

**CITY, THE PLACE OF SOCIETY:
A FRAMEWORK OF ARCHITECTURE AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT**

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Abstract

Community development and architecture approach the study of the city in distinct ways while sharing the purpose of creating or modifying the places we inhabit. Community development utilizes a scientific approach through the study of place-making, developing it from a socially based tradition, in other words, communities of place. Architecture considers the city like a work of art approaching the study from a physical perspective and emphasizing form. Architecture in this context is both an element of construction in space and the totality of the construction, the whole of a community's modification of site. Developed from the point of view of an architect, this investigation challenges the distinction between architecture and community development exploring each perspective's study of the city. Through a linear progression of framework diagrams, modified as the result of connecting concepts between the two disciplines, this investigation demonstrates how architecture and community development can achieve a unified framework for the study of the city.

Table of Contents

List of Figures.....	vi
Preface.....	vii
Chapter 1 - Introduction	1
Community / Place / City	1
The Evolution of the Study of Cities	2
Normative Condition	2
Purpose	3
Chapter 2 - Background	4
Architecture	4
Form	4
Art.....	4
Community Development	7
Science.....	7
Community Capitals Framework	9
Chapter 3 - Methodology	10
Chapter 4 - Analysis.....	11
Place	11
Natural Capital = Site.....	11
Built Capital + Urban Artifact.....	12
Locus	14
Society	16
City, Place + Society	18
Chapter 5 - Synthesis.....	20
City, Place + Society	20
Architecture and the Community Capitals	22
Art.....	22
Space	23
Process	23
Time.....	23
Precision.....	24
Opportunities	24

City, the Place of Society	25
Society	26
Place	26
Bibliography	27

List of Figures

Figure 2.1 Community development process (Green & Haines, 2008).....	7
Figure 2.2: Community Capitals Framework (Flora C. B., 2004)	9
Figure 4.1: Community capitals in progression as suggested by Flora and Flora (adaptation of the Community Capitals Framework by author)	11
Figure 4.2: Community capitals framework reflecting the integration of site as natural capital (adaptation of the Community Capitals Framework by author)	12
Figure 4.3: Built capital illustrated as a function of the other community capitals (adaptation of the Community Capitals Framework by author)	13
Figure 4.4: Urban artifact replaces built capital expanding the framework (adaptation of the Community Capitals Framework by author)	14
Figure 4.5: Locus applied to the framework relative to cultural capital (adaptation of the Community Capitals Framework by author)	15
Figure 4.6: Repositioning cultural capital in the framework as a function of social capital (adaptation of the Community Capitals Framework by author)	18
Figure 4.7: The identification of the role of the individual and the collective in the framework (adaptation of the Community Capitals Framework by author)	18
Figure 4.8: The identification of the role of place and society in the framework (adaptation of the Community Capitals Framework by author)	19
Figure 4.9: The unified framework for the study of the city (adaptation of the Community Capitals Framework by author).....	19
Figure 5.1: Conceptual diagram of the spiraling of capital assets (Emery, Fey, & Flora, 2006)	20
Figure 5.2: City, the place of society.....	26

Preface

The belief that architecture could benefit from the study of the city, as considered from a community development standpoint, assumes that community development is somehow different or independent from architecture.

This paper was brought about by my fixation with the concept of built capital, instigated by my bias as an architect and developing over the course of my community development studies. The idea of built capital as a seemingly close approximation of architecture captured my interest. Community development considers built capital to be the result of the transformation of other capitals, suggesting that the built elements of the community are the product of the other influences at work within it. Early studies attempted to test this relationship through the identification of indicators from both community development and architecture associated across the Community Capitals Framework. Interestingly, these studies did not address the initial question of built capital as architecture. They revealed the obvious: architecture does not utilize indicators, as in the practice of community development, to describe and analyze a community. Architecture uses the physical elements of the city. This conclusion gave rise to a larger and more fundamental question: Can architecture and community achieve a unified approach to the study of the city?

This research intends to develop a unified framework for the study of the city and seeks to challenge and leverage the architectural and community development conceptions of the city.

The potential to enhance an inter-disciplinary exchange of ideas can advance our understanding of the places in which we live. It also provides a more self-serving opportunity to provide guidance as to when and how to consider each discipline's expertise in the practice of architecture.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

Community / Place / City

Community is a term that manifests itself in numerous ways. In its most primitive form, the concept of community is a characteristic or type of social phenomenon in which a group is unified by an organizing influence. This influence may be the social system itself, which provides a group structure and a recognizable form, or a common identity. It may also be dependent upon location (Flora & Flora, 2008, p. 13). These influences have the potential to generate a sense of community in various ways with two characterizations becoming more evident and distinct in contemporary society: communities of interest and communities of place. Communities of interest describe all of the forms of community and are independent of physical boundaries. Communities of place include a physical component, organized as a result of the collective habitation of a particular location. Community, as it is considered here, includes the physical component, or the place-based conception of communities of place.

The size of a community, or the scale of the place that is defined by it, is not prescribed for its existence. Community exists across the entire spectrum of scale regardless of its classification as a rural town or an urban city. This is a difference that is commonly overemphasized. Nevertheless, it remains important to recognize the implications of scale. Smaller, more isolated rural communities often lack the social institutions that generate interaction and frequently result in the limited availability of resources (Green & Goetting, 2010, p. 132).

Similarly, as cities grow and become more urban they may become more dependent upon external resources with the potential to outgrow the capacity of a particular location. The study of the city as a complete unit, regardless of its scale, characterizes the distinctions and unique attributes of a city. The city as a complete community is the basis for this examination.

The Evolution of the Study of Cities

The architectural tradition is the origin of the study of cities. As long as cities have existed they have been planned. Historically, they have been focused on the product, physical size, shape, location and purpose. Urban morphology developed within this tradition as a study of the connections between physical form and social processes, however, it has not extended its focus beyond an “understanding [of] the built form product and how to manipulate it” (Healey, 1997, p. 21).

Community development emerged in the late 18th Century as science, philosophy and economics came together and emphasized how knowledge with action could improve the world (Healey, 1997, p. 9). This new study of social and economic forces influenced the management and organization of cities. Science provided the capacity to objectively analyze existing conditions and predict future outcomes.

These two disciplines, urban morphology and community development, work independently to contribute significant expertise from their own tradition. Characterizing the relative perspectives of these two disciplines, Healey suggests that:

The physical development planning tradition has moved both to recognize the social processes underpinning spatial organization and urban form, and the range of complexity of the demands for local environmental management generated by interconnecting social, economic and biospheric processes. (Healey, 1997, p. 28).

