

Mediatisation or PR-ization of Public – Media Communication – Analysis of Mediated Communication of Zoran Milanović

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ABSTRACT

Politicians and their public relations advisors depend on the mass communication media to transmit messages daily and communicate effectively. The development of the mass media, from traditional to new, has changed the working conditions of these professions where one inevitably affects the other. Consequently, the way of formatting information in the news has changed, along with the way of monitoring the political developments and informs the public on political activities. A major role in this process, over and above the political actors, has advisers for public relations, who choose moments and events to publicise (PR-ization). With the increasing influence of public relations to media reports, politics also changes the picture of the media and the impact on media coverage. Similarly, the impact on the manner in which the media report process, what topics will be discussed topics and what tone the given information will have. We are living in a world characterized by mediation (Mazzoleni and Schulz, 1999) of the politics and the society as a whole, because politics and public relations necessarily need the media to communicate with their audiences. In this regard, we can talk about PR-ization media² as the fundamental role of public relations practitioners affect attitudes, which skillfully make careful design of messages and events that are not included herein are the three professions each other should one without the other does not make sense. This paper will focus on the influence of the media on politics and on influence of the public relations as profession in the content media perception. In view of the drawn by daily public appearances of Prime Minister, Zoran Milanović, and as says Lalić³ few politics-related phenomena have over the past twenty years engaged so many reviews by experts and scholars as the Prime Minister's rhetoric. The particular form of the political communication will be reviewed in this paper. Through the interviews and the content analysis of key moments and statements from the media, we shall try to determine how the communication by Zoran Milanović has changed with the new public relations advisor, and that the change has affected the public attitudes that Milanović communication seen through the media-mediated reality.

Key words: media coverage, PR-ization, public relations, media, Milanović

Introduction

Communication always happens, as Watzlawick says⁴ it is impossible not to communicate. Even when we do not communicate through conventional means, we do communicate nonverbally – with mime and gestures, clothing and even with silence. Damir Jugo⁵ quoted Ray Birdwhistella who wrote: »one does not communicate; one takes part in communication or is a part of the communication.« Therefore, the communication system can be understood as a simple model of action and reaction, regardless of the complexity. Furthermore, Jugo⁵ states that communication is

a common denominator of the public relations, publicity and public opinion. Communication is the core of public relations, an element that connects individuals making the public and forming public opinion. If we start with McLuhan's assertion that the medium is the message⁶, and take into consideration dominant view today that the message is everything, including the man himself, it is impossible not to communicate a message. Therefore, Castells⁷ thinks the message only has effect when the recipient is willing to receive it, when the sender is known and when he is seen as trustworthy. »Any communication event has in its structure several elements: a communica-

tional object (a certain reality), a producer of information... that detaches it from the place giving him new meanings... a transfer channel and a consumer»⁸.

How communication skills, in particular the transmission of messages, are important in today's society are aware the journalists and the media in which they work, politicians and their parties, but their practitioners of public relations to devise a communications strategy for politicians, and are sent via journalists, or media. As the role of politicians through media has increased significantly, has increased the role of the media itself in the mediation of messages as well as the role of public relations so that we can talk about public relations as persuazivnoj industry (Morris, Goldsworthy, 2008), which all successfully manage, almost with acting skills, closer to politics and politicians, the public, and the public to include, as an active audience, the spectacle of political events. The media have the power to decide which problems to show the public and how to present them, and who will and under which conditions take part in the presentation of the problems. The media also shape the opinion of the public and suggest the public what to think and how certain things are explained⁹.

Defining Mediatisation – Media Coverage of Politics

Krotz defines mediatisation as the historical developments that took and take place as a result of changes in the communication media and the effects of these changes. If we consider the history of communication through music or the art of writing, we can describe the history of human beings as a history of the emerging media and at the same time as the changing forms of communication¹⁰. Hill and Watson¹¹ define mediatisation as a process whereby political or indeed any public activity, having become reliant for its audience /electorate upon the media for its messages to be communicated, adopts the principles and methods of media communication. Mediatised policy, as defined by Mazzoleni and Schulz¹ means »a policy that has lost its autonomy, has become dependent on the mass media and is shaped in the interaction with the mass media«. The politics could thus be described as mediated whenever the mass media are the main channels through which politics is communicated and when, as a consequence, the depictions of »reality« that are conveyed through the mass media presumably have an impact on how people perceive the reality¹².

