

2011

Challenging Neoliberalism Through Sustainability Initiatives at the Local Level in New Jersey

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**Challenging Neoliberalism Through Sustainability Initiatives
at the Local Level in New Jersey**

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Undergraduate with a Concentration in Urban Studies
April 15, 2011

Senior Thesis

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Bachelor of Arts in Urban Studies

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my parents for all of their support throughout this lengthy process, and the valuable editing that they provided. I would also like to thank my two advisors, Professor Tim Koechlin and Professor Leonard Nevarez, who have pushed me to think about the full implications of my argument.

Most importantly though, I would like to thank Frank Pinto, Stephan Pearlman, Michael Catania, and Julie Gause, who freely offered their time to talk with me about all the issue at play in this thesis. Without their time, knowledge, and resources this thesis would not have been possible.

Thank you.

Chapter 1: An introduction to Neoliberalism, Progressivism, and Sustainability

Over the past few decades, there have been concerted efforts to bring our attention to our interaction with the environment. The US government has at times devoted considerable attention and money to environmental issues. The Environmental Protection, after all, was started under President Nixon. Similarly citizens and communities have also become increasingly aware of environmental issues, but there have still

With which one of these statements about the environment and the economy do you most agree -- [ROTATED: protection of the environment should be given priority, even at the risk of curbing economic growth (or) economic growth should be given priority, even if the environment suffers to some extent]?

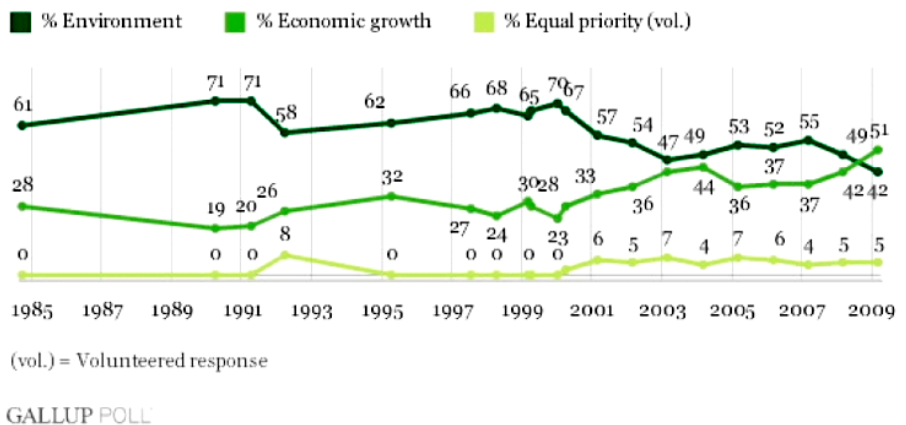


Figure 1: Public Opinion Gallup Poll on the Environment versus the Economy (Gallup.com as cited in Cohen 2009, Observer.com)

been impediments to the realization of this “green vision.” The federal government has pursued environmental concerns unevenly over time, often hamstrung and undermined by powerful special interests, lobbyists and anti-regulation republicans. The green agenda has also been constrained by the concern – whether legitimate or not – that environmental concerns often come at the expense of economic growth. The Gallup Poll shown above (Figure 1) speaks to this supposed trade-off (Cohen 2009).

In this unfriendly political economic environment, what are the prospects for effective green initiatives? In this thesis, I will argue that there are in fact interesting possibilities for success at the local level. To accomplish this the rest of Chapter 1 will set up the context for discussing how exactly we should think about the very notion of sustainability. This will be placed in the framework of the legacies of twentieth century

urban planning, especially as a way to explain the recent emergence of neoliberalism. As an elaboration on this discussion, a brief case study of ‘the progressive city’ will be provided. Progressivism, a movement that appeared in the late 1970’s arose to counteract the assault of neoliberalism and demonstrate how people can indeed organize and call for more substantive government. From here, Chapter 2 will discuss how at the federal and state levels, political parties have endlessly argued back and forth about these issues, thus foiling all attempts at progress. While private business interests have stepped up the pressure on the political process by calling for the organized downsizing of state power. In addition it will explain why New Jersey has become the focus of this investigation.

Chapter 3 will present case studies that support the assertion that ‘sustainability’ is indeed possible in the neoliberal era. This includes a study of the Morris County Improvement Authority, a semi-autonomous government organization that created the Renewable Energy Initiative and the Energy Efficiency Program to promote sustainability in Morris County and New Jersey. In 2011 the first round of the Renewable Energy program was finished, involving the installation of 13,629 solar panels at fifteen sites throughout the County that will provide 3.1 MW in clean energy, as well as more than \$3.8 million in savings (Press Release 2/2011). A case study of Sustainable Jersey will also be discussed that has prompted in a little over two years the mass mobilization of communities across the state. Since its introduction, almost 60% of New Jersey’s 566 municipalities have become involved in their sustainability certification program. Lastly a discussion of the newly organized New Jersey chapter of the League of Conservation Voters, a group formed by local environmentalists seeking to harness this recent grassroots mobilization and start the process of pressing for ‘green’ change in the neoliberal state. Finally Chapter 4 will tie each of these situations together and explain

how in light of the inaction at the federal and state level, people at the local level are beginning to take matters into their own hands. Though the focus of this thesis is on ‘sustainability’ and ‘going green,’ I contend that in many ways such notions have merely been the catalyst for reinvigorated civic participation, thereby producing more equitable, just and progressive urbanism. This being said though, while the case studies and theories presented in this investigation point to conclusion that ‘the people’ may indeed make significant changes to the neoliberal structure, there are still some limitations to this position. David Harvey contends that “acting within the existing capitalist regime of rights and freedoms ... [can only result in] mitigating the worst outcomes at the margins of an unjust system” (2006, 46 as cited in Fainstein 2010, 170). However Fainstein, others, and myself believe “that sufficient leeway exists that reform backed by political mobilization can produce significant change” (2010, 170). Therefore this thesis will focus on how change and reform can be achieved in the context of sustainability, justice, and democracy.

What does ‘Sustainability’ really mean?

Implicit in this explanation is the problem of understanding what precisely is meant by the term “sustainability,” for without this clarification how can we - as citizens, advocates, consumers, and policy makers – ever hope to enact ‘sustainability’ in our home towns, states, and country. In recent years “community has come to mean everything from neighborhoods, to voluntary organizations, to professional associations, to online Internet chat rooms, and more. ... As a consequence, the idea of sustainable communities itself has come to mean many different things, and encompasses an enormous array of different kinds of activities and types of geographic areas.” (Portney

11) For example, in 1995 the Clinton Administration's National Science and Technology Council unveiled a report called "Bridge to a Sustainable Future" which stated that:

Our nation's future strength will in large part be built on the viability of our nation's communities. We must make choices today that increase the sustainability and desirability of our cities, towns, and rural areas if we are to preserve our natural environment and build a strong domestic economy. (Portney 11, April 1995)

Though the report served as a call to action for the country to forge a path towards sustainable development, nowhere in the document does it explicitly define 'sustainability' or 'community.' It is a good step in the right direction that the term 'sustainable communities' is cropping up more and more in government initiatives, the media, and in neighborhood organizations, but the term has come to encompass so much that it becomes impossible to pinpoint precisely what it actually means. The result is that organizations and institutions may use the term freely without actually promising anything. For instance, this 1995 report makes reference to the fact that "One lesson we have learned [over the past 25 years] is that economic growth and environmental stewardship go hand in hand. A clean environment means a higher quality of life, and technological advancement means economic growth and better jobs for American workers." (April 1995) The report makes clear the notion that linkages between the environment and economy exist, but this link is only discussed at a grand scale with little reference to specifics. Like many reports, publications, and initiatives before and after this one, sustainability is referenced as a universal truism and thus comes to mean everything and nothing at the same time.

Thus one of the primary objectives of this thesis will be sifting through the literature on the definition of the term 'sustainability' so as to gain an appropriate

meaning of the term. To do this though, as mentioned earlier, one must first understand the progressivism and planning atmosphere in the latter half of the twentieth century in which the term was first spawned.

The Legacy of Twentieth Century Urban Planning

In order to better understand the context in which current sustainability initiatives are taking place, one must first recognize the legacy urban planning in the twentieth century left and the notion of ‘the progressive city.’ Rooted in the discontent built from the problems of urban renewal and disinvestment in the 1960’s, the idea of the ‘progressive city’ arose as a way to challenge these problems. Prior to this, between roughly 1945 and 1965, planning in the United States operated in what can be characterized as fairly stable economic growth balanced by an acute attention to social issues and welfare. During this time period, the federal government rolled out two massive pieces of legislation that forever changed the American landscape; the Federal Housing Act of 1949 and the Interstate Highway and Defense Act of 1956. The Housing Act created the coordinated removal and “renewal” of declared slum areas and set forth the provisions of public housing. On the other hand the Highway and Defense Act established the interstate highway system, still in use today. The details of these two legislative milestones are not as important as what they demonstrate of the federal government’s attitude towards taking an active role in the provision of public goods and services and shaping the urban and suburban landscape. As cities were offered money for redevelopment and highway projects, strong political coalitions emerged between working professionals, real estate interests, construction unions, and influential mayors to take advantage of such opportunities (Clavel 3). This period of government activism continued into the 1960’s

but as economic growth began to slow the firm political coalitions within cities began to crumble as well.

The primary causes of this were due to shifts in industrial employment and demographics, which in turn affected cities' tax bases leading to another set of problems. In the post World War II period, development began moving towards the suburbs and out of the cities. As families were provided subsidies to buy homes as opposed to renting, a great migration out of the city began to take place, leaving behind a disproportionately poor, minority population in the central city. Industry follows labor and so industry left; "new business starts with high technology and high wages were happening elsewhere" (Clavel 3). Thus, the central city became characterized increasingly by poor and low income Blacks and Hispanics dependent upon the federal government's income supplement programs, such as social security and food aid, rather than income from employment. However without the businesses, developers, and middle-class residents to stabilize the city's tax base and provide tax revenue, the central city was faced with the prospect of having to meet the increased demand for social services with little help from the state or federal government leaving them in fiscal crisis. (Clavel 4)

The 1970's then saw another shift, as assistance from the federal government declined dramatically. Gone was the money for construction projects that brought investment and employment, and gone was the fiscal surplus that allowed cities to broaden their social development programs and improve the urban environment. "What remained, in most cases, was the need for planners to engage in a scramble for reduced federal grant dollars and to cooperate with or work for private investors with vastly narrowed objectives" (Clavel 8) As a result there was a great deal of real estate speculation by developers, but such efforts did little to provide either housing or jobs for

low income urban residents and just served to move the minority poor around within the city, as areas became gentrified. (Clavel 4) Such “policies encouraged economic competition and political fragmentation *within* metropolitan areas, primarily by allowing ‘local autonomy’ over taxation, land use, housing, and education, but also by failing to provide incentives for regional governance or cooperation” (Dreier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom 2004, 104). Thus it is in this context that the rise of the neoliberal state occurs, whose primary goal and mission, as stated by David Harvey is:

To create a ‘good business climate’ and therefore to optimize conditions for capital accumulation no matter what the consequences for employment or social well-being ... [it] looks to further the cause of and to facilitate and stimulate (by tax breaks and other concessions as well as infrastructural provision at state expense if necessary) all business interests, arguing that this will foster growth and innovation and that this is the only way to eradicate poverty and to deliver, in the long run, higher standards to the mass of the population. (Harvey 2006, 25 as cited in Fainstein 2010, 8)

Under the rule of neoliberalism cities and municipalities thus enter into “bidding wars” by necessity (Dreier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom 2004, 112). As such, discourses of social equity and the public good fade from view leaving the free market to decide which localities, classes, and social groups will prosper. In this same theme, Logan and Molotch write, “Making the city into a business displaces other values and concerns, such as the role of polity in helping people find greater satisfaction in life, the role of government in building a strong community, or the role of government in caring for the disadvantaged” (1987, 199).

But this story is not all bad. Over this same time period a counteractive force arose in many cities in opposition to the growth politics taking over cities: the neighborhood movement. Rooted in the mobilization of community residents, these groups garnered supported from a wide range of sources, philanthropic organizations,

political organizers at the state and regional level, policy research centers, and more. They focused on taking on the politicians at city halls; they took stances on everything from environment to housing to community specific concerns. Though in the aggregate neighborhood organizations had mixed success as they were always considered outsiders looking in on a closed political system, they did however play a crucial role in how new age progressivism would emerge in the United States. (Clavel 4-5)

In light of the economic stagnation that emerged in the 1970's paired with weak governmental institutions that took the stance that authority should just be delegated to private interest groups, "the rationale was that these groups would balance each other and somehow the general interest would be served. Thus the concern with substantive rationality – the choice among ends – was replaced by a governmental preoccupation with the balancing of interests." (Theodore Lowi, Clavel 6) The key point of discussion here for this investigation is the notion of 'substantive government;' it was the goal of the neighborhood groups of the 1960's and 1970's and again in the twenty first century it continues to be the point of contention. One of the biggest problems facing progressivism is the question of how precisely one might go about making a shift in government from delegating authority to vested interest groups to a substantive institution that makes choices among ends. Also important is the question of how a newly formed progressive government is to build its administrative capacity and still maintain the participation of the masses. There were a few cities that were able to achieve such a goal; some politicians were elected on a groundswell of citizen disgruntlement with the current system. Once they became part of the 'system' they were trying to 'overthrow', they still worked to establish new participatory modes of government and channels for community

involvement. Although many others succumbed to what Robert Michaels stated seventy years ago:

The greatest hope for the mass of people is a strong administrative leadership responsive to an organized constituency, yet administrative leadership carries with it inherent tendencies toward centralization, recruitment from within, and stultification of any government enterprise. (Robert Michaels, Clavel 16)

It is this inherent paradox that all progressive initiatives face, for Americans in their distrust of government “tend to choose the market over any elaboration of substantive government and to choose to participate, not primarily in collective pursuits, but in their own private enterprises.” (Clavel 16) The expectation that progressive coalitions in their quest to rework the system would eventually just become part of the ‘system’ leads to a skeptical outlook on neighborhood organization, leaving the market to prevail over a limited and weakened government structure.

