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Introduction: Once Prosperous and Now Challenged

Hartford's Transformation in Comparative and Global Perspectives

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“On the eastern edge of town, looming over the broad brown waters of the Connecticut River, the old Colt firearms factory is losing its fight with history. Under its spangled blue onion dome, the 19th-century armory where Samuel Colt’s inventions helped spawn the Industrial Revolution—and where his company made the guns that helped the United States conquer the West and win two world wars—now stands hollow, disintegrating into crumbling bricks and broken glass.”

(“Poverty in a Land of Plenty,” *The New York Times*, August 26, 2002)

Though the above epigraph leaves unnamed the city upon which it laments, those who live or work in its sprawling metropolitan region would have no trouble attributing the passage to Hartford, Connecticut. The wealthiest city after the American Civil War in per capita terms, Hartford comprises 18 of the nation’s most impoverished square miles, despite serving as the capital of one of the country’s wealthiest states. What has happened to the city that invented the revolver, the pay telephone, the gas-pump counter, gold fillings, air-cooled airplane engines, and the first American dictionary? What is happening in the city that is still called the ‘Insurance Capital of the World?’ While much has transpired over the last one and a half centuries, Hartford falling from peak to bottom is far more than an intriguing local story. Yet there is so little contemporary scholarship on Hartford that we continue to puzzle over this phenomenon’s significant regional and global dimensions, and its generally unappreciated broader comparative implications for urban research and practice.

As global urban research brings more cities into its orbit, it continues to focus more heavily on “top-ranked” economic centers like New York and London or rapidly growing megacities such as Shanghai and Mumbai. While not intentional, the literature tends to exclude an abundant supply of significant but severely understudied cities like Hartford in both developed and developing countries. The result is a

fundamentally incomplete discourse on global urbanism. The purpose of this book is to help fill this void by focusing on a particularly understudied American city: Hartford, Connecticut, along with several other small New England cities including Lawrence and Springfield, Massachusetts, and Portland, Maine. This introduction first positions the book properly within the urban field by identifying the salient features of Hartford in its various historical moments. Then it highlights the main themes of the book with cross references to and between the chapters that make up its four parts. It wraps up with a summary discussion of the book's main contributions, while pointing out avenues for future research.

TAKING HARTFORD SERIOUSLY, FINALLY

Why study Hartford? After all, Hartford is a small, “sub-global,” even provincial city. In fact, outside of the United States the city is almost completely unknown. Nevertheless, we argue that Hartford can: (1) advance our understanding of a whole category of American cities—those that are small, old, post-industrial, and yet global(ized), and (2) help us better understand the complex regional or metropolitan dynamics that are shaping the local well-being of American cities. We identify a trio of reasons for subjecting the city to this badly needed in-depth study.



Figure 1.1. Hartford: The Past in the Present. (William Moffett)

Hartford is:

1. *An Outcast City*. Hartford is one of a host of second-tier New England cities, and American cities more generally, that have been under-studied, yet which, when taken individually or collectively, have significant economic, social, and political roles, both throughout history and today.
2. *A Misunderstood City*. Hartford occupies an important place in American urbanism, both today and in history, but is misinterpreted in much of its scant literature due to a lack of integrated research.
3. *A City Detached From Theory*. Hartford, along with other “small” or “non-research worthy” cities, has been excluded from urban theorizing, thus calling into question the generalizability of much contemporary urban theory, and offering lessons for better theorizing.

An Outcast City

With their disproportionate global significance, a few anomalous “global” cities understandably attract much of the attention from urban researchers. And yet, it is impossible to generalize about the total urban or the total global, as well as their full interconnections, through studies of these cities alone. While the economic and cultural importance of global cities may be unsurpassed, they account for a relatively small share of the world’s population. Most urban dwellers live not in significant global centers, but in smaller cities of peripheral importance (Bell and Jayne, 2009). This is particularly troubling because there are undoubtedly huge differences, both in general and specific terms, between larger and smaller cities. Even before the rise of global cities and megacities, Jane Jacobs was careful to differentiate between “great” and “non-great” American cities in her classic *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* ([1961] 1993), which, as she strictly stated, did not concern smaller cities like Hartford.¹ And yet, when small cities have been studied, they tend to either be compared to “great” cities, or analyzed using the same criteria. A silent but undesirable consequence of global city fetishism is that a large part of the urban world has yet to be studied, either for its own significance or for its broader potential insights for global urban scholarship.

For these reasons, in addition to producing new scholarship on Hartford, this volume accomplishes more by placing Hartford primarily, and three other small New England cities secondarily, into a broader regional framework (see Table 1.1, Figure 1.2, and Figure 1.3). This region² features cities, with the exceptions of Boston and (to a lesser extent) New Haven, that are almost completely absent from urban scholarship. As Table 1.1 shows, these cities are remarkably similar on several indicators and deserve a collective and comparative scrutiny. By including them as additional case studies alongside Hartford, we provide both differing evidence and complementary insights for improving our understanding of Hartford, other New England cities, and global urban processes more generally.