An interesting subject related with the communication in the sphere of politics, which is appealing to media relations as much as to the media, is the media treatment of the political events. The public relations teams will create events to channel the media attention to the politicians as well as to the messages sent into the public media space. The resulting high politicization, with the newspaper reports relying on the credible communicators among the politicians and the spokespersons of interest groups and on the effects of the dramatic construed events (»pseudo

event«) to achieve media popularity is hardly surprising, says Edelman¹³. In this context, Castells⁷ wonders who is affected by whom? Political structures mostly affect the media, who in turn transfer frames on the audience and the people who rely on the media for information. The relationship between politicians and the media is a struggle between two diametrically opposed interests – the journalists on the hunt for current events versus the politicians trying to ensure that the news contain the »message« they want to communicate. This is how the political elites attempt to control the media products Theaker¹⁴ says that it is often claimed that there is a mutual interdependence between the media and the politicians, where the messenger is missing, prompting E. Bernays¹⁵ to say that the politicians understand the public and what the public wants and what it will accept, although they may be ignorant of the way to distribute the ideas to the wide masses, which is why they need public relations advisors.

PR-isation of the Media Content

One gets the impression that our everyday life, through the media content, the influence and media messages conditionalities messages has actually been planned in advance. The purpose of the media, referring to the theory of setting the agenda, suggest what the public will think but also suggest what people might think (McCombs, 2004:17). Where there was once accidentally wrong message was conveyed today the teams who deliberately conceal the truth, and whose goal is to find a way to show the falsehood as truth. Where there used to be communication noise (a byproduct of communication) is the noise of the world's great advertising and PR corporations that are able to prove anything. Thus, our daily rhythm is determined by the media that we are constantly surrounded by, and who, in cooperation with the public relations create the content that we read, experience, and retelling of us, ultimately, guide our lives. It is difficult to determine the real news in the media-mediated reality.

The symbiosis of the media and the public relations advisors today is already a well-established practice¹⁶, and one cannot do without the other, especially in today's world the progress of engineering and technology where information is shared in a 24/7 basis¹⁷. The public relations advisor's efficiency in convincing the media, and the extent of the media coverage of his client to enable him/her to target public his message depends precisely on his ability of persuasion and the successful handling of the media-mediated information. The media will in turn depend upon how the way the news are presented to the public in order to be more convincing or challenging, to attract the attention of consumers of the media content.

The common denominator of the functions of the two professions is information – while the public relations practitioners execute the publicity function by providing information to the media, journalists seek the public relations personnel for news material¹⁸. The central issue to the journalists-public relations relationship is the issue of the access to information; while it is readily accepted that

the media are important providers of information, it is the sources (i.e. the public relations practitioners acting on behalf of their organizations) that decide what information about the organization gets transmitted to the relevant public¹⁸. In this sense, Grattan¹⁹ says that politics is pushed more to the theatre and the journalists to the theatre critics (or more precisely, television critics). It is particularly TV that has become at once the medium and the channel of the political communication. Consequently political communication pays greater attention to entertainment value as practiced by TV, for example personalization, simplification and the emphasis on using 'media-genic' players and stressing the image over the content²¹. The Compression event in television news programs, with today's evaluation of news and modern technology, results in a mixture of reality and fiction compacted into short fragments²⁰. Every form of mass communication can change our perception of an event in a particular way²². The reality may be mediated by the media and some scholars go so far as to claim that it is actually already what is shown in the media, and that nothing is real but it is all a simulation of reality²¹. Politicians use the political image production and the spectacle to sell themselves, the difference between the authentic and the real is getting ever harder to determine. Is this a real President, or is he just acting out the sound bites fed by his advisors, performing a scripted daily political act he does not fully understand²³. Consequently, Stockwell²⁴ says as most political communication occurs through the mass media, politicians need the assistance and the advice from people with operational experience and theoretical understandings of the media in order to communicate effectively.

Materials and Methods

The main objective of this research was to determine the extent to which the Prime Minister Zoran Milanović's communication has changed with the appointment of new public relations advisor, and the effect of the change on the attitude of the public following PM's communication through the media-mediated reality. The previous research titled »The rhetoric of Prime Minister Milanović: from democratic to exclusive speech«³ as the fundamental thesis has set: »Milanović's rhetoric of winning the election so far evolved from a democratic to an exclusive language, which prevents the realization of some rhetoric functions of the decision-makers which are essential for quality governance of the country³. Consequently, the assumption related to the changed public relations advisor can be set as: the PM Milanović's public communication, influenced by the advisor Alex Brown, has evolved from an exclusive language to a universally comprehensible language, thereby changing the public perception of his political performance.

