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**WHITE PAPER**  
**ON A EUROPEAN COMMUNICATION POLICY**

**(presented by the Commission)**

## *Debating Europe, involving people*

### **INTRODUCTION: ‘CLOSING THE GAP’**

Over the last two decades, the European Union has been transformed. It has taken on a wide range of tasks touching citizens’ lives in many different ways. But Europe’s communication with its citizens has not kept pace.

The gap between the European Union and its citizens is widely recognised. In Eurobarometer opinion polls carried out in recent years, many of the people interviewed say they know little about the EU and feel they have little say in its decision-making process. Communication is essential to a healthy democracy. It is a two-way street. Democracy can flourish only if citizens know what is going on, and are able to participate fully.

Communication can never be divorced from what is being communicated. Citizens expect Europe to offer them prosperity, solidarity and security in the face of globalisation. It is therefore essential to any communication policy that the EU should deliver an effective policy programme. But delivery by itself is not enough.

The Commission last year set out an Action Plan with a detailed list of specific measures it will take to improve the way it communicates with citizens<sup>1</sup>. These include, for example, reinforcing the Commission representation offices, better internal co-ordination and planning, work on language and presentation, more access points for citizens.

The Commission also launched ‘Plan D for democracy, dialogue and debate’,<sup>2</sup> which is intended to involve citizens in a wide-ranging discussion on the European Union – what it is for, where it is going and what it should be doing.

But these initiatives by the European Commission will only succeed if many more forces are brought into play. A partnership approach is essential. Success will depend on the involvement of all the key players – the other EU institutions and bodies; the national, regional and local authorities in the Member States; European political parties; civil society.

The main purpose of this White Paper is to propose a way forward and to invite all these players to contribute their ideas on how best we can work together to close the gap. The result will be a forward-looking agenda for better communication to enhance the public debate in Europe.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Action Plan: SEC (2005) 985 final, 20 July 2005

<sup>2</sup> Plan D: COM (2005) 494 final, 13 October 2005

<sup>3</sup> In preparing this White Paper, the Commission took due account of the recommendations contained in the European Parliament Resolution on the Implementation of the European Union’s Information and Communication Strategy (Herrero Report, (2004/2238(INI)). It also received valuable input from several public events and individual contributions received by various experts and stakeholders. On 8 November 2005, the European Economic and Social Committee held a stakeholders’ forum on “Bridging the Gap” ([http://www.esc.eu.int/stakeholders\\_forum/index\\_en.asp](http://www.esc.eu.int/stakeholders_forum/index_en.asp)). And, on 25 November, the Committee of the Regions held a plenary discussion on the key messages for the Commission White Paper. Detailed proposals and suggestions received during the preparatory phase will be also re-examined in the follow-up to the consultation process on this White Paper.

This Agenda would go beyond the scope of the Commission's own Action Plan. It seeks to involve all levels of government and organisations in the Member States and it has a long term time horizon.

The White Paper invites a lively and open discussion. Part I sets out the Commission's vision of what an EU communication policy should be and do. Part II identifies the key areas for consultation and future action.

#### *How will the consultation work?*

*In the White Paper, the areas in which the Commission is seeking views and offering suggestions are identified in boxes.*

- The Parliament, the Council and the other EU institutions and bodies are invited to respond to this White Paper through the normal institutional channels.

European citizens and stakeholders are invited to respond by logging on to a specially-created multilingual website [http://europa.eu.int/comm/communication white paper](http://europa.eu.int/comm/communication_white_paper) or at the postal address *White Paper Consultation - European Commission -Directorate General Communication - B-1049 Brussels - Belgium*

- The Commission, in co-operation with other EU institutions, will also organise a series of 'stakeholder forums' to which specific interest groups (NGOs, business organisations and other stakeholders) will be invited.
- A special series of Eurobarometer polls will be launched in Spring 2006 to provide the best possible data for analysis.

The consultation period will run for six months. At the end of this period, the Commission will summarise the replies and draw conclusions with a view to proposing plans of action for each working area.