This recognition reflects the potential to connect the study of urban morphology and community development in the practice of architecture.

Normative Condition

Architecture and community development approach the study of the city in distinct ways, while still sharing the purpose of creating or modifying the places we inhabit. Architect Aldo Rossi describes them both as the two major systems in the history of the study of the city:

one that considers the city as the product of the generative-functional systems of its architecture and thus of urban space, and one that considers it as a spatial structure. In the first, the city is derived from an analysis of political, social and economic systems and is treated from the viewpoint of these disciplines; the second belongs more to architecture and geography. (Rossi, Tenth printing, 1999, p. 23)

The architectural approach to the study of the city considers the city a physical entity to be examined through urban morphology. Establishing the architectural perspective Rossi suggests:

We can study the city from a number of points of view, but it emerges as autonomous only when we take it as a fundamental given, as a construction and as architecture; only when we analyze urban artifacts for what they are, the final constructed result of a complex operation, taking into account all of the facts of this operation which cannot be embraced by the history of architecture, by sociology, or by other sciences. (Rossi, Tenth printing, 1999, p. 22)

Community development utilizes a scientific approach to the study of place-making, developing it from a socially-based tradition, or communities of place. The City, a community of place, is generated by society, a point that the architectural perspective embraces while focusing on the physical result.

Purpose

This investigation challenges the distinction between the architectural and the community development studies of the city. Developed from the point of view of an architect, this analysis is designed to connect the science of community development to the form-based architectural study of the city and generate a unified framework for the study of the city. The unified framework, as it is to be understood here, is a singular conception of the city that is accessible and legible within both disciplines.

Chapter 2 - Background

This study focuses on the architectural and community development approach to the study of the city. This chapter introduces and establishes the fundamental differences in each perspective and articulates both the subject and the approach to the study of the city in each discipline.

Architecture

Form

The architectural approach asserts there is not a distinction between the city and its architecture. Architecture is the city; it is the creation and modification of place. Aldo Rossi provides the definitive architectural conception of the city in his book *Architecture of the City*.

The city...is to be understood here as architecture. By architecture I mean not only the visible image of the city and the sum of its different architectures, but architecture as construction of the city over time. I believe that this point of view, objectively speaking, constitutes the most comprehensive way of analyzing the city; it addresses the ultimate and definitive fact in the life of the collective, the creation of the environment in which it lives. (Rossi, Tenth printing, 1999, p. 21)

Rossi utilizes Cattaneo to reinforce this idea, relating the city directly to the society that occupies it. According to Cattaneo, "all inhabited places are the work of man...every region is distinguished from the wilderness in this respect: that it is an immense repository of labor...This land is thus not a work of nature; it is the work of our hands, our artificial homeland" (Qtd. In Rossi, Tenth printing, 1999, p. 34). Society's role in the modification of place provides the two permanent characteristics of architecture: "Aesthetic intention and the creation of better surroundings for life" (Rossi, Tenth printing, 1999, p. 21). The result is a study of artifacts, the physical form of the city. The artifact of the city is understood as both an element constituting part of a whole as well as the city as a collective artifact.

Art

The city is like a work of art. The city and its artifacts are more than just physical constructions, they require participation, and must be experienced in order to be defined. They are the result of the collective, which generates them unconsciously. In this way, they are born in unconscious life.

In order to be understood, a city must be experienced. To assimilate experience into the study of the city requires an understanding of the space of architecture. Bruno Zevi emphasizes this point noting:

Everyone who has thought even casually about the subject knows that the specific property of architecture – the feature distinguishing it from all other forms of art – consists in its working with a three-dimensional vocabulary which includes man. Painting functions in two dimensions, even if it can suggest three or four. Sculpture works in three dimensions, but man remains apart, looking on from the outside. Architecture however is like a great hollowed-out sculpture which man enters and apprehends by moving about within it. (Zevi, 1993, p. 22)

Space, by way of experience, is an extension of the artifact as the element of study. Aldo Rossi maintains: “there is something in the nature of urban artifacts that renders them very similar – and not only metaphorically – to a work of art. They are material constructions, but notwithstanding the material, something different: although they are conditioned, they also condition” (Tenth printing, 1999, p. 32). He continues to note that “there will always be a type of experience recognizable only to those who have walked through the particular building, street, or district” (Tenth printing, 1999, p. 33). This is fundamental to the conception of the city as a work of art. The architecture of the city includes, defines, and contains space. The space of the artifact extends into the streets, parks, and squares; “everywhere man has defined or limited a void and so has created an enclosed space” (Zevi, 1993, p. 29). Additionally, the artifact does not have to contain space to be architecture. Artifacts without internal space define space, particularly within the space of the city, and embody all of the meaning and influences of its place. It is therefore conditioned and also conditioning.

Space is the essential element of architecture, enabling its experience and setting it apart from all of the other forms of art. Through space, architecture directly addresses its social content demonstrating that it does not simply concern itself with the physical nature of artifacts. Zevi emphasizes the fundamental nature of space as a characteristic of architecture: “Architecture is not art alone; it is not merely a reflection of conception of life or a portrait of systems of living. Architecture is environment, the stage on which our lives unfold.” (1993, p. 32) This point of view frames the social content of architecture but does not imply that the spatial values reflect a complete interpretation of architecture.

Every building can be characterized by a plurality of values: economic, social, technical, functional, esthetic, spatial and decorative...The reality of a work of art, however, is in the sum of all these factors; and a valid history cannot omit any of them. Even if we neglect the economic, social and technical factors, it is clear that space in itself, although it is the principal element in architecture, is not enough to define it." (Zevi, 1993, p. 30)

Understood in this way, the artifact experienced through its space manifests itself as architecture, an experience that is personal and individual and encompasses all of the influences of that station in time, including one's position relative to the experience.

The city is born in unconscious life, both in the understanding one achieves through its experience and in the reality that the creation and definition of the city are the result of the collective. The city is understood as the sum of its artifacts. An individual artifact is created independently and occurs simultaneously with the creation of other artifacts. This generates a dynamic condition in the city that continuously reflects and influences its context and the society that is creating it. Rossi explains:

The question of the city as a work of art, however, presents itself explicitly and scientifically above all in relation to the conception of the nature of collective artifacts...All great manifestations of social life have in common with the work of art the fact that they are born in unconscious life. This life is collective in the former, and individual in the latter (Tenth printing, 1999, p. 33)

This observation suggests that the multiplicity of the dynamics at work in the city obscure the ability to fully predict the future. Although an artifact may be created with a certain future in mind it is merely an element of something greater.

