

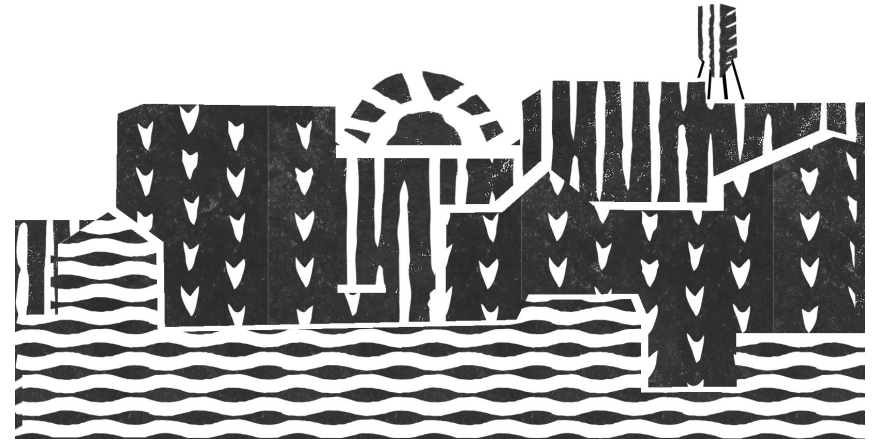
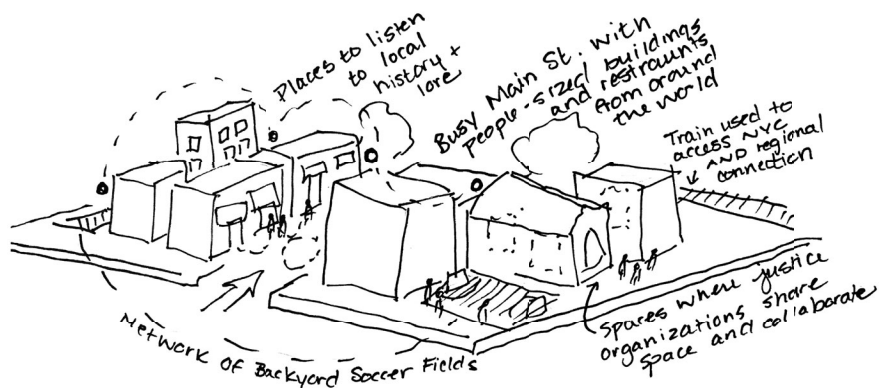
"HORIZONTAL DEVELOPMENT  
is an invitation to imagine new  
forms of city life and new ways  
for cities to work.

It starts with the idea that development  
should be based on the quality of life  
of all of a city's residents, rather  
than on economic growth for the wealthy.

Horizontal development is urban development  
that centers the margins, highlights  
diversity, celebrates the specificities of  
place, and is accountable to those  
impacted by the racist and classist policies  
of vertical development past and present."

— DS4SI

An example of horizontal development  
in Orange, NJ looks like this:



# HORIZONTAL DEVELOPMENT

equitable development  
for city-makers



by University of Orange & DS4SI

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### **About DS4SI**

The Design Studio for Social Intervention is dedicated to changing how social justice is imagined, developed and deployed in the United States. Situated at the intersections of design practice, social justice, public art, and popular engagement, DS4SI designs and tests social interventions with and on behalf of marginalized populations, controversies and ways of life. Founded in 2005 and based in Boston, DS4SI is a space where activists, artists, academics and the larger public come together to imagine new approaches to social change and new solutions to complex social issues.

**[ds4si.org](http://ds4si.org)**

## About UofO

This report was written by Molly Kaufman and Aubrey Murdock, with research by Nupur Chaudhury, Holly Barszcz, and Andrew Tucker. Design by Aubrey Murdock. We are a collective of researchers with the Cities Research Group in the Urbanism Department of the University of Orange, a free school in Orange, NJ. When we started our free school in Orange, NJ it was our aim to learn how to mend physical and social fractures that have resulted from Serial Forced Displacement, while also keeping our eye on the current forces causing instability. At the UofO we say that anything you want to know about the American city you can learn in Orange, NJ. The city is a university. To graduate from the University of Orange and earn a Be Free Degree, students have to take two courses, vote (in any type of election), volunteer, attend a city meeting, and have fun with their neighbors. Students can graduate every year. All of our classes are offered for free and led by volunteers. Past courses have included guitar playing, beer making, civics, meditation, dance, and more. We share our approach to urbanism through an annual spring placemaking event and our annual winter program, Jan Term. In both we invite organizers, designers, educators, and other practitioners to join us as urbanists in residence. We learn from other places by collaborating on projects and welcoming outside students and teachers.

[universityoforange.org](http://universityoforange.org)

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## DEAR CITY DWELLER:

In 2015 our organization, the University of Orange, made a film called “The Domino Effect.” This short film revisited our friend Havana Fisher in her home in Harlem. As a teenager she’d been part of a summer program that explored neighborhood parks as community resources. After years of neighborhood organizing, the parks received an influx of funding. At the same time, many of the former summer program participants were being priced out of the neighborhood. So it was important to ask ‘why invest in the parks now?’ And ‘for whom?’ Through “The Domino Effect” we explored “Serial Forced Displacement,” which we’ll discuss more in the next section, a series of policies that set the stage for the type of displacement we’re seeing today in U.S. cities. We close the film by asking:

