IN DESIGN WE TRUST: DESIGN, GOVERNMENTALITY, AND THE TANGIBILITY OF GOVERNANCE

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ABSTRACT:

This paper explores the implications of how government is made tangible through designed artifacts, communications, experiences, and environments. Framed by Michel Foucault's concept of governmentality, it addresses how trust in just government is at stake when people feel unable to guide their own "conduct of conduct." I suggest areas of emerging design research at the intersections of policy design, innovation and design promotion policy, and design standards. These are framed by three assertions: (1) policy is designed and thus open to designing by people, (2) national design policies (formal or informal) should support the role of design in public sector governance, and (3) when design functions as a way of making governance tangible to everyday people, it makes governance open to the participatory redesigns by those people.

Keywords: design policy, governmentality, government

1. INTRODUCTION

What does it mean to say "in design we trust"? What is at stake in the inquiry of the interplay of design and trust within the context of government? And what does it mean for emerging praxes of design research? My paper seeks to address these questions at both the theoretical and practical levels. Framed by Michel Foucault's (1991) concept of governmentality, my main contention is that trust in just government is at stake when people feel unable to guide their own "conduct of conduct" as made tangible through designed artifacts, communications, experiences, and environments. I frame my argument by three assertions that suggest emerging design research areas at the intersections of design, policy, and governance:

1   Policy is designed and thus open to designing by people.

2   National design policies (formal or informal) should support the role of design in public sector governance.

3   When design functions as a way of making governance tangible to everyday people, it makes governance open to the participatory redesigns by those people.

To level set, I'll begin by providing working definitions of some of the key concepts in this paper: trust, design, and governmentality. Trust is the easiest to define. Based on the American Heritage 2006 dictionary definition, the verb form of trust is "… to have or place reliance." I find its 2000 definition analytically more useful– "…a feeling of certainty, often based on inconclusive evidence, that a person or object will not fail"– because it foregrounds the elements of trust, namely, meeting a person's (1) mindset and expectations, (2) idea of the quality evidence, and (3) knowledge of potential and actual outcomes. By defining trust this way, I can map how the act of trusting is related to the processes of designing. But for now, it leads me to my next working definition—the one for design.

In the context of policy and governance, I find it necessary to approach "design" at two-levels. The first level is in the Herbert Simon (1969) sense of "…devising courses of action aimed at changing existing situations into preferred ones." This is what Ric Grefé, executive director of AIGA, referred to at the AIGA 2003 National Meetings as design with a "big D" (i.e. uppercase D). In that context, he addressed the significance of design thinking and strategy within professional design. At the second level, I define design as both the process and the resultant artifacts, communications, experiences, and environments that originate from skillful choices about words, images, and forms through the formal principles of point, line, shape, texture, color, harmony, space, typography, pattern, materials, and movement. Ric Grefé at the AIGA 2003 National Meetings called it "little d" design (i.e. with a lowercase d). It represented the equally

important craft of professional design. I have specific reasons to use design in both ways. First, it enables me to distinguish between Design as a general human activity, and design as the occupational expertise of a class of people who define themselves as professional designers (i.e. people who make their primary livelihood from designing). Secondly, I can analytical separate the ideal intentions of Designing from their physical manifestations in the world. Lastly, design is a term used with distinct meanings in the fields of political science, economics, and policy; and the fields of design, technical communications, and usability: (Fig. 1). I seek to demonstrate how the two meanings of design are interlinked and thus need to be synthesized as an area of governmental inquiry in design research.

	Character	Epistemology	Methodology	Practitioner	Domain of Use
Design (uppercase)	abstract	ideal	strategic	general	political science, management, and policy
design (lowercase)	tangible	real	improvised	expert	design, communications, and usability

Figure 1: Attributes of Design versus design

In summary, I approach Design, with an uppercase D, as the processes of abstract, strategic, ideal creation that is open to everyone. In the context of government, it is often the intellectual domain of the political science, management, and policy fields. I approach design, with lowercase d, as in many ways its complement – tangible, improvisational, reality creations that is the mostly professionalized and within the intellectual domains of design, communication, and usability. Now, I turn to the more complex definitions of governmentality.

