Educating citizens to the EU: How policies and communication strategies are implemented in Italy

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ABSTRACT: How to reinforce relationships between European institutions and citizens? Which actions should be carried out to promote European communication? These are the main questions our article intends to respond to, examining the most significant steps that involved the European Union's communication policies up to the 2014 European Parliament elections. Among the crucial matters of this paper, we focus on the Italian context about the necessity to realize a strategy of integrated communication able to involve European Institutions altogether with national and local ones, and to make citizens knowledgeable about the European Union's policies.

KEYWORDS: European communication, media, participation, European identity, Active Citizenship

INTRODUCTION

There are some requisites that cannot be disregarded in order to make every European citizen able to participate, control and be aware of public European life: knowing current European Institutions, its organs, its functioning modalities, informing citizens more efficaciously on how they may take advantage of Europe and benefit from rights and Europe's policies. Such a disposition is included by the principle of transparency stated by Art. 1 of the Treaty on the European Union (TUE), where it is said that the Union's decisions should be made "in the most transparent and closest way to citizens"; its importance is also defined as a fundamental requisite to which European Institutions must conform while carrying out their activities. By facilitating the transparency of decisional processes, it becomes easier for citizens to know every step of such a decisional course, from the organization of subjects involved up to the modalities of acting and the spreading of their information. As insisted by the TUE and by other later European Commission documents, transparency contributes to democracy of the communitarian system, aimed at facilitating an approach between European citizens and institutions.

This is a very complex purpose related to Public Administration, which hardly settles in the Italian context, where there often lies a feeling of misinformation and confusion about European Institutions and their activities and functioning. News coming from Europe is often perceived as something faraway, difficult to understand, scarcely useful for the needs of information and transparency required by citizens. Furthermore, the increasing quantity and quality of informing sources makes it more difficult for citizens to access and use such information and disorients them within that same informing digital/analogue universe. Therefore, first of all, service information would be necessary to spread and update initiatives and indicate to people how positive could be the contribution offered to solve problems of general interest. Another substantial aspect is that the message should be clear and comprehensible to the different types of social subjects involved, considering different components such as cultural, linguistic, geo-political aspects of each member State (D'Ambrosi, 2013).

The starting question of this paper is a reflection on the role that information has in Italy in a moment which is historically important for the nation, characterized by the renewal of the European Parliament after the elections of May 2014 and the European Commission headed by Junker. A crucial period, then, not only to redefine a future balance for the European Union, but also for Italy's economical, political and image recovery. Two are the analysis objectives this paper focuses on: too sectorial information, scarcely oriented to informing people on European matters; citizens' little participation in decisional processes with a consequent indifference towards European politics.

Coherently with its purposes, the survey acts on two levels: a background investigation through a critical recognition of the main European policies regarding communication, referred to inclusion, cultural variety and participation, in order to define the context; a more specific analysis of the Italian situation, starting from Eurobarometer's data referred to 2014, regarding the idea that public opinion has about European Institutions and identities. Our reflection insists on the actions promoted in Italy by the Department of European politics to verify how European communicative policy is integrated nationally and locally.

PROMOTING THE EUROPEAN IDENTITY

European identity and citizenship appear to be the two main topics to base on in order to build the future of the European Union. Two key topics, in fact, strictly connected to one another, which should be strongly supported versus populisms and anti-European trends. This is also important if we consider the actual proposal to modify the European Constitutional Treaty (Art. 20) where European citizenship is qualified as complementary (and no longer additional, as previously stated by the Treaty of Lisbon) to the national one, establishing as a matter of fact the possibility for citizens to make use of new rights in addition to those already fixed by each

member state. It is therefore the back of the same coin, where identity and membership of a national and European context are crucial to exert a double citizenship status.