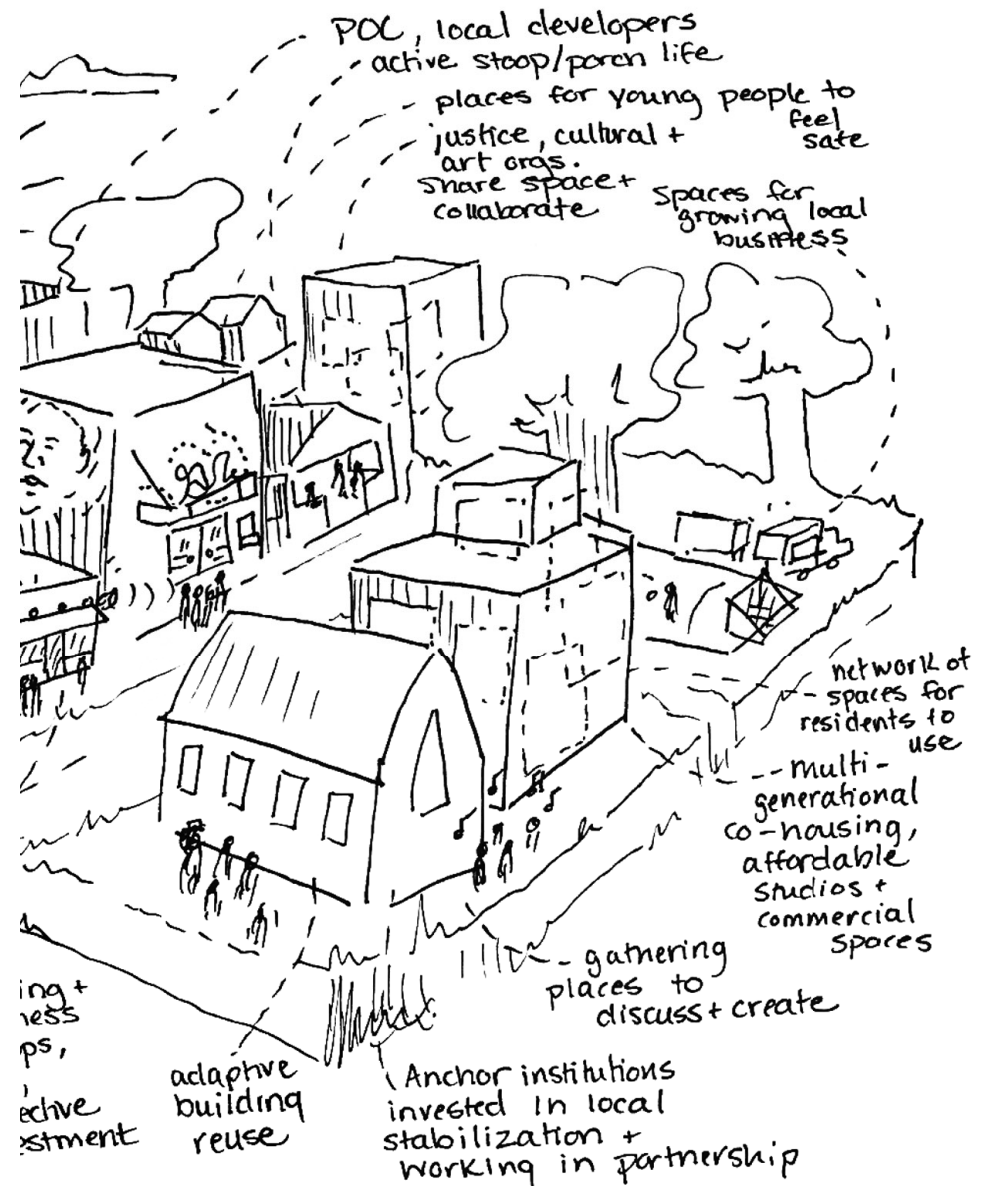
### How can we facilitate neighborhood change that isn’t harmful to the people in the neighborhood?

In many ways, we’ve been exploring this question ever since. We are a free people’s school and community organization based in Orange, New Jersey. In Orange, we offer classes about urban planning and community organizing. Orange is a thirty minute train ride outside of New York City, and we can feel the pressure of development that threatens to displace residents. Our city, like many others, is a special place with neighbors from all over the world. You can walk the 2.2 square miles of Orange and have food from the Caribbean, Italy and Central America. Our public schools have 72 nationalities represented. For us, equitable development means we can stay in place, because together all of us make the city.

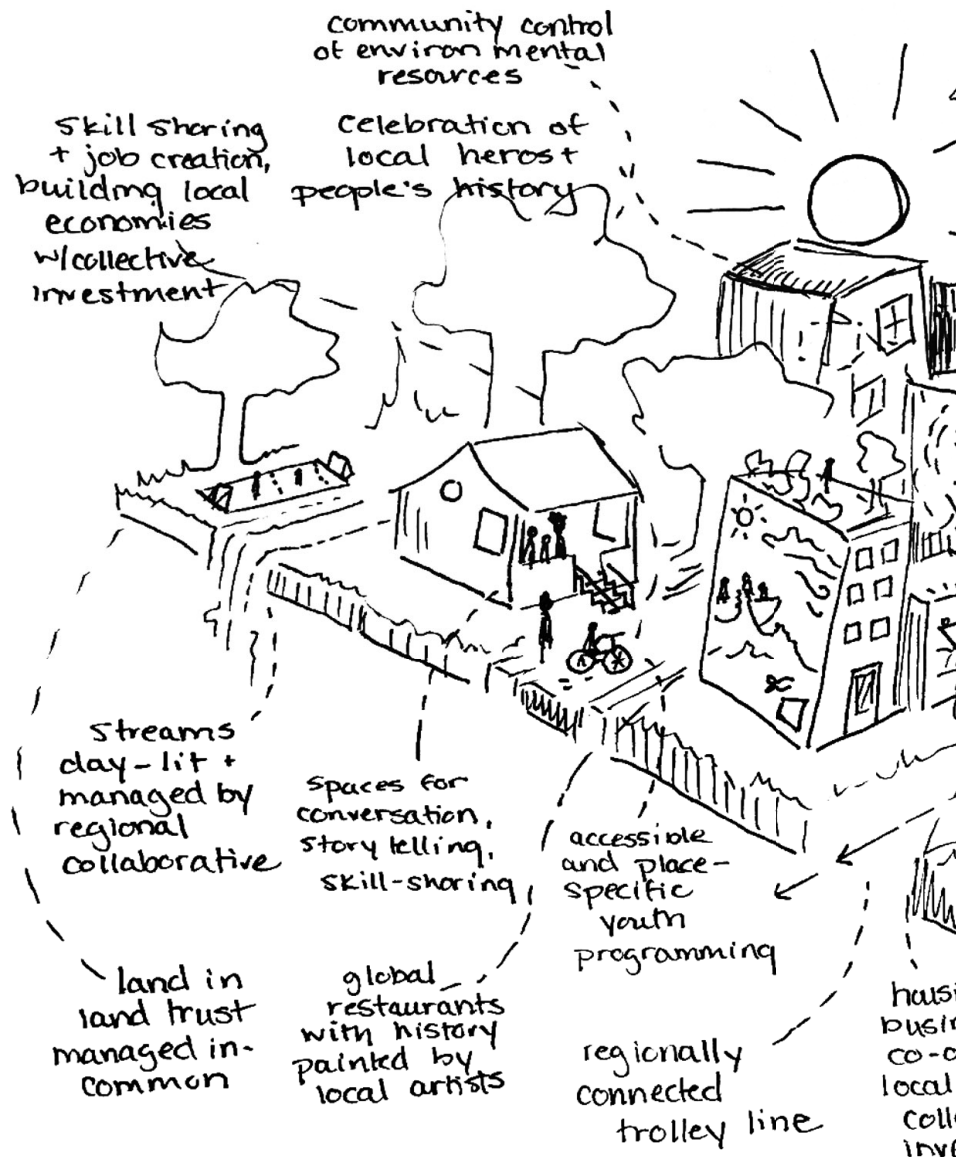
The Design Studio for Social Intervention (DS4SI) developed the concepts “Horizontal Development” and “Vertical Development” to describe the processes that are actively shaping our neighborhoods and cities. The word “development” is used because development is valued and prioritized in a way that relational growth is not. Together we’re taking back the term and using the contrasting qualifiers of “vertical” and “horizontal” to expand the meaning, precisely describe our conditions and open up possibilities for action.

