

## Parks for Profit: The High Line, Growth Machines, and the Uneven Development of Urban Public Spaces

Kevin Loughran\*

*Department of Sociology, Northwestern University*

This paper investigates the growing inequality of public spaces in contemporary cities. In the era of neoliberal urbanism, stratified economic and cultural resources produce a spectrum of unevenly developed public parks, ranging from elite, privatized public spaces in wealthy districts to neglected parks in poor neighborhoods. Contemporary economic and cultural practices in public space are equally segmented, as privileged public spaces such as New York's High Line reflect the consumption habitus of the new urban middle class, while violence, disinvestment, and revanchist policing permeate public spaces on the urban periphery. Using New York's High Line as an archetypal neoliberal space, I trace its redevelopment from a decaying railroad viaduct to a celebrated public park. I argue that contemporary parks and public spaces are best analyzed on a continuum of privilege.

At the opening ceremony of New York's High Line in 2009, billionaire mayor Michael Bloomberg declared that the new park—built with much fanfare atop an old elevated railway—was “an extraordinary gift to [the] city's future” (Pogrebin 2009: C3). His statement placed him in a long tradition of politicians, city boosters, and urban planners who have collectively asserted that parks are built for the public good (Low et al. 2005). For centuries, parks have been closely related to ideas about democracy, public health, and civic virtue (Wolch et al. 2005; Joassart-Marcelli et al. 2011). But park development in the contemporary city has taken on a different complexion. Rather than existing for the broad public, new spaces such as the High Line in New York and Millennium Park in Chicago represent an effort by city governments and elite private interests to leverage parks for profit.

The group of elite political, economic, and cultural actors<sup>1</sup> that came together to redevelop the High Line represents what Harvey Molotch (1976) famously termed the “growth machine.” Molotch argues that “growth” is the driving force of all cities, as the economic benefits that accumulate through urban growth provide incentive for elites to act collectively in ways that structure further growth. In Bloomberg's New York, neoliberal

\*Correspondence should be addressed to Kevin Loughran, Department of Sociology, Northwestern University, 1810 Chicago Avenue, Evanston, IL, 60208; k.loughran@u.northwestern.edu.

I thank Robin Bartram, Jordan Cornwell, Juliette Galonniez, John Robinson, and my colleagues from the Northwestern University graduate writing seminar for helping make this paper a finished product. Hilary Silver and the editors and anonymous reviewers of *City & Community* provided many helpful comments in the review process. Advice and encouragement from Herbert Gans, Catherine Fennell, Shamus Khan, Josh Whitford, and Ryan Hagen was crucial to framing my thinking about the High Line. I am especially grateful to Gary Alan Fine, Wendy Griswold, Greg Smithson, and Caroline Graham for their support.

*City & Community* 15:1 March 2014

doi: 10.1111/cico.12050

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