In Michel Foucault's (2004: 119) own words, the term governmentality is a "nasty word". This is because it is not meant to define one idea but rather several interconnected ones. He presents three meanings of governmentality:

1 The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses, reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principle form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security.

2 The tendency which, over a long period and throughout the West, has steadily led towards the pre-eminence over all other forms (sovereignty, discipline, etc.) of this type of power which may be termed government, resulting, on the one hand, in the formation of a whole series of specific governmental apparatuses, and, on the other, in the development of a whole complex of *saviors*.

3   The process, or rather the result of the process, through which the state of justice of the Middle Ages, transformed into the administrative state during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, gradually becomes 'governmentalized' (Foucault 1991: 102).

The last two meanings are historical projects. They hold theoretical relevance for design history, in particular the role of design artifacts (i.e. statistical ledgers, mercantile ships, the guillotine) in the evolution towards this notion of the state as having its own rationality separate for divine and human law and principles of prudence and wisdom (Foucault 1991: 97). Charles Kostelnick's (1994) visual rhetorical analysis of the graphical conventions of US Statistical Atlases from 1874-1925 is a good example of this kind of work. Christopher McCaw's (2006) examination of Chinese governmentality as enacted through its subway system and Census collection forms during high-socialism is another one. In particular, McCaw (2006: 121) accounts for the specificity of the Chinese context where the state's interests do not take the form of "open confrontation between the individual and the state" like in Europe, but rather in the form of the Chinese *danwei* or work unit. These are all important areas of design research. Yet, it is the first meaning of governmentality that primarily frames my discussion.

I'll first attempt to unpack Foucault's very compact definition. With the focus on institutions and practice, Foucault's approach to government is a materialist one. Government has its legal, moral, and economic abstractions, but Foucault is interested in how they are made manifest in the world. To draw on the uppercase and lowercase distinction of Design/design, I suggest that Foucault concerns himself more with government, with a lowercase g, as sets of tangible, real, and improvisational practices, than with Government, with an uppercase G, as abstract and idealized strategies. Foucault distinguishes the power of government from sovereignty and discipline. He characterizes government as the "conduct of conduct" of self and of others that shapes possible fields of action. Sovereignty is characterized as the power over subjects, often through constitutions, laws, and parliaments. Discipline is characterized as the power over the individual body and aggregates of human individuals like armies. (Dean 1999: 19). Although government retains and uses the power of sovereignty and discipline, its objective is not to rule over subjects or bodies, but rather to use them as resources to be "fostered, used, and optimized" (Dean 1999:20). Foucault defines how government's unit of measurement is beyond the individual, the family, or even territory. Government encompasses populations, the large aggregates of every and all people. Government's form of knowledge as political economy addresses how government is concerned with the "right manner of disposing things…to an end which is convenient for each of the things to be governed" (Foucault 1991: 91). Lastly, the technical means "apparatuses of security" refer to the emphasis on risk prevention through coercive forces like the police to softer forces such as education and welfare.

So why is Foucault's "nasty word" governmentality useful to the analysis of design and trust in government? Mitchell Dean (1999: 28) answers this by enumerating the "unlimited and heterogeneous range of things"

that form the practices of government from its structure, organization, training of staff and experts, the flow and storage of information, design of the offices, interactions with clients, to forms, publicity, etc. Through this range of things, Design and design are the regimes of practice within government. They are the formation and implementation of the *thought* behind the practices of government. As such, the intersection of Design/design and governmentality is an important area of design research because Design/design mediates the trust people hold in the practices of government by making them tangible (i.e. able to be seen, smelled, tasted, heard, felt, and experienced)

