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CONTENTS

EDITORS' NOTES.....	5
MAGNUS RÖNN, GERD BLOXHAM ZETTERSTEN	
CURATING THE MAINSTREAM: THE CASE OF THE GERMAN <i>WETTBEWERBE AKTUELL</i>	13
TORSTEN SCHMIEDEKNECHT	
ANALYSIS OF ARCHITECTURAL REPRESENTATION AS A RESEARCH METHOD: NATIONAL LIBRARY COMPETITIONS.....	31
FRANCISCO GOMES, JASON HASKINS	
COMPETITION PROGRAMS AS ARTICULATOR OF WELFARE GOALS CONCERNING DEPENDENT SENIORS	65
JONAS E. ANDERSSON	
ARCHITECTURAL PERSUASION: ON QUALITY ASSESSMENT IN AN ARCHITECTURAL COMPETITION.....	97
CHARLOTTE SVENSSON	
A CASE STUDY: THE JURY PROCESS IN AN IDEAS COMPETITION FOR A SMALL URBAN CENTRE.....	119
LEIF ÖSTMAN	
A THEORY FOR ASSESSING QUALITY IN ARCHITECTURE COMPETITIONS.....	149
MAGNUS RÖNN	
HOUSING COMPETITIONS – ELABORATING PROJECTS IN THEIR SPECIFIC PROCESS FRAMEWORK.....	174
ANTIGONI KATSAKOU	
IS THERE AN «IMPURE» USE OF THE COMPETITION FOR AN URBANISTIC PROJECT OF ARCHITECTURE? TWO CONTEMPORARY, POLITICAL CASES IN COPENHAGEN.....	201
GERD BLOXHAM ZETTERSTEN, MAJA SANDBERG	

COMPETITION PROGRAMS AS ARTICULATOR OF WELFARE GOALS CONCERNING DEPENDENT SENIORS

JONAS E. ANDERSSON

Abstract

In Sweden, architecture competitions have defined space for dependent seniors. The concept of homelikeness has been chiselled out as the key criterion. This study focuses on three municipal competitions that were organized during the period of 2006 to 2009. The study is centred on the competition programs, and on the use of this document during the competition (the consecutive phases of conception and evaluation of proposals). The purpose is threefold: I) to explain the process of writing programs that convey welfare goals for eldercare to execute and space intended for older people to manifest; II) to explore the participating architects' opinions about, and use of, the programs; and III) to study the evaluation of the submitted proposals, the formulation of the assessment report and the use of the programs. Seven conclusions are drawn about competition programs with socio-political goals: a) these are prepared via a consultation process that involves at least three municipal administrations; b) they are the organizer's textual reasoning about the design task that uses at least three discourses – conceptual, ethical or planning-based discourses; c) the programs generate concepts that the architects explore, and that the jury members assess; d) they have foreseen the jury composition, and the consultation process, and defined pregnant assessment criteria; e) they have been evaluated by the architects in the jury in terms of appropriateness to the competition task; f) they produce few questions among the competing architects; and g) they generate proposals that can be assessed by use of architectural critique.

Key words:

Competition program, Municipal organizer, Writing process, discourses, Architecture for dependent seniors, Residential Care home architecture

Introduction

In Sweden, an overall peak in the organization of architecture competitions that focused on space for the ageing occurred during the 1980s with a total of 18 competitions. Paired with other developments in the field of eldercare and other social work, for instance the normalization principle that allowed for the inclusion of people with disabilities within the ordinary housing market (Nirje, 1992), this prepared for the residential care home for frail older persons of the 1990s. However, upon this record high level followed an acute recession in the number of competitions with only one third of the previous record number being organized. Furthermore, the nature of the health issues of the elderly shifted from primarily locomotory dysfunctionality towards long-term conditions (LTC) with simultaneous diagnoses. In particular, the number of people suffering from dementia rose dramatically (Thorslund, Lennartsson, Parker, & Lundberg, 2004). As a consequence, eldercare underwent an alteration that implied a shift from mainly being individually adjusted care due to locomotory problems towards a care situation requiring increasingly more complex medical treatment as a result of long-term conditions. Prognostics for the development of the Swedish population indicate an increasing proportion of older people.