The survey was conducted in the period from March to September 2015. on eight respondents (four female and four male). The research is a part of the thesis »PR – ization of the media – the impact of media relations on the

daily media agenda«. The respondents were guaranteed anonymity; therefore they will be, hereinafter referred to as the work Respondent accompanied with number. The first and second respondents are university professors in the field of sociology and public relations, whereas the third and fourth respondents are longtime employees of the media / editors in newspapers, the fifth and sixth respondents are longtime media workers / editors of the electronic media, and the seventh and eighth respondents were longtime public relations practitioners.

This study follows the interview with Ph. D. Damir Jugo, who was the respondent in the final work defended in September 2015, and were further tested doc. Ph. D. Nino Raspudić as a political analyst and long-time columnist of the »Večernji list« daily newspaper and Ph. D. Dario Čerepiko, the Professor of Communication at the University of North.

Analysis and Research

Lalić states that in the first seven months of the current Government term Prime Minister Milanović was relatively restrained, even cautious in his relations with the public. He publicly stated several times that he, unlike its predecessors Sanader and Kosor, was not inclined to spectacularise and garnish his political communication or resort to spins, pseudoevents and similar manipulative tricks of modern public relations focused on the presentation of the politics at the expense of acting as the essence of the politics. Respondent 6 agrees with Lalić's thesis, who says, »I remember him stressing that his style was disparate from the style of his predecessor, Jadranka Kosor, who used to visit the electorate daily, and that he would not do so because he had the ministers to do that.« In this regard, Respondent 1 believes that today's politics, like any other sphere of social life, cannot ignore the calculated presence in the media that would follow or precede. We have witness to very recognizable elements of media appearances by the politicians, recognizably formatted to achieve media effect, depending on the level of interest, and to assume an exclusive stance against the rivals. Although during the first months of his premiership Milanović communicated carefully and even then he made some controversial statements, notes Lalić and says that in mid-summer 2012. marked the beginning of a series of unusual speeches and statements by the Prime Minister which has continued to this day. They are unusual for top politicians, especially the Prime Minister. They were mostly uttered in »controlled« communication situations: at the sessions of the Government and the Parliament, at meetings with international political actors and the like³.

It was in July 2012. that the Government decided to ban the public relations agencies to work for the government institutions and government-owned companies, which the PR practitioners qualified as discrimination to the disadvantage of the entire profession²⁵. This decision came after the media revealed that the then special public relations advisor, Zinka Bardić, was working for the Gov-

ernment for free and was paid in Madison Consulting, a private PR firm for strategic consulting and public relations, which was eventually qualified as a conflict of interest²⁷⁻²⁹. The controlled communication turned into often bizarre communication by the Prime Minister, said Lalić³ which creates confusion and anxiety in the already deeply frustrated public. Some elements of the Prime Minister's rhetoric, it hinders, or even cracking a meaningful link between the private and the public: the code of mutual understanding often do not achieve proper resonance which causes confusion and controversy³.

An unprecedented crackdown on the media, or »a lesson in journalism«, occurred when Zoran Milanović called a press conference in Banski dvori to deliver a lecture to the media who have disregarded professional journalism». The occasion was a report in the »Dnevnik 3« on the attack on the orthodox priests (national minority) in Kistanje³⁰. The Prime Minister opened the conference by saying that he had invited journalists to the conference to express opposition to his public relations experts who wrote something. I usually never read that. Not because they are not good in doing their job, but because I do not believe in such things. So, we will have to learn some new rules. I cannot impose anything to anyone behind, nor the media, but I can only speak openly. If journalist will qualify it »the attack on the media« – so be it. But I will not stop talking because I have no other weapon³¹. In such move responded Croatian Journalists' Association saying: »derogation media space blew up the prime minister's head«. The Croatian Journalists' Association warned that the Prime Minister decided to react only in cases where he had a problem with the media himself, but it pointed to the journalists' responsibility as well³².