Now that I have clarified the meaning of the key concepts of trust, Design/design, and governmentality, I next want to outline the four contexts of design and governmentality that I think are important areas of design research. I refer to them as (1) policy as Designed, (2) innovation policy, (3) design promotion, and (4) design standards: (Fig. 2).
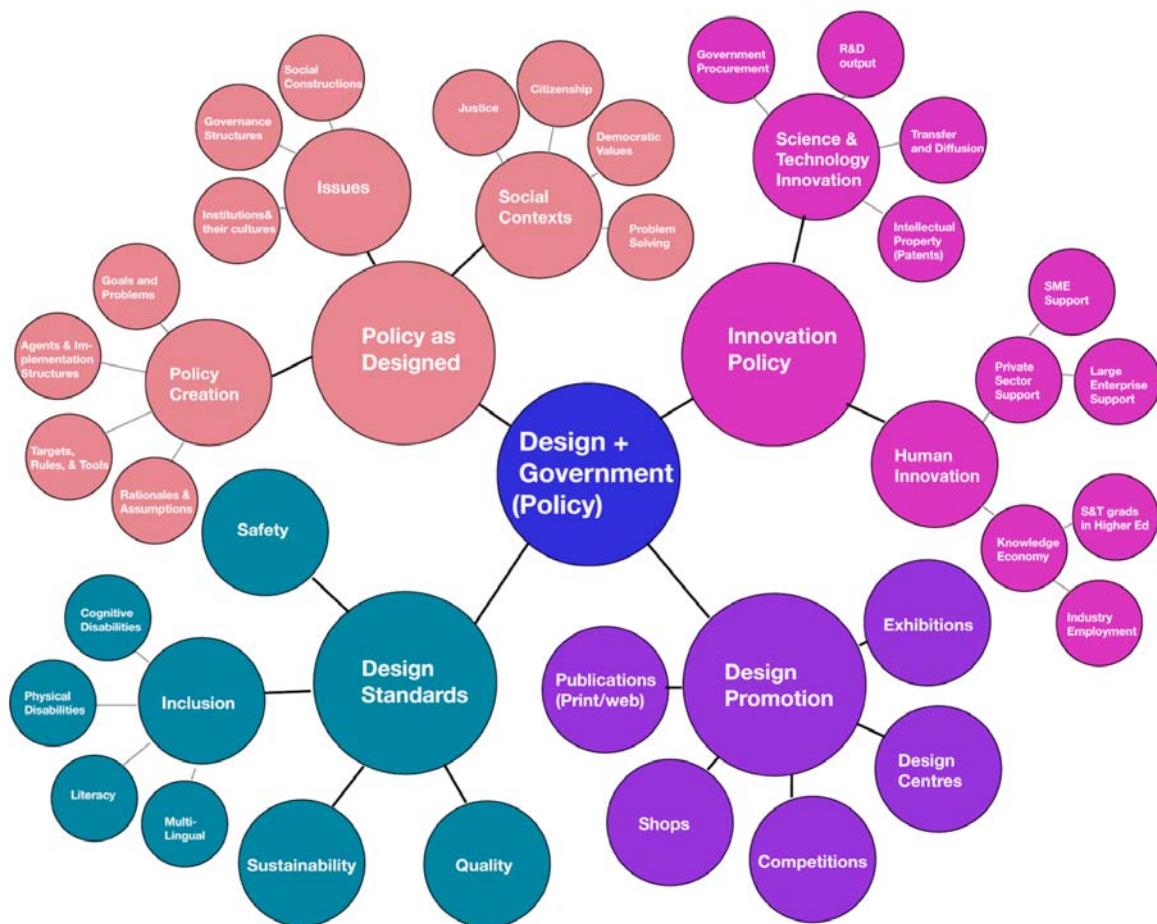

Figure 2: Mind map of design and governmentality contexts

These contexts play a part of what governments could ratify as a National Design Policy. They also link to my three assertions in the beginning of this paper:

1   Policy is designed and thus open to designing by people.

2 National design policies (formal or informal) should support the role of design in public sector governance.

3 When design functions as a way of making governance tangible to everyday people, it makes governance open to the participatory redesigns by those people.