During the period of 2000 to 2005, the number of available flats in a residential care home with a group of 6 to 10 dependent and frail older people dropped by 22 per cent (NBHW, 2006; NBSW, 2011). In two consecutive reports, a parliamentary committee explored ordinary housing adjusted to older people's needs on the one hand, and sheltered housing on the other hand. The committee concluded that there was a need for further initiatives to be taken to define housing for the elderly based on a community principle as well as a need for an inter-disciplinary approach towards the constituents of appropriate space for the frail ageing (DEL, 2007, 2008). In 2010, some 93,908 persons lived in a residential home (NBSW, 2011). In order to promote a new way of thinking about space for future ageing, the Swedish government has allocated funding to the construction of new flats in a residential care setting for the period of 2006 to 2011 (MHSA, 2007). By 2006, architecture competitions surfaced as an instrument for defining the appropriate architectural space of our ageing society. In 2010, the Swedish government made other investments in the organization of architecture competitions in order to promote innovative thinking concerning housing for older people with or without frailties. In 2011, the governmental initiative resulted in the organization of new architecture competitions in five Swedish municipalities. These competitions are on-going, and supervised by the Swedish Institute for Assistive Technology (SIAT) in close collaboration with the Swedish Association of Architects (SAA).

List of abbreviations

- Administration for Infrastructure (AI):* Tekniska förvaltningen (Tingsryds kommun) / Tekniska kontoret (Ljungby kommun).
- Administration for Social Welfare and Health (ASWH):* Socialförvaltningen (Järfälla kommun, Ljungby kommun, Tingsryds kommun)/
- City Planning Office (CPO):* Stadsbyggnadskontoret (Järfälla kommun).
- Committee for Social Welfare and Health (CSWH):* Socialnämnden (Järfälla kommun, Ljungby kommun, Tingsryds kommun).
- County Council of Kronoberg (CCK):* Landstinget i Kronobergs län.
- Delegation on Older Living (DEL):* Äldreboendedelegationen (utsedd av regeringen 2006-2008).
- Department for Real Estate Matters (DREM):* Fastighetsavdelningen (Tingsryds kommun).
- Municipal Assembly (MA):* Kommunfullmäktige (Järfälla kommun, Ljungby kommun, Tingsryds kommun).
- Municipal Executive Committee (MEC):* Kommunstyrelsen (Järfälla kommun, Ljungby kommun, Tingsryds kommun).
- Municipal Executive Office (MEO):* Kommunledningskontoret (Järfälla kommun)/Kommunstyrelsens arbetsutskott (Tingsryds kommun).
- Municipal Real Estate Company (MREC):* Kommunalt fastighetsbolag (Ljungby kommun).
- Planning and Building Administration (PBA):* Plan- och miljöförvaltningen (Tingsryds kommun)
- Swedish Association of Architects (SAA):* Sveriges Arkitekter.

The competition program as a promoter of homelikeness

During the period of 1864 to 2010, some 80 Swedish architecture competitions with a focus on space for the frail ageing were organized by municipal, national or regional actors (Andersson, 2011a). On three occasions, competitions were used to explain the potential outcome of socio-political reforms: In 1907 a general abandonment of large-scale institutions was envisioned and new small-scale buildings with a homelike exterior appearance, the old people's home (in Swedish *ålderdomshem*), were promoted in order to prepare for the reform of the Poor Act in 1918. In 1948 old people's homes were to be converted into a form of ordinary housing for older people with primarily locomotory problems and in need of regular caring. This initiative, although controversial among the public, prepared for the exclusion of the old people's home from the Poor Act and led to the Social Help Act in 1956 with the creation of modern eldercare that would be realized as home care services within the ordinary housing or special housing for older people. In 1979, the spatial implications of ageing with long-term medical conditions and subsequent dependency on care and caring were explored in an architecture competition. The current Social Act was introduced in 1982 and confirmed the home as the ideal place for ageing, either within the ordinary housing, or in a cluster of flats that formed a group living for frail older persons with an extensive need of eldercare.

As a response to the documentation of the three national competitions in 1907, 1948, and 1979, some 132 competition proposals were submitted that described a spatial movement from the a *heterotopia of deviation*, the austere and complete institution, towards the *heterotopias of compensation* (Foucault, 1975; 1984). This was the homelike environment (Andersson, 2011a). It can be argued that these three national competitions promoted a type of homelike architecture, and that *homelikeness* became a design criterion (Rönn, 2002) that re-oriented architectural space in a homely and user-friendly direction. In this paper, homelikeness refers to two types of understandings of the word home: Firstly, it encapsulates the built framework that constitutes the safe shell that protects the habitat. This space is adjusted to personal likings and needs by architectural design. Secondly, it circumscribes a particular geographical site that through its constituents (built environment, nature and topography, not to mention the emotional capital that is generated in this milieu by the user) forms an integrated part of the individual's place-making process (Norberg-Schulz, 1985; Sixsmith, 1986). These understandings reflect the connotations that the word home has in the Swedish colloquial language (Svenska Akademiens Ordbok, 2011).

