Urban Lift-off Amid the Rural Amenity Economy: Riverfront Cities and the "Brooklynization" of the Hudson Valley

by

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ABSTRACT:

What futures and fortunes await small cities in an era of metropolitan restructuring, creative economies, and new modes of consumption and leisure? This paper considers the case of New York's Hudson Valley, located just to the north of New York city's traditional suburban hinterland. Adopting a regional analysis, I examine the Hudson Valley's demographic, economic, and cultural adaptations to the metropolitan restructuring emanating from New York City. New sources of population growth and municipal prosperity in the Hudson Valley reveal the significance of a rural amenity economy supported by "Brooklyners" and other New York metro area residents. As visitors and in-migrants, these Brooklyners — predominantly white, educated, native-born, and 35-54 years old — bring household wants/needs and discretionary income that fuel consumption in Hudson Valley real estate, tourism, and resurgent agriculture. This process of "Brooklynization" highlights divergent paths for the Hudson Valley's five small riverfront cities, all of which share similar amenities and housing stock. Small cities that prosper benefit from NYC "buzz" over their small town feel, proximity to rural landscape, and opportunities for consuming culture, cuisine, and agriculture. Small cities that don't, including Poughkeepsie (historically the Hudson Valley's primary city), are incorporated into new immigrant flows and other global processes that go less celebrated in the creative economy. The paper underscores the importance of a contextualist and regional analysis on small city revitalization.

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What futures and fortunes await small cities in an era of metropolitan restructuring, creative economies, and new modes of consumption and leisure? This paper examines the case of New York's Hudson Valley, located just to the north of New York City's (NYC) traditional suburban hinterland. A region of 4,377 square miles, the closest point to NYC some 45 minutes by train, the farthest some three hours by car, the Hudson Valley includes cities, the traditional centers of a by-gone industrial economy, as well as suburbs and small towns. It is a varied mosaic, with counties and municipalities diverging along the lines of demographics, land use and economy.

In this paper, I take a regional view and emphasize the Hudson Valley's demographic, economic, and cultural adaptations to the metropolitan restructuring emanating from NYC. It is not my view that metro restructuring brings about a single tide that lifts all local boats, nor filters down a simple urban hierarchy. Instead, new sources of population growth and municipal prosperity reveal the influence of an amenity economy based, perhaps unexpectedly, in rural parts of the Hudson Valley. The different fortunes of the Hudson Valley's small cities — some of which share in the glow of this amenity economy, others which contend with less "buzzworthy" futures — underscore the need for a contextualist view on small cities, as nodes embedded in larger social and cultural regions.

METHODS

The analysis on this paper draws, first, from secondary sources. I drew data from the U.S. Census Bureau's decennial census and annual American Community Survey to support the analysis on population characteristics, and from data-gathering institutes and businesses for figures on agriculture and home sales. I built an archive — only modestly cited here — of news reporting, media commentary, and online blogs for coverage on the Hudson Valley, with special focus on external coverage (*New York Times*, travel media, etc.) on the region, its tourism destinations, and its real estate. I also draw upon extensive historical scholarshp and social research on the Hudson Valley.

Second, this paper draws upon my eighteen years as a participant-observer and resident of the Hudson Valley. Elsewhere I have published research, given scholarly presentations, and blogged on Poughkeepsie's food security, the Hudson Valley's quality of life, and its cultural (particularly musical) geography. For the last four years I've taught college courses on local agriculture, visiting many farms and

informally interviewing farmers and agricultural supporters; this material especially informs my discussion on Hudson Valley agriculture.

TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE HUDSON VALLEY

In this paper, the Hudson Valley refers specifically to what is sometimes called the "Mid-Hudson River Valley," a six-county area surrounding the Hudson River. See Map 1. (The "Lower Hudson River Valley" covers Westchester County and northern New Jersey, part of NYC's older suburbs, while the "Upper Hudson River Valley" corresponds to the Albany/Capital Region area where the river begins.) See Table 1.

Map 1: The six-county "Hudson Valley" in state context

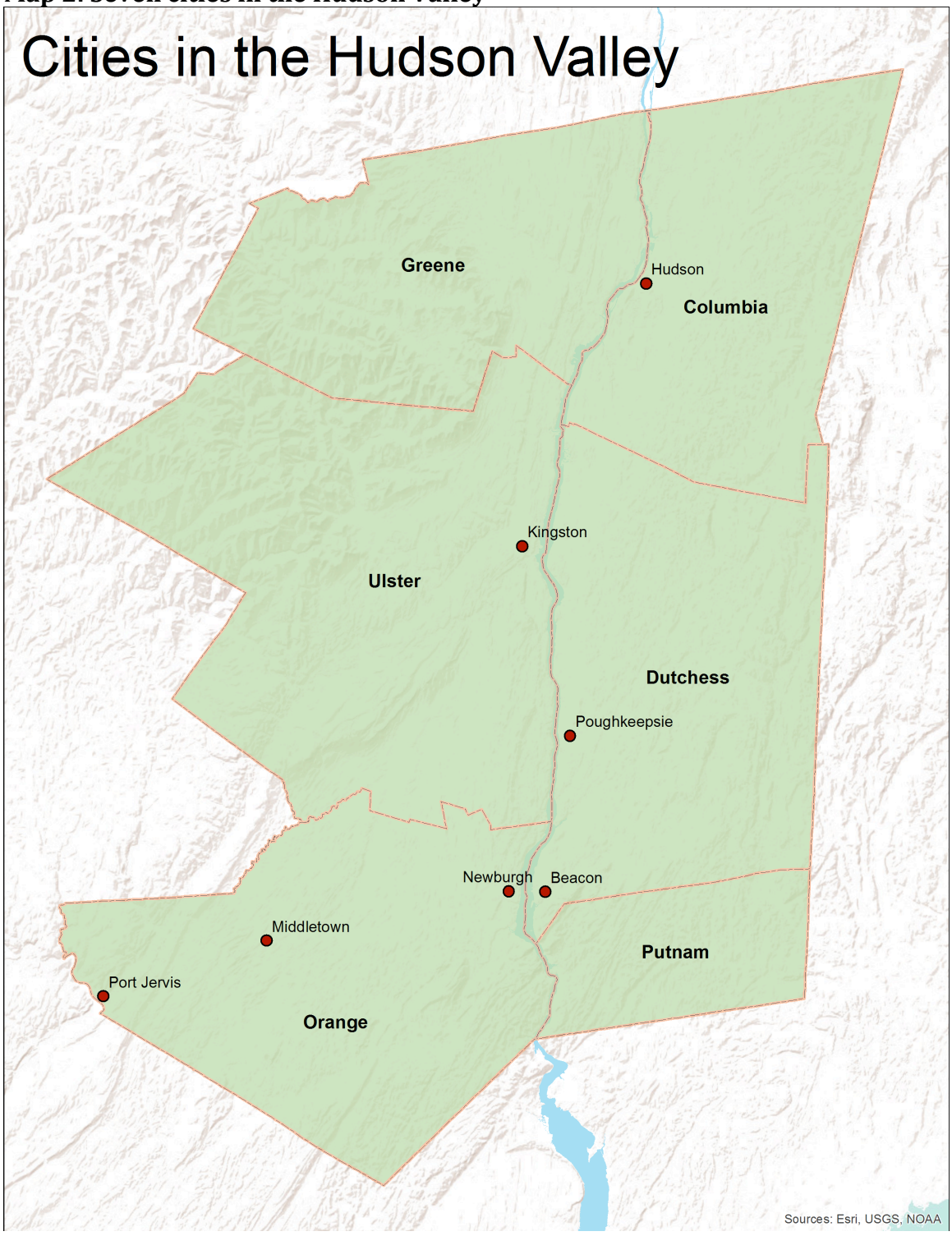
Table 1: The Hudson Valley at a glance, 2016

County	Area (mi^2)	Population	Cities	Largest municipality
Columbia	648	61,860	Hudson	Kinderhook (pop. 8,434)
Dutchess	825	295,905	City of Poughkeepsie, Beacon	Town of Poughkeepsie (44,572)
Greene	658	48,069	--	Catskill (11,507)
Orange	839	376,242	Middletown, Newburgh, Port Jervis	Monroe (42,343)
Putnam	246	99,408	--	Carmel (34,370)
Ulster	1,161	180,505	City of Kingston	City of Kingston (23,506)
TOTAL	4,377	1,061,989		

Source: American Community Survey 2016.