I return to these assertions in order to address what each one means for the intersection of design research, design policy, and trust in just government

2. MAPPING CONTEXTS: POLICY IS DESIGNED

The statement "Policy is Designed" is obvious to political scientists, policy analysts, and planning experts. As political scientists B. Guy Peters and John Hoornbeek (2005: 78) state, "…the notion of policy design has become a standard component in the general literature on public policy." Yet, the Design they speak of is often Herbert Simon's idea of Design, with an uppercase D. Peters and Boornbeek (2005: 77) describe policy design as involving the development of "models of causation, instrumentation, and evaluation… and then finding ways to link the three models." In other words, design policy involves defining the problem and its source, identifying the most effective policy instruments, determining the metrics of measurable change, and figuring out which instruments and metrics provide solutions to the problem. Policy instruments are the set of activities that policy makers use to solve problems. According to Micheal Howlett (2005: 39), they include ones to control the provision of goods and services – echoing Foucault's "disposition of things" – from voluntary contributions of families, subsidies, taxes, to regulation and direct provision. They also include ones to control membership and group cohesion – affecting the formation of identities – through information suppression, labeling/recognition, hearings, to direct group creation and institutional reforms. The instruments form the abstract strategies by which specific Designed outcomes are planned and implementations are attempted. But not all political scientists and analysts approach "policy is Designed," with an uppercase D; there are those who use the statement "policy is designed," with a lowercase d.

Political scientists, Anne Schneider and Helen Ingram, represent this latter group. In their edited volumes, *Public Policy for Democracy* (Smith and Ingram 1993), *Policy Design for Democracy* (Schneider and Ingram 1997), and *Deserving and Entitled* (Schneider and Ingram 2005), they articulate a position on policy design as "observable elements" made up of targets, goals or problems to be solved, rules, rationales, and assumptions. They state:

Polices are reveal through texts, practices, and symbols, and discourse that define and deliver values including goods and services as well as regulations, income, status, and other positively or

negatively valued attributes. Policy design refers to the content and substance of public policy – the blueprints, architecture, discourses, and aesthetics of policy in both is instrumental and symbolic forms (Schneider and Ingram 1997: 2).

Schneider and Ingram attribute their definition directly from Herbert Simon, but it also resonates with Foucault's concept of governmentality. As observable elements, the analysis of policy design extends beyond the processes of policy creation – the goals and problems, agents and implementation structures; targets rules and tools, and rationales and assumptions – to address the social contexts and specific interpretive issues of policy design. Schneider and Ingram criticize US policy design for deepening the disengagement, apathy, and distrust Americans feel towards their government. They argue that US policy designs have created an unjust and alienating political system by constructing deserving and undeserving target populations and privileging expert professional and scientific knowledge over that of citizens. Joe Soss (2005) illustrates this effect in his study of the contrast between clients receiving Social Security Disability Insurance (SSDI), constructed as deserving beneficiaries, and those receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), viewed as the undeserving poor. The stigmas attached to being welfare recipients of AFDC "…tend to undermine group identification, perceptions of shared interest, expectations of effective agency, and feelings of collective injustice" (Soss 2005: 320). US policy is not the only culprit. The Senegalese government requires its citizen's to read their Constitution in French, privileging the knowledge of Francophone elites over that of the majority lay citizens who speak Wolof. The distrust caused by poor policy Design calls out for more design research to understand these problems. As expressed by scholars like Victor Papenak (1985) and Victor and Sylvia Margolin (2002), a "social model" of design is an important area of design research.

How would such a model operate in the context of policy as designed? In the spring of 2007, I taught an MFA graduate seminar course on Design and Governmentality. In the course, we read Foucault, visual rhetoric theory, and Schneider and Ingram's work. We examined specific domains of American government policy including taxation, social security, health and human welfare, the Census, voting, homeland security, and the environment. We analyzed the processes of policy creation in each domain, but also placed them within a historical and social context of American ideas about problem solving, democratic values, citizenship, and justice. Guest designers and policy makers lectured on the contemporary issues of their domains. They described their institutional governance structures, cultures, and social constructions of clients. For example, we learned that the US Census Bureau is the most innovative of US government branches because their task – to count every person in the United States, every 10 years, and return the data within 30 days, as mandated in the Constitution – requires constant process innovation to complete their growing task within the same time frame. Yet, the IRS often slowly

adapts itself to new changes because of the bureaucratic inertia due to the sheer scale of producing 15,762 different products to serve 133,000,000 taxpayers every year.