*“The adjacent possible is a kind of shadow future, hovering on the edges of the present state of things, a map of all the ways in which the present can reinvent itself.”*

- Steven Johnson



## THE LANDSCAPE OF ADJACENT POSSIBILITY



**Vertical Development** is a driver of Serial Forced Displacement and benefits from it. Vertical Development is urban development that prioritizes growth, aims to attract new residents, and is described as progress with terms like ‘renewal’, ‘redevelopment’, ‘positive gentrification’ and ‘jobs creation.’ Vertical Development looks to maximize profits for real estate developers or to increase land values for city or local government. This form of development is often facilitated by real estate developers, planners and public administrators, and various types of consultants. Vertical models of development are almost always organized as private ownership models or opportunities. Vertical Development limits not only ownership of resources but especially limits access to resources and encourages the consolidation of both access and ownership to a small, very wealthy section of the global population.<sup>1</sup> Current real-estate and property development practices are nearly always Vertical Development.

**Horizontal Development** is urban development that prioritizes benefits for the community within which it is located. This includes benefits for youth, families, artists, merchants, elders, etc. It is bottom up, diverse, place specific and resident-focused. Horizontal Development may look different from place to place because it is built upon the assets of specific communities and particular places.

In this booklet we’ll look at case studies of Horizontal Development, including our own experiences in Orange. We’ve also included interviews from a mayor and developers. Throughout, you’ll find activities that you can do individually or with a group, to workshop key concepts of Horizontal and Vertical Development. These are all activities we’ve done at the University of Orange. We offer this guide so we can all explore what Horizontal Development looks like to us in the places we live, so we can create spaces that support our rights to be, thrive, express, access and connect.

### In Solidarity,

The University of Orange Urbanism Department

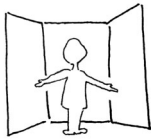
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<sup>1</sup> Jesse C. Ribot & Nancy Lee Peluso, “A Theory of Access,” Rural Sociology 68 (2003): 153-181.

## HORIZONTAL DEVELOPMENT IS:



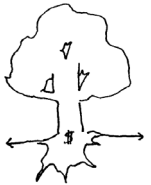
### **Context & Place Responsive:**

Celebrates the specificities of place and its local cultures, habits and habitats



### **Inclusive & Inviting:**

Community driven and easily accessible to the public



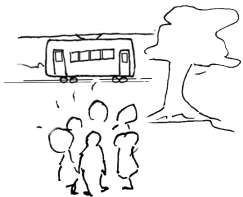
### **Benefits the Community:**

Prioritizes investment in local residents, businesses, and organizations, grows jobs for local workforce, increases affordable housing and commercial spaces



### **Thriving Arts & Culture:**

Supports local practices of arts and culture, and creates collaborative and affordable studios, workspaces, venues and educational spaces



### **Just Public Life:**

Accessible, welcoming and free/low cost public amenities like public space and transportation



### **Lifelong Learning:**

Provides educational spaces where neighbors of all ages learn from one another



### **Equitable Investment:**

Creates opportunities to invest in developers of color and for residents to be investors in development in financial and non-financial ways

## ACTIVITY 7 Your Future City

Individually or with members of your community, make an expansive list of all the horizontal development you see in your city.

*What else would you like to see in your city? What would you like to taste, smell, hear and touch?*

**Draw your future city with elements of the existing Horizontal Development and your dreams for the future.**

## The Landscape Of Adjacent Possibility

The “adjacent possible” is a concept shared with us by the Design Studio for Social Intervention, created by theoretical biologist Stuart Kauffman. In the Design Studio’s paper “Redlining the Adjacent Possible: Youth and Communities of Color Face the (Not) New Future of (Not) Work,” referenced earlier in this guide, popular science author Steven Johnson describes the term this way: “The adjacent possible is a kind of shadow future, hovering on the edges of the present state of things, a map of all the ways in which the present can reinvent itself.”<sup>1</sup> The drawing on the following page uses the cumulative Horizontal Landscapes from the case studies and asks what if? What else is possible?

.....  
<sup>1</sup> <https://www.ds4si.org/writings/2015/12/29/redlining-the-adjacent-possible-youth-and-communities-of-color-face-the-not-new-future-of-not-work>

## ACTIVITY 6 Seeing from the Ground Up

How can we begin to see differently? Who do we need to work with to create a different future? What adjacent possibilities can we imagine together?

Watch 95cm by Istanbul's Center for Spatial Justice (Mekanda Adalet Derneği, MAD)

[vimeo.com/331757345](https://vimeo.com/331757345)

*How are each of these children seeing the city differently?*

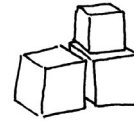
*How are their lived experiences shaping their world view?*

*Did you notice anything new from these perspectives?*

*How might we involve young people in creating the adjacent possible?*

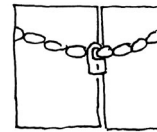
*What other perspectives are we missing? How can we engage them and uplift their knowledge?*

## VERTICAL DEVELOPMENT IS:



### **Context & Place Generic:**

A specific visual aesthetic that is not unique to that place, as corporations and developers use the cheapest, most generic means of creating the built environment



### **Exclusive & Alienating:**

Processes are often opaque with insider language and systems that are slanted towards folks already "in the know," and do not always involve the community



### **Benefits Those in Power:**

From "RFPs" that bundle properties and benefit large scale developers to federal; policies that advantage mergers, vertical development woos and rewards the already wealthy



### **Inequitable Investment:**

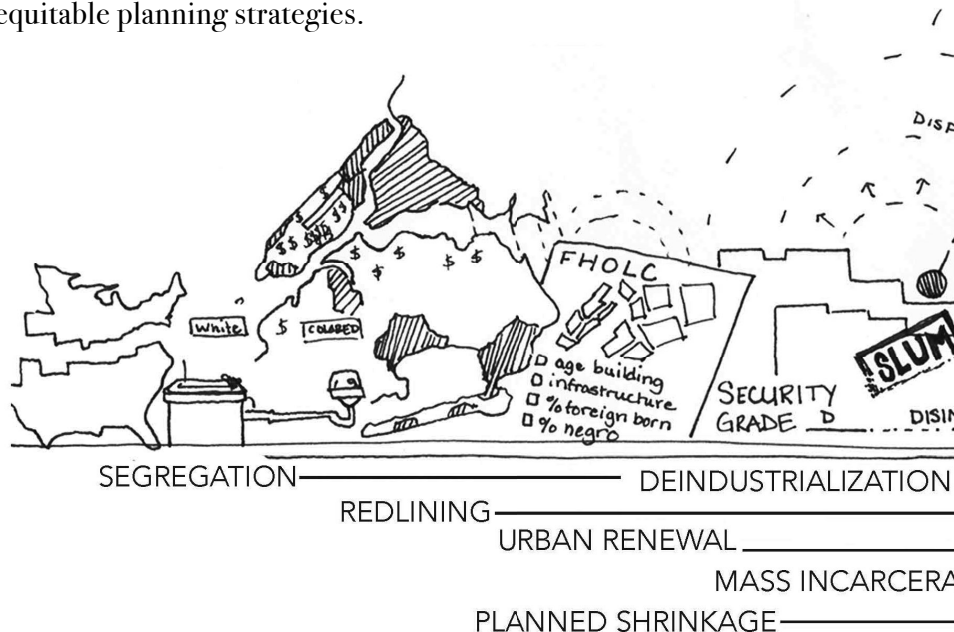
Fails to invest in local developers of color and residents, fails to see residents as important investors in their communities in financial and non-financial ways, and uses federal funding to actually support rampant speculative investment that displaces residents