From the architectural perspective, the city is like a work of art. To understand the city one must experience it, participate in it, become part of it. This is the only way to analyze and interpret it. Furthermore, the creation of the city is not determined; it is manifested intrinsically by the collective. The influences, dynamics, elements, and actions are multiple and connected, yet still independent. They coalesce in their role in the creation of the city. The artistic conception of the city is simultaneously the experience of the physical and spatial and the result of the collective.

Community Development

Science

Community development through the study of the city is a planned effort to invest assets in improving the quality of life. It may be an effort undertaken to solve a problem, as in strategic visioning, or to direct and foster a positive future, as in appreciative inquiry. The process follows a path through four phases beginning with community organization and moving through visioning, planning, implementation and evaluation (Green & Haines, 2008). This process, illustrated in Figure 2.1, can be linear and it can be cyclical.

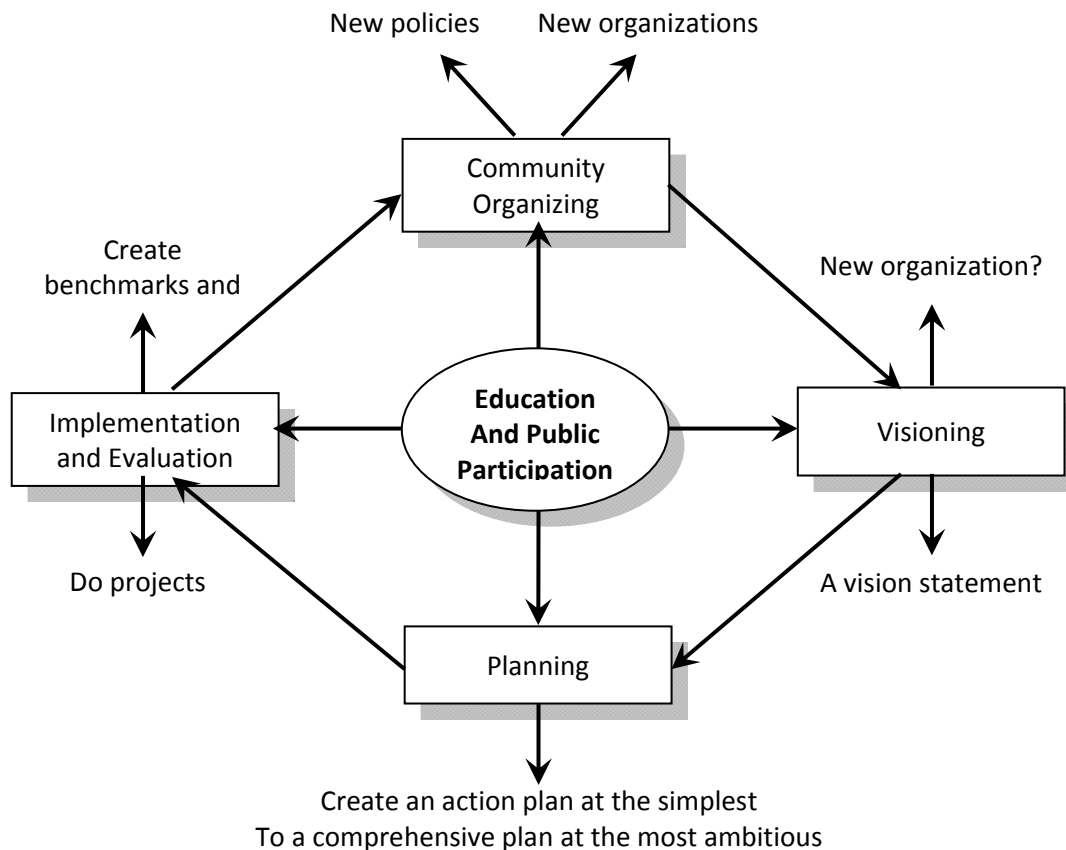


Figure 2.1 Community development process (Green & Haines, 2008)

To facilitate this process, community development has sought to generate a comprehensive framework for analyzing and understanding the elements at work within a community. Relating means to ends, this asset-based approach is a process of identifying and mobilizing a community's resources undertaken to achieve collective goals (Green & Goetting, 2010, p. 4). This is the science of community development. It assumes there are underutilized assets available in the community that can be transformed to generate additional resources, or improve existing ones, to achieve a

desired outcome. Within this framework a distinction is necessary to effectively characterize resources and their role in a community; “Every community [...] has resources within it. When those resources, or assets, are invested to create new resources they become capital” (Flora & Flora, 2008, p. 17).

The asset-based approach provides a framework that enables the community development process and guides its implementation; this is not effectively expressed in the process diagram, Figure 2.1. To inform the visioning phase, the asset based approach surveys and systematically documents the assets of a community. It challenges the existing condition in various ways to inform the visioning exercise and generate the origin for looking into the future. The desired outcome is change directed at increasing or improving a community’s assets. This approach allows the process of enhancing a community’s capacity for change to be a potential outcome itself. However, in its simplest form the outcome of the process is a plan of action (Green & Haines, 2008, pp. 41-42). The action plan may focus on improving one or all of the community’s assets and capitals.

The implementation and evaluation phase monitors the progress toward the desired outcome. Ayer’s suggests that “the movement toward a desired destination and the continual improvement along the way” are the most important aspects of the process (Ayres, 1996). Measuring success empowers communities to be successful. In the Measuring Community Success and Sustainability workbook a more deliberate relationship is described noting that the “outcomes drive the inputs” (1999). The workbook diagrams this relationship in a continuum from inputs to activities through outputs and culminates with outcomes. These relationships support the idea that:

the more goals can be related to outcomes, the more flexibility and creativity an organization or community has – and greater probability of sustainable outcomes[...]The process of measuring focuses our attention on how our chosen action is changing the world around us. It makes a great deal of difference what we choose to measure, because what we measure is what we pay attention to. (North Central Regional Center for Rural Development, 1999)

In community development, the term indicator is used to describe what is being measured relative to a value or goal. These metrics are used to track performance, support the decision making process, and assess the achievement of goals. The intent of indicators is to identify and track measures that reflect the course and fulfillment of a desired outcome.

Community Capitals Framework

Asset based community development follows a process rooted in asset mapping. The Community Capitals Framework has been developed to classify the assets and capitals of a complete community. The Community Capitals framework utilizes seven capital classifications that have been recognized as the most characteristic of the types of resources available in a community: Natural, Cultural, Human, Social, Political, Financial, and Built capital (Green & Haines, 2008, p. 11) (Flora & Flora, 2008, p. 17).