After understanding policy as Designed, the students decided to produce policy proposals as final projects. Their topics included: setting Federal standards for protecting protest rights, institutionalizing centers for transit wayfinding research, bringing back the beat cop to end racial profiling, conducting extreme makeovers of schools to address funding shortages, providing immigrants micro-credit for citizenship fees, and mailing local Census data results back to individuals. Policy experts, designers, and peers evaluated the students' policy proposals based on their clarity in conveying the problem and solution, feasibility, and overall performance. The students brought their designerly approach to the assignment. They diagrammed their problem and solution to edit down to the most important elements of their policies: (Fig. 3). They applied their information design skills to create compelling policy presentations that enabled both lay person and expert to contribution to discussion: (Fig. 4).
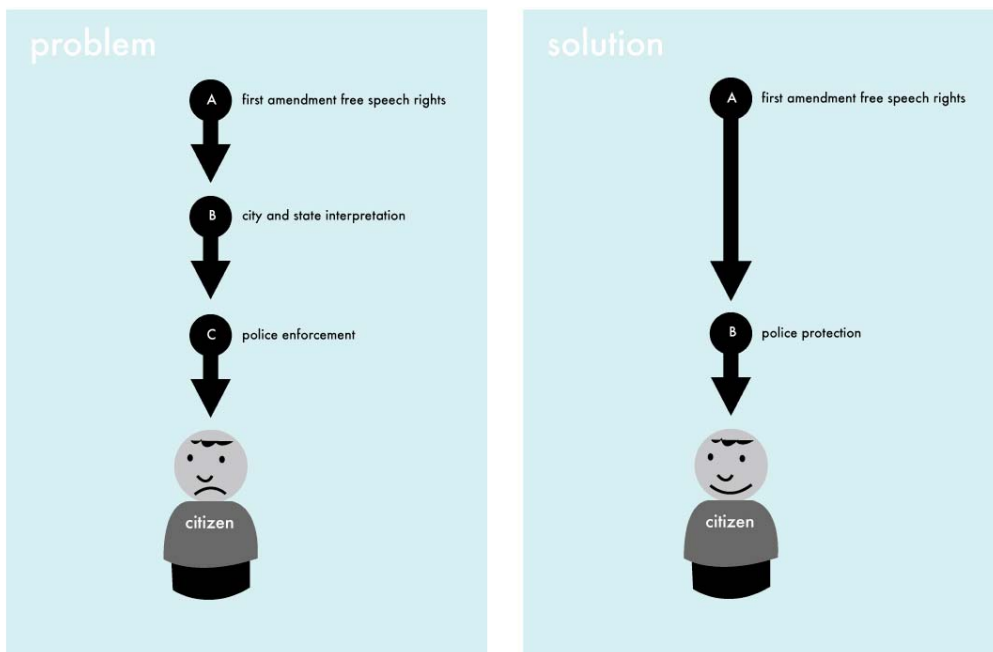

Figure 3: MFA student, Jonathan Sangster's diagram of his policy for Federal standards to protect protest rights
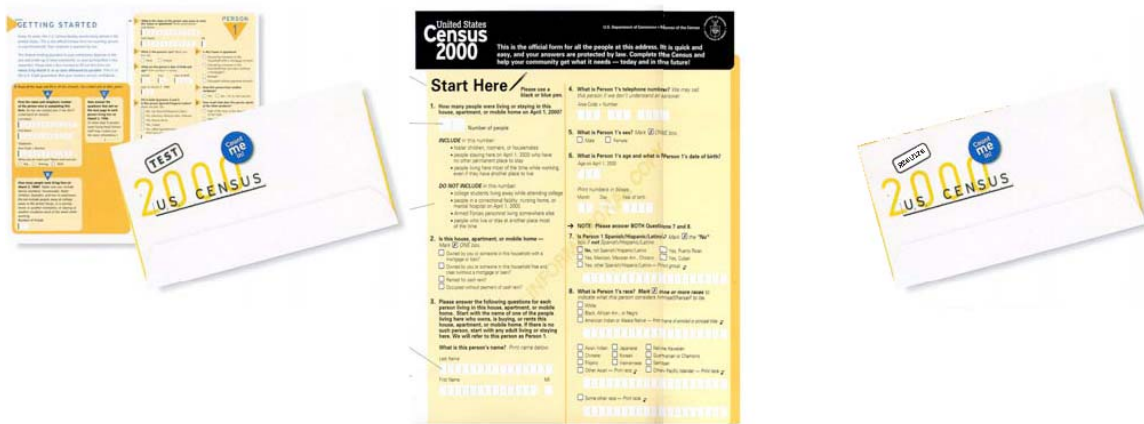
proposed lines
of communication