Progressivism in Santa Monica, California

A lot of ground has been covered thus far on how progressivism and sustainability have been engaged with in the Twentieth Century. Though the challenges appear great, several cities were actually able to setup progressive substantive governments during the 1970’s and 80’s. To elaborate on many of the points discussed here, let us consider the example of Santa Monica, California, a city representative of the neoliberalism narrative, following a shift from large-scale government to business investment through the 1950’s. In 1966 the freeway connecting Santa Monica with Los Angeles was completed initiating investment in Santa Monica real estate. The resulting increase in land prices and rents placed a large amount of pressure on middle-class homeowners and renters and thus began the call for more progressive politics. For example the median value of owner occupied units increased from \$22,700 in 1960 to \$189,800 in 1980 but over the same

time period median family income only increased from \$6,845 to \$23,263. (Clavel 141) Though the city had established the city manager system of government post World War II, the strong coalition of business and bankers responsible for the recent real estate development retained their strong hold on the system, leaving little room for the middle class.

Understanding the flaws in the then current system, democratic and neighborhood organizations began to form throughout the 1960's, from community-oriented churches, food cooperatives, alternative periodicals, and environmental groups. A major breakthrough came in 1978 when a renter's group of senior citizens, organized by a former labor union official from New York named Sid Rose, came together as the Santa Monica Fair Housing Alliance to address the issue of equitable housing in the city. The group was able to get a rent-control initiative on the ballot, but in the end landlords and developers won out and the initiative lost 54-46. (Clavel 142) However this was not the end for rent-control, which continued to be contentious issue and so out of this failure grew a new organization: Santa Monicans for Renters Rights (SMRR).

Starting relatively small with a core group of forty-five to a hundred activists and the primary goal of passing rent control laws, SMRR joined with other community democratic organizations to collectively win influence in local politics. In 1979, they were able to win the rent control initiative, which was heralded as the strongest in the country, and they then followed up this victory by getting two of their candidates elected to the city council. (Clavel 143) Working off of the idea of "tenant consciousness" described by Allan Heskin as renters' awareness of their economic and political vulnerability, SMRR continued to gain influence by joining forces with the Campaign for Economic Democracy, Santa Monica Democratic Club, and the Ocean Park Electoral

Network. Thus in the 1981 Election, SMRR managed to overcome the vested real estate interests and won all four of the open seats on the city council, giving them a 5-2 majority. (Clavel 149)

However this electoral victory did not automatically create social change. While the new city council was able to place a moratorium on new construction and create task forces to investigate the housing issues of Santa Monica, the view from inside the system was quite different. The council underestimated the political clout that the land developers held, and despite their “mandate from a majority of the people, they faced institutions that resisted them and gave assistance to their opposition, so that each substantive decision was costly both in terms of time and anguish.” (Clavel 153) As time went on, the progressive city council and SMRR began to encounter the same problem that cities faced in the 1950’s, fiscal tension due to the large number of election promises made to provide housing and social services for their constituents and the size of the city budget. However unlike the past, Santa Monica was able to turn this tension into creative economic solutions including “a more embracing view of the way government could relate to the private sector.” (Clavel 159) After much consideration, the city council decided to set up a tourism committee with the involvement of certain businessmen. One council member, Denny Zane, who was previously known for his anti-development viewpoint came to say that:

there is an element of the business community who begin to view us as presenting possibilities that didn’t exist before, that is in their interest. Not because we intend to be in their interest, but because [of] our evaluation of what our possibilities are. ... They will like us. But they may have to find that the structure of their relationship to the government is going to be different, that there is going to be equity participation, that there is going to be a way in which some of that flow is returned to the population, rather than siphoned off into some other community, that there is going to be a

different structure of the relationship, that they nonetheless will probably do very well. (Zane 1983, Clavel 161)

Thus it is in this way that Santa Monica offers a valuable case study of how progressivism may be implemented with great success. All cities face the ever more difficult task of mediating between the needs of the people and the power of business, but the lesson we may take from Santa Monica is that such mediation is indeed possible.

Defining Sustainability

The idea of the progressive and just city is rooted in the concept of economic, political and social equity and can be summed up as “a city in which public investment and regulation would produce equitable outcomes rather than support those already well off” (Fainstein 2010, 3). The case of Santa Monica in the 1970’s describes this very situation, and shows how conventional power structures can be rearranged to create a more equitable outcome for the people, namely affordable housing. This case is relevant to this investigation, because instead of the problem of housing, employment, or welfare, it is the issue of sustainability. Integral to understanding this is knowing what ‘sustainability’ means, even though the primary problem with this is that ‘sustainability’ has come to mean and include so much in recent years that the term is used freely to invoke thoughts, emotions, actions, or whatever else its user decides.

The term ‘sustainability’ has been used since the 1960’s, but became widely recognized the 1980’s as developed Western countries began to realize that their patterns of economic development, consumption, and related pollution could be generalized to the rest of the world’s populations. “Sustainability thus arose from the recognition that the profligate and inequitable nature of current patterns of development, when projected into the not- too-distant future, lead to biophysical impossibilities” (Goodland & Daly, 1005).

Today the most commonly referred to definition of sustainability comes from the 1987 report from the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), “Development that meets the needs of today without compromising the needs of future generations” (Parr 2009, 1). From this recognition of the physical limits of our planet, we as a society began to move away from the model of the neoliberal growth machine i.e. that the Economy, Society, and Environment are completely separate and unconnected to a model where the three spheres do indeed interact with one another and are inextricably linked. In other words “Economic concerns were no longer viewed as fully independent of and primary to social and environmental considerations” however while “this implies that all three need to be considered for development decisions in light of these links, note that large portions of each circle remain outside of the interconnected areas” (Humbd & Silberstein 267, as cited in Sage 2010). However given the continued dominance of the neoliberal growth machine to emphasize the importance of economic values when it comes to questions of sustainable and equitable development, there is now a move to reconsider our understanding of sustainability as an interdependent, nested or systems view in contrast to the silos or linked models described earlier. (Figure 2)

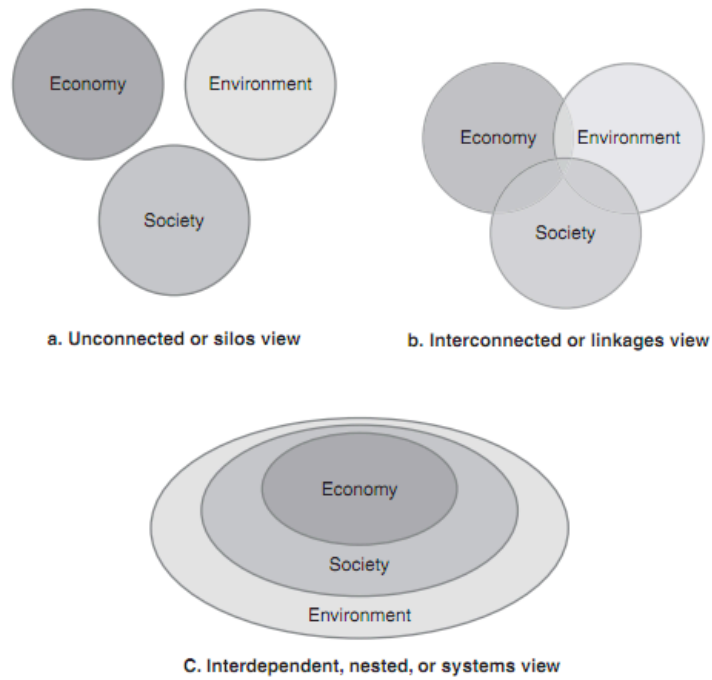


Figure 2: Three competing models of sustainability (Humbd & Silberstein 267, as cited in Sage 2010)

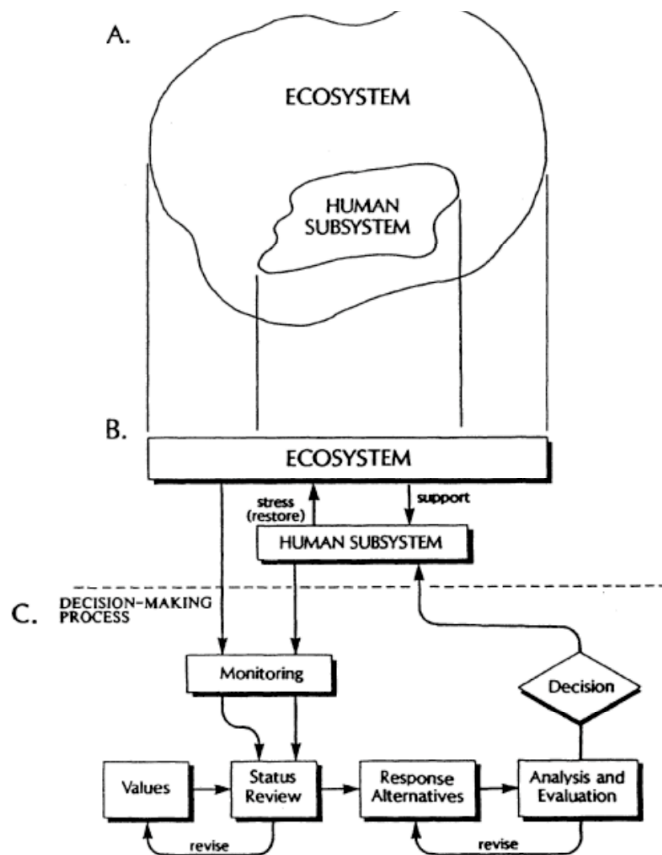


Figure 3: Hodge's Model of Assessing Progress Towards Sustainability (Hodge 1995 as cited in Hodge 1997)

Hodge in 1997, looking to grapple with these competing conceptions of ‘sustainability’ conducted an analysis of twenty-seven separate models and came to the conclusion that “No one of these models rigorously and systematically describes the ecosystem and its relationship to the human sub-system in a way that lends itself to broad application in support of improved decision making. It is apparent that any discipline specific model is unlikely to provide the needed framework” (Hodge 1997, 80). For Hodge this idea of the interdependent spheres of sustainability was manifested in showing the nested relationship between the Ecosystem and the Human Subsystem. If we understand the ways in which we, as inhabitants of the ecosystem place stresses on the system then in an ideal scenario we can also learn how to restore it. (Figure 3) We need to make sure that our elected decisions makers set up a careful monitoring process to evaluate their policies to ensure that they ultimately lead to sustainable development. If something is not working, it is then important to reevaluate our methods so that appropriate decisions may be made that place equal weight on the economy, society, and the environment.

(Hodge1997)

Implications

This brief section has provided an overview of the multiple issues involved in this investigation, especially how the concept of sustainability has evolved over the past few decades. Wrapped in the larger narrative of the rise of neoliberalism, the evolution of sustainability models over the past few decades speaks of a growing resistance to neoliberalism’s hegemonic control over society. Each successive model has sought to eliminate the loopholes that permit private interests’ to simply ignore the needs of the environment. To elaborate, Shafer (2006) describes the current climate as the “Dominant Social Paradigm,” characterized by the economic, political, and technological dimensions

of neoliberalism. Together these three dimensions tell of a collective attitude that believes in limited government regulation, economic individualism, liberty, support for private property rights, free enterprise, the potential for unhindered economic development, and “a faith in the ability of science and technology to solve human problems, including environmental degradation” (Shafer 2006, 121). Thus any attempts to construct a “New Ecological Paradigm” must champion the cause of greater social, economic, and ecological sustainability against the prevailing world drive for perpetual economic growth and wealth. (Shafer 2006, 122)

In this way, the story of renters’ rights and affordable housing in Santa Monica is indeed important to our discussion for while it has not been the case historically, moving forward I argue that all conversations of social justice and progressivism need to include ‘sustainability’ in some form. The definitions and conceptions of sustainability established in the 1980’s still hold true today; development that does not consider its impact on the needs of future generations must be identified and exposed, just as unjust and unequal development was resisted in years past. As Gray (2002) states: “The contradictions and consequences of capitalism are obvious, as is the hegemonic control it maintains over media, teaching, and research agendas as well as of practice. This must be challenged in some manner” (as cited in Shafer 2006, 122). In reading the forthcoming case studies on sustainability initiatives in New Jersey it is important to keep these points in mind for in many ways, they point towards the preliminary movement described as Shafer’s New Ecological Paradigm by way of Hodge’s model.

Chapter 2: The failures of the Federal and New Jersey state government to promote sustainability

We now stand at a crossroads regarding the role the federal government and subsequently the lower levels of government will play in the Twenty First Century. The case of Santa Monica in the 1970's demonstrates how government can indeed act as a substantive force for the public good. Although despite these bright patches in history we have subsequently left this form in favor of a more market driven approach which is mired and muddled in partisan politics and private interests. As will be explained in the second half of this investigation, the primary reason why these sustainability initiatives emerged in New Jersey was largely due to the actual and perceived lack of progress at the federal and state level. Before we move on to the New Jersey case studies though, it is important to take a moment to explain a few of concrete ways in which progressivism has failed at the macro level. The following sections will briefly describe at the federal level the recently failed Climate Bill in the Senate, the undercutting of the Green the Capital program, and the endless political assault on the legitimacy of Lisa Jackson and the work she does as Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency. Furthermore, as this thesis focuses on events in New Jersey this section will discuss why it is important to consider New Jersey in the context of sustainability, given the recent election of Governor Christie in 2009, who is not supportive of environmental issues. The general state of the environmental movement at a national level will also be covered.

The Bill is Dead

Perhaps no issue epitomizes the lack of action on environmental issues at the federal level than the defeat of the climate bill in the Senate this past year. John Kerry (D-MA), Lindsey Graham (R-SC), and Joseph Lieberman (D-CT) were all seeking to

“transform their reputations.” The opportunity to propose a landmark bill tackling climate change and global warming offered the perfect occasion.