Architecture competitions provide an entry for the study of the dynamics between architectonic visions, ideo-historical paradigms and primary generators (Bloxham Zettersten, 2010; Katsakou, 2011; Rustad, 2009; Tostrup, 1999). The realization of an architecture competition can be seen

as a decision-making process that is part of modern democratic society (Bloxham-Zettersten, 2007). In this process, the documentation of the competition reflects the organizer's intentions that are to be realized as an architectural gestalt. Consequently, it can be assumed that the proposals of a competition will generate solutions that will reflect a mixture of the organizer's structuring considerations about the envisioned homelikeness together with the participants' own design thinking in order to conceptualize these fundamentals with respect to the possible lacunas of the documentation and other parameters such as building legislation (Rustad, 2009; Tostrup, 1999). However, in the case of architecture competitions that focus on space for frail older people, key environmental aspects of the future residential care home often have a weak position during the forth-coming realization process from a winning competition proposal into a residential care home (Knudstrup, Hovgesen, & Moeller, 2007).

Architecture competitions for the definition of space for ageing

During the first decade of the new millennium, three Swedish municipalities (Järfälla kommun, Ljungby kommun, and Tingsryds kommun) reached a decision to opt for the use of an architecture competition as an instrument to define appropriate space for the later stages in life. The municipality of Järfälla, situated in the expansive region of Greater Stockholm some 30 kilometres from the city centre, organized an open architecture competition in 2006. The other two municipalities were Ljungby and Tingsryd, both situated in southern Sweden, some 500 kilometres south of Stockholm, employed competitions with pre-qualification procedure. The former realized a competition in 2009 whereas the latter presented an architecture competition in 2006. The common denominator between the three municipalities is their increasing proportion of senior citizens. The three municipalities describe two demographic changes, an increased population of all age groups in Järfälla, while the two southern municipalities experience the opposite problem to large city regions, i.e. depopulation. The national ratio is about 18 per cent and Järfälla almost equals that with 16 per cent while the two southern municipalities are on the verge of entering the super-ageing society with 21 per cent (Ljungby) and 26 per cent (Tingsryd) (Statistics Sweden, 2010).

In architecture, the retracing of events that are interrelated with specific creative processes, serves as a source of knowledge for understanding general aspects of architecture practice (Johansson, 2000a, 2002). Given the Swedish tradition of using the architecture competition as a socio-political instrument, these municipalities form a multiple case for the study of the competition documentation as a political tool for programming space for the frail ageing. The purpose of this paper is threefold: 1) to explore the structuring of the competition program by the municipal organizer in three contemporaneous architecture competitions that concentrated on appropriate space for frail older people in three Swed-

ish municipalities; one describing an expansive need (Järfälla), one with a concentrating purpose (Tingsryd), and one in a condensing situation (Ljungby); 2) to map the use of the competition program and its influence on the participating architects' design process; and 3) to study the potential link between the program and the jury assessment report. Furthermore, it is assumed that competition documentation can be analysed by way of the following elements: a) the writing process of the program within the municipal organization (the co-ordinating actor, authorship and consultation process); b) the discursive character of the program (the tone that is found in the competition programme that is supposed to incite the participating architects to respect certain parameters for an imaginative architectural space), and c) the participating architects' use and opinions about the competition program. Since few studies on architecture competitions have focused on the competition documentation per se (Bloxham-Zettersten, 2010; Dobloug, 2006; Tostrup, 1999), this study has an explorative approach in order to explain the dynamics between the organizer's visions and the architects' interpretation of the same. These purposes are part of an international ambition to expand knowledge about architecture competitions, competition documentation, and the organizers' considerations and reasons for opting for an architecture competition.

