Inclusive Management: Planning “Green Grand Rapids”
Teaching Case in Collaborative Public Management

Part A

Designing Green Grand Rapids

Rachel, the city planning director of Grand Rapids, Mich., is about to start a major planning process called "Green Grand Rapids." She is in charge of organizing the collaborative process of decision-making for a major plan to distribute resources for the system of parks and recreation facilities in Grand Rapids. The result will be to tie together various environmental management Initiatives into an integrated program for the city.

Three features of this process are particularly important to her. First, the city is in the midst of an extended budget crisis that has threatened park and recreational facilities, as well as other city services. Second, environmental sustainability has become an important priority for the community. Third, and perhaps most important, is the fact that the city has engaged in a number of "experiments” in participatory and inclusive processes over the last 10 years. Through these experiments, many people in Grand Rapids have learned more about how collaboration can work and how it can fail. Some of the results have been predictable, but others have been puzzling for those involved. Some people who have participated have not
always felt a sense of inclusiveness. In some cases, inclusion did not involve broad participation.

Rachel wants people to feel they are included in the planning and decision-making process. She is confident that recent successes—plans and initiatives that have sailed through the political approval processes—are because people have felt a sense of inclusion. Many in the community continue to be eager to engage in one collaborative decision-making process after another. However, Green Grand Rapids is a huge endeavor and she doesn't want to take any chances as she begins the planning process. With the backdrop of recent successes and some past missteps in her mind, Rachel ponders the true essence of inclusion. How can she design the collaborative process to be inclusive? And what role does participation play in producing it?

As she contemplates these questions, she remembers several of the recent experiments, along with some of the older efforts to develop plans for the city that had been neither participatory nor inclusive. The older efforts formed an historic backdrop that had left a residue of distrust of city officials for many Grand Rapids residents. People in the community could readily point to those past events as examples of the harm that city officials could potentially do. In one prominent case in the mid-1970s, the city government had planned to tear down the Heritage Hill neighborhood to expand nearby college and hospital complexes. Incensed residents, sensing that they “could not depend on the city to recognize that Heritage Hill was something they wanted to have be healthy,” organized to demand control over what happened in their neighborhood (Paula, May 31, 2006). Ultimately Heritage Hill became one of the first neighborhoods in the United States to receive a protected historic district status, and the beautiful old homes continue to be a source of citywide pride. The city now works with dozens of neighborhood and business associations on local issues, and provides financial and technical assistance to support them. The Heritage Hills Association remains one of the most active.

Recent experiments in more inclusive governance have created working relationships among residents, community activists, neighborhood associations, business associations, businesses, non-profits and city employees. Overall the trend has been positive, with “the cumulative result of community engagement experiments is that everyone expects that decisions will be reached inclusively: residents expect to be involved in decision-making, residents want to be involved, and city staff and commissioners want residents’ involvement” (Rachel, July 25, 2007). Not all of their efforts had lived up to community expectations, however. City employees have encouraged residents to have high expectations in order to achieve greater citizen engagement, but in the process they created anticipated goals that could not easily be met. As one of the city managers explained,

*The more you engage, the higher the level of expectation about what you can deliver. There’s a sense that if government kind of turns a deaf ear, people learn not to go there and have no expectations. But a city like us, that engages and has a lot of communication and accomplishes some things, encourages more of the same. So the*
demands on a city that is truly caring, truly listening, and trying to be conscientious get greater and greater. Sometimes you say to yourself, “Look at all that we’ve accomplished! Why are you beating up on us, when in other cities nobody is even listening?” Well, it’s because we are listening (Mark, August 11, 2006).

The community’s needs and abilities to respond to new ideas about collaboration were changing as well. As a result, some earlier experiments in community engagement that had at first garnered a lot of energy now seemed unnecessary or stale. It has become increasingly clear to Rachel that there is no formula for success. She will have to assess this particular situation and determine what would produce the inclusiveness they are aiming for.

Inclusion and Participation

Rachel wants to be clear about what she means by inclusion. The aim of inclusion, as far as she and her colleagues are concerned, is not just for people to feel as if their opinions have been taken into consideration for a particular decision, but to build a sense of community involvement that extends beyond the particular issue. From this perspective, inclusion is an outcome that is not only about the relationship between individuals and roles, but also about the relationship between tasks. She characterizes inclusiveness by referencing three broad principles.