## **PART I**

### **PUTTING COMMUNICATION AT THE SERVICE OF CITIZENS**

#### **1. COMMUNICATION AS A POLICY IN ITS OWN RIGHT**

The ‘communication gap’ between the European Union and its citizens is not new. It has been a subject of discussion in EU circles at least since the referenda that preceded the entry into force of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992.

In recent years, all the EU institutions have given a new emphasis to communication work. However, there is a general perception that more has to be done. Communication has remained too much of a ‘Brussels affair’. It has focused largely on telling people what the EU does: less attention has been paid to listening to people’s views. Though consultation mechanisms have become standard practice, these are limited to specific policy initiatives and citizens often have the impression that the channels through which they can take part in the debate are limited or inaccessible. Institutional communication, though essential and steadily improving, has clearly not been sufficient to close the gap.

The European Commission is therefore proposing a fundamentally new approach - a decisive move away from one-way communication to reinforced dialogue, from an institution-centred to a citizen-centred communication, from a Brussels-based to a more decentralised approach. Communication should become an EU policy in its own right, at the service of the citizens. It should be based on genuine dialogue between the people and the policymakers and lively political discussion among citizens themselves. People from all walks of life should have the right to fair and full information about the European Union, and be confident that the views and concerns they express are heard by the EU institutions. The European Parliament, Member States and the representation of European citizens have a special role to play, as peoples’ support for the European project is a matter of common interest.

#### **2. ENHANCED DEBATE AND DIALOGUE - A EUROPEAN PUBLIC SPHERE**

In today's Europe, citizens exercise their political rights mainly at national and local level. Political rights linked to the European dimension have been introduced, such as the right to participate in the elections of the European Parliament. However, people learn about politics and political issues largely through their national education systems and via their national, regional and local media. They consider the manifestos of political parties dealing with national, regional and local issues, and they discuss these issues mostly in their own communities.

In short, the ‘public sphere’ within which political life takes place in Europe is largely a national sphere. To the extent that European issues appear on the agenda at all, they are seen by most citizens from a national perspective. The media remain largely national, partly due to language barriers; there are few meeting places where Europeans from different Member States can get to know each other and address issues of common interest.

Yet many of the policy decisions that affect daily life for people in the EU are taken at European level. People feel remote from these decisions, the decision-making process and EU institutions. There is a sense of alienation from ‘Brussels’, which partly mirrors the disenchantment with politics in general. One reason for this is the inadequate development of

a ‘European public sphere’ where the European debate can unfold. Despite exercising the right to elect members of the European Parliament, citizens often feel that they themselves have little opportunity to make their voices heard on European issues, and there is no obvious forum within which they can discuss these issues together. A pan-European political culture – with pan-European political groups and foundations – is still developing.

Europe also needs to find its place in the existing national, regional and local ‘public spheres’ and the public discussion across Member States must be deepened. This is first and foremost the responsibility of the public authorities in the Member States. It is the responsibility of government, at national, regional and local level, to consult and inform citizens about public policy – including European policies and their impact on people’s daily lives – and to put in place the forums to give this debate life.

There is also a real interest in building the European dimension into the national debate. Citizens sense that there is something missing from a national debate which ignores aspects of public policy that are of direct relevance to them. Far from being in competition, a stronger recognition of the European dimension in national political exchange can only add to its credibility.

That is why national public authorities, civil society, and the European Union institutions need to work together to develop Europe’s place in the public sphere.

## PART II

### TAKING WORK FORWARD

#### *An agenda for action*

The Commission has identified five areas for action in partnership with the other EU institutions, Member States and civil society. This shortlist is not carved in stone: it will grow as society evolves and technologies change.

The five areas are accompanied by possible action points for discussion in the consultation process.

#### 1. DEFINING COMMON PRINCIPLES

The **right to information and freedom of expression** are at the heart of democracy in Europe. References to these principles are included in the EU Treaty and in the European Charter of Fundamental Rights<sup>4</sup>. These must be the starting point in a process aimed at defining common principles and a shared vision for an EU Communication Policy.