In such scenery, promoting and diffusing public knowledge plays an important strategic role to acquire the awareness of being European citizens and of having rights. There is a specific reference to that kind of "participative" approach inherent in deliberative processes. This is also fostered by the existence of more or less formal nets of stakeholders and experts where knowledge means a research of pragmatic solutions politically feasible, building shared points of view and common positions (Vesan, 2006). This kind of knowledge should be distinguished from a more "specialized" one, which has a rational approach and is, on the contrary, mainly produced by a technical-scientific community; that one is addressed to the community to make it understand economical, political, cultural sceneries where some relevant public decisions are made. At a deeper and more complex level, knowledge is meant as "self-consciousness": it requires a reflexive approach by the different subjects involved in policy making, through a comparison among different perspectives and evaluation of the results obtained (Vesan, 2006). This last approach, together with the participative one, seems useful and necessary to start fruitful nets of cooperation among public and private stakeholders in formulating and implementing European policies. At the same time, as stated by Vesan (2006), cognitive processes should no more include only occasional counselling activities but they should also have more transparent and involving planning actions.

Finally, in order that this process of sensitization could achieve positive effects, a connection between practical experience and public knowledge is necessary; that means supporting people's active participation in building such knowledge, through paths of deliberative survey and civic engagement, able to transform practical experience into a general knowledge enabling citizens in making good collective choices (Salais, 2009, p. 107). In this regard, Levinie (2011) focuses on the topic of civic engagement, particularly related to its information and communication processes. First of all, information that people offer for the benefit of others and use to pursue activities of general interest allow them to be more effective as citizens. Secondly, such subjects must obtain adequate tools to access information and knowledge, using them in a constructive and efficient way.

Often, citizens are required to express their opinion on matters they are not qualified for, and therefore have an attitude of critical incapability on topics related to public life. It is therefore necessary that institutions and citizens as well support adequately public knowledge using the available tools. This is a circular process: information developed and used by citizens, also through new media, creates public knowledge which supports civic engagement and allows citizens to participate in the government's policies. At the same time, civic engagement acts as a spur to influence the government's policies in creating and protecting information and knowledge of general interest (Levinie, 2011). There are three main steps to work

on in order to promote an exchange and sharing of ideas: information and communication on the initiative and progress modalities; consultation and participation; evaluation by institutions on the feasibility of the proposals and necessities suggested.

In order to accomplish the circularity of this process, divulgation initiatives should necessarily be reinforced and addressed to public knowledge meant no more as a traditional model solely informing and of a top-down kind, but rather introducing cooperative networking modalities on matters of general relevance. It is thus appropriate to pledge the correct progress of these knowledge sharing and exchange processes, selecting adequate places and interactive modalities responding to criteria of European citizens' representativeness and visibility.

The availability of broader spaces for dialogue, nowadays facilitated by new technologies, contributed in adopting actions and channels to support communication, dialogue with the institutions and citizens' consultation. Two are the main purposes: giving place and expression to citizens' direct initiative through actions such as referenda, petitions, aimed at participating in decisional processes, etc.; creating places for discussion and pluralistic participation to express opinions through electronic conferences, deliberative pool, discussion groups, etc. in order to create a more effective European citizenship.

EUROPEAN POLICIES AND COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES

More than ten years after the first actions engaged by the European Commission to improve communication among European institutions, several experiences and initiatives have been achieved at a communitarian, national and local level aimed at approaching Europe to citizens. In recent years, communication strategy has had three main goals: pledging inclusion, meant as a possibility to access information in different languages; respecting cultural and opinion variety within public debates; promoting participation either in terms of the right to express one's ideas and citizens' active presence in democratic life.

As far as inclusion is concerned, there have been considerable initiatives supported by the European Commission either locally and promoted by central institutions so that they produced a consistent and objective flow of information in their communication actions. Such a course was started between 2001 and 2005 through some documents aiming at reinforcing the democratic legitimacy of the European Union, for instance the "Action Plan to improve communicating Europe" and the "Plan D for Democracy, Dialogue and Debate," both written in 2005; the "White Paper on a European communication policy" in 2006 (COM/2006/35) has reached an important purpose by defining a new strategy for information and communication. This document refers explicitly to the principle of inclusion as a possibility that citizens should have to access, in their own language, information on matters of public interest through media and new technologies. The idea of knowledge is

broadly reaffirmed in this document and is directly associated with that of participation in promoting tools and channels of communication which could support a combination of technical-scientific knowledge and practical knowledge acquired in the field.