Flora and Flora suggest this sequence as the most useful order for exploring and mapping the resources in the community. Although the resources are generally studied and understood in this sequence they ideally exist in balance in a community with each capital overlapping one another in an integrated whole. This collaborative dependency can generate a sustainable community, or reveal how one capital may dominate and consume other available resources (Flora & Flora, 2008, p. 19). Figure 2.2 illustrates the concept of the community capitals in a balanced relationship.

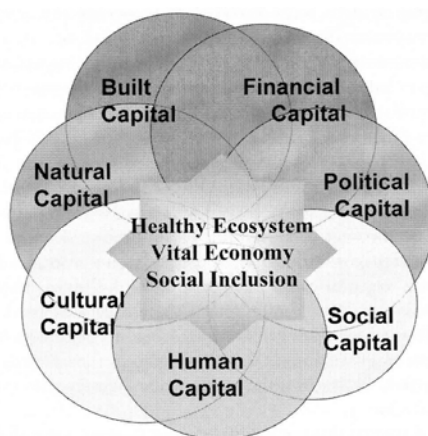


Figure 2.2: Community Capitals Framework (Flora C. B., 2004)

Architecture and community development study the city but do so with distinct approaches and utilize different subjects for their analysis. The architectural approach is fundamentally artistic and focused on the physical city through the study of artifacts. The community development approach is fundamentally scientific, focusing on assets revealed through indicators and expressed in the Community Capitals Framework.

Chapter 3 - Methodology

This paper focuses on the theoretical approach to the study of the city by setting the architectural perspective opposite from the community development perspective. The purpose of this analysis is to develop a unified framework for the study of the city by challenging the architectural and community development conceptions of the city. The unified framework as it is to be understood here is a singular conception of the city that is accessible and legible across these disciplines.

The community development perspective follows the asset based approach expressed through the Community Capitals Framework as described by Flora and Flora in *Rural Communities, Legacy and Change*. This approach counters the architectural perspective, framed utilizing Aldo Rossi's concept of the urban artifact in his work *The Architecture of the City*. These resources establish the definitive positions of the two disciplines.

The Community Capitals Framework is utilized as the basis of the analysis, expressing the general scope and sequence of the examination. Each of the seven elements of the Community Capitals Framework is described and traced to the architectural perspective to generate a collective understanding of the concept under consideration. The framework diagram is then revised to reflect this new understanding resulting in a linear progression of diagrams that illustrate the transfiguration of the Community Capitals Framework into a unified framework for the study of the city.

Chapter 4 - Analysis

The community capitals as illustrated in Figure 4.1 are utilized as the basis of the analysis, expressing the general scope and sequence of the examination. This diagram is the point of departure for developing a unified framework for the study of the city.



Figure 4.1: Community capitals in progression as suggested by Flora and Flora (adaptation of the Community Capitals Framework by author)

Place

Natural Capital = Site

The characteristics of a site are location and situation, the attributes that manifest where it is and the conditions that are present. The situation of a site is what community development considers natural capital. In the Community Capitals Framework, natural capital begins the sequence of analysis, necessitated by the assumption that all other capitals fundamentally depend on these resources. Within this assumption, these resources remain undisturbed regardless of their location within or outside the space of the city. Flora and Flora suggest:

Natural Capital is the base on which all other capitals depend. It is the landscape, climate, air, water, soil and biodiversity of both plants and animals. It can be consumed or extracted for immediate profit, or it can be a continuing resource for communities of place. (Flora & Flora, 2008, pp. 17-18)

In this way we can understand natural capital as the site of the city. Site in the architectural conception is the first element of place. Rossi begins his investigation of a city at “the place in which urban artifacts are manifested” (Tenth printing, 1999, p. 63).

This area is to some extent determined by natural factors, but it is also a public object and a substantial part of the architecture of the city. We can consider this area as a whole, as the projection of the city’s form on a horizontal plane, or else we can look at individual parts.

Geographers call this the site – the area on which a city rises, the surface that it actually occupies. (Rossi, Tenth printing, 1999, p. 63)

Advancing the diagram, Figure 4.2 expresses the congruent definitions of natural capital and site across disciplines.

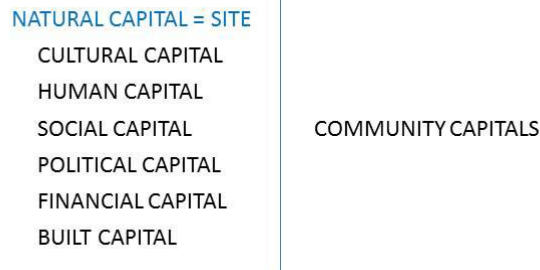


Figure 4.2: Community capitals framework reflecting the integration of site as natural capital (adaptation of the Community Capitals Framework by author)

The space of the city is undifferentiated and nonexistent without man’s modification of site. Therefore a city has a before and an after, a temporal dimension that Rossi describes as the first proposition under the hypothesis that the city is a man-made object (Tenth printing, 1999, p. 63). The modification of site generates this differentiation and is the second element of place. This is apparent in the artifact. To investigate the community capitals framework from the architectural perspective we must deviate from the proposed sequence of study to engage both the site and the modification of site to trace the concept of place to its completion.

Built Capital + Urban Artifact

Built capital reflects the modification of place and is unique in the Community Capital Framework as the only capital whose existence is wholly dependent upon the transformation of other capitals. Going by many names including produced capital, manufactured capital, and public capital, Roseland et al. describe built capital as physical capital:

Physical capital is the stock of material resources such as equipment buildings, machinery and other infrastructure that can be used to produce a flow of future income. The origin of physical capital is the process of spending time and other resources constructing tools, plants, facilities and other material resources that can, in turn, be used in producing other products. (Qtd. In *Toward Sustainable Communities*, 2005, p. 8)

Built capital as the manifestation of other capitals suggests that it may be possible to interpret a community’s ability to effectively reinvest its resources by evaluating the attributes of

its built capital. This concept also suggests that there is a way to test the quality of built capital. In light of the assumption that built capital effectively enhances economic health, Flora and Flora suggest “people must be able to use the infrastructure in productive ways” (2008, p. 208). This is not necessarily a premise for determining ‘good’ built capital, but it follows that capitals generate reinvestment that contribute to the creation of new resources in the community. Thus, a requisite characteristic of built capital is some kind of utility that can contribute to the creation or enhancement of other forms of capital. Similarly, a physical investment of resources that adversely impacts or undermines the potential of other community assets is a liability. Setting built capital apart, Figure 4.3 illustrates the relationship of built capital as a manifestation of the other capitals. Site remains highlighted as a function of place.