Table 1.1. Comparing Greater Hartford with Three New England City-Regions

<i>Indicator</i>	<i>Hartford</i>	<i>Springfield</i>	<i>Lawrence</i>	<i>Portland</i>
Year of Initial Settlement	1633–1636	1636	1655	1633
Municipal Population	124,775	153,060	76,377	66,194
Regional Population	1,212,381	692,242	422,228	514,098
Municipal Area	17.38	31.87	7.4	21.31
Regional Area	1,677	1182.5	462.2	553.1
Municipal % Non-	70.8%	48.29%	57.2%	15.0%
Regional % Non-	28.4%	25.5%	2.3%	6.5%
Municipal Poverty	32.9%	27.0%	28.64%	18.1%
Regional Poverty Rate (est.)	10.1%	15.8%	9.2%	10.3%

Source: Excepting the Lawrence PMSA (whose numbers are derived from 2004 American Community Survey), and the row on regional poverty (whose numbers, excluding those of Lawrence, are derived from the 2010 one year population estimate from the American Community Survey) all data is derived from the 2010 U.S. Census.

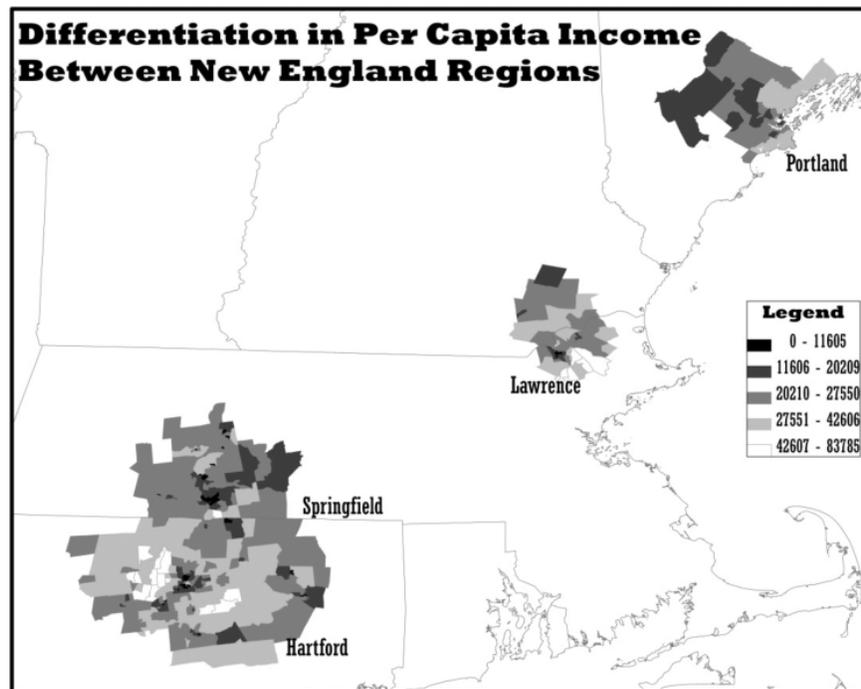


Figure 1.2. Differentiation in per Capita Income Between Hartford and Three New England City-Regions

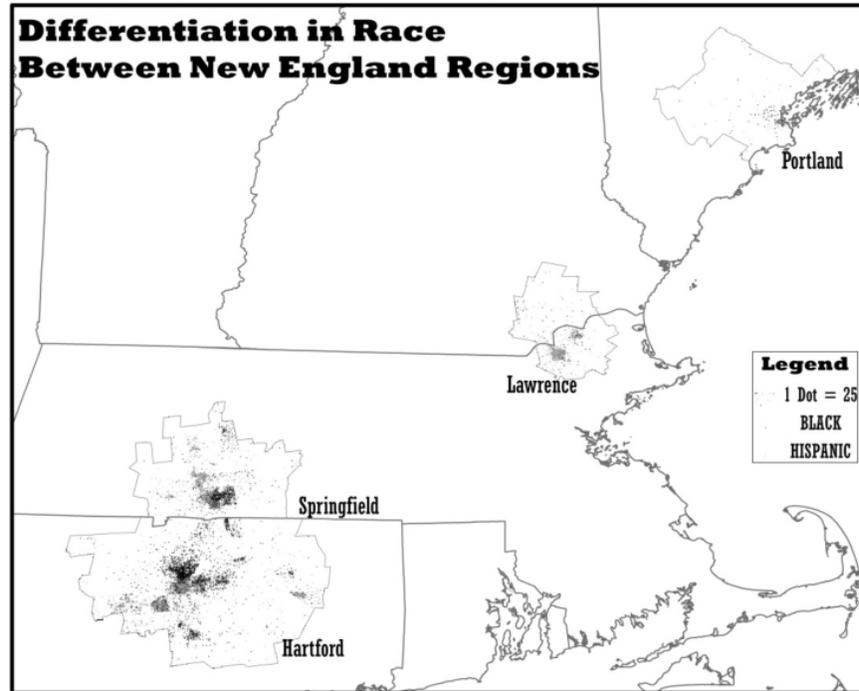


Figure 1.3. Differentiation in Race Between Hartford and Three New England City-Regions