Kerry, who has been a senator for twenty-five years and has a long record of launching major investigations, had never written a landmark law. Lieberman, an Independent who had endorsed John McCain for President, had deeply irritated his liberal colleagues by helping the Republicans weaken Obama’s health-care bill. Graham, a Republican, had a reputation as a Senate maverick—but not one who actually got things done. (Lizza 2010)

Bringing together a broad range of interests in the environmental movement and big polluter industries, the triumvirate felt they were ready to bring their proposal to the White House to gain the support of Obama. Chief of Staff Rahm Emanuel and the President’s other advisors had in the past been divided on the issue of climate change legislation, however with the ‘promise’ of five Republicans’ votes, thereby bringing the Senate to the required sixty to prevent a filibuster and pass the bill, the White House gave their full support of the initiative.

As the bill began to form in 2009, Lieberman began going from Senator to Senator asking for their support of the legislation, but in these discussions it became clear that there would be no miracle solution to climate change. “Lieberman knew that the issue was almost as much regional as ideological” and so for every Democrat that the coalition lost due to coal, oil, or electricity interests etc. a Republican Senator would need to take their place (Lizza 2010). As all of this was happening in the Senate, the House Bill pioneered by Waxman and Markey passed on June 26, 2009 by a vote of 219-212 thereby raising the bar for the Senate to pass a similar bill in a timely manner (Lizza 2010). Negotiations with key Senate Republicans and Democrats continued but progressed very little because of the rise of the Tea Party movement, with their anti-central government interference and anti-environmental stance. Many ‘centrist’ and

‘moderate’ Republicans and Democrats found themselves under fire from their home states for abandoning the Constitution, sleeping with the Devil, and any number of other allegations.

Thus bill’s supporters were forced to try a different tactic and seek support for the bill from their respective industry backers. Working with a number of oil refiners like Shell, B.P. and ConocoPhillips, and the Chamber of Commerce, arguably one of the most influential groups in Washington, the team of Kerry, Graham, and Leiberman began to make progress on a number of the bill’s key points. However on March 31st, 2010 Obama made the announcement that waters across the U.S. would reopen for oil and gas drilling and with that the team lost one of their key bargaining chips. “When Graham’s energy staffer learned of the announcement, the night before, he was ‘apoplectic,’ according to a colleague. The group had dispensed with the idea of drilling in ANWR, but it was prepared to open up vast portions of the Gulf and the East Coast. Obama had now given away what the senators were planning to trade.” (Lizza 2010) This was just one of multiple mistakes made in the White House that made the triumvirate’s work all the more difficult. Earlier in February, the release of the federal budget proposal brought with it a total of \$54.5 billion in new loan guarantees for nuclear power. Graham had hoped to win Republicans for support the bill with the promise of money for nuclear energy but yet the White House had just simply tossed the money over. Similarly on the issue of the E.P.A monitoring carbon emissions, a separate group of moderate Democrats went to the agency asking them to scale down their plans for carbon regulations and delay implementation until 2011. The agency gladly obliged and with it disappeared yet another bargaining chip. “Obama had served the dessert before the children even promised to eat their spinach. Graham was the only Republican negotiating on the

climate bill, and now he had virtually nothing left to take to his Republican colleagues.”
(Lizza 2010)

The situation only got worse in April when somehow news of the linked fee, that Kerry, Graham, and Leiberman were working on with industry officials as a way to curtail gas usage and carbon emissions was published on FoxNews.com as “WH Opposes Higher Gas Taxes Floated by S.C. GOP Sen. Graham in Emerging Senate Energy Bill.” With this headline the entire effort fell apart, for the term ‘gas tax’ became engrained in the media and in lobbyist’s perceptions on the bill. Apparently upset with how negotiations were proceeding and what it could do to Obama’s reputation in the short term, the White House decided to forfeit their support of the climate change legislation (Lizza 2010). The triumvirate did force the White House to issue a statement that “the Senators do not support a gas tax,” but the damage had been done. In order to keep the bill afloat they had to give into every single demand that industry lobbyists threw at them. The final straw though came with the explosion of the Deepwater Horizon oil rig, with Graham furious and out of the picture, Kerry and Leiberman were left to try and defend a bill that promised expansion of off-shore oil and gas drilling, as pictures of birds, gulls, and fish covered in oil slick plastered the internet and TV. (Lizza 2010)

Thus the effort for climate change legislation fell by the wayside; the Senate and White House turned its attention to the apparently more pressing issues of Immigration and Health Care. Health Care was indeed passed later that same year but:

a longtime environmental lobbyist told [Ryan Lizza] that he believed the “real tragedy” surrounding the issue was that Obama understood it profoundly. “I believe Barack Obama understands that fifty years from now no one’s going to know about health care,” the lobbyist said. “Economic historians will know that we had a recession at this time. Everybody is going to be thinking about whether Barack Obama was the James Buchanan of climate change. (Lizza 2010)

There is more that can be said for the multitude of reasons why the climate bill failed in the Senate, but the story told here epitomizes the lack of cooperative teamwork between the White House and the key Senators involved. The bill had promise but when plagued by miscommunication, political misdealing, and an overwhelming atmosphere of partisanship it tumbled into oblivion. Furthermore even the recent victory of the landmark Health Care law has been short lived as it resulted in bitter confrontation between the Republican and Democratic parties.

Greening the Capital?

A similar story can be told of Nancy Pelosi's recent "Green the Capital" program, which even if nowhere near as far reaching as say a Congressional bill or law, was founded in 2007 "in the belief that government can and should be a model of sustainability. The program's over-arching aim is to make Congress as environmentally responsible as possible." (Green the Capital, About Us) Since the program's inception they have claimed to have diverted "more than 75,000 pounds of waste from landfills," cut "more than 400,000 pounds of carbon emissions and more than 175,000 kWh of electricity," reduced "water consumption by an estimated 32%," and from energy efficiency efforts hope to see a full \$3.3 million annually in energy savings. (Green the Capital, Our Initiatives) Despite such success though, with the GOP back in control of the House, some of the Green the Capitals programs have already been cut due to cited high costs.

A specific program under fire is the House's composting initiative, which involved the transportation of all House food waste to a site "in Maryland, [where] the composted material was turned into fertilizer and blended into soil over a period of 75

days. The soil was then returned to Capitol Hill where it was used as fertilizer in Capitol gardens. Hundreds of tons of refuse was diverted to the composting sites instead of a landfill each month, according to statistics from former CAO employees.” (Yager 2011) According to an analysis by Representative Dan Lugen (R-CA), the new chairman of the committee that oversees the House’s internal functions, including the Green the Capital programs, the composting program apparently actually increased the chamber’s costs and only ““produced nominal reductions in carbon emissions.”” (Yager 2011) The issue here though is that depending on how ‘carbon emissions’ are calculated energy usage can fluctuate wildly; for instance one Democratic aide familiar with the situation mentioned that the study of the composting program “did not take into account that the House was just one of several stops that the hauling company made on its way back to the Maryland site.” (Yager 2011) Thus one cannot help but question whether such programs are just falling to political payback; with the Republican party back in control and seeking to usher in a new era of government thriftiness will even more ‘Green the Capital’ programs fall prey to cited ‘high costs and inefficiencies’ just to prove a proverbial point?

The Environmental Protection Agency

One bright spot in the Federal government has been Lisa Jackson, the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) who despite a backlash has been steadfast in her commitment to fighting global warming and climate change. However in recent months she has come under fire from all sides, some Representatives and Senators have even joked that she should have her own parking spot on the Hill because of all the hearings and proceedings she has to attend to defend the work that she does. The most formal complaint against her and her agency though has come from the House in a Bill, crafted by House Energy and Commerce Chairman Fred Upton (R-

Michigan), which seeks to permanently block the EPA's power to limit greenhouse gas emissions. "'The EPA has gone unchecked for far too long,' said [Dan] Boren [(D-Oklahoma)] in a statement. 'Administrator [Lisa] Jackson has tried to legislate rather than take direction from Congress that is elected by the people.'" (Maron 2011). Similarly, Rahall (D-W. Virginia) has said, "The Congress -- the place where the People's will reigns -- is the appropriate body to design a program with such sweeping ramifications." Though such statements speak to concerns of Constitutional delegations of power, if left to Congress we all know that any bill seeking to control greenhouse gas emissions will just face the same fate as the climate bill – a fate that according to some may be ideal. On March 15, 2011 the Bill known as the Energy Tax Prevention Act of 2011 was passed by a vote of 34 to 19 in the Energy and Commerce Committee. Again in line with the neoliberal thinking that brought down the Climate Bill and the Green the Capital programs, if passed into law "The bill would repeal the EPA's finding that carbon dioxide and other heat-trapping gases are a threat to human health and the environment and would bar the agency from imposing new rules to control them. Its Republican sponsors argue that new limits on greenhouse gas emissions from refineries, power plants and other major sources would drive up energy prices, depress the economy and hamper job creation." (Broder 2011)

Why New Jersey?

At the federal level, progress towards sustainability or any issue of social significance has become mired in partisan politics and private business interests. Shifting our focus to New Jersey, we can see a similar pattern in how recent political and economic discussions have been approached. Thanks in large part to the experience I had at the Morris County Department of Planning and as a resident of the area for over ten

years I have been able to call upon contacts in the field get an insider's look at many of the key issues. Beyond the convenience of having contacts in the planning and environmental fields though, it is important to understand that what is happening in New Jersey now will certainly have implications for the rest of the country and how we approach sustainability issues in the future.

New Jersey has long been the most densely populated state in the United States, meaning that it is only a matter of time before New Jersey reaches a complete build out scenario. Unlike other regions in the country, there is very little land still open for development in New Jersey and so all land use related actions need careful consideration, if the state is to maintain a high quality of life for its residents. One advantage to this situation is that New Jersey can serve as a testing ground for policies and regulations on development, sustainable or otherwise. These policies and regulations could eventually be exported across the country as states one by one reach complete build out. (Catania, personal communication)

Governor Christie

With the election of Republican Chris Christie, as Governor of New Jersey in 2009 (inaugurated in January 2010), the environmental movement has been drastically altered. Coming into office Christie insisted that "taking care" of the environment would be one of his priorities, but as his priorities (according to his website) also include 'Rebuilding New Jersey's economy,' 'Getting control of the budget,' and 'Reforming state government,' the environment has taken major blows compared to the work that previous New Jersey Governors have accomplished.

Over the past year, Governor Christie has brought to the table a series of debates similar to those that are occurring at the federal level about what is precisely the proper

role of government in the Twenty-First Century. In New Jersey government, Christie has declared that he wants to make the Department of Environmental Protection more “client-friendly.” Who exactly are the clients of whom Christie speaks? Are ‘we the people’ the clients, or are private business interests the clients to which this proclamation refers? What really is the proper role for not just the Department of Environmental Protection but all government agencies? Just as we have seen in the recent assault on the Environmental Protection Agency at the Federal level, there are many at the state level who believe that the Department of Environmental Protection has no right to block construction permits, regulate emissions, or do anything that would limit private enterprise or even place any requirements on industries to act in a more environmentally responsible manner.

In light of such proclamations about the need for ‘a business friendly environment’ and a ‘reformed state government’, the environment has thus been pushed to the side and become the punching bag for budget balancing initiatives and more. This is not to say that New Jersey has previously had a pristine record with Environmental legislation, far from it. The point is that the Governor’s focus on balancing of the budget and the reigning back of the state government will have drastic impacts on carbon emissions and the Environment, if we are not careful. For instance New Jersey has been a member of the ten-state consortium called the Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative (REGGI) that auctions carbon allowances to address global warming. For a number of years, New Jersey has been able to use revenues from this consortium to provide loans and grants to businesses and institutions for any number of programs and initiatives from energy efficiency and renewable energy to forest stewardship and tidal marsh regeneration. However in March 2010, Governor Christie deemed the state budget more important and so he “used the entire \$65 million balance from 2009 and 2010 REGGI

funds to balance the state budget. The result: All global warming response activities were zeroed out of the budget overnight, and no one yet knows if, and when, this funding will be restored. Worse, rumors abound that the Governor is also considering having New Jersey withdraw from REGGI altogether.” (Catania 2011)

A similar story may be told of Governor Christie’s recent shutdown of a proposed tunnel under the Hudson into New York City that would have effectively doubled commuter train service between New Jersey and the City. “‘What proponents are asking me to do is hand over a blank check,’ Mr. Christie, a Republican, said in Trenton. ‘I simply will not do that.’” (McGeehan 2010) Estimated to cost about \$8.7 billion, both the Port Authority and the federal Department of Transportation had each committed \$3 billion, leaving the remaining \$2.7 billion to be covered by New Jersey. However when it surfaced that it would cost an addition \$2.3 billion Christie decided to pull the plug; on the issue “Mr. LaHood [the Federal Transportation Secretary] said he was ‘extremely disappointed’ and called the governor’s decision ‘a devastating blow to thousands of workers, millions of commuters and the state’s economic future.’” (McGeehan 2010) All in the name of fiscal responsibility, Christie put an end to what some have considered one of the most important and far-reaching infrastructure projects in one hundred years. The tunnel would have relieved the existing bridge and tunnel congestion caused by millions of daily commuters trying to cross into New York City by car, because train service is inadequate. In fact because of this decision, LaHood has declared, “New Jersey must repay \$350 million that the federal government had spent on the project” (McGeehan 2010).

The New Jersey Environmental Movement

One of the reasons why Christie has been able to push back the progress that has been made in the past decade is due to the fissures that exist within the Environmental movement. In Trenton, the state capital, the Environmental lobby has come to be dominated by just a couple major national organizations, namely The Sierra Club and Environment New Jersey. Though both groups are known throughout the country for their work as stewards of the environment, at the same time their influence is contradictory. As subsidiaries of larger national organizations they all work towards whatever campaigns their parent group has deemed are ‘hot topic issues.’ This is not necessarily a bad thing, but New Jersey does not necessarily have the same environmental issues and problems as other states or the country as a whole. Furthermore because of the large resources, both financial and intellectual, these groups can call upon from their parent organizations there is thus a reduced need to really consult the people of New Jersey about what they think about various environmental issues. (Catania, personal communication) As a result, the media has been quick to say that progress is impossible because the environmental movement is hopelessly divided between the lobbyists in Trenton and the rest of the state.