Retracing a Viva Voce Process – a theoretical framework

This study is a multiple-case study (Yin, 2003), performed in three Swedish municipalities, namely those of Järfälla, Ljungby, and Tingsryd. The Swedish principle of public access to official records has allowed for the reconstruction of vital steps in the organization of these three competitions. The focus has been on the organizer's considerations for opting for an architecture competition, and how these intentions have been transferred into a competition program. The Swedish principle of local government supplies a harmonizing framework for all Swedish municipalities. The selected local authorities in this study represent similar organizational structures in order to assume the municipal responsibility of providing education, eldercare, health services and appropriate housing (SFS1991:900). The differing variables are the geographical situation that includes the built environment, infrastructure, nature, population and topography, not to mention the political majority in the Municipal Assembly, MA. The composition of this democratic assembly may vary every fourth year due to the Swedish elective system. This study has assumed an abductive reasoning that aims to reconstruct and explain the municipal processes that have preceded, accompanied and finalised the three municipal architecture competitions in the sample (Johansson, 2000b; 2002; Pearce and Geoffrey, 2009). Several research methods have been used to triangulate parallel sources of knowledge about the processes, close reading, document analysis, interviews, questionnaires, and pattern matching (Brummett, 2010; Johansson, 2000a; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003).

In the three cases that are in focus for this paper, the competitions were part of the local responsibility to prepare for demographic changes and to provide appropriate housing for the ageing citizens (SFS1980:620; SFS1991:900). A municipal matter is part of a planning process that to a varying extent employs consultation with different stakeholders to advance the matter further. It is predominantly a *viva voce* process that is partly summarized in minutes and programming documents. This written documentation retraces the decisive moments that have occurred during the preparation of the matter, but the orally oriented motivating forces that led to these decisive moments are merely suggested. The research methods have assumed three cumulative steps in order to accumulate a) general knowledge about the competitions via database searches, and b) detailed knowledge via interviews and questionnaires with key informants in order to assess the processes that have taken place within the perimeters that the competitions have defined. A complementary level of research also became necessary since a certain bias was detected in some parts of the inquiries. Therefore, registrars at the individual archives of the different municipal administrations that were involved were contacted.

General knowledge about the cases

The search engine Google served as the main instrument for the database searches in which key words were used, namely «architecture competition» in combination with the names of the municipalities and the focus for the competition (building types); see Table 1. The search targeted the Internet sites of the selected municipalities, as well as the Swedish Associations of Architects (SAA) site. The SAA site served as the main platform for supplying documents. This search also revealed a certain difference between the three municipalities regarding the transparency of the municipal organization. The web-site belonging to the municipality of Järfälla offered total Internet access to the majority of official documents, and access to information relating to the architecture competition was offered generously. Contrary to this openness, the web-sites belonging to the two southern municipalities offered no access to information regarding these two competitions in the study sample, and called for contacts with the local registrars.

Detailed knowledge about the cases

The differing access to public registers called for a second level of research, in this case the use of interviews and questionnaires that targeted key informants mentioned in the competition documents; see Table 2. In this case, the geographical distance interfered. All key informants, all in all 29 potential respondents, were contacted by e-mail with an introductory letter attached that explained the scope of the study. The informants in distant municipalities, i.e. Ljungby and Tingsryd, received questionnaires with thematic questions in a letter and an e-mail with a form to fill out on the computer. These questionnaires were sent out in

November 2009, and the deadline for filling in and sending back the questionnaire was in mid-February. The informants living in the municipality of Järfälla had already been identified within a larger on-going research project in the municipality focusing on innovative architecture for older people. These key informants had been interviewed during the spring of 2008 using the same questions, which were converted into the written questionnaire for the southern municipalities. The interviews and questionnaires aimed at understanding issues of eldercare, real estate and city planning that could affect the architecture competition. This level of inquiry proved successful in the municipality of Järfälla, and a multitude of data was collected there. The inquiries in the southern municipalities were limited and sparse.

Complementary knowledge about the cases

In the municipalities of Ljungby and Tingsryd, some informants were reluctant to answer the questionnaires, both in writing by hand and in digital form. This necessitated a third level of research, which implied telephone contacts and complementary e-mails with other potential informants at the administrations involved. In Ljungby, three key informants as well as the chief architect at the winning architect's office involved in the competition process were interviewed by the use of thematic questions TQ, which included open-ended questions about the competition in general, competition documentation, and the jury assessment process. To substantiate the collected information for this competition, the competition secretary supplied minutes from regular meetings preceding the decision to organize an architecture competition. The registrar at the Municipal Executive office (MEO) was also contacted, but supplied random information. The inquiries concerning the architecture competition in the municipality of Tingsryds proved to be the most difficult, since the number of respondents was restrained and the key informants within the organizing municipal administration declined to participate. Information obtained from the only questionnaires that were answered by both informants seemed to be biased. The registrar at the particular municipal administration that was responsible for the competition had to be contacted in order to get hold of written documentation that could substantiate the process. In the case of the competition in the municipality of Järfälla complementary questions on the competition could be sent directly to the targeted informant, who responded promptly.

