brand Archetype study, we believe it will be a necessary stage in the strategic brand development of Political Parties and Political Leader's success. To achieve sustainability in political market, parties according our findings can be more attentive to their Archetypes and will not lose main archetypes, because this will be disastrous in their life.

## Conclusion

The hypothesis about lost archetypes resulted in the defeat of a great political brand – the “United National Movement” based on the examples of archetype development was positively confirmed through the research. The United National Movement which made enormous efforts and spent 75% of the advertisement budget of 2012 elections, was unexpectedly defeated by the freshly made political alliance with joyful a name – “Georgian Dream”, led by an unknown person, billionaire and philanthropist. According to some research, if before the elections, Georgians had preferred the United National Movement to the Georgian Dream (Nichol, 2012), after the video tape about prison abuse was realized, people have hated the governing party because of the lost archetypes.

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