So Why New Jersey?

It is for these reasons that New Jersey is important to an understanding of the sustainability movement. At both the federal and state levels we have seen in concrete examples of neoliberalism. It thus appears that under this veil of neoliberalism, political discourse has degenerated “into a mere advocacy of free enterprise,’ meaning ‘the fullness of freedom for those whose income, leisure and security need not enhancing and a mere pittance of liberty for the people who remain in vain attempt to make use of their

democratic rights to gain shelter from the power of the owners of property.” (Karl Polanyi as cited in Harvey 2005, 36) However as the following case studies from the Morris County Renewable Energy Initiative and Energy Efficiency Program, and similar efforts for locally based sustainability in New Jersey, we will show that we do not need to accept this neoliberal narrative. Each of these programs demonstrate that sub-national and state governance can be effective and are examples of how we can make progress toward Shafer’s ‘New Ecological Paradigm.’

Keeping in mind the ground that has been covered thus far in respect to how sustainability may be thought of in relation to neoliberalism and progressivism, Chapter 3 will now explore how two organizations, the Morris County Improvement Authority and Sustainable Jersey, are actively working to combat such narratives.



Morris County is located in central northern New Jersey and has a population of about 486,000 (2006-08 American Community Survey). Since 1980 the county has seen roughly a 19% increase in population, along with a 27% increase in the median age from 31.8 to 40.5 (1980, 1990, 2000 Census). Economically speaking northern New Jersey has long served as a hub for a number of national corporate headquarters and so the median household income is upwards of \$97,000 (2000 Census). Such wealth has accumulated in the region because the area is indeed appealing for raising a family; a statement Governor Chris Christie as a resident of Mendham Township in Morris County and father of 5 would definitely agree with. One appeal of the region is its rural feel and its extensive and still largely preserved green space; Historic Preservation and Farmland Preservation is one of the county's main priorities. However, if at the state level the sole focus is on creating an attractive business environment through tax policies, and a reined back state budget and bureaucracy, where

does this leave the actual Environment? “Morris County is a desirable place to live because of parks, open space, and schools, we cannot lose that” (Catania, personal communication).

Like many counties in New Jersey, a Board of Chosen Freeholders, who are elected every two years from municipalities across the county, governs Morris County. Working in conjunction with the Board of Chosen Freeholders is the Morris County Improvement Authority; “an autonomous independent agency that acts as a catalyst for economic development.” “Made up of five commissioners appointed by the Morris County Board of Chosen Freeholders,” their purpose is to “[provide] financial assistance to a variety of local governments, non-profit corporations and private entities.” (Morris County Improvement Authority, About Us) For this reason when the Board came forth in 2008 with the call for Morris County to ‘Go Green!’ the MCIA thus took it upon themselves to fulfill this charge. However as we have encountered many times before, the practical implications of their statement were left vague, leaving many wondering how exactly the County would accomplish such a feat. To help formulate a plan of action the MCIA called upon the expertise of Mr. Stephan Pearlman, an Environmental Lawyer and “a founding partner of the Firm, Inglesino, Pearlman, Wyciskala & Taylor, LLC.” As “a transactional lawyer with extensive experience and highly specialized expertise in the fields of public finance, project finance, redevelopment, and renewable energy,” he “has served in nearly one thousand transactions in various capacities, which include bond counsel, underwriters' counsel, letter of credit bank counsel, borrower's counsel and trustee counsel” and “has represented public and project finance clients involving more than \$15 billion worth of bonds, notes, certificates of participation, or other obligations.” (Stephan Pearlman, iandplaw.com)

Both the MCIA and Pearlman have echoed this sentiment when asked: “what does ‘going green’ even mean?” (Pearlman, personal communication) But after some consideration they came to the conclusion that the best way for them to fulfill their charge from the Freeholders and lead the county to a ‘greener’ future was by pursuing projects pertaining to either energy efficiency and/or renewable energy. Once this decision was made it then became a process of determining which forms of renewable energy offer the most “bang for their buck.” Wind turbines were rejected because the relative energy savings and benefits are not economically worth the eye pollution that they cause. Similarly hydroelectric options were simply not feasible because of Morris County’s inland location and lack of appropriate water sources. There was some discussion of looking into harnessing the heat energy given off from landfills, but as with wind, the turbine technology is just not quite there yet to make it economically feasible. Thus Pearlman and the MCIA decided that solar power was their best bet for making a significant impact on the County’s carbon footprint.

Upon inspecting the solar power market in New Jersey it became apparent that considering New Jersey’s small size, there is a significantly large number of solar energy developers working in the state. As businesses only exist if there is a market for them to provide for, the MCIA set out to determine precisely what made the solar power market so appealing. In the analysis they found that there are a wide range of reasons why solar makes sense in New Jersey. Firstly this is due to recent tax policies that permit developers to apply a credit of 30% on their taxes for completing a renewable energy project. This tax benefit was then broadened with the passage of the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act in 2009 (Obama’s “Stimulus Bill”) that allows developers to either take the credit or accept a check for the same amount from the Treasury. This was done

purely to help inject money into the economy and developers' pockets to spur them to start work on projects. Furthermore, as a function of the contracts that developers were able to create, they were able to claim accelerated depreciation on installed solar panels. This means that even though solar panels have an average useful lifespan of twenty years, for tax purposes they could be depreciated in a mere five years.

However the most important reason why New Jersey has seen substantial activity in its solar power and renewable energy market is because of New Jersey's passage of an Energy Master Plan in 2008. Upon its passage, New Jersey made a commitment to drawing a full 30 percent of its energy needs from renewable sources by 2020. Previous Master Plans called for only 22.5 percent by 2020, but due to emerging technologies and recent progress this baseline has been revised. The State's new goals entail that "This renewable electricity supply will come from 900 MW of biomass capacity, at least 3000 MW of offshore wind capacity, 200 MW of onshore wind capacity, and 2,120 GWh (approximately 1,800 MW) of solar energy production" (New Jersey Energy Master Plan, 12). The most vital part of this plan though is that if electricity producers do not meet these portfolio standards by 2020, they will face significant fines. However in lieu of a fine, electricity providers also have the option of purchasing a Solar Renewable Energy Certificate (SREC) from anyone that produces renewable energy. It is the existence of these SRECs, which are equivalent to one Megawatt hour, and the market by which they may be bought and sold that has allowed the solar industry to flourish in New Jersey. Though other states do also have Energy Master Plans in place that call for increased renewable energy standards and provide for the buying and selling of SRECs, New Jersey's plan is especially broad and deep. According to the Database of State Incentives for Renewables and Efficiency (DSIRE) as compiled by North Carolina State University

and the U.S. Department of Energy, New Jersey's Energy Master plan is one of the best in the country, California and Massachusetts are also strong contenders. (Pearlman, personal communication)

For the reasons just discussed solar has made economic sense for developers; they were getting a 30% tax credit from the American Recovery and Investment Act, the ability to sell the SRECs their projects produce, and the right to claim accelerated depreciation on the solar panels themselves. Upon inspection Pearlman discovered that of the projects already completed in New Jersey, private solar developers were making returns upwards of twenty percent, a number completely unheard of in the world of capital investing. To put such a number in context, at the height of the real estate speculation bubble, an excellent internal rate of return was only about twelve percent (Pearlman, personal communication).

In the name of 'going green,' schools have been preyed upon by the private sector because of the limited resources at their disposal. If a school has a desire to 'go green' their only option is to turn to the private sector, because the other option of passing a bond campaign for solar panels at time when school budgets are being slashed and teachers cut is just not politically feasible. The result has been the creation of these turnkey contracts that lock schools into these fifteen-year Power Purchase Agreements that do indeed allow them say they are 'going green' and even earn a modest energy savings of say 14 cents per kilowatt-hour versus 16 or 17 cents. However as most of the economic gains in these inequitable agreements go to the private companies who are installing the solar panels, is it really worth it in the end? Operating on the belief that any budget savings are good budget savings, many schools were basically coerced into thinking that such contracts were in the end beneficial. In reality these private solar

developers have just been picking on the low hanging fruit of the economy to turn a nice profit, and so with this analysis, Pearlman and the MCIA worked to form a way to level the playing field.

After much debate and contemplation, MCIA came up with the Morris County Renewable Energy Initiative, a program that offers all county municipalities and school districts the opportunity to have solar panels installed on any and all appropriate buildings and facilities all financed through county backed bonds. County Freeholder William Chegwiddden, the liaison to the Morris County Improvement Authority mentioned in the program's press release in November 2008, "Implementing a renewable energy program can be much too expensive for an individual town or school district. ... Morris County's initiative would allow a town or school district to go green by joining with the county to reduce a portion of its energy bills and not incur any out-of-pocket costs" (Press Release 11/2008). However, it is one thing to offer school districts and municipalities a way to 'go green' more affordably, but it is another thing entirely to make such a proposal attractive to the private developers who will be installing and managing these solar power projects.

The first change that allowed the MCIA to begin formulating the Renewable Energy program was a change in state policy in 2008 that thereby allowed for local governments and authorities to engage in Competitive Contracting for renewable energy projects. Such a change in policy enabled the county to establish a set of criteria to weigh a variety of factors beyond just price so as to create a longer-term contract (State Policy 2008-20). Although this change enables the county and thereby schools to take a more critical look at renewable energy proposals, the real bargaining chip the MCIA needed is leverage, a so-called carrot or stick to use on the private sector to bring them to the table.

Upon Pearlman's analysis of the solar power market, he determined that the County's 'leverage' in this scenario was and is their ability to gain financing from banks cheaper than any other business or institution thanks to their AAA credit rating. One of primary challenges that the MCIA faced in getting this initiative up and running is that New Jersey is an incredibly home-rule oriented state. Though there are many states in the United States that follow such a philosophy, this issue is compounded in New Jersey in that there are over 566 separate municipalities. This means there are very few roles constitutionally assigned to the County; in many cases the County is merely relegated to an advisory role in municipal development and improvement projects. Thus, the MCIA needed to demonstrate not only to private business interests but to each of the County's thirty-nine municipalities that the Renewable Energy Initiative made sense, would be cost effective, and appealing from an environmental perspective.

From the onset the County knew that they would participate in the "first round" of projects, selecting the Schuyler Building and the Mennen Sports Arena both in the county seat of Morristown as project sites, so as to act as role-model for local governments and as a validation of the system. Tying into the above mentioned notion of leverage, the County appealed to the municipalities through a series of public forums and hearings that by pooling together and forming a single front to private business interests they could create buying power and eliminate "cherry picking" by contractors. From these forums it became apparent that school districts are the most appropriate participants in the program. School districts cross municipal boundaries on a geographical, economic, and political scale. For example: West Morris Mendham High School is located in Mendham Borough, but draws students from Chester Township, Chester Borough, Mendham Township, and one local private religious school. Thus returning to this idea of home

rule, many individual municipalities were much less interested in taking part in the pilot round, because it would mean, if nothing else, a perceived subjection of their authority to a marginally higher local power, the County government.

With this framework the County and the Improvement Authority approved a total of thirty million dollars in bonds financing and then from there a call was put out for school districts and municipalities to apply to become involved in the project. As shown in Figure 6, in the first approved round, fifteen sites were selected, for a total of nineteen projects incorporating seven local governments. At the general interest meeting a total of thirty-five solar developers showed up eager to learn more about the project, and then with the release of the Request for Proposals (RFP), three companies ended up submitting completed bids. Upon analysis of their proposals, the team of Tioga Energy and Sundurance won.

#	Project Site	Approximate System Size in kW (dc)
1	Morris Hills High School	405.86
2	Morris Knolls High School	365.69
3	Boonton High School (parking lot, John Hill, and School Street)	133.49
4	West Morris Mendham High School	236.30
5	West Morris Central High School	648.00
6	Mt. Lakes High School	101.74
7	Mt. Lakes Wildwood School	66.53
8	Parsippany Troy Hills Elementary School	112.97
9	Parsippany Central Middle School	204.12
10	Parsippany Brooklawn Middle School	320.11
11	Parsippany Littleton Elementary School	102.82
12	Schuyler Building	43.01
13	Schuyler Parking Garage (Carport, Canopy System)	55.55
14	Voter Machine Tech Center	76.16
15	Mennen Sports Arena Rink 1	166.21
16	Mennen Sports Arena Rink 3	180.32

Figure 6: Name of project location and the size in kW (RFP Solar Provider 7/16/2009).



Figure 7: Photos of construction of solar arrays on the roof of West Morris Mendham High School
 (<http://wmrhdsd.org/>, 12/2010)

Now as of February 2011, all nineteen projects (15 sites) have been completed and the success of the Initiative is already becoming clear. “‘Tioga Energy has been an invaluable partner, both in developing the unique financing structure of the Morris Model for the first time and in the smooth delivery of these projects,’ said Morris County Freeholder Director William Chegwidden, Improvement Authority liaison. ‘The success of the Morris Model establishes our county as the nation's foremost example of how the government and the private sector can work together to adopt ambitious renewable energy programs swiftly and affordably’ (Press Release 2/2011).” The 13,629 solar panels at these fifteen locations situated in seven different towns will produce a total of 3.2 Megawatts of clean renewable energy. To elaborate, under the auspices of the Power Purchase Agreement, Tioga Energy is the owner of and responsible for the solar arrays at these sites and is therefore the owner of the energy produced. However thanks to the market leverage that MCIA was able to muster, Tioga must enter into a fifteen year contract with each school and agree to sell the energy to the school district at 10.6 cents

per kilowatt hour, a thirty-five percent savings compared to what schools and municipalities were paying before.