Other important principles also lie at the heart of communication:

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<sup>4</sup> Article 11 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union states:

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers

(2) The freedom and the pluralism of the media shall be respected

- **Inclusiveness.** All citizens should have access in their own language to information about matters of public concern. This means that information should be made widely available through a wide range of channels, including the mass media and new technologies such as the Internet. It also means that people from all walks of life in all EU countries should be helped to develop the skills they need to access and use that information. This is particularly important in the case of minorities, disabled citizens and other groups that might systematically be excluded from participation in the public sphere.
- **Diversity.** European citizens come from widely diverse social and cultural backgrounds and hold a wide variety of political views. EU communication policy must respect the full range of views in the public debate.
- **Participation.** Citizens should have a right to express their views, be heard and have the opportunity for dialogue with the decision-makers. At EU level, where there is an added risk that institutions are remote from the citizens, this principle is of particular importance.

### *Defining common principles: which way forward?*

The common principles and norms that should guide information and communication activities on European issues could be enshrined in a framework document – for example a *European Charter or Code of Conduct on Communication*. The aim would be to engage all actors (EU institutions, national, regional and local governments, non-governmental organisations) in a common commitment to respecting these principles and ensure that EU communication policy serves the citizens' interest. This commitment would be made on a voluntary basis.

The Commission will launch a special *web-based citizens' forum* to seek views on the desirability, purpose and content of such a framework document. This will run for a period of six months and be backed up by meetings with stakeholders. Public discussions will also be organised, and the EU Member States will be invited to promote national discussions and consultations. The website will be updated regularly to report on what is happening at European, national and regional level.

At the end of the consultation period, the Commission will present the results of the consultation and then consider whether to propose a Charter, a Code of Conduct or another instrument.

## 2. EMPOWERING CITIZENS

Any successful EU communication policy must centre on citizens' needs. It should therefore focus on providing the tools and facilities – the forums for debate and the channels of public communication – that will give as many people as possible access to information and the opportunity to make their voices heard.

Future work in this area could aim at **three main objectives**:

- **Improving civic education.** Civic education – which is the responsibility of Member States – is crucial for enabling people to exercise their political and civic rights and to become active in the public sphere. Civic education should not be confined to teaching school pupils about EU institutions and policies. It should help people of all ages to use tools such as the Internet to access information on public policy and to join in the debate. This is particularly important in the case of minorities, disabled citizens or other groups that might otherwise find themselves excluded from the public sphere.

EU programmes can be of direct support in fostering the European dimension. Programmes like Leonardo da Vinci, Socrates, Erasmus, Youth in Action, etc. provide educational and training opportunities for thousands of students and young people across Europe. Information technology programmes seek to reduce the digital divide and tackle exclusion.

- **Connecting citizens with each other.** New forums for public discussion of European issues are essential for building mutual trust, respect and willingness to work together towards common objectives. While communication technologies are obviously important, face-to-face meetings remain crucial. Existing initiatives like *Plan D*, *Youth in Action* and *Culture* have shown how the EU can help set up new meeting places for civic debate.
- Adoption of the proposed *Citizens for Europe* programme would offer a new route to *connect citizens* and to give them a greater say in European governance. The programme is also intended to help Europe-wide civil society organisations to run trans-national projects that promote active citizenship and to hold public debates on Europe.

More could also be done to exploit the potential of several existing and planned EU programmes to connect and mobilise European citizens. The Commission could take stock of existing schemes with a view to identifying and disseminating best practices. Lessons can be learned, for example, from the successful experience of the Erasmus students. Over the years, they have spontaneously developed a network that connects 150 000 students from all Member States. Their websites serve as a hub for posting activities, organising face-to-face meetings and engaging in wide-ranging debates on European issues.

- **Connecting the citizens and public institutions.** Good two-way communication between the citizens and public institutions is essential in a healthy democracy. The present drive to make the EU institutions more **responsive, open** and **accessible** needs to continue to strengthen. But this is also an issue for national, regional and local institutions. Bridging the gap between Europe and its citizens means creating and maintaining links between citizens and public authorities all the way from the local to the European level.