The specific style of communication, unconventional and unusual for the current position the statements by Zoran Milanović won the epithet »zoranizmi». The portal politikaplus.com, in this way, drew the attention of the public to the series of statements which the Prime Minister Zoran Milanović knew would surprise the public. In a long series of »zoranizmi«, the authors said he gave a series of statements that shocked, infuriated and showed considerable irresponsibility, remoteness from the people and the general situation of the country³³. Although Lalić (2013:28) suggests: »Milanović's rhetoric should not be disqualified as inadequate and banal, either entirely or dominantly. He deserves credit for some of the addresses and statements, political diagnoses and remedies. His political language is undoubtedly original and powerful, definitely more original and stronger than the language of the predecessors (Jadranka Kosor and especially Tomislav Karamarko).«

This period of Zoran Milanović's public – media communication was marked by the communication of »an unnamed senior sources« what the Croatian Association for Public Relations has, ironically, rewarded as »Pomegranate of the Year« for anti-communicator of year. Category Pomegranate of the Year was introduced as the example of negative communication practices to highlight the importance of quality of access to communication for the

individual and for society in general³². In the explanation of the award, the jury chairman Mario Aunedi Medek said: »The anonymous high-level source as one of the most quoted sources is a poor practice of communicating with the public. From the communication point of view, there is nothing good in communication where the source of information is unknown to the end users. This, non-transparent mode of communication, often inappropriate expression, in no way contributes to the improvement of public dialogue, although it undoubtedly marked the public communication space in 2013.«³⁴. As a conclusion of this period, Respondent 8 said that the problem with the first communication advisor was that she could not exercise the duty of a personal advisor to the Prime Minister, but to the Social Democratic Party, which triggered a crisis situation. At that time means of communication, and the Government and the parties themselves, was based on »unnamed sources« and without a regular press conference. The practitioners saw it grudgingly and I must admit that we were not overly impressed. Then came government's ban on hiring the public relations agencies, which was an appalling decision. The communication coming from the Government clearly showed the absence of a systematic and strategic communication management. The communication activities ran ad hoc and without plans, and even where the plans were in place they weren't impressive.

Half of the Premiership and Change of Government Spokesman

The role of the spokesperson until March 2014 was performed by Ivana Grlić, who had no noteworthy presence in the public, and whose departure from the duty coincided with the departure of the special public relations advisor, Zinka Bardić. In their places came Nikola Jelić, with whose appointment things changed and Respondent 6 said: „Things had changed even before the arrival of Alex Brown, when Zinka Bardić was succeeded by Nikola Jelić“ as confirmed by the Respondent 8, who says: »With the appointment of Nikola Jelić the situation has significantly changed« The communication became calmer and opener, and since the appointment of Alex Brown in January 2015 it attained the much needed plan and structure. Our conclusion is that the impact of the public appearances by Prime Minister Milanović did not meet the criteria of the PR practitioners and neither of the public, as evidenced by the Respondent 1, who believes that the political identities are among the most representative performing identities, the awareness of which is incorporated in any appearance and any move – not only in the direct presentation in the visual media and the entire setting. The approach of the kind is a 24-hour job of a series of services, agencies and advisors, although in certain cases (such as the Prime Minister) I often asked myself about the output of the practitioners. Respondent 3 believes that media appearances are an outcome of the effort by the politicians' public relations advisors and services and as such are presented in the media to a certain extent. Experienced journalists, however, will often tend to explore

behind and distort the presented image. Politicians, aware of their shortcomings which their electorates would not appreciate, accept the engineered identity.

Respondent 6 says that before Alex Brown was hired Zoran Milanović had done cardinal communication mistakes with audiences. His statements were unintelligible or misinterpreted, or have been completely misunderstood, by the masses. Few were able to figure out the intended message and the communication style itself caused astonishment and disapproval by the public. Prime Minister quoted Latin proverbs in almost every public appearance, and alternatively, French and English phrases, which the public perceived as elitism, distant from their lives and everyday problems. The Prime Minister's TV appearances were seen as arrogant and condescending, and he did not hesitate arguing with the interviewers. It left a profound impression in the general public, as noted by Lalicić³ who says that the Prime Minister's rhetoric expressed »upper -class politics«, or the restricted »elitist« world of the Prime Minister and his associates, and was incomprehensible to the citizens and weakened the bond between the citizens and the State. Furthermore, the correctness gave way to intolerance towards the opponents.