Figure 4 MFA student, Dave Pabellon's page of his final solution to send US Census data back to individuals

The value of design research in the context of Policy as Designed/designed is providing designers the knowledge to understand how policy is created, its social contexts, and issues. Through this knowledge, designers are better able to aid in the Design of policies to address the inequities in the *thought* embedded in policy formation and implementation. They will also be able to design policy artifacts, communications, and experiences that compel, include, and enable lay citizens to Design policy themselves.

3. MAPPING CONTEXTS: NATIONAL DESIGN POLICIES

Moving from policy in general to the specifics of design-oriented policy, the second and third contexts of design and governmentality are government innovation policy and design promotion. Having led the study of design policy, John Heskett (1999: 180) characterizes design policy as "promoting technology and design as a means of gaining economic advantage by enhancing national competitiveness." Innovation policies seek to protect national patentable technologies and to support the institutions that create them. Design promotion policies seek to brand and measure the national awareness and impact of design industries. While design and innovation policies for economic competitiveness are important functions of government, the promotion and support of design for public sector governance provides an important role in building public trust in both design and government. To flesh out this argument, I will in this section map the global scope of innovation and design promotion policies, and address the current weaknesses of those policies. In the next major section, Design Standards, I will provide examples of national level design

policy, in the guise of design standards, support public sector governance and build trust in the practice of government.

Innovation policy has become quite popular. As of June 2007, every country in Europe, with the exceptions of Bulgaria, Lithuania, and Malta has an official innovation policy document (European Commission 2007). In the Americas, Brazil, Mexico, and Canada all have strong federal innovation polices (European Commission 2006c). Although one of the world's most innovative countries, the US (2005) failed to pass a national innovation policy bill in 2005. Among the Middle Eastern countries of Morocco, Tunisia, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Algeria, and the Palestinian Authority; only Morocco and Tunisia have clear innovation initiatives, while others have innovation related projects (European Commission 2006b). Among the Asian countries, both Japan and Korea maintain multiple editions of national innovation policies. Taiwan, Singapore, China, India, and Malaysia have documented national innovation policies. Thailand and Indonesia are in the research phases of their development (European Commission 2006a). Official innovation policies in Sub-Saharan Africa are lacking, but the World Bank Foundation in partnership with African Universities and European Governments have conducted a series of workshops to promote innovation policy in Africa (Day 2006).

My purpose in mapping the global scope of innovation policy is twofold. First, I seek to address the global differences in the adoption and applicability of innovation policy. Because the fields of design management and industrial design are deeply implicated in innovation policy, comparative design research on the meaning and the quality of human innovation and science and technology activities is an important area of inquiry. Within the framework of governmentality, what are the practices of government that make supporting knowledge important in a country like South Africa versus small enterprise support in India? Although parts of this is covered by the "designed for development" literature (Fathers 2004), often in these studies, the designers interface more the with the NGO sectors than with governments. Second, I want to highlight the growing hegemony of the innovation discourse in government. It seems that while not every country has an innovation policy, every country is expected to be developing one. This directly affects design-related policies and the institutions that carry them out. Former national industrial design centers, in particular, may end up being replaced or merged with innovation centers. During the summer of 2006 on a German Marshall Fund Fellowship, I visited the Innovation Agency of Bizkaia, BAI. In my interviews with staff members, they pointed out that they originally were an industrial design center. When the President of the Basque Region declared innovation as key to its regional strategy, the focus of the center shifted from industrial design promotion to SME support and design management training. While the implications of this for design policy is minimum on the human innovation side, the necessity of innovation metrics for R&D output and intellectual property patents can negatively affect both the non-high-technical

(ex. graphic design) and craft design fields. Sulfikar Amir (2004) suggests that this is particularly important for the 3rd World, where industrial bias can harm local cultural practices.

