REGIONAL COLLABORATION POSSIBILITIES:

RURAL AND URBAN CHANGEMAKERS' VALUES AND ASPIRATIONS FOR A

GREEN NEW DEAL IN TOMPKINS COUNTY, NY

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RURAL AND URBAN CHANGEMAKERS' VALUES AND ASPIRATIONS FOR A
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ABSTRACT

In response to rising carbon emissions and socioeconomic inequality, municipalities across the U.S. are adopting ambitious goals under the banner of a Green New Deal (GND). The GND has been an urban initiative, yet more areas are looking to regional partnerships to leverage funding and expand the scale of action and benefit. This study investigates urban and rural perspectives, values, and aspirations for GND policymaking in Tompkins County, NY. It ties together regionalism, urban – rural linkages, and collaborative planning to elaborate a basis for collective regional action towards the area's GND goals. There are shared regional vulnerabilities, interests, and values in Tompkins County, yet place, class, ideological, and identity divisions create barriers. Collaborative planning processes that foster connections between communities can address them. Future work that builds on common themes among interviewees of economic development and addressing inequality, as well as suggested issue areas can serve as an initial base for participation. I include recommendations for what stakeholders can convene around, processes to do so, and the types of organizations to involve going forward.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Naomi Crimm is originally from Wynnewood, Pennsylvania and received her bachelor's degree in environmental studies with a concentration in ecology from Bates College in Lewiston, Maine. She has pursued her interest in addressing environmental issues in a variety of settings before returning to school for a graduate degree in Regional Planning at Cornell University. This included working as a Community Environmental Conservation Volunteer with the Peace Corps in Panama, an outdoor and environmental educator in Boston, and doing outreach and engagement for the City of Cambridge Community Development Department's sustainable transportation programs. At Cornell, Naomi has focused her studies on climate adaptation, land use planning, and community development.

For Ben, who first taught me to consider alternative perspectives and voices, and to focus on

the possibilities

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Green New Deal (GND) arose as response to rising inequality and rising emissions, yet it has primarily been an urban agenda in the United States. This indicates a need for rural perspectives in this initiative. This is the case for the city of Ithaca as well, which passed a GND resolution in June of 2019. Despite previous research demonstrating that urban rural divides can prohibit regional identity formation and collective action, there is also evidence demonstrating that these divides are not so engrained. With a framework for regional action defined by a convening entity, researchers have found that different actors are able to work collaboratively. However, this can only happen once the project, process, and actors are identified. This study, therefore, seeks to further define the actors and processes for a regional GND in Tompkins County. It investigates urban and rural perspectives, values, aspirations to inform GND policymaking in Tompkins County, NY. It looks at the extent of overlap and divergence of views across urban and rural communities. It ties together regionalism, urban – rural linkages, climate policy, and collaborative planning, filling a gap in the literature to elaborate a framework for collective regional action towards Ithaca's GND goals.

To evaluate urban and rural values and aspirations for the GND, how they compare, and the opportunities to bridge perceived divisions between stakeholders, I conducted semi-structured interviews of 'change-makers' across urban and rural in Tompkins County. Change-makers included those in positions of power, those with decision-making, change-making ability, those with access to assets. I coded interview transcripts to identify and assess varying perspectives, values, and aspirations.

I found there to be shared regional vulnerabilities, interests, and values. Vulnerabilities included fragmented transportation options, food insecurity, a lack of affordable housing, and loss of farmland and rural land due to suburban development. There were common concerns about addressing economic inequality and uncertainty, and common

conceptions of environmental and community stewardship. Nevertheless, there were place, class, ideological, and identity divisions, as well as perceived socioeconomic differences and power dynamics, creating barriers to collaborative processes. To address this, interviewees spoke about fostering connections between communities in the county. This included building awareness of interdependence between urban and rural, reframing issues and actions in terms of mutual benefit, reaching out to commuters to bridge gaps between urban and rural, developing regional arts, culture, and food-based initiatives, and building regional relationships and partnerships. They added specific characteristics of these actions: advocating for them to be grounded in mutual respect, recognition of each place's needs, strengths, roles, shared values, and listening. These suggestions align with collaborative planning processes, for which the literature indicates can result in successful initiatives that address complex environmental problems. Collaborative processes can address the barriers to joint action that Tompkins County faces.

This study reveals the value of understanding perspectives and motivations of different actors, as it can reveal how people react to change, as well as the potential grounds for collective action. The GND effort is as much about cultural changes as technological ones. There are shared interests in regional efforts, despite different framings by various stakeholders. Therefore, framing discussions around mutual interests rather than solely around climate and energy can be useful. There are also nontrivial grievances between rural residents and city of Ithaca based on previous interactions, which need to be acknowledged in order to set the stage for future work and future collaboration. Giving people financial incentives for actions, or remuneration for the work that they are doing that contributes to climate mitigation and adaptation goes a long way. Renewed narratives that focus on cultural revitalization that take into account local and regional assets can help to create a joint vision of the future.

Regional partnerships have the potential to help the City and Town of Ithaca achieve their GND goals, expanding the benefits to reduce inequities across urban and rural

communities. Collaborative planning processes, therefore, can help to address barriers and build collective understandings of the problems, visions for the future, and policies and programs to get there. This project represents an initial step in assessing the issues in Tompkins County that will be relevant for GND regional collaboration. Next steps include further determining the role of different actors, and further defining potential avenues to foster relationships and connections.

The process example that Ithaca and Tompkins County set can be a model for other communities across the country also attempting to take regional action on climate change. With Covid-19 budget cuts and other severe economic repercussions there are additional barriers to this work. The public health crisis is intimately linked to the crises of climate change and social inequity that the GND strives to address. A green stimulus can therefore aid the region's economic recovery. Coalitions and regional advocacy will help the area advocate for stimulus funding. This demonstrates the importance of the current moment for regional convening.

Future directions include framing work in terms of economic development and addressing economic inequality to build on common themes across stakeholders' suggestions. Issues areas to convene around include carbon offset programs, renewable energy development, green workforce development programs, regenerative agriculture, affordable housing, connected transportation, and local food development. These can provide the base for stakeholders' participation, as these areas are not adequately addressed already. Utilizing strategies that other initiatives find to be critical for successful dialogue, like a neutral meeting space, creating meeting norms, having a negotiating text/evolving agreement, opportunities for storytelling, and joint inquiry, can be helpful in process design. Types of groups to involve range from educational institutions and planning departments in a technical advisory role, agricultural committees, labor, and environmental non-profits in a constituency representative role, to community-based organizations in a public advocate and facilitation role.

Introduction

       The United States currently faces both a climate crisis and a crisis of rising economic inequality. Impacts of climate change caused by more frequent and intense weather events, as well as changes in average climate conditions are already damaging infrastructure, ecosystems, and social systems in communities across the country (U.S. Global Change Research Program, 2018). In addition, the U.S. has wider wealth disparities between rich and poor than any other major developed nation, while gaps in earnings between the affluent and the rest of the country have been increasing yearly (Institute for Policy Studies, 2019). In the face of these twin crises, the federal government has stepped back from aggressive action. It is municipalities, cities in particular, that are increasingly taking on a larger role (C40 Cities, 2018).

       Many cities have passed ambitious carbon reduction, green workforce development, and social equity-related legislation labelled a "Green New Deal." The Green New Deal (GND), first introduced in the U.S. in the spring of 2019 by a congressional resolution via Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Senator Edward Markey, is unique in uniting social/racial justice, environmental justice, climate action, and economic justice under one banner to call for a paradigm shift based on a just transition to a low-carbon future (Friedman, 2019). However, the GND has largely been an urban, progressive agenda, as primarily larger cities like Los Angeles, Portland, or Seattle have passed GND-type legislation (Sierra Club, 2019). This leads to questions about the implications of this initiative for more rural communities, as the Green New Deal will need widespread support. Many places across the U.S. are turning to regional approaches for climate action to leverage funding and resources and create partnerships (Shi, 2019). Expanding the scale of action can help the benefits spread to a larger area, and more realistically reflects the systems that are at risk. How can Ithaca's GND initiative bridge the urban rural divide to

create the necessary coalitions to make strides towards a more equitable, sustainable future that moves beyond the combustion of fossil fuels?

This study seeks to investigate approaches for a GND rural-urban engagement process in Tompkins County, NY to inform policy creation. The research is grounded in these questions: What are urban and rural values and aspirations for the GND? How do they compare? What are the opportunities to bridge perceived divisions between urban and rural stakeholders?

Researchers have previously documented rural urban divides as barriers to regionalism based on diverging values, place identities, and political ideologies. However, there is growing evidence to suggest that this is a false binary, and that collaborative planning processes can assist in working successfully across geographies. There have been relatively few studies published on regional governance of climate change at the intersection of urban rural divides and collaborative planning, in particular in smaller cities and more rural regions of the U.S. I assess the possibilities for future regional climate action planning that spans urban and rural communities in Tompkins County based on semi-structured interviews with 'change-makers': those in the County in positions of power, those with decision-making ability, and those with access to assets. This included farmers, rural activists/community organizers, municipal planners, environmental non-profit leaders, county and cooperative extension employees, and labor leaders.

I find that there are shared values, shared vulnerabilities, and shared interests at the level of the county, yet divisions persist in terms of diverging identities, power dynamics, and ideologies. Collaborative planning processes can address these barriers to build regional climate action efforts. Further defining and specifying these processes, the actors involved, and the mechanisms to foster cooperation represent next steps for this project. Tompkins County, therefore, can be a model for other areas seeking to take regional action on climate change across urban and rural communities.

Going forward, using a lens of economic development and addressing economic inequality to structure the work builds on common themes across stakeholders. Convening around carbon offset programs, renewable energy development, green workforce development programs, regenerative agriculture, affordable housing, connected transportation, and local food development can provide the initial ideas and motivation for stakeholders' participation, as these areas are not adequately addressed. Utilizing strategies that facilitate successful dialogue, like a neutral meeting space, creating meeting norms, having a negotiating text/evolving agreement, opportunities for storytelling, and joint inquiry, can be helpful in designing a process. Types of groups to involve range from educational institutions and planning departments in a technical advisory role, agricultural committees, labor, and environmental non-profits in a constituency representative role, to community-based organizations in a public advocate and facilitation role.

Urban – Rural Regionalism: Barriers, Challenges, Opportunities

Researchers have argued that urban rural divides contribute to schisms that inhibit a collective sense of identity and action. Many use federal definitions of urban and rural that serve to make discrete distinctions between the two, yet do not necessarily reflect realities (Dabson, 2020). Divides identified include value and ideological differences, political divisions, and diverging policy priorities. However, more recent work recognizes that urban and rural boundaries are increasingly blurring, which points towards a mutual interdependency leading to a continuum, rather than a sharp divide.

In addition, little has been said on regionalism at the intersection of urban-rural linkages, climate policy, and collaborative planning. While there is a diverse and extensive literature on how to govern metropolitan regions, and whether this scale is suitable for governance, there is limited literature published on regional governance for climate change (Shi, 2019, Termeer et al, 2011). There also has been little published related to regional planning for climate action outside of major metropolitan areas of the United States. However, areas further from large urban centers may experience additional barriers to collaborating for climate action. Hall and Stern (2009) advocate for the need for more studies on rural regionalism, as the dynamics between government and citizens are less distant from each other, and identity, culture, and social networks that prevent regionalism are more visible. However, rural regions continue to be areas of innovation, as regional approaches are well-suited to the diverse challenges these areas face (Morrison et al, 2015).

Efforts to create more sustainable communities require long-term approaches that include the collaboration of multiple municipalities across a region, however, regional strategies have faced numerous challenges (Wheeler, 2002). These include a lack of incentives for regional action and urban-regional tensions (Arias et al, 2017) involving pre-existing power dynamics related to who historically controls funding (Frick, 2015). Efforts to address the existing power structure and include a more diverse group of actors have

backfired by failing to include the very groups that have the most agency to change things, and would need to be involved in implementation (Frick, 2015). Others have identified weak regional identity, inability to reach consensus on strategy, navigating coalitions with diverse groups and therefore potentially fragile alliances, inconsistent federal and state policies, and overcoming biases towards tackling less contentious issues to be challenges to regionalism (Foster, 2001).

Value differences between urban and rural residents can lead to conflicts. Spain (1993) studied the similarities in conflicts that arise between newcomers and longtime residents in both rural and urban communities. She identifies several types of value differences between the different groups that serve to illustrate how urban and rural stakeholders view resource use. Newcomers and longtime residents had different views of what constitutes consumption and production, as well as diverging land use mix preferences. This can lead to animosity between the two groups, limiting their ability to productively engage with one another. Given this, it becomes necessary for planners to recognize the consequences of different value preferences that exist between themselves and different constituents, and between constituents (Ndubisi, 1991).

Political divisions present barriers to regional planning across rural and urban communities, limiting the formation of shared identity. Kelly and Lobao (2019) found political differences to result from differential social statuses, as well as differences in sociocultural values and beliefs related to domestic social issues. They write that uneven development creates spatial stratification across places and populations, which differentiates populations by values and beliefs. This can emerge from conditions of rural work, local economy, and population changes. Rural populations are more likely to be white and older, and have lower incomes and educational attainments, and higher rates of poverty. They conclude that voting is a dimension through which differences persist, though variation in metropolitan exurban and suburban residents have an impact, and demonstrate that political polarization is more nuanced than an urban rural dichotomy. Ideology, attitudes, and

preferences between urban and rural stakeholders have been found to diverge, which serves to shape the social landscape (Hiner, 2014). In a study that investigated whether urban rural divides persisted in politically homogenous Nebraska given declines in rural areas, Blankenau and Parker (2015) found divides to persist, in particular around issues such as gun control and prayer in public schools. For local governments, Gerber et al (2013) studied how political homophily—the tendency to form connections with others who are politically similar—is seen in local government's decisions to participate in regional planning. Local governments whose constituents are politically similar, have similar sociodemographic characteristics, and are close geographically are more likely to collaborate in regional planning efforts. This helps reduce the costs associated with the discussions surrounding the distribution of costs and benefits from collective activities. However, they found that this reduces the potential for redistributive policies across a region. In areas of policy in which there is ideological polarization, political and moral conflicts, and therefore distrust, collaboration becomes more difficult (Ansell and Gash, 2007). Yet it is in these situations that collaboration is most needed.

Researchers have found local identity to be a barrier to regional action. In a study of resistance to regional integration in Cobalt, Ontario, Hall and Stern (2009) found that local identities are strong outside of metropolitan areas. The authors found that external, regional linkages can take energy and resources away from local development efforts. Initiatives to establish regional identities have acted both as facilitators and as barriers to regional planning, as Semian and Chromy's (2014) research in several European regions found. In areas where there are conflicts between the development visions of different actors, and different definitions of regional identity, friction can emerge. In particular, this can happen when actors represent different cultural, political, and economic points of view, and there are power imbalances within the region in question. The authors conclude that the use of regional identity is determined by the quality of social capital between regional actors, rather than by location. These different identities can result in contestations over place. Masuda

and Garvin (2008) studied an intermunicipal development plan in Alberta, Canada, and documented how contested definitions of the region supported a politics of place over land use changes between urban and rural. Some authors attribute the urban rural divide to governance structure that does not reflect current interdependencies (Partridge and Olfert, 2008). However, local identity does not necessarily preclude regional identification. In a study of a former silver mining town in Ontario that resisted amalgamation, Hall and Stern (2009) reject the idea that local identity needs to be removed in order to promote regionalism. They argue that local identities are closely tied to the regionalization process— they flow from them and are shaped by them.