First, inclusion involves bringing different perspectives to bear on issues. These perspectives are often defined as interests and may be associated with institutions, jurisdictions, or domains. Individuals often carry interests, but their interests are neither predictable (e.g., as an essential function of their identification with a group or institution), nor fixed. Some of the important perspectives may be associated with things rather than people (e.g., the environment or a river) or with people who cannot be present (e.g., future generations). Inclusion often involves interaction between members of the community and established organizations, but not always. Sometimes the perspectives that need to be included are those of different organizational units or different jurisdictions. Participants often begin with perceptions about the bounded nature of their domains of possible action and responsibility, but one of the distinctions of an inclusive process is that it seeks to put those boundaries into play, not freeze them in place. This first principle of inclusion is in some ways intuitive, but it is also problematic because nothing can ever be completely inclusive. Diversity of perspectives is important to inclusion, but it is not the sole criterion.

Second, inclusion involves creating opportunities for differing perspectives to be engaged in a deliberative conversation, and in a way that makes it possible to generate new ways of thinking and acting. In other words, practicing inclusive management involves more than just seeking and aggregating, or balancing multiple perspectives. It involves creating the potential for these perspectives to interact, to inform one another, and to affect one another. Therefore, an inclusive process has to be somewhat open-ended. While an inclusive process
needs to have an end in view to motivate and orient the participants, it also needs to be flexible enough to address new ideas that arise during the deliberation. Thinking about how to move forward while keeping doors open is an important part of inclusive management.

Third, inclusion generates new possibilities for people to work together on addressing public issues. Inclusion is never done. It cannot be self-contained. It must always refer to an ongoing stream of issues and the continuous development of a community that engages with these issues. Inclusion has a temporal dimension as processes relate to one another over time. It also has a substantive dimension as inclusive processes open up opportunities to address other issues. Processes undertaken with a sole focus on the particular issue at hand are unlikely to build the capacity of the community to continue work together.

Rachel starts to brainstorm the various experiences that the Grand Rapids community has had with participatory and/or inclusive processes. Most of these were relatively recent experiences. The city administration had undergone an internal culture audit that they referred to as “cultural transformation” in the late 90’s. This cultural transformation had produced a list of values that many, if not all, city employees felt were important. These included such factors as teamwork, integrity and the importance of family. One of the realizations from the cultural transformation process was that the ability to provide service to residents was important to the self-worth of the employees. It was both a reason to and a means of doing things better. With this realization, the focus broadened to include external relations as an integral part of the internal cultural transformation. Organization members began to learn how they could support one another as individuals and as departments. They began to put this learning into practice in the way they delivered service. For instance, they realized that rather than telling residents who call that they have reached the wrong department, they could take it upon themselves to make sure that the residents are connected with the right department. They set up a customer service center that had the support of the administrative departments. The city created a development center that provided “one-stop shopping” for people who needed project approvals. Another way of achieving more effective community service was the community policing effort that started around the same time as the cultural transformation. They realized that they could engage the public in a variety of ways to provide more effective service.

Despite this overall commitment to inclusion, not all of the efforts to engage the community had actually been inclusive. As she thinks about Green Grand Rapids, Rachel begins to realize that some of the previous efforts had involved participation, but had not fit the three criteria of inclusion. She pulls out a sheet of paper and began to sketch out a grid with participation and inclusion on different axes, thinking about where some recent experiments would lie. She thinks about what she means by participation, defining it as the number of people involved, as well as the effort that had been made to invite the broadest participation possible. For example, public information about meetings could be provided in multiple languages. The meetings could be held at different times of the day and in different geographic locations for greater accessibility. She produces the following grid:
She decides to choose four of these experiments from the four corners of her grid, write brief descriptions of them, and discuss them with her staff.

**Four Precedents**

*Indian Trails Golf Course Sale: Low participation and low inclusion*

Rachel’s impetus to design Green Grand Rapids came partly from a controversial proposal to close down a city-owned facility, Indian Trails Golf Course. In June 2007, a proposal to seek a buyer of the property suddenly appeared on a City Commission meeting agenda without even a 24-hour public notice. The City Commissioners voted 7-0 in favor of the proposal to spend $100,000 to market the property. Local community activists and the editorial board of the *Grand Rapids Press* promptly decried both the sale idea and the decision-making process. It later emerged that the city’s own staff had been trying to convince the Commission to slow down and allow public discussion.