Relatively frequent controversial appearances of Croatian Prime Minister demonstrated a lack of control over the discourse as well as over the political performance. The journalist Boris Rašeta (2014) in his column titled »The Prime Minister's famous statements (»zoranizmi«) beat over his Latin quotes« said that in the second year of the mandate PM Zoran Milanović, abandoned the Latin proverbs in his statements but switched to metaphors in Croatian, but committed error, as Latin quotes could be translated into comprehensible Croatian unlike the Prime Minister's famous »zoranizmi«.

A series of articles on »zoranizmi« continued and later that same year when Marko Špoljar noted »Milanović's zoranizmi: the Croatian Prime Minister becomes the king of gaffes« and says that Prime Minister Zoran Milanović has an unusual talent for gaffes – makes them when angry and when he wants to hurt political rivals, but even when he has the best of intentions.

The final Year of Premiership and Engagement of Alex Brown

The defeat in the presidential elections and negative ratings in the election year, both for the Social Democratic Party and for the Prime Minister, led the Party to engage the first Vice president of Penn Schoen Berland (PSB) Alex Brown, the recipient of the American Association of Political Advisors Award for international campaigns³⁷. They decided so in order to restore the image and to better elaborate the attitudes and improve the communication with the public. Asked to comment on the Prime Minister's decision to hire Alex Brown, a foreign PR professional, and on the odds of fixing the image built since the beginning of the mandate in six-month time, professor Damir Jugo said that it was hardly likely without the tan-

gible moves by the Government and the Party. Regarding the engagement of foreign PR Jugo says: »The hiring of foreign public relations professionals requires caution, because they cannot do their job without the support from the national experts because they are not familiar with the customs, the media, the mentality and the like. The benefit of hiring foreign consultants is their experience in the campaigns of the kind, because in western countries the market is far larger and they have rich experience, and import significant specialization. Some consultants are specialized in advising the governing social-democratic parties with poor chances of remaining in power after the elections (according to the opinion polls). Foreign experts have the luxury to apply the campaign-proved solutions. In my view, the ideal thing would be to have a combination of the two, but foreign experts need the support from the domestic ones to be able to do the job well.«

Respondent 4 says there are periods when the influx of information is really unusual, coupled with the invitations to various events. The journalists are getting invited to all protocolary events of the Prime Minister, where journalists ask themselves »what is happening to a man? – Man became warm, the man takes the tombs, The only explanation is in the upcoming elections. The PR will do its job of picturing the Prime Minister as a »normal man«, because they think he should be doing that. When would he do that kind of thing, except when approaching elections? Of course it will be his public relations effort to show that he is »normal man«, because someone decided that he should do so. But definitely, in election or personnel moments, it can be noted increased activity in public relations from different sides. Obvious changes of Prime Minister Milanović noted and Respondent 3 which said: »Until yesterday socially insensitive and inaccessible, now affectionate, sociable and in constant contact with the citizens. However, although the media reported that Prime Minister Milanović hired public relations advisors, the media are not the ones who stressed that Milanović change.« In fact the opposition was the one who continually pointed to a visible change. »In recent months, the public appearances of Zoran Milanović are much better. Alex Brown obviously managed to »calm down« the aggression and arrogance Milanović had displayed in every public appearance earlier. Again, it is Alex Brown that is to be credited!« A possible explanation is that Zoran Milanović has a pronounced respect for Brown, whereas some former professionals who had advised him before instigated his aggression and arrogance, because these were their qualities in the first place, and considered it a genius-style. They ignored the basic rule of public relations – if your client is constantly in the fifth gear you mustn't press on him more, but rather keep him down to prevent him from burning out. This is the tactics applied by Brown, concluded Respondent 5, crediting his efficiency but crediting his »student« as well. Respondent 6 says that following the arrival of Brown the Prime Minister got out of the office and communicated personally with the Croatian citizens. It was clumsy at start, but later he did better and better. Zoran Milanović included trips outside the office and out-

side Zagreb into his daily working routine. If we compare Prime Minister Zoran Milanović's communication style before and after Alex Brown the answer is of course that Brown does a good job. But not all credit goes to the teacher. Something is also up to the student.

If you compare how the Government and the Prime Minister have communicated for the past seven or nine months, you will notice rare occurrence of „unnamed senior sources“ and considerably opener communication. Press-conferences are organized often; journalists are allowed to ask questions, unlike the first days of the Government in office. Respondent 8 stresses it is the visibility of a plan, of a strategy, a direction and of messages, framing and priming, agenda setting, communication blockade of the political opponents and of the subjects they strive to impose. The Prime Minister's communication is now much better and I personally like what Alex Brown is doing. That he is serious about the transformation he has shown with social networks communication that, by the beginning of June 2015, Zoran Milanović rarely publish status updates on his official Facebook profile. All posts before 4th June 2015 were deleted, and since then every day, sometimes several times daily he has shared thoughts and actions with the people.