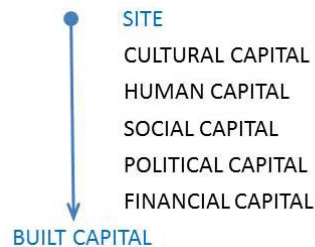


Figure 4.3: Built capital illustrated as a function of the other community capitals (adaptation of the Community Capitals Framework by author)

The functional attribute of built capital is a concern for the architect’s concept of an urban artifact. The challenge arises in the scientific assumption that the apparent purpose of a man-made item is the generator of its existence. Characterizing this misconception as Naïve Functionalism, Rossi compares this conception of the built environment to that of “a bodily organ whose function justifies its formation and development and whose alterations of function imply an alteration of form” (Rossi, Tenth printing, 1999, p. 46). This assumption quickly leads to the simple classification of elements and cities preventing direct and “real” consideration of the artifact (Rossi, Tenth printing, 1999, pp. 46-47).

The artifact is the foundation of architectural study of the city. The city as architecture necessitates an understanding of architecture as both an element of the city and as the city itself. Rossi proposes this approach as the theory of urban artifacts, a study begun at the scale of the individual elements of the city. (Tenth printing, 1999, pp. 21-22)

To facilitate this, Rossi provides the term “urban artifact” to describe an architectural element of the city. Rossi intended for this term to contain meaning beyond the physical thing but also to include “all of its history, geography, structure and connection with the general life of the

city” (Tenth printing, 1999, p. 22). The urban artifact is a specific consideration of the artifact of the city. This approach is the “denial of the explanation of urban artifacts in terms of function.” Instead, it classifies urban artifacts with a general definition that might lead to a functional classification if, and only if, it is an aspect of the general definition (Rossi, Tenth printing, 1999, p. 47).

we are willing to accept functional classification as a practical and contingent criterion, the equivalent of a number of other criteria – for example, social make-up, constructional system, development of the area, and so on – since such classifications have certain utility; nonetheless it is clear that they are more useful for telling us something about the point of view adopted for classification than about an element itself.” (Rossi, Tenth printing, 1999, p. 48)

Thus, from this point on, we reconsider a city to be an urban artifact and understand built capital as a secondary classification of the urban artifact. All built capital is an urban artifact but an urban artifact may not be built capital. In this way, the theory of urban artifacts more fully encompasses the concept of an artifact. Figure 4.4 replaces the narrow conception of built capital with the full understanding of an urban artifact.



Figure 4.4: Urban artifact replaces built capital expanding the framework (adaptation of the Community Capitals Framework by author)

Therefore, the architectural conception of place is understood as the entire physical condition of the city, the collective attributes of the site and the urban artifact.

Locus

The community development sequence of study investigates cultural capital with deliberate consideration of culture’s role in providing a lens through which built capital is viewed. Locus is the architectural consideration of the relationship between site and urban artifact expressed by society. Similar to the concept of cultural capital, locus applies the meaning and significance of the urban artifact. The city is nothing more than an object in space without the cultural interpretation. Rossi describes cultural interpretation as the experience of a city. Meaning received or generated through

experience elevates the object from asset to capital, or as we have come to know it, to urban artifact. Through experience, the cultural interpretation is applied and the artistic conception of the city is expressed. The relationship described by locus is applied to the diagram in Figure 4.5 with cultural capital emphasized as the subject of study.

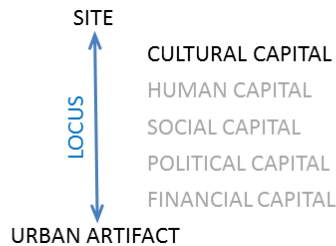


Figure 4.5: Locus applied to the framework relative to cultural capital (adaptation of the Community Capitals Framework by author)

In the earlier exploration of place, this analysis connected the site of a city with the urban artifacts that establish it. Rossi explains that “as the first inhabitants fashioned an environment for themselves, they also formed a place and established its uniqueness” (The Architecture of the City, Tenth printing, 1999, p. 106). Modifying a place for human occupation is an additive and transformative process that, by its very nature, requires the place to be continuously remade.

[Architecture] shaped a context. Its forms changed together with the larger changes of a site, participating in the constitution of a whole and serving an overall event, while at the same time constituting an event in itself. Only in this way can we understand the importance of an obelisk, a column, a tombstone. (Rossi, Tenth printing, 1999, p. 106)

In conclusion, Rossi describes locus as “the place of art”.

The place of art – and thereby its connections to, and the precise articulation of, the locus itself as a singular artifact determined by its space and time, by its topographical dimensions and its form, by its being the seat of a succession of ancient and recent events, by its memory. All these problems are in large measure of a collective nature; they force us to pause for a moment on the relationship between place and man, and hence to look at the relationship between ecology and psychology. (Rossi, Tenth printing, 1999, p. 107)

Art is manifested in the experience that man provides. This experience is contingent upon the cultural tradition. Rossi expresses the challenge and significance directly:

A network of streets always serves only the purposes of communication, never of art, since it can never be comprehended sensorily, can never be grasped as a whole except in a plan of

it. [...] Only that which a spectator can hold in view, what can be seen, is of artistic importance: for instance, the single street or the individual plaza. (Tenth printing, 1999, p. 35)

Here, Rossi does not exempt the street from the realm of art; instead he provides the distinction between the built capital, or infrastructure of a network of streets, and the experience of the street through art and architecture. He describes the relationship between site and urban artifact as interpreted by the culture that experiences it. Place is the physical whole of site and urban artifact that is recognized and interpreted by its culture. The human actor participates with these elements in two ways: first, it provides the physical conditioning of the site by manipulating and fashioning it into an urban artifact, and second, it experiences the application and interpretation of place through culture.

Society

The Community Capitals Framework identifies five forms of capital that can be interpreted to describe the human resources at work within a community: cultural, human, social, political and economic. In the Community Capitals Framework, these five forms of capital are equally distinguished and considered. However, as subsequent constructs of the collective human actor, these five forms of capital can be assimilated as the elements of society.

Human capital, the next capital in the sequence of study, reflects the characteristics of the individual. At this level, an individual has knowledge, skills, health/strength, and values; acting independently in the community (Flora & Flora, 2008, pp. 117-118).