Whereas innovation policy seems to possess global appeal, the locations of national and regional design agencies indicate that design promotion polices are more concentrated in Europe, North America, and Asia, with the additions of Brazil and South Africa. According to the l'APCI, the French agency for creative industry promotion's website (2007), Europe has 27 design promotion agencies. As listed on the German Design Council website (2007), Korea, Japan, India, Taiwan, Indonesia, Malaysian, and the Philippines all boast design promotion centers. In Latin America, Columbia, Cuba, Mexico, and Brazil have centers. Canada's Design Exchange and Institute de Design Montréal and the US's Design Management Institute are counted as design promotion agencies. In the US's case, I would add AIGA, the professional association for design, and IDSA, the Industrial Designer's Society of America. Australia has design promotion agencies. South Africa closes the list as the only design promotion agency in Africa. The existence of a design promotion agency does not imply a formal design promotion policy document. With the exception of the US agencies, which are private organizations, design promotion agencies are often the embodiment of their government's national design promotion policy, and in some cases their government's national design policy. In depth analysis on the contents and objectives of design promotion programs has been carried out by various design research scholars: Gisele Raulik of Design Wales, who is currently conducting her dissertation research on the subject of design SME promotion programs; Ken Friedman (2003) and Per Mollerup (2003), who prepared the National Design Policies for Estonia and Latvia; H. Alpay Er (2002), who provides a useful framework of design policy instruments; Sufikar Amir (2004), who addresses the challenges of design policy in the 3rd World; and the Designum World Design report of Jaana Hyoene and Hanna Heikkinen (2003) of the University of Helsinki. I focus my attention on their attitudes toward the success of design-related innovation and design promotion policies, which range from skeptical to pessimistic.

The history of design promotion and design policy supports pessimistic views. John Heskett (2002: 181) describes the reduction of the activities of the British Design Council and *Rat für Fromgebung* of Germany due to budget cuts. Recent British Council budget cuts closed its RED initiative in 2006, which was one of the best examples of design policy for governance. John Heskett (2002: 182) and John Thackara on his blog, Doorsofperception.com, document the closing of the Netherlands Design Institute in 2000. H. Alpay Er (2002: 15) describes design policy in Turkey as a "negative case." Design Management Institute discussions in 1993 were pessimistic about the necessity and viability of a US national design policy for industry (Kash 1993, McAusland 1993, Walton 1993, Walton 2004).

The reasons for this skepticism or pessimism vary, but are often tied to design policy's failure to adequately respond to the social contexts and social issues of how policy is Designed in particular

governments. I suggest that the structural bias of design policy for national economic competition is responsible for design policy failures for two reasons. First, design policy for national economic competition does not embed itself in the actual practices of government – the conduct of conduct that is essence of governance. Design innovation and promotion policies frame design as to-be-supported industries separate from the structures, training, information, environments, procedures, methods, forms, and communications that are the practices of government. While there are listed objectives for government procurement in some of the most successful design policies – the Danish National Design Policy comes to mind – they are of lower priority and often focus on the procurement of furniture or architecture. Second, of those design policies that intend, often as a side benefit, to enhance the cultural "quality of life" of the public, they do so to the neglect of the important role of design in mediating trust in government. Exhibitions, competitions, and museums may succeed in promoting design, but the message is often design as "cool," not design as necessary to one's everyday self-governance and trust in the government. The DOTT07 project in Britain is an exception. Design policy for national economic competition treats government as a legal and economic abstraction. By adopting Foucault's notion of governmentality, design policies can be created that engage in the tangible, real, and improvisational practices of government. The convergence of Design and design in the formulation of government design standards provides a model.