Table 1

Overview of the first level of inquiry; the accumulation of general knowledge by the use of key word searches in data bases.

Data base search – key word based search (name of architecture competition, name of municipality, design task (building task)				
<i>Web site (WS)</i>	<i>Access to information</i>	<i>Public access to documents</i>	<i>Type of documents</i>	<i>Date</i>
Swedish Association of Architects, SAA WS	full	Internet searchable records	competition documentation	October 2009
Järfälla Municipality WS	full	Internet searchable records	competition documentation, official records	October 2009
Ljungby Municipality WS	none	none/ require registrar's help	none/ require registrar's help	October 2009—March 2010
Tingsryd Municipality WS	none	none/ require registrar's help	none/ require registrar's help	October 2009—March 2010

Table 2

Overview of the second level of inquiry: the collection of detailed knowledge that was obtained by interviews and questionnaires with key informants.

Interviews or questionnaires with key informants (key informants = jury members, competition secretary, competition officials)				
<i>Municipality</i>	<i>Municipal administration</i>	<i>Number of potential informants, t. Number of respondents (n)</i>	<i>Research methods I = interview Q = questionnaire</i>	<i>Date</i>
Järfälla Municipality	Adm. for Social Welfare and Health (ASWH)	3 (3)	I	August 2008—May 2009
	City Planning Office (CPO)	2 (2)	I/ Q	January—May 2009
	Municipal Executive Office (MEO)	1 (1)	I	January—May 2009
	Municipal Assembly (MA)	2 (2)	I	January—May 2009
	Swedish Association of Architects (SAA)	3 (3)	I	January—May 2009
	Winning architect's firm	2 (2)	I	October 2007
Ljungby Municipality	Adm. for Real Estate (ARE)	1 (0)	Q	October 2009—March 2010
	Adm. for Social Welfare and Health (ASWH)	2 (2)	Q	October 2009—March 2010
	Municipal Real Estate Company (MREC)	2 (1)	Q	October 2009—March 2010
	Swedish Association of Architects (SAA)	2 (0)	Q	October 2009—March 2010
	Winning architect's firm	1(1)	Q	October 2009—March 2010
Tingsryds Municipality	Adm. for Real Estate (ARE)	2 (1)	Q	October 2009—March 2010
	Adm. for Social Welfare and Health (ASWH)	1 (1)	Q	October 2009—March 2010
	County Council of Kronoberg (CCK)	1 (0)	Q	October 2009—March 2010
	Municipal Assembly (MA)	1 (0)	Q	October 2009—March 2010
	Swedish Association of Architects (SAA)	2 (1)	Q	October 2009—March 2010
	Winning architect's firm	1(1)	Q	October 2009—March 2010

Table 3.

Overview of the third level of inquiry: the gathering of complementary knowledge that could explain the assembled research material.

Complementary questions to key informants (key informants = jury members, competition secretary, competition official)

<i>Municipality</i>	<i>Municipal administration</i>	<i>Number of potential informants, t. Number of respondents (n)</i>	<i>Research methods GQ = general questions, TQ = thematic questions</i>	<i>Date</i>
Järfälla Municipality	Registrar at the Adm. for Social Welfare and Health (ASWH)	1 (1)	GQ GQ	October 2009
	Responsible municipal web page	1 (1)	TQ	October 2009
Ljungby Municipality	Adm. for Social Welfare and Health (ASWH), Adm. For Social Welfare and Health (ASWH), consultant architect	2(2)	TQ, TQ	October 2009— March 2010
	Municipal real estate company, competition secretary	1 (1)	TQ	October 2009— March 2010
	Registrar at the Municipal Executive Office (MEO)	1 (0)	GQ/ TQ	October 2009—March 2010
	Swedish Association of Architects (SAA)	2 (2)	TQ	
Tingsryds Municipality	Adm. for Real Estate (ARE), competition official	1 (1)	TQ	October 2009—March 2010
	Registrar at the adm. for Real Estate (ARE)	1 (1)	GQ/ TQ	
	Swedish Association of Architects (SAA)	2 (2)	GQ/ TQ	October 2009—March 2010