Social capital is a group level phenomenon that reflects the interactions and relationships at work within a community.

Putnam describes social capital as referring to “features of social organization, such as networks, norms, and trust, that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. Social capital enhances the benefits of investment in physical and human capital”. (Qtd. In Flora & Flora, 2008, pp. 117-118)

Social capital also serves to transmit cultural capital across society and time. Culture understood in this way is conditioned by society and one’s role within it. Cultural capital, as defined earlier, is expressed in experience, or the interaction between individual and place. Thus, cultural capital is transmitted in two ways: first, as the interaction of the human actor with its place, also known as experience, and second, as the interaction of the human actor in society.

Political capital expresses the role and power of the structure or structures of society. Described by Flora and Flora, “political capital is the ability of a group to influence the standards of the market, state or civil society; the codification of those standards in laws and contracts and the enforcement of those standards” (2008, p. 18). Rossi provides an alternative conception of political capital, describing politics as the “problem of choices” (Tenth printing, 1999, p. 162). In his view, the problem of choice is a problem of collective choice. “Who ultimately chooses the image of a city if not the city itself – and always and only through its political institutions” (Tenth printing, 1999, p. 162). Choice, or politics, is therefore responsible for the creation, manifestation, maintenance and evolution of the city.

Certain functions, time, place, and culture modify our cities as they modify the forms of their architecture: but such modifications have value when and only when they are evident to itself. (Rossi, Tenth printing, 1999, p. 162)

As described earlier, assets and capital follow an economic distinction between static value and reinvestment value with the capacity to generate additional assets. To facilitate the exchange and flow of assets and their investment as capital, society has implemented a substitute form of resources in its markets: money. Community development directly engages this functional substitute as financial capital, described by Flora and Flora: “Financial capital represents resources that are translated into monetary instruments that make them highly liquid, that is, able to be converted into other assets” (2008, p. 175). The architectural perspective does not address markets and money as economics, rather economics are considered as one of the two forces of change in a city. The other force is politics, or the problem of choice. Rossi explains:

The principal problem from our point of view is not so much to recognize the forces per se, but to know, first, how they are applied, and second, how their application causes different changes [...] We must therefore establish a relationship between the city and the forces acting on it in order to recognize the modes of its transformation. (Rossi, Tenth printing, 1999, p. 139)

Economic forces influence the transformation and especially the planning of a city, but as Rossi points out “behind and beyond economic forces and conditions lies the problem of choices” (Rossi, Tenth printing, 1999, p. 141). Choice ultimately determines a city.

Considering the elements of society, the diagram evolves in two ways. First, cultural capital is defined and communicated as a function of society and the collective human actor. It is a product of social capital. As illustrated in Figure 4.6, repositioning cultural capital after social capital

generates an alignment that naturally presents the role of the individual and the collective as suggested by Lynch.

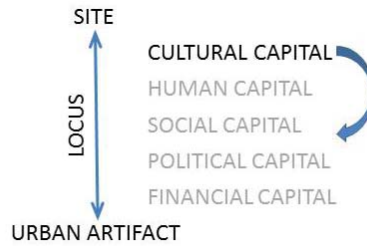


Figure 4.6: Repositioning cultural capital in the framework as a function of social capital (adaptation of the Community Capitals Framework by author)

In addition, cultural capital, political capital and financial capital can be presented as functions of social capital, illustrated in Figure 4.7. This does not diminish the necessity of understanding their role in society, nor their importance, but lends clarity to the relationship of the capitals in a unified approach. In this diagram, society reflects all of the attributes of the individual and the collective. The collective is organized by its social capital. It conditions and transmits information through its cultural capital and is transformed through its economic and political capital. The individual acts and interprets based on all of these conditions.



Figure 4.7: The identification of the role of the individual and the collective in the framework (adaptation of the Community Capitals Framework by author)

City, Place + Society

Locus reframed the consideration of site and its modification by providing a holistic concept of place. In both architecture and community development, society is the generator of this relationship; it is the generator of the force, the work, the influence of change that creates the places we inhabit. Changes that occur within the city are rooted in society. The framework illustrated in Figure 4.8 expresses this understanding and reveals these relationships by categorizing the components of the concept: place and society.

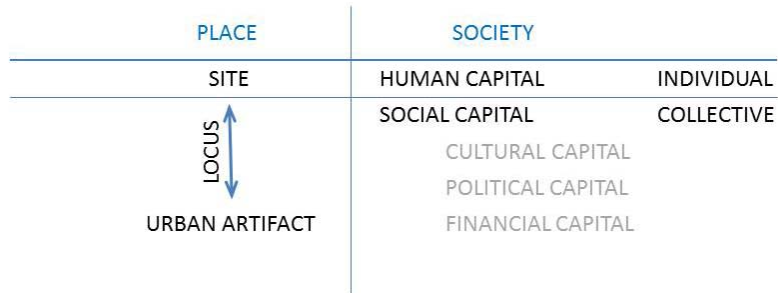


Figure 4.8: The identification of the role of place and society in the framework (adaptation of the Community Capitals Framework by author)

The literal interpretation of the diagram in Figure 4.8 risks implying a distinction between place and society. Place and society are mutually dependent and coexist within the city. Understanding the unified relationships in the diagram enables its reduction to the fundamental elements that embody the architectural and community development conception of the city, illustrated in Figure 4.9.

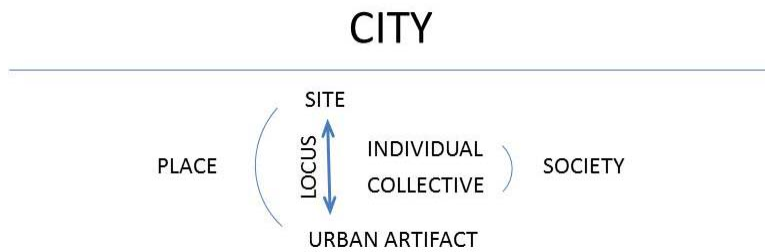


Figure 4.9: The unified framework for the study of the city (adaptation of the Community Capitals Framework by author)

Chapter 5 - Synthesis

City, Place + Society

The unified framework illustrated in Figure 4.8 presents the city as the sum of two primary elements: place and society. The distinction between these elements also portrays the contributions of each discipline in the transformed Community Capitals Framework. This study is grounded in the assumption that the Community Capitals Framework offers the most complete understanding of the city from the study of social sciences, and that the discipline of architecture presented by Rossi offers the most complete understanding of the city from a form-based study. Synthesis of these perspectives through revisions to the Community Capitals Framework reveals that architecture contributes the most complete understanding of the elements of place. Similarly, such a synthesis reveals the preservation of the social elements of the framework suggesting community development provides the most complete understanding of social dynamics.