Particularly significant to my analysis is the selective distribution of cities, which in the state of New York represent a specific legal designation for municipalities that are autonomously chartered and provide almost all their own services (school districts, water, etc.) to residents. See Map 2. In the Hudson Valley as elsewhere throughout New York, cities are generally sites of industrial development dating back to the 19th century or earlier. This industrialization set in motion land uses and demographic patterns that have fiven these municipalities a familiar "urban" texture: industrial architecture (small factory lofts, brick and mortar), older housing stock (from fancy Victorian houses to workingmen's houses later sided with vinyl), and waves of foreign and non-white immigration.

Map 2: Seven cities in the Hudson Valley



Originally a self-sufficient economy

All six counties but Greene County are currently considered part of the tri-state NYC metro area, yet until recent decades the Hudson Valley escaped the post-WWII suburbanization that enveloped Long Island, northern New Jersey, and Westchester

County. Beginning with its Yankee origins, the Hudson Valley developed a self-sufficient economy around agriculture, river- and canal-based shipping, and industry. The city of Poughkeepsie (Dutchess County) benefited especially, achieving its status as the region's largest city by the colonial period, while four other cities — Beacon, Hudson, Kingston, and Newburgh —built up around a similar industrialization of their riverfronts (Flad and Griffen 2009; for the case of 19th-c. Kingston, see Blumin 1976). Altogether, these five riverfront cities comprised an urban crown that concentrated population and familiar urban problems in an otherwise sparsely settled Hudson Valley.

Still evident today, this sparse settlement reflects the footprint particularly laid down, first, by agriculture, which served the NYC metro area and points beyond. By the 18th century, dairy farms were especially prominent, while vegetables, apples, grain, and even ice further diversified the region's bounty (Harris and Pickman 2011; Zimmerman 1988). Agriculture, resource extraction (e.g., timber, iron ore) and then small industry blossomed in the 1800s, when river- and canal-based shipping vied with a new mode of transportation, the railroad. In the 1840s, a Harlem Railroad connected dairy producers and other farms in eastern Putnam, Dutchess, and Columbia Counties to routes south to NYC. Seeking to quell this potential threat to commerce along the riverfront and its cities, boosters in Poughkeepsie organized the construction of a Hudson River Railroad that, by 1851, connected NYC to Albany with riverfront stations in western Putnam (Cold Spring), Dutchess (Fishkill, Poughkeepsie, Rhinebeck), and Greene Counties (Hudson). In 1888, a 212-foot Poughkeepsie Railway Bridge was erected to span the Hudson River and connect local railroads in Dutchess and Ulster County; these smaller lines closed by the time of the bridge's 1910 consolidation under the Central New England Railway. This period also saw the arrival of new ethnic immigrants — initially Irish and German, then southern European and Black southerners in the 20th — into Poughkeepsie and other Hudson Valley riverfront cities (Flad and Griffen 2009; Blumin 1976).

On the western side of the Hudson River, the Catskills mountains further preclude substantial development; today, the Catskill National Park overlays much of Greene and Ulster Counties, plus the contiguous inland counties of Delaware and Sullivan. Outdoor recreation in the mountains and along the river has a storied history in the Hudson Valley, from the landscape perspective enshrined by the mid-19th century "Hudson River School," to the 20th-century spread of summer camps for workers, children, and religious groups (Wiles 2009; Aron 1999; see Brown 1998 on the mid-20th century vibrancy of inland resorts in the Catskill Mountains and adjacent Sullivan County).

Since the 19th century, higher learning has also supported a pastoral path of economic development, starting with the 1801 establishment atop a craggy riverside cliff of the U.S. Military Academy at Westpoint (located in Cornwall Orange County). In Dutchess County, Bard College (est. 1860), Vassar College (est. 1861), and Marist College (est. 1901), like other small colleges and seminaries that later

dotted the region, offered a non-urban milieu for learning and reflection. Only the 1948 establishment of the State University of New York at New Paltz departs from this small college profile, and then only moderately, with a 2016 enrollment of 6,700 undergraduates and 900 graduate students.

Historically, agriculture, recreation, and higher learning incorporated the Hudson Valley closer ito the NYC metro area via temporary flows of goods, services, and people more than the permanent population that created suburbs in Long Island, northern New Jersey, and Westchester County. So too have isolated pockets of "old money" (e.g., in Dutchess County's Millbrook) and old bohemia (e.g., in Ulster County's Woodstock: Hoskyns 2016) tied the region to the metropolis as symbolic imaginary more than population footprint.

Changes in the 20th century
The Hudson Valley's own regional suburbs materialized in the 20th century, particularly in Dutchess County. The key factor here was the IBM Corporation. IBM established facilities in the towns of Poughkeepsie (1941), Kingston (mid-1950s), and Fishkill (in southern Dutchess County, early 1960s) for the design and manufacture of the munitions, defense systems, and finally mainframe computers. Commercial success led the company to steadily grow its Hudson Valley workforce to a 1985 peak of 31,042 employees (62.9 percent of all manufacturing workers in Dutchess and Ulster Counties), which in turn stimulated the development of suburban housing and retail around its plants. IBM was by far the region's biggest private employer in the region, but smaller companies in assorted manufacturing and technology sectors also thrived in the mid-20th century. The regional shift from manufacturing to R&D activities was accompanied by shifting streams of labor in-migration over this period, as an early blue-collar workforce, including a not-insignificant number of blacks, was later eclipsed by a high-tech workforce that introduced the region's most sizable Asian demographic (Flad and Griffen 2009: 273; Mamiya and Kaurouma 1978).

In tandem with this economic development, flows of commuters and visitors grew following the development of federally funded auto thoroughfares: multi-lane bridges crossing the river, interstates and parkways linking the Hudson Valley to the metro area below as well as states east and west; see Table 2, below. It's telling that the Mid-Hudson Bridge, the first of three bridges in the 20th century that soon replaced river ferries, was set at the edge of Poughkeepsie — testimony to the city's regional prominence as "the Queen City of the Hudson" and gateway to IBM developments in this era. While highway planners may have envisioned the Mid-Hudson Valley's future incorporation into the NYC metro area, originally these new thoroughfares symbolized the region's own flourishing, with suburban commuters traversing rivers and county borders and commercial trucking shipping goods in and out of the region.