Diverging policy priorities between urban and rural communities and lack of local incentives for regional work present additional potential barriers for Tompkins County's efforts, as other researchers have found. Regional initiatives may also reinforce regional power dynamics. In case studies of the Bay Area, Puget Sound Area, and MN-St. Paul area which all received Sustainable Communities Initiatives Regional Planning Grants designed to improve regional planning efforts, Arias et al (2007) found that in the Bay area, regional coordination remained a challenge because of competing policy priorities and interest among local & regional governments. They conclude that the greatest challenge to regional collaboration was a lack of local incentive to act at regional level. They found that most communities viewed regional planning efforts to advance equity with some level of distrust and skepticism, based on past relationships. The SCI grants therefore exacerbated regional dynamics, making collaboration hard when distrust was already present, but strengthening collaboration between stakeholders when there already was a history of working together. There was uneven regional participation because planning priorities in cities differed from suburban areas, and local priorities differed from regional ones. In addition, getting locally elected officials to act in the interest of the region was difficult for all areas studied. In a study of the same grant program, Frick et al (2015) found that in the San Joaquin area, it was difficult to keep participants engaged because there was no incentive to participate—no joint

decision-making, and no resource-sharing. This led to reduced information and knowledge sharing. Therefore, based on these experiences, Tompkins County will need to create incentives for regional efforts in order to spur prioritization of joint work. Those working on GND efforts will need to structure engagement based on past collaborations, while working to build trust among residents across municipalities.

There is growing evidence, however, that suggests that urban rural divides are a false dichotomy. For example, Irwin et al (2010) makes the case for an interdependence that produces a continuum of dense urban to remote rural. Similarly, Hiner (2014) found that the traditional conceptualization of new-comer vs. old-comer (urban vs. rural) is inadequate to explain processes occurring in rural places, and that ideological issues and environmental imaginaries drive differences. Lichter and Brown (2011) argue against this rural urban divide, providing a literature review of the ways in which rural America is seen in urban society. The authors find that urban and rural boundaries are shifting, blurring, being crossed, and that interactions are increasingly symmetrical and mutually interdependent. They argue: "It is more difficult than ever to discuss social change in rural (or urban) American without acknowledging the other" (p. 584). Castle et al (2011) outline three economic orientations of people related to place: Inside Inside (live in a place, have aspirations within that place), Inside Outside (live in a place, have aspirations outside it), and Outside Inside (live outside a place, have aspirations within a place). Place orientation plays a large role in people's economic decisions about where they live, commute to, and what they invest in. This framework helps us see urban-rural relations as dynamic two-way interactions. The authors' policy recommendations include discovering and grouping those with compatible place orientations. They argue that households on both sides of the urban rural divide may have compatible place orientations, and that helping them discover a common bond can be a basis for forming social capital, and mutual trust and reciprocity, which can be a precursor to institutions. Nevertheless, despite the recognition of an urban rural continuum, rather than a divide, different conceptions of urban and rural have different

policy implications. This serves to either lead to or maintain material differences between places (Hiner, 2014). Urban rural interdependence, however, can also be an underlying cause of conflicts, as regional decisions made without a rural perspective can have unintended economic, environmental, identity, and social consequences (Dabson, 2020).

Context: The City of Ithaca and Tompkins County

The divisions and opportunities outlined above become evident in Ithaca's Green New Deal resolution. In early June of 2019, the city of Ithaca passed a resolution for a Green New Deal. Ithaca's resolution includes two main community-wide goals: achieve carbon-neutrality community-wide by 2030, and ensure that benefits are shared among all local communities to reduce historical social and economic inequities. The rest of the resolution outlines government operations goals and a generally defined process for implementation (Ithaca Green New Deal, 2019). While the national GND is designed to be open for contextual interpretation in order to spur action, Ithaca's GND explicitly specifies that an action plan should be written in 2020 (Meyer, 2019; Ithaca Green New Deal, 2019). Below, I elaborate on how this process can and should connect rural and urban actors. See Figure 1 for a map of the City of Ithaca and Tompkins County.
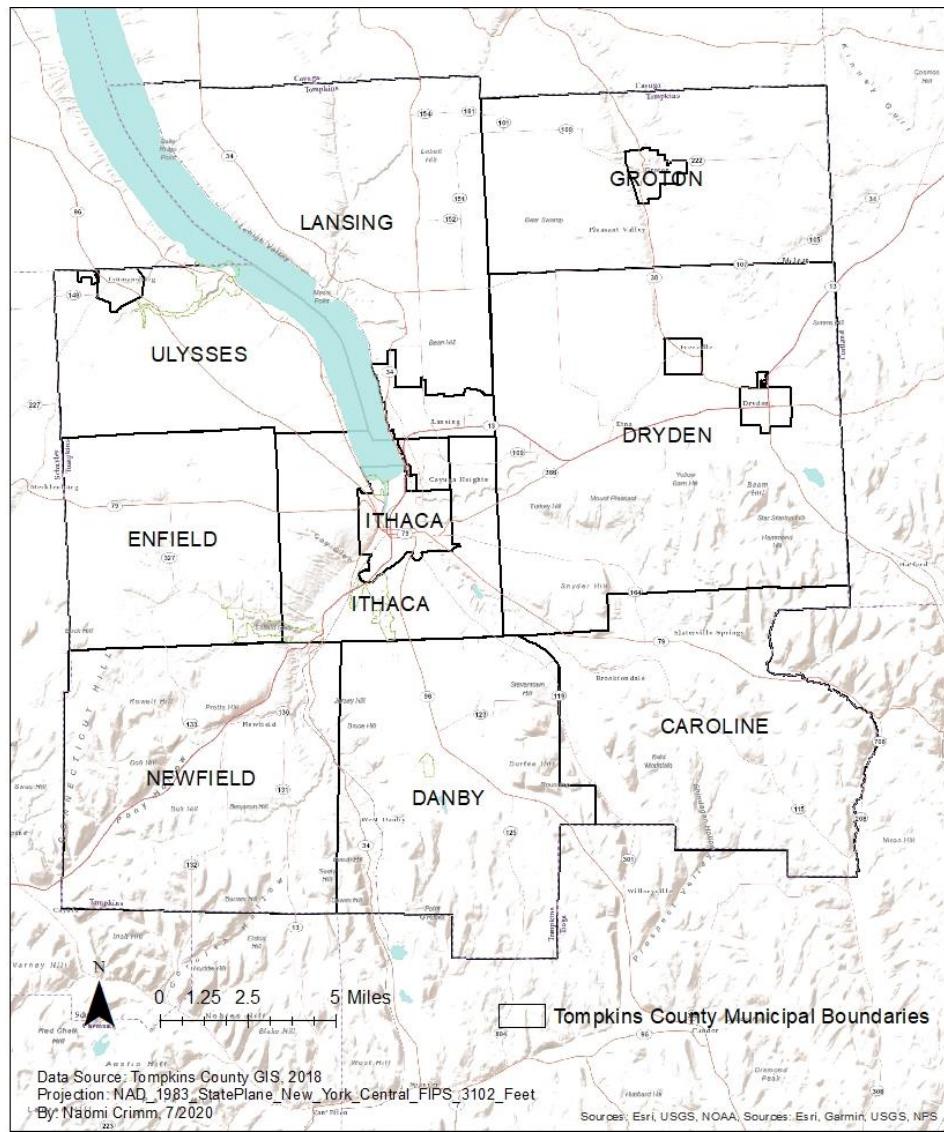
Figure 1: Map of Tompkins County Municipalities
Data Source: Tompkins County GIS 2018

The drafting and passage of this resolution builds upon Ithaca's history of sustainability planning, advocacy from the youth-led environmental movement Sunrise Ithaca, and the work of other local environmental and social justice non-profits and activists. It was introduced by the mayor largely due to the work of Sunrise members, whose case was added to by a vocal group of environmentally-minded residents. The area, therefore, has a strong, effective cohort of residents and organizations focused on environmental issues.

Much of Ithaca's efforts to date have been on technical approaches centered on energy use. To date, Ithaca has created an Energy Action Plan (2013) which includes a greenhouse gas emissions inventory for government operations and for the city as a whole as well as recommended actions to reduce emissions going forward. The city has largely focused on addressing sources of emissions from its own operations, and on actions within the municipality: upgrading the Wastewater Treatment Plant to be more energy efficient, and adopting a Green Fleet Policy. It has started to address the largest source of emissions, the building sector, and is currently working to implement a green building code with emissions and energy requirements for new construction (City of Ithaca, 2013). It has also started the process of researching a green building code for existing buildings, which is aimed to be completed by 2021(Ithaca Green New Deal, 2019). Going forward, a renewed focus on cultural changes, solutions, and processes, in addition to the more technical solutions will be needed.

Addressing the city of Ithaca's sources of emissions will require regional partnerships. The city's most recent emissions inventory (2010) identifies several sectors whose impact extends beyond the municipal boundary (Figures 2 and 3). Although the building sector remains a focus for reducing emissions, from a technical planning perspective, the work needed to reduce emissions from other sectors cannot be addressed within the city alone. Potential opportunities to reduce emissions proposed in the 2013 City Energy Action Plan include renewable energy generation (principally solar PV, hydropower, and biomass), local food production, addressing employee commute patterns, and encouraging alternative forms of transportation. To enact these solutions, the city will likely need to look to other communities to assist them in their goals. More than 10% of the total solar PV installations in New York state are located in Tompkins County (City of Ithaca, 2013). In terms of land and space alone, Ithaca cannot increase this amount solely within its own boundaries. Currently, Ithaca sources approximately 20% of its food locally (M. Roth, personal communication, November 13, 2019). Although the city does have two community

gardens (one on Floral Avenue, the other on Carpenter Circle), the Carpenter Circle garden space has been under threat as the city grapples with development pressure (Smith, 2016). The amount of space needed to scale this up necessitates reaching out to the surrounding more rural communities. As an employment center, Ithaca attracts commuters from across the region. For the downtown Ithaca census tracts in 2016, almost a third of workers commuted from adjacent counties, between 80% and 90% came from outside of the city, and between 44% and 80% drove alone to work (Ithaca Tompkins County Transportation Council, 2019). The 2010 emissions inventory found that 70% of city employees drove alone to work (City of Ithaca, 2013). Therefore, addressing this source of emissions will require planning at a regional scale.
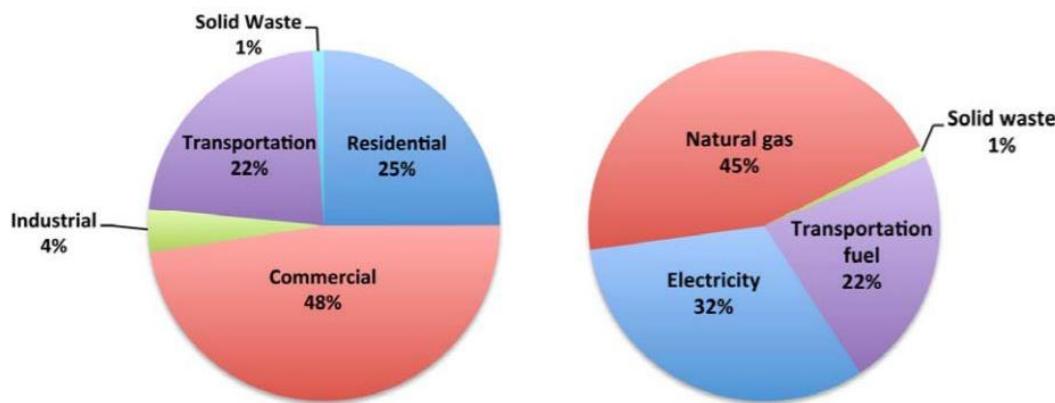
Figure 2: City of Ithaca Community-Wide Greenhouse Gas Emissions and Sources (2010)
Source: Ithaca Energy Action Plan, 2013
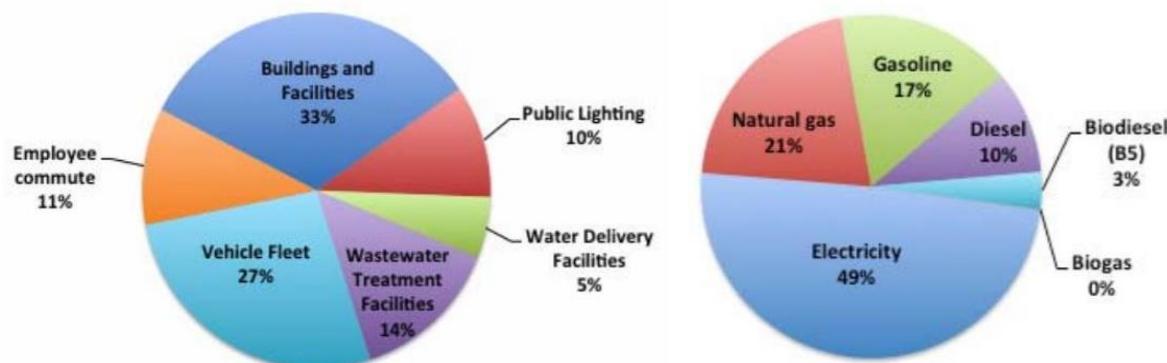
Figure 3: City of Ithaca Government Operations Greenhouse Gas Emissions Sources (2010).
Source: Ithaca Energy Action Plan, 2013

Despite its strong organizational and activist history, Ithaca and its surroundings also have a history of economic inequality. In the early 1900s, Ithaca was considered a poor, working-class city. By 1913, there was little manufacturing, as Cornell University was the city's major employer. Although two-thirds of working men were enrolled in unions, wages were quite low and needed to be supplemented. Low wages, coupled with a high tax rate and high expenditures on education made living in Ithaca difficult for many. In 1913, Associated Charities supported 14.8% of the population (Kammen, 2008).

This trend of inequality, low wages, and high taxes both in Ithaca and in Tompkins County as compared to neighboring counties continues today (Smith, 2016). Table 1 demonstrates some of the demographic differences between Ithaca and other communities in Tompkins County, illustrating that Ithaca is more densely settled, younger, more diverse, and has a higher poverty rate than other municipalities. In 2017, the Federal Reserve Bank of New York found Ithaca to be the only region in upstate New York with a wage inequality higher than the national average (Gini index of 49.9 vs. 41.5), due to the presence of the academic community (Platsky, 2017). Approximately 18.6% of people of all ages were living in poverty in Tompkins County in 2016 (Cornell Program on Applied Demographics, 2016). This is seen in contrast to neighboring counties, as shown in Table 2. This is not evenly distributed across populations in Tompkins County, as 47.5% of African Americans and 32.9% of Hispanic or Latinos are below the poverty level, compared to 15.8% of white residents (Vink, 2017).

These metrics are somewhat complicated by the student population, however. If one looks at other poverty metrics such as percentage of households that qualify for SNAP, it shows that African American, Native American, and Latino residents in Ithaca and Tompkins County use SNAP benefits at much higher rates than white residents (Native American families at 3.42 times the rate of white families, and African American families at 2.9 times the rate of white families) (Tompkins County Structural Racism [TCSR], n.d., Figure 4). In addition, the median income of African American, American Indian, Asian,

Latino, and mixed-race households is about $25,000 less per year than the median income of white households, both in the city of Ithaca and in Tompkins County (TCSR, n.d.a.). Overall, this data illustrates that socioeconomic and racial inequities are current, and are evident not only within the city, but extend to the surrounding areas as well. This leads to disparities in access to healthcare, food, and transportation. These divisions can be traced to city actions that have been harmful to surrounding geographies. The Ithaca GND's emphasis on equity and justice, therefore, builds on the community's history of organizing, and recognizes the history of inequality.