For example: Mennen Sports Arena, one of the anchor projects for the Pilot Round, now receives thirty percent of its electricity from its solar arrays and will be providing approximately \$50,200 a year in savings to the Morris County Park Commission (Press Release 2/2011). As for the school districts involved, their savings range depending on their size from \$8,500 to upwards of \$30,000. West Morris Regional School District, shown on page 40, has had “nearly 1,600 solar panels placed on the roofs of West Morris Central and West Morris Mendham high schools” and will have “an expected yearly savings of almost \$26,000” (Press Release 2/2011). On the topic Paul Detering, the CEO of Tioga Energy, is proud to say that “Together we've [MCIA, Tioga Energy, and Sundurance] created an economically viable blueprint for local governments to work with the private sector to deliver economic value and sustainability at the community level” (Press Release 2/2011).

The Morris County Improvement Authority does not want to stop here. Given the success and positive reception of the Renewable Energy Initiative, Round Two is already in the works. When it was announced, the MCIA received over seventy applications, which subsequently got narrowed down to thirty-five site visits. Frank Pinto, the Director of the Department of Planning for the County and a member of MCIA explained that ideally they would move forward with all the applications that they receive, but factors like the age and quality of the building roof and tree cover can affect how feasible the sites are for solar panels. However of the thirty-five site visits, if the county is willing to provide enough bond financing and all the sites prove feasible then it is possible that all thirty-five locations could see solar panels on their roofs in the next two years.

Regardless, MCIA has made the commitment that this next round of projects is going to be much bigger, possibly producing as much as eight megawatts. Just as the Mennen Sports Arena, a large recreational facility owned by the county served as the anchor project of round one, there are preliminary discussions of having the County College of Morris being the anchor for this next round.

Morris County and the MCIA are working together to raise awareness of the project among regional mayors and school boards, and as a result neighboring Somerset County has adopted 'the Morris Model' to do their own Renewable Energy Initiative. With an example to work from, Somerset has been even more aggressive with private developers in terms of scale and on the savings they are managing to produce. Their first round of projects includes thirty-five sites incorporating seventeen local governments, which nine private solar developers ended up bidding for. While MCIA was content for their first round of projects to gain an energy savings of thirty percent, Pearlman and Pinto admitted that they were unsure about how far to push developers for additional savings, it now turns out that the benefits of bringing local schools and municipalities together in one contract was so appealing that, as Somerset County has demonstrated, one can afford to be much more aggressive at the negotiation table. For the pilot round, the groups involved in Somerset will now buy energy from the developer through a similar Power Purchase Agreement, for merely four cents per kilowatt hour, a full sixty percent savings compared to what they were paying before. Figure 8 shows the estimated kilowatts each location will produce through either roof or parking lot canopy installations; in total the Somerset pilot initiative will produce roughly 7.5 Megawatts of clean renewable solar power (Somerset RFP 7/16/2009).

#	Project Site	Approximate System Size in kW (dc)	
		Roof	Ground
1	Boro of Manville Library	54.28	
2	Bound Brook Public Works	108	
3	Branchburg Twp Central Middle School	356.04	
4	Branchburg Twp Whiton School	50.83	
5	Branchburg Twp Old York School	167.67	
6	Bridgewater Twp County Library	143.4	
7	Bridgewater Twp Senior Center		64
8	Bridgewater-Raritan Hamilton School	208.84	
9	Bridgewater-Raritan Middle School	347.3	
10	Bridgewater-Raritan Adamsville School	188.83	
11	Franklin Twp Municipal Building	67.85	
12	Franklin Twp Berry Street Garage	48.3	
13	Franklin Twp Franklin Park School	288.19	194.58
14	Franklin Twp Elizabeth Avenue School	83.26	
15	Franklin Twp Pine Grove Manor School	64.63	
16	Franklin Twp High School	533.14	536.13
17	Green Brook Middle School	340.17	
18	Green Brook Irene E. Feldkirchner School	145.82	
19	Manville Weston Elementary School	130.87	93.15
20	Manville High School		264.96
21	Montgomery High School	1030.4	
22	Montgomery Upper Middle School		426.42
23	Montgomery Orchard Hill Elementary School	380.65	
24	Raritan Valley Community College Art Building Parking Lot		318.32
25	Somerset County Somerville Courthouse	40.94	
26	Somerset County, Hillsboro Emergency Training Training Academy-Administrative Building	69.23	
27	Somerville Middle School	134.78	
28	Somerville High School	192.05	
29	Somerville Vanderveer Elementary School	297.16	95.22
30	Montgomery Twp Otto Kauffman Community Center	15.87	
31	Boro of Somerville Engine Company	17.71	

Figure 8: Name of project location and the size in kW (Somerset County RFP Solar Provider 7/16/2009).

These solar projects that Morris County pioneered and now Somerset County and others are beginning to emulate, have served to unlock the economic potential of local government initiatives in terms of creating local growth industries and employment and at the same time providing cost savings that benefit property tax payers. Many of the policies that made these projects possible were already in place; the crucial change was that Morris County was courageous enough to take on the temporary debt needed to underwrite these projects. Steve Pearlman and the MCIA recognized the lack of leadership and stagnation occurring at the state and federal level and so decided that they would not stand by and do nothing. As the next level of government in succession from the federal and state, Morris County recognized its ability to take on a broader vantage point and bring together the smaller local governments in a unified renewable energy project.

The experience of the Morris County Renewable Energy Initiative revealed to the MCIA, the effects of working at the regional level and so even now, they are working to develop new ways in which the County may utilize its power as a financing tool. Though the notion of leadership is an often-lauded idea and position, in practice there are very few who actually act as leaders. In state like New Jersey where so many Constitutional roles and duties have been delegated to the municipal government, the counties are often left on the sidelines in a merely advisory role; Morris County has created for itself a role of leadership in the region. By having the courage to temporarily back the debt associated with these programs, they have unlocked the potential of local action.

In fact within the last four months, Pearlman, Pinto, and others have been formulating a program through which schools, municipalities, and the public sector may make drastic energy efficiency improvements to their facilities. Following a pattern of a

lack of follow through at the state and federal level of government, in the last few years, local municipalities were awarded the option to undergo an energy audit so as to identify ways in which they might increase energy efficiency and thus operate in a more sustainable manner. There were many towns and municipalities that chose to take part in the energy audit, but due to a recent move by Governor Christie to balance the state budget almost all funding for such improvements has disappeared, i.e. sixty-five million dollars (Catania, 2011). However Morris County has stepped in, providing the appropriate financing to allow schools and public buildings make the changes recommended to them, the energy savings they gain may then be used to gradually pay off the debt the County has incurred. In this project no private developers are involved, it is merely a regional entity acting together with small local governments to get the ball rolling again towards a more sustainable future. In essence the program literally pays for itself over time. The MCIA has gained support for the program from the Board of Chosen Freeholders, and a pilot round of projects is currently being formulated. Lee Solomon, the president of the Board of Public Utilities for the state, has become aware of the program and has pledged that “Together, we can unlock these local energy audits and enable the implementation of energy savings measures that could provide a model for other local governments on how to cut their energy costs and reduce pressure on property taxes” (Press Release 1/2011).

The recent work of Morris County and its Improvement Authority have been so significant that they have just been named the winner of the 2010 Innovation Award in the Financial Incentives category from the Interstate Renewable Energy Council, a non-profit corporation that works “to ensure that the broader use of renewable energies is

possible, safe, affordable and practical, particularly for the individual consumer” (IREC 2011) (Press release 1/2011).

Sustainability in the Hands of the People

The recent work of Morris County demonstrates how government may utilize its position of institutional power to produce outcomes for the greater good. It is still true that the market dominates society, but it does not mean that ‘the state’ must sit idly by as market forces run their course. The Renewable Energy Initiative and the recently announced Energy Efficiency Program both show that with leadership and courage the state can act as a powerful force in society to generate cost savings to lower tax burdens, stimulate jobs and preserve the environment. This positive experience in Morris County is just one example of many local entities that have decided to challenge the status quo of the stagnation and inaction at the state and federal level.

One such example of this is the recent emergence of the ‘town green team,’ a quasi-governmental organization setup with the sole purpose of identifying ways in which their respective municipality may become more green and sustainable. Municipalities across the state are beginning to form these green teams and take a serious look at how their town effects the environment. This can be attributed in large part to the coordinated efforts of Sustainable Jersey a certification program launched in February 2009 by the New Jersey League of Municipalities (NJLM), Meryl Frank the Mayor of Highland Park, and Fred Profeta the Mayor of Maplewood, in conjunction with the New Jersey Sustainable State Institute at Rutgers and the Municipal Land Use Center at The College of New Jersey (Sustainable Jersey, History 2011). Striving “for a better tomorrow one community at a time,” “the program encompasses the three equal, interrelated components of sustainability: Prosperity – support your local economy and

use community resources, Planet – practice responsible environmental management and conservation, [and] People – embrace social equity and fairness” (Sustainable Jersey, History 2011). Now with just two annual rounds of certification completed, a total of seventy-four towns have become certified, a process that for both Bronze and Silver levels requires the establishment of a ‘Green Team’ as well as earning a minimum of 150 points and 350 respectively in a range of categories. These 16 categories include a wide range of actions including Energy Efficiency, Diversity and Equality, Land Use and Transportation, Sustainability Planning, and Waste Reduction and Recycling. A full rubric of the criteria may be found in Appendix I. (Sustainable Jersey, Action Categories) Furthermore as of early April 2011, 333 municipalities across New Jersey’s twenty-one counties have now registered with the program thereby signifying their move towards certification.

Figure 9, shown on the next page, lists the towns that fulfilled the criteria for certification in 2010. As of now, fifty-nine percent of New Jersey’s municipalities are connected to Sustainable Jersey, making it the “most successful statewide municipal sustainability certification program in the country” (Figure 10) (Media Release 11/8/2010). In fact in the Fall of 2010, Sustainable Jersey was selected from a field of 260 entrants as being “the top social change innovation in the country” in the national Ashoka/Community Matters Changemakers competition, ‘Strong Communities: Engaging Citizens, Strengthening Place, Inspiring Change’ (Media Release 10/12/2010). Part of the strength of the program is that beyond providing information and training they also provide financial resources and grants to further help towns move towards greener futures. Not only do they provide the links and websites for the multitude of available grant programs from various organizations across the political landscape, in addition they

have started their own grant program. In large part thanks to funding supplied by Wal-Mart and the other founders of Sustainable Jersey, the group has been able to provide over \$420,000 in small grants over two years. In 2010, thirty-four towns received funding; four towns won \$25,000, ten towns won \$10,000, and twenty towns won \$1,000 to help with capacity building. “As a result of the success of this grant program last year, Walmart is proud to again sponsor the Sustainable Jersey Small Grants Program,” said Jennifer Hoehn, Walmart Senior Manager of Public Affairs for the state of New Jersey. “These grants are a perfect example of the public and private sectors working together for the greater good and there is no greater good than improving the environment.” (Media Release 9/15/2010)

2010 Sustainable Jersey SILVER level certified communities

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Galloway Township, Atlantic County | 3. Woodbridge Township, Middlesex County |
| 2. West Windsor Township, Mercer County | 4. Summit City, Union County |

2010 Sustainable Jersey BRONZE level certified communities

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Buean Vista, Atlantic County | 18. Atlantic Highlands Borough, Monmouth County |
| 2. Linwood City, | 19. Little Silver Borough, |
| 3. Englewood City, Bergen County | 20. Marlboro Township, |
| 4. Hillsdale Borough, | 21. Middletown Township, |
| 5. River Vale Township, | 22. Chatham Borough, Morris County |
| 6. Westwood Borough, | 23. Chester Township, |
| 7. Bordentown City, Burlington County | 24. Lincoln Park, |
| 8. Burlington Township, | 25. Madison Borough, |
| 9. Haddonfield Borough, Camden County | 26. Lower Alloways Creek Township, Salem County |
| 10. Lower Township, Cape May County | 27. Bedminster Township, Somerset County |
| 11. Glen Ridge Borough, Essex County | 28. Bernardsville Borough, |
| 12. Livingston Township, | 29. Bridgewater Township, |
| 13. Milburn Township, | 30. Franklin Township |
| 14. Nutley Township, | 31. Sparta Township, Sussex County |
| 15. Union Township, Hunterdon County | 32. Cranford Township, Union County |
| 16. Hopewell Township, Mercer County | 33. Elizabeth City, |
| 17. Lawrence Township, | 34. Rahway City, |

Figure 9: List of Sustainable Jersey communities certified in 2010 (Media Release 11/8/2010)

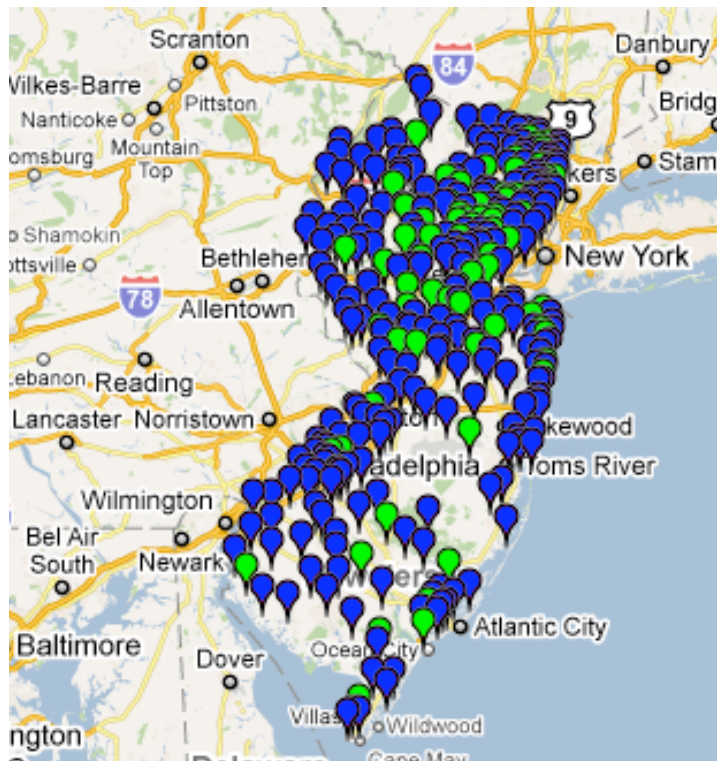


Figure 10: Map of New Jersey Municipalities Registered (blue) and Certified (green) with Sustainable Jersey