Table 2: Major automobile thoroughfares in the Hudson Valley

Thoroughfare	Date completed	Direction	MHV areas impacted
Mid-Hudson Bridge	1930	east-west	Dutchess (Poughkeepsie) and Ulster (Highland) Counties
Rip Van Winkle Bridge	1935	east-west	Columbia (Hudson) and Greene (Catskill) Counties
U.S. I-87 (a.k.a. New York State Thruway)	1954	north-south	Orange, Ulster, and Greene Counties
Tappan Zee Bridge	1955	east-west	Lower Hudson Valley (Westchester and Rockland Counties)
Kingston-Rhinecliff Bridge	1957	east-west	Ulster (Kingston) and Rhinebeck (Dutchess) Counties
Palisades Parkway	1961	north-south	Orange County, lower Hudson Valley (Rockland County)
Newburgh-Beacon Bridge (across U.S. I-84)	1963, expanded 1980	east-west	Dutchess (Beacon), Ulster (Newburgh), Putnam and Orange Counties
Taconic Parkway	1963	north-south	Putnam, Dutchess, and Columbia Counties

Sources: Panetta 2011; Flad and Griffen 2009; Hilscher 2008.

As it did around the U.S., auto-driven suburbanization introduced significant change in the landscape and economic organization of the Hudson Valley. Shoppers abandoned commercial downtowns in cities like Poughkeepsie and county seats like Catskill (Greene County) for new shopping centers and malls built around parking convenience (Hilscher 2008; Flad 1987). As the auto became a dominant mode of transport for commuting and visiting, smaller passenger railroads (most notably along the western front of the Hudson River) went out of business. Many remnants of the Hudson Valley's early 20th century manufacturing — typically small firms located along the river and in urban industrial zones — began their exodus for sunnier, non-union settings in the American sunbelt. As a consequence, the decennial U.S. Census Bureau survey marks 1950 as the last decade of uninterrupted growth for the Hudson Valley cities; their populations soon began falling even the six counties continued to grow through the rest of the 20th century.

Changes were also afoot for family farms in the Hudson Valley. Dairy farming, by mid-century the dominant form of Hudson Valley agriculture, was especially impacted. In Dutchess County alone, dairy production supported 275 farms in 1975. Concentrated in the northeastern section of the county, with further farms across the county line in Columbia County, dairy sustained an infrastructure of milk stations, dairy processing plants, and freight railroad. The closing of freight rail on the Upper Harlem Valley line in 1981 symbolized the ascendance of commercial trucking as a primary mode of dairy shipping. Of course, auto thoroughfares introduced suburban development pressures that would have further, and more significant, negative impact upon dairy and farming as a whole.

By 1980, the Hudson Valley was enmeshed in both urban crisis and agricultural decline, its suburban growth driven by post-industrial tertiary sector employment. NYC's suburban hinterlands had begun subsuming the Hudson Valley's bottom end. In tiny Putnam County, this meant the leafy, high-end residential patterns found in Westchester County and Greenwich, Connecticut; and in Orange County (which in 1980 surpassed Dutchess as the Hudson Valley's most populous county), the more affordable housing subdivisions that bloomed in Rockland County. Still, the region's economy appeared to be moving along a local, self-sufficient trajectory, epitomized by the export-oriented output from IBM's Dutchess and Ulster Counties facilities. The demise of "old" urban and agricultural landscapes in the Hudson Valley seemed inexorable and, for many boosters, not especially problematic when looking at a growing economy based in technology, shipping/distribution, and (particularly in the Hudson Valley's northern half) natural resource extraction and processing.

Shocks to this regional confidence started at IBM, where the global focus on mainframe computing proved ill-fated by the era of the personal computer. Between 1985 and 1993, IBM eliminated some 17,000 positions in the Hudson Valley and shuttered its Kingston facility in 1994. A region that had become dependent on the economic multiplications of its primary employer suffered accordingly; for every IBM job lost, Dutchess and Ulster Counties lost an additional one-third and three-fourths of a manufacturing job, respectively (Flad and Griffen 2009: 284). The departure of well-paid IBM workers from the region shrank the region's tax-base and, by glutting the real estate market with homes for sale, impacted the equity of remaining homeowners. Suburban areas of Dutchess and Ulster Counties took hard hits, as did cities like Poughkeepsie, Kingston, Beacon, and Newburgh. With much state and local subsidy, IBM's regional footprint stabilized and even expanded modestly by the late 1990s, while new buyers and new uses for its old facilities brought some economic diversification. Still, the prior Hudson Valley economy of corporate branch plants and traditional industry never recovered to earlier expectations.

Beginning in the 1990s, the Hudson Valley also became what researchers call a "new immigrant destination" for Mexican and Latin American immigrants. These newcomers did not diffuse across the region: cities of Newburgh and Poughkeepsie saw foreign residents grow, as did rural areas like northeastern Dutchess County and towns like Brewster (Putnam County), while comparable municipalities were bypassed entirely. This immigration further indicates the region's economic restructuring — specifically, the deterioration of industry and agriculture into lower-paying and/or lower-skill occupations for which co-ethnic transnational networks are employers' preferred channel for labor recruitment (Villarrubia-Mendoza 2017).

Gradually, Spanish-language ethnic enterprises occupied previously vacant storefronts in Poughkeepsie and Newburgh. By 2000 those cities recorded significant population increases — for Poughkeepsie, the first growth in half a century. However, the established political and neighborhood communities haven't

really celebrated this new growth. Atop social distances of language and cultural difference, native-born white and black residents in Poughkeepsie and Newburgh observe that Mexican immigration hasn't stemmed problems with school quality, street crime, and fair housing, while local elites have refused to give up conventional economic development schemes (e.g., chasing big employers with state and local subsidies). Apart from an energetic base of non-profit agencies and community organizers, the Mexican population in these cities (now being diversified by other Latin American immigrants) generally fends for itself through co-ethnic enterprise and more altruistic forms of social capital (on Poughkeepsie, see Nevarez et al. 2014).

Crises in NYC

Many locals might contend the global really came to the Hudson Valley with the terrorist acts in NYC on September 11, 2001. To be sure, a sense of vulnerability was felt directly by Hudson Valley residents who commuted to downtown NYC; notably, the husband of Poughkeepsie's mayor at the time was counted among the dead in the World Trade Center attack. More relevant here is that metro NYC residents began relocating to the Hudson Valley in a small but significant force. The terrorist attacks are often recalled as an abrupt shock to New Yorkers' resurgent urbanism, and anecdotes circulate about anxious New Yorkers leaving stripped of their city-living bravado, or recalibrating personal priorities and opting out the "rat race" for places better suited for a thoughtful pursuit of self-actualization in life, family and career. It's difficult to ascertain how many NYC out-migrants were driven by such motives.

In fact, 9/11 didn't stem migration *to* NYC, which by 2010 registered a third consecutive decade of net population growth following its 1980 urban crisis low point. As the central borough Manhattan — "the city" of New Yorkers' imagination for more than a century — nears closer to effective build-out, NYC's outer boroughs have seen population spillover, with Queens and the Bronx especially receiving lower-income immigrants whose labor has long undergirded NYC's economy. Of course, Brooklyn, the city's most populous borough, is probably the best known emblem of NYC's recent growth. Its brownstone housing has become prime real estate, while Williamsburg, Dumbo (Down Under Manhattan Bridge Overpass), Cobble Hill, and other previously industrial and/or low-income residential areas have become trendy neighborhoods. Growth in technology, media and services have begun dissipating the usual commuter flows to and from Manhattan. In contrast to the corporate texture of Manhattan's commercial landscape, Brooklyn's consumer services and amenities highlight an entrepreneurial, niche-focused, and "artisanal" quality that updates the urban vibrancy that Jane Jacobs originally located across the river. More so than contemporary Manhattan, then, "Brooklyn" — a real place, but also a symbolic status — epitomizes the urban renaissance available to educated, middle-income, and mostly white households, particularly in their 20s and 30s, fueling the 21st-century creative economy (see Florida 2002).