Households on SNAP by Race (2012 - 2016)
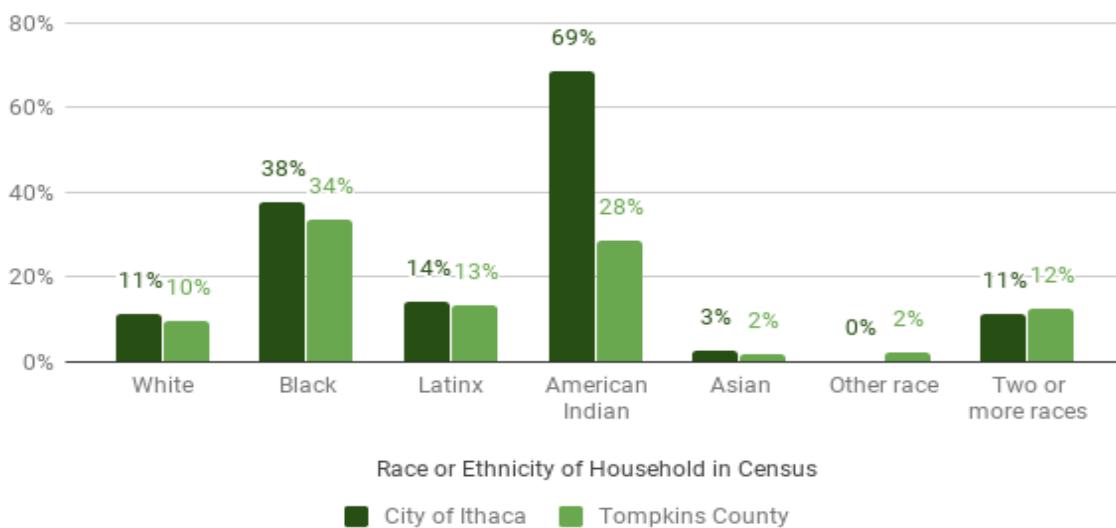
Figure 4: Households on SNAP benefits by Race in the City of Ithaca and Tompkins County.
Source: tompkinscountystructuralracism.org

Table 1: Demographic Comparison of Communities in Tompkins County, NY.

Municipality	% White	Median Age	Median Household income	Poverty Rate	Population per square mile (2010)	% of Pop with Bachelor's degree or higher
City of Ithaca	68.6%	21.8	$31,967	43.4%	5,570.5	64%
Town of Ithaca	72.8%	26.9	$60,831	16.2%	688.5	71.7%
Town of Lansing	81.4%	37.6	$66,059	9.2%	182.4	62.3%
Town of Danby	93.8%	50.7	$56,458	17.6%	62.2	43.3%
Town of Dryden	91.7%	39.7	$62,852	14.6%	154.2	46.7%
Town of Enfield	92%	47.4	$54,811	6.8%	95.6	26.4%
Town of Newfield	93.4%	40.3	$63,086	13.1%	88.0	28.1%
Town of Groton	93%	40.3	$59,750	10.2%	120.4	22.9%
Town of Caroline	89.4%	39.0	$65,388	7.0%	59.9	48.9%

Data Source: 2013-2017 ACS 5-year estimates

Table 2: Percent of all residents living in poverty by county surrounding Ithaca (2016).

County	Poverty Rate
Tompkins	18.6%
Cortland	15.7%
Chemung	15.3%
Schuyler	13.9%
Seneca	12.0%
Tioga	9.9%

Data Source: Cornell Program on Applied Demographics

Urban and rural communities in Tompkins County are closely connected in many ways, yet the distribution of resources and opportunities creates divisions. The 2010 census cites Ithaca as 5.39 square miles (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). It does not take long, therefore, to arrive at much lower-density, rural communities, which demonstrates the connection between land use, housing, and jobs. Services, employment, and entertainment opportunities are largely concentrated in the city, yet high cost of living pushes people to surrounding areas, impacting their ability to access these things as transportation options become more limited. This can serve to exacerbate inequities. Therefore, we see a pattern of inequality that spans geographies.

Ithaca's Green New Deal's goals are to address both the rising inequality and rising carbon emissions within city boundaries. However, this trend spans urban and rural communities within the county. Therefore, regional partnerships have the potential to help

the city to achieve its goals, expanding the benefits to reduce inequities across urban and rural communities. For the purposes of this study, the region is bounded to Tompkins County, yet it is recognized that interdependencies and vulnerabilities exist between and across other surrounding counties and the Southern Tier as a whole.

Ithaca and Tompkins County's actions and context, combined with what other researchers have found related to climate policy and urban rural divides leads to my research questions. Research on climate adaptation advocates for a regional approach in order to pool and advocate for resources and expand access to networks. Yet regional efforts need to bridge divides between urban and rural communities. Evidence suggests that the boundaries between urban and rural places are increasingly shifting, and becoming increasingly connected and interdependent, rather than maintaining sharp divisions. This leads me to ask: What are urban and rural values and aspirations for the GND? How do they compare? What are the opportunities to bridge perceived divisions between urban and rural stakeholders?

Methods

To answer these questions, I conducted qualitative research using multiple methods and sources of data, including interviews, meetings with stakeholder groups, and reviews of relevant city of Ithaca documents, reports, and public meeting videos. I conducted interviews between November 2019 and February 2020. This study was reviewed and exempted by the Cornell Institutional Review Board. I obtained written or oral consent from each interviewee.

Given that effective collaboration includes a variety of stakeholders representing urban and rural interests including civic organizations, labor, government officials, community-based organization leaders, social-justice oriented groups and the public at large (see Collaborative Planning Processes section for more detail), I sought to interview people in these types of groups. Aligning interests and actions is complex and challenging with numerous stakeholder viewpoints. Milne et al (2016) address this challenge by focusing on various discourses that stakeholders use to better understand how policy is interpreted on the ground, and how that may affect its design and implementation. Similarly, Masuda and Garvin (2008) use thematic analysis of interview data to better understand stakeholder perceptions of place identity. I take a similar approach here, combining stakeholder analysis with discourse and thematic data analysis.

Based on this literature, I selected interviewees whose work was related to the Green New Deal or whose perspective represented either urban or rural interests. I identified interviewees initially through independent research and with the assistance of Cooperative Extension and Town of Ithaca employees, and then through a snowball sampling approach. This strategy enabled more ample data collection, but did not control for bias in the selection of interviewees, as it may be that those most interested in speaking with me had the most polarized views. This study focused on those with some degree of power and decision-

making ability, and those who show up at public meetings, which caused my sample to be somewhat limited. However, the goal was not generalizability, rather dominant discourses.

Interviewees represented four different groups: farmers, labor unions, activists, and municipal employees. Participants are farm, home, and land-owners, and people in leadership positions in their organizations and communities (see Appendix Table 1 for detailed list). Interviews lasted between 40 minutes and 3 hours and were recorded. Specifically, I interviewed representatives of the farming community in the towns of Ithaca and Dryden and the hamlet of Brooktondale, and union representatives from UA 267 and IBEW 241. I also interviewed county employees whose work intersects with rural and urban communities (County planners, County Agency employees, Cooperative Extension employees, and regionally-based non-profit leaders) to learn more about the relationship between urban and rural in Tompkins County, and explore potential linkages and strategies. I interviewed town planners from Lansing and Dryden to learn more about the rural government perspective, and rural activists/organizers to learn more about the challenges they see facing their communities and opportunities to address them.

The majority of the conversations took the form of individual interviews (17). Interview questions centered around perceptions of and reactions to the GND, what challenges interviewees experience and opportunities they envision for overcoming them, perceptions of government and the city of Ithaca, how interviewees would design a GND process, personal environmental stewardship practices/beliefs, reactions to different potential policies, how interviewees perceive the initiative to affect them and how they envision contributing, and suggestions for policy-making going forward. A list of example interview questions is included in Appendix 2.

In addition, I also attended three Agricultural Committee/Interest Group Meetings to talk about the project with participants. I used public meeting videos to supplement the interviews and to gain insight into urban activists' perspectives in order to better compare urban and rural voices.

All data collected was transcribed, partially by hand, and partially with the assistance of the program Otter.ai. I imported transcripts into MAXQDA and coded them. I used a grounded theory, inductive approach to data analysis, deriving concepts and conclusions based on interview data collected, as outlined in Anguelovski (2014) and Charmaz (2006). Analysis of interview data also draws from Milne et al's (2016) use of discourse analysis. Their work includes multiple perspectives and groups, and maps empirically identified discourses onto established ones. Through coding, I identify and match themes derived from interviews with those identified in the literature.

Vulnerabilities and Interests in Tompkins County

This section outlines linkages between urban and rural in terms of shared vulnerabilities, interests, and values from interviewees across Tompkins County in an effort to better understand the context for the social, cultural, institutional, and environmental transformations the Green New Deal requires. Interview data suggest that, consistent with what the literature indicates, there are not clear urban rural divides in Tompkins County. Although barriers certainly exist, conversations revealed that despite them, there are also common vulnerabilities and shared interests. These vulnerabilities include a lack of affordable housing, fragmented transportation networks, food insecurity, and suburban encroachment on farmland.

Shared interests include addressing economic inequities and uncertainties across the county, as well as the potential economic opportunities that can emerge from GND policy. Many advocated for and spoke about economic benefits, whether that be to give people the financial independence to make environmentally-friendly decisions, or to restructure our economic system to benefit marginalized groups, or to benefit struggling producers.

This was coupled with a shared moral imperative across the urban rural gradient to address environmental degradation, and shared conceptions of environmental and community stewardship. Many interviewees expressed a strong desire to contribute to community well-being and climate mitigation, but framed it in different ways. This seemed to be based in shared attachments to land and sense of environmental citizenship. There was not a sharp divide in environmental consciousness or commitment between urban and rural. Rather, different groups had different entry points for relating to the environment. While for some it stemmed from a sense of responsibility and/or stewardship to the environment or the local community, for others it came from a moral imperative, while still others framed it in terms of a need to do their part.

Regional Vulnerabilities

Interviewees identified challenges that they see facing their communities that cut across Tompkins County, demonstrating regional vulnerabilities. These include fragmented, insufficient public transportation and food systems, a lack of affordable housing, and suburban encroachment on rural land.

Vulnerability 1: Fragmented Public Transportation

Many interviewees spoke about limited transportation options in the County. Access to transportation intersects with and can exacerbate many other issues. Although TCAT is quite extensive, its routes do not access many areas of the county, and its schedules do not necessarily align with work shifts. The former director of the Tompkins County Workforce Development Board cited limited access to transportation as a major barrier for some of the rural populations with which she works:

> In terms of the rural dynamic versus city dynamic, there's going to need to be some creative transportation. When you look at who are the pockets of people that are not currently working, you have your rural poverty and then your urban poverty and your rural poverty folks tend to have no access to transportation or the TCAT bus line. You might come somewhere near them, but never during timeframes that actually might work for jobs where you have to be somewhere every day at a specific time and then be able to get home.

Lack of access to reliable transportation, combined with a greater distance to services can lead to isolation. This is compounded by the fact that most social services are located in the city of Ithaca. For those with limited transportation access, this presents a problem. As the librarian for the town of Groton who has organized monthly community dinners and a Healthy Tuesdays program to increase access to fresh food said:

> Ithaca-centric services. People would rather go to Cortland because it's closer. It is closer, it's a straight shot, cheaper, easier parking, but there's no transport. To get there you'd have to take the bus to TC3, take the bus to Cortland and then back. Some people don't even have bus fare. Again, transportation is a huge issue. And I think there's a lot of people that don't know the services available in Ithaca.

The city's high cost of living, however, exacerbates transportation issues for some, as a Cooperative Extension employee recognized: "If you're living in a rural area because you've been forced out of the city due to the high cost of housing, and you have to get in here, there's an increased cost to drive, and there aren't that many other options to get here. That's going be a hardship."

Vulnerability 2: Lack of Affordable Housing

Others spoke about a lack of affordable housing in the area. The city's ability to provide services for people bleeds over into other communities, as the Groton librarian pointed out:

> We have boarding houses here [in Groton] and the people would come here because the low-income housing in Ithaca is filled. There's very little available. So, they get sent out to Groton. They come here and there's nothing for them to do. There's no transportation, all the money that they get through social services goes to the landlord. They don't have money left over. Their SNAP benefit is their grocery money. The SNAP benefit is supposed to be supplemental, yet that turns out to be their grocery income. Then they have to turn around and they don't have money to do laundry, to buy trash tags, pay for a haircut. How do you get an interview? And there's not a lot of jobs here in Groton. So, those are issues. There are people, they want to work, but how do you go for an interview? Okay, your body is clean, but your clothes aren't. If you've not been through that, you can't know what you don't know.

This comment demonstrates how poverty compounds issues for those living in rural areas, as well as how the city's actions impact surrounding communities. Her comment speaks to housing pressures in Tompkins County, and a lack of affordability, which was echoed by others: "When I go to a talk about the Green New Deal and sustainable housing, they're saying, build on transportation corridors. I take the bus to and from work, practically door to door. I'm thinking, what do I see a need for? I see a need for affordable elder care. And I see a need for affordable housing." This concern for available affordable housing manifests itself in reactions to new municipal policies, as the Dryden Town Planner acknowledged:

> I think it's an economic thing where the green building code is seen as something that just pushes more of the low and low middle-income people out of the market for getting into housing. It's just pushing that segment of

the community out of the club. So, they have to go elsewhere. I think that there's a real concern that there's a lot of marginal people and decisions made out there.

Vulnerability 3: Food Insecurity

There is a recognition among those interviewed about food insecurity in this area. At a meeting that Groundswell Center for Local Food and Farming held in the fall of 2019, a farmer in Freeville commented: "Even though I'm in a rural area, there's still large-scale food insecurity. My intervention into that system is through farming, organizing, and social justice." Similarly, the Groton librarian recounted a story about food access in her community:

> When I came here, we had two dollar stores. We had a food dollar store. But now there's nothing. There's nowhere to get any fresh produce. We did have a meal here and one of my volunteers came from Ithaca and she said, 'What can I bring?' I said 'Bring salad and dressing', and she thought I said salad dressing. So, she didn't bring any salad. 'I'll just pop over to the store.' I said 'There's nowhere to go.' And she was like, 'oh.' There is nowhere to go to get any food whatsoever.

Part of food insecurity in rural areas relates to a lack of stores that sell fresh foods, while part of it relates to access to reliable transportation for residents. From a more urban activist perspective, in the same conversation at Groundswell, an Ithaca social justice organizer spoke to more of the structural barriers to food access:

> I care about farming because I eat everything. I understand that we live in a context in which many people have no idea about the relationship between what they eat every day and what farmers experience. My understanding is that that is intentional. That that separation of humans from the land on which we depend is an intentional strategy for generating capital.

A way to address these structures that serve to separate people from their foods is to turn to local systems as a way to emphasize connections. This also presents an avenue for urban and rural to connect, and an opportunity to increase payment for services from urban to rural.

Another regional challenge presented by the rural residents is the loss of farmland due to suburban encroachment, housing pressure, and other land use changes. Many are concerned about the future of farming in this area if young people are not interested in pursuing it, and what that would mean for the working landscape. Some are concerned about a transition from farmland to subdivisions and the subsequent loss of ecosystem services:

> Look at this. If I weren't farming it, what do you think would be happening to this whole place? Someone would be building condos here. Making a place and keeping a place: that's a perennial problem for farmers. Lots of people, their kids don't want to farm or else their kids don't know how to farm. People are always stopping by to ask 'want to sell some land?' Even like next door, I thought I was friends with those people, but the nice older lady died and there were 3 heirs. One of them lived in New York City. She only cared about money, she said she owned part of my orchard. I had to pay to get it surveyed. You always have to protect your place when you are a farmer. Eternal vigilance is what you have to have as a farmer.