## HOW DID WE GET HERE?

### Serial Forced Displacement and the Fractured City

Dr. Mindy Fullilove and Dr. Rodrick Wallace teach that urban fracture is caused by a series of policies that have “sorted” American cities by race and class. They traced the effects of segregation, redlining, urban renewal, deindustrialization, mass incarceration, HOPE VI, the foreclosure crisis, and gentrification. Because all of these policies displaced the same vulnerable populations, they named this “Serial Forced Displacement.” Serial Forced Displacement is a particularly grave threat to population health because it repeatedly attacks the very foundation of human health: the stable neighborhood that has intergenerational knowledge of how to survive in a given place. Displacement traumatizes people and destroys wealth of all kinds. Repeated displacement takes even more of the wealth and integrity of the weakened population.

However, people are “making” the cities they live and work in everyday. They are investing in their neighbors and building systems together that benefit their neighborhoods. The term Horizontal Development includes this scale of relational work, along with other equitable planning strategies.



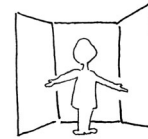
“anchor institution” as a resource that builds comprehensive neighborhood stability without centering itself as an institution. The ability to work so deeply and adaptively over time is possible because the work is not issue-based but place-based. As Aviva said:

**We aren’t going to do one year projects and talk about transformation.**

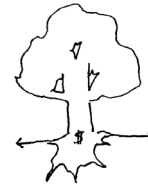
### The Village illustrates these principles of Horizontal Development:



**Context & Place Responsive:**  
Celebrates the specificities of place and its local cultures, habits and habitats



**Inclusive & Inviting:**  
Community driven and easily accessible to the public



**Benefits the Community:**  
Prioritizes investment in local residents, businesses, and organizations, grows jobs for local workforce, increases affordable housing and commercial spaces



**Thriving Arts & Culture:**  
Supports local practices of arts and culture, and creates collaborative and affordable studios, workspaces, venues and educational spaces



**Just Public Life:**  
Accessible, welcoming and free/low cost public amenities like public space and transportation



## CASE STUDY 5

### The Village of Arts and Humanities, Philadelphia

The Village of Arts and Humanities is a cultural and community center in North Central Philadelphia that spans blocks and includes arts education spaces, community murals, a farm, resident studio spaces and community meeting spaces. The Village's 100 Families Project, still in its design phase, is focused on equitable development without displacing people. The project marks the organization's long term commitment to eliminating systemic poverty. The Village is committing to providing 100 families with 100 jobs and 100 homes over 100 years.

The work is led by the Leaders and Builders, a self-selecting resident group that has been working together alongside community organizers at The Village. In this resident-led model, collective learning is used to build an informed base. They began by exploring their neighborhood and personal histories as well as the economic and political forces that shaped them. They worked together to the geographic area of their neighborhood. As the collective identifies questions, they invite designers, architects, developers and researchers to consult with the team.

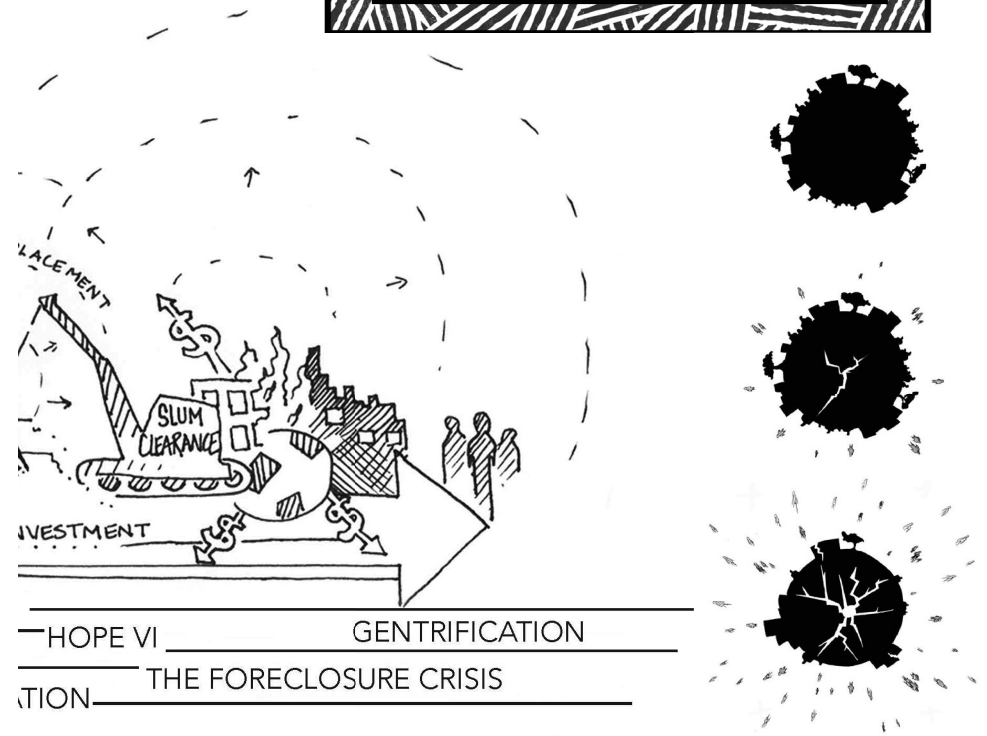
*Our job, as The Village, is bringing in as many resources as possible, all the resources that gentrifiers have. The reality is we are a trusted and ethical gatekeeper, so we need to bring resources and bend the trajectory.*

-Aviva Kapust, Executive Director,  
The Village of Arts and Humanities

The Village is using the long term thinking of real estate developers and planners to make a real and substantial commitment to the place and the people, over a one hundred year time period. This is a compelling example for other long-time, land-owning organizations in communities affected by systemic poverty and at risk of displacement. Through this work, the organization is redefining

Increasingly, this bottom up, diverse, place specific and resident-focused development is under pressure. Vertical Development requires a growing surplus of land. The "human chess" of Serial Forced Displacement has traditionally held land inhabited by working class communities and communities of color at a low value. Residents in these places often needed to engage in Horizontal Development to create their own infrastructure and systems of support. In some cases this land is held in common or owned publicly, and managed collectively. These robust horizontal networks come under threat as land is acquired and privatized with the promise of "development." We can see this pressure expressed clearly in the field of affordable housing, and the cost burden effect this has on all other realms of city-dwellers' lives and stability.