Indian Trails is a no-frills municipal golf course that is known for its affordable fees and short wait times. Grand Rapids' low-income and non-white golfers are also most likely to play this course. In 2006, several golf leagues applied to relocate to Indian Trails in response to the closure of several other low-cost courses in the area, and overall usage rose about 10 percent. The editorial criticized the sale proposal, noting, “If ever there was an ‘everyman’ course, Trails is it.” (*Grand Rapids Press*, June 25, 2007) People objected to the sale because the community uses Indian Trails; closing it seemed elitist.
Critics protested that the decision was reached hastily, without community deliberation. City Commissioners were apparently responding to heightened pressures to sell city assets, particularly where the sale might generate higher city revenues from the new use, to alleviate the city’s severe budget shortfalls. However, the Indian Trails proposal had not arisen out of any systematic review of public assets for possible sale. The recently approved city budget had fully covered Indian Trails programs, and the participants in the recent Mayor’s Blue Ribbon Commission on Parks and Recreation process had not suggested closing it. Some suspected that an interested developer had initiated the action behind closed doors.

When the controversy blew open, Rachel addressed the City Commissioners at a subsequent meeting. She suggested that they needed to take their time on such decisions so that they could intimately involve the public and develop a comprehensive community view of parks and green space to provide context for individual actions. She proposed creating Green Grand Rapids through a collaborative process in order to build an integrated vision for parks and environmental management. The City Commissioners approved her request. Within weeks, they had also rescinded the Indian Trails proposal and apologized for having acted without sufficient public discussion. Some community members have accused the City Commissioners and Rachel of manufacturing Green Grand Rapids as a “diversion” from the Indian Trails controversy or as a cover for selling off the park without enough consultation with the public. Rachel and some Commissioners have tried to assure them otherwise. Rachel told one skeptic that she honestly couldn’t say whether the Indian Trails proposal should be taken off the table until they have an informed public discussion about it. The Green Grand Rapids process will probably need to continue addressing that distrust.

**Budget Survey: High participation and low inclusion**

In 2005, the city lost $30 million from its $120 million General Fund, the most flexible portion of the total city budget. These budget pressures heated up discussions about the city’s parks. For the following year, the City anticipated an additional $11 million cut that would result in a cumulative loss of 25 percent of the city’s total workforce from its 2002 levels. The City Manager’s office decided that the budget cuts would have such a significant impact on city services that it was very important to “get a clear idea about citizens’ priorities about the budget, to know what outcomes they value the most” (George, October 25, 2006). The managers hoped to obtain scientifically representative information from city residents as a whole. They did not to rely just on the opinions of a smaller number of people who are vocal and able to attend a community meeting. As one put it, “Well, you want the silent majority, you want to know what your citizens really think, rather than the loudmouths, *per se*, sometimes” (Mark, August 11, 2006).

The survey team administered an anonymous telephone survey to 759 randomly selected Grand Rapids households, asking respondents whether they would prefer that the city stop, reduce, maintain, or increase funding for 42 services. The City then advertised four open meetings around the city. The 132 participants used remote-control voting devices to work through a set of paired budget allocations in which they had to decide, for example, whether community services or park operation was more important. Limited time for discussion
followed the voting. The meetings were a “raucous” process (George, October 25, 2006), with people frequently loudly protesting, “You can’t choose between those two!” One participant said later, “The tension in the room was intense, to say the least. One guy threw down his remote and refused to pick it back up” (Ben, October 20, 2006).

Using the survey and meeting data, the researchers ranked citizens’ priorities for services. The city managers proceeded to “budget according to those results” (George, October 25, 2006), interpreting low-ranked services as the first place to cut expenditures. The city manager, therefore, put together a budget that sustained police and fire services and significantly reduced parks and recreation programs, which the City Commissioners adopted by a vote of five to two. Some community members vociferously protested that the surveys did not represent the community’s real priorities. People were angry about the ranking system and some of the specific budgeting allocations that it produced. As one participant explained, “People couldn’t speak their own mind about what they thought about stuff. If a choice wound up being one of the bottom ones, it seemed like you were giving an okay to cut it, and people weren’t very comfortable with that” (Ben, October 20, 2006).