4. MAPPING CONTEXTS: DESIGN STANDARDS

Design standards within the context of governance are the most interesting area of design policy for me because they directly address the trust – the certainty one can cultivate by meeting a person's (1) mindset and expectations, (2) idea of the quality evidence, and (3) knowledge of potential and actual outcomes. Design for social inclusion, safety, sustainability, and quality set the criteria for people expectations. They say, "Here are the expectations for how people with wheelchairs should be able to enter a government building, how your municipal parking meter should not fall on your car, how we reduce paperwork to preserve trees, and how receiving your voting ballot should inspire confidence and patriotism." If the practice of design in government takes the lead in defining and implementing those criteria in its daily workings, government has a better chance of meeting people's expectations on an everyday basis. I'm not describing a process of mechanical standardization, but rather the provision of guidelines and design models that are accessible to a wide range of constituents, avoid harming people, protect and sustain the environment, and stir the soul with their technical and aesthetic essence. The identification and validation of these design standards requires rigorous processes of research and evaluation to provide the evidence of their potential and actual social, safety, environmental, and technical or aesthetic outcomes. Design standards are where design, with lowercase d, merges with Design, with uppercase d, in which well-

informed decisions about line, color, shape, pattern, and form drive macro-changes from existing conditions into better ones. Because design standards work at the level of policy, they become embedded in the everyday practices of government. They align with the mentalities of government that respond to the force of "rules," thus they are harder to cut out of the budget when there is an economic downturn. While designers can dangerously supplant the expertise of law and finance with that of their own, people-centered design processes more effectively ensure the inclusion of lay knowledge in the definition and implementation of design standards. People can contribute their lay knowledge more confidently, because the designs make the *thought* tangible to them. One of the best example of this kind of engagement is the work the organization, Design for Democracy, did for the US Election Assistance Commission.

From 2005-2007, AIGA's Design for Democracy initiative, with the Usability Professionals' Association (UPA), fulfilled a government contract with the Election Assistance Commission (EAC) to develop best practice design standards for US voting ballots and voter information signage. The project met part of the EAC's mandate from the Help American Vote Act (HAVA) of 2002. Design for Democracy applied a rigorous citizen-centered design process that consisted of: HAVA and Voting Rights Act of 1965 requirements analysis, existing ballots and voter information signage audits, observations of 2006 New Jersey primary elections; consultation with advocates for the blind, people with low vision, people with mobility impairments, the elderly, low literacy, and multilingual/multicultural communities; an over 500-respondent voter survey, questionnaires with election experts, field interviews with poll workers, 54 usability evaluations in seven states, and a pilot test of electronic ballots and voter information signage in Nebraska's November 2006 general elections; and three public hearings. The outcome was models and documentation of the best practices design standards for voter information signage, the optical scan ballot, the full-face Direct Recoding Electronic (DRE) ballot, and the rolling DRE ballot (Design for Democracy 2007: 7).

In the design standards documentation, every aesthetically functional decision about line, color, typeface, or layout was grounded in the direct feedback of citizens and community advocates, and governmental regulatory constraints. While it is unknown whether the 3,241 US counties that decide election policy will adopt the design standards, Design for Democracy's citizen-centered process succeeded in embedding itself in the practice of government (ex. public hearings, meetings with commissioners, advocate group consultations), yet still contributed new ones (ex. extensive usability evaluations and onsite pilot testing of designs). Remarkably, the tangibility of the design artifacts themselves enabled the elicitation of lay people's experiential knowledge into the Design of election policy. This represents the kind of design research in which we should all be engaged.

5. CONCLUSION

H. Alpay Er states his essay on the failure to establish national design policy in Turkey:

> The indifference … may be explained with reference to the priorities of the Turkish political system, which have been based in the Turkish social and cultural structure in a historical context. Therefore, its explanation requires the analytical tools of political science *beyond the existing approaches of design research* [emphasis mine] (2002: 15).

I argue that the role of Design/design in the regimes of government practice makes the examination of national political systems in their social, cultural, and historical contexts an important area of design research. Design research can play crucial roles in understanding how policy is Designed, how the industrial bias of national design policies fail to embed themselves in practices of government or promote design as crucial to national trust, how design standards and citizen-centered design approaches make government tangible and open to redesign based on lay person knowledge. What is at stake by not pursuing these areas of design research is trust in just government. This does not necessarily mean democracy. Rather, it means how people can feel empowered to guide their own "conduct of conduct." The tangibility of designed artifacts, communications, experiences, and environments can assist in that feeling by making government real to people, and then open to their own improvisational Designs/designs.

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