A Misunderstood City

Hartford is misunderstood. The fundamental reason for this is that, even more than other similarly sized cities, Hartford's *local*, *regional*, and *global* contours are far from clear cut, are highly contradictory and deeply intersected, and have been reshaped by continuous transformations throughout history. The bulk of publications³ with some sort of focus on Hartford concentrate exclusively on the 18 square miles within the city's legal municipal boundaries. However, the fact that this area constitutes just 1 percent of the city's Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) highlights this unusual and problematic significance. While Hartford is a small city, it is not as small when understood within the context of its metropolitan region. Hartford is the 188th most populous city in the country, and yet the 43rd most populous metropolitan area. With a municipal population of 124,060 and a metro population of 1,188,241 spread throughout 57 municipalities, the population of Hartford makes up only 10 percent of its metropolitan area,⁴ one of the lowest percentages for any American urban region. The small municipality of Hartford has consistently ranked as one of the absolute poorest cities in the U.S., while the Hartford metropolitan

region surprisingly took the top spot among the world's wealthiest regions, where a substantial upper middle class raises its per capita income above such well-established global cities as New York and Zurich (see Table 1.2).

A brief historical discussion may help us appreciate the reasons for, and consequences of, this phenomenon. At the beginning of its colonial history, Hartford was approximately 87 square miles, and included the current boundaries of West Hartford, East Hartford, and Manchester (see Figure 1.3). Today, it contains only 1/5 of that area, even though metropolitan urbanization has extended far beyond even its larger initial bounds. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as Hartford's residential population, economic productivity, cultural influence, and concentration of political power grew, its share of the region's space decreased dramatically. It was precisely at the moment when Hartford was becoming a prominent regional city and one of the few wealthiest cities (in per capita terms) in the U.S. (at the end of the 19th century) that its municipal boundaries were finalized at 18 square miles. Only half a century later, Hartford saw a significant decentralization of its residential population, as well as of its production activities. By the 1970s, Hartford, along with most New England and Midwestern American cities, had become primarily suburban. In subsequent decades, Greater Hartford's population barely grew, and yet developed the worst case of "sprawl" by far, of any major city in

Table 1.2. World's Highest Per-Capita GDP Regions, 2011

Ranking	Metro Area	Region	Income (\$)
1	Hartford	North America	75,086
2	Oslo	Western Europe	74,057
3	San Jose	North America	68,141
4	Abu Dhabi	Middle East and Africa	63,859
5	Bridgeport	North America	63,555
6	Zurich	Western Europe	63,236
7	Washington	North America	62,943
8	Stockholm	Western Europe	61,458
9	Boston	North America	60,074
10	San Francisco	North America	58,783
11	New York	North America	57,329
12	Seattle	North America	56,601
13	Houston	North America	56,050
14	Dublin	Western Europe	55,578
15	Des Moines	North America	55,335
16	Paris	Western Europe	54,430
17	Calgary	North America	54,080
18	Munich	Western Europe	54,978
19	Buffalo	North America	52,454
20	Los Angeles	North America	52,391

Source: Brookings Analysis of data from Oxford Economics, Moody's Analytics, and U.S. Census Bureau.

New England. While the Hartford region had an 84.9 percent increase in land area growth between 1970 and 1990, Bridgeport only had an 8 percent increase, Providence 22.4 percent, and Springfield 27 percent. And yet, in the subsequent decade Hartford (the municipality) was the fastest shrinking major city in the country in terms of population (Rabinovitz, 1997). Meanwhile deindustrialization transformed about a third of Hartford's manufacturing land into brownfields (Bacon, 2010).

The urban geography of Hartford reveals a vast sprawl which is nevertheless highly differentiated and fragmented (see Figure 1.4). While the core of Hartford has both a significant downtown area with an unmatched agglomeration of corporate employment centers (not to mention of state/federal government services), urban renewal projects, as well as the most significant concentrations of poor and minority populations, there is nevertheless an extraordinary corporate and retail presence throughout the region, particularly at sprawling but relatively coherent agglomerations in "edge cities," just north, southwest, and northeast of the municipality. Moreover, there are significant socio-economic differences between neighborhoods throughout the city's "suburbs." In the past few years alone, Bloomfield has sported the region's lowest test scores and highest school-aged minority population; New Britain the lowest municipal bond rating; East Hartford the highest demographic instability ranking and the