The EU institutions are taking important steps forward in this respect. The European Parliament has championed transparency, and the Seville European Council agreed that the Council should meet in public when enacting EU legislation jointly with the European Parliament. The 2005 *Commission Action Plan on Communicating Europe*<sup>5</sup> underlines the importance of **listening to citizens** and it outlines what the Commission itself intends to do to ‘put its own house in order’ in this respect. The Commission has already made major strides in the way it consults on major policy initiatives and minimum **standards for consultation** have been introduced. It has also introduced its own European Transparency

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<sup>5</sup> Action Plan: SEC (2005) 985 final, 20 July 2005

Initiative<sup>6</sup>. In addition, renewed attention is being paid to implement citizens' right to communicate with the institutions in their own language. Multilingualism is an integral aspect of the legitimacy, transparency and democracy of the European project

### *How to reach out to the citizen?*

- Civic education is a national or regional responsibility. But, the EU can help to ensure exchange of best practice and facilitate the development of common educational 'tools' so that the European dimension is reflected more effectively. Member States could be invited to explore the best ways to bring together European teachers in this field, for example through a network, a special programme within existing structures such as the College of Europe, or in a new structure with a view to exchanging ideas on innovative approaches to civic education and to learn new skills.
- Another important project to be developed by the Member States would be the transformation of libraries into *digitally connected European libraries* that could work as information and learning centres, ensuring that all citizens have free access to information technologies and relevant information.
- Member States could cooperate in a joint effort to establish new meeting places for Europeans, open to citizens of all generations and backgrounds, to host cultural and political events relating to Europe.
- The EU institutions and bodies could work together to co-ordinate, improve and extend their visitors' programmes.
- The EU institutions should explore the possibility of complementing EU websites with online forums - 'virtual meeting places' – with links to external information sources.
- The EU institutions must continue their efforts to connect better with citizens. The Commission's *minimum standards for consultation* could be reviewed to ensure a more balanced representation of interest groups and a more responsive follow-up.
- The three main institutions could also consider organising joint open debates to complement Parliamentary debates, taking questions from the public or from journalists.

### **3. WORKING WITH THE MEDIA AND NEW TECHNOLOGIES**

The media are key players in any European communication policy.

In recent years, all European institutions have made considerable efforts to improve the way they interact with the media. With over a thousand accredited journalists in Brussels, new energy has been devoted to ensuring that the press are informed of key decisions in real time. *Europe by Satellite* supplies video, sound and images to the media on behalf of the three main EU institutions, and the European Parliament plans to open itself up to the public via web TV. Europa is the largest website in the world.

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<sup>6</sup> European Transparency Initiative SEC (2005)1300/6 of 9 November 2005

However, in spite of these efforts, and the professional competence of Brussels correspondents, *media coverage of European issues remains limited* and fragmented. Regular major events such as European Council meetings do attract coverage in national newspapers, but during the intervening periods there is no comprehensive cover of EU affairs. Regional and local newspapers reach a larger number of people but generally give little space to European issues. As television and radio have changed their programming patterns, time devoted to political information and to European issues is squeezed still further and competition for ‘television space’ has increased.

The information revolution has fundamentally increased the accessibility of information and has opened up the world of ‘interactive’ media. Unprecedented numbers of people can now easily connect with one another and take part in all kind of networks. But it will still take a lot of work to fully exploit information technology’s potential to close the information gap.