### Serial Forced Displacement from The Domino Effect



## ACTIVITY 1

### Borders, Boundaries & Friction Points

Watch *The Domino Effect*, a short film created by the University of Orange. This short film outlines the legacy of Serial Forced Displacement, a vital concept to understand when investigating Vertical Development. You can find the film at:

[vimeo.com/192820382](https://vimeo.com/192820382)

After watching the film, imagine a border, boundary or friction point in your neighborhood or city. It can be built, observable or invisible but sensed.

*Why do you think the border or boundary exists? How and why was it created?*

*How is the border or boundary maintained? And by whom?*

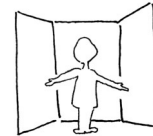
*Imagine what it would be like if the border or boundary no longer existed. What does it feel like? Smell like, taste like, look like?*

**The Boston Ujima Project illustrates these principles of Horizontal Development:**



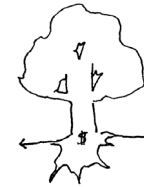
#### **Context & Place Responsive:**

Celebrates the specificities of place and its local cultures, habits and habitats



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#### **Benefits the Community:**

Prioritizes investment in local residents, businesses, and organizations, grows jobs for local workforce, increases affordable housing and commercial spaces



#### **Equitable Investment:**

Creates opportunities to invest in developers of color and for residents to be investors in development in financial and non-financial ways

## CASE STUDY 4

### The Boston Ujima Project, Boston

Ujima is Swahili for “collective work and responsibility,” and the group of multi-stakeholders follow this principle to make their own community-controlled economy work. **Members pool their resources into a community fund, and everyone involved has a say in how to best allocate those resources.** Members are a collective of neighbors, workers, business owners, investors, and members of unions and civic and faith based organizations.

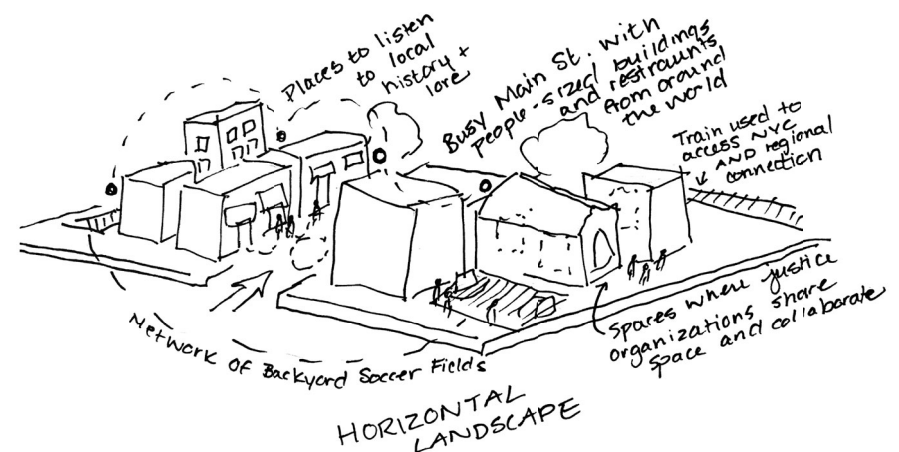
Rather than adhering to the top-down system of finance, Ujima is “an ecosystem for change,” because they are uplifting voices that are left out of decision making in the city and creating opportunities for those who have been affected by the repercussions of serial forced displacement. The group held its first Ujima Solidarity Summit in the summer of 2016, where they pooled over \$20,000 from over 175 people to invest in five black and immigrant owned local businesses.

Those involved in Ujima meet in neighborhood and city “assemblies” to discuss what is best for those neighborhoods and Boston as a whole, and how to invest their controlled capital of pooled resources in businesses and projects they believe in. Each person has one vote, no matter how much they have invested individually. Their economic model centers working class communities of color in the greater Boston area, and they are able to choose which projects and practices they want to support. Ujima has a Good Business Alliance that supports businesses receiving funding from Ujima with various forms of assistance, like creative organizing and technical assistance, and cooperative purchasing to help strengthen the businesses. Ujima is a model for collective investment and collaborative governance that centers working class communities of color.

## WELCOME TO ORANGE, NJ

In Orange, New Jersey there is a network of backyard soccer fields, a community center that hosts monthly potluck dinners and our free school where neighbors share their skills with each other. There is also luxury housing advertised on the sides of former factory buildings. The residents of this housing enjoy close access to the midtown direct train with a 30 minute ride to New York City, a recently day-lit section of the Rahway River, and new street lights. Large infrastructure projects and relationship building are both essential parts of making a city. Yet, we see Vertical Development, larger privately developed projects, as the main focus of many city plans.

Currently in Orange as in the rest of the US, we are faced with what we have described as “an extraordinary affordable housing crisis.” The July 2019 issue of *Harper's Magazine Index* states that there are only 22 counties in the United States where a person with a full time, minimum wage job can afford a one bedroom house; there are zero counties where they can afford a two bedroom. This housing predicament has led to a situation where a higher proportion of low-income people are paying a large share of their income for shelter.



The 2006 Orange City Master Plan measured 30% of homeowners and 40% of renters as cost burdened. A 2017 United Way study shows 65% of Orange homeowners are cost burdened. That means the number more than doubled in the last ten years. This is the highest level in Essex County and in northern New Jersey. That is a rapid increase.

The state of affordable housing is a byproduct of the mechanism of Vertical Development. During periods of potential economic recession, State-led initiatives to provide fair and affordable housing are continually rolled back, and risky financial products linking housing to the private market are rolled out. The strategy is simple: offset the risk to government and onto individuals and families. Raquel Rolnik, UN Special Rapporteur on adequate housing, claims that this offset of risk was taught to cities by the World Bank. Inflating real estate prices was a strategic economic maneuver in a moment of stagnant wages. New homeowners were brought into this scheme through risky mortgages and loans. As we've seen, bubbles burst, bad mortgages come due, and now we continue to live through a major eviction crisis.

## **VERTICAL DEVELOPMENT & HORIZONTAL DEVELOPMENT FROM OUR PERSPECTIVE**

In 2008, when we founded the University of Orange, we were hired by a local Community Development Corporation to write a plan for a part of the city we called "The Heart of Orange." This neighborhood included a historic, thriving Main Street, a train station, businesses that have been in the same family for generations, public housing, large single family homes, businesses that serve the city's many immigrant communities, a Colonial Era graveyard and more. But Orange has also suffered from the effects of Serial Forced Displacement. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, many residents and community institutions were displaced to make way for the construction of an Interstate highway that slices through the neighborhood. Once an industrial center, the last factory closed in the 1980s. In 2008 the foreclosure crisis hit Orange hard, and the city has yet to recover. Because the city is only 30 minutes by train to midtown Manhattan, gentrification in the form of transit-oriented development is now a threat.