This loss of farmland and changing trends in land use have been observed across the county. As producers look to other ways to supplement their income and remain financially viable, some have turned to leasing land for solar arrays. This is the case for the chair of the Town of Dryden Agriculture Committee, a dairy and crop farmer who also has a 4MW solar farm on his property. The planning director for the town of Lansing, an area with a large farming community, commented:

> The way that this is broken along political lines is not what I anticipated in the sense that I figured the environmentalist crowd would say rah, rah solar was the best thing ever. Let's put it everywhere. And the farmers to be like, 'Well, you know, we're in the farming and dairy business, we're not in the business of having solar panels all over the place.' But, that's not what's happened. Be it profit motive or the idea of starting to diversify away from just crops, and dairy is taking a big hit in terms of pricing, so a lot of farmers are looking to transition and p.s., this community is aging. Farmers are getting older, there's not a lot of succession planning. There's not a lot of younger people coming in, especially in this area, there's like no one between 35 and 55 here. So, there's almost no one to pick up the reins, as it were. They're starting to say, 'Hey, somebody wants to rent 500 acres or 200 acres

from me for, whatever the terms may be', that's a way for them to kind of hedge their bets while still keeping their farming operations viable.

The need for flexibility in an uncertain profession has increased interest in diversifying land use.

Shared Interests and Values

Interviewees articulated a shared interest in addressing economic inequalities and uncertainties across urban and rural communities in the County, as well as the potential economic opportunities from future climate legislation and shared values related to sense of place and environment. Value connections, though framed differently by various interviewees, included a shared desire to contribute to community and environmental well-being. For some, this was based in moral responsibility, while others articulated it in terms of stewardship.

Shared Interests 1: Addressing Economic Inequality and Uncertainty

Economic inequality, uncertainty, and large income gaps were identified as regional challenges as well. Mayor Svante Myrick spoke about the city facing wealth inequality, arguing for the need to take both climate change and economic inequality seriously. He spoke about the inaccuracy of the bootstraps metaphor: "You can climb to the middle class if you can string 20 years together without something going seriously wrong." Similarly, rural residents spoke about large income gaps, generational poverty, and limited employment opportunities as major challenges. Those in Lansing cited the closing of the coal plant as a loss of a major source of jobs and tax revenue for the community and the larger area.

Others spoke about economic inequality for agricultural producers:

> In order for something to be a job, you have to be able to make a living out of it. That's what people work for. These are the people on the front lines that are actually trying to remedy what's going on. And a lot of them aren't able to draw an income in order to sustain basic things like healthcare, to be able to provide for their families, to be able to put away money for retirement,

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that's a joke. Most folks don't have money put away for retirement who are entering into farming. Trying to train a new generation to now come into something when people who have already been doing it for years can't make a living at seems like a losing proposition, but it's essential. It's absolutely necessary. Because how else are we going to build our relationship to the land in the first place?

There is a very small margin of error for farming, as it is an inherently insecure vocation.

One farmer in the Town of Ithaca said:

It's really hard to make a living farming. I do make some money from the farm, but I don't know very many people that make a good living on a farm. People are doing all kinds of innovative things. Growing new kinds of crops we didn't envision growing. There's one farmer that does a bed and breakfast in her farmhouse. People are doing all kinds of innovative things to be able to keep their farms. It's challenging. It's really important not to put any new burdens on farmers. Farmers are this close, almost all the farmers in the town of Ithaca, every place, to not being able to farm. This close. For financial reasons, health reasons.

This sentiment was echoed by every other farmer that I spoke with or heard speak. People spoke about pursuing farming because of a love for it:

What's the dream of every farmer? That his wife is a teacher with healthcare. That's true. I've got a full-time job, other than this. I've got a company that I'm running because this doesn't support us. It doesn't meet the mortgage; it doesn't meet anything. We're doing it because my wife loves horses and this is what she wanted to do. But economically, if we break even, we're in a good spot. When something comes in, now you're even deeper.

Much of the uncertainty in farming results in feelings of vulnerability and fear of taking on too much risk. As one farmer in the Town of Ithaca said: "There is not much margin in agriculture, no room for failure or experimentation, unless someone has a large nest egg and is willing to take a risk." While those close to Ithaca can sell directly consumers and take advantage of the fact that there is a strong local market, this depends on the product being sold. Lack of control of pricing exacerbates vulnerability, as a grass-fed beef producer recognizes:

The further away you get from Ithaca the more you are dealing in products that are purely commodity products, competing just in the commodity world

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without any kind of direct to consumer dimension to it, then those people, if it's going to cost them money it's a problem. It's just that simple. It could put them out of business if it's going to cost them money because a lot of them are on a razor's edge.

Many agricultural producers in this area experience considerable economic uncertainty, and therefore an interest in economic opportunity binds them to others across the county.

Labor union representatives framed their views in terms of economic injustice related to the city's actions regarding tax abatements and prevailing wage:

> What we're seeing now is something that didn't really exist when that law [the prevailing wage law] was passed, which is the Tompkins County Industrial Development Agency and the city of Ithaca through what they call the city of Ithaca tax abatement program. Basically, this garage across the street needs replacing. Its owned by the city. If the city said we're going to rebuild this garage it would be a prevailing rate job. But what the city of Ithaca has said is we're going to sell that garage to a developer for a dollar and then we're going to give them a decade-worth of tax breaks, millions and millions of dollars, and they don't have to pay the prevailing rate. And this is a huge attack on the labor movement. This practice is an existential threat. People from Syracuse and Rochester can come here and work on the programs that the city gives tax abatements to, but I can't go to Syracuse or Rochester to work.

This indicates how labor leaders frame city policy in terms of injustice for their members, demonstrating how it can contribute to economic inequalities.

Shared Economic Interests 2: Potential Opportunities from Climate Legislation

Interviewees and public meeting participants talked about opportunities surrounding the Green New Deal for rural and urban communities in terms of restructuring our economic system and building a larger movement. Those who spoke about economic opportunities in this sense were largely urban stakeholders. However, moving beyond the barriers surrounding the language of climate change and the Green New Deal, it becomes evident that many, regardless of political ideology, race, socioeconomic status, and place with which they identify, are actually advocating for similar things in terms of economic benefits.

One interviewee who works for Get Your GreenBack Tompkins sees the GND as an opportunity to restructure the economy to benefit marginalized groups:

> One reason I say it's an immense opportunity is because it does require restructuring of huge components of our present economy. If you're talking about restructuring the economy in significant ways that will address carbon emissions, then that's an immense opportunity to restructure it in ways that actually benefit historically marginalized, historically oppressed populations, etc. Have a better distribution of the gains from that.

Similarly, an Ithaca social justice activist and organizer commented on the opportunity the Green New Deal provides in terms of decision-making and resource allocation: "When I try to think about what it means to actually define what a Green New Deal is, I think again about World War II. We are in a crisis, a major existential crisis. And it creates an opportunity for us to rethink the policy framework that governs how we deal with resources, how we distribute resources, and how we make our decisions." Others expressed a desire to restructure the economy to take power away from large corporations to assist those not currently benefiting from the system. At a public conversation hosted by Groundswell, a member of the Northeast Organic Farmers Association commented:

> In seizing this opportunity that the Green New Deal presents to us we have to couple racial justice and equity with parity pricing that resolves the economic structure issue. The way things have been working since the late 50s is tax payers pay subsidies to keep farms going. But those subsidies don't make up for the money that farmers are not getting because the prices are so low. So actually, the subsidies are a huge transfer of wealth to the biggest corporations. We have to address that. The only way we are going to be able to address that is by combining our movements.

For this person, uniting for a common goal (economic restructuring) against a common enemy will enable those with different backgrounds and perspectives to come together to advocate for a more equitable distribution of benefits, for farmers and people of color. Similarly, for an IBEW Local 241 representative, this issue is ultimately about adequate wages empowering people to make environmentally-conscious decisions:

If you want to solve the climate crisis, you have to tackle this problem with
stagnant wages because the only reason our house is completely solar
powered is because my union paycheck allowed me to make that investment.
If I were working for half the wages, I wouldn't, I'd still be paying to
NYSEG. But instead I've got 42 big solar panels that cover our entire electric
bill. How are you going to do this if you don't even allow people the
economic independence to make the choice? To say, 'this is something I care
about and it makes financial sense but it requires an upfront investment.' It's
essential that everyone afford to be able to make that choice if we want to
switch to renewables.

Even for more politically conservative, rural farmers, there is an acknowledgement of the

social justice components of the GND, and that the economics of farming do not pencil out,

especially as many farmers need other employment to pay the bills:

I think the social justice thing, that's interesting. I'm interested in that, but I
don't know how, if I'm paying 30% more than minimum wage now, we
could be a better steward of the community, the people, stuff like that. We're
already governed by state law that says minimum wage is $10.23, farm labor
is 9 something, and in reality, its 15.

Framing the GND to be about economic opportunity provides a less partisan way to build

consensus and collaboration across different stakeholders. Connecting environmental goals

to economic ones is particularly salient in Ithaca, where there are more people willing to pay

more for products that are produced sustainably, with climate-smart practices, as Ken Jaffee

recognizes:

Ithaca actually has a direct consumer market for farmers which, the
consumers do, puts value on sustainability attributes. A farmer who is
personally concerned about climate change and may be doing some practices
which help mitigate greenhouse gas production or sequester carbon is in a
better position to get that recognized and get some market benefit, some
value-added benefit from it in a marketplace like Ithaca.

Shared Value 1: Environmental and Community Stewardship

Many interviewees across the urban-rural gradient expressed a desire to contribute to

environmental and community well-being. It revealed a moral commitment to supporting

climate mitigation, based on shared values and a shared sense of place. This presents an

opening for collaboration and joint action. For an employee of a regional sustainability

program, this desire stems from a feeling of responsibility: "I believe that it is our human

destiny and human responsibility to actually contribute to making this world a better place.

It's partly a manifestation of those inner values to want to do something like this." Similarly,

in a talk at Cornell in March, Svante Myrick, the mayor of Ithaca talked about the impetus

behind the city's GND as an issue of morality. He said:

> Moral authority. Our commitment means that we will spend millions of local
> property tax revenue because we believe it is the morally right thing to do
> and we believe that it is pragmatically smart to prepare our people and our
> infrastructure for the worst effects of climate change.

For others in rural areas, it is about a willingness to make sacrifices because of a desire to

take action on environmental issues:

> I don't want to impute the reputation of other farmers or neighbors or
> anything, but one thing that I feel like is a little bit different in this household
> is we will accept a sacrifice. If someone says to us, you're not going to be
> able to do XYZ on your property because we the town or the region needs it
> for rent, we'll accept that. Because this issue of climate change is extremely
> important to me. I've always been tuned into environmental issues and it is
> breaking my heart. We have screwed this up. And there's so many people are
> so blind to it and not doing what they need to do.

For some residents, therefore, action on climate change stems from a moral imperative.

Union leaders' thoughts on the Green New Deal reveal their connection to place and

community. One, in advocating for the prevailing rate law, framed his argument in terms of

circulating money locally:

> If it's worth spending public money on, the prevailing rate law has to apply.
> That lets us have a fair shot at it as opposed to out of town contractors, which
> circulates more money in the community. Because me, I make money, I go
> out to eat in Ithaca, I shop locally, I'm supporting the local businesses.
> Someone from out of town buys nothing but a lunch and a gas and they take
> all of the wages out of town. When you are talking about some of these big
> projects going on, that's a substantial amount of money that could help
> people in other lines of work.

Those interviewed in rural areas of Tompkins County also expressed a desire to do their part, several emphasizing their role as land and community stewards, which makes evident their environmental and social values. One farmer with conservative views on the role of government said:

> I think we're being very good stewards of the land, of the community. We hire all local, we buy local, we buy our hay from other farmers here, we buy all our feed from Agway. Everything is local. We're pouring a ton of dough back in to the community. The only smokestack I have is my woodstove. You've got a clean energy, clean environment. I'd say, if I was the city fathers, 'this is what we want. How do we protect these guys?' as opposed to 'how can we regulate them or make life a little more miserable?' Maybe that's the attitude. How do we protect what's here so we have more of this?

Similarly, another emphasized the ecological value of her property as a justification for protection: "The land is really an ecological reservoir for a lot of things. We want to keep that in mind going forward. We don't want to destroy that because we've got it. We don't need to recreate it. We've got it, let's protect it." From these quotes we can see how some rural residents view their role in this effort as protecting land and open space, as well as supporting the local community financially. Other farmers expressed their stewardship values as a function of restoring our relationship to the land:

> When you farm you are in a relationship with the land. People who are in relationship to the land understand exactly environmentally and culturally what is happening in this moment. These are the people on the front lines that are actually trying to remedy what's going on. There's a healing aspect that comes with farming. I've met so many people, whether that be veterans who are coming back from conflicts, and they turn back to the land in order to restore their mental health. Reclaiming the work and the spiritual traditions of our ancestors, being able to have access to that. There are so many more compounded benefits of being in right relationship to the land.

Many producers expressed that they are intimately connected to the land and know what is happening on their properties. This presents an opportunity, as both urban and rural stakeholders interviewed seem to have some shared values related to moral obligations, and dedication to improving community, as well as dedication to restoring the environment by

way of land stewardship or other means. Farmers' perceived role as land stewards also puts

them in a unique position to recognize change, thereby opening the door for conversation

around climate change. The director of Planning for the Town of Lansing recounts:

> Recently I've started hearing from farmers who say the ground is different
> than it was. I remember back when we used to have such and such a snow.
> And slowly you're starting to see people kind of opening up to this. Well,
> what's going on here? They're able to actually see it with their own two eyes
> on land that they've looked after, in some cases for many generations. And
> that has allowed the conversation to be able to turn to something hopefully
> more productive.

This closeness to the land gives farmers a unique perspective, allowing them to see the

impacts of a changing climate firsthand, thereby providing grounds for conversation related

to collective action.

Barriers to, and Strategies for, Enabling Regional Cooperation Processes

Despite these shared interests, there are still considerable divides, which makes process more of a barrier to collective action. Value, identity, ideological, generational, class and place divides do contribute to a tribalism of sorts between some of those who identify with the city of Ithaca, and some of those who live in more rural areas of the county. This serves to inhibit collaborative processes. Animosity and grievances related to perceived differences in opportunities and resources as well as past and current municipal actions limit people's ability to see commonalities. This is compounded by a lack of trust, primarily for urban institutions and representatives on the part of rural interviewees, as they spoke about a lack of respect for and recognition of how the work that they do impacts the city. These differences do not always line up cleanly along urban rural lines, though. Some interviewees did not necessarily align with solely one geography, as some live in more rural areas yet are more active in the city of Ithaca than in their home communities, while others spend more of their time in the city yet identify with rural areas because of where they grew up. Overall, divisions persist, despite the fact that they are not necessarily principally about urban and rural.

Thoughtful, structured collaborative planning processes have the ability to addresses these divisions. Interviewees suggested processes and certain characteristics of these processes for rural urban engagement centered around the GND. These included emphasizing interdependencies of communities within the county, fostering regional relationships, partnerships, and initiatives, connecting with those who commute into the city, and reframing policies and actions to emphasize mutual benefits.

Barriers to Cooperation

Despite shared regional vulnerabilities, opportunities, interests, and values, there are real barriers to regional cooperation on issues of mutual interest. These include a perceived

lack of respect for rural residents' actions and contributions on the part of urban residents and institutions, and power dynamics between urban and rural. In addition, local place identity, political, economic, and generational differences contribute to barriers. This is augmented by unequal resource distribution and a perceived lack of voice in county decisions by some rural interviewees.