Action should focus on the following targets:

- **Giving Europe a human face.** The European Union is often perceived as ‘faceless’: it has no clear public identity. Citizens need help to connect with Europe, and political information has greater impact when put in a ‘human interest’ frame that allows citizens to understand why it is relevant to them personally. EU institutions and all levels of government can do more to ‘give a human face’ to the information they provide.
- **The national, regional and local dimension.** European citizens need access to a steady flow of common information if they are to see the European dimension of common issues. This is where pan-European media and the specialised press have an important role to play. But European issues also need to be discussed in the national and local context. Some of this would flow naturally from a greater commitment on the part of national and local politicians and institutions; but it also needs the proactive involvement of the EU institutions, not least to put European policies in a local context.
- **Exploiting the potential of new technologies.** Digital technologies such as the Internet can offer new channels for communication on European issues, new forums for civic debate and new tools for cross-border democracy. However, political leadership is needed if Europe is to fully exploit the Internet’s potential and ensure that it does not create new divisions in society. The *i2010 Initiative* already seeks to close the gap between the information society ‘haves and have nots’ – addressing such issues as equal opportunities, ICT skills and the inequalities between Europe’s regions in terms of Internet access.

### *How to involve the media more effectively in communicating on Europe?*

- A **European communication policy** should encourage public bodies at European, national and regional level to:
  - supply the media with high-quality news and current affairs material;
  - work more closely with broadcasters and media operators;
  - establish new links with regional and local communication systems;
  - pro-actively use new technologies.
- The **EU institutions should be better equipped with communication tools and capacities**. Two possible ideas to help in this task would be:
  - to upgrade *Europe By Satellite*, with a focus on producing high quality audiovisual content which is user-friendly for the media and relevant to the citizens, and to explore the desirability of having an inter-institutional service operating on the basis of professional standards.
  - a European Programme for Training in Public Communication, under which officials from European and national institutions could receive training in communication and media technologies.
- The **EU institutions should explore with a wide range of media players** how to better provide the media (pan-European, national and local) with material which is relevant for them, with a view to adapting the information to the needs of different countries and segments of the population.
- Alongside existing initiatives to **close the digital divide**, a *European Round Table for Democracy*, as suggested in ‘Plan D’, could be asked to draft a report on Information technologies and democracy in Europe.

#### 4. UNDERSTANDING EUROPEAN PUBLIC OPINION

In modern democratic societies, policy-makers devote a great deal of attention to analysing public opinion, using tools such as opinion polls and media monitoring. The importance of these tools has increased in parallel with the tendency for citizens to withdraw from traditional politics (joining political parties, voting in elections, etc.).

European public opinion is complex and diverse, reflecting different national perspectives. Understanding it therefore poses a particular challenge.

The European Commission has been a front runner in developing modern tools – such as the Eurobarometer surveys – for analysing European public opinion:

- Eurobarometer has grown into a major European database which regularly observes public opinion in all EU Member States and in candidate countries, interviewing thousands of people each time. All surveys are subject to independent scrutiny and made available to the general public and to academic researchers
- Independent social research on European issues, supported by EU research funds, has flourished; there have been more than 350 multi-national projects since 1994. It has provided rich insights into the successes and shortcomings of interaction between European policymakers and citizens, based on independent tools for analysis.

- There has been a constant effort to improve the quality and the significance of Eurobarometer. A re-assessment of the methodology is currently under way with a view to responding to the pressing need to have a broader and deeper understanding of trends in European public opinion.

### *What more can be done to gauge European opinion?*

EU institutions could work more closely together on designing and planning **Eurobarometer surveys** and on disseminating the results. Public discussions between the EU institutions and civil society organisations could accompany every new Eurobarometer survey. The first stage could come with a special series of Eurobarometer polls and qualitative studies on EU Communication in spring 2006.

To better anticipate and understand trends in public opinion in relation to issues of crucial importance for the future of Europe, new avenues for co-operation between the European institutions and Member States could be explored. Two possible ideas are:

- A new **network of national experts** in public opinion research, to help exchange best practices and develop synergies between researchers at all levels.
- The EU institutions and the Member States could pool available resources to set up an independent **Observatory for European Public Opinion** which would identify and provide in-depth analyses of trends in public opinion.

## 5. DOING THE JOB TOGETHER

A working European “public sphere” cannot be shaped in Brussels. It can only emerge if the objective is backed by all key actors and taken forward at every level. The national level remains the primary entry point into any political debate, and Member States’ governments and other national actors have a responsibility to use national channels to ensure a robust European debate.