This activity comes to us from our colleagues Catherine R. Brown and William Morrish, who said that before people begin a neighborhood planning process they should commit that they **plan to stay**.

*What brought you to where you live?*

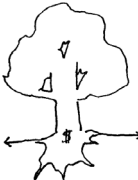
*What would it take for you to be able to stay?*

This activity can be used as an opening question for a gathering or it can be the content of a gathering--a way to dig deeper together as a group. When we ask these questions we hear an individual's history with a place and assets of places. We also hear fears, anxieties and pressures. The Planning to Stay questions ground us and guide us in moving forward in a process where we reinvest in place.


is a co-owner and co-developer of the building, which now houses numerous black owned businesses, arts venues and apartments that are both market rate and permanently affordable units. A project in development, the 1800 Onzaga, has the goal of providing permanently affordable commercial spaces to nonprofits and small businesses so that they will never be priced out.

The Crescent City Community Land Trust is taking back land ownership, preserving affordability and protecting neighbors from real estate speculation and disaster capitalism.


**The CCCLT illustrates these principles of Horizontal Development:**



**Benefits the Community:**  
Prioritizes investment in local residents, businesses, and organizations, grows jobs for local workforce, increases affordable housing and commercial spaces



**Thriving Arts & Culture:**  
Supports local practices of arts and culture, and creates collaborative and affordable studios, workspaces, venues and educational spaces



**Equitable Investment:**  
Creates opportunities to invest in developers of color and for residents to be investors in development in financial and non-financial ways

We invited the French urbanist, Michel Cantal Dupart, to consult with us on the development of the plan in 2008. Cantal’s work uses the built environment to promote equity. During his visit to Orange he met with elected officials, residents of all ages, restaurateurs, firefighters and many others. He toured all around Orange and the region. He taught us that what we needed to do was create connections in the city. A key place for this was at our train station.

The Orange station is just a block off of Main Street, but when you exited the station you would never know Main Street was nearby. People got in their cars and left. How could we connect our station to our Main Street to improve the flow of the area? The area at the time was mostly used for parking, but Cantal told us it could be a vibrant plaza and place for gathering. There was nowhere in the station to buy a cup of coffee or a newspaper. We decided we could enact it as a fantastic public space. We would show people a possibility for how the space could be used that was not yet in existence - an adjacent possibility<sup>1</sup>. In DS<sub>4</sub>SI’s paper “Redlining the Adjacent Possible: Youth and Communities of Color Face the (Not) New Future of (Not) Work,” they quote author Steven Johnson describing the adjacent possible as “a kind of shadow future, hovering on the edges of the present state of things, a map of all the ways in which the present can reinvent itself.”<sup>2</sup>

The plaza had been named for a famous boxer from Orange named Tony Galento, known as Two Ton Tony. He was a local legend and larger than life. He had boxed a bear. We hosted a day called “Two Ton Tony Galento Plaza Day.” We surprised commuters with free coffee and newspapers on their way to work. In the evening we offered handmade benches to sit on, mini Jamaican patties and homemade lemon ice from local eateries, produce from a local garden and the chance to pose with murals of Tony and the Bear.

.....  
1 The “adjacent possible” is a concept shared with us by DS<sub>4</sub>SI, created by theoretical biologist Stuart Kauffman.

2 Steven Johnson, “The Genius of the Tinkerer” The Wall Street Journal, 25 September 2010; quoted in Lori Lobenstine & Kenneth Bailey, Redlining the Adjacent Possible: Youth and Communities of Color Face the (Not) New Future of (Not) Work, [https://static1.squarespace.com/static/53c7166ee4boe7db2be69480/t/5682b8071c12101f97a8b4df/1451407367281/Redlining+the+Adjacent+Possible\\_DS4SI.pdf](https://static1.squarespace.com/static/53c7166ee4boe7db2be69480/t/5682b8071c12101f97a8b4df/1451407367281/Redlining+the+Adjacent+Possible_DS4SI.pdf)



*Tony Galento Plaza Week in Orange, NJ*

### CASE STUDY 3

#### Crescent City Community Land Trust, New Orleans

*“Gentrification is really founded on the idea of displacing and flipping a neighborhood, and we believe in improving a neighborhood – making it a better place to live for our kids, for our families, for the elderly folks who live on this block. But we think that basing it in this way with the land trust model, where the land is owned by a trust that’s controlled by people who live in the neighborhood, that you can actually make a better place to live without displacing everyone.”*

- Brice White, a founding board member of Jane’s Place Neighborhood Sustainability Initiative Housing Association in NOLA


The Crescent City Community Land Trust is a resident-led non-profit organization in New Orleans. **CCCLT is dedicated to the equitable renewal of their city and to confronting systemic racism in the city’s built environment.** CCCLT purchases residential and commercial spaces and regulates the prices to offer permanent affordable rates to low-wealth individuals, families, entrepreneurs and non profit organizations. They keep properties affordable by holding the land in trust and in-common, meaning the property is held permanently in a trust that is collectively held and managed by participating community members. Through this mechanism that limits run-away property speculation, residents are able to stay in place.

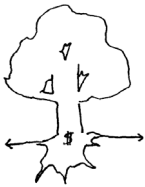
Currently CCCLT is offering for sale 10 community land trust homes in New Orleans’ Lower 9th Ward. The houses are 2-3 bedroom, 2 baths and payments are set at no more than 25 percent of the homeowner’s monthly income. The CCCLT has also taken part in the renovation of the Pythian--a historic building located in downtown New Orleans. The building dates back to 1909, built by the Colored Knights of Pythias that became a center point of the African American community during the era of Jim Crow. CCCLT


shoots portraits for the baker’s new website – everyone’s talents come together to create this incredible and rewarding environment.”

**The choice to adaptively reuse the school building and support the growth of local businesses and organizations is successfully generating a neighborhood economy.**

**The Bok Building illustrates these principles of Horizontal Development:**

 **Context & Place Responsive:**  
Celebrates the specificities of place and its local cultures, habits and habitats

 **Benefits the Community:**  
Prioritizes investment in local residents, businesses, and organizations, grows jobs for local workforce, increases affordable housing and commercial spaces

 **Thriving Arts & Culture:**  
Supports local practices of arts and culture, and creates collaborative and affordable studios, workspaces, venues and educational spaces

Soon we learned the City was going to designate a developer for this area. We were excited to share our vision for a plaza that could connect our train station to Main Street and neighbors to each other. We made plans to host a bench making contest at the station to teach people about public space as they were creating it. The City denied our permit to host our event at the station. We were told that they didn’t want public comment on the plans for the train station area. We went ahead with our contest on the nearby library lawn. We continued to try to influence the outcome of the area design, but little was done to use resources to create a welcoming, public space.

To this day if you step off the train in Orange you still might not know the way to Main Street, even though it is right there. A large, mixed-use building, constructed where the plaza might have been, curves protectively around the station. Rather than creating spaces and places in the built environment that welcome train passengers to the city of Orange, guiding their way to Main Street, the building blocks the city’s defining features and discourages flow outside of the station plaza.