2010 Recipients of \$25,000 Sustainable Jersey Project Grants

Municipality	County	Project
CHATHAM TOWNSHIP <i>Sustainable Jersey Certified</i>	Morris County	School Food Composting
CITY of LONG BRANCH	Monmouth County	Model Green Ordinances
MONTCLAIR TOWNSHIP <i>Sustainable Jersey Certified</i>	Essex County	Electric Vehicle Charging Stations
RUTHERFORD BOROUGH <i>Sustainable Jersey Certified</i>	Bergen County	Community Teaching Garden

2010 Recipients of \$10,000 Sustainable Jersey Project Grants

Municipality	County	Project
BAY HEAD BOROUGH	Ocean County	Small Wind Demonstration
BERKELEY HEIGHTS TOWNSHIP <i>Sustainable Jersey Certified</i>	Union County	Tree Canopy Analysis
BRADLEY BEACH BOROUGH	Monmouth County	Small Wind Demonstration
ENGLEWOOD CITY	Bergen County	Tree Inventory and Assessment
EWING TOWNSHIP	Mercer County	Rain Gardens and Water Conservation
GALLOWAY TOWNSHIP <i>Sustainable Jersey Certified</i>	Atlantic County	Environmental Resource Inventory
MIDDLETOWN TOWNSHIP	Monmouth County	Native Plant Garden
OCEAN CITY <i>Sustainable Jersey Certified</i>	Cape May County	School Rain Garden
TENAFLY BOROUGH	Bergen County	Environmental Resource Inventory
WEST ORANGE TOWNSHIP	Essex County	Water Conservation Education

Figure 11: Summary of 2010 recipients of Sustainable Jersey Small Project Grants (Media Release 9/14/2010)

From the group's website it is unclear on the status of funding for the 2011 round of small grants, however Sustainable Jersey mentions on their site that they hope to make this just the one of multiple grant opportunities for municipalities. Through a continuous evaluative process of their certification criteria and funding opportunities Sustainable Jersey is working for municipalities to become greener in the most time and cost efficient way possible. This becomes evident in the fact that because towns may only become Bronze or Silver level certified, one can assume that there is no Gold or Platinum etc. level because of the recognition that can a town ever really be completely and fully 'sustainable'? Regardless it is very telling that the program has expanded so quickly in such a short period of time. Tom Dallessio, the Executive Director for Leadership New Jersey (an organization that seeks to recognize and train individuals that serve their communities) stated, "These towns deserve to be commended for their leadership in seeking sustainable solutions to everyday challenges. At a time when State funding for innovative ideas is extremely constrained, the Sustainable Jersey grants will enable some of the best projects from throughout New Jersey to serve as models for the 21st Century." (Media Release 6/22/2009) Figure 11 on the prior page provides a brief summary of the projects the 2010 grant winners are working on.

In order to learn more about this mass movement in New Jersey's municipalities, I reached out to the recently established green team in Chester Township, a small town of about 7,200 in Morris County (2000 Census). In 2010 Chester Township was one of twenty towns to receive a \$1,000 capacity-building grant as part of the program explained above, and also became one of thirty-eight towns in the state to achieve bronze level certification during the 2010 cycle. In a series of emailed statements Julie Gause, the head of the 'green team,' has explained that in the past few months they have been able to

perform a Natural Resources Inventory and Fleet Inventory for the town (as part of their two required ‘priority actions’ for certification), hold a Green Fair as part of their community outreach which included electronics recycling, paper shredding, community recycling, and a discussion of the Clean Energy Program. In addition they helped pass an ordinance relating to construction waste, a plan for farmland preservation, and have started a rain garden project. In the coming months though, the team has plans to establish a community garden, form a partnership with the school district to work on greening initiatives, start a speaker series on Sustainability at the library, create a buy-local campaign, and in light of the Morris County’s announcement of the Energy Efficiency program they will now also be looking into energy audits for municipal buildings (Gause, personal communication). Many of these projects are already in progress, for instance on January 7th, 2011, the team received a \$2,500 grant from the Home Depot Foundation to help create the Community Garden; it is the green team’s goal that the garden will “provide residents with a fenced, tilled, sunny garden space where they can meet and learn from other area gardeners” (SustainableChesterNJ.org 1/7/2011).

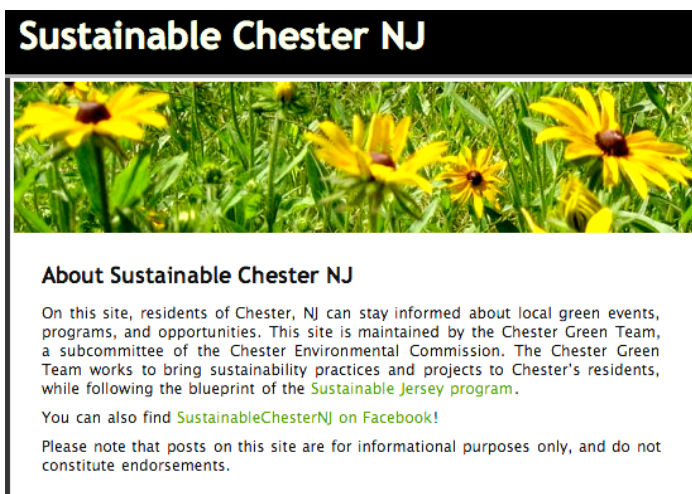


Figure 12: Webpage for Chester Township’s Green Team
(<http://sustainablechesternj.org/>)



Figure 13: Sustainable Chester’s Facebook Page. Just one of many regular updates on how to live a more ‘green’ lifestyle (Facebook.com)

The team has also created a website and Facebook page (Figures 12 and 13), that mention many of these initiatives in addition to regular updates on ways to ‘green your home,’ ‘cut your energy bill,’ and ‘use environmentally friendly de-icers’ (SustainableChesterNJ.org).

Bring in the People

Similarly, while municipalities across the state are working to green their own towns, there are individuals who are working to create a more sustainable future by bringing informed public opinion to bear on the neoliberal state. As was discussed in Chapter 2, there are many who believe that there is a major disconnect between the politics of Trenton and the rest of the state and that the environmental movement is far too ‘hopelessly divided’ to spur progress. (Catania, personal communication) However Michael Catania, the Director of Conservation Resources Inc. a small consulting firm in Chester Township, is far more hopeful about the Environmental movement. Catania, along with fifteen other mainstream organizations have come together to form a New Jersey Chapter of the League of Conservation Voters. With startup grants provided by national League of Conservation Voters and Conservation Resources Inc. they hope that this new local chapter will provide a new mechanism to influence New Jersey policy and educate voters. (Catania 2011) Calling upon the many untapped resources of the ‘mainstream’ environmental movement, the chapter is quickly growing and seeks to create scorecards in the near future to evaluate the work of Governor Christie, the Department of Environmental Protection and legislation that is being worked on in Trenton. To inform the public about the creation of these scorecards and to gather public input on the cars contents, they plan on holding open listening sessions so that the gap between public opinion and public policy may finally begin to be bridged.

Final Thoughts

The recent accomplishments of the Chester Green Team holds promise for the future of the sustainability movement at the local level. But there is still mistrust between the multitude of organizations and entities that are stakeholders in New Jersey's future. Morris County initially struggled to create its pilot round of programs for the Renewable Energy Initiative because of the fiercely home-rule attitudes of many municipalities. The statements of Julie Gause echo these sentiments, for upon hearing about the County's Energy Efficiency Program, the Chester Green Team has set about looking into energy audits for their municipal buildings but despite encouragement, the team has:

...had some difficulty with convincing council members and township administration to move forward with such programs because they are skeptical of reimbursement during this financially uncertain time of the Christie administration. They are afraid that they will lay money out and will not see it come back to them due to discontinued programs, etc. We are keeping the pressure on, however, and hope to make significant progress this year. (Gause, personal communication)

Thus it seems to always come back to the problem of money and a deep-rooted mistrust of higher-level government. If the work of Chester Township's Green Team is indicative of the work that the other seventy-four certified and three hundred thirty two registered municipalities are doing to promote sustainability the future may very well be bright. Similarly the recent emergence of a New Jersey League of Conservation Voters could be just the beginning of an effort to harness this widespread abundance of grassroots energy into a collective whole that can be brought to bear on the vested neoliberal system. The initiatives of the Morris County Improvement Authority are also vital in promoting the regional and multi-dimensional teamwork needed to really tackle these problems once and for all. Though the pilot round of solar projects was all-in-all relatively small, the recognition they have received from IREC and from neighboring counties that are now

mimicking the program shows that sustainability does not need to be a luxury expense, it does indeed save money and promote economic equity and even private sector growth. A quick perusal of any local New Jersey newspaper contains advertisements for large numbers of solar installers and home insulation contractors along with the traditional landscapers and paving businesses. One certainty is that the 14,000 solar panels currently installed, which will result in more than \$3.8 million in energy savings, are just the beginning of a mass-subnational local movement towards a 'greener' future (Press Release 1/2011). The final chapter of this investigation will continue the analysis and implications of these initiatives so as to reach some more concrete conclusions about the future of the sustainability movement.

Chapter 4: The future of the sustainability movement: taking progressivism at the local level to the global

The recent work of the Morris County Improvement Authority, the Chester Township Green Team, and others across the state of New Jersey demonstrate that we do not have to just accept the overwhelming opinion that climate change, global warming, etc. are happening and that there is nothing we can do about it. The state of global industrialization has not gotten to the point yet that under market conditions sustainability is impossible. The earlier discussion of the rise of neo-liberalism shows that there is indeed an increased importance placed on the market in conjunction with a heightened mistrust in the government to provide solutions. However the case studies of northern New Jersey demonstrate that we do not need to sit by idly, change is possible if citizens are willing to don the mantle of leadership and take a stand for sustainability.

But as discussed earlier in this investigation, what does sustainability even mean in this market-dominated society? The 1987 report from the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) created the most commonly referred to definition of “Development that meets the needs of today without compromising the needs of future generations” (Parr 2009, 1). It has been said that due to the vagueness of this definition, sustainability has come to mean everything and nothing. Individuals, organizations, corporations, and governments may invoke the term in any and all manners to promote their agenda or stir up feelings of hope and good will. At first encounter I assumed this was a flaw in the current definitions, and so I tried in the first section of this thesis to navigate and understand the countless number of models that seek to describe and define sustainability. Upon analysis of Hodge’s model on the relationship between the Ecosystem and the Human Subsystem, I have come to the conclusion that it

is actually not that necessary for there to be a clear concise definition of ‘sustainability’ in order for programs and initiatives to be effective.

For instance, consider the work of Sustainable Jersey and Chester Township; the green team for Chester Township has stated that their mission statement is exactly the same as Sustainable Jersey: “to go green, save money, and take steps to sustain our quality of life over the long term” and that their operational definition of sustainability entails “operating in such a way that can be continued indefinitely with minimal long-term effect on the environment” (Gause, personal communication). These two definitions of sustainability are just as vague as the one developed by the 1987 WCED, however in less than two years the organization has had over seventy-four communities start becoming ‘green’ and another three hundred and thirty three localities pledge their commitment to ‘going green’ in the coming months and/or years. (SustainableJersey.org) Maybe it is because of the ambiguity of the definition of sustainability that so many communities have been drawn to the certification program; it provides a clear road map for the process, but then once certified, it has allowed them to pursue a wide range opportunities to reduce their community’s impact on the environment.

Similarly, the only definition of sustainability that the Morris County Improvement Authority had was that ‘going green’ meant pursuing opportunities in renewable energy and energy efficiency. (Pearlman & Pinto, personal communication) In effect they did not even have a fully developed operational definition of ‘sustainability,’ but this has in no way prevented them from being successful. Theorists have claimed that the ambiguity and romanticism associated with ‘going green’ mires and holds back possible progress because groups do not know where to even start with formulating ‘green initiatives’ or ‘green agendas.’ However once we look past the supposed necessity

to have a well-defined notion of ‘sustainability,’ we may begin to look for ‘green opportunities’ wherever they may exist.

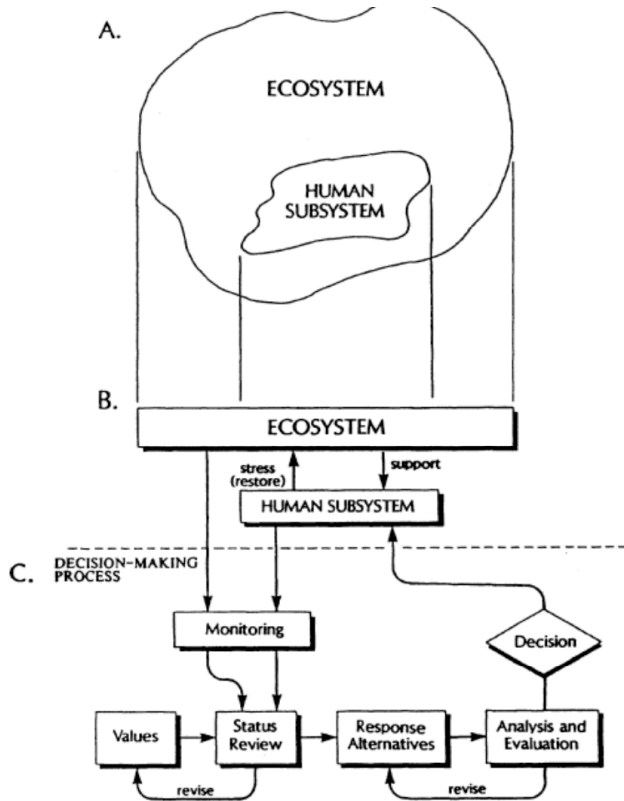


Figure 14: Hodge’s model of assessing progress towards sustainability (Hodge 1995 as cited in Hodge 1997)

Hodge’s model, points out that what is needed is not a specific definition of sustainability, but rather a clear system of monitoring and standards so that effective evaluation can continually be carried out and re-evaluated. The traditional sustainability model of the three interconnected spheres: Society, the Economy, and the Environment, is useful in describing the forces at work, but it really only serves to muddle the discussion. When one looks at the problem of sustainability too broadly, the three spheres model, with its emphasis on a multi-faceted approach, makes it difficult to determine an

appropriate starting point. The Hodge model simply calls for us to realize that we are just a smaller subsystem of the larger Ecosystem and so we should carefully reflect about how our actions affect the system as a whole. In many ways Hodge’s model is a further developed view of the nested approach to sustainability i.e. that the Economy, Society, and then Environment are all interdependent.