Meanwhile, as the city's prosperity takes an especially exclusionary turn, with property values and new residential development attainable for only the highest incomes — increasingly, the purview of a global upper class — NYC residents have been forced to navigate a growing crisis of housing availability and cost of living. Arguably more than the 9/11 terrorist attacks (which city residents just as often invoked to justify an increased resolve to stay in NYC), the pressures of living in a city seemingly bent upon sacrificing its character to high-end residential development, corporate commerce, and gentrifying public amenities like Manhattan's Highline and the Brooklyn Bridge Park has generated soul-searching among many die-hard New Yorkers (Zukin 2010). Beyond the boroughs, then, households in search of more space and quality schools have fueled growth in NYC's older suburbs: Long Island, northern New Jersey, and Westchester County.

And of course, to the north of this venerable suburban belt, the Hudson Valley is increasingly in play — the focus of my analysis in this paper. How this "9/11 effect" unfolded in the Hudson Valley in the new millennium — less as the *abandonment* of metro NYC modes of work, life, and leisure, and more as their sociospatial *expansion* — is the subject for the rest of this paper.

THE "BROOKLYNIZATION" OF THE HUDSON VALLEY

It's useful to review the impacts of 9/11 and NYC's growing unaffordability on the Hudson Valley from a broader viewpoint, temporally and spatially. As Table 3 indicates, in the two decades prior to the new millennium, the six counties of the Hudson Valley experienced steady if uneven net population growth: most significantly between 1980-90, and most robustly in the southern portion closest to NYC. The swelling population of Orange County illustrates the metropolitan spread of subdivided bedroom communities for commuters to the city and its polynucleated centers. Putnam County grew as well, albeit at a lesser rate commensurate with the large-lot residential zoning patterns in leafy towns that were already inching toward build-out. Growth in Dutchess County accelerated in 1990-2000, as commuter flows down to the metro area laid atop the post-IBM restructuring in the county's bottom half. As a mass phenomenon, these commuter flows were assuredly new; NYC's commuter rail, Metro-North, extended service through southern Dutchess County to Poughkeepsie only in 1983 (Ghee and Spence 1999). Importantly, the railway's expansion in this period failed to include new lines into Orange and Ulster Counties on the other side of the river (Plotch 2015).

Table 3: Population trends in Hudson Valley, New York, and NY state

Place	1980	1990	2000	2010	% Change 1980 - 1990	% Change 1990-2000	% Change 2000-2010	% Change 1980-2010
Mid-Hudson Valley	840,357	924,075	1,006,300	1,064,821	10.0%	8.9%	5.8%	26.7%
Columbia County	59,487	62,982	63,094	63,096	5.9%	0.2%	0.0%	6.1%
Dutchess County	245,055	259,462	280,150	297,488	5.9%	8.0%	6.2%	21.4%
Greene County	40,861	44,739	48,195	49,221	9.5%	7.7%	2.1%	20.5%
Orange County	259,603	307,647	341,367	372,813	18.5%	11.0%	9.2%	43.6%
Putnam County	77,193	83,941	95,745	99,710	8.7%	14.1%	4.1%	29.2%
Ulster County	158,158	165,304	177,749	182,493	4.5%	7.5%	2.7%	15.4%
NYC	7,071,639	7,322,564	8,008,278	8,175,133	3.5%	9.4%	2.1%	15.6%
Brooklyn	2,230,936	2,300,664	2,465,326	2,504,700	3.1%	7.2%	1.6%	12.3%
New York State	17,558,072	17,990,445	18,976,457	19,378,102	2.5%	5.5%	2.1%	10.4%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

Post-9/11 restructuring in the Hudson Valley

How did the rest of the Hudson Valley, particularly beyond the perimeter of the expanding suburban hinterland, fare after 9/11? The overall picture is complex, for beneath the net population growth registered at the *county* levels are many *municipalities* recording population loss. Different patterns can be viewed through five categories of municipal population change; the first three indicate post-9/11 growth in a municipality, the last two indicate post-9/11 decline:

- **9/11 accelerated**: a municipality *sustained* population growth (recorded positive population change) through 1990-2010, with *higher* rates of growth in 2000-2010
- **9/11 coasted**: a municipality *sustained* population growth (recorded positive population change) through 1990-2010, with *lower* rates of growth in 2000-2010
- **9/11 turn-around**: a municipality's population *declined* (recorded negative population change) in 1990-2000, then *increased* (recorded positive population change) in 2000-2010
- **9/11 depopulated**: a municipality's population *increased* (recorded positive population change) in 1990-2000, then *decreased* (recorded negative population change) in 2000-2010
- **Bypassed by 9/11**: a municipality *sustained* population decrease (recorded negative population change) through 1990-2010 (no distinction made between 1990-2000 and 2000-2010 rates of decrease)

Table 4 reports how many Hudson Valley municipalities in the six counties fall under these categories these categories. To begin, note the insignificant representation of Orange and Putnam Counties in the last two categories of decline (9/11 depopulated and bypassed by 9/11): six and one municipalities, respectively, with generally single-digit levels of decline (the exception being the tiny Orange

County village of Tuxedo Park: 2010 pop. 623), and generally in places of less than 10,000 residents (the exception being the Putnam County town of Kent: 2010 pop. 13,507). By contrast, from one fifth to more than a half of municipalities in the other four Hudson Valley counties are counted among the two categories of post-9/11 decline.

Table 4: Municipal patterns of Hudson Valley population growth, 1990-2000 vs. 2000-2010

	Columbia County	Dutchess County	Greene County	Orange County	Putnam County	Ulster County
All municipalities	23	30	19	40	9	24
9/11 Accelerated	13.0%	20.0%	10.5%	22.5%	11.1%	20.8%
9/11 Coasted	13.0%	50.0%	31.6%	45.0%	55.6%	29.2%
9/11 Turnaround	21.7%	10.0%	21.1%	15.0%	22.2%	8.3%
9/11 Depopulated	21.7%	20.0%	15.8%	12.5%	11.1%	33.3%
Bypassed by 9/11	30.4%	0.0%	21.1%	5.0%	0.0%	8.3%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau.
Note: see category definitions in text above.

These patterns should be understood, first, as net effects of opposing in-migration and out-migration flows. After 9/11, newcomers moved to municipalities that were growing, but also to those that were shrinking; a separate issue is whether existing populations simultaneously left these municipalities in greater numbers.

Second, these patterns should be interpreted in the context of economic restructuring: i.e., the shrinkage of blue-collar occupations, as the Hudson Valley's economy transitioned toward a polarized high-skill/low-skill service occupational structure. By most measures, health care is today the Hudson Valley's dominant sector in terms of employment and growth prospects, while colleges remain a modest yet steady sector, particularly in Ulster and Dutchess Counties. While the region has never recovered number of jobs IBM let go in the 1990s, southern Dutchess County has retained its status as the Hudson Valley's technology center, yet now with less connection than ever to conventional industries. Of late, some "new economy" offices have set up in the region, perhaps to more fanfare than laborforce impact (e.g., an Etsy office in Hudson that employs less than 50 workers).