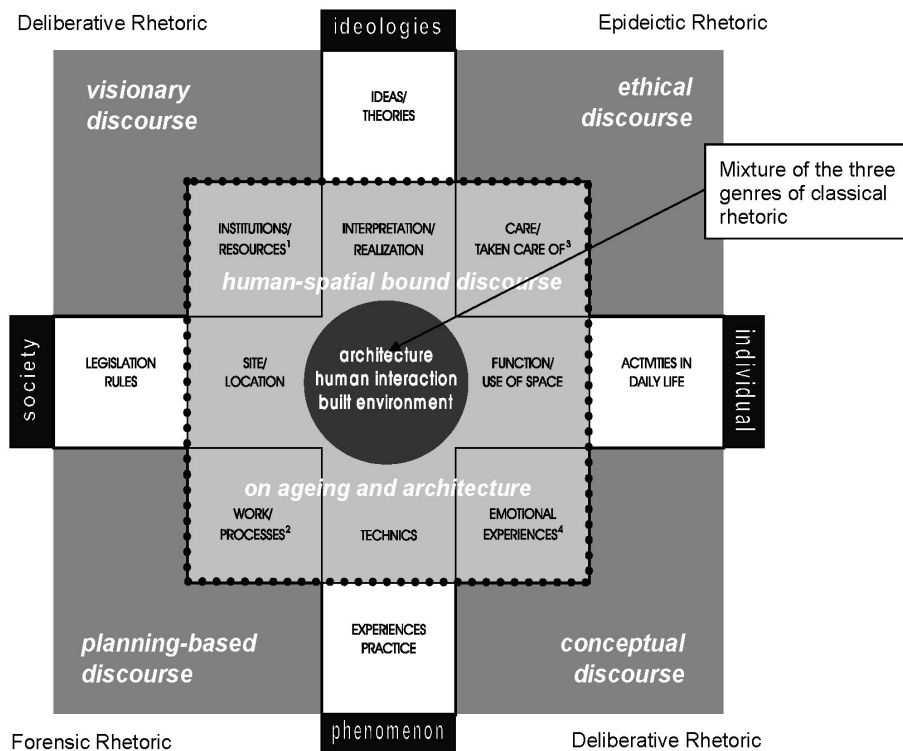
The discursive model of an architecture competition in a Swedish municipality

Attempts have been made to explain architecture as a field of practice, and this paper relies on a graphic model that suggests that architecture and human interactions with the built environment are located at the centre of four dimensions (Cold, Dunin-Woyseth and Sauge, 1992), see Figure 1. A vertical axis presents architecture as a tangible phenomenon as opposed to ideologies about space. The horizontal axis presents the spatial use of architecture as a continuum between an individual and societal use. In turn, these axes consist of twelve sub-aspects that influence the realization of architectural space, and, consequently, human interactions with built space. The Norwegian model of architecture as a field of practice has been revised for this paper. The items that are found in the original model have been approximately translated from Norwegian into English, and some of the sub-aspects have been relocated in any of the four quadrants in order to better reflect the division of space into concrete, collective, envisioned or individual space. In addition, the model has been combined with five different discourses that deal with ageing, architecture and eldercare that were found in a different study of the architecture competition in Järfälla that throw some light on the discussion about ageing, architecture, and architecture competition among twelve key informants (Andersson, 2011b).

The human, spatially bound discourse on ageing and architecture that is based upon everyday experiences of housing for the frail older is in the core position of this discursive model of architecture as a practice and as an architecture competition organized by a Swedish municipality. This discourse exerts influence over eight central sub-aspects that regulate architecture and human interactions with built environments. Each located in a quadrant that surrounds this central discourse, are four discourses that present specific approaches towards ageing, architecture and eldercare. In the societal-ideological quadrant, there is a type of visionary discourse with political ramifications of how space is supposed to be perceived by the public opinion. In contrast, the ideological-individual quadrant reflects an ethical angle towards ageing, architecture and eldercare that deals with space as a framework around a dependency of care. The individual-phenomenal quadrant presents a conceptual discourse on architectural space for ageing that projects the spatial requirements for dependent ageing should meet. Finally, the phenomenal-societal quadrant reveals a planning-based discourse that is focused on how to process ideas about space for ageing into the realization of a sustainable built environment.