‘Public Space’ and ‘Sustainability,’ two related discourses

Taking a moment to put these approaches in context, the experiences documented in this thesis in many ways relate to the on-going discourse on the state of public space.

In a similar way to the sustainability movement, in the past decade and a half there has been a new wave of public space activism that seeks to reclaim public spaces from the forces of privatization, surveillance, and corporate interests. In encouraging citizen engagement and participation for ‘renewed public spaces’ groups and organizations invoke the term to appeal to people on any number of individual emotional levels. However, like the term ‘sustainability,’ there are some who feel that it has become somewhat meaningless. Mark Kingwell,

laments its deployment ‘to defend (or attack) architecture, to decry (or celebrate) civic squares, to promote (or denounce) graffiti artists, skateboarders, jaywalkers, parkour aficionados, pie-in-the-face guerillas, underground capture-the-flag enthusiasts, flash-mob surveillance busters and other grid-resistant everyday anarchists’ (Kingwell 2008, 18 as cited in Pask, 236).

Though it is beyond the scope of this thesis to go into concrete examples of ‘public space activism,’ suffice it to say that I disagree with this lamentation; there are thousands of people across the country that are working, each in their own way, to support the spirit of ‘sustainability’ and/or ‘public space.’ Andrew Pask writing in response to Kingwell’s comments:

“far from being problematic, ... it is actually one of the strengths of the concept. It is open for discussion and debate and is loose enough to inspire a variety of opinions, whether laudatory or denunciatory. ... Semantic overload in the term only occurs if its many uses become mutually incoherent, and public space — like other rich points in our urban lexicon — is no Tower of Babel. No one ever faulted art (or ‘art’) for having the same capacity to inspire contradictory responses” (Pask 236-237).

In promoting an alternative future to our neoliberal present, I would say that at this point in time any and all progress is good progress. Whether it is in creating an urban garden or a street-side park as many public space activists do, or in creating a cost-effective, efficient and equitable way to promote renewable energy as this thesis has explored,

action at the local level can be effective and have far-reaching implications. Furthermore in thinking about the relationship between public space activism and the sustainability movement, both arose as ways to combat the predominant neoliberal narrative. Such experiences add to the evidence that the public is truly becoming frustrated with the lack of action at the federal and state level; the use of ‘public space’ or ‘sustainability’ as broadly defined sentimentalized terms appeals to a broad spectrum of the public on any number of emotional levels. Thus in both cases the term itself serves as a catalyst for rallying communities for change and reform.

Neoliberalism’s Response

However, one of the limitations to such a broadly conceived notion of ‘sustainability’ (and ‘public space’) is that it opens the doors to it becoming captured by private interests to further their purely profit-motivated economic agenda. Part and parcel with community mobilization for sustainability and ‘greener lifestyles,’ is the increased presence of sustainability and green issues in popular culture. “As the public’s enthusiasm for sustainable ways of life, environmental stewardship, and social equity grows, popular culture is rapidly becoming the predominant arena where the meaning and value of sustainability is contested, produced, and exercised” (Parr 2009, 3). The primary example of this is the growing number of corporations who are seeking to profit from the ‘green wave.’ British Petroleum (BP), Wal-Mart and others are working to re-brand their products to appeal to the ‘young people’ who care about the environment. Such re-branding gives consumers a feeling of self-worth and efficacy for buying the dish soap with the polar bear cub on it or the T-shirt made with natural dyes. However, how many people realize that the \$1 the business promises only actually gets donated, if you input multiple obscure codes into an equally obscure website. Or really how ‘green’ can a

mass-produced T-shirt be, if it is made by exploiting labor in a far off country and shipped half way around the world to the consumer; the dye may be all-natural, but the low prices are indicative of some very unsustainable practices. This emerging culture of corporate green-ism has come to be referred to as *Greenwashing*, “the phenomenon of socially and environmentally destructive corporations attempting to preserve and expand their markets of power by posing as friends of the Earth” (Corporate Watch 2001, as cited in Parr 2009, 16).

Though some work by Wal-mart and others to ‘go green’ can be beneficial. For example, in July 2009 Wal-Mart announced an initiative to create an industry sustainability index over the next five years for the products it and similar large box stores like Target, Costco, and Tesco, etc. sell (Rosenbloom 7/15/2009). Similarly in 2007 Wal-Mart opened the first of three new eco-centers, which are designed to act as sustainable retail centers and as their CEO, Mike Duke explains, “lead the way in promoting the use of sustainable building practices in retail and the real-estate development process” from which their experiences may then be shared with “the industry, the general public and government agencies” (Wal-Mart Fact Sheet 2007 as cited in Parr 2009, 25). The very problem though with such an emphasis on the environmental friendliness of these stores and of the company in general is that there are only 3 of these new eco-supercenters out of the 3,811 Wal-Mart stores (2006) in the United States (Fishman 2006, 3-4 as cited in Parr 2009, 24). Furthermore such discourses divert our attention from the larger issue of the unsustainable way of life such big-box-store suburban sprawl developments promote. Parr writes that, “the more the power of sustainability culture is appropriated by the mechanisms of State and corporate culture, the more it camouflages the darker underbelly of both — militarism and capitalism”

(2009, 6). Thus Parr (and others) “remains unconvinced by the corporate beast reincarnating itself as man’s best friend” for if the every notion of sustainability can only be conceived of in terms of consumption and economic development, then where does that leave our discussion of progress?

This is important, as was mentioned in the case study on Sustainable Jersey, this program has been successful during the past two years and provided over \$420,000 in grant money to municipalities across the state in large part thanks to the support of Wal-Mart. Similarly in Chester Township, their Green Team has been able to start a community garden because of \$2,500 start-up grant from the Home Depot. Although I agree with Parr that it is correct to question the possible motivations behind the involvement of large corporations in such initiatives and what it means for how we think of ‘sustainability,’ I also believe that such support is actually indicative of an emerging form of public-private cooperation. In fact such corporate involvement in the financing of these initiatives echoes back to the 1970’s and what Denny Zane from Santa Monica said in relation to their reformed business-government relationship:

... they [businesses] may have to find that the structure of their relationship to the government is going to be different, that there is going to be equity participation, that there is going to be a way in which some of that flow is returned to the population, rather than siphoned off into some other community, that there is going to be a different structure of the relationship, that they nonetheless will probably do very well. (Zane 1983 as cited in Clavel 161)

The Public-Private Partnership

The case studies presented in this thesis demonstrate how ‘sustainability’ may be appropriately invoked to promote progress. In many ways the experiences of the Morris County Improvement Authority and the municipalities involved in Sustainable Jersey follow the notion that sustainability should be viewed as being inter-dependently based

on the Economy, Society, and the Environment. Furthermore, they call our attention to an emerging form of civic engagement and public-private relations initiatives that are distinct from the traditional political lobbying model. Out of the inaction at the federal and state level, a pre-existing county government was able to step up into its leadership role as an organizer; bringing together disparate groups in the name of the greater good. Due to the practiced isolation between school districts and municipalities they were all unaware of the fact that they were being taken advantage of by the private solar industry. Thus the intervention of the county government enabled these multiple organizations and institutions to act as a unified whole and thereby level the playing field.

Similarly Sustainable Jersey emerged from a cooperative project between the New Jersey State League of Municipalities, the Municipal Land Use Center at the College of New Jersey, the New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection (NJDEP), and the New Jersey Board of Public Utilities and lead to the creation of a program that is a “consensus oriented, science based, politically relevant effort to align the interests and resources of actors from state and local, public and private, for the common purpose of achieving a sustainable New Jersey and world” (SustainableJersey.org, History). Furthermore, in their pursuit to streamline and incentivize the process they have garnered financial support from a wide range of interests from PSE&G, New Jersey Natural Gas, Nautilus Solar, and Wal-Mart, who has provided the resources to create a competitive funding program to supply thousands of dollar in grants to program participants. (SustainableJersey.org, Funders)

This is not to say that the notion of the ‘public-private partnership’ is new, on the contrary they have existed in theory and practice for a long time. On a basic level, a public-private partnership refers to “a division of labor between government and the

private sector across policy spheres as much as to any specific collaboration between government and the private sector” (Linder & Rosenau 1 as cited in Rosenau 2000). The idea of public-private partnership has been around for hundreds of years, (e.g. the mercenary armies of the medieval ages) but more relevant to this investigation has been their involvement in the rise of neoliberalism in the late 1970’s. Either from frustrations with the public sector’s bureaucracy and inefficiencies as compared to a flourishing private sector in an age of rapid technological innovation in the late 20th century, or even just on an ideological and philosophical level, many politicians determined that they preferred a return to a more market driven society. (Linder & Rosenau 4 as cited in Rosenau 2000). Out of this move to ‘privatize’ we now are bearing witness to shifts beyond the mere ‘downsizing of government,’ for example the privatization of jury trials in California (Jacobs 1997), and of utilities like electricity, water, gas, and transportation around the world (Moffett 1998). Furthermore as of 1992, Daley (1996) determined that close to 600 cities have turned to outsourcing for their operations; a number that has certainly grown in recent years. (Linder & Rosenau 5 as cited in Rosenau 2000) Since the late 1990’s and the early 2000’s, privatization has continued to catch on at all levels and macro-level government has become even more polarized and partisan leading to the scenarios of inaction described earlier in this investigation. Under the neoliberal narrative, “urban democracy has been compromised by a partnership approach that views city government hindrance to ‘fast track’ redevelopment deal-making, rather than as a genuine redevelopment partner representing the public interest” (Levine 28 as cited in Squires 1989).

However, there is promise in the new forms of ‘partnership’ that are emerging beyond just the mere ‘privatization’ of government. The New York Times Op-Ed

columnist Bob Herbert speaking of our current state of affairs, “In the mad rush to privatization over the past few decades, democracy itself was put up for sale, and the rich were the only ones who could afford it” (2011). Herbert explains that in one of Howard Zinn’s last interviews, before his death in January 2010, “He was chagrined about the state of affairs in the U.S. but not at all daunted. ‘If there is going to be change,’ he said, ‘real change, it will have to work its way from the bottom up, from the people themselves.’” (2011) An integral to this change is cooperation where, “Rather than shrinking government in favor of private-sector activity through a devolution of public responsibilities, or other forms of load-shedding, in the best of situations partnering institutionalizes collaborative arrangements where the differences between sectors become blurred” (Linder & Rosenau 6 as cited in Rosenau 2000). And so we begin to see how all of these issues at play come together; the cases of the Morris County Improvement Authority and Somerset County speak to this blurring of sector boundaries; the shift to a more business oriented approach, that results in paying equal dividends for the private solar developer, many communities and institutional entities, and the people involved. Whereas concurrently the case of Sustainable Jersey and the mass appearance of local green teams across the state speak to a reinvigorated bottom-up approach not only to sustainability, but also to civic participation in general.

Sparking Change and Progress

Herbert and Zinn, speaking in the context of the recent uprisings by the populace in Egypt lament the irony that we, the United States, may applaud others for their recent shift towards democracy, but simultaneously toss ours away to wealthy and privileged special interests. This said though, the recent sustainability initiatives in northern New Jersey in many ways speak to an awakening of the people and the growing discontent

with the neoliberal system. This revolution of sustainability may not exactly entail the outright violence and street protests of the revolutions in the Middle East, but as James Scott, writing on the subject of *Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, said:

Just as millions of anthozoan polyps create, willy-nilly, a coral reef, so do thousands of individual acts of insubordination and evasion create a political or economic barrier reef of their own. There is rarely any dramatic confrontation, any moment that is particularly newsworthy. And whenever, to pursue the simile, the ship of state runs aground on such a reef, attention is typically directed to the shipwreck itself and not to the vast aggregation of petty acts that made it possible. (Scott 1985, 36 as cited in Domosh 1998, 212)

Whether it is an easily transferable model that can allow local governments to promote renewable energy and energy efficiency, or a streamlined and incentivized program that inspires local action, I believe that New Jersey is at the heart of what Scott says about thousands of individual acts building up over time to create change. In the act of diverse interests from the public and private sectors coming together, there emerges a cooperative arrangement that is to the benefit of the greater good. Some may question the appropriateness of the motives of the ‘neoliberal profit machine,’ but if the public and non-profit sectors can successfully steer the ‘ship of state’ then progress can indeed be made. In many ways this new mode of sustainability is not so much about revolution as it is about working within the current constructs of the political economy to create more equitable outcomes.

Fainstein in her recent book, *The Just City*, comes to a similar conclusion that “the pressure for non-reformist reforms can lead to incremental changes in the system [of global capitalism] that place it on a path towards justice” and “that sufficient leeway exists that reform backed by political mobilization can product significant change” (2010, 17). On the other hand though, David Harvey contends that “acting within the existing

capitalist regime of rights and freedoms ... [can only result in] mitigating the worst outcomes at the margins of an unjust system” and that “a Just City has to be about fierce conflict all of the time” (2009, 46 & 47). I would agree with Fainstein that one wonders “whether democratic participation is compatible with fierce conflict, and whether most people wish to live in a state of constant battle,” does such conflict only serve to blind us to the opportunities possible in the current construct? The recent success of the MCIA and Sustainable Jersey experiences speak to the truth in this statement, for without the aid and cooperation of the private sector; none of these initiatives would have gotten off the ground.