At the other end of the service occupational spectrum, tourism has grown in importance as an employment sector. Tracked in terms of recreation, lodging, dining, transportation, and shopping sectors, tourism employment grew by 4 percent in 2000-2010 (Mid-Hudson Region Economic Development Council 2011). By 2014, tourism was responsible for 6.6 percent of all Hudson Valley employment (Vrba 2015). Composed greatly of seasonal and part-time jobs in comparison to other sectors, tourism sustains mostly low-wage jobs and paces an otherwise scattered array of lower-skilled service sectors in the region: domestic, construction, distribution, and so forth.

These changes have hit the region's young adults and working families hardest. As an indicator, between 2000 and 2010 the region lost over 9 percent of its population ages 25-34, and over 17 percent of its population ages 35-44. See Table 5. To be sure, such population loss is seen throughout upstate New York, where deindustrialization and the state's oft-remarked high taxes made an especially potent combination. In an important sense, the Hudson Valley is where "upstate meets downstate" as both geographic region and the transition of old to new economies. (Also worth noting in Table 5 is NYC's extraordinary overrepresentation of 25-34 years olds, increasingly centered in Brooklyn — a demographic concentration that would be the envy of most economic development agencies.)

Table 5: Proportions of age brackets in Hudson Valley, New York, and NY state

	25-34 YEAR OLDS			35-44 YEAR OLDS			45-54 YEAR OLDS		
	2000	2010	2013	2000	2010	2013	2000	2010	2013
Mid-Hudson Valley	12.4%	10.7%	10.7%	17.5%	13.6%	13.1%	14.5%	16.6%	16.4%
Columbia County	11.1%	9.4%	9.2%	15.8%	12.3%	11.9%	15.3%	16.8%	16.5%
Dutchess County	12.5%	10.6%	10.8%	17.7%	13.4%	12.9%	14.2%	16.9%	16.7%
Greene County	11.4%	9.9%	9.9%	15.6%	12.8%	12.3%	14.2%	16.7%	16.6%
Orange County	12.7%	11.2%	11.1%	17.3%	14.0%	13.4%	13.8%	15.6%	15.4%
Putnam County	12.4%	9.5%	9.6%	19.7%	14.7%	14.0%	16.0%	18.8%	18.6%
Ulster County	12.4%	10.9%	11.1%	17.3%	13.2%	12.8%	15.2%	16.8%	16.5%
NYC	17.1%	17.0%	17.2%	15.8%	14.1%	14.1%	12.6%	13.5%	13.4%
Brooklyn	15.8%	17.0%	17.3%	15.0%	13.6%	13.7%	12.5%	12.9%	12.7%
New York State	14.5%	13.3%	13.9%	16.2%	13.3%	13.2%	13.5%	14.9%	14.6%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau; American Community Survey.

The new agriculture

Another key sector where "upstate meets downstate" is Hudson Valley agriculture. As discussed earlier, this sector was already vulnerable to the forces that shrunk the number of family farms across the U.S., as well as the region's proximity to urbanized areas. The dairy industry is a notable case. In Dutchess County alone, dairy farms declined from 275 in 1975 (making it the largest number in any New York state county) to 25 by 2009 (Gray 2013). With this came further consequences for dairy processing plants, milk stations, and the railroad — each an important provider of jobs in this stretch of the Hudson Valley, including for African Americans. The decline of dairy, alongside the general decline of middle- and lower-skill occupations, represents one context in which the African American population has shrunk in rural Hudson Valley.

However, between 1997 and 2007, alongside three bellwether trends of agricultural decline— drops in overall acreage under agricultural production, large (>500 acres) farms, and dairy farms — came an *increase* in the number of small (<50 acre) farms. Most of this growth was driven by farms that were more likely to rent all or part of their land; to record low sales (under $10,000/year); and to depend greatly upon

local sales, their lack of scale precluding them from larger distribution systems (Glynwood Center 2010). Some might argue the rise in small farms reflects in part a statistical artifact: the Census of Agriculture includes small retirement and residential-lifestyle farms under this category, where farming and animal husbandry on premises are not the owner's primary occupation. In fact, this mode of "gentlemen's farm" is but one of many contributors to change in the rural Hudson Valley.

A new agriculture has materialized in the region's post-9/11 era, with a local impact outsized for its actual economic output. It's visible in the growing number of local farmers markets, on-premise farm stores, and community-supported agriculture enterprises. Locals and out-of-towners alike often know that the most bustling and celebrated farmers markets are found outside the normal suburban and urban centers, in villages like Ulster County's New Paltz (2010 pop. 6,818) and Dutchess County's Rhinebeck (2010 pop. 2,657). From award-winning cheese and organic maple syrup to hard cider and spirits made from local fruits and grains, value-added food products are a specialty of the region's agriculture — one reason why overall sales and investment have increased for Hudson Valley agriculture through 1997-2007. "Farm to table" is a buzzword among Hudson Valley restaurants (which seems to benefit disproportionately from the Food Network's NYC headquarters), regional tourism and lifestyle media, and the prestigious Culinary Institute of America (whose original campus is based in Hyde Park, Dutchess County). As this suggests, far beyond the old-fashioned "u-pick" apple orchards and pumpkin patches, Hudson Valley agriculture and tourism mutually support and enhance one another in a *rural amenity economy*.

Farms in the Hudson Valley, in contrast to further upstate (and U.S. agriculture on the whole), are overwhelmingly owned by individuals and families. Although the average farmer has grown older, farmers under the age of 25 constitute a growing share of the agricultural labor force. Meanwhile, women represent a small but growing share of farm operators (Glynwood Center 2010). As caretakers and inheritors of a 'new agrianism,' family farms, young farmers, and women farmers mobilize a significant level of community action. A number of non-profits provide support for the new agriculture through young farmer apprentice programs, farmer-landowner matching programs, and farm preservation. There are related economic and environmental benefits to farm preservation: small farms on winding back roads constitute a cherished source of open space in rural stretches, to be sightseen by day-trippers during the tourist season. Symbolically, the new agriculture motivates "buy local" behavior among community members, who may be further likely to volunteer or get politically motivated in community causes (Obach and Tobin 2011).

To be sure, the rural amenities and community action that draw upon the new agriculture typically demonstrate a color-blindness that can erase the growing role of Latin American migrant workers in Hudson Valley agriculture (Gray 2013). Instagrammed pictures of farmers markets and fund-raisers typically convey a sea

of white faces (see Alkon 2012). More generally, these racially and ethnically 'familiar' faces of American agrarianism are themselves often objectified — producers of the land reified into the landscape of consumption, lifestyle, and real estate in the Hudson Valley.

The rural amenity economy

Agri-tourism; culinary tourism; marquee-level cultural events and institutions; and the exploration of "old fashioned" local stores and village ambiance of certain upstate towns sit alongside an array of older attractions (e.g., outdoor recreation, historical destinations, national parks, county fairs) in generating intensified media attention to and tourism activity in the Hudson Valley's rural amenity economy. Outsiders who descend upon the area hail mostly from the NYC metro area; in 2014, for instance, top states for tourists to Dutchess County included New York (#1), New Jersey (#2), and Connecticut (#4) — i.e., the tri-state NYC metro area (Vrba 2015). Their tourism activities and destinations highlight a post-modern form of tourism practice: a consumption of culture, landscape, and way of life thought to inhere to specific qualities of local place (Urry 1995). Insofar as metro area tourists are motivated by a self-conscious (and sometimes explicitly social preservationist; cf. Brown-Saracino 2009) desire to appreciate the area for its 'intrinsic' qualities, and to record their experiences in images and recollections that can be shared 'back home' (often on social media), this consumption of place reveals a curatorial impulse and reflexive rejection of mass society (placeless landscapes, mainstream popular culture, etc.) that often animates the interest in "artisanal" cultural goods and services back in the city (Ocejo 2017). Hudson Valley locals simply call these city folks "Brooklyners".