The architectural notion of place expressed in the locus concept maintains the artistic condition and celebrates the role of society, or the city as a human creation, in built form. This is the same understanding that community development holds in its social foundation of the city. The Community Capitals Framework is structured, or more simply held together, by social and societal attributes. This supports the idea expressed by Emery and Flora that social capital is the best entry point to spiraling-up the flow of capital (Emery & Flora, 2006). Their argument suggests that the power leveraged by social capital comes from its potential to provide a “unifying organizational focus. Social Capital whether Bonding or Bridging, optimally both, networks available capital improving its potential and availability to enhance other capital within the community” (Emery, Fey, & Flora, 2006). Figure 5.1 illustrates this spiraling concept and the influence and potential of social capital in generating change in the Community Capitals Framework.

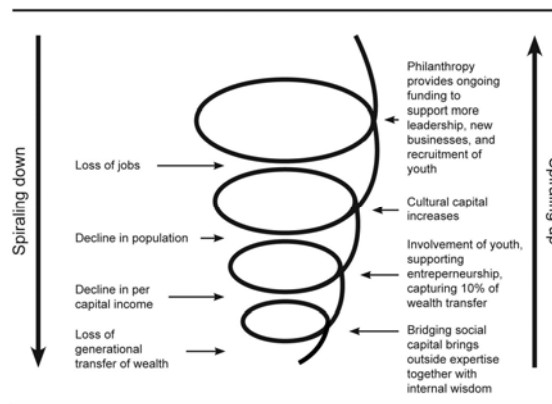


Figure 5.1: Conceptual diagram of the spiraling of capital assets (Emery, Fey, & Flora, 2006)

This concept supports the idea that society is the generator of place and is congruent with the architectural perspective.

The introduction of the concept that social capital is the best entry point for spiraling up the flow of assets in a community is the third starting point suggested in this analysis. At the beginning of this exploration, it was established that the Community Capitals Framework defined the ideal city as a balance of all of the capitals; the first starting point illustrated in Figure 2.2. This study's method of analysis attempted to follow the suggested sequence described by Flora and Flora for measuring the stock and flow of assets in a community. This sequence started with natural capital and concluded with built capital, the second starting point illustrated in Figure 4.1. The third starting point, the origin of spiraling up, is suggested as a strategy for effecting positive change, specifically seeking to increase the flow of assets in a city.

The unified framework, as conceived in this analysis, does not suggest that either the architectural perspective or the community development perspective should change their approach. However, it may suggest that future study of the framework should not focus on the elements expressed in the framework diagram rather it should focus on the relationships between the elements. There is an opportunity to emphasize the relationships, reframing metrics and indicators to reflect relationships between the capitals and provide additional insight into the city. The intent should be to resolve, at least in the city of study, the nebulous boundaries. An example of this intent is revealed in the diagram through the concept of locus. Locus, the relationship of natural capital to built capital at a specific location and through a specific cultural lens, is not intentionally studied in the current approach unless some other factor guides the process to do so. However, this analysis asserts that it is a necessary concept in a unified framework.

The unified framework generated in the analysis is a complete representation of a balanced community in the ideal city, the same position as the initial Community Capitals Framework diagram, Figure 2.2. Speaking to the role of man, the architectural study of the city suggests:

This kind of study of the object of architecture as it is understood here, as a human creation, must precede analysis and design. Such study must necessarily take in the full structure of the relationship between individual and communal work, the accumulated history of centuries, the evolution and the permanence of disparate cultures. (Tenth printing, 1999, p. 111)

This may imply that an analysis based on the unified framework should start with locus, the understanding of a relationship between site and urban artifact across society, not the

quantification of an element. This reflects a study of artifacts but does not resolve how the study of artifacts is integrated into the community development analysis.

Architecture and the Community Capitals

Art

The Community Capitals Framework was developed to reflect the entirety of a community. As such, the framework could be interpreted to mean that the community capitals are architecture. This interpretation has a powerful appeal, however this exploration has not been able to confirm this assumption. The architectural perspective maintains that architecture is the city and the city is like a work of art. The city is like a work of art in two ways: first, man's participation, or experience of the city is necessary for his understanding; and second, the city is born in unconscious life, the result of the collective.

Architecture through an artistic approach is considering the artifact as the city. The Community Capitals Framework is pure abstraction interpreting representative concepts and elements of the city as the actual city. This is not suggesting that the community development practitioner is not interested in the city itself. However, as Rossi explains, architecture is "an urban science founded on artifacts and not on models" (Tenth printing, 1999, p. 112). In this sense, models are an abstract representation of the city like the Community Capitals Framework.

The Community Capitals Framework is a model that is not capable of capturing the artistic elements requisite in the architectural perspective. The Community Capitals Framework is a collection of representative elements as they are understood to exist in the unconscious life of the city. If the scientific approach of community development can reconcile the resulting condition, that the outcome cannot be predicted, then it could be suggested that the Community Capitals Framework meets this criteria of art. The Community Capitals, however, are representative concepts and elements, and only abstractly represent the city. They are unable to directly account for the experience of the city and are therefore not ultimately architecture.

A counter argument could suggest that cultural capital is the experience necessary for the first condition of art. However, this is not a valid argument. Cultural capital is a lens for seeing; it is an indicator of predisposition (or disposition) and does not manifest the experience. To borrow an example provided by Rossi and originally expressed by Adolf Loos: "If we find a mound six feet long and three feet wide in the forest, formed into a pyramid, shaped by a shovel, we become serious and something in us says, 'someone lies buried here.' That is architecture" (Qtd. In Tenth printing, 1999,

p. 107). Cultural capital is the programming that generated the reaction. The reaction, the experience of the form, is what manifests the architecture.

Space

Space is seemingly absent in the Community Capitals Framework. This is not suggesting that community development is uninterested in the social content of space; rather the apparent absence of space is an extension of the challenge of the urban artifact as the element of study, as it was noted during the analysis. The urban artifact advances the consideration of built capital beyond the utility of its form to express the content of the object through its experience in the space it creates. The concept of built capital is insufficient to account for space and was reframed as a sub-form of urban artifacts. Cultural capital, which is conditioned by social capital, is only able to describe preconditions. Only through a direct study of urban artifacts could experience and, by extension, space become a part the framework and the study of the city.