Therefore, the journalists in the »zoranizm« include also the use of proverb³⁹. In conclusion, professor Darijo Čerepinko says that the comparison of the communication at the beginning and end of the term shows clearly that the communication in the final year of the mandate of the Prime Minister Milanović is much more focused and somewhat more considered, even that the message was not clear. In recent months, targeting the message is quite clear and it goes in the direction of general messages with which the SDP is going to the parliamentary elections, and it is growing and Croatia – no regression!

In Milanović's transformation there are flaws as well, as seen by Respondent 7, in his right turn, running the risk of punishment by the left voters. Prime Minister organized the military parade in early August, which was a good move. The question of arbitration was also received well, it would seem according to the rules and there is a need to capitalize. Instead he fell to 4-5%, which is not negligible. There was Brown's estimate was wrong because he attended with his American position where there is no legacy of communism, we have, in good and bad sense, especially to value heritage where a large part of citizens identify with it. The so-called left punished if someone goes too »right«, especially when it goes to state-building topics, because Milanović would not be punished if he went with patriotism! Patriotic symbols and Croatia, as a patriotic theme, are perfect theme for politicians where later no one can denounce, because you are actually talking about the feel. Milanović started with topics that are related to the HDZ for years and that the public perceives as right by his electorate. I consider it a huge failure of his advisers, concludes Respondent 7.

Although all the aforementioned respondents agree that the Prime Minister's communication has improved with the engagement of Alex Brown, the arbitration issue

with Slovenia demonstrated his unconventional communication again: Prime Minister sent a message to his Slovenian counterpart, Miro Cerar: »We are not going to talk through the media, I have sent a letter expressing my willingness to meet, if necessary, in Slovenia, which Prime Minister Cerar refused; what can I do about that? We have really done our best over the past week in order not to do anything bad, in order not to overdo; but my brother as enough is enough«⁴⁰.

Alongside the military parade and the arbitration agreement, the closing months of the mandate were marked with the legislation on conversion of loans in Swiss francs into euro, in whose enactment the Government and the Prime Minister strongly opposed the banks. This has been a burning issue, affecting the economic situation of over 60,000 citizens in Croatia, as proved by the demonstrations by the Association »Franak« (an association of citizens with grave financial situation due to the appreciation of Swiss francs) in front of the Croatian National Bank. During their protest, on the question of the media »whether this protest is actually support for the Government« a representative of the Association replied in the affirmative way⁴¹. Mid-September saw the beginning of the influx of migrants, which changed the positions and the ratio of power in the political scene, as it was monitored through the prism of the upcoming elections. The issue of the implications of the migrant crisis on the election campaign, professor Žarko Puhovski says it has already done mess: »Milanović has, like a hooligan, placed himself on the bumper of the Homeland, and Karamarko says that one should not overdo it with patriotism. The greatest irony of all is that to Milanović this abnormal situation is normal.« (Puljić Šego, Špoljar 2015). The tension about the migrant crisis has caused adverse effects, pressing the Croatian Government to close the borders to Serbia, which had negative reactions. Despite the praises for the organization and logistics of the reception of the migrant's organization and logistics, Milanović again surprised the public with a message to the Serbian colleagues saying: »My message to Serbia is to lower the tone a bit, and, scribble little brother.«⁴². Following these few key events Respondent 2 draw comparison with the movie »Wag the Dog« which featured a fictitious event that won public attention in the election time, and whose ultimate message was »Do not change a winning horse«; thus, Respondent 8 concludes: »Milanović will remain arrogant, this cannot change much, and I personally I don't mind too much. Political leaders reserve the right to strict communication, and I again do not see a problem with that either«. Professor Nino Raspudić agrees and concludes: »Zoran Milanović is a strong personality, he is the way he is and I don't think there is not much room to polish the communication. I don't think his public appearance has changed significantly since he assumed the duty to this day. Even if presents a milder face at the beginning of the interview, as advised by the public relations advisor, a few minutes later his character will show through, as seen in the interview he gave to the Serbian television. Basically, he does not lend himself to the influence by the communication experts.«