In 2018 and 2019 the City of Orange released a new plan for Main Street and a new Master Plan. Our Urbanism Department wanted to analyze these plans through the lens of Horizontal Development and Vertical Development, so we could understand who was going to benefit from proposed developments. We built a team to study Orange planning documents. There were hundreds of pages to go through, so we divided them up and shared back what we read. In reading through the Main Street planning documents, we learned that the planning firm was proposing the city use eminent domain to take legal ownership of properties on Main Street. The eligible properties had to fit certain criteria for “condemnation” but many of these criteria were misleading. For instance, using sewer infrastructure older than 50 years could qualify a location. Almost all of the City of Orange would fit into this criteria. Once eminent domain was used, the properties would be given to a developer. The proposed development in some sections called for 5-10 story buildings, which is incredibly different than the existing character of Main Street. Most importantly, Orange’s Main Street is a bustling commercial area and vital part of the city’s fabric—far from the “underutilized” area described in these plans.

## CASE STUDY 2

### Bok Building, South Philadelphia

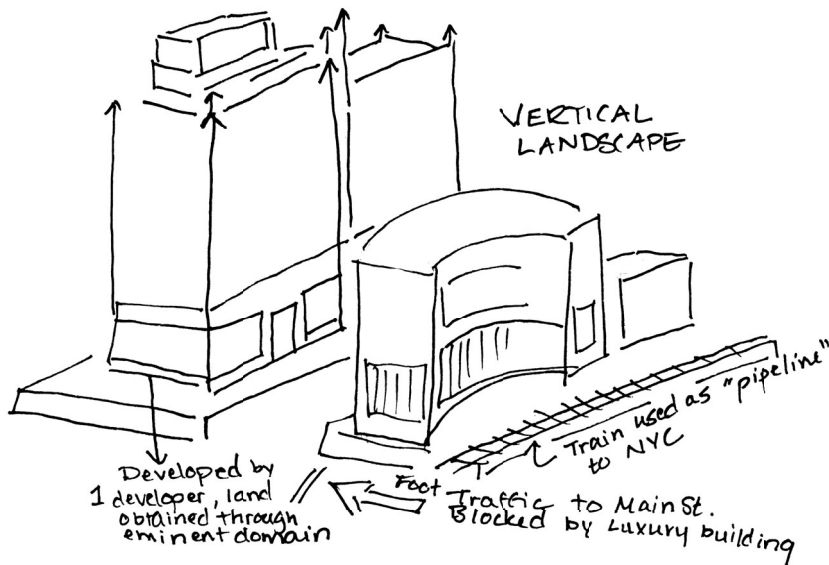
Edward W Bok Technical School in South Philadelphia shut its doors in 2013, after 77 years of use. School closures have become a common phenomenon in the United States. Twenty-two other schools in Philadelphia closed that same year, 50 in Chicago, and 70 more in Detroit. The school was up for public auction for developers but was ultimately purchased in 2015 by Scout Ltd, an urban design firm.

Bok Technical School was built in 1936 and takes up one full city block. A typical approach for a building site such as this may be to tear it down and court an 'anchor tenant', most likely a multinational corporation able to support the operations of a campus-type office center.

However Scout saw the existing building as an asset and chose to repurpose it with minor renovations as rental units for the surrounding neighborhood of artists and entrepreneurs in need of studio and work spaces.

The vision was to create a socially inclusive, economically viable, and physically attractive place to help drive economic development in the area without disruption to the landscape. The previously empty classrooms, an auditorium, gymnasium, and rooftop have been converted into studios, restaurants, offices, and event spaces. The Bok Building now houses nearly 150 tenants including a wholesale bakery, a daycare, a furniture maker, a hair salon, and several community based non-profit organizations. About 70% of the tenants live in South Philly, and 80% of businesses are self owned. It is seen as a space for creativity and collaboration.

One tenant, a ceramicist who owns a home a few blocks from Building Bok, explained to the Philadelphia Inquirer: "The furniture maker builds tables for the business next door, the letterpress artist illustrates earring cards for the jewelry maker, the photographer



We dedicated our 2019 UofO April Placemaking event to gathering people together to analyze the Main Street plan and explore our ideas about Horizontal Development. As people arrived at our event we asked: What gives a place value? What makes a place matter? What makes a place matter to you? We were joined by many longtime colleagues and friends as well as some newcomers, including a group of high school students. We asked participants to consider these responses as they walked Main Street in teams to see what was being considered for condemnation. Then we reflected on what we saw and the importance of Main Street. As one youth said, "I get everything I need on Main Street." The day reminded us of what we value on our Main Street and taught us that characteristics of Vertical Development include a lack of transparency. Almost no one we spoke to on our walks knew about the proposed plans. We are working to raise awareness.





**ACTIVITY 4**  
**Everyone has something to teach  
& everyone has something to learn**

At the University of Orange we believe that everyone has something to teach and everyone has something to learn. The following questions are a way to begin seeing the assets all around us. Learning Tree used similar questions to develop their asset based work and economic development strategies.

**What is something you can teach?**

**What is something you want to learn?**

You can use these questions in any context that seems right: an opening question for a gathering or as an organizing and connection strategy.



**RFPs EXPLORED**  
**Maygen Moore & Emmily De Los Santos**  
**Walk Us Through Development in New York City**

Both Emmily and Maygen have a background in real estate, with 23 total years in the field. Their experience ranges from private development, non profit development, development for private investors, and development for the city. They currently both work in housing. We spent time discussing the process of housing development in New York City with Maygen and Emmily. Below is a summary of our discussion. Although this section focuses on housing and real estate in New York City, it gives us insight to land development as a whole. Maygen and Emmily explained that the focal point of the housing development process in New York City is the **Request for Proposal (RFP)**.

**THE RFP PROCESS: Pre RFP**

Development RFPs commonly start with city-owned or state-owned land parcels. The development is usually politically driven, and it is often tied to an economic or housing development initiative. Based on that, the city ordinarily wants to create an assemblage of land or lots to redevelop. Examples of this include a housing initiative or goal set for a specific number of housing units, or the development of housing with a community center to serve the local community on the ground floor. Given these goals, key political figures—planning officials, housing directors and commissioners—will decide where they have an assemblage of city-owned or state-owned land. From there, they will develop an RFP for contractors to develop the land.

Often, there is community input when developing the RFPs; however, the process of receiving input and the way in which the input is integrated in RFPs is uneven: sometimes, input is achieved through a single meeting during the day, when residents are not able to attend. Other times, the input that is obtained fails to shape the RFP, and is included in a small, insignificant portion of the project. It is at this moment that community organizers, residents, or community groups might negotiate a community benefits agreement to be included in the RFP to ensure that local jobs and/or businesses are written into the RFP itself.

## THE RFP PROCESS: RFP Release

When the RFP is released, it is usually written in such a way that there are already specific parameters around income ranges for housing and how many housing units should be set aside for low-income residents, and what type of programming, services or amenities they want the building to have. The RFP also includes notes from previously held community meetings, such as what local residents are looking for, etc.