A partnership approach must involve all key actors:

- **Member States** have a long-standing commitment to cooperate with the European institutions on informing people about Europe and creating national links with Brussels. Some individual Member States have been actively encouraging public debate – on the proposed EU Constitution, for example – but much more could be done<sup>7</sup>.
- More should be done to ensure that the **EU institutions** work in parallel to improve communication. The EU institutions and bodies participating in the Inter-institutional Group on Information should help decentralise EU communication – ‘going local’ – and encourage Member States to be more active in informing citizens about EU affairs.
- Many European policies and programmes are implemented at **regional and local levels**. Thus local and regional authorities are well placed to engage in dialogue with citizens and to actively involve local communities in EU issues. There are already successful examples

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<sup>7</sup> Possibly along the lines of the Irish National Forum on EU matters

of partnership at work. For example, the Commission and the Scottish Executive are working on a concrete project to ‘bring decisions closer to the people’ through a series of two-way initiatives between citizens and institutions.

- **Political parties** are important in shaping public opinion on European affairs and they too have a major role to play in stimulating debate and contributing to the European public sphere.
- **Civil society organisations**, including professional and sectoral organisations, also have a very important role to play in raising public awareness of European issues and policy debates, and in encouraging people to take an active part in those debates.

#### *How will the partnership work?*

- **Cooperation between the national and European levels** could include new initiatives taken at national level: public and parliamentary discussion on the Commission’s annual strategic priorities; face-to-face discussions between national ministers and European Commissioners, broadcast in the national media, etc.

There could be a particular emphasis on areas where the EU and Member States already act in parallel. The vehicles of cooperation could be **financial**, such as *management partnerships* of the kind signed between the Commission and the German authorities, or they could be **operational** – involving cooperation with the European Networks and Relays such as the new *Europe Direct* network.

- New, structured, forms of cooperation among national authorities dealing with public communication should be initiated with a view to sharing experiences on communicating Europe and in order to develop joint initiatives.
- Finding modes of stronger cooperation is particularly important in the field of external relations. Communicating about the role of the EU in the world is an effective way to engage Europe's own citizens as well as to enhance support and understanding of the EU in the rest of the world. Several patterns for further cooperation in this field could be explored, including efforts to strengthen public diplomacy capacities.
- The **EU institutions** should pursue a more co-ordinated and citizens-oriented approach. In particular, the scope for co-operation between the Commission and the **European Parliament** could be broadened and current working arrangements under the Inter-institutional Group on Information (IGI) could be upgraded. This would include a review of current initiatives under the PRINCE budget lines<sup>8</sup>.
- The **European Economic and Social Committee** and the **Committee of the Regions** already encourage regional and local discussion of European issues, involving civil society. The recently adopted cooperation protocols between the Commission and these committees pave the way for greater joint efforts in this field.
- **Political parties** could involve their members more in European political issues and

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<sup>8</sup> PRINCE was created in 1995 to regroup priority information topics financed under the EU Budget. In 2006, five themes are to be financed (“Economic and Monetary Union”, “the Future of the EU”, “Justice Liberty and Security”, “the role of the EU in the world”, and “Enlargement”).

contribute to the debate through trans-national European think tanks. They should be encouraged to develop European components within their programmes.

- **Civil society organisations** have an important part to play in the European debate. Their role could be strengthened through targeted cooperation projects in the field of public communication.

## 6. CONCLUSION

The European Union is a common project shared by all levels of government, all types of organisations and people from all walks of life. Citizens have a right to information about Europe and its concrete projects, a right to express their views about Europe and to be heard. This is the challenge of communication – to facilitate this exchange, the learning process, the dialogue.

For Europe to rise to the challenge, all the actors involved need to have an agreed set of objectives and a shared ‘toolbox’ of measures they can take. It means working together in innovative ways.

This White Paper outlines the challenge and identifies how it might be met. We now seek the views of the European Institutions, the Member States, local and regional governments, non-governmental organisations, stakeholders and the citizens of Europe on how best to connect and communicate.