Neighborhood organizations organized a series of alternative public forums to facilitate what one described as more “authentic” input. Instead of “pigeonholing” people into either/or budget allocation choices, (Ben, October 20, 2006), they invited the public to think about what should be discussed in the budgeting process and how. They educated themselves and the public about how the city budget works, and tried to “flip-flop” the discussion away from viewing the city as a “charity case” and “taking away what was least important” and towards “building a city that is attractive to people” (Paula, May 31, 2006; Ben, October 20, 2006).

The city’s parks and public swimming pools figured prominently in these discussions. When the city managers recommended closing the city’s public swimming pools due to their low ranking in the survey, the budget problem finally “got people’s attention” (Zoe, March 6, 2006). Some read it as a fundamental disconnect between “white male” decision-makers and neighborhoods. An organizer in an affected neighborhood protested, “Anybody who’s voting to close pools is not a person who lives around or with children in a neighborhood. These rules have been made on a different level” (Jen, May 10, 2006). Even for people who did not use the pools, the closures wounded their pride in their community as a humane, welcoming place for all of its residents. Some neighborhoods organized media campaigns to raise money to reopen the pools. Others pressured their Commissioners. Ultimately the Commission ignored pools’ low rankings in the survey and decided to open them for the summer, though for a shorter than usual season.

Citizen Budget Advisors: Low participation and high inclusion

The city managers and Commissioners recognized and publicly acknowledged that the community was angry, and vowed to improve the process. For the 2006-07 budget, they appointed a group of Citizen Budget Advisors to advise the city manager on the citizen participation process, as well as specific budget recommendations, and deliberately recruited the most vocal critics of the survey process. The city managers described this as typical of
their efforts to “take the loudest complainers and bring them inside the tent” to try to work things out together, or, if they take a more oppositional stance, at least to “arm them” with better information (Mark and Joe, August 10, 2006). By all accounts, the twenty-one individuals who agreed to serve as Advisors comprised an extremely diverse committee in terms of place of residence, income, ethnicity, their affiliations with business and nonprofit sectors, and their opinions about appropriate uses and sources of city funds (Karen, May 10, 2006).

Surprisingly, this advisory group, charged with overseeing participation, decided against additional public outreach, although the did post the minutes of their meetings, had meetings open to the public and press, and appointed a liaison to address any media questions. They decided that the diverse perspectives, limited time, and nearly endless data at hand meant that they could achieve deeper deliberation and produce better decisions if they conferred intensely among themselves than if they sought broader community participation. They quickly became impatient with the facilitator with whom the city had contracted. They felt that she dwelled too long on icebreaker exercises, setting out frameworks for the deliberation, and trying to set the agenda, whereas they wanted to come up with preliminary guidelines and then refine them by wrestling with the budget. They dismissed the facilitator, appointed their own chair, and branched out into smaller groups to brainstorm options. The Advisors gathered opinions from their contacts in the community and turned their energies toward working through them together, coming up with new ideas and positions.

Early on, the Advisors turned aside from the expected path of making line-by-line budget recommendations and instead decided to come up with broad guidelines about budget allocations. This move was instigated by focusing on the question, “What kind of city do you want this to be?” One participant explained, “We could have argued about which pool to close forever, but asking ‘Do you want our kids to have a pool?’ was an answerable question that let us move on” (Carla, October 11, 2006). Presented with many hundreds of pages of budget information at their first meeting, they stripped the process down to emphasizing guidelines for how to think about the budget. Their nine-page final report included a few suggestions about specific budget items, but otherwise deferred budgeting allocation decisions to the city managers. Instead, the Advisors presented their consensus on “guiding principles” for budgeting. These included promoting social equity and justice in services; sustaining the things that make the city a vibrant, urban community; avoiding budgeting shortcuts and gimmicks that diminish morale; and focusing on the long view and building the city for the future.