Day trips and overnight stays remain the typical lengths of visit for tourists to the Hudson Valley, but a significant minority stays longer in vacation homes, second homes, and weeks split between NYC and the Hudson Valley. Insofar as these activities affect the population composition and real estate market of particular places, locals contend a "Brooklynization of the Hudson Valley" is underway. In fact, there are at least three groups of "Brooklyners," their actual place of origin notwithstanding. One is a wealthy class of households who purchase large parcels in rural towns and prestigious villages, with new or finely renovated old houses often set back from public view — a practice of elite NYC residence in the Hudson Valley that goes back at least to 19th-century robber barons like Cornelius Vanderbilt. A second group is creative class households from media, cultural, and art/design sectors who work remotely from their industies' base in the metro area for at least part of the week. They may not consider themselves affluent, at least by NYC standards, but they benefit from the lower cost of living (and, in some towns, easier access to quality schools) that they find in the Hudson Valley. A third group is a seasonal tourist class — single people, childless couples, and families — for whom the Hudson Valley is "the new Hamptons," reputedly without the status-seeking and "been there, done that" competition associated with that older vacation area (cf. Dolgon 2005).

These so-called Brooklyners' effects on municipal populations and housing markets are complex, however. To be sure, places popular with outsiders can be indicated by the cost of real estate, which spike significantly when these metro area residents bid on housing. As an example, Table 6 below lists the top ten municipalities in one county, Dutchess, based on price for a single family detached house for 2003-11. I report average home sale prices, which are skewed by disprortionately expensive sales, to highlight the bidding power of NYC metro area homebuyers. Dutchess County is revealing insofar as historically it's increasingly bisected by the metro area suburban radius, which has subsumed the southern county along with Putnam and Orange Counties.

Table 6: Highest average home sale prices for Dutchess County, 2003-11

Rank	2003	2007	2011
1	Washington ($664,277)	Washington ($1,032,530)	Washington ($2,279,690)
2	Stanford ($558,281)	Pine Plains ($638,700)	V. Tivoli ($1,667,500)
3	North East ($558,083)	North East ($616,500)	Stanford ($592,125)
4	V. Millbrook ($392,500)	Rhinebeck ($580,774)	North East ($486,875)
5	Milan ($386,488)	Stanford ($561,085)	Amenia ($484,961)
6	Union Vale (374,610)	V. Millbrook (547,461)	Beekman ($425,804)
7	Pawling ($372,558)	Pawling ($545,416)	Clinton ($403,393)
8	V. Pawling ($370,520)	Clinton ($532,939)	Milan ($392,708)
9	Clinton ($363,829)	Milan ($511,309)	Red Hook ($373,180)
10	East Fishkill ($354,650)	V. Rhinebeck ($487,977)	Union Vale ($362,635)

Source: Mid-Hudson MLS (www.midhudsonmlshomes.com)

The list of places where average home sales exceed half a million dollars is dominated by sprawling rural towns with the center of gravity in northeast Dutchess County: Washington, Stanford, North East, Pine Plains, Milan, Clinton, and Rhinebeck, none of which had populations in 2010 exceeding 5,000 residents. In these towns, prestigious old homes and newly built mansions nestle alongside farms and land preserves; some places trade upon long-standing reputations of patrician status (e.g., Washington, which surrounds the tony village of Millbrook), while others are still known as working agricultural communities. (The tiny village of

Tivoli, where only three houses sold in 2011, shot to second place that year on the basis of one multi-million dollar sale.)

The bottom half of this table includes the older technoburbs of southern Dutchess County: Pawling, East Fishkill, Beekman, Union Vale. Census statistics indicate this half of the county is the wealthiest section of Dutchess County, thanks to high-tech salaries; home sales here are far more voluminous (from 186 to 268 in East Fishkill alone for the three years observed here) yet not as stratospheric as in selected parts of the northern county. Significantly, the Metro North Railroad and the Taconic Parkway provide easy routes to the metro area, a conduit by which new metro residents can access an area stocked relatively with good schools, McMansion housing, malls and big box stores, and other suburban amenities.

This is of course just one Hudson Valley County. To the west across the river, Ulster County (similarly bisected by the metro area suburban radius) hosts a different set of "hot" real estate markets in small towns with different cultural textures, such as the hippie valhalla Woodstock, the college town New Paltz, the creative-class "Mayberry R.F.D." of Rosendale. In Columbia County, agriculture is even more predominant in the landscape, the better to hide away summer homes and artist retreats in Greenport, Ghent, and Germantown. In Greene County, rural getaways are practically built to suit (alongside authentic 1960s spiritual communes) in remote towns like Oak Hill, while Catskills ski resorts welcome seasonal vacationers to mass-produced resort condos.

Dynamics of decline and revitalization

Real estate supply does not quite meet demand out in the Hudson Valley as one might expect it to in urban and suburban areas, i.e., by stimulating new housing construction. New residential development at a scale beyond single lots is limited in the Hudson Valley's northern half, and rare at prices affordable to local working families. Consequently, metro area homebuyers draw upon the existing housing stock, from high-end mansions to less pretentious village and rural housing that can be repurposed from creative lifestyles. Thus, "Brooklynization" entails replacing segments of the existing population, particularly families who are displaced by costs of living and stagnant job opportunities.

Additionally, metro area in-migrants don't generally replace Hudson Valley out-migrants one for one, for two reasons. One is that "Brooklyners" bring smaller households: few school-age children, empty nesters with no school-age children, or childless singles and couples. This is suggested by Table 5, presented earlier, which shows changes in the proportion of three different working-age adult brackets. Since the new millennium, the region has fallen further below the state baseline for 25-34 year olds — a cohort populated by recent college graduates (whose exit creates a familiar upstate "brain drain") and young working-family householders. The region most closely approaches the state norm for 35-44 year-olds, a cohort even more squarely located in the young family householder bracket; still, the shrinking of this group over time is a troubling consequence of the region's

economic restructuring. In contrast, the Hudson Valley is above the state norm for 45-54 year olds, a cohort entering into the empty nest stage and, for creative/professional workers, peak earning years. This represents the age bracket most likely to be enticed by the relative affordability of Hudson Valley real estate.

A second reason that metro area in-migrants don't replace Hudson Valley out-migrants one for one is that relocation needn't be an either/or proposition. The region's relative proximity to the metro area, accesible by commuter rail and major auto thoroughfares, makes split residence between the metro area and the Hudson Valley viable to many creative workers and independent contractors. In "Brooklynized" areas of the Hudson Valley, many homes are sparsely occupied or vacant during the workweek, then come to life on weekends when farmers markets, restaurants, and even youth sports leagues teem with city people. A related issue is where these part-timers declare their legal residence. One Dutchess County real estate agent told me that up to a third of the tax documents associated with properties in Washington and Amenia are mailed to NYC zip codes. This is an espcially high number, but it underlines a characteristic feature of "Brooklynization" in these parts. Namely, *the increase in metro-area newcomers to the Hudson Valley rests upon processes of population decline* — both as precondition (e.g., the appropriation of out-migrants' housing and communities) and consequence (e.g., in-migrants' part-time and/or legally obscured residence in the Hudson Valley).