This is not to say that there is not a time and place for revolution that entails violent uprising, the current situations in the Middle East being a prime example, but violence cannot be the only answer. Harvey’s analysis relies on the idea that within each of us is a sleeping revolutionary. This is partially true, however the current sustainability initiatives in New Jersey are succeeding not because of revolutionary and guerrilla tactics but rather because ordinary citizens are taking a stand for what they feel is right, just, and equitable. In using the current system to their advantage, progress at the municipal level is finally being made towards a more sustainable future.

Limits

The basis for this thesis’s argument is that this action at the local and municipal level can indeed begin to place pressure on the neoliberal system at the broader state and federal levels. One of the first reasons this might not necessarily be the case is that:

Grassroots organizations still need to squeeze local specificity into a manageable and general rubric before the needs of disenfranchised groups can be represented in the political arena. In reality, power structures are challenged and critiqued only after representation is reintroduced into the political vocabulary, and its effectiveness depends

upon the collaboration of large institutions (government and/or international) as much as it does the efforts and commitments of local actors. (Parr 2009, 3)

Fainstein's and my argument relies upon the idea that working within the current system is indeed effective, however it is also possible that the community organization and mobilization witnessed here is just a sham. If these initiatives do not create a sufficient amount of pressure to actually make the 'larger institutions' of society collaborate then it is possible that such movements will just fizzle out. Zygmunt Bauman writes: "Society is no longer protected by the state, or at least it is unlikely to trust the protection on offer; it is now exposed to the rapacity of forces it does not control and no longer hopes or intends to recapture and subdue" (2007, 25). He goes on to say that as a result "Human bonds are comfortably loose, but for that same reason frightfully unreliable, and solidarity is as difficult to practice as its benefits, and even more its moral virtues, are difficult to comprehend" and so "The problem, and the awesome task that will in all probability confront the current century as its paramount challenge, is the bringing of power and politics together again." (Bauman 2007, 24 & 25) If real progress is to be made, then what is needed is a real substantive challenge to the neoliberal system. The issue though that Bauman and Parr bring up is whether the neoliberal system has rendered such organization ineffective. Will these locally based sustainability initiatives inspire change in communities across the country, or are they destined to become just another solitary bright spot in history?

A corollary issue to this concern of effective community mobilization is whether the local level is even the appropriate starting point in which to act. For instance:

Robert Dahl, in a classic 1967 article, referred to the Chinese box problem of participation and power: at the level of the neighborhood, there is the greatest opportunity for democracy but the least amount of power; as we

scale up the amount of decision-making power increases, but the potential of people to affect outcomes diminishes. The city level therefore is one layer in the hierarchy of governance. (Fainstein 2010, 17)

Thus we run into the situation where even if these municipal sustainability initiatives can catch on in municipalities across the country, it is up to debate whether such movements can influence decision-making at the higher levels of government. Building on this idea, Manuel Castells has written (1983) that such “urban social movements can potentially produce a municipal revolution even if they cannot achieve social transformation” (Fainstein 2010, 18). The case studies presented here, definitely speak to Castell’s “municipal revolution” however the counter-evidence presented here begs the question of whether these sustainability movements have the ability to produce incremental long-lasting changes to the neoliberal system.

In defense of this sustainable progressivism though is the fact that the case studies presented here do not follow the classic model. The MCIA is actively working with the private sector to produce the changes that they have made. Similarly Sustainable Jersey is unique in that it is a non-profit working at the state level to inspire change at the local level; in spanning multiple levels of governance I believe that it does not in fact fall prey to the concerns of Dahl, Castells, and Bauman. These three hundred and thirty three municipalities are not strictly speaking working independently; together they are all working together towards a greening of New Jersey as a collective whole. In Robert Fischer’s conclusion to his hallmark book, *Let the People Decide*, he explains that in confronting the forces of global capitalism, “We must also begin to think about how to “Act Global” through international organizations, coalitions, alliances, and networks. The challenges are immense. A consciously ideological, grassroots leadership committed to opposing the privatization of life and to building larger organizational forms is essential.”

(Fischer 1994, 233) Both of the case studies presented in this thesis represent the beginnings of “larger organizational forms” that can work at multiple levels of governance and power. Similarly the creation of a New Jersey League of Conservation Voters speaks to a mobilization of the public to bring environmental accountability to both state and local government, while also working at the federal level through the national League of Conservation Voters. Such programs and initiatives are only the beginning and as Fisher has said “the challenges are immense” but the evidence suggests that sustainable progressivism is indeed emerging within the constructs of neoliberalism. I think that this method for initiating economic, political and social change developed in New Jersey may very well be exported across the country in coming years and thus begin to produce incremental change towards Shafer’s “New Ecological Paradigm” and Fainstein’s “Just City.”

Conclusion

This thesis has explored the notion of ‘sustainability’ and what it really means in the current contexts of neoliberalism. In order to provide said context, this thesis began in Chapter 1 by looking briefly at how urban policy has evolved over the Twentieth Century. In eventually giving rise to neoliberalism, the ideology that the market and private sector should be the dominant decision-making power, the definition of ‘sustainability’ has concurrently evolved since the 1960’s to try and clarify the relationship between the environment, the economy, and society. To further illustrate, the impacts of twentieth century urban planning the investigation then turned to a brief analysis of “progressivism.” The progressivism movement arose in the 1970’s to combat the rampant urban development that left many without affordable housing, living wages, or healthy communities. Santa Monica, California is a prime example of how a community mobilized to contest the growing inequality and lack of affordable housing in their city; by working on a precise issue Santa Monicans for Renters’ Rights managed to get an affordable housing ordinance on the ballot and eventually even got ‘progressives’ elected to the city council. In this way, this thesis has sought to link these two issues, sustainability and progressivism, for as discussed later in the investigation, the recent sustainability initiatives in New Jersey very much mimic the progressive challenges to neoliberalism in the 1970’s.

Chapter 2 then went on to describe how neoliberalism has played out in concrete ways at the federal level and at the state level in New Jersey. The failure of the climate bill in Congress, the dissolution of Congressional initiatives that promote green efforts at the Capital, the assault against the legal legitimacy of the Environmental Protection Agency, as well as at the state level the recent work of Governor Christie against the

Environment and substantive government in general, all speak to the reasons why in the Twenty-First Century change and progressivism must thus come from the ground up.

Chapter 3 then provides the case studies for this thesis. The Morris County Improvement Authority's Renewable Energy Initiative and Energy Efficiency Program both demonstrate how substantive government is possible within the confines of neoliberalism. By creating a unique financing model that is easily transferable and exportable, they have revealed the power of local and regional governments to work with the private sector to create desirable social outcomes. With one pilot round completed, over 13,000 solar panels have been installed on schools and municipal buildings across the county, producing upwards of 3.2 MW and \$3.8 million in energy savings. The second of case study tells the story of how in a little over two years Sustainable Jersey has created a streamlined and incentivized rubric that encourages municipalities to 'go green.' Since the program's inception, seventy-four towns have become certified and another three hundred and thirty three municipalities have registered with the organization, signifying their commitment to becoming certified in the coming years. Part of the strength of the initiative has been their willingness to partner with corporate interests to provide competitive grants to participating municipalities. In these two years, over \$420,000 has been given to promote a range of programs, projects, and initiatives in municipalities across the state.

The analysis provided in Chapter 4, explains that both of these case studies reveal a changing relationship between the public and private sectors. Though Bauman, Zinn, Fischer, and others have mentioned that the recent rise of neoliberalism and global capitalism has left many people to fend for themselves and feel ever more distant from their physically close next-door neighbors, these sustainability initiatives speak to a

renewed interest in community activism. Although different from the populace-driven revolutions in the Middle East, I would contend that we are in our own sort of revolution. Fainstein, Domosh, Parr, and others agree that large-scale social change can indeed occur through sustained incremental pressure at the local level. A broad conception of ‘sustainability’ is vital to this progressivism for it thus appeals to and inspires people on any number of individual emotional levels. The fact that fifty-nine percent of New Jersey’s municipalities are now actively working towards a greener tomorrow speaks to the potential that the ‘sustainability’ issue has to spark ‘the people’ in to becoming actively engaged again in their democratic society and its political institutions. Similarly the New Jersey League of Conservation Voters is another significant political development that shows that significant issues can rally community members together to bring about political change that is aimed at maintaining a cohesive and better future for all, rather than the nihilistic message that the Tea Party is offering.

This said, there are arguments that such municipal level progressivism is destined to just fizzle out, for in order for far reaching change to be possible, some theorists argue that the collaboration and cooperation of corporations and large-scale institutions is required. Furthermore they also argue that neoliberalism is such that while local level progressivism is possible, such initiatives are not transferable and so cannot inspire greater social change. Additionally there are also concerns that such broad conceptions ‘sustainability’ open it to the risk that it will be co-opted by private interests transforming it into a tool with the sole purpose of increasing profits and deceiving consumers. I for one do not agree with these pessimistic points of view, the case studies presented both needed to involve the private sector in order to be successful. With the public sector and the public leading the charge, I believe that the private sector can be directed to an extent

allowing for progress to be made. The real key is that we do not become complacent with the progress made thus far. Hodge's model makes it clear that as long as we all continue to reevaluate our measures for success we may continue to progress toward to an ever greener society. "Sustainability culture is optimistic insofar as it encourages us to work for a future that is different from the present by focusing more on sociality than profit-maximizing principles" (Parr 2009, 165). There are certainly challenges up ahead but the cases of the Morris County Improvement Authority, Sustainable Jersey, and the New Jersey League of Conservation Voters, all speak to an ever-growing trend that progressivism and sustainability are indeed possible in our present political economy.

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Appendix I: Sustainable Jersey Criteria for becoming Bronze or Silver level certified

The Bronze Level of certification requires the establishment of a mandatory Green Team, implementation of 2 out of 6 PRIORITY ACTIONS, and a total of 150 points. Actions must be completed in 6 of the 16 categories to be eligible for certification.

The Silver Level of Certification requires the establishment of a mandatory Green Team, implementation of 3 out of 6 PRIORITY ACTIONS, and a total of 350 points. Actions must be completed in 8 of the 16 categories to be eligible for certification.

Community Partnership & Outreach	Funding	Bronze	Silver	Points	Select
Create Green Team		M	M	10	
Community Education and Outreach				10	
Energy Outreach and Incentive Programs					
School-based Energy Conservation Programs				10	
Education for Sustainability Programs				10	
Green Challenges & Community Programs				10	
Green Fairs					
Diversity & Equity	Funding	Bronze	Silver	Points	Select
Diversity on Boards & Commissions				10	
Environmental Justice in Planning & Zoning				10	
Lead Education and Outreach Programs				10	
Lead-Safe Training Programs				10	

Cumulative Risk Assessment				10	
Energy Efficiency	Funding	Bronze	Silver	Points	Select
Energy Audits for Municipal Facilities		P	P		
High Efficiency Municipal Buildings					
Greenhouse Gas	Funding	Bronze	Silver	Points	Select
Municipal Carbon Footprint		P	P	10	
Community Carbon Footprint				10	
Climate Action Plan				10	
Wind Ordinance				10	
Green Design	Funding	Bronze	Silver	Points	Select
Green Building Policy/Resolution				5	
Green Building Training				5	
Green Design Commercial and Residential Buildings					
Green Design Municipal Buildings					
Health and Wellness	Funding	Bronze	Silver	Points	Select
Building Healthier Communities				20	
Anti-Idling Education & Enforcement Program				10	
Safe Routes to School				10	
Land use & Transportation	Funding	Bronze	Silver	Points	Select
Sustainable Land Use Pledge		P	P	10	
Sustainability Master Plan Revision				20	
Complete Streets Program				20	

<u>Municipal Planning and Zoning Self-Assessment</u>				10	
Local Economies	Funding	Bronze	Silver	Points	Select
<u>Buy Local Programs</u>					
<u>Green Business Recognition Program</u>				10	
<u>Green Jobs/Economic Development</u>				10	
Food	Funding	Bronze	Silver	Points	Select
<u>Support Local Food</u>					
<u>Food Production</u>					
<u>Planning for Local Food Production</u>					
<u>Farmland Preservation</u>					
Natural Resources	Funding	Bronze	Silver	Points	Select
<u>Environmental Commission</u>				10	
<u>Caring for Conservation Easements</u>					
<u>Natural Resource Inventory</u>		P	P	20	
<u>Open Space Plans</u>				10	
<u>Natural Resource Protection Ordinances</u>					
<u>Tree & Woodlands Management</u>					
<u>Water Conservation Education Program</u>				10	
<u>Water Conservation Ordinance</u>		P	P	20	
Operations & Maintenance	Funding	Bronze	Silver	Points	Select
<u>Green Purchasing Program</u>					
<u>Grounds & Maintenance</u>					

<u>Green Fleets</u>		P	P		
<u>Adopt Behavioral Policies</u>				5	
Sustainability Planning	Funding	Bronze	Silver	Points	Select
<u>Community Asset Mapping</u>				10	
<u>Community Visioning</u>				10	
<u>Sustainable Community Plan</u>					
Waste Management	Funding	Bronze	Silver	Points	Select
<u>Recycling</u>					
<u>Waste Reduction</u>					
Innovative Demonstration Projects	Funding	Bronze	Silver	Points	Select
<u>Solar</u>				10	
<u>Wind</u>				10	
<u>Geothermal</u>				10	
<u>Green Roofs</u>				10	
<u>Raingardens</u>				10	
<u>Other</u>				10	
Animals in the Community	Funding	Bronze	Silver	Points	Select
<u>Companion Animal Management Plan</u>				20	
<u>Pledge Supporting NJ Wildlife Action Plan</u>				10	
<u>Wildlife Interaction Plan</u>				20	
<u>Animals in the Community Education</u>				10	
Arts/Culture/Historic Preservation	Funding	Bronze	Silver	Points	Select
<u>Strengthen School Arts Programs</u>				10	

	Bronze	Silver	Select
Required Mandatory Actions	1	1	
Required Priority Actions	2	3	
Total Score	150	350	