The city managers and Commissioners affirmed the Advisors’ decision to redesign their own decision-making process and acknowledged them as co-authors of the city budget. For example, the city staff moved away from trying to present a comprehensive view of the budget – marked by the stacks of handouts that they had provided originally – and towards providing tailored responses to committee requests. They accepted the group’s authority to dismiss the facilitator. The city managers included many of the budget Advisors’ recommendations in their proposed budget, including ones that they felt were inadvisable or painful to implement (Mark, August 11, 2006). The City Commission adopted the proposed budget with a minimum
of controversy, though the implementation has been painful. Cumulatively, Grand Rapids has cut 282 city jobs and slashed its parks and recreation budget by a third. Although the city managers and Commissioners voted to keep the pools open, they did not consider that resolution adequate for the short or long term. In late 2006, Commissioners charged the Mayor’s Blue Ribbon Committee on Parks and Recreation with focusing on the parks as part of a strategy of sustaining and building community assets that enhance quality of life in the city.

**Master Plan: High participation and high inclusion**

Green Grand Rapids was Rachel’s proposed vehicle for refreshing the city’s Master Plan, which state law required the city to revise every five years. The "jewel in the crown" of the Grand Rapids experiments in inclusion is, by all accounts, the Master Plan process that started in 2001 and was completed the following year. The process operated within legal guidelines, strict financial constraints and firm deadlines. The Master Plan process was completed on time and within budget through broad-based engagement of residents, nonprofits, and businesses. Local nonprofits provided much of the funding for this public engagement process. Planners provided expertise that enabled members of the public to visualize options and to understand their consequences. People continue to bring the Master Plan document to meetings as a reference point for making planning decisions. Just as important, the relationships they built have sprouted out into new areas of cooperation, and the process has raised community expectations and skills for engagement.

The current Master Plan, completed in 2002, was the first master plan for the city in nearly four decades. Politicians and planners working behind closed doors had produced the previous versions. This time, however, the process involved hundreds of meetings and engaged approximately 3,000 members of the public. (See Appendix A.) Planners, politicians, neighborhood organizers, members of public interest groups and neighborhood residents worked side by side to discuss what kind of neighborhoods they wanted and how these neighborhoods could be created. The process of engagement had been purposeful. The mayor appointed a Master Plan Committee with input from a variety of sources:

*There has always been somewhat of a negative, a hidden agenda, that people perceived that the city had that said, “We want you to do what we want you to do, and we’ll tell you what that is; we know what you need, and we really don’t need to ask you about in order to find out.” When they decided to approach the Master Plan process, they looked for stakeholders that were visible in their parts of the community and asked them to take an active role in making sure that if someone is not at the table, that that person or that group of persons had been identified and invited. There are still many voices not speaking, there are many chairs at the table that are still empty, and there is still much more work to do, but it cannot honestly be said that the city has not made an effort to rectify any deliberate hidden agendas* (Patsy, September 10, 2001).

Committees such as this one or task forces are often used as advisors. In this process, however, the Committee was set up as the primary decision maker.
As a professional, I appreciate professionals in other areas. It would be very easy for [the city staff] to say, “Look we’re the people who know how to do this. Here’s what we suggest and you probably ought to go along with it.” They aren’t doing that at all. They are willing to give us opinions, but they are not putting themselves into the process. They said from the beginning, “Look, this is your committee, this is your master plan, we’re here to advise and help.” And they have stuck with that. (Todd, September 7, 2001)

It was up to the committee to hire consultants and decide how to proceed, but the staff provided ample help in drafting the process map and organizing the public meetings. They organized the process in five phases, each with its own logo and newsletter (Appendix A). Each phase followed a sequence of community engagement where the community provided information, and then the planning staff and consultants would use the information provided in the engagement to come up with a series of ideas and then check back in with the community to evaluate whether they had gotten it right.

I think they struck a nice balance here with that. Getting people’s input where it counts, like asking, what kind of city do you want to be in? And then saying, “Okay, this is the kind of city you told us you want. Here’s how we can do it. We’re bringing this back to you to find out if this is where you want to go and how you want to get there.” I think what it gives you is a lot of buy-in for people who may not have even participated, but felt, “Okay, I had the chance, I trusted this process because they invited me to be part of it. And even if I didn’t, that opportunity was there and I know that other people took advantage of it and had their say.” (Todd, September 7, 2001).