Barrier 1: Perceived Lack of Respect

Amongst some rural residents interviewed, there was a perception that the city of Ithaca does not understand them, and does not fully understand its position in the county, which has negative consequences. A Cooperative Extension employee articulated the opinions of some of the people that she has worked with, as founded in a perceived lack of respect:

> The attitude amongst many people in rural communities is that people in Ithaca and people at Cornell think that they are such hot shit. And that we're nothing. There's just a huge sense of not being respected. That's been there for generations. It's not a new thing. It tends to extend to any new thing that comes along. Like climate change. It's like, 'Oh, you guys think climate change is a real important topic? Well guess what? We're not interested. We're interested in keeping taxes down, and we want to let people do whatever they want with their land, including fracking.' This sort of generations-long attitude against Ithaca and Cornell tends to take over any new topic that comes up. And it comes up in the next generation and it just perpetuates itself.

This generational animosity that this interviewee describes presents a considerable barrier to joint work, especially given that climate change has become a politicized topic that takes on outsized meaning when messages about it come from the city and its residents. In an Agriculture Committee Meeting in Dryden, participants expressed the view that the city thinks that farmers are destroying the environment through destructive land management practices. However, they felt that they are merely doing the best that they can in the most economical way. Someone commented: "What makes it pretty for one, doesn't make it functional for another. Someone has to take care of the land so that people can look at

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rolling hills." This comment speaks to a desire for recognition, both for the value of the

services they are providing to urban areas, and for a recognition that the work they are doing

is difficult economically.

This perceived lack of respect and recognition, therefore, is in part due to the fact that

there are many services that rural areas provide to urban Ithaca that go unacknowledged.

According to a UA 267 representative, many union employees are from rural areas and that

background gives them the tools to be good at physical labor (better than those from urban

areas). He uses fairly stark language to describe his sentiment that the work that they do is

providing a service for city dwellers:

> Some policy in the past hasn't really ended up benefiting the community here
> because the people that usually work with us don't live in the city. People
> come in from the outskirts, the rural communities, and I think that is
> somehow related. The rural community is more asked to work with their
> hands. If you grew up with municipal utilities, you're probably a wimp. But
> when you have a well, and you have to haul wood in the house every day to
> keep your house warm, like people who live in the country, now you're
> tougher than those people that live in the city. And the tough people are the
> people that come in and build stuff. That's just the way it is. They've been
> accustomed to that. The working folk come into the city to work and then
> leave and go out and the people that live in the city, they go to their offices
> and do their office stuff and you know, count their money, or count
> everybody else's money and make sure it's going in the right spot. We build
> offices for the money counters, so that they can be comfortable.

There were also farmers that expressed similar opinions about the services that they provide

for the city of Ithaca. One farmer relayed a message to the mayor:

> When you sit in the city of Ithaca and look up, everything you see, all the
> green space, that's the town of Ithaca. That's something new, I don't think
> the mayor of Ithaca even understands that. That's the key message I would
> give to him. When you look up there at all that green space, you see the
> colleges and the farmers. There are 12 farmers in the town of Ithaca, and one
> of them just moved away. One farmer is gone. One farmer dies. One farmer
> doesn't have an heir. One farmer sells out. One farmer develops. When any
> farmer makes a change, it affects everybody. And the people in the city, they
> have no idea. I'm providing a huge benefit to the city of Ithaca. Do you buy
> that? In terms of growing trees, I got 60 some acres of trees. I've got open
> land but most of it is trees.

A lack of recognition and respect for the work that rural stakeholders do that have positive impacts on the city, in particular as the city is seen to have a negative influence on rural areas, represents a source of tension and division.

Barrier 2: Place Identity, Demographic, and Ideological Differences

Another category of barriers relates to local place identity, demographic and ideological differences which prevent regional identity formation.

There are many people who live in rural communities in Tompkins County that identify with Ithaca as their home. This leads to a lack of engagement in these outlying places, as commuters focus their energy and attention on the city, rather than where they live. The desire for an identity separate from Ithaca therefore presents a barrier, as the director of planning for the town of Dryden recognized for his municipality: "It's a subtle background issue, but people want to be identified independently and don't want to be identified with Ithaca."

Generational differences also present a barrier, in particular as the city of Ithaca is much younger overall than surrounding municipalities. This translates into decision-making:

> The truth is, if you love nature, you should not build a house anywhere near it. No one wants to hear that. Especially this Boomer crowd, which fancy themselves as very green. And that's why these conversations are so hard because this is who's in charge. Go to any town board meeting anywhere in the county, any day of the week, the youngest person on that board, almost always will be at least 50 years old. The city is a little bit different. The city definitely skews much younger, which is why I think their leadership is much younger. But Svante has taken brutal heat for just being young.

These generational differences sometimes result in competing worldviews. Some older interviewees claimed that the most active people in Ithaca are older, and that most people are viewing from the sidelines without participating in environmental activism, putting off engagement. This view, however, does not give adequate credit to the Sunrise Movement, whose actions were critical to getting Ithaca to adopt a Green New Deal.

Although perhaps less of an issue in Tompkins County than many other places across the U.S., there are people who deny the existence of climate change, which, when combined with what is perceived to be a city of Ithaca concern, presents a hurdle to working across the urban rural divide. Some interviewees acknowledged this: "I would say there's probably a significant amount of the population who for some time, and for until very, very recently, has disputed the notion of climate change." For some, Ithaca is known as a hub of sustainability and climate action. One farmer said: "In the farming community it's probably like inverse square of the radius from the center of Ithaca is concerned about climate change. It's sort of like how much light is coming out of a light bulb as you get further away." Part of this statement reveals biases and opinions about the city of Ithaca in relation to the surrounding areas, but it also may also demonstrate how the city is perceived to create a circle of sustainability-minded people around it.

Political differences and perceived economic differences between urban and rural present another barrier to collective action for climate change. This becomes evident from the views of the role of government some of those interviewed expressed. While some said, "The best government is a government that doesn't do anything", others are actively employed by municipal governments. These differences are acknowledged by those who work with both rural and urban communities, like this Cooperative Extension employee:

> The battle lines have kind of been drawn. Part of that's political, because the rural areas tend to be more conservative and republican, and Ithaca tends to be more, I would actually say radical rather than democrat, not even liberal… People are hurting economically, especially in the rural areas. They feel like people in Ithaca are doing ok for themselves. 'I don't have access to any of that stuff, what the hell.' There's definitely already a perception of antagonism and adversarial kind of stance.

This perception of economic differences does not necessarily match reality, as Table 1 shows the city of Ithaca to have higher poverty rates, in part due to the student population. However accurate or not this perception is, the result is a barrier that people create that limits their willingness to engage in initiatives that include the city. Of course, these

divisions exist at the county level and within the city of Ithaca itself. One labor union

representative described how political positioning has influenced development patterns and

union work:

> It's odd because things like the prevailing rate for the better part of a century
> have had labor unions and democrats working together and its
> overwhelmingly all democrats on common council, and at the county
> legislature, it's like 11 to 2. Its these democrats who are saying "wait." And
> we're saying, what do you mean? You're breaking this alliance with us. Its
> causing some very interesting politics. It also drives down safety practices. At
> the county level the democratic legislator who is the chair of the legislature
> and sits on the IDA has taken tens of thousands of dollars from one developer
> and his family and he hates the idea of any strings attached to his
> development projects for the millions of tax abatements he gets. And that's
> just from one developer. It's a problem. They have the money and they say
> keep the unions out of what we're doing and we'll bankroll you and you can
> be liberal on any other issue you want. Just let us take all this public money
> in terms of abatements and put no strings attached and we will bankroll you.
> It's a big problem. It's the issue driving a wedge, where we are seeing more
> and more of our members go away.

This also relates to participants' opinions on regulations and autonomy, which

influences their predisposition to municipal projects. Many at the Dryden Agriculture

Committee meeting expressed the opinion that, in general, regulations are painted with a

broad brush. What applies to a cattle operation is not necessarily applicable to a gravelly

blueberry slope, however regulations do not take into account different types of farmers and

different situations. This is compounded by the knowledge that farmers are intimately

involved in their own land, and are good stewards of it because it is their livelihood. This

leads to the point of view that the best management strategy would be to let the farmer

decide what will work best for them, as each one knows best how to manage their own

property. The fact that farmers are often on a "razer's edge" financially means that

regulations are perceived to put added burdens, increasing their sense of risk and

vulnerability. A town of Ithaca farmer talked about the purchase of development rights

program, and why she chose not to participate, despite being involved in its creation:

> They could offer farmers something real for their development rights. I wouldn't sell unless I had to. Look at the freedom I have. Look at my good life. Do I want to have to go to the town and ask them, can I do this, can I do that? No way. I go to the meetings; I get along with them fine. There is a farmer who actually sold their development rights, and they are active on the town committee. I don't know what it's like for them to not have their development rights. I have a multigenerational farm. I don't know what the future's going to bring. Laws change, people change. I don't want to restrict myself.

The loss of control involved with selling the development rights is compounded by the uncertainty inherent in farming. There are also some who feel a strong level of independence. One said:

> My organic lady [the woman down the road that grows organic vegetables] is a nice lady but we have nothing in common. Which is also something that's good—is there anything that's going to unite us? No. It isn't like we're all going to get our pitchforks and march on city hall. We're all out here on our own, plugging away and eking out a living.

Therefore, personal views of the role of government, as well as opinions about personal independence and control present another barrier to participation.

There also exists a certain level of tribalism that serves to separate people from one another. One city resident I spoke with admitted that she thought that there are lots of needs within the city, and if she were to make her true thoughts about the Green New Deal publicly known, she would be labelled and dismissed as anti-environmental. The labeling of people and subsequent factionalism can prevent collaboration and productive conversation, missing the point of the Green New Deal.

Barrier 3: Power Dynamics

Power dynamics between the city of Ithaca and other municipalities in the county provides another barrier. This includes a perceived lack of voice in county affairs by those in more rural areas, as well as unequal resource distribution.

Dryden farmers spoke about the domino effect of the city: the city's actions influence the town to act in a similar manner, in addition to the county, which then puts

pressure on other towns as well. Urban interests are perceived to have a stronger voice in county affairs, which influences actions taken in rural areas. The planning director for the town of Lansing talked about the discussions around the operation of Milliken Station: "There's been this long-standing battle at the county level, but that represents urban interests to say: 'We don't want fossil fuels, do not fire the power plant with natural gas.'" Therefore, urban influence extends to the county level, which has implications for rural communities. A Cooperative Extension employee talked about the challenges of working with other municipalities on this, both in terms of the power dynamics, and in terms of being at different stages of environmental action:

> We're going to have to rely on land in the other municipalities, including regionally, for the city to be able to get enough of its electricity from renewable sources. Are we going to take Dryden's land? And just say, 'we need to put solar panels here for us. We need to take all of this electricity away.' These are the two main issues of contention, is that the city is going to have to figure out how to deal with municipalities that don't have their own Green New Deal, that aren't this far along in their thinking about the climate crisis, and figure out how to collaborate. Work with the rural entities when there's already this decades, if not centuries old, animosity. It's a tough one.

Engrained power dynamics between urban and rural, in which the city is perceived to occupy an elevated position within the county and uses its position to direct others, is a major challenge to collaboration.

A perceived lack of political voice also emerged from some interviewees, as some do not believe their interests are being represented. One farmer in the town of Ithaca spoke about farmers as a minority, and the issues that emerge when decision-makers do not understand the agricultural perspective:

> At the end of the day, look at the tax base for the town of Ithaca. Its Cornell, that's it. And Cornell's got a lot more money than I do. But does the town board care what my vote says? No! Russ is pissed, stinks to be Russ, we're still going to get tax money from Cornell, and away we go. It isn't even transparency. Its minority rights. There you go, here's our diversity. Its minority rights, if you've only got 40 people who are being influenced by all these laws. Do you say, we've got to watch out for those 40, or do you say,

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> ehh, they'll be ok? That is the real rub, is where is the value in the 40. The failsafe to a lot of political events is we'll just have a review board. We'll appoint 6 citizens to review. That doesn't work. Because who are those 6 citizens? Are they farmers? Or are they Cornell professors? Or are they out-of-work- whatever, who've never been on a farm. And what do they care?

Apart from a disdain for government, this quote demonstrates how, according to him, municipalities do not take farmers into account. This presents a barrier, as the baseline opinion for some farmers is a certain level of distrust and perception that the government is not looking out for their best interests.

There is also a sense of unfairness in how resources are distributed across the county. For example, the town and village of Lansing are the only communities in Tompkins County affected by a natural gas moratorium due to their location at the end of the line resulting in insufficient pressure. This places a disproportionate burden on Lansing residents and businesses. It also does not necessarily result in better energy practices, as many switched to propane. A Lansing employee describes the impact of the moratorium:

> That has been kind of a kind of a cultural blow to the village and the town, and also has stirred up a lot of anxieties because, as our town supervisor would say, if natural gas is the breath from Satan's lungs, we should all have to shut it off. It shouldn't just be disproportionately affecting the town and village of Lansing. Why should they essentially pay the highest price?

She suggested that the city of Ithaca could mandate restaurants and residences to switch to induction cooking to reduce the pressure and level out demand in order to help the city meet its green goals, while also helping the town of Lansing, but admitted that would be a heavy lift. The implications of who pays for energy therefore result in barriers for collaboration.

Fostering Connections

Despite large challenges involved with changing current paradigms, in terms of the scale of change needed, the convening of diverse stakeholders, and the structure of current institutions, interviewees' suggestions focused on ways to foster connections across divides. People's comments suggest that processes that are grounded in mutual respect and

recognition of each place's contributions, as well as the groundwork of different groups will be needed. Recognition should also extend to each individual's lived experience. This can help to build awareness of the interdependence of communities across the county, as well as build relationships and partnerships across geographies. Others suggested that reaching out to commuters who drive into the city from rural areas can be a way to shift people's place identity and activate their involvement in their home communities. Many groups felt left out of conversations or devalued in some way, and therefore a process that acknowledges past wrongs, while moving forward with a renewed emphasis on truly listening to a wide array of voices is necessary. This will also include meeting people where they are, rather than inviting some stakeholders to participate on terms defined by past interactions or defined by those in power. Building on shared understandings of environmentalism and stakeholders' desire to contribute, and framing actions in terms of economic benefit and opportunity can lay the groundwork for concerted collaborative efforts. Processes that build on existing partnerships and foster new ones between those that work at the grassroots level, and those who have more extensive knowledge about policy can help bridge gaps between the different scales of change needed. A truly collaborative effort would empower different groups with the tools to take action for themselves. Interviewees also spoke about incorporating elements of cultural revitalization through the arts and local food to foster connections. Figure 5 highlights strategies to foster connections.
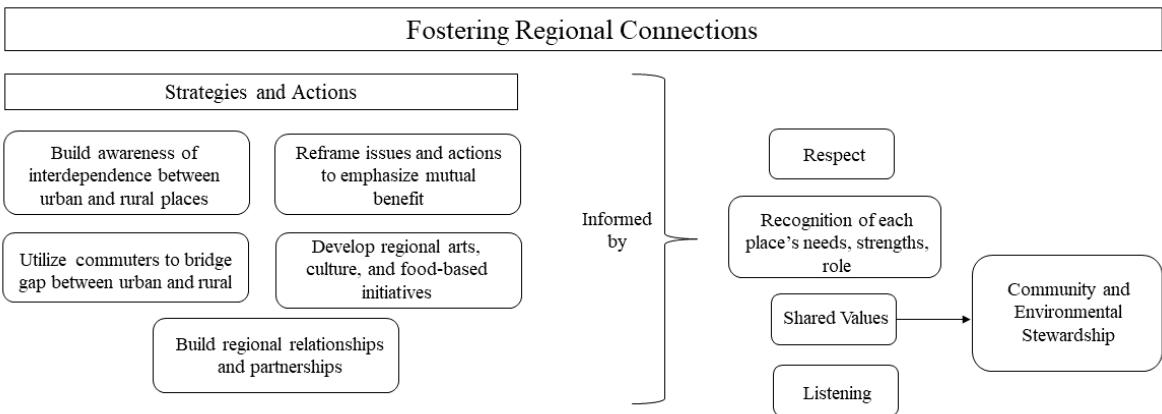
Figure 5: Diagram of actions for urban rural engagement centered around the GND, as identified by interviewees

Strategy to Connect 1: Build Awareness of Interdependence

Despite perceived differences between urban and rural communities in terms of politics, access to resources, and economic inequalities, among many stakeholders there is a recognition of the interdependence of communities in the county. As the Director of Planning for the Town of Dryden noted, "Since we do share a lot of commonality between Ithaca and Dryden, there is an opportunity to leverage and promote good things in the greater area." Opportunities for working between urban and rural here will include fostering this sense of interdependence. Part of this is related to identity, and where people identify to be their home. As a Cooperative Extension employee acknowledged:

> The municipalities in the county and the city actually are more interdependent than they realize. A lot of people think of themselves, when people ask them where they live, they say they live in Ithaca. Actually, they live in Dryden and Caroline and Trumansburg and Danby and Lansing, and they commute in to the city to work or they go into the city for every other part of their life: events and art and shopping. So, there's a lot of interdependence that people just aren't aware of. There must be a way to get more awareness of that dependence of the rural people on what's happening in the city, and the dependence of the city on the rural areas and rural populations.