Process

Community development follows a scientific approach to the study of the city, measuring the elements of a community. Although the problem of Naïve Functionalism was introduced during the analysis, it does not exclude the value of understanding the abstract elements of the city. In the approach suggested by Rossi, functional classification is equal to other contingent criterion citing social make-up, construction system, and development of the area. To him, “it is clear that they [the criteria being studied] are more useful for telling us something about the point of view adopted for classification than about an element itself.” (Rossi, Tenth printing, 1999, p. 48) In this way, architecture does not literally measure indicators or necessarily try to respond to individual areas of focus. The artifact, or the city, is analyzed for what it is, preserving the capacity to include the value of abstract conditions within the city.

Time

The scientific approach taken in the practice of community development analyzes the existing condition in a way that predicts and then directs action toward a desired outcome. It does this through the implementation of a measurement process and the tracking of indicators. In community development the same instruments used to study the city, past and present, are used to guide its future. The architectural approach contributes two observations in the consideration of time in the unified framework. First, the artistic approach to the study of the city negates the potential to establish a direct cause and effect relationship therefore eliminating the potential to accurately predict an outcome. Second, time in architecture is expressed through the artifact and

the elements of place that we are experiencing. The artifact is the past we are experiencing now and by its nature will maintain itself in the future.

This raises the question of the value of un-built work, unfulfilled intentions, or more simply, changes to the city that may not be translated into changes in the artifact. The indicators studied in community development have the potential to address this problem because an indicator is not necessarily the artifact of the city. One must bear in mind that, in the framework of community development, the modification of place is just one possible outcome that may or may not represent the desired future.

Precision

This synthesis has already addressed the problem of art within the scientific approach of community development. Additionally, the community development approach seeks to identify indicators, implemented in a way to guide progress toward a desired future. The selection and dependence upon indicators carries inherent risk.

The primary risk in the dependence on indicators is in “goal distortion.” Indicators are generally accepted to have the qualities of relevance, reliability, understandability, accessibility and quantifiability. The characteristics of the desired future may not easily translate into metrics and the adoption of indicators may not actually represent the goals. In this way, the actual goal may be lost or redefined through the selection of indicators.

The precision the community development approach desires risks losing track of the role of the human actor. The city, as we have come to understand it, is like a work of art created in the unconscious life of the city. The city is the result of this phenomenon and determined not by a clear cause and effect relationship but by the dynamic flow process of society. To this end, indicators must be interpreted and applied to propagate a desired outcome not prescribe a result.

Opportunities

The unified framework developed in this analysis has propagated numerous questions while really only reconciling one; whether or not the architectural approach and the community development approach can achieve a unified framework for the study of the city.

Is the unified framework still an asset-based approach? This analysis began with the Community Capitals Framework as an asset-based approach that was then transformed into a unified conception. This question enables us to not only study the city but also to challenge

framework. Attention to this question from a community development standpoint is a challenge to leverage the understanding and content of a form-based approach.

Working from a unified framework, what are the implications of a study of the city based on artifacts (Rossi) versus abstract concepts (Community Capitals Framework)? This paper expresses the different approaches and some of the reasoning for the application of each approach but does not guide the implementation of their concepts within a unified framework.

What is the entry point for an analysis based on this unified framework? It was quite simple to translate the Community Capitals Framework into a sequential analysis. However, the unified conception, which increases the emphasis on relationships among the elements, cannot be applied so easily.

Many of the opportunities that this research enables are related to application or practice of each discipline. A unified framework provides a new and unique opportunity to pursue the study of the city. However, it does not express how. What would happen if we put a unified framework into practice and began our analysis of community development with locus? Is it possible to measure locus? Can you analyze locus without first understanding society?

Community development and architecture have developed into virtually isolated perspectives from which to study the city. This may be evidence enough to suggest the necessity of each discipline. Regardless of their distinctions, both community development and architecture are seeking a scientific study of the city. Rossi describes this kind of scientific study as an “analytical method susceptible to quantitative evaluation and capable of collecting the material to be studied under unified criteria” (Rossi, Tenth printing, 1999, p. 21). In architecture, this is born from an artistic tradition, revealed in a theory of urban artifacts. For community development, it draws from the evolution of scientific study. This analysis has generated a framework unifying these disciplines and provided a new, repositioned approach from which to pursue the study of the city, or the place of society.

City, the Place of Society

The city is like a work of art composed of two primary elements: place and society. Like a work of art, the city is more than just a physical construction; it requires experience to define it. Additionally the city is born in unconscious life, the result of the collective.

Society

Society is the generator of the city reflecting the role of the human actor. Man acts both as an individual and as part of the collective. Through the modification of site, *place* is created and thus, a physical influence generates organizational focus. As a group level phenomenon, the *collective* reflects the interactions and relationships at work within a community. The collective defines and transmits culture throughout society and across time and sustains the economic and political forces of change. Although economic forces influence the transformation of a city, the city's ultimate determinate is politics, or the choices of the collective. An *individual* has knowledge, skills, health/strength, and values that act independently. The individual acts and interprets based on all of the conditions of society.

Place

Place is the entire physical city, the collective attributes of a site and the urban artifact. The characteristics of a *site* are its location and situation, the attributes that manifest where it is and the conditions that are present. The *urban artifact* is both an element of the city and the city itself. It is the physical result of its history, geography, structure and connection with the life of the city. The urban artifact both conditions and is conditioned by society. *Locus* describes the relationship between site and the urban artifact as it is interpreted by the culture that experiences it.

Society, the human actor, interacts with place in two ways: first, by providing the physical conditioning of the site, manipulating and fashioning it, creating the urban artifact, and second, by experiencing the application and interpretation of place conditioned by culture and defined by locus.

Figure 4.9 reproduced as Figure 5.2 illustrates the conception of the city as the place of society.

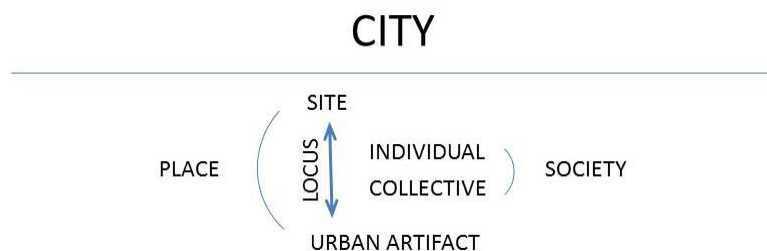


Figure 5.2: City, the place of society

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