Not all of the issues that participants raised at the hundreds of meetings were strictly planning issues that could be dealt with through the master plan document. Therefore the city had representatives from several departments (e.g., police, streets and sanitation, parks and recreation) attend every meeting. These representatives coordinated their problem solving and could address these “non-planning issues” as they arose. Another initiative, Community-Oriented Government, was rolled out as the city was undertaking the new master plan. Three individuals were appointment to be Community-Oriented Government liaisons, each assigned to approximately one-third of the city’s neighborhoods. They met regularly with the city employees who worked in these areas and with the local neighborhood organizations, business associations, and community activists. They facilitated meetings that included all of these participants, as well as served as the liaison between meetings of smaller groups of people.

The Community-Oriented Government liaisons often used additional public participation to follow up on the non-planning issues that were raised. Sometimes, however, staff addressed concerns in inclusive ways that did not involve additional public participation. For example, when citizens brought up animal nuisance problems at the master plan meetings, the city staff worked with their counterparts in county government to review the logs of complaint calls, revise their procedures to be consistent with one another, and reorganize their staffing to provide more timely responses. Through the efforts of the Community-Oriented Government...
Government liaisons, the city was able to deal with a number of other annoying and persistent problems, such as garbage collection, abandoned vehicles, and graffiti, and begin to make headway on issues of neighborhood redevelopment, gang violence, and coordination with the school system.

The master plan was finished in 2002, on time and within budget. The fifth community forum, held September 12, 2002, was both an opportunity to present the plan and also to make clear that input was still welcome. A spokesperson for the steering committee addressed the crowd:

I am proud of the committee and proud of this project. From the outset this was a community based process, and it still is a community based process. If you’ll look at the plan book here, you see that unobtrusively, down in the corner, on the right side, it says DRAFT. So, we’re still looking for input tonight. However, we do hope, because the process has been community based both in concept and in execution, that this plan does truly reflect the will of the community. (Louis, September 12, 2002)

In other words, the plan is complete; the project is done. (The slogan for the fifth forum was “It’s a Plan!”) At the same time, the message is that they are still open to input and there’s still more to be done.

When the plan was submitted for approval, it had such constituency support that it sailed through the approval process. While it would be an exaggeration to say that residents and city administrators were uniformly on the same side, their ability to work together to solve problems had substantially increased. The process that the Master Plan task had set into motion, however, was not ended. The city officials recognized this increased capacity as a resource they could use and embarked on a process of rewriting the zoning ordinances to reflect the city plan, as well as following through on many other projects that had been started. Though staff in the planning department could have rewritten the zoning code relatively quickly, they chose to use another public process that was open to interested constituents in Grand Rapids and the six surrounding cities in the county. They raised nearly $100,000 from local nonprofits to fund the process. After having involved hundreds of citizens in the minute details of deciding on zoning definitions and zoning maps, the zoning ordinance also sailed through Planning Commission approval and was set for City Commission adoption in September 2007.

Case Discussion Points (A)

In discussing Green Grand Rapids, Rachel asks you how much and what kind of participation you recommend for this collaborative process. She wants to hear your ideas about how to organize the process accordingly.

How will you make decisions about who should be involved and how they will be involved?
These vignettes suggest advantages and disadvantages of different possible combinations of high and low participation and inclusion for Green Grand Rapids. What do you recommend, and how will you explain your proposed process to the public in terms of inclusion and participation?

Create a process map, like the Master Plan process map in Appendix A, for Green Grand Rapids, and explain your suggestions.

Appendix A: Master Plan Process Description

Figure 1.b - Master Plan Process

1.4 - Process

The Master Plan process officially began on January 8, 2001. This extensive public involvement effort relied on public input twice during each phase (Figure 1.b). The first engagement effort asked people about their issues and what they think; the second time asked did we hear you correctly? Are we headed in the right direction? The planning process was structured in five major phases that included the following tasks:

Phase 1 - Issues and Opportunities
- Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) Analyses
- Community Profile

Phase 2 - Opportunities for Change
- Visions
- Mapping locations where changes in land use or development were anticipated, desired or feared

Phase 3 - Concepts for Change
- Developing preliminary ideas for translating visions and prioritizing opportunities for change into a city-wide approach to land use and transportation
- Concepts for Change workbook and meetings

Phase 4 - Guidelines for Change
- Sample Development Guidelines (principles of the quality, character and compatibility of development)
- Special Studies

Phase 5 - Plan Recommendations
- Draft Plan Report
- Community Review
- Public Hearing
- Adoption