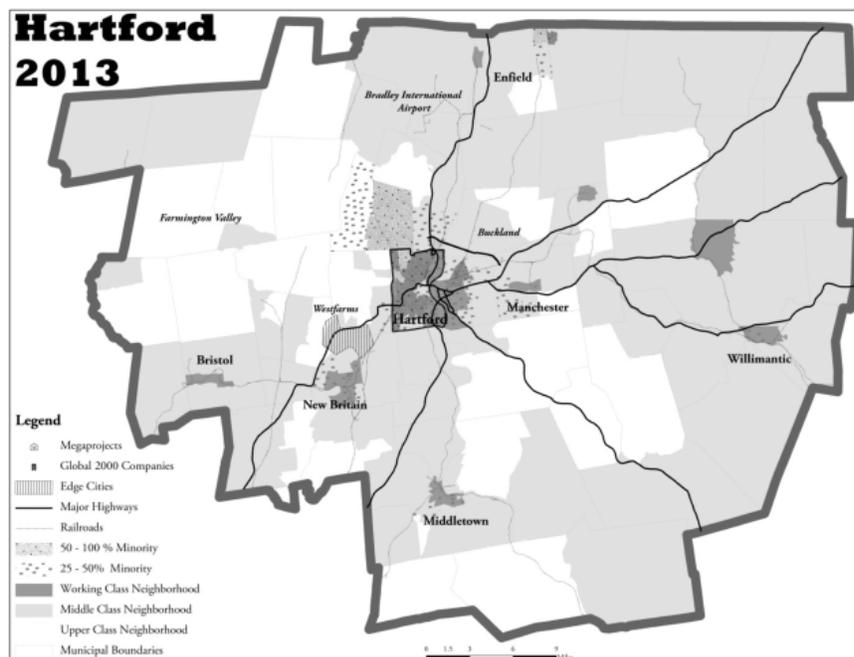


Figure 1.4. Sociospatial Configuration of Metropolitan Hartford

highest growth of urban poverty in the state; and all three of these municipalities' school districts are legally segregated by state standards (Bacon, 2010).

The urbanization of suburbia in Greater Hartford, with its increase in commercial and residential density, combined with the shrinking commercial presence and residential population of inner Hartford—a process which Edward Soja has called *density convergence* (2009)—has resulted in a centerless metropolitan form. Hartford was extremely polycentric (Bacon, 2010) for much of its history, but by the 21st century, Hartford was the most *dispersed* of all U.S. metropolitan regions (Lee, 2006), meaning that its polycentricism was submerged in and thus superseded by one giant sprawl. Hence, we describe the spatial form of Hartford as *polycentric dispersion*. The post-war process of “density convergence” has occurred not just in Hartford, but in/around satellite cities like East Hartford and New Britain. Density convergence does *not* mean that the urban and social forms of Hartford are now homogenous. Quite the contrary, the city is more complex than ever before. What the convergence implies is that what we call the Hartford region is actually in many ways one large and expansive urban entity. *Indeed, what we have hitherto called region is now the city.*

Hartford has several conflicting regional boundaries, all of which are used officially (see Figure 12.1 in Wray and Rojas, this volume). The city itself makes up a very small portion of each regional definition. For the sake of consistency, when we speak of the metropolitan region, we are generally referring to the Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA), although other contributors in this book have opted for Hartford County (which no longer exists officially), Capitol Region Council of Governments (CRCOG), and others. While this fact suggests that each regional definition has its own benefits, we should not assume that the authors who use a particular boundary necessarily regard it as the only legitimate one. Data availability alone often necessitates the use of one boundary over another, but we want to demonstrate here the overlapping nature of multiple boundaries to place the geographic focus of the chapters in a layered regional context.

One consequence of a generalized focus on the municipality alone is the production and saturation of extensive misinformation. For instance, in 2000, the U.S. Census revealed that Hartford had the second highest poverty rate of any American city. And yet in the same year Hartford's MSA had the nation's sixth highest median income. This unfairly represented Hartford as one of the most economically depressed cities and most socioeconomically polarized regions in the country. In actuality, Hartford's region is extremely differentiated. For instance, the city has the nation's most diverse “suburbs” in terms of resident income (Hall and Lee, 2009). Most of the municipalities of American cities either contain much larger shares of their urban area than what we see in Hartford, or at least have some sort of regional government, such as counties. Connecticut has the dubious distinction of being one of only two States without counties (the other being New Jersey).⁵ Instead, the state employs a host of conflicting regional boundaries for a variety of purposes (e.g. watershed management and sewage). Without a solid and unitary definition of the city or the larger region(s) of which it is a part, and how their vectors may shift, both

valid and reliable urban analysis is nearly impossible, and thus very few systematic studies have been produced.⁶

A City Detached From Theory

So far, we have demonstrated Hartford's wrongly perceived lack of relevance to the dominant urban discourse and its misunderstood city-regional spaces and boundaries. We now reveal Hartford's detachment from urban theorizing, partially through reconstructing its hidden "historicity" and true position in the general classification of urban places. Grafting a typology to a temporal template, we characterize Hartford as possessing certain superlative characteristics which are: prototypical, archetypical, and stereotypical (Beauregard, 2003; Brenner, 2003). Using a simple triadic chronology (*agrarian, industrial, and post-industrial*), we give an example of each type of superlative for each epoch. For Hartford, *Agrarian Society*, which is primarily concerned with agriculture and yet which eventually generates and coexists with mercantile cities, began in the 1630s and ended by the middle of the 19th century, followed by the emergence of *Industrial Society*, in which society leaves country life for cities and towns concerned primarily with production. This period ended by the mid-20th century with the emergence of a *Post-Industrial Society*, in which industrial cities decline and see extensive suburbanization.

1. *Agrarian*.

- a. *Prototypical*. Hartford, first colonized in the early 1630s, was the first major inland settlement in the colonial U.S., which unleashed a wave of similar agrarian development throughout America's Northeast and Midwest and set the initial parameters for subsequent expansion and the eventual rise of the Industrial City.
- b. *Archetypical*. Most of the land in New England, with its rugged terrain, less fertile soil, and cold climate, was not particularly conducive to agriculture. The exception was the lower Connecticut River Valley, where Hartford, Windsor, Wethersfield, (and Springfield, MA) were sited. These lands were flat, cleared of brush, and largely made up of high quality soils. The area's agricultural advantages motivated its settlement, but also kept Hartford occupied with agriculture when the less fertile areas of New England were beginning to industrialize.
- c. *Stereotypical*. Until the 20th century, Hartford and the lower Connecticut River Valley was one of the country's most consistently agrarian regions. Though it became a regional economic and political hub early on, Hartford remained a rural village until well into the 18th century, maintaining the socio-spatial form which dominated most of America. This contrasts sharply with other early American urban settlements, such as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, which urbanized very early in American history (see Walsh, this volume).

2. *Industrial.*

- a. *Prototypical.* Hartford was an early American experimenter and promoter of urban renewal in the 19th century. The city claims the first treatise on American city planning (Peterson, 2003: 342; see Bushnell, 1864: 314-341) and the country's first municipal park, Bushnell Park (1853–1867) (Clouette, 1976; Baldwin, 1997), both by Horace Bushnell, and his student, Frederick Law Olmsted, who founded American Landscape Architecture and popularized the notion and construction of both urban and national parks.
- b. *Archetypical.* During the 19th century, Hartford earned the nickname “the insurance capital of the world,” for its bustling insurance industry (see Chen and Shemo, this volume), a sector otherwise generally confined to large cities like New York.
- c. *Stereotypical.* Though often hailed as the richest (in per capita income) and most architecturally beautiful city throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Hartford was also found by national housing expert Lawrence Veiller (1903) to have the “worst tenement conditions” of any city of its size. Meanwhile, the colloquialism “podunk,” meaning an insignificant or out-of-the-way town, emerged to describe the land bordering Hartford to its east (see Bacon, this volume). Perhaps more than any city of its size, Hartford exemplified the conceptual dichotomies of rich/poor and urban/rural.

3. *Post-Industrial.*

- a. *Prototypical.* Hartford saw an early transition to “Fordism,” as exemplified both in economics (Norcliffe, 1996) and policy by the local character of Albert Pope, who produced the country's first bicycles in Hartford, using early mass-production assembly line techniques and supportive labor practices. Pope also exerted a powerful influence on public policy with consumption-privy activism for the “good roads movement,” which initiated and popularized the construction of paved roads, prefiguring Fordist or motorist suburbanization.
- b. *Archetypical.* Hartford is sometimes cited as having the highest proportion of FIRE (Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate) employment in the country, largely because of its agglomeration of insurance firms (Immergluck, 2001). Yet Hartford's economic uncertainty is perhaps greater than that of any other region in the country. In 2008, the Center for International Competitiveness (CIC) named Greater Hartford the third most productive region in the world. Yet, that same year, other research (Owyang 2008) declared Hartford to have the slowest growing economy of any region in the United States.
- c. *Stereotypical.* During the late 20th century, which generally saw significant disinvestment and stagnation in New England, Greater Hartford had the region's highest rate of suburbanization, a process which was proceeding with similar vigor throughout the country.

These superlative characteristics help demonstrate Hartford's under-valued importance, as well as its high potential for use in comparative urban research and theorizing. In the following section, we highlight what we can learn from small New England cities by distilling key themes from the chapters.

KEY THEMES

Part 1: The Rise and Fall of Hartford

Instead of examining every aspect of Hartford, the chapters in the book converge on a few substantive and analytical themes. A charting of Hartford's major historical transformations, its "rise and fall," is a logical starting point. As one of the oldest American cities, Hartford offers one of the longest possible temporal spans in which to identify and explain some of the major conjunctions and disjunctions in an American city's growth and urbanization. As Andrew Walsh (Chapter 2) argues and demonstrates in his historical introduction, Hartford has experienced five main stages of development from the 1630s to the 21st century. Going beyond a simple chronological narrative, Walsh attributes these five stages, and the transition from one to the next, to particular sets of urban and global processes. These processes range from the particular roles of the city in 18th century global mercantile trade to the explosive transformations of urban space resulting from massive waves of foreign migration, but they all established and have sustained, if only in part, the city's early urban legacy.

To get a better scope of Hartford's rise and fall, Nick Bacon (Chapter 3) steps outside of the city's undersized political boundaries and analyzes four hundred years of socio-spatial transformations in the hitherto unstudied, adjacent municipality of East Hartford. Charting the town's evolution, Bacon uses and expands upon the locally inspired American colloquialism "podunk," to explain East Hartford's transition from a seasonal home of the nomadic Podunk indians, to an isolated and insignificant semi-agrarian podunk, to a center of the American military-industrial complex, to a declining post-industrial satellite in a state of dramatic socio-economic flux. Finally, Bacon analyzes the economic, social, and spatial ramifications of this recent *urban podunkfication*, and analyzes the possibilities for renewal, or what he calls *depodunkification*.

Llana Barber (Chapter 4) then provides us with a rich comparative study of Lawrence, Massachusetts. Like Walsh and Bacon, Barber uses a historical case-study approach to explain the post-war transformation of Lawrence, Massachusetts. While Barber details Lawrence's severe post-industrial decline, after which it became the poorest city in Massachusetts, she goes beyond the narrative of urban crisis and decay to reveal the positive socio-spatial transformation which accompanied the city's economic decline. As Barber illustrates, despite its deindustrialization, Lawrence avoided becoming a ghost town through the city's appropriation by what has

become the largest Latino concentration in New England. The city's post-industrial Latinoization as described and analyzed by Barber paints a nuanced picture of a local transnational complex, and also serves as an interesting comparison case for Hartford, which also became a paragon of a city whose dramatic post-industrialization was followed by equally dramatic Latinoization (though Hartford's was Puerto Rican, and Lawrence's Dominican).

Part II: Social and Community Transformations

Following the preceding section on Hartford's rise and fall, Part II picks up on the social and communal transformations which have accompanied its post-industrialization, and on various political responses which have accompanied and followed these changes. Louise Simmons (Chapter 5) delineates the concentration within Hartford since the 1970s of some of the United States' most overwhelming and racialized poverty. As Simmons shows, however, Hartford's status as one of the nation's absolute poorest cities is made both morally disturbing but also politically potent in that the city is located in one of country's wealthiest metropolitan regions. Simmons emphasizes in particular the political dimensions of the gargantuan challenge of addressing Hartford's concentrated poverty in a balkanized regional political structure, adopting a bottom-up perspective on the progress and limits of community-based movements and organizing that complements the analytical attention given to government and business. Finally Simmons stresses the need for solutions to Hartford's dramatic poverty to be designed, funded, and implemented at the scale of its metropolitan region.

Jack Dougherty (Chapter 6) extends the theme of concentrated socioeconomic inequality into the educational domain of Greater Hartford. Drawing upon a large compilation of local scholarship conducted largely at Trinity College, he discusses the relationships between metropolitan residential location and school choice, and focuses on governmental and non-governmental approaches to closing the region's educational achievement gap, with an emphasis on consciously regional solutions.

Taking an explicit comparative approach and using comparable demographic data, Michael Sacks (Chapter 7) has found systematic differences between the movement of Puerto Ricans and non-Hispanic Whites within and across the city-suburban divide in the Hartford and Springfield metro regions. Going a step further, Sacks has detected a broader negative effect of Puerto Rican concentration among Hispanics in 38 metro regions with varied levels of Puerto Rican dominance, which he frames in terms of specifically Puerto Rican racialization.

From another grounded community vantage point, Janet Bauer (chapter 8) gives us a rich profile of the diverse international immigrants and refugees who have recently settled in Hartford. Her analysis adds new insights to the heavily racialized residential landscape that has materialized since the eras addressed by the earlier historically oriented chapters. Drawing on her own rich ethnographic research on a variety of diverse immigrant communities in contemporary Hartford, Bauer empha-

sizes both the transnational networks which help make Hartford's various immigrant groups socio-culturally distinct, as well as the similarities that the diverse immigrants share as they construct new everyday lives, which reflect their unique experience of assimilating in a city that does not at all represent the American socio-demographic majority, but which in its unique domination by first, second, or third generation Puerto Ricans and West Indians, instead resembles a sort of Caribbean melting pot.

Ending the section and introducing Portland, Maine to our comparative mix of New England cities, Ezra Moser (Chapter 9) adds new insights about the renewal of small New England cities in a complex transnational era. Specifically, Moser examines local responses to the influx and formation of a Sudanese refugee community a geographically distant and more traditionally closed Maine city simultaneously undergoing a massive and widely hailed renewal tailored for its pre-existing white middle class. Despite the supposed success of its urban renaissance and a municipal government which is generally receptive to immigrant interests, Moser has identified significant problems with the integration of its increasingly socio-spatially significant population of Sudanese refugees. On the policy side, Moser addresses the problem of dwindling federal funding, while highlighting the positive effects that private local coalitions may have on the full integration of the city's refugees.

Part III: Renewing Hartford: Global and Regional Dynamics

If Part I of this volume has dealt with Hartford's history and urban legacy, and Part II has focused on the inheritance and contemporary ramifications of that legacy, our final section must logically examine how to renew Hartford or how to take charge of its future urban legacy in a complicated global era without losing sight of the city's unique spatial inheritance. Beginning this section, Xiangming Chen and John Shemo (Chapter 10) have traced and located Hartford's evolving position within the global economy. By looking at the city's unusually sequenced development of insurance and jet engine manufacturing since the mid-19th century and their complicated contemporary co-existence, Chen and Shemo have identified the resilient strengths and growing liabilities which typify Greater Hartford as it responds to the pressing economic challenges of the 21st century.

Clyde Mckee and Nick Bacon (Chapter 11) probe the political contours of Greater Hartford during the final quarter of the 20th century. First, they delineate the flawed legal and political structure within which Hartford must respond to changing regional and global configurations. Then, they analyze several missed opportunities and failed public and private strategies, using the dramatic but short-lived case studies of (1) the Greater Hartford Process (GHP), a semi-private regional planning agency which came close to implementing what would have been the country's largest urban renewal project in the early 1970s; (2) the "Bishops," an elite political shadow group of downtown corporate interests which crumbled at the first sign of public scrutiny; and (3) Education Alternatives, Inc. (E.A.I.), a Minnesota based firm which was contracted by the City of Hartford to rescue its troubled public

school system, but which ended in expensive failure. McKee and Bacon thus keep a sharp political lens on Hartford's persistent misses and failures to devise effective regional governance, a theme picked up by Wray and Rojas in the next chapter.

Meeting the new challenges of a changing global landscape, as Lyle Wray and Jason Rojas (Chapter 12) argue, calls for more regional coordination and oversight across one of America's most politically balkanized regions whose governance is almost entirely performed by the region's dozens of municipalities. While lamenting the elimination of counties in 1960 as a main source for the emergence of uncoordinated middle-layer governance entities, Wray and Rojas point to a growing number of service sharing projects in the capital region as promising mechanisms for creating and strengthening regional governance that can not only improve an inefficient and fragmented system of everyday local service delivery, but which can also allow Hartford to surpass its balkanized political structure and move toward controlling its own urban legacy by producing imaginative and implementable solutions to otherwise insurmountable global problems.

To help bring the book to a close, local newspaper columnist Tom Condon (Chapter 13) retraces Greater Hartford's recent history through a sharp journalistic lens that humanizes the ups and downs of the city and metropolitan region that he has covered up close and personal for about four decades by giving them a powerfully experiential dimension. Yet, more than offering a testimonial of Hartford's supposed post-industrial evisceration, Condon points also to the not-so-bad—qualitative—changes that Hartford has encountered, and extracts several practical lessons on how to positively confront the ever-changing urban legacy and global imprint of the region, pointing both to regionally tailored solutions such as those outlined by Wray and Rojas, as well as to privately implemented tactics like those advocated for Portland by Moser.

Following the final section in the chapter which concludes this volume, Xiangming Chen and Nick Bacon (Chapter 14) distill the essential insights from the chapters for understanding the severe constraints of spatial inheritance and inertia on Hartford and implications for theorizing not just about this city and region, but on other New England cities, and on cities more generally. Then, reshifting its focus upon the region's potential for renewing itself and controlling its legacy, Chen and Bacon unveil Hartford's active and effective grass roots organizations like SINA and NRZs, while describing some of the more formal, but still promising new urban projects (e.g. iQuilt), in order to convey a sense of pragmatic hope and inspiration for remaking the city and region for the 21st century and taking control of Hartford's urban legacy.

MAIN CONTRIBUTIONS

This book makes two main contributions to the urban literature. First, the book's novel inclusion and juxtaposition of unique academic research on Hartford and

other under-analyzed and unanalyzed New England cities and suburbs reveals some surprising continuities and discontinuities. The empirical richness of the cases in this book in itself provides ample food for thought about broader theorizing of how the urban and the global intersect in shaping our cities. Second, and most important, this book pioneers the closing of a massive lacuna in urban scholarship left by the lack of an integrated global and local probe into many second-tier cities in New England and beyond.