As an illustration, Table 7, below, identifies selected municipalities from the data presented earlier in Table 5: Municipal patterns of Hudson Valley population growth, 1990-2000 vs. 2000-2010. Some of the "hottest" Hudson Valley municipalities in terms of real estate values and media attention appear among the two categories of population decline, 9/11 depopulated and bypassed by 9/11: Washington, Woodstock, the cities of Beacon and Hudson, Rhinebeck (town and village), Rosendale, Catskill (town and village), Germantown, the village of Cornwall-on-Hudson. Two other categories, 9/11 turn-around and 9/11 coasted, suggest formative periods of population decline and slowing growth for other places with media buzz: the village of Cold Spring, the village of Millbrook, the village of Brewster, Amenia, Clermont, and Ghent. To be sure, these elements of population decline are by no means exclusive to buzzworthy places in the Hudson Valley — far less celebrated Hudson Valley municipalities simply lose population — but they do suggest a constitutive role for decline in places sustained by a rural amenity economy.

Table 7: Selected Hudson Valley municipalities based on patterns of population growth, 1990-2000 vs. 2000-2010

9/11 accelerated	9/11 coasted	9/11 turn-around	9/11 depopulated	Bypassed by 9/11
City of Poughkeepsie (DC)	City of Newburgh (OC)	Amenia (DC)	Washington (DC)	Woodstock (UC)
Clinton (DC)	Goshen (OC)	Hyde Park (DC)	City of Beacon (DC)	Hurley (UC)
Wappinger (DC)	East Fishkill (DC)	Highlands (OC)	Rhinebeck – town and village (DC)	City of Hudson (CC)
City of Kingston (UC)	Town of Poughkeepsie (DC)	New Windsor (OC)	Rosendale (UC)	Claverack (CC)
Village of New Paltz (UC)	North East (DC)	Village of Cold Spring (PC)	Esopus (UC)	Livingston (CC)
Saugerties (UC)	Village of Millbrook (DC)	Village of Chatham (CC)	Olive (UC)	Stockport (CC)
City of Middletown (OC)	Village of Brewster (PC)	Livingston (CC)	Germantown (CC)	Catskill – town and village (GC)
Woodbury (OC)	Clermont (CC)	Ellenville (UC)	Stuyvesant (CC)	Village of Athens
Kinderhook (CC)	Ghent (CC)	Denning (UC)	Village of Coxsackie (GC)	City of Port Jervis (OC)
Phillipstown (PC)	Town of Coxsackie (GC)	Windham (GC)	Kent (PC)	Village of Cornwall-on-Hudson (OC)

Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

URBAN LIFT-OFF IN THE HUDSON VALLEY

The important role of small rural towns highlights a larger process in the Hudson Valley's demographic and economic fortunes for the new millennium: a *symbolic restructuring* of the landscape and ways of life in these parts. From the rustbelt malaise generally associated with upstate New York, metro area residents have taken up a rustbelt romance with the Hudson Valley, which they view as a place they can "get away from it all" in terms of metro modes of work and life. As I turn now to the riverfront cities of the Hudson Valley, two questions motivate my analysis. One, are these cities finally recovering from the deindustrialization and urban crises that impacted them through the late 20th century? Two, is their fate connected, for better or worse, to the processes that have lifted many rural towns. As I show, the pattern for riverfront cities seems to diverge in two directions: "Brooklyn buzz" and ethnic transformation.

Hudson Valley urban hotspots

Three Hudson Valley cities have gained especially favorable attention from urban media and metro trend-setters: Beacon, Hudson, and Kingston. Beacon (2010 pop. 14,599) in Dutchess County probably takes the crown among these three, with art cognoscenti showering global interest following the 2003 opening of Dia: Beacon Gallery. "Gallery" hardly conveys the scale of this institution, which adapted a former Nabisco box factory and refurbished the original expansive floor plans,

wooden flooring and brick exteriors. Now over 160,000 square feet, Dia: Beacon houses large sculptures and sprawling panels that would be too expensive for NYC square footage, and too crowded for curatorial standards. Almost overnight, the museum made Beacon a must-see destination for art patrons and day-trippers from NYC, who can disembark at Beacon's Metro North station just five minutes away.

Over the next decade, distressed-brick buildings in Beacon hosted artist studios and art galleries (albeit of a lower echelon than the works gathered in Dia's collection), launching an art-based revitalization of the city. "Brooklyners" began moving up to the area, drawn by its refurbished reputation and 60-minute train ride to Manhattan, with a predictable consequence: a gentrification that has depopulated the city of some two hundred residents between 2000 and 2010 (see the "9/11 depopulated" column on Table 7).

At the far end of the Hudson Valley, Hudson (2010 pop. 6,713) in Columbia County has become another urban destination beloved of "Brooklyners." This began in the 1990s, when a pioneering Manhattan-based antiques dealer established storefronts along Warren Street, Hudson's main street. Others followed, and within years a rather unique, high-end antiques district developed, sustained by elite collectors and home decorators in the metro NYC area, the Hudson Valley, Albany (to the north), the Catskills (to the west) and Massachusetts' Bershires (to the east).

Hudson's small size inserted this retail gentrification cheek by jowl against an existing population entangled in population decline (see the "bypassed by 9/11" column on Table 7), drug trade, and poor public schools. By the new millennium, that urban frisson, as well the sense of accessible remoteness from NYC, attracted a small yet vocal group of bohemian exiles who publicized Hudson's charms to a broader community (see Botton 2013). One newcomer is Melissa Auf Der Maur, former bassist for 1990s grunge band Hole, who with her partner (filmmaker Tony Stone) acquired an old factory along the river in 2010 and transformed it into the Basilica Hudson, a seasonal performing arts center. In publicity for their annual Basilica Soundscape music festival to a NYC blog, Auf Der Maur described Hudson in rather "Brooklyn" terms:

> The atmosphere is the best of a picturesque historical antique town mixed with industrial wasteland, framed by Hudson river skies. It's a real urban mix set within a rural landscape, with a lot of Americana [David] Lynch-ian charm. A cool melange of small town characters and big city visitors — totally nuts and beautiful. Best of all worlds combined! (quoted in Carlson 2012)

The most recent urban hotspot in the Hudson Valley is Kingston (2010 pop. 23,893) in Ulster County. A city whose urban crisis bottomed out in 1990 (see the "9/11 accelerated" column on Table 7), Kingston benefits from its county's distinction as home to the biggest proportion of residents ages 25-34 (recall Table 5). (In fact Orange County has the same proportion of this age bracket, but for different

reasons, due to its residential role as affordable metro area bedroom community.) The proximity of SUNY New Paltz, the 4-year state college one Thruway exit to the south, may have stimulated Kingston's distinctive youthfulness, but recently the city has developed its own hipster infrastructure, including affordable bars, music venues and festivals on the indie-rock touring circuit, and a semi-professional soccer team owned by a Brooklyn dot-commer. As the southern gateway to the Catskills mountains, Kingston also diverts Airbnb vacationers on their journey into upstate recreations and off-the-beaten-path bohemias (e.g., Woodstock, Phoenicia).

The revitalization that Beacon, Hudson, and Kingston have experienced is one that seems to conform to the "creative city" formula proferred by Richard Florida and others bullish on small cities as NYC becomes less affordable. Among other results, these cities now face their own issues of polarized prosperity and housing shortages. These problems may hardly compare with the exhorbitant costs of living that city people deal with, but that offers little comfort to the working families and low-income residents that remember the time before Brooklynization.