Guiding Principle for Analysing the Empirical Findings

Architecture is a tangible form of space, but the underlying motives for a certain architectural expression are entangled in an intrinsic web that depends upon considerations of an aesthetical, functional, and contextual nature (Vitruvius, 1999). To a certain extent, the creative phase of the conception of architectural space is tacit, perceived as a the designer's internal conversation with the design task (Lundequist, 1995; Schön, 1983). However, there is reason to believe that this creative work is also influenced by culture and social beliefs (Bachelard, 1957; Bourdieu, 1972; Lefebvre, 1985). The creation of architecture implies several parallel design processes that are regularly interrupted and oriented in a specific direction by decision-making meetings with the commissioner/ future user (Jansson, 1998; Lundequist, 1995). This iterative work influences the generator image behind the architectural idea to evolve and find a spatial gestalt (Darke, 1979; Jansson, 1998). In the case of an architecture competition, the rational conversation about the built space to conceive that takes place between the architect and the commissioner/ future user is replaced by the competition program. The participating architects scrutinize the program for concepts, explicative sentences, or hidden meanings, merely in order to find a *bon mot* that will elucidate the organizer's view on the matter (Dobloug, 2006; Tostrup, 1999).



The programs function as a source from which primary generators (Darke, 1984), which will guide the creative work of conceiving a competition proposal, are produced. This study assumes that competition documentation pertaining to the three architecture competitions can be studied in a way similar to the way in which the discussions about an architecture competition in a particular municipality, in this case Järfälla, were structured. In this paper, the fundamental view is that both oral and written information about the architecture competition are speech acts (Van Dijk, 1977) that to a varying degree deal with the definition of national welfare goals concerning appropriate housing for the ageing population, and the organizational aspects of an architecture competition as a means of achieving this. The structuring of the empirical findings according to chronology and logics of events has served as an analytic instrument for understanding the meaning of the speech acts (Barthes, 1966). This approach has references to Applied Discourse Analysis (ADA), since this structuring work does not focus on language itself, but rather on what is expressed through the language (Gunnarsson, 1998). This paper acknowledges the parallel drawn between architecture and rhetoric, but it also expands the understanding of the competition program beyond being merely a text with a primarily utilitarian character into being a multi-faceted document with ethical and existential concerns for the architectural space to be incarnated (Tostrup, 1999).

Figure 1. Architecture as a field of practice, the horizontal axis, the vertical axis, and twelve aspects influencing architecture and built environments, (Cold et al., 1992), combined with the distribution of five discourses in the quadrants and in the centre of the model that were found in a study of a municipal architecture competition (Andersson, 2011b). In this paper, this compilation is called the discursive model of an architecture competition in a Swedish municipality (Ibid.). In this model, the discourses have been combined with one to all three of the genres of classical rhetoric. Compared to the original model (Cold et al., 1992), some aspects have been relocated. This concerns the following items: 1) In the original model this item is placed at the current position of «Work/ Processes;» 2) In the original model this item is placed at the current position of «Emotional Experiences;» 3) In the original model, this item is placed at the current position of «Institutions/ Resources;» 4) In the original model, this item is placed at the current position of «Care/ Taken Care of.»

Competition programs and rhetoric

This paper applies an analytic approach to the wording of competition documentation that has similarities with rhetorical critique (Foss, 1989). At the very centre of the analysis of the competition documentation, lies the capacity to convey, to the architects who participate in the competition, the organizer's spatial visions for the built environment of the future. In classical rhetoric, there were three rhetorical genres, the deliberative rhetoric, the epideictic rhetoric, and the forensic rhetoric (Karlberg & Mral, 2006). *Deliberative rhetoric* uses dissuasive or persuasive elements in speech and writing to argue a case, while *epideictic rhetoric* analyses negative or positive models in order to define what needs to be avoided and what is desirable (Ibid). *Forensic rhetoric* is concerned with legal matters, and focuses on what is right and wrong (Ibid). This paper argues that the discursive model of an architecture competition encompasses these rhetorical genres, and that the five identified discourses can each be correlated with one of these genres.

The analysis of the research material in general and the competition program in particular, has aimed to define the type of discourse and rhetorical genre that has been used the most in the competition documentation of the three municipal competitions. The human-spatial bound discourse on architecture and ageing consists of a mixture of all three genres, while the other four discourses correspond to one of the classical genres. The ethical discourse uses an emotional stance in order to define the appropriateness of certain space, and, therefore, demonstrates a similarity with the epideictic rhetoric. The conceptual discourse and the visionary discourses are aspects of the deliberative rhetoric, since these discourses use logical reasoning in terms of right and wrong in order to conceptualize visions for the future built environment. The planning-based discourse equals the forensic rhetoric, since this discourse defines credible measures that need to be taken in order to realize a certain built space.