Breaking down barriers to this sense of interdependence to enable collaboration might include creating places and events for community-members from urban and rural to meet, either formally or informally. Having farmers markets in rural communities as well, to connect residents with their neighboring farms, instead of commuting to Ithaca was proposed. In a Greenstar Community Projects Networking event in Caroline dedicated to this topic several years ago, storytelling events emerged as a strategy as well as school or GIAC tours of local farms. Presenting opportunities for residents to exchange skills and knowledge might foster a sense of reciprocity, as people think about what we all have to offer and what we might like to learn. Among some rural residents, there already is a recognition of shared efforts and interdependence. As a farmer in the town of Ithaca commented: "You look at this place and you see the hand of everyone that helped me. The nice man that brought the gravel, somebody else who brought his backhoe over and cleaned out the pond." The opportunity therefore, is in expanding this sense of interdependency within rural areas to across rural and urban geographies.

Strategy to Connect 2: Utilize Commuters to Bridge Gap between Urban and Rural

Interviewees spoke about connecting with those who live outside of Ithaca but commute in as a way to get more places on board with GND action. They spoke about involving 'connectors'—people who live in a rural area but work in Ithaca, and can help to bridge the gap between the two. One Cooperative Extension employee sees commuters as an opening, and a way to start a conversation in order to shift people's perceptions to have them start to focus more on where they live, rather than where they work. This in turn can lead to having them put pressure on their town boards to enact more aggressive climate legislation:

> How do we begin to help them think about their home communities, and moving their home communities forward, instead of only thinking about Ithaca? It might start with, for example, if there's a downtown business, to identify the people who are driving in from the rural municipalities and asking them to give the data of the number of miles that they drive in a month. Because we need that for the greenhouse gas emissions inventory. We

need to know how much in-traffic, how much commuter traffic is contributing to the greenhouse gases in the city. That could be an opening. That could be a way to start to have a conversation, a relationship with people who are commuting in, and then maybe it could expand from there to a survey, for example, of where do you predominantly buy your food. And, do you have a farmer's market in your home community? Can you identify three people in your home community that are active in community organizing in your own hometown? So that we could connect with those people. The main thing would be getting awareness amongst the commuters. Instead of having them identify completely with Ithaca and just having a bedroom in Danby, they actually start to think more about their home community and what's going on there in terms of the climate crisis. Then we could possibly move the town boards in the direction of their own Green New Deal.

This interviewee bases her comment on the assumption that those that identify Ithaca to be their home, even if they live elsewhere, are progressive. Her point is that connecting with them can help activate their involvement and engagement in their own towns, rather than in the city. She cited herself as an example, arguing that she has lived in Dryden since 1974 and is still considered an outsider, largely due to the fact that she does not participate in the aspects of community life important to many residents there. This is part of the issue, but the opportunity lies in connecting commuters to their communities, and connecting those that consider Ithaca to be home with those that consider any other municipality in the county to be home, changing people's conceptions of place identity.

Strategy to Connect 3: Regional Arts, Culture, and Food-Based Initiatives

Interdependence could be fostered through developing regional arts, culture, and food-based initiatives, which presents an opportunity for Tompkins County and the larger region. In a conversation with members of Tompkins County's Carbon Farming study group, the idea of granges and community-based food systems emerged as a way to focus the GND energy in a place, providing a democratic, alternative town hall of sorts. Food hubs and granges are decentralized regionally in terms of production-sourcing, yet centralized in a community. Food is brought in to process, as well as employees to do that work. It is a place for people to come together, converse, and share, and could be a way to produce value-

added products for city dwellers. It could be tied into schools and education, where many people are engaged already. This model can be used to address food insecurity as well, and could build on already-existing interest among Ithacans in learning about food production and processing. Community development around food is something that the Groton Librarian is already doing with her community dinners, Healthy Tuesdays program, and workshops. Place-making around local food presents an opportunity to overcome some of the challenges and barriers to collective action by grounding climate mitigation in a locale. A Freeville farmer and activist cited the WPA projects during the first New Deal as a model for the Green New Deal. Finding writers and artists to document people's stories, histories, and even recipes can be a way to celebrate and uplift cultural traditions. The Green New Deal provides an opening for us to rethink our current systems, and how we relate to where we live to refocus on local efforts to strengthen our communities.

Strategy to Connect 4: Frame Actions to Emphasize Mutual Benefit

Part of fostering interdependence will include framing actions in terms of mutual benefit. Dryden experienced pushback from the community when it first started exploring adopting new measures to address climate change and energy use. As the planning director said:

> We wouldn't be very successful [in adopting new regulations based on climate change] if we were doing it as 'here, we're just going to jump right to the end point and adopt a bunch of new zoning and building code regulations that are really aggressive towards addressing energy use.' I think we saw the wisdom of needing to build it up from the foundation of the Comp Plan. There certainly was an exploration of doing some of these things, and there was an immediate pushback. So that's why I think we have to go, not totally back to square one, but have to step back and do it more as an educational piece and process. Rather than trying just top down it. We're already on a good foundation and just, talk about incremental and talk about not just benefiting the city, but that there's mutual benefit in this.

Dryden's example shows that reframing these issues can help overcome some of the barriers to municipal action on climate change. The planning department used the Comprehensive

Plan process as an educational tool to bring people on board and facilitate a conversation around next steps.

Strategy to Connect 5: Build Regional Relationships and Partnerships

Fostering connections hinges on building regional relationships and partnerships. The county may be best positioned to facilitate this. A county planner, when asked about the county's energy strategy and its role in climate action, said: "The external focus [of the county's energy strategy] is really like the county as a coordinator. How do we support things and facilitate and bring everybody together so the items that are listed there are pretty much just holding hands and partnering and then there are some specifics trainings on renewable energy and assessing EV charging and that kind of thing?" Although the county does not have land use control and therefore cannot implement specific policies, it occupies an important position in its ability to be a coordinator, to model best practices, and to share information. This echoes the opinion of a Lansing community member who has been active in starting summer literacy programs: "I would think that the county has the best chance of fostering municipal cooperation and resource sharing. Ithaca working in partnership with the county to engage the rural communities would be my recommendation. Relationship building is key." For some county agencies, fostering partnerships between those people working at the grassroots level in both urban and rural areas and those who have knowledge around policies and process is critical. The former director of the Tompkins County Workforce Development Board outlined her approach:

> It's really important in the rural areas to use agencies that have established relationships and you can establish entities in rural areas. The same goes for the city. Identifying pockets of people who are not in the workforce that would like to be in the workforce is really important and identifying people who already have relationships and connecting with them is important. Even when resources are identified, it's important that you use a combination of agencies that have connections in the community, as well as people with background in how to do some of this work, working in concert around these areas. You need a combination, right? So just grassroots efforts without the

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connection to the knowledge around how to do some of this it isn't necessarily going to be as successful. It has to be a partnership.

Partnerships help make connections to facilitate knowledge generation and information dissemination. In describing how she started programs at the Groton Public Library to address food security and resource sharing, the librarian spoke about initial challenges related to low participation. She realized, "What I think doesn't matter. I need to ask them. It's all about the relationship. It's all about communication. It's all about building that trust." The same will be true for Ithaca's Green New Deal. A process that builds relationships and trust, and provides open lines of communication can foster more widespread participation.

Relationship and partnership-building hinges on listening, respect, and recognition of different stakeholders' roles, needs, and strengths. Both rural and urban stakeholders recognized this. Mayor Svante Myrick outlines his general plan for Green New Deal engagement going forward: "Ask the community, listen deeply for the right answers, and then deliver." Deep listening will hopefully avoid one farmer of color's warning: "Please don't ask me what my opinion is and then do something completely different." The underlying sentiment behind many of the suggestions I heard is well-illustrated through a story by a rural community organizer around issues of food security:

> I'm a great follower of Ryan Dowd. He has the Homeless Institute, it's online. It has a section just about libraries. And it's fascinating. One of his stories was, he was at a library, and a homeless person came in and the person at the desk said, 'How may I help you, sir?' And they started crying. They were like, 'what's wrong?' He goes, 'I can't tell you how long it's been since somebody hasn't addressed me as 'Hey, you.' Just treating people with simple respect. Hi, how are you? How can I help you? Simple. A smile. You know, it's free. When I started here, we did library fines. If you're late with your book, you got a fine. We're fine-free now. It took me years of talking with my Board. Things like that, that move you along the path of, I think it's just human kindness, humanity, really. That to me is how we're going to solve the issues together.

Recognition and respect for those in different contexts and settings provides the grounds for mutual action. As one farmer of color stated, there needs to be common values for this kind of work to happen:

> This is not just the work of people who are marginalized, this needs to be everyone's work. I can't be in charge of my own liberation, and then get you together as well. There is so much more work that needs to get done. And before we have the calls for unity and coalition work, there needs to be a shared understanding and values of what the work is. Right now, there's plenty of allies, whether that be farmers or support organizations that say they support black farmers, but it's my work. I'm supposed to do it and let you know what the work is to do. This needs to be everyone's work.

Other rural activists found a recognition of previous work to be crucial: "It was important in my messaging [about Lansing Loves to Learn] that I paid homage to all of the good already occurring in our community." This connects to the Local IBEW 241 representative's process suggestion, involving giving labor a voice and a mechanism to help shape policy. This is based on a recognition of the value of the work that they do:

> I would like to see labor, through the Building Trades Council, invited to sit in on every discussion in the Green New Deal planning. Not a token thing, but 'hey, we're going to put together a planning committee, you guys are at the table. You guys have the organizing experience, you know how to run meeting efficiently, you are major stakeholders in whatever the energy infrastructure is for the 21st century, whether we stick with the status quo or whether we go carbon neutral, you guys are going to be the ones building it either way so you need to be at the table at the entire time.

In a similar vein, one farmer advocated for the recognition of the contributions of people of color:

> The first CSA farmer was a black man in the United States context: Booker T. Whatley, who started his CSA farm in Alabama. He was a professor out of Tuskegee. Why I mention that is because it's very important to not erase what the contributions of people of color are in the United States. I'm also considered a first-generation farmer, which seems very odd considering that my ancestors were brought here to this country in order for agriculture hundreds of years ago. But the USDA considers me a first-generation farmer. We need to acknowledge these histories.

One suggestion from a rural organizer was to help people feel empowered to take action. Part of this relates to recognizing actions already taken, and focusing on the positive: "If conversations happen, it might be helpful to have community members talk about what energy actions or upgrades they've taken or would like to take. I think this will promote a feeling of empowerment and hope. Eco-guilt is real." Another opening is that opinions are changing, as the Groton librarian admitted. She tells the story of applying for a large grant. As part of the application, she had to assemble a task force of a dozen of people from all walks of life in Groton. A city of Ithaca social justice activist and organizer was assisting with the grant. She said:

> At first, he was a little leery to come because he said, 'how am I going to be perceived in your area? Am I too Ithaca?' I said, 'let's try it.' I'm always willing to try. Let's try it and see. I think that in the beginning when I first started here, it would have been [an issue], but I think things have changed slowly. And it's not such a challenge.

The need for recognition and respect took on more urgency when coming from certain stakeholders: "It's not about just being heard; we have to have it connected to a plan of action. We can't just have more voices in a room. I don't want a seat at the table. I have my table that I'm using right now. Can you call it a table too?" This quote speaks to a desire by those in marginalized groups for their voices to be centered in the process.

Overall, findings indicate that there are shared vulnerabilities, interests, and values in Tompkins County, and that, despite barriers, certain strategies can help to foster connections regionally (Table 3). Interviewees spoke about fragmented transportation and food systems, as well as a lack of affordable housing and voiced concerns about suburban encroachment on rural land. There were shared interests in addressing economic inequalities and uncertainties, and in the economic possibilities from potential GND policy. This is complemented by shared conceptions of moral responsibility to support the environment and the community, as well as shared understandings of environmental citizenship. Strategies suggested to foster connections include recognizing interdependencies and past actions as

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well as current ones that steward the environment and community. Interviewees spoke about creating regional partnerships and strengthening regional relationships and initiatives, and reframing actions and proposals to reflect mutual benefits. Some of the challenges and proposals for regional collaboration identified in this study intersect with those identified by other researchers, as outlined in Table 4.