The RFP includes a timeline of when the proposal needs to be completed. The city releases the RFP on their website, but they also send it out to developers with whom they've worked with before. Because of the fact that there's not much vacant land in New York City, word spreads quickly. So people who are in the business of development are always plugged into the Department of Housing Preservation and Development, New York City Housing Authority and New York State Homes and Community Renewal. Developers use these channels to wait for these RFPs to come out.

Once the RFP is released, folks get busy assembling a team. It is usually a developer, some type of community partner (usually through a Community Based Organization) and an architecture firm. Because a lot of what goes into winning an RFP is dependent upon the team that one puts together, people spend time and are thoughtful about the team. Because all of this is pre-contract, the team has to have enough money to be able to put a competitive team and proposal together, without getting paid.

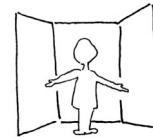
The ability to put together a good team, and to be able to bid on land development all comes down to relationships and access. It is for this reason that it would be hard for somebody who wasn't from New York City or New York State to break into the development circle in New York City for the bigger RFPs. In addition to this, smaller community led and POC-led agencies are never chosen to be community partners, nor do they usually have the relationships or capital to engage the process directly. This process benefits the rich due to the need for having a significant amount of capital upfront at the beginning of the process.

### The Learning Tree illustrates these principles of Horizontal Development:



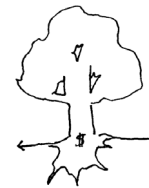
#### **Context & Place Responsive:**

Celebrates the specificities of place and its local cultures, habits and habitats



#### **Inclusive & Inviting:**

Community driven and easily accessible to the public



#### **Benefits the Community:**

Prioritizes investment in local residents, businesses, and organizations, grows jobs for local workforce, increases affordable housing and commercial spaces



#### **Lifelong Learning:**

Provides educational spaces where neighbors of all ages learn from one another



## CASE STUDY 1

### The Learning Tree, Indianapolis

The Learning Tree is an association of neighbors in Indianapolis that gathers people to listen to each other. **The Learning Tree emphasizes that the community already has what it needs, it's just a matter of finding and investing in it.** Through conversations and storytelling, the skills and passions of neighbors and friends are revealed.

Community organizer DeAmon Harges is known as the “Roving Listener.” He started doing this work at Broadway United Methodist Church, when its pastor, Reverend Michael Mather, led a shift from a service model to a search for the assets in the community. DeAmon began to listen to his neighbors’ stories and to discover their talents and gifts, addressing the systemic issues through local reinvestment. Through that practice, neighbors found ways to utilize their existing assets in ways they hadn’t imagined. For example, one neighbor started catering church meetings and developed a booming restaurant business.

DeAmon founded The Learning Tree to grow this work of “making the invisible visible.” One project the organization carried out was a youth summer program, run by their partner Sawubona Lab. The students used art to explore their own stories and identities. They learned the history of similar communities and how they were able to overcome changes, challenges and hardships. This collective remembering and reimagining of their own communities helped create a sense of belonging, and built agency for students to make a difference where they live.

The practices of listening and reflecting together helps to build meaningful relationships within the community, which promotes wellbeing and strengthens their local economies. Too often development is about looking for what is missing. The Learning Tree model teaches us to find what is here.



## ACTIVITY 2

### Design Your Own RFP

**Draw or chart out the stages of the RFP process.** Work through the following questions individually or with a group.

*What are the points in this process when decisions were made? Who had input and when? Who did NOT have input?*

**Design your own process for creating development plans and selecting a developer.**

*How will you incorporate the qualities of Horizontal Development? How could you shake up the process?*

**For example....**

*What if RFPs started with a neighborhood brainstorm? How would this look?*

*Or what if neighborhood planning started with a photo scavenger hunt of everyone’s favorite places, and the plan had to be centered around how these places were supported and connected?*

*List 25 places in your neighborhood, city or town that could be planning outposts: places where people could share their needs and dreams, or where you could post an RFP to reach as many people as possible.*

*Imagine who might be on a committee that was in charge of creating and awarding the RFP as well as overseeing the development could be composed of - could there be children? Toddlers? Seniors? Local teachers?*

**MAYORAL PERSPECTIVE**  
with Marita Garrett

Marita Garrett is the Mayor of Wilkinsburg, PA. Civically Inc is a local community development non profit and Mayor Garrett is the Board President. They purchased and are renovating a 100-year-old, formerly vacant building on Main Street with 22,000 square feet and three stories. They will charge market rate rents for tenants on the top story in order to subsidize the rent for a local business on the first floor.



photo from localprogress.org

*Development in some regards needs to happen to keep communities thriving and sustainable. We need revenue and to keep people who are here afloat. Our city has faced the steel mill decline, the crack epidemic and gang violence. We lost population and we don't have enough people to live in our homes.*

*My guiding question is 'How do we get people in and keep people here?'*

*I use Asset Based Community Development because we have enough assets in Wilkinsburg that we can build on. We are in a county where they always look for people outside to come in and fix the problems. It's a form of self-hate. People don't want local or 'homegrown.' We have great housing stock, great commercial properties and great location. We are near amenities of a bigger city, but we are not Pittsburgh. We are our own identity.*

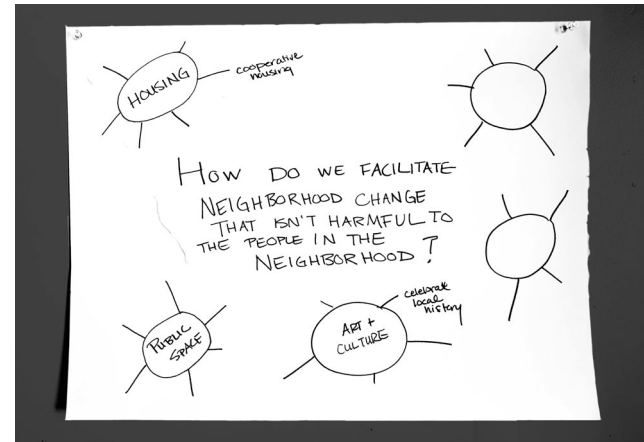
*We have to realize we have leadership within. Who is going to sell Wilkinsburg more than I am?*

**ACTIVITY 3**  
**Spider Wall**

On a large piece of paper write the critical question that this report investigates:

**How can we facilitate neighborhood change that isn't harmful to the people that live in the neighborhood?**

Around the question create small circles with categories that might help guide participants in answering this question, such as "public space," "transportation" "housing," "food access." Include a couple empty circles that participants can fill themselves. From each circle draw a few lines where participants can write ideas. Write some of your own to start so you're modeling the activity.



After a time that feels good to the group, review the ideas and discuss:

*Are there things that surprised you? Ideas that you hadn't considered? What are we missing? Who are we missing?*

Take some time to add to the wall as needed, you can even let it grow over time.