Conclusion

Consequently, from the preceding analysis, we can conclude that the adviser for media and public relations plays an important role in shaping public – media communication of client, in this case of Zoran Milanović. It is obvious that the first period of the mandate and work with the first advisor for media and public relations was a period of mediatization mediated communication of Zoran Milanović. The media were the ones who dominated the discourse at that time, and Milanović followed their pace. This period begins to subside by changing advisors, while fully begins the PR – ization of media content with arrival of Alex Brown. It is evident, from the analysis, as obvious changes occurred in communication style of Zoran Milanović, but also a change occurred in the media intervention of communicated messages. Respondent 3 significantly noticed that the opposition pointed to the change in the conduct of the governing party, which the media conveyed and thereby unmasqued the Prime Minister's fake manners, following the input from the opposition. This led Vreg⁹ to

conclude that the media have the power to decide on the construction of reality. The media also show their inability when forced to present such or a different construction of an event, either consciously or unconsciously.

Today's spectacularised and media-supported (although not media-instigated) world, the politics, as an important and ubiquitous social domain, is paying the toll to the »celebrity and tabloid culture«. In conclusion, Čerepinko says that Milanović's rhetorical skills have improved only slightly since the beginning of the mandate. The role of the advisor is extremely difficult to evaluate without the specific input from the headquarters or the Party. What is evident is that the communication by Milanović and the Social Democratic Party has greatly improved since the appointment of Alex Brown, which by no means is to say that previous advisors were doing their job poorly, only the Prime Minister did not take them and their guidelines seriously, or just did not have the adequate solution, which is difficult to claim without the direct insight into the relations and the campaign.

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MEDIJATIZACIJA ILI PR-IZACIJA JAVNIH KOMUNIKACIJA MEDIJA – ANALIZA PRENESENIH KOMUNIKACIJA ZORANA MILANOVIĆA

S A Ž E T A K

Za prenošenje svakodnevnih poruka i učinkovitu komunikaciju, političari i njihovi praktičari za odnose s javnošću, nužno trebaju medije za masovno komuniciranje. Razvoj masovnih medija, od tradicionalnih ka novim, promijenili su uvjete rada ovih profesija gdje jedna, neminovno, utječe na drugu. Posljedično, promjenio se način oblikovanja informacija u vijesti kao i način praćenja političkih dogadanja te izvještavanja javnosti o političkim aktivnostima. Veliku ulogu u ovom procesu, osim samih političkih aktera, imaju i savjetnici za odnose s javnošću koji biraju trenutke i događaje koje treba plasirati u javnost (PR – izacija). Jednako tako biraju i poruke koje će se odaslati putem medija. Pored sve većeg utjecaja odnosa s javnošću na medijske objave, politika također mijena sliku medija te utječe na medijske objave, način na koji će se medijski uradci obraditi, o kojima će se temama raspravljati te na koji će način intonirati pojedine informacije. Danas živimo u svijetu medijatizacije¹ – politike i društva u cijelini, jer politika i odnosi s javnošću nužno trebaju medije kako bi komunicirali s vlastitim javnostima. Slijedom ovoga, možemo govoriti i o PR – izaciji medija² jer je temeljna uloga praktičara za odnose s javnošću utjecati na stavove, što vješto čine pomnim oblikovanjem poruka i događaja koje plasiraju u medije se ove tri profesije uzajamno trebaju i jedna bez drugih zapravo nemaju smisla. U radu ćemo se baviti utjecajem medija na politiku, te posljedično utjecajem struke odnosa s javnošću na sadržaje i percepciju u medijima. Obzirom na pozornost koju svakodnevno izazivaju javni nastupi Zorana Milanovića, a kako kaže Lalić (2013:27) rijetko je koja pojava vezana za političko komuniciranje u posljednjih dvadesetak godina izazvala toliko osvrta stručnjaka i komentatora kao retorika premijera Zorana Milanovića, u radu ćemo se osvrnuti na ovu vrstu političke komunikacije. Metodom intervjuja te analizom sadržaja, ključnih trenutaka i izjava iz medija, pokušat ćemo utvrditi koliko se komunikacija Zorana Milanovića promijenila promjenom savjetnika za odnose s javnošću, te kako je promjena utjecala na stavove javnosti koja Milanovićevu komunikaciju promatra kroz medijski posredovanu stvarnost.