Table 3: Summary table of findings

Vulnerabilities and Interests in Tompkins County				Barriers to and Strategies for Enabling Regional Cooperation Processes	
Regional Vulnerabilities	Regional Economic Interests	Shared Values		Barriers to Cooperation	Strategies: Fostering Connections
Fragmented Transportation	Addressing Economic Inequality and Uncertainty	Environmental and Community Stewardship		Perceived Lack of Respect	Build Awareness of Interdependence
Lack of Affordable Housing	Opportunities from Climate Legislation			Place Identity, Demographic, and Ideological Differences	Utilize Commuters to Bridge Gap Between Urban and Rural
Food Insecurity				Power Dynamics	Regional Arts, Culture, and Food-Based Initiatives
Suburban Encroachment and Loss of Farmland					Frame Actions to Emphasize Mutual Benefit
					Build Regional Relationships and Partnerships

Table 4: Intersections between findings and literature

Challenges of Regional Collaboration in Tompkins County	Challenges of Regional Collaboration in Literature	Proposals for Collaborative Processes in Tompkins County by Interviewees	Proposals for Collaborative Processes in Literature
Strong Local Identity, Weak Regional Identity (Semian and Chromy, 2014; Masuda and Garvin, 2008; Hall and Stern, 2009)		Recognize and Foster Interdependence (Irwin, 2010; Lichter and Brown, 2011; Castle et al, 2011; Chapple et al, 2017)	
Generational Differences	Unrepresentative Mix of Stakeholders (Frick et al, 2015)	Utilize Commuters to Bridge Gap between Urban and Rural	Strong Leadership (Emerson et al, 2011, Innes and Booher, 2010)
Political and Ideological Differences (Blakenau and Parker, 2015; Kelly and Lobao, 2019; Gerber et al, 2013)		Regional Arts, Culture, and Food-Based Initiatives	Focus on Regional Identity and Assets (Dabson, 2020, Porter and Wallis, 2002)
Demographic Differences	Institutional Structure (Innes et al, 2010)	Frame Actions to Emphasize Mutual Benefit	Explore Various Frames (Termeer et al, 2011; Meyer et al, 2016)
Imbalances of Power, Resources, and Preferences (Frick et al, 2015; Dabson, 2020)			Diverse Stakeholders (Innes and Booher, 2010; Hawkins and Wang, 2012; Innes et al, 2010)
Perceived Lack of Respect	Different Policy Priorities Between Entities Across Geographies/Lack of Incentives for Collaboration (Arias et al, 2017; Frick et al, 2015)		Convening Entity (Reilly, 1998; Chapple, 2011)
Perceived Economic Differences	Different Definitions of Production and Consumption and Useful Land Uses (Spain, 1993)		Incentives for participation (Emerson et al, 2011; Innes and Booher, 2010; Mattiuzzi, 2017)

Collaborative Planning Processes as a Way Forward

Changing Processes

Planning literature suggests that collaborative planning processes and governance can address the barriers to joint action in Tompkins County, and can incorporate and capture the process suggestions of interviewees. Some of the pieces needed for this are there: problems with a high degree of uncertainty that cannot be resolved internally, a need for interdependence to achieve goals, shared interests, local and regional governments with strong capacity, and a well-organized civil society. Collaborative processes are well-suited to address the ambiguity surrounding potential ways forward and policy options, as well as the conflicting values and perspectives of different stakeholders. With NYS' carbon neutrality goals, there may be grant opportunities that can spur more concerted efforts to collaborate. In addition, there is a lack of knowledge about current emissions, as well as potential ways forward. A process that involves diverse stakeholders can facilitate the development of knowledge that is jointly agreed-upon as well as shared networks that can bridge divides. It also enables those communities in the County without the resources to hire a sustainability coordinator to access expertise. Appealing to and building on the shared desires, values, and interests in Tompkins County can help to spur regional buy-in. Identifying areas of common interest despite diverging ideologies is central to many researchers' recommendations to improve policy-making and planning (Davidoff, 1965).

A coalition of entities to coordinate this effort is needed. While some interviewees suggested that the County would be best positioned to facilitate a regional GND effort, there would need to be efforts to pay attention to the impact of the county's previous actions on different groups to move past preexisting distrust. Regional approaches need to recognize the historical origins of current challenges, both to foster the necessary support and credibility across urban and rural that takes into account the origins of potential animosity across communities, and to provide a good base from which to act (Dabson, 2020). In this

case, planners will need to act as consensus-builders and facilitators of decision-making, rather than technical experts (Innes and Booher, 1999). The Tompkins County Planning Department or Council of Governments certainly have the proper scope for this effort, yet lack enforcement power. Their convening and leadership role can be augmented by the facilitation role of a group in the area with more expertise in outreach and engagement like Cooperative Extension. Creating a coalition or working group of organizations already working on environmental, social justice, and labor issues across the county could be a useful place to start, and would build on their collective momentum. In truly collaborative initiatives, power is shared so that those involved can agree on solutions to address responsibility for complex issues (Margerum and Robinson, 2016). As Dabson (2020) articulates, well-resourced intermediaries like regional and community economic development organizations occupy an important role in managing urban – rural interactions, helping to build relationships and capacity. Margerum (2008) outlines three tiers of collaboration in environmental planning programs: "direct action" by individuals, community leaders, nonprofit groups, "organizational" collaboration between agencies and local governments, and "political" collaboration with stakeholders and senior government administrators. Ithaca's GND resolution passed because of individual and group direct action, yet Tompkins County will likely need a combination of all three types of collaboration.

Success in collaborative regional governance hinges on the inclusion of diverse, interdependent stakeholders along with incentives for their participation. This depends on a process in place to facilitate the development of joint knowledge and the creation of shared networks (Innes et al, 2010). This is further facilitated by infrastructure to support the process, and the use of negotiating documents to focus the dialogue, as well as an adaptive process that can evolve (Innes and Booher, 2010). A broader network helps the group of stakeholders build capacity through expertise and knowledge, making implementation more effective (Hawkins and Wang, 2012). Successful cases of water management in California

included diverse, interdependent stakeholders, collaborative dialogue, joint knowledge development, and the creation of networks and social/political capital. Stakeholders were able to focus on questions beyond parochial interests. Studies on collaborative planning, rural planning, and coalition-building for environmental and equity goals indicate that "collaborative regional planning should include representatives of civic organizations, the business community, labor, and the public at large" (Teitz, Silva, and Barbour, 2001, p. 3). Ongoing alliances need to be built around a mutual interest in shifting a region's political economy. They have therefore included environmentalists, low-income groups, and social-justice oriented groups (Dean and Reynolds, 2008). Pastor et al (2000) identify the constituencies for equity-oriented approaches to regionalism: city mayors who want to use regionalism to bring an urban agenda to fore, residents of inner-ring suburbs frustrated that spending not going to them, community-based organization leaders, CDCs worried that region passes their constituencies by, and labor unions that see fates of their workers tied to regional economy. Studies on rural areas and climate change find that rural populations are often closest to the impacts of climate change, but are distant from the level at which institutional solutions are produced. Farmers in particular are both victims and perpetrators of global climate change, and therefore their inclusion in discussions will be a critical piece of planning processes centered around the GND (Molnar, 2010). In addition, strong MPO/COG participation and nonprofit organizational capacity enables more equitable approaches. In MN-St. Paul, which has a history of urban-regional tension, Arias et al (2017) found that in the Twin Cities, an existing culture of collaboration in the public sector by those in nonprofits was an advantage in implementing the sustainable, equitable development SCI grant goals. Traditionally empowered leaders were willing to hand over decision-making, which enabled buy-in by other stakeholders.

The literature identifies other actions to change processes to enable coordination and collaboration. Demonstration projects like installing solar panels on municipal buildings across the county or facilitating an emissions inventory for each municipality can highlight

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successes. This can serve to set the stage for more involved actions. As Pitt and Bassett (2013) recommend, this action provides an example for residents, businesses, and institutions in the area. Using boundary objects and experiences, as Chapple et al (2017) highlight, can help to develop a shared understanding of regional issues and regional pride. This can include something as simple as rotating meeting locations, organizing field trips, or jointly collecting data. Knowledge co-production through participatory tools has been found to be successful in engaging stakeholders, especially agricultural producers, around the issue of climate change (Bartels et al, 2013). Additionally, in a study of conflicts between newcomers and old-timers in Lancaster County, VA, Spain (1993) found that public opinion polls facilitated consensus-building by demonstrating that both groups were actually in agreement about basic community concerns. A similar approach may be useful in Tompkins County to clarify the extent of value overlap between community-members in different places. Part of the tension between urban and rural involves perceived unequal access to resources, so facilitators need to understand where attitudes come from (both value systems and material conditions) in order to enable negotiation between groups (Spain, 1993). There is a need for a common vision for the future, that builds on a collective definition and recognition of the past in Tompkins County. Addressing the perceived lack of respect and acknowledgement for rural contributions in terms of ecosystem services and land stewardship can include developing data platforms that show the economic impact of land uses and resource allocations. This can help highlight urban rural interactions, making rural work more visible (Dabson, 2020).

Innes and Booher's (2010) DIAD theory of collaborative rationality can assist in better understanding the possibilities for Ithaca's GND. Collaborative planning emerges from collaborative rationality, which is determined by a diversity (D) of interests among participants, interdependence (I) of participants who cannot get interests met independently, and engagement in face to face authentic dialogue (AD). As Seltzer and Carbonell, (2011) argue, this framework provides a theoretical basis for regional planning practice. Both

theory and practice demonstrate that if such players engage around a meaningful shared task under these conditions, the dialogue can produce innovations that lead to an adaptive policy system in a context of complexity and uncertainty (Innes and Booher, 2010, pp. 35). Diversity needs to include those with power, but also those who will be affected by process outcomes. The authors argue that collaborative processes not only help generate options for how actors can move forward together to address difficult problems, but also provide opportunities for learning that can make the community more adaptive and resilient. Processes of collaborative planning are well-suited to deal with complex and fragmented systems. The DIAD theory explores what collaborative policy can accomplish, and the conditions under which it can do so, and therefore provides a potential way to structure Tompkins County's actions going forward.

Collaborative governance can help provide strategies for taking the multiple frames of reference of different stakeholders into account (Termeer et al, 2011). Dealing with frame conflicts, as is the case in Tompkins County, can fall into three different approaches. These include attracting others into a particular frame, connecting different frames, or negotiating a deal despite frame differences. This could take the form of integrating, synthesizing, or bridging frames to overlap. Alternatively, it could result in finding a mutually beneficial arrangement that works for multiple stakeholders. Overall, researchers advise exploring, rather than questioning various frames through negotiation processes (Termeer et al, 2011). When frame contests occur, negotiation of frames requires addressing stakeholders' values, and ensuring that their values have equal weight in new initiatives. This does not privilege one frame over another (Meyer et al, 2016). Understanding the perspectives and motivations of different actors can reveal how people react to change. How people view landscapes, and how landscapes in turn alter them reinforces the social categories with which people use to identify. People's values and identity shape their actions, which also shape urban – rural geographies and spaces (Hiner, 2014).

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It's important to recognize that the system context and conditions that make collaboration conducive should be differentiated from specific drivers. Emerson et al (2011) identify four main drivers as an impetus for what they call a collaborative governance regime: leadership, consequential incentives, interdependence, and uncertainty. Leadership means someone who can help secure resources and support for collaboration. Innes and Booher (2010) have come to similar conclusions surrounding effective initial leadership and sponsors. Consequential incentives are pressing, and can be internal, as in problems, interests, or resource needs, or external, as in situational or institutional threats or opportunities. They define interdependence as when actors are unable to accomplish something on their own, and uncertainty refers to "wicked" problems that result in uncertainty that cannot be resolved internally. The authors posit that the more drivers present, the more likely collaborative action will occur. Proximity between decision-makers, implementers, and stakeholders has been shown to result in policy collaboration as well (Ansell et al, 2017). Researchers have found collaborative policymaking to be successful when local and regional governments have strong capacity, and civil society is well-organized (Sellers and Kwak, 2011).

Financial opportunities also help to spur regional collaborations. There has been a series of studies documenting the outcomes and process of HUD's Sustainable Community Initiative Regional Planning Grants from 2011-2015. Mattiuzzi (2017) found that this grant helped break down silos between different scales of government, and led to more effective spending and planning at a regional level. She documents increased engagement between regional agencies and city staff and vice versa. She also shows how the grant helped to deepen local engagement beyond applying for funding to include collaboration on different issues, and helped organizations form partnerships with those from other sectors. Similarly, Frick et al (2015) surveyed places that received the SCI-RPG, and conclude that the grant facilitated regional collaboration by providing partners a reason to stay at the table and negotiate because money or key decisions were at stake. Chapple et al (2017) found that in

regions with no history of collaboration, the SCI grant helped lay groundwork, and in regions that already had it, SCI helped bring more diverse actors in, and expand their shared vision. State or federal grant opportunities may therefore provide a tangible incentive to facilitate regional conversations around the GND.

Being able to change the scale of self-interest from one that is narrowly defined to be about one locality to one that is broader, has helped places to spur regional coalitions. There is a balance between collective action and local autonomy. Tensions can arise when communities adopt regional perspectives for large-scale issues, while also wanting to preserve the association with a community/place (Dabson, 2020). This ability to change the scale of self-interest to be broader was seen in the Twin Cities and Atlanta. Organizers, recognizing uneven distributions of growth and services in the region, used evidence to demonstrate fiscal inequities and problems of growth management, dispel myths, and build bridges between communities (Cashin, 2000). This was also seen in Chapple et al's (2017) study of recipients of the SCI Regional Planning Grant to work together. They found that through the use of strong process facilitation, small wins through actionable demonstration projects, and use of boundary objects and experiences (shared data collection and datasets, rotating meeting locations and field trips), the three case study regions were able to build shared understandings of the region's issues, and develop a sense of regional pride. This aligns with Dabson's (2020) findings after interviewing experts in rural urban interactions: focusing on regional identity and assets is a critical component of a regional solutions approach. Regional identity formation can be place – based, which is more frequently seen in ad hoc regional networks that emerge to preserve the uniqueness of an area. They can also be function – based, emerging to preserve watersheds, commuter-sheds, or industrial bases. The last form of regional identity formation can occur through matrices, which recognizes that regions have different layers and boundaries, yet identity definition ultimately occurs through the most pressing issue facing an area (Porter and Wallis, 2002).

Some researchers have identified several factors that can be used to estimate the likelihood of success of collaborative governance arrangements. Lahat and Sher-Hadar (2019) look at the values (individual, policy values), structure/nature of the decision, and the context/environment in which collaboration takes place (external variables and events). These are related, as values affect decisions, which are impacted by context. They contend that we need to consider whether collaborative arrangements have an advantage in promoting the public value in question. They find that collaboration is useful when values are in conflict, when knowledge needs to be created or shared, when there is a disagreement on how to implement values, or what are the preferred values and policy options. Political or administrative values are more suited for elaboration using collaboration, while legal or market-oriented ones are not. The limits they identify to collaboration include insufficient knowledge in the field, or controversies that are too contentious or engrained.

Collaborative planning processes can help Ithaca and Tompkins County work towards a GND across the barriers and divisions between urban and rural communities by addressing shared vulnerabilities and building on shared interests and values. Convening diverse, interdependent stakeholders into a coalition around authentic dialogue and ensuring there are incentives to participate can be initial steps in this effort. Reframing, bridging, or integrating frames to focus on mutual benefit can assist in negotiating stakeholders' different frames of reference. Collaborative processes can also help to generate joint, regional data collection and analysis, and resources to communities in the county with less capacity. Coming together also provides opportunities to leverage and advocate for resources from other entities like the state. While the specifics of these processes still need to be elaborated, it will be important to pay attention to the conditions needed for all parties involved to recognize shared interests, thereby jointly creating value. This can happen through the use of mediation techniques by those that facilitate this effort, and by building relationships based in mutual aid. Local governments, non-profits, religious organizations, and local institutions all have a role to play, and experimentation on the exact mechanisms that can foster

cooperation, whether through creating shared experiences, joint knowledge gathering, or other means is likely needed.

Future Directions

In this section I outline considerations for moving the collaborative planning process forward. I discuss what to involve interested stakeholders in, how to do so, and who to involve based on similar initiatives in other contexts. Economic development and economic inequality represent common areas that interviewees identified as important to address. Suggested project areas, including carbon offset programs, renewable energy development, green workforce development programs, regenerative agriculture, affordable housing, connected transportation, and local food development represent initial ideas to convene stakeholders and structure future engagement. In terms of process, other collaborative efforts have identified several key elements for successful dialogue. These include a neutral meeting space, creating meeting norms, having a negotiating text/evolving agreement, opportunities for storytelling, and joint inquiry. The types of groups to include in Ithaca and Tompkins County's efforts and their potential roles to play range from cooperative extension and the county planning department serving as convenors, to labor, agricultural committees, and environmental non-profits serving a constituency role, to educational institutions and planning departments serving a technical expert role, to community-based organizations serving a public advocate and facilitation role.