Therefore, this is not only traditional communication, but it also uses the net to be more interactive and dynamic. For such an aim, the document "Communicating about Europe via the Internet" in 2007 (COM/2007/1742) puts in evidence the importance of investing in an online platform by reinforcing the interactivity and a greater attention to plurilinguism, stating once again the need to grant everybody the access to information, paying particular attention to minorities, the disabled, and disadvantaged people.

This topic is strictly related to cultural differences and is expressly mentioned in a 2006 white book in order to promote and safeguard economic, social, geographical and cultural situations which characterize the member states. This document affirms that the EU's communication policies should respect the different cultural, social and political backgrounds within public debates and should strain to find common trends and reduce such a distance. Such a variety must be safeguarded in all contexts with a particular regard to youths, culture, audio-visual media and civic participation.

This priority is also claimed by the European Parliament and was presented again in 2007 with "A European agenda for culture in a globalizing world" (Com/2007/242) to reaffirm the contribution that culture can give the process of European integration by supporting intercultural dialogue. It is a course which starts from training and educating to citizenship through a permanent individual's learning process (formal and informal) and it involves not only schools but all the different social components. Such an aspect, already reaffirmed in 1993 by the document "On the European Dimension of Education" (Com/1993/457), identifies in the educational systems crucial support to train and qualify youths to facilitate their access to an active life and to adapt themselves to technological changes in modern society.

The European Council declared 2005 as the "Year of Citizenship through Education" to raise attention towards training actions for the benefit of European citizenship. Its main purposes are supporting and exerting citizens' active role, reinforcing their democratic culture. Citizens' participation and involvement in an active social life and development processes are considered a necessary element to facilitate cultural variety and pledge social inclusion. This is why, considering what the Treaty of Lisbon states, in 2006 the project "Active Citizenship for Democracy" was started, in order to find possible indicators for active citizenship and to train people for it, also through digital tools such as consultations, forums, informed polls. In 2008, with "Debate Europe," such objectives were better explicated through effective actions aimed at promoting debates, either national and communitarian, and citizens' active participation in legislative and decisional processes related to the EU.

A significant step of this course was the proclamation of the "European Year of Active Citizenship" in 2013, to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the communitarian citizenship introduced on November 1, 1993 by the Treaty of Maastricht. The European Commission has confirmed the importance of promoting dialogue and debate with other EU institutions and especially with the European Parliament. Such actions were followed by different tools and strategies to encourage, both at a communitarian and a national level, communication among State administrations, civil society and business companies and also to inform them on the available channels to participate in democratic processes in Europe.

Among the most important tools allowing direct participation in the European Union's policies, stated by the TUE after the Treaty of Lisbon modified them, a special relevance has The European Citizens' Initiative (ECI). It gives one million citizens, from at least a quarter of the EU Member States, the opportunity to call on the Commission to suggest new policy proposals, as for instance the right to have water, a more correct system of waste management, the extension of the right to vote, animals' protection (no tests on animals), etc.

Also important are initiatives of public consultation which the European Commission accomplished just before defining and presenting a proposal of a European regulation on specific topics. Among the most recent ones, we mention the public consultation on the fast meeting in the context of audio-visual media, regarding significant new services launched by public service broadcasters, which produced in 2013 the Green Book "Preparing for a Fully Converged Audiovisual World: Growth, Creation and Values" (Com/2013/231). It pointed out different matters, particularly related to the opening and pluralism of media and adoption of a self-regulation system, but also aimed at preserving cultural differences and protecting minors and consumers in general.

Public consultations of the European Commission are some of the main tools used to carry out a policy of transparency of the European Union. They are also important either to give coherence and uniformity to communitarian regulations and to work out sectorial policies consistent with the different characteristics of the Member States. In such spaces for consultation and dialogue the European constitutional system finds its definition and is required to renegotiate the terms of the relationship between European juridical identity in progress and cultural national identity (Ferri, 2008, p. 227). The status of European citizen thus acquires a specific content, for belonging to the European Union means overcoming the free market, competition and mere economic matters in order to reach an ambit where freedom respects each Member State's cultural and social varieties.

EUROPEAN CITIZENSHIP AND PUBLIC OPINION IN ITALY: A REFLECTION ON DATA

To understand the impact that communication policies have had on citizenship and the way Europe is nowadays perceived, it is useful to consider recent surveys carried out by Eurobarometer (in 2013 and 2014), analyzing in particular the Italian situation. Data presented here focus on three main aspects: 1. Trust in European Institutions 2. Citizens' involvement in the EU's democratic life as well as 3. Information and knowledge on European matters.