Three Competitions on Space for the Frail Ageing

Swedish municipalities enjoy a large margin of independence regarding the application of nationally imposed regulations (The Swedish Local Government Act, 1991). Thus, the selected municipalities in focus for this study were subject to their own dynamics, which regulate their cultural, political and social life. All of the three competitions were acknowledged by the Swedish Association of Architects, SAA, who appointed the architect-trained jury members and supplied guidelines for the competition program, the jury and the assessment process. The following section is divided into three parts that will reconstruct the line of events that took place in conjunction with architecture competitions in three Swedish municipalities.

The first part will give a general background to the emergence of the idea of organizing an architecture competition. The second one will describe in detail the competition program and its use among the participating architects. The third part will explain the use of the program during the assessment process. The three municipal architecture competitions share the same origin: a motion tabled by a local politician in the Municipal Assembly, MA, but the municipalities chose different organizational forms of the competition. The municipality of Järfälla chose an open architecture competition, Järfälla, whereas Ljungby and Tingsryds opted for a competition with an open pre-qualification of participants. Consequently, the number of participating architects in the competitions vary from three to thirty-three participants and proposals, see table 4.

Table 4.
Overview of the three municipal architectural competitions that were organized between 2000 and 2009.

Item	Municipality of Järfälla	Municipality of Ljungby	Municipality of Tingsryd
<i>Political majority</i>	Right-wing majority	Right-wing majority	Centre-liberal-social democrat majority
<i>Status of competition</i>	Approved by the Swedish Association of Architects, SAA, and supervised by a competitions secretary from SAA.	Approved by the SAA, with a local competition secretary trained specially for the task by the SAA.	Approved by the SAA, with a local competition secretary/ jury member without special training from the SAA.
<i>Name of architecture competition</i>	«Flottiljen—Future-oriented habitats for the elderly, new building for senior housing and sheltered housing.»	«Architectural competition regarding a new senior housing and a new sheltered housing at the town block the Bandy-Pitch in the municipality of Ljungby.»	«Architectural competition regarding housing for elderly people and other facilities at the town block Eagle in Tingsryd.»
<i>Type of architecture competition</i>	Open architecture competition: architects and affiliated professions were invited to participate by announcements in journals and magazines.	Architecture competition with pre-qualification process: architects were invited to participate by announcements in journals and magazines. Based on the documentation that the architects submitted in order to participate, a selection of five architect's offices were invited to participate.	Architecture competition with pre-qualification process: architects were invited to participate by announcements in journals and magazines. Based on the documentation that the architects submitted in order to participate, a selection of three architect's offices were invited to participate (see note 1).
<i>Competition period</i>	Competition period 5 July 2006 to 1 November 2006. Winner announced 14 February 2007.	Pre-qualification submissions with credentials until 30 November 2008. Announcement of elected participants by 15 January 2009. Competition period 12 February to 27 March 2009, which started with an opening meeting in Ljungby for participating architects. Winner announced 28 May 2009.	Pre-qualification submissions with credentials until 15 April 2006. Notification of selected participants in the beginning of June. Competition period 16 June to 1 October 2006 (started with an opening meeting between jury and participants at the competition site). Winner announced 31 January 2007.
<i>Head of competition process</i>	The administration for Social Welfare and Health (ASWH).	The municipal real estate company Ljungbybostäder AB (MREC).	The municipal Administration for Infrastructure/ Department for Real Estate Matters (AI/DREM).
<i>Main author of competition program</i>	The administration of Social Welfare and Health plus external consultant.	The administration of Social Welfare and Health and the municipal real estate company.	The municipal administration for real estate with appendices for the administration of social welfare and health and county council.
<i>Organizer</i>	The municipality of Järfälla.	The municipal real estate company Ljungbybostäder AB.	The municipality of Tingsryd.

Item	Municipality of Järfälla	Municipality of Ljungby	Municipality of Tingsryd
<i>Organizational structure</i>	Competition official appointed by the CPO. Competition secretary appointed by the SAA and working within the organization's competition service. Two trained architects, members appointed by the SAA, and five non-architect-trained jury members appointed by the municipality, along with two architect-trained members.	Competition official appointed by MREC. Competition secretary appointed by the MREