

Chapter 1

One Summer Day

It was a warm Saturday afternoon in the summer of 2001. The state office building loomed over the concrete plaza below, across the street from the Radisson Hotel in the heart of Utica, New York. A block away, the stately steeple of Grace Church stood illuminated by the afternoon sun and cast its shadow on the fifteen-story Adirondack Bank building. And yet, for all the warmth of a Saturday afternoon, the downtown streets were empty. In a metropolitan area of nearly three hundred thousand people, I stood alone on Genesee Street.

To leave Utica and her suburbs is to pass landmarks of American industrial history: the makers of the Thompson Sub-Machine gun, the Remington typewriter, General Electric radios, and Duofold underwear. The highway runs on the original route of the Erie Canal, that great westward highway through the Appalachian Mountains to the Great Lakes, alongside the former New York Central tracks and, at one point, under the first commercial telegraph line on earth. A hundred years earlier the region had been one of the great textile centers of the world, but today Utica is a city of broken windows. More than forty thousand people have left the metropolitan area since 1970, following in the footsteps of the firms who left before.

Forty-five minutes to the south of Utica is Cooperstown, a village of about two thousand people at the source of the Susquehanna River. The village parking lot is overflowing and Main Street is packed with visitors from distant cities. They gawk at the storefronts and fondle authentic country goods made in Chicago and Hong Kong, experiencing the idyllic small town setting before returning to split level homes in the suburbs of their choice. Home to the National Baseball Hall of Fame, Cooperstown is perhaps best known for its role in the baseball

creation myth as the home of Abner Doubleday. At the south end of the asphalt parking lot, a Depression-era stadium commemorates the hallowed ground where that first baseball game supposedly took place.

Follow a thin ribbon of oil-and-stone for six miles west of Cooperstown into Hartwick, a rural village of six hundred residents. The highway, once called Main Street before being renamed for 911 service, is devoid of activity. Parking lots inhabit the space once held by commercial buildings and crabgrass has found a home in the sidewalks. And yet, Hartwick does not stand out as an unusual community. The village is quite ordinary in this region of New York State, and shares with Cooperstown and Utica a common predicament: the global economy seems disinterested in their fates. Despite the disparity in their sizes and histories, all three communities are faced with the challenge of surviving a global economy that seems to have forgotten them. They are too far from the coast, from major transportation routes, from other major cities, from centers of power, from the trends and fashions and tastes that seem to so excite investors. And yet, less than four hours away by car, is that great hub of the global economy: New York.

A Nice Place to Raise a Family

Here, in the shadow of arguably the greatest city on earth, one may be surprised to find that there is no Citibank or Chase Manhattan branch, no Macy's or Tower Records. Not even a Barnes & Noble. The issue is not distance, because all of the above have outlets in places far more distant than Utica, New York. They are looking for something more: a healthy market with a cosmopolitan culture that promises growth. And central New York no longer has the desired growth rate or potential for high profits, so their fellow New Yorkers look elsewhere for places to invest. Utica and her surroundings are not "in."

All three communities are pleasant enough; more than one resident of each community lauded the merit of each place for raising children. Crime rates are lower than the national average; the Utica-Rome metropolitan area yearly ranks among the safest in the country (FBI 2001). Central New York is home to numerous colleges of every kind, an array of sports teams and an impressive list of historical sites and attractions. It is nearly impossible to wander more than an hour's drive from a metropolitan center, and some of the nation's greatest cities (New York, Philadelphia, and Boston) are within four hours' driving and two of Canada's (Toronto and Montreal) are within six.

The landscape is quite striking. The Mohawk River cuts through an eroded plateau and, with the Hudson River, cuts a path from the Atlantic Ocean, through the Appalachians, and to the Great Lakes.

The headwaters of the Susquehanna and Delaware Rivers also begin their journeys to the Atlantic in the hills to the south. Numerous creeks have carved their own valleys as they flow into one of the three rivers. Plains run beside each meandering body of water and then give way to high hills wooded with maple and oak trees. It is the very landscape immortalized by James Fenimore Cooper in his many novels and Currier and Ives in their serene prints.

A Currier and Ives print was produced of Utica, showing the stately steeple of Grace Church with children skating on the river in the foreground. The reality of the scene was never truly the major point of the work; Utica at the time was an industrial city and the view from the Mohawk River would have been of the historic Triangle neighborhood that stood between the river and the church several blocks away. Thanks to urban renewal programs in the middle part of the twentieth century, a visitor stands a better chance of seeing the church from the painting's vantage point today than a hundred years ago, but the river itself was moved a quarter mile to the north in 1916. Still, Utica as a city was what Mary Ryan (1981) termed the "cradle of the middle class" due to its influence in setting the tone for middle-class values and expectations. For the most part, Utica is still typical of many older American metropolitan areas today. The city has lost population,¹ residents and stores have moved to the suburbs, and although more than half of the metropolitan areas in the United States are smaller than the Utica-Rome metropolitan area, almost half are larger (USBC 2000).²

Similarly, Cooperstown is set in a beautiful area of New York State, but at the headwaters of the Susquehanna River rather than in the Mohawk River valley. Whereas the Mohawk Valley turned into a major transportation (and immigration) corridor, the Susquehanna Valley did not and thus Cooperstown has experienced considerably more stability in terms of its population and local culture than has Utica. Home to James Fenimore Cooper and the county seat of Otsego County, the village has a long tradition of elite patronage and thus features some of the most beautiful architecture in the region. Located at the southern tip of Otsego Lake, the architecture has often accentuated the natural beauty of the region and been ennobled by it. The village is quaint; reminiscent of a Currier and Ives print.

On an evening in Hartwick, the howls of outdoor dogs and occasional whirr of distant automobiles traveling the tiny roads contrast with the secluded silence the village has to offer. Planes fly overhead to distant cities, their occupants blissfully unaware that there even is a Hartwick. Highways connect major cities, as do the bus lines that serve them like the trains that ran before; the village has only a small state road and a similar county road to connect its residents to the outside world. Hartwick is off the radar and its people feel most

comfortable at such a distance. The village is the essence of a Currier and Ives print; the reality that Cooperstown seeks to emulate, and that was portrayed in the print of Utica.

There is a conservative tilt to the local culture in all three communities. Cooperstown and Hartwick, like Otsego County of which they are part, rarely vote anything but Republican. Yet, the Green Party has begun to make inroads as newer and younger residents sense the threats to the life they have grown to revere. In Utica, the Democratic political machine took power from an older and more resilient Republican machine during the 1920s. Set in predominantly Republican Oneida County, the fall of the machine brought the city ill repute during the 1950s and eventually regained the entire metropolitan area for the Republicans. But conservatism goes well beyond politics.

Many newer residents to Cooperstown and Hartwick have described the local social structure as cliquish, finding it difficult to make friends. The various factions of social life even formed the basis for a steamy romance novel entitled *The Sex Cure* (Dorian 1962). A thinly disguised work of fiction, the novel chronicled the affairs of the local elite and brazenly confronted the exclusivity of the local culture. Some have even referred to the area as being "cold," as some residents report that it can take years before finally feeling welcomed into their new homes. Native and newcomer, however, find the community to be a comforting and desirable alternative to life in metropolitan America, and it is for this that many come to the area.

Many residents are confused by the emphasis on "diversity," living as they do in an area where it is common for townships to be more than 97 percent white. Diversity is found in cities, such as Utica, where it is not always perceived as an asset. Uticans, in contrast, take a more pragmatic approach to racial and ethnic diversity, as they have had to do in the past. Utica, like most American cities, has witnessed wave after wave of immigrants from around the world. Every major wave of immigration has found its way to the city, including a new wave of Bosnian and Vietnamese immigrants during the 1990s. Although Utica has at times handled such conditions no better than other cities, it has handled them no worse.

A Victim of the World

The changes that have taken place in central New York are a reflection of the changes in the global economy that have taken place since World War II. The United States, through a series of international treaties, took upon itself a central role in the overall functioning of the global

economy (Wallerstein 1979). The system was organized around core countries, such as the United States and those in Europe, which were central in the formation of capital for investment, intellectual innovation, and in other economic functions found in modern industrial nations. Relationships were forged with developing nations, so-called peripheral nations in reference to their economic, political, and military positions in the global economy, which instead stressed their utility in terms of raw materials and as a source of inexpensive labor (Wallerstein 1979). In many cases, nations of the periphery were former colonies of European empires, but in others they functioned as satellites of the core countries (Frank 1967). As these relationships became the dominant feature of the global economy, they would have an impact on the regions that had once provided these functions within core countries, especially the United States. In central New York, a region that had developed an economy based on agricultural production and manufacturing, the increased willingness on the part of once-local firms to locate in other states and nations signaled a dramatic shift in the way ordinary residents experienced their communities.

The economies of local communities throughout New York State were changed dramatically. As in other older industrial regions in the United States, cities lost manufacturing employment as factories moved to the suburbs, to other states, and to developing nations (Harrison and Bluestone 1988). Central New York, in comparison to other economic regions, offered unionized workforces accustomed to good pay, and in many cases companies left for "right-to-work" states and non-unionized countries where wages were lower (Markusen 1987; Storper and Walker 1989). In Utica during the 1950s, civic and business leaders praised the good relations between labor and management, only to see those relations disintegrate as companies left the area in the following decades. In many cases, the corporate concentration of factory owners, and, later, service industries as well, led to the eventual closing of facilities. During World War I, Utica was home to two of the largest textile firms in the world, but by 1950 both had been taken over by out-of-town firms and their factories eventually moved to southern states. Some products still bear the "Utica" name, a corporate testimony to tradition and a local reminder of the pain of deindustrialization. As many cities benefited from an increase in services, Utica witnessed some of its banks and other service industries grow from the takeover of institutions headquartered in smaller towns, but by 1990 several of Utica's premier businesses were themselves taken over by companies headquartered in rival cities. Once an urban beacon for rural residents throughout the region, the city's proximity to Syracuse (forty-five miles) and other cities became a liability for

Utica, as such proximity has done to such other medium-sized metropolitan areas as Pittsfield, Massachusetts (Nash 1989), and Schenectady, New York (Rabrenovic 1996).

Rural areas have suffered these same trends of economic restructuring found in urban areas (Mattson 1997), although there is considerable variation even among them (Ames and Ellsworth 1997; Fitchen 1992). During the 1950s and 1960s, many residents of rural communities moved into the suburbs of metropolitan areas as well, and the fate of rural America was uncertain (Johnson 1989). But by the 1970s and 1980s, many Americans began moving back to small town America, and the media began to speak of a new rural renaissance. But such enthusiasm was short-lived, as the 1980s dealt many rural communities a devastating blow:

Growing international competition in goods-producing industries hit rural areas hard in the early 1980s. Manufacturing industries—the chief source of rural jobs in the 1960s and 1970s—laid off workers, closed up shop, or moved overseas. Mining and timber companies introduced changes in management and technology that resulted in dramatic productivity gains, and these in turn prompted substantial reductions in their labor forces. Farm-dependent communities suffered as farmers' debt increased and dropped. (Duncan and Sweet 1992: xxii)

But even when times were good, population and economic growth was not distributed equally: in general, the less "rural" an area, the better it fared (Thomas 1998). Communities near interstate highways experienced more growth than those without access due to their ability to attract businesses and people interested in an easy escape from country life (Lichter and Fuguitt 1980). Those fortunate enough to be in close proximity to major cities fared best, as they enjoyed arguably the best of both worlds (Aronoff 1997). Similarly, larger rural towns also experienced more growth than their smaller neighbors (Brown et al. 1996); in very small villages, so much of the economic base was lost that they ceased to function as independent communities, acting instead as economic satellites of larger villages nearby (Thomas 1999).

In the face of such restructuring, rural communities have employed a variety of strategies for coping with social change. Communities near metropolitan areas have been found to try to attract urban corporations by marketing both their rural character and urban proximity (Aronoff 1997). Others have responded by attempting to attract urban tourists, often with varying degrees of success (Matsuoka and Benson 1996). Such strategies are often the result of political and economic elites acting in a manner similar to urban growth machines (Bourke and Luloff 1995; Humphrey and Wilkinson 1993).

The Drive for Profit

Profit has to some degree been a motivation for private business for generations. It has not only inspired great invention, but also devised attempts to mitigate the negative potentialities of profit-seeking behavior. In this, the Community Investment Act, which requires banks to reinvest funds in the communities in which they do business, and the medieval prohibitions against usury (interest) share in their ultimate goal. In the past, the limits of transportation and communications technologies placed an additional restraint upon the workings of capitalism. Today, as seen in central New York, the limits have been transgressed.

It has long been understood that larger economies, or bigger markets, can translate into higher profits for the firms that do business there. Due to economies of scale, a company manufacturing a given object in a large community can make a higher profit than one in a smaller community making the same item. Both firms will need the same machinery, the same generated power, and ultimately the same labor. But the firm in the larger community can sell more goods and/or command higher prices as the larger market translates into a higher demand. Companies in larger markets thus have an advantage over those in smaller markets and can grow larger. In time, a smaller firm will be in most cases either bought by a larger company or forced out of business. Such economic dynamics are not neutral for individual communities, but rather indicate a major advantage for larger cities and towns.

It is not surprising that central New York has witnessed similar dynamics. Utica's prowess in textiles was built not only on the strength of the city's own companies but by their ability to buy smaller mills throughout upstate New York. In time, Utica owners closed their smaller mills in the vicinity of Cooperstown.

Similar dynamics exist in agriculture. Cities are ultimately limited by their abilities to feed their populations. Whereas in smaller communities agricultural production can take place near or even in the town, the sheer number of inhabitants and the land area they develop for non-agricultural purposes forces city leaders to look to the surrounding countryside. Expansion of the city's influence in the country is necessary if the city hopes to grow, as Marx (1985 [1848]) discussed:

The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared to the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life. (84)

As did most American cities, Utica grew rapidly during the nineteenth century, and necessarily looked to its hinterland for food, water, and raw materials.

Expansion of the urban sphere of influence has another function: its ability to control the "fixed costs" of keeping the urban labor force alive. By importing food from a large number of producers, the competition between them forces prices down and ultimately lowers the costs of labor for urban industries. Whereas Marx (1990 [1867]) suggested that the wages of labor could only be lowered to the point where workers are kept minimally alive, the suppression of agricultural producers can further depress this point by forcing them to accept lower prices for food. In effect, the surplus labor of the farmer is also transferred to the owners of capital. In central New York, there was a gradual creation of a middle-class lifestyle that assumed and depended upon the interlocking network of urban elites that provided not only manufactured goods but also foodstuffs processed by urban companies (see Ryan 1981). As in manufacturing, however, larger firms, often based in larger cities, are capable of outcompeting smaller firms, and so it is not surprising that such firms as Chicago-based Kraft General Foods now own several once-local food companies.

Such changes in the scale of business firms thus also affect the communities in which production takes place, and the whole process can be called upscaling. Upscaling involves an emphasis on larger economies of scale for investment, and thus gives bigger cities an infrastructure capable of outcompeting smaller metropolitan areas, which typically receive such investments last if at all. There are also cultural ramifications, as the minimum market size required to support modern institutions (e.g., shopping malls, media outlets, dance clubs) becomes increasingly larger. As such institutions are accepted as "necessary" in everyday life, smaller communities come to be seen as cultural backwaters, as only the largest are capable of competing among the diminishing number of cities that can support such institutions. Whereas Utica in the 1950s was considered to be a major city within New York State, by the 1990s the city was the butt of jokes on such television shows as *The Simpsons* and *Jenny*. In *Jenny* in particular, Utica was presented as a "small town" that by nature was boring and ill-bred (see chapter 9) despite being larger than half of the metropolitan areas in the United States (USBC 2000). That Utica could be considered a small town by the cultural standards now dominant in the United States signals a sea change in the way Americans perceive urban and rural life.

Advances in transportation and communications technologies have aggravated such dynamics, and today both rural and urban communities face increasing challenges brought about by the automobile (Kay

1998; Kunstler 1994; Wachs and Crawford 1992). In metropolitan areas, suburbanization has created a decentralized agglomeration of housing, business, and industrial functions spread over great distances (Kunstler 1994; Garreau 1992). Rural areas experienced similar changes: villages larger than others in their respective regions were better able to maintain a diversity of economic goods and services available to residents (Frisbie and Poston 1978; Pinkerton et al. 1995). Not surprisingly, the relative economic health also helped such communities maintain population growth despite dramatic restructuring of their retail and administrative functions (Ballard and Fuguitt 1985; Thomas 1998). In addition, since the 1960s settlement patterns have changed from that of contiguous settlement in villages to one of deconcentrated settlement patterns throughout the hinterland (Ballard and Fuguitt 1984). In other words, rural areas have experienced increased economic centralization at the same time they have experienced residential deconcentration.

The Community Question

It might be argued that attributing such weight to structural considerations in seeking to understand community change comes dangerously close to a deterministic argument. While community cannot be understood without economics, it must also be understood in terms of the interaction of its members.

The location of a community and the ultimate growth of said community is dependent upon numerous factors, including the geography, economic system, and culture. Utica, for instance, grew to a metropolitan area of more than three hundred thousand residents because of its location on the Mohawk River, and easy transportation helped the city to industrialize. In contrast, Hartwick's location was amenable to farming and settlement but not transportation, which hindered its industrial growth and relegated the village to an agricultural economy for most of its history. While Utica accepted wave after wave of immigrants that ultimately shaped the culture of the city, Hartwick's population peaked in 1820 and thus experienced relatively little immigration and the cultural change it brings. It is not surprising that the difference between urban and rural found in the region is more than demographic: Utica, like other urban centers, has been shaped by different cultural forces, which even today influence the city's response to new events.

It is tempting to consider community as a place, or a class, or even a municipality. As these days of Internet chat rooms and virtual communities remind us, a community is composed of people. Specifically,

a community is composed of a number of individuals in regular interaction with one another who through such interaction generate a self-referential culture. Community is thus generated on a continual basis and is thus subject to rapid changes in composition of ideas (although such rapid changes may not occur) (Collins 1975). Individuals who share the culture understand the proper interpretation of the various values, beliefs, and ideas and thus reproduce these cultural traits at a later time with other individuals. Social interaction is, however, structured by the space in which people live and communicate.

As the study of Internet communities is relatively new, it is understandable that sociologists have long recognized the concept of settlement space as central to the identity of a community. Settlement space can be understood as

the built environment in which people live. Settlement space is both constructed and organized. It is built by people who have followed some meaningful plan for the purposes of containing economic, political, and cultural activities. Within it people organize their daily actions according to the meaningful aspects of the constructed space. (Gottdeiner 1994, 16)

Conflicts arise over the development of settlement space, giving rise to such fixtures of the urban social landscape as political machines (Allswang 1977), community organizations (Rabrenovic 1996), and social movements (Castells 1977). Individuals seldom experience settlement space as coterminous with the space they experience on a daily basis, and the space experienced regularly by an individual may be understood as viable space. Viable space differs from that of settlement space in that it recognizes that community residents often interact more regularly within particular neighborhoods and not in others, and that this has an effect on how people perceive and experience community:

Most individuals experience their communities as limited to the space most easily accessible to them. This space is experienced at regular and frequent intervals, and is familiar and comfortable. In contrast, space experienced infrequently or not at all comes to be perceived as outside the realm of everyday life. (Thomas 1998, 20)

Space thus provides the environment in which interaction may occur, and is influential in encouraging or discouraging social interaction. It is the relationship between settlement space and viable space that determines the level of urbanism in a community.

Gans (1962) demonstrated the difference between settlement and viable space in his classic study of the West End of Boston. Residents of

the neighborhood selectively perceived their environment; buildings often frequented were part of the cognitive map of the neighborhood, whereas less important structures or buildings in a state of decay were often ignored or treated as “filler” in the urban streetscape. Similarly, residents of the neighborhood perceived the community as their own “urban village” that, although contiguously urbanized with the remainder of the metropolitan area, was uniquely their own. Despite being residents of a large city, everyday life was experienced as a small community. That is, although the settlement space was quite large, the viable space was relatively small and nonthreatening. Residents of Utica’s inner city discuss their neighborhoods in a similar fashion.

In contrast, the viable space in a rural small town is often larger than the total settlement space of the village. In the United States, it is common to find that small towns are composed of a dense settlement space (village)—much as in cities—surrounded by agricultural land. The result is that the settlement space of rural towns often is smaller than the area within which one may reasonably be expected to travel. That is, the viable space is larger than the settlement space. This is the general pattern still found today in both Cooperstown and Hartwick.

A community contains any number of attractor points: physical settings in the settlement space that attract community members on a regular basis for social interaction. Attractor points may attract the vast majority of community members, as in the case of the neighborhood business district, or perhaps a smaller but important class of residents. For instance, a neighborhood school functions to attract members of the community affiliated with the school system; namely, students, parents, and staff. For this particular population, the school functions as an attractor point. Because of the number of people who interact at attractor points, economies of scale are high. This has a reciprocal effect, as it is the high economies of scale that attract individuals for purposes of interaction. People are attracted by the economies of scale in the area and, via the act of being present (or not present), change them. The attractor points are thus subject to rapid changes in location and strength, and should be considered dynamic.

Interaction in urban and rural communities takes place within a system of attractor points and social networks that are structured by their relationship to space. Urban community systems are marked by a viable space that is smaller than the settlement space, but easy access to attractor points in other settled areas creates a constant outflow of community members to other attractor points in nearby communities or of a more regional variety. For instance, Utica historically had tight-knit ethnic enclaves with their own neighborhood business districts, but with an overall outflow of residents who worked in adjoining neighborhoods or traveled to the central business district for various

activities. In contrast, rural community systems have typically been more self-contained. With a settlement space smaller than the viable space, such attractor points as the business district and the local school often bring in community members who live outside of the settlement space. Whereas urban community systems, structured as they were by contiguous urbanization, have historically looked outside of the viable space with a sense of opportunity and possible expansionism, rural community systems have looked within the viable space for a sense of self-sufficiency and uniqueness (Fitchen 1991).

Not surprisingly, much of the restructuring of the concept of "community" has taken place as former attractor points, such as schools, factories, shopping districts, and the like, have been restructured. The demise of the Hartwick business district deprived residents of not only places to shop, but places in which to interact with other members of the community.

Community and Economic Change

Much of the change in both rural and urban communities is thus due to the expansion of the viable space of communities and the resultant changes in economies of scale. In Utica, for instance, the automobile made it possible for businesses to relocate to non-downtown neighborhoods with a reasonable expectation that shoppers could drive to their stores. Although this is a trend that some might assume began with the postwar suburban housing boom and new paradigms for suburban-style strip malls, this shift to non-downtown business districts began with the car as early as 1909 (see chapter 10). Increased economic activity of residents outside of their neighborhoods created opportunities for interaction all over the metropolitan area, but also limited the amount of interaction in the immediate neighborhood. This occurred at the same time as the deindustrialization of the region and the increased concentration of local businesses into larger and, increasingly, non-local firms. Many of these changes were, as discussed, the result of the globalization of local economy, and thus seemingly beyond the control of the local community.

Such expansion of viable space forces attractor points to compete for influence within the overall system. In metropolitan Utica, the expansion of viable space forced the central business district to compete against suburban shopping centers, and over time a strip in the town of New Hartford became the dominant attractor of retail shoppers. Similarly, the expansion of viable space in the area of Cooperstown and Hartwick forced Hartwick merchants to compete against those in

Cooperstown, with devastating results for Hartwick. This of course is both a result and cause of upscaling in the region, as Cooperstown merchants were also faced during the 1980s with competition from larger communities.

Perhaps the single biggest difference between urban and rural communities, after population, is the presence of institutions that are necessary for the overall functioning of the society but not necessarily for the survival of the community. Colleges, for instance, provide education and income for community members, but rarely grow food. Most cities have educational institutions, hospitals, industrial and commercial firms, among others. In rural communities, the presence of one or another of these institutions in the viable space is often quite unique when compared to surrounding communities, and thus they may be referred to as unique institutions. As such institutions are necessary for contemporary society, urban areas typically have a full array of unique institutions as part of their infrastructure. This grants urban community members access to such services without leaving their own viable space; in many cases, urban residents have a choice of service providers. Rural communities, in contrast, may have few or even none of these institutions, and residents are thus forced to choose between access to such institutions and staying near to home. While Utica has several colleges, neither Cooperstown nor Hartwick have colleges within their own settlement spaces. While Utica and Cooperstown have school districts, Hartwick youngsters are bused to Cooperstown. While Utica provides a choice of three hospitals, Cooperstown has one hospital and Hartwick has none.

A unique institution may be understood as an institution in a community that serves to enhance the community's integration with the larger society. The unique institutions in Cooperstown, such as Bassett Hospital and the Otsego County offices, function as conduits between Cooperstown and the largely urban power structure with which it must negotiate and seek investment. They also make Cooperstown an important attractor for residents of other local communities who seek such services, as these are typically not available in their own communities. It should be noted that unique institutions might also be understood as forms of internal colonization. By enforcing regulations created by and in the interests of urban elites (e.g., loan guidelines), they typically serve the interests of the larger urban society as opposed to local interests. It was the presence of unique institutions and their associated resources in Cooperstown that ultimately enabled the village to survive and dominate other local communities during the 1960s and 1970s. Indeed, Cooperstown's unique institutions have proven so effective for the village that the 1990s brought clear challenges to institutions in Utica (see chapter 11).

Differing Adaptations

Given such variation in their size and character, one might argue that to compare Utica, Cooperstown, and Hartwick is similar to comparing apples and oranges. But much is to be learned about fruit by comparing apples and oranges, just as much is to be learned about the world economy by examining the relative positions of Utica, Cooperstown, and Hartwick. The adaptations to globalization found in each community tell of the relative advantages given larger cities in the competition for capital investment. None of these communities are “global cities,” and it is not surprising that they have adapted to globalization so differently. They have experienced economic and social trends together as a region, but each has adapted to them based on its own particular demographic and historical circumstances.