As far as the first element is concerned, Eurobarometer's data register that European citizens having a positive opinion about the European Union have increased by 3 per cent (from 31 per cent to 34 per cent). Among the people interviewed, 38 per cent keep a neutral position, while there is 26 per cent who consider the EU totally negative. The confidence in the EU also rises to 32 per cent (+1 per cent if compared to data from 2013), sharply outstanding the confidence that European citizens have in their own Parliaments, down to 27 per cent (-2 per cent), and in their national governments, up to 26 per cent (+2 per cent).

The most Eurosceptical States are those where the economic crisis hit harder: in Italy, even though people trusting in the future have grown 5 points (4 at the EU level), and Italians' confidence in the European Institutions has also increased (19 per cent) and is higher than confidence towards national (10 per cent) and regional (14 per cent) institutions, about one third of the interviewed (33 per cent) affirms they have a totally negative opinion of the Union. The democratic deficit seems to be something to worry about, as the number of Europeans (about one third), mainly anti-Europeanist, declaring of being proud of a "uniquely national" identity has been rising (in Italy +36 per cent); Europeans who feel they belong both to a national and European identity has also slightly increased.

Even though the rising number of Euro-sceptics seems to point to a loss of legitimacy as far as European Institutions' policies are concerned, the emerging literature also shows some positive elements on mobilization in progress. It is in fact necessary for the politicization of the debate for European integration and unification process and to the creation of a European public space (Hermann et al., 2004). Some political experts think that politicization does not mean the end of supporting Europe, but rather the differentiation between diffused and specific support, that is between conservative and progressive spurs to European integration (Hermann et al., 2004; Della Porta & Caiani, 2006). France and Holland's rejection of the Constitutional Treaty in 2005 on the one hand, and on the other the difficult support for integration and extension of the EU in the last few years are new challenges that Europe should face.

Debate and dialogue seem necessary to overcome the crisis, together with a confrontation among competitors having different opinions, according to a new model of relationship swinging from permissive consensus to constraining dissensus (Lindberg & Scheingold, 1971). In such a renewed perspective, different ideologies can be defined as "the idea of contingent or qualified opposition, as well as incorporative outright and unqualified opposition to the process of European integration" (Taggart, 1998, p. 336). These last ones are not only a contesting element but they help in developing a democratic process of European integration

generated by clashes as well as by confrontation. Such a reflection appears to be particularly important if we consider the events which have characterized the European Union in recent years. As stated by some authors, Europe starts to be a "normal political issue to discuss according to relatively steady and clearly articulated lines of division" (Harmsen & Spiering, 2004, p. 26). In this regard, Taggart and Szczerbiak talk about "soft" Euro-scepticism in opposition to a "hard" one to put in evidence more moderate elements of such expressionistic forms. Soft Euro-scepticism accepts some existence and membership of the European Union, however contrasting its specific policies.¹ Confrontation and popular participation become more adequate tools to reinforce a basic consent as support for the idea of integration.

There is another aspect related to this one, which is put in evidence by the data: citizens' inclusion into the EU's democratic life. Eurobarometer's survey (2013) reports an increasing will of citizens, especially younger ones, to feel their European membership and to consider the integration process as a strong element in the actual globalized context (70 per cent). Human rights, freedom of expression and gender equality are considered as priorities. More specifically, 44 per cent of European youths think that participation in European elections is the most effective way to contribute to the EU's public life. Even though in Italy such a percentage is slightly lower (about 42 per cent), Italian youths aged between 18 and 24 who voted at least once are over 70 per cent, showing a higher level of participation when compared to other Member States.

Such a wish is expressed not only by youths but also by adults who consider the EU more positively: a large majority feels that European membership is a "good thing." An absolute majority of the respondents say they are satisfied with how democracy works in their country and more than four in ten are satisfied with how it works in the EU. In Italy, the sample mostly gives great importance to European integration and does not see a better future for its nation out of the European Union (50 per cent versus 33 per cent who have a different opinion). The demand for wider integration is expressed by the attempt to create a federal Europe (40 per cent), by supporting common international politics (61 per cent) and a European policy of security and defence.

These are very interesting data which show the joint effort, local and European, to bring out the sense of European citizenship: in fact, although Italian public opinion appears more dissatisfied with how European democracy works, however the number of people thinking that their opinion is taken into account by the EU has sharply increased. There is therefore an element which should be

¹ Taggart & Szczerbiak (2002, p. 7) define Euro-scepticism in two different ways: "hard" and "soft." Hard Euro-scepticism is "where there is a principled opposition to the EU and to European Integration." Moderate Euro-scepticism has not a principled objection to European membership, but its concerns or criticisms regarding the EU's policies. For further information, see also Harmsen and Spiering (2004).

appreciated regarding the third aspect of this survey: European information and the urge of alphabetization. Among the main matters that Europeans complain about, there is their scarce knowledge about the European Union's institutions (Eurobarometer, 2013b): in Italy, more than 70 per cent interviewed (about +5 per cent compared to the European average) do not know the institutions, their function and structure. Over 60 per cent do not know their rights as European citizens (+10 per cent compared to the European average) and would want more information (see Figure 1).

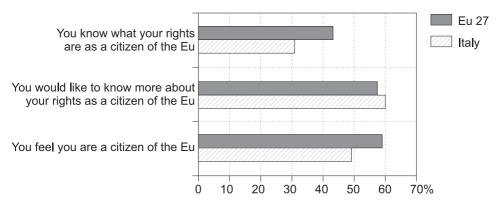


Figure 1. EU citizenship

Source: based on Eurobarometer (2013b).

At the same time, the amount of people showing a scarce interest in European matters increases: 46 per cent of Italians affirm not to have any interest in European politics, registering +6 per cent if compared to 2012 (Table 1). This datum is particularly significant if we consider the increasing expectations Italians claim on information, more and more tending to service communication and related to their everyday life. The most required information concerns current topics: 37 per cent refers to the solution suggested by the EU to face the crisis (debt sharing, Eurobonds, TTF, etc.), +9 per cent compared to the European average; 33 per cent refers to a European plan of investments to create new jobs, 29 per cent to the rights of European citizens, 25 per cent to fight tax evasion.

Table 1. Level of interest in European policies

	Total interested		Total uninterested	
	EB 78.2 2012	EB 79.5 2013	EB 78.2 2012	EB 79.5 2013
Italy	52 per cent	46 per cent	48 per cent	56 per cent
Eu 27	51 per cent	43 per cent	46 per cent	52 per cent

Source: Eurobarometer (2013a).

Two main reasons seem to be responsible for such a lack of information: the "Eurocratic" language spoken by European Institutions, often too self-referential and incomprehensible for most citizens; the sectorial aspect of the news, mainly concerning national political matters and therefore scarcely prone to analysis and critical reflection. In Italy, national and local media devote little space to the EU's actions and to the positive impact that such operations can have on the territory. A recent survey carried out by Pavia's Observatory (Mosti, 2014) on five European States' TV networks, reveals the trend that the channels considered have to talk about Europe, mainly referring to the economic recession and an austerity policy. What is totally marginal, is news concerning a European identity dimension and its roots, with a consequent disaffection that citizens feel towards the EU's symbols and policies.

CONCLUSIONS

One of the main actions to be carried out to increase participative knowledge within the EU is informing adequately European citizens so that they can make their voices heard and express their opinions on European matters. This is why the European Commission has started, since 2001, a management partnership with other European Institutions and with Member States, in order to create "a Europe closer to the common people, to warrant correct information and give clear contents." In Italy, the management partnership was born in 2008: it is an agreement memorandum subscribed by the European Commission, the European Parliament and The Department for European Policies, in cooperation with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Its purpose is coordinating information and communication activities related to the European Union through annual information plans, previously agreed. Two of the main points the Department for European Policies focuses on is communicating to people that being "European" gives them an additional value, and making young people aware of their rights and duties deriving from European citizenship. It is also necessary to invest in projects of civic communication which put in evidence training activities promoted locally and support a better integrated partnership (European and national Institutions, educational agencies and citizens). According to such perspectives, the role played by Institutions in promoting European communication should concern either information and education through training programs of divulgation and updating. What should be done is mainly promoting civic education at school, reinforcing the network between university, school and institutions, and supporting the European debate.

As for the first element, an acculturation process should be promoted by resorting to formal and informal educational systems, which would be crucial supports in becoming aware about the rights and duties of the EU. The main training and education centres, such as schools and universities, and the social components should work together in finding efficacious learning didactics and methods

to educate people about citizenship. The acquisition of some abilities and techniques as well as attitudes and values connected to adequate contexts where to exert European citizenship, reinforce such a European identification and facilitate cultural integration. In fact, we could mention as a successful pioneering experience the project HOPEurope — Building Citizenship, Democracy, Peace and Sustainability in a Multilevel United Europe, financed by the European Union, as a contribution to develop European civic education in high-schools in Liguria, for the benefit of students and teachers. Interesting as well are projects like "Apiceuropa.eu" (Association for cultures' meeting in Europe), which means to inform and sensitize on European politics and cultures and stimulate investigations and confrontations on the European Union's future perspectives, with particular attention paid to youth.

The second action concerns an empowerment of networks between the educational system, institutions and journalism to experiment with adequate languages for every kind of citizen and to find communicating strategies able to make the news more attractive and emotionally involving. Enlarging knowledge and critical analysis about European matters are indeed priorities to be carried out through greater integration between informing channels, either formal or informal. Channels like Euranet or EuroNews broadcast information related to specific territorial contexts; they should be supported by direct and indirect interventions which could put in evidence the impact that communitarian policies have at a national and local level. Thus the role played by the European Union's information centres and nets² appears useful and necessary to bring citizens nearer to institutions and to connect direct or counter activities with projects of informing transparency. In this regard, among particularly interesting projects, there is for instance the observatory "Puglia-Europa" on the EU's communication,3 intended to monitor European information on the local press and to improve journalists' knowledge even within a regional context. "Europe Direct Puglia" is its partner in this project and they work actively together to promote information. Such an example is the result of a synergy among different actors who share their expertise to monitor European information and implement communication activities.

Finally, the third action is meant to support and extend European debates, as a response to D-Plan's purposes, "Debate Europe." Its aim is promoting confrontation, allowing citizens to express their opinions on communitarian policies and to

² In agreement with the Department of European Policies, information centres and nets on the EU operate on the territory to support citizens and business companies. Among the main ones, we mention: Europe Direct Information Centre, advice, assistance and answers to questions about the EU; CIDE, European national information and documentation centre; Eurojus, information centre focusing on European policies and EU affairs. For further analysis, visit http://www.vivieuropa.it/.

³ The Observatory is the result of a convention between the European Union Antenna, Europe Direct Puglia, the Order of Puglia's journalists and the Masters in journalism at "Aldo Moro" Bari University.

make use of physical places to experiment participation. The operative aspect implies that the European public participation becomes wider and should take into account the different multiple national and overnational levels of interaction altogether with the tools to access the debate. More specifically, new technologies and particularly social media have offered interesting perspectives to stimulate citizens' interest and curiosity. Some of the most significant experiences in Italy to be mentioned are the project carried out by "Casa per l'Europa (Home for Europe)" (Gemona — Friuli-Venezia Giulia), a non-profit organisation, which encouraged values such as pluralism, peace and cooperation in order to rouse a civic European conscience also through an innovative use of existing technologies. Casa per l'Europa has its place in our territory and works as a mediator between European institutions and youths to offer them programs and opportunities.

As a conclusion, the three actions analysed and suggested require reinforced intervention, starting with communication; this can be carried out by defining a strategy to orient and support subjects potentially interested in participating. This does not mean exceeding in promoting tools and strategies for an active citizenship, but rather working to make real opportunities for inclusion currently offered by European policies. Such a result can be supported by the creation of more or less formal nets of stakeholders and experts who can search for pragmatic solutions, politically feasible, and who can as well work out for shared points of view and common positions. This is the principle information and communication that activities should be based on: this means supporting initiatives of participation, offering the different interlocutors, previously informed, the chance to hold their opinions in public assemblies and to reach an agreement with the institutions (D'Ambrosi, 2013).

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Lucia D'Ambrosi

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