Nevertheless, in spite of our collective effort to complete a project that could be considered ground-breaking, the book admittedly falls short in that it cannot cover all major urban/global dimensions of small New England cities, or even of Hartford alone. This in turn limits what we have been able to theorize about the empirical discoveries reported in this volume. Still, we hope that other urban researchers can conduct future research and comparative analyses which build off our work. With the construction of a baseline of hitherto almost non-existent urban research on Hartford and a few other small New England cities (Lawrence, Portland, and East Hartford), we hope that we have pioneered the formation of a new field in which, research questions regarding the distinctive transformations of small New England cities and the myriad of other underrepresented “outcast” cities across the globe, are formed, answered, and synthesized into the broader urban literature. Furthermore, and importantly, we hope that the stressing in this book on practical solutions to urban problems, extends beyond the realm of academia. In this overwhelmingly chaotic age which nevertheless offers new opportunities, we hope both academic and non-academic actors will draw inspiration to positively remake their cities. If only tangentially, we hope that this book inspires and informs cities to construct and implement imaginative strategies which allow them to take ownership over their urban legacies.

NOTES

1. In fact, Jacobs used the analogously sized and situated city of New Haven, Connecticut as the archetypical example of a city which was ‘not great,’ and which could thus not be analyzed in the *Death and Life of Great American Cities*.

2. The problem of the lack of one consistent definition of the Hartford metropolitan region by its residents parallels that of the lack of defining proper definition of the larger region of which Hartford is a part. In geography, a region is a “concentrated network of economic connections between producers, suppliers, distributions, and myriad ancillary activities, all located in specific urban or rural locations” (Smith, 1992: 73). While a region can certainly be metropolitan, it is usually larger, such as New England—the region with which this book is concerned. Between the early nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries, New England served as a coherent mosaic of several local regions, but after World War II, the region saw its own ‘density convergence,’ and was submerged within a larger ‘Northeast’ region, often called the ‘Bos-Wash’ or North Corridor. To be sure, the contours of Hartford’s region(s) have changed over time, and even before the post-war restructuring of regional scale, the city has not always neatly fit into the boundaries of New England. Along with other cities in Connecticut (New

Haven, Bridgeport, and Waterbury) and southwestern Massachusetts (Springfield), Hartford has often been grouped away from the New England economic region, and grouped with other cities, for instance, with the cities of New York and Northern New Jersey (Smith and Dennis, 1989). Moreover at a cultural level, Hartford's baseball fans are split just about evenly between the Boston Red Sox and the New York Yankees, perhaps signifying the post-war absorption of New England and New York into the larger 'Northeast Region.'

3. Andrews (1889) provides a detailed structural account of colonial settlement, land-use, and politics in Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield, but no text gives a comparable regional treatment of any other era. Peter Baldwin (1997) gives a detailed socio-spatial history of the municipality between 1850 and 1930, covering everything from industrial/urban growth, urban renewal, and parks to child labor, prostitution, and proletarian social dynamics, but neither this nor any other text discusses other parts of the region during this period. Most work on Hartford, and especially that which focuses on the city during modern times, collectively generates an urban discourse with an extremely reduced scope. While this unfortunately contributes to a myopic literature, it has nevertheless produced some very good work on economics (Farrant, 2002; Farrant and Wilkinson, 2003; Norcliffe, 1996); education (Eaton, 2007); architecture (Andrews and Ransom, 1988), urban form (Baird, 2008; McCahill and Garrick); urban poverty (Dickinson-Gomez, 2007, 2008, and 2009; Romero-Daza, 2003); homelessness (Glasser and Zywiak, 2003); community organizing (Close, 2002; Chambers, 2007; Simmons, 1998; Valocchi, 2010); housing (Donovan, 1994); and urban planning projects (Clavel, 1982; Krumholz and Clavel, 1994; Neubeck and Ratcliffe, 1988; Burns, 2002).

4. Cooke and Merchant (2006) describe Hartford as a paradigmatic case of analytical complication via political fragmentation, in opposition to Jacksonville, FL (a city almost completely encapsulated by one city boundary).

5. However, it should be noted that, throughout New England, municipal boundaries are similarly small and copious, and county and other regional jurisdictions tend to be very weak.

6. There are a few rare examples of regional literature on Hartford. Bacon (2010) provides a brief but comprehensive history and contemporary critique of urban space in Greater Hartford. Stave's (1979) edited volume too deals with Hartford at the extent of the region. This volume has valuable contributions from a motley crew ranging from Hartford mayor Nick Carbone to renowned historian of suburbia Kenneth Jackson, however it is not a thorough academic treatment. Older regionally aware texts include Burpee's (1928) extensive history of Hartford County and Andrews (1889) (discussed above). Though outside of these scarce regional treatments, very few scholarly pieces exist on Greater Hartford, almost every municipality in the region does have one or more published 'local histories.' While not exactly scholarly, these local histories are often rich sources of information.

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