Considering *What* They Are Convening Around

Based on conversations with interviewees, Table 5 outlines potential project and issue areas, as well as the interests and values of stakeholders that each would address. The most common theme identified by interviewees was economic development, followed by economic inequality. They identified projects such as carbon offset programs, renewable energy development, green workforce development programs, regenerative agriculture, affordable housing, connected transportation, and local food development. These project areas can serve as the base for regional convening. They can provide the initial ideas that

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will motivate stakeholders to participate, as these issues are not being adequately addressed elsewhere.

Table 5: Potential Project Areas Based on Stakeholder Interests and Values

Stakeholder Interest Addressed	Stakeholder Value Addressed	Project Area/Issue
Economic Opportunity from Climate Legislation Addressing Economic Insecurity	Environmental Protection	Carbon Offsets
	Environmental Protection, Social and Economic Justice, Local Community Development & Stewardship	Green Workforce Development and Green Jobs
	Local Community Development and Stewardship	Local Food
	Environmental Protection	Regenerative Agriculture
	Environmental Protection, Local Community Development	Renewable Energy Development
	Rural Land Stewardship, Environmental Protection	Land Use Change: Suburban Encroachment, Loss of Farmland
Addressing Economic Inequality	Environmental Protection, Social and Economic Justice	Connected Transportation
	Social and Economic Justice	Affordable Housing

Considering *How* They Are Convening

Collaborative initiatives elsewhere have identified the most critical elements for effective dialogue. These include:

1. Neutral Meeting Space

   – Are there ways to foster nonargumentative spaces, like site visits, field trips, and meals to facilitate relationship-building and mutual trust (Forester, 2009)?

2. Meeting Norms

   – Setting ground rules for meeting discussions and conflict resolution is an
   early necessary step, and other activities that help participants see mutual
   interests and vulnerabilities have been found to be useful. As Forester (2009)
   outlines, collectively generating meeting norms helps to create shared
   expectations of the process.

3. Negotiating Text/Evolving Agreement

   – This is a document that focuses the discussion. It evolves in response to
   dialogue, shows participants that their ideas are being incorporated, serves as
   a record of what has been agreed upon, and allows for wider distribution of
   ideas. An initial scan of issues with the goal to issue a report of current
   conditions has worked for other areas as a first product to work towards
   (Innes et al, 2010).

4. Storytelling

   – Asking people about their personal connections to salient issues lends a
   degree of informality, as participants then are not assumed to be merely
   representing their particular interest group and are instead viewed as
   individuals (Adler, 2004). Storytelling and story circles also facilitate mutual
   recognition and respect (Forester, 2009). Even if people initially join because
   they feel that their interests can be better addressed in this format, what will
   keep them engaged is often mutual respect (Adler, 2004).

5. Joint Inquiry

   – Identifying unanswered questions helps participants to better understand each
   other's concerns and vulnerabilities, thereby facilitating connections. It
   enables participants to jointly think about problems, rather than bringing pre-
   existing conclusions to the group that are at odds with each other (Adler,
   2004). It can also enable problem redefinition as well as a focus on new

issues, which can lead participants to reassess their vulnerabilities, interests, and values (Forester, 2009).

- This can include inviting in outside experts to make presentations, collecting and compiling data, and taking field trips/site visits (Adler, 2004).

- Other techniques like participatory mapping, design charettes, community visioning activities and games, and model-building have been shown to assist in exploring options (Forester, 2009).

In addition, naming the convening also determines what will come out of it, as a study group will have a different connotation and work products than a negotiation or a round table (Forester, 2009). First assembling stakeholders under the banner of a regional study group may be useful here. This can help to foster a culture of collaboration and learning, which will be needed given the ambiguity surrounding the GND goals. Not explicitly labelling it as GND could help skirt the divisiveness that the term seems to bring up.

Considering *Who* to Involve

Table 6 outlines suggested groups to include in the categories of educational, institutional, agriculturally based, environmental, planning, labor, economic/workforce development, and community-based organizations. The categories of organizations included provides avenues for a variety of leadership roles, from convener to facilitator/mediator, to organization/constituency representative, to technical expert, to public advocate (Emerson et al, 2011). Representatives of state government, funders, and educational institutions are examples of organizations that have been effective convenors at the local level, which may apply to regional efforts as well (Julian, 1994). Characteristics of effective conveners include those that are:

- Able to help secure resources
- Committed to collaborative, democratic problem-solving
- Skilled at conflict resolution

- Able to train and encourage others to take initiative and leadership roles
- Able to absorb potentially high transaction costs associated (Emerson et al, 2011; Innes and Booher, 2010).

Other practitioners have evaluated those that may be interested in participating through individual interviews to assess interests, values, potential conflicts, the way the issues are perceived, as well as the history of issues in the area. This can then be followed by group interviews by geography or interest area or age group to encourage discussion of shared interests (Richardson, 2011; Adler, 2004). In creating working groups from stakeholder representatives, certain questions can be helpful to evaluate the key issues for individuals, and to assess what a comfortable process would look like so that people will be willing to participate. Some potential questions to ask in assessment interviews, as outlined in Forester (2009) include:

- What do you see as the most important issues related to your vocation, and which matter more or less to you?
- What sources of information would you trust?
- What would you bring to the group?
- What would a safe meeting space look like?
- Who would you pick to represent you?

It may also be useful for Tompkins County to use an outside organization with process design and facilitation expertise, as others have done (Reilly, 1998). Utilizing an outside organization for facilitation has the benefit of creating a fresh slate for engagement that can enable movement beyond distrust.

Table 6 : Examples of organizations to include in regional collaborative efforts for climate and equity goals in Tompkins County

Example Organizations	Category	Community Represented	Role
Cooperative Extension	Energy, Agricultural Organization	Regional Perspective	Convener
Tompkins County Department of Planning and Sustainability	Energy, Sustainability Organization	Regional Perspective	Convener
Get Your GreenBack Tompkins	Energy, Sustainability Organization	Regional Perspective	Facilitator, Outreach Expert
Building Bridges	Community-Based Organization	City of Ithaca	Facilitator, Mediator
Southside Community Center	Community-Based Organization	City of Ithaca	Public Advocate
Agricultural Committees	Agricultural Organization	Farming Communities in the towns of Ithaca, Lansing, Dryden	Constituency Representative
IBEW Local #241	Labor Organization	City of Ithaca Labor Community	Constituency Representative
UA 267	Labor Organization	City of Ithaca Labor Community	Constituency Representative
Town Planning Departments/Boards	Planning Organization	Towns of Lansing, Ithaca, Dryden, Ulysses, Newfield, Danby, Caroline, Enfield, Groton	Technical Expert
Groton Public Library	Public Education Organization	Town/Village of Groton	Public Advocate, Constituency Representative
Lansing Loves to Learn	Public Education Organization	Town of Lansing	Constituency Representative
Tompkins County Workforce Development Board, Tompkins County Area Development	Workforce/Economic Development Organization	Regional Perspective	Constituency Representative, Technical Expert
Sunrise Ithaca, Sustainable Tompkins, Bike Walk Tompkins	Environmental Sustainability Organization	City of Ithaca/Regional Perspective	Constituency Representative
Cornell and Ithaca College Offices of Sustainability	Environmental Sustainability Organization	Institutional Perspective	Technical Expert

Conclusion

For a topic as complex and ambiguously defined as the Green New Deal, socio-cultural processes are as important as technocratic ones. The GND resolution trend is expanding in Tompkins County, as the Town of Ithaca recently passed its own version. The pattern of rising inequality and rising carbon emissions does not adhere to municipal boundaries, however, as one place's actions have impacts on surrounding geographies. Therefore, regional partnerships have the potential to help the City and Town of Ithaca achieve their goals, expanding the benefits to reduce inequities across urban and rural communities. This will require extensive buy-in from all residents. Collaborative planning processes, therefore, have the ability to address barriers and build collective understandings of the problems, visions for the future, and policies and programs to get there. Renewed narratives that focus on cultural revitalization that take into account local and regional contributions, assets, traditions, and initiatives can be a good place to start.

This study illustrates that despite outward class, place, and identity divisions, there may often be shared interests in economic opportunities and shared environmental and community stewardship values that can form the base for collaborative efforts towards climate action. Shared needs are recognized as well, including a need for more affordable housing, and more integrated food, transportation, and land management systems. Nevertheless, there are nontrivial grievances and divisions, often rooted in historical interactions, that include power and resource differentials, and identity and ideological differences. These need to be acknowledged in order to move past them and set the stage for future work and future collaboration. In particular, Ithaca's GND presently states that benefits are to be shared among "historically marginalized groups", yet the framing needs to account for current inequities. In addition, framing this effort primarily in terms of climate and energy may not always be effective. GND-type language presents barriers and becomes sort of a lightning rod for negative connotations. Finding language that focuses on mutual

interests, rather than language that isolates, will be needed. This can help to expand the definition and conception of place to be less parochial, and have people see that their efforts are connected with the efforts of others across the region.

This project represents an initial step in assessing the history and the issues at play in Tompkins County that will be relevant for GND regional collaboration. Still needed are the remaining steps in designing a multi-stakeholder process, including convening, learning, inventing options, and negotiating/deciding on them. Going forward, determining who will do the convening of these stakeholders will be needed, as well as further definition of the role of local governments, non-profits, and institutions. Creating the infrastructure for collaboration will require experimentation to build relationships and connections.

There is no singular perspective or identity of urban and rural, yet better understanding of underlying motivations and values can assist in finding common ground. As expected, people's reasoning behind their beliefs and actions is nuanced and complicated. There is a diversity of views that cannot be fully captured, yet this effort represents initial steps in improving our understandings. The example that Ithaca and Tompkins County set, in terms of results but more importantly in terms of processes that are informed by these considerations and suggestions, can be a model for other communities across the country also attempting to take regional action on climate change. The trends outlined here are likely applicable to other areas across the country interested in regional planning across urban and rural.

Recent events have changed the equation considerably for Ithaca's GND efforts, increasing barriers to action. Covid-19 has illustrated exactly just what we are up against in this effort, as it has demonstrated our federal government's reluctance and incapacity to act collectively in an emergency. This puts the burden of action, once again, on state, regional, and local governments. What do the subsequent budget cuts and extremely high rates of unemployment mean for GND efforts? As of the date of writing, the city of Ithaca has furloughed its sustainability coordinator, and all GND efforts are on hold. The town of

Ithaca continues its efforts. New York state is facing budget revenue shortfalls of at least $4 billion below projections, which could increase to as much as $7 billion (Nani, 2020). Unemployment rates are at record highs, as the U.S. as a whole is at 14.7% as of April 2020 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2020). Despite increased barriers, this public health crisis is intimately linked to the crises of climate change and social inequity that the GND strives to address. The pandemic, therefore, makes a GND more urgent.

A green stimulus will aid this region's economic recovery, and Ithaca and Tompkins County can help lobby for how this funding is designated, demonstrating the importance of the current moment for regional convening. Ithaca's efforts can help to demonstrate a new model. Ithaca and Tompkins County's GND efforts will likely hinge on the amount of stimulus funding for green infrastructure and investment. Regional collaboration can increase their leverage for funds. The current Covid-19 crisis therefore presents additional incentives to come together, and may rearrange the unequal power dynamics between participating groups, as the city of Ithaca has been harder hit than more rural communities. In an open letter to members of congress, a group of climate and social policy experts in academia and civil society call for a green stimulus that "create millions of family-sustaining green jobs, lifts standards of living, accelerates a just transition off fossil fuels, ensures a controlling stake for the public in all private sector bailout plants, and helps make our society and economy stronger and more resilient in the fact of pandemic, recession, and climate emergency in the years ahead" (Green Stimulus Proposal, 2020). The document outlines policy proposals and interventions to achieve these goals, advocating for implementation and planning to fall to state and local governments. Therefore, despite ever increasing barriers to a GND in Ithaca and Tompkins County, there are still possibilities for change, and creating wider coalitions and networks can facilitate the region's efforts.

Future directions for this work build on interviewees' suggestions. Economic development and addressing inequality were common themes among participants. Suggested

project areas include carbon offset programs, renewable energy development, green workforce development programs, regenerative agriculture, affordable housing, connected transportation, and local food development. These can serve as initial avenues for convening stakeholders. Processes that include key elements for successful dialogue, based on initiatives elsewhere, will help Ithaca and Tompkins County's efforts: a neutral meeting space, creating meeting norms, having a negotiating text/evolving agreement, opportunities for storytelling, and joint inquiry. The types of groups to involve and their roles to play range from cooperative extension and the county planning department serving a convenor role, to labor, agricultural committees, and environmental non-profits serving a constituency role, to educational institutions and planning departments serving a technical expert role, to community-based organizations serving a public advocate and facilitation role.

APPENDIX 1

Appendix Table 1. List of Participants

Name of Person	Organization	Method of Collecting Data
Christianne White	Steep Hollow Farm, Town of Ithaca	Interview
Claire Forest	Forest Family Farm, Town of Ithaca	Interview
Lisa Campbell	Founder of Lansing Loves to Learn	Email correspondence
Alex Hyland	IBEW Local #241	Interview
Anne Rhodes	Cornell Cooperative Extension	Interview
Karim Beers	Get Your GreenBack Tompkins: Cornell Cooperative Extension	Interview
Brian Eden	Heatsmart Tompkins	Interview
C.J. Randall	Town of Lansing, Planning Department	Interview
Darby Kiley	Tompkins County Planning Department	Interview
Julia Mattick	Tompkins County Workforce Development Board	Interview
Ken Jaffee	Slope Farms	Interview
Lisa Ferguson	Laughing Goat Fiber Farm, Town of Ithaca	Interview
Marcus Williamee, Aaron DeBolt	UA 267	Interview
Ray Burger	Town of Dryden Planning Department	Interview
Russ Wedemeyer	Ithaca Equestrian Center, Town of Ithaca	Interview
Sara Knobel	Town of Groton Public Library	Interview
Rafael Aponte	Rocky Acres Farm, Freeville	Public Meeting
Kirby Edmonds	Building Bridges, Dorothy Cotton Institute	Public Meeting
Gay Nicholson, Sara Hess, Jonathan Bates, Monika Roth	Carbon Farming Study Group	Group Discussion
Evan Carpenter, Kim LaMotte, Marie McRae, Brian Magee	Town of Dryden Agriculture Committee	Group Discussion
Debbie Teeter, Michael Casper, Christianne White, Lisa Ferguson, Claire Forest, Bill Goodman, Mike Smith, Robert Shields	Town of Ithaca Agriculture Committee	Group Discussion
Svante Myrick	City of Ithaca	Lecture

Appendix 2: Sample Interview Questions

Background
- Tell me about your operation/position/line of work
- What environmental stewardship practices do you implement on your farm/in your home/your life?
- Challenges that you face as a farmer/union laborer in the city/town of Ithaca/Tompkins County?
- Challenges you experience in working across urban and rural communities in the County? Barriers and opportunities here?
- Challenges your community faces?
- How would you characterize the relationship between your community, the city of Ithaca, and Tompkins County?
- What is your community's stance on climate – related initiatives?

Green New Deal
- What was your reaction to the city's Green New Deal?
- How could Green New Deal policy support farmers/labor/renters/your community?
- What is the role of unions/farmers in implementing the Green New Deal, or in mitigating the effects of climate change?
- What can the municipality do to help you transition away from fossil fuel use?

Land Use Change, Energy, & Payment for Services
- What would your reaction be if more farmland in the area was used to produce renewable energy? What about your property?
- What would your reaction be to a carbon offset program in which the city paid producers in the area to implement carbon sequestration practices on their property?
- Do you participate in the Town of Ithaca's purchase of development rights program? Why or why not?

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