A different path

By contrast, Poughkeepsie and Newburgh, the Hudson Valley's two other riverfront cities, generate a lot less "Brooklyn buzz." Local activists and boosters alike flinch at the negative press these cities have received in the past (e.g., Rivera 2010; Berger 1998) about criminal activity that indeed warrants headlines but nonetheless may overstate the singularity of their urban distress. To turn the page on their troubled reputations, city officials have promoted redevelopment of their waterfronts. In Newburgh (2010 pop. 28,866), this zone fronts blocks of historic houses now being reinvested in and rehabbed by "Brooklyners." In Poughkeepsie (2010 pop. 32,736), the river is the setting for a new Walkway Over The Hudson, which transformed the abandoned railroad bridge into the highest pedestrian bridge in the U.S. *Vogue* Magazine included the Walkway in a "weekend guide" for the Hudson Valley and Catskills, although tellingly the article made no mention of Poughkeepsie (Conrad 2014).

With distressed-brick real estate to spare, riverfronts now almost fully recovered from their industrial past, and viable transit for those seeking accessible remoteness, why haven't Poughkeepsie and Newburgh risen on the tide of "Brooklynization" that carries Beacon, Hudson, and Kingston? It is of course impossible to dismiss the possibility that the two cities might yet rise in the future, especially if the current urban hotspots build out in terms of their economic affordability or symbolic distinction. Still, certain characteristics shared by Poughkeepsie and Newburgh disadvantage them at present, and may constrain their revival under future waves of "Brooklynization."

One characteristic is *race and ethnicity*. Unlike Beacon, Hudson, and Kingston, Poughkeepsie and Newburgh began the millennium as the region's only "majority-minority" cities: the 2000 Census recorded 51 and 72 percent of their respective populations as something other than "white alone (not Hispanic)." By 2010

Poughkeepsie and Newburgh retained and strengthened that majority-minority status (56 and 80 percent, respectively), even though the other cities saw their proportion of white residents shrink as well. Likewise, Poughkeepsie and Newburgh began the millennium as the Hudson Valley's blackest cities (#1 and #2); Newburgh was the region's most Hispanic city, while Pougkheepsie was its third (after Beacon). In ten years, both cities retained these racial-ethnic distinctions. Insofar as the urban in-migration of so-called Brooklyners has a racialized aspect — involving mostly white faces, perhaps *seeking* mostly white faces — Poughkeepsie and Newburgh may not be favored destinations.

Poughkeepsie and Newburgh are also the *largest* cities of the Hudson Valley. As late as the last century, Poughkeepsie was acknowledged as the dominant city of the Hudson Valley demographically, commercially, and politically, while Newburgh held second place in what until 2013 was called the Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown Metropolitan Statistical Area. Arguably only one expectation that traditionally accompanies such size and stature has materialized in the new millennium: Poughkeepsie and especially Newburgh have become the region's chief "new immigration" destinations for Mexican and Latin American immigrants. Foreign immigration largely accounts for the two decades of sustained population growth that Poughkeepsie and Newburgh have experienced (as 9/11 accelerated and 9/11 coasted, respectively; see Table 7).

While all Hudson Valley cities might be considered 'small' cities by sociologists' standards, there may be features of Poughkeepsie and Newburgh's relative bigness that discourage Brooklynization. Their larger housing stock, often of poor quality and further depreciated after the 2007 subprime mortgage crisis, may depress the property value appreciation that gentrifiers are looking for. To newcomers, Poughkeepsie and Newburgh's urban problems may seem particularly glaring because they're not overshadowed or displaced by countervailing trends that make a bigger impact in smaller cities, as art-based and retail gentrification have in Beacon and Hudson. The thrust of the rural amenity economy in the Hudson Valley may very well have restructured Beacon, Hudson, and Kingston, symbolically and economically, under a similarly charged amenity infrastructure: "small town Americana," proximity to agricultural landscapes and outdoor recreations, etc. Poughkeepsie and Newburgh may be too big to suit the rustbelt romance motivating Brooklynization elsewhere in the Hudson Valley.

CONCLUSION

This paper identifies some larger features of urban and regional revitalization that sweep up small cities in the new millennium. To be sure, my focus on "Brooklynization" underscores how some spatial, economic, and symbolic features and processes may be specific to the NYC metro area. The fairly recent sweep of metropolitan restructuring across this region — as late as the 1980s in stretches closer to NYC, only now unfolding in the region's farthest reaches — reflects some

influence of geographic idiosyncrasy (e.g., topographical impediments to post-WWII metropolitan expansion of the kind seen in Long Island and New Jersey). Nonetheless, insofar as NYC is the base for the largest U.S. metro area, and insofar as "Brooklynization" has become the go-to North American byword for 21st-century processes of urban revitalization and community change in the creative economy, some implications are worth closer attention. It's useful to distinguish these implications along the demand side and supply side of urban change.

On the demand side, "Brooklynization" involves, firstly, distinct components of race-ethnicity and class, whereby urban out-migration and metropolitan extension is driven by predominantly white and educated individuals and households incorporated into culture-media, professional, and technological sectors. Their metropolitan modes of work, life, and leisure support particular modalities — a comfort with tourism and agriculture, a consumerist response to their work-life balance (see Nevarez 2011) — that draw upon traditions of racial-ethnic and class privilege in the U.S. This isn't to dismiss the original influences and on-going labor of non-white groups in the Hudson Valley, only to suggest that the new metro interest of the region has a predominantly white (and middle-to-upper class) face.

The Hudson Valley case further illustrates that "Brooklynization" involves distinct elements of the life course. Often, discussion about "Brooklyn hipsters" — in the NYC metro area, the Hudson Valley, and global media — points the spotlight on recent college graduates (e.g., the HBO television series *Girls*). While the demographic force of 25-34 year olds is undeniable in Brooklyn, that age bracket doesn't drive the so-called Brooklynization of the Hudson Valley. That role belongs to older groups, particularly 45-54 year olds, whose household wants/needs and discretionary income fuel consumption in real estate markets, tourism, and the new agriculture — the main engines of the Hudson Valley's revitalization.

On the supply side, "Brooklynization" reveals a pattern of population loss and household shrinkage in the places that attract metro area out-migrants. This backdrop of decline informs the residential "frontier" (to use the pointed language of gentrification) in which newcomers find footing: buying vacation homes; renting Airbnb units; and/or relocating wholesale while maintaining a foot in the NYC economy. Local dynamics of 'community decline' reflect exogenous factors (the accumulated impact of global deindustrialization, rising taxes, etc.), although the metropolitan context of economic hierarchy and suburban extension suggests possible endogenous factors or interactions as well. For instance, and in contrast to the common wisdom on urban and suburban migration, in the Hudson Valley a place's "vitality" in terms of population growth is by no means the chief signal that metro area out-migrants respond to.

Finally, this paper asserts the necessity of regional frameworks for tracking the divergent fortunes of small cities in the face of metropolitan restructuring. Not all "small cities" are alike. A variety of historical contingencies, local legacies, and path divergences enter into the question of which small cities receive "Brooklyn buzz"

and which ones don't. Certainly, urban primacy at the regional scale — a legacy that served Poughkeepsie, the Hudson Valley's largest city, right up until its urban crisis — offers no sure thing when small-city revitalization is driven by quality-of-life pursuits of the kind that shape the Hudson Valley's rural amenity economy. *Even smaller cities* may better balance the diverse appeals — a "small town" feel, a distressed-brick landscape, a proximity to rural landscape, the craft-like pursuit of agricultural and culinary knowledge — that draw Brooklyners for personal inspiration and community transformation.

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