Rules of Engagement; Design Principles for Civic Dialogue in a Post-Truth Era

Over the past fifty years there has been a shift in how citizens perceive their efficacy over, and relationship with, public institutions (Frantzich, 2005). Heightening negative sentiment has created growing distrust which in recent years has manifested itself in the rise of anti-government populism (Lenihan, 2017). There are many contributing factors as to why this phenomenon has developed. The aim of this paper is not to tackle why it has developed but to explore ways in which design might have a positive influence.

Our political systems are structured to be dictated by four and five year election cycles but the modern world moves much faster (Timmersman, 2017). People can order pizza with one tap on their smartphone and multinational corporations respond to tweets within the hour, but we do not experience the same connectivity or response rate with government bodies or representatives. This lack of responsiveness means citizens have less agency over, and are more disconnected from, their public institutions.

Citizen-government communication, up to now, has relied on mass media to interpret and distribute news to citizens. The democratisation of media and the shift within mainstream media from information to ‘infotainment’ has greatly weakened this communication channel (Thussu, 2007). Social media’s growing prevalence as a means of disseminating socio-political information has further disrupted the traditional channels of communication between government and citizens.

While technology has created certain expectations and challenges, it also harnesses opportunities to engage citizens in ways never before imagined. There is potential to foster direct dialogue between governments and their citizens, augmenting and even circumventing the need for mass media. To date, this dialogue has largely been government initiated and controlled (such as public consultations) and has rarely been effectively used as a platform to connect disenfranchised citizens.

Perhaps, by inviting citizens to actively participate in the legislative journey we can restore trust in our civic organisations, particularly if the citizens are able to initiate these conversations and view their impact.

The objective of this research is to promote methods of reconnecting citizens with government (particularly the most marginalised or disillusioned in our societies); driving participation in political conversations and ensuring public representatives can effectively respond to citizen-driven correspondence.

Methodology

Process

We began by identifying the issues contributing to the breakdown of dialogue between citizens and government. During this process the Frontend.com team met with industry, political and civic thought leaders around the world to gain insights and test ideas.

Working in conjunction with our academic partners at the University of Limerick, NCAD and IADT Dun Laoghaire, we developed research projects for Masters-level students to explore issues surrounding civic engagement and the experience of government policy in marginalised communities. These research projects were completed in February and March 2017.

In June 2017 we hosted a three-day design workshop that combined students selected from each of the participating universities with domain experts from the worlds of news, technology, social-media and politics. Working together with the Frontend.com design team, the workshop produced a diverse range of conceptual solutions that aim to use technology and design to
address the issues identified with citizen-government communication. The workshop outputs formed the basis for further design exploration by the Frontend.com studio over the following months.

Insights
Throughout the research process we noted a growing awareness in government circles of the need for better citizen engagement. However, efforts are generally limited to public consultation processes around new policy. These government-initiated conversations do not allow citizens to raise their own concerns or ideas, and so propagate an inherent inequality. Citizens are left with few options but to campaign for their causes either online or on the streets, hoping to create enough disruption to make their voices heard. This amplifies the disconnect between citizens and government.

Even in countries where governments are actively seeking to improve citizen dialogue, through better legislative process or through new technology, the challenge then becomes how to increase citizen contributions without overloading policymakers, so that those contributions can be listened to in a meaningful way. Technological advances such as Natural Language Processing and Machine Learning, as well as techniques for verifying news, were all raised as a means of broadening communication and aiding listening.

Outcomes
Based on our research, we created a set of design principles for citizen-initiated engagement. With the help of our partners Storyful and Publivate, we developed a viable design concept to visualise and communicate these principles in a real-world context. We outline this ‘Moot’ concept at the end of this white paper.

Working with Service Republic in Cork County Council, we ran a pilot study to test the effects of our design principles on citizens and policymakers alike. Focusing on users of their YourCouncil.ie platform (a direct dialogue channel for citizens to report issues with the Council), we developed a questionnaire to understand the perceptions of users who received updates on the progress of their reports compared with those who did not. The results of this pilot study supported the intent behind our design principles.

Citizen Initiated Dialogue

Government Initiated Dialogue

More Empowering

More Effective

Rules of Engagement

Six Design Principles for Citizen-Initiated Dialogue

Seventy-five countries around the world have signed the Open Government Declaration stating that they will increase the availability of information about government activities, improve access to new technologies for openness and accountability, implement anti-corruption policies, and support civic participation (Open Government Declaration 2011).

While a stated aim of the Open Government Partnership is to rebuild trust and strengthen our democracies, much of the early focus of civic engagement has been on government-initiated dialogue such as public consultations.

As design professionals, we at Frontend.com always strive to understand the needs of the users before creating solutions. Citizens want to be able to express themselves to their representatives at all times, not just when they are spoken to.

We believe citizen-initiated dialogue can be a powerful tool to improve citizens’ sense of agency. To ensure that it can be implemented effectively we have developed these design principles for consideration.

References


Immediate: Easily accessible and engaging for the citizen.
Inclusive: Connect marginalised citizens.
Representative: Understand broader public sentiment.
Meaningful: Provide citizens with feedback to illustrate their impact.
Informativ: Help contextualise or challenge polarised viewpoints.
Transparent: Each step of the process must be clear and open to the citizen.

These principles fit into three categories:
• Instinctive: Create methods for engaging citizens which are not only easy to access and to use, but are also desirable. Solutions should consider under-represented voices and aim to be appropriate for all.
• Constructive: Provide public representatives with an efficient and effective method of listening to, and communicating with, citizens so they can understand their concerns and work to resolve them.
• Reassuring: Once citizens engage, ensure the interaction is meaningful by providing citizens with an insight into the process and keeping them updated on the progress of their issue. Providing transparent updates should help to increase both civic literacy and the sense of agency.

1. Immediate
Empower citizens to initiate direct dialogue

Government-initiated public consultations are facilitated within the legislative journey and can lead to more impactful civic engagement. However, they provide an extremely narrow window for citizens to feel invited to be part of the solution.

The official legislative journey from when an idea is mooted in government through public consultations, committee investigation, and finally parliament ratification, only represents a limited timeframe for citizens to raise, or question, ideas.

More recently, many governments have explored citizen-led dialogue such as the Better Reykjavik platform which allows citizens to submit their ideas, create a discussion, and effect change in the local government (Better Reykjavik 2017). A similar platform, Gwanghwamoon 1st Street (Gwanghwamoon 1st Street 2017) was developed in South Korea with the express purpose of re-establishing faith and confidence following the corruption drama that led to the impeachment of former president Park Geun-hye (FTI Consulting 2017).

Providing a direct communication channel allows citizens to connect with their public representatives or institutions, and gives them an avenue to share their concerns or ideas without the need to start an online campaign or protest for their voices to be heard by government. Their participation moves them from being active opponents to constructive advisors.

Utilise familiar channels

Any system, platform or channel for citizen engagement will have inherent biases built in. A digital text-based solution can exclude the elderly and people with learning disabilities (pTools, 2016). Standalone web-portals will likely be used only by those who are already politically engaged: an outcome which would fail to meet our set objective of engaging the most disenfranchised citizens.

From our research we established that the most inclusive solution would be a channel-agnostic system, where citizens could communicate via applications that they already use. For most citizens email inputs would be sufficient. However, we found that some citizens (particularly in marginalised communities) were unfamiliar with email so system designers should consider alternative channels.

Integrating with widely used services, rather than building a standalone platform, is likely to result in a more representative pool of users. Where the goal is to wean people off expressing themselves on closed social networks, then system designers need to allow citizens to share their ideas and issues just as easily onto this platform, where they can effect real change.

While any online tool is likely to exclude some group of people, either due to accessibility issues, learning difficulties or limited technological literacy, it is important to understand how such groups could be affected and to ensure offline functional equivalents exist for them.

Avoid creating barriers

Forty eight percent of Americans are classified as interested Bystanders meaning...
they pay attention to issues around them, but do not actively voice their opinions or take actions on those issues (Krontiris, Webb and Chapman, 2015). Interested Bystanders weigh the benefits of taking part against the personal costs of time, money, attention and hassle (Chisnell, 2017).

This is a sizable percentage of the US population who, with reduced barriers and given the right circumstances, may be prompted to civic engagement. The challenge is to identify these obstacles, many of which will be unique to specific locations and create solutions which include even the most disenfranchised citizens.

Such barriers could be pre-existing, for example where citizens perceive that their input will not be listened to, or will be lost in the large systems of bureaucracy. A lack of civic literacy was also cited throughout our research as a major barrier to engagement.

However, technological solutions themselves often create new barriers. In a system designed to bridge the gap between citizens and public representatives it can be surprisingly easy to exclude marginalised groups. Two notable areas of tension include the poor design and wording of input forms and the need for citizens to prove their identity. System designers need to consider and mitigate against both types of barrier. Any platform which fails to address social barriers will fail to connect with the most excluded in our communities.

2. Inclusive

*Citizens must feel their thoughts are wanted*

Throughout our research we heard that many citizens require advocates to encourage them to raise their issues with elected officials. These advocates highlight...
that citizens are not asking for a favour or bothering their public representative, but actually helping them to better understand an issue (which is also likely to be an issue for other voters within their constituencies).

Any new system should be designed in parallel with a comprehensive strategy to promote civic engagement. Citizens need to be made aware that the doors of government are opening and they are invited in.

Many citizens will need strong prompts to utilise any new platforms or channels to communicate with their public representatives or institutions. System designers must ask themselves: *how can we encourage people to share their thoughts with officials, rather than their Facebook friends?*

Developers of such a system must not focus solely on the technological platform, but rather on creating a new environment. Citizens need to feel welcome and invited to share their issues and concerns through this new system. A significant shift in public attitude must take place, reshaping expectations of the role of citizen. The goal must be to realign perceptions, moving away from hoarding ideas and towards sharing them. Keeping an idea to oneself means that no one else can act on that idea.

Campaigns promoting the system must prove that sharing an idea is an act of participation in civic life, that one’s ideas are part of the public good, and that this sharing is vital to good citizenship.

Beyond attitudes, campaigns must also address behavioural changes, encouraging citizens to participate not just every four or five years at election time, but in an ongoing manner. Like the internationally successful ‘Reduce, Reuse, Recycle’ campaign, this is not just about providing the tools, but also the education, the expectations and the incentives for widespread adoption.

**Help articulate issues and concerns**

According to a 2013 Pew study, the greatest barriers to civic participation are income and education (Pew Research Center, 2013). Many citizens with lower levels of education struggle to articulate ideas or issues clearly, particularly in writing.

For citizen-initiated engagement to be effective, the messages to representatives should ideally be actionable; but at the very least should be understandable.

Currently, there are many volunteers and advocacy organisations who work with people who have lower levels of education to fill in forms or write emails of complaint. In some cases these advocates may construct the text themselves. In other situations they simply may review the citizen’s draft to ensure they are expressing themselves and their position correctly. While this advocacy role is sometimes essential, the need for it indicates another barrier for marginalised members of society.

Any system that seeks to gather public input should be mindful of the basic communication challenges which many experience. Their fears and difficulties must be appreciated and, where possible, provisions made to help frame and articulate the contributions people wish to make.

One method is to help citizens to structure their messages. A form, or conversational interface, such as a chatbot, could prompt them along the way, breaking their message into suitable steps so that it will be easily comprehensible, and potentially actionable.

### 3. Representative

**Reduce grandstanding through genuine dialogue**

While transparency is important, online public polls do not generate genuine conversations. Polls automatically create a public-versus-government sentiment as they often attract hard-line views, which stifle dialogue and discourage all parties from constructive conversations.

Online polls also lead to gamification. Lobby groups encourage their members to flood polls and skew perceptions of public opinion. One notable example was the Israeli Megaphone application which informed users of any online polls taking place worldwide believed to be of interest to the state of Israel. It prompted them to auto-submit responses intended to influence results to display pro-Israel sentiment (Purvis, 2006).

Online campaigns are most effective at rallying large numbers when they paint a black-and-white picture. The goal of the campaign creator moves away from sharing facts, and towards building critical mass by winning hearts and minds. They exclude public representatives by default and create a battlefield-like mindset against them. These combative public methods...
of engaging create defensive distance between concerned citizens and their public representatives and institutions.

A direct dialogue channel where citizens connect with officials or representatives could help remove the grandstanding that occurs on those public communication forums. By applying the principles proposed in this paper, such channels could become a method for hosting constructive, genuine conversations.

Compared to online polls and campaigns which typically foster division and reduce communication, direct human-to-human conversations can lead to greater understanding of the true needs of citizens (for representatives), and of the challenges facing policymakers (for citizens). Although direct dialogue may not be appropriate in every scenario, fluid communication between representatives and citizens has the potential to empower and better inform both citizens and representatives.

Gather insights beyond the inbox
Typically, citizens who are passionate enough to reach out usually have clear-cut opinions, or are directly affected by the policy which they are making representations on (Black, n.d.). Ideally, policymakers need to make decisions based on the broader stakeholders and not just on those inclined to engage.

Policymakers must seek to understand the broader public sentiment on issues. For officials, the full range of these sentiments can be challenging to uncover. The difficulties citizens have in sharing opinions with public institutions means that, for most governments today, it is global corporations such as Facebook and Twitter, who actually have far greater insights into public sentiment on their policies than they do. Citizens turn to familiar easy-to-access portals to vent, debate and propose ideas. This gives those social media platforms a wealth of knowledge far beyond the reach of government.

However, it is important that policymakers look beyond the correspondence in their inbox and understand the wider context when trying to meet citizen’s needs. While there is little appetite for the social media platforms to share insights with public bodies, policymakers must incorporate as broad an input as possible.

4. Meaningful
Ensure citizen feedback is heard
Don Lenihan argues that “treat[ing] people’s views with respect is what makes participation meaningful” (Lenihan, 2017). Citizen input is effectively pointless unless it is heard. So achieving buy-in from public officials and representatives is the key factor for success.

The amount of content and correspondence public representatives are expected to manage has dramatically increased in recent years. A report by the US Congressional Management Foundation notes a 548 percent increase in the volume of mail sent to Senators between 2002 and 2008 (Congressional Management Foundation, 2008).

The reality today is that citizen-engagement and consultation processes are already inefficient and straining. Unheard citizen input only deepens divisions between citizens and government; further eroding public trust. It is not enough for citizens to either feel heard or to be heard, both are critical in the effort to restore public trust (Pradhan, 2017).

Any system which accepts citizen input should make all such correspondence as easy as possible to review and act upon. This is the greatest challenge facing all such systems.

Consider integrating citizen deliberation
Technological advances have reached a point where governments can now provide meaningful methods for citizens to be directly responsible for decision making (Simon et al., 2017). Where appropriate, citizens can now be handed more responsibility as decision-makers, not just as idea-raisers.

The legislative journey is divided into four phases: Idea Generation; Understanding; Deliberation; Action. The Action phase will always be the remit of the State, but in certain circumstances there is potential to open the Deliberation phase to citizens. Being directly part of the process from generation to deliberation can be hugely empowering and impactful for citizens.

One successful example of this is participatory budgeting in Paris. On inception the citizen-defined budget was less than twenty million Euro. This has since
Okay, so the government should 'explore tax incentives to make use of vacant properties?'

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Participatory budgeting was also introduced in the Democratic Republic of Congo's South Kivu Province, where they invited citizens to vote on budget allocation for local community initiatives. When citizens saw the new health centres and road repairs that they voted for, tax collection increased sixteen-fold (World Bank, n.d.) By involving the general public in the deliberations and by demonstrating the impact of their choices, cynicism was reduced and replaced with an increased level of trust in government.

Demonstrate the citizen's impact back to them

Positive behaviour should be reinforced to keep citizens engaged and further their participation.

We conducted a pilot study with Cork County Council in Ireland. We noted that engaged citizens who received updates on the progress of their requests had a thirty percent more favourable opinion of their local government. Also, they were almost twenty percent more likely to feel their personal potential impact on wider society. When providing feedback and demonstrating the impact of their contribution, we found citizens to hold a more positive assessment of their personal efficacy, even if their initiative was ultimately unsuccessful.

A larger study, looking at the Fix My Street portal, showed that a successful first experience of reporting an issue through this platform resulted in a 57 percent increase in the probability of a citizen submitting a second report (Sjoberg, Mellon and Peixoto, 2017). The same study noted the importance of responsiveness for fostering an active citizenry and concluded that "genuine responsiveness to citizens' input encourages greater participation". Regardless of outcome, it is paramount that the citizen understands their voice was at least considered. Sjoberg claims "practitioners should seek to design processes that clearly highlight to individuals the
actual importance of their participation so that their perceived efficacy increases”.

5. Informative
Realise educational potential
As previously noted, one of the biggest barriers to engagement is civic literacy. Opening a direct dialogue channel and updating citizens on their issues represents a significant opportunity to provide information to engaged citizens and make them aware of the large impact of small wins.

These opportunities to improve civic literacy can occur at every stage of the engagement. Before a citizen starts any dialogue they need be encouraged to engage: either by providing them with clear communication channels, or by inviting them to government-initiated consultations.

Education should extend to when citizens are actively engaging. This can include highlighting the next steps involved in handling their requests, providing relevant contextual information and directing them to other conversations on their issue (such as live public consultations).

Once the citizen takes the step to interact on a subject, they will likely want updates on the progress of their idea. Keeping them updated on their impact and the general work being undertaken on the issue could be a core function of this communication channel. Updates can provide the citizen with a glimpse into the work of government that is usually reserved for lobbyists, journalists and those closer to the legislative journey.

Challenge assumptions
Misinformation and negative narratives play a large part in citizen’s disillusionment with government (Moy and Pfau, 2000). The dominance of social networks as the means of accessing news and the democratisation of news outlets has made citizens more vulnerable to distorted representations of facts.

A direct dialogue channel reporting back to citizens on issues they have previously raised, or challenging them as they introduce new issues, could be an effective way to create a better-informed citizenry.

Direct dialogue channels provide opportunities to inject non-partisan context into civic conversations such as providing system-driven contextual information like expert reports, details of existing programmes, international comparisons or asking questions and providing assumed answers compared against factual data.

Providing such information could potentially reduce the volume of messages to officials and public representatives. So when citizens engage on an issue where answers exist and activity is already underway, the system can provide them with specific relevant information. With this insight, they may no longer have a need to seek a reply from their public representative, freeing that representative to connect with other citizens.

6. Transparent
Report citizen representations
According to Frans Timmermans, “Obscurity is the best friend of conspiracy” (Timmersman, 2017). While Open Government initiatives centre their discussion on the need for transparency in public life, too often we observe examples of leaks and evaded questioning which compound many negative narratives about government.

The process of decision-making is complex. Capturing all of the inputs that can influence each decision-maker is a nigh impossible task. However, there is a growing acknowledgement that to reduce corruption, and the perception of corruption, lobbyists must sign up to a register before meeting with political leaders and have those meetings recorded. Also, results of public consultations and expert reports need to be open-by-default for citizens to review. Although not widely read, these documents share valuable insights among society at large and allow citizens to hold elected officials accountable for their decisions.

Were citizens to become a more integral part of the legislative process through digital channels, then their representations should also be recorded and made available to all. In some jurisdictions there may be legal hurdles to pass but ideally this would be done in a manner that provides information on citizens and their representations at a macro level so as to protect their identity and not discourage them from sharing personal thoughts or experiences.

Again, a fine balance must be struck here. Achieving parity between the requirement
for the public to see what criteria representatives are basing their decisions upon, and the contrasting requirement to make civic engagement a more desirable experience for citizens.

Create evidence trails
Citizens engage with the expectations that their voices will be combined with others to help shape their public representatives’ positions. The expectation being that their concerns or suggestions will be considered. Sometimes this means that final legislation will include parts of their recommendations, other times it means that for one reason or another it will not. Today, it is near-impossible for citizens to know if their input was considered, to what degree it was considered, what effect it has had on legislation, or why (and when) it was excluded.

A system that tracks messages sent to representatives has the potential to shed light on this process. Contributing to the dialogue is an important first step, but citizens may also want to follow the endpoint of that dialogue through the different routes and channels it ultimately travels. For example, if a committee hearing leads to a position paper that includes suggestions raised by citizens, the system could automatically trigger a notification to those citizens showing them the development. As the legislation progresses, there is potential for policymakers to note why certain aspects have not progressed and bring the citizenry closer to the process.

Physical disconnect from government is a real issue, “In the UK, the further away you are from London, the lower levels of trust there are in government and by the time you get to Scotland trust in government hovers around 19 percent” (Larkin, 2016). The power of digital systems to bring the process closer to citizens must not be underestimated.

These evidence trails do not need to be solely viewable by those who have engaged on each issue. By opening up the review process, the society at large can gain insights into inputs and decisions along the legislative journey.

It will be important for public representatives and officials to explain why they reached a certain decision and provide access to the information and contributions they used to reach that decision (be that contributions from the public, expert advice, overall public opinion, and so on). This will allow people to understand why the decision was made and also educate them on how to make effective and convincing contributions in the future. In this light, the concept of transparency shifts from being a buzzword to something which can provide tangible benefits, both for the public who demand dependable institutions and the representatives who can demonstrate a logical (or at least defendable) trail as to how they arrived at their conclusions. Transparency can be more than just instilling trust, it can be utilised as a means of educating people, highlighting what policymakers are hearing beyond public opinion and media reporting.

The public need to understand how their contributions have an impact on the political process. Seeing this first-hand will help advance trust in the process and encourage repeat engagement.

Conclusion
As the political and social environment has changed, democratic institutions must adapt, as they have in the past. Previous technological advances, such as radio or twenty-four hour news cycles, were minor changes to the established communication model. Each made it easier for government to communicate policies to society, while also improving public access to information. However, the challenges facing political discourse today are more complex. The fragmentation and polarisation of media sources has undermined the central political narrative, leading to information disarray and breakdowns in communication between citizens and government. To repair this dialogue we need more dynamic and direct connections between citizens and their public institutions.

The future is disruptive. The new technologies available today create possibilities for democracy which were unimaginable until now. Citizens can question policy, construct collaborative solutions and engage and be engaged, like never before. It is the responsibility of practitioners, policymakers and government to incorporate these new technologies, consider the merits of improving citizen-government communication and use technology to combat anti-government populism.
This paper outlines the need to extend the focus of Open Government activities beyond government-initiated engagements which, in terms of trust, are unlikely to change the perceptions of disenfranchised citizens.

Governments need to champion clear communication channels so their citizens can better express their own concerns or ideas. Using the six design principles outlined in this paper they can ensure these systems are: immediate for citizens to access, inclusive, representative of all views, meaningful, promote greater understanding through information, and transparent.

Such a transformation in citizen-government communication can realise this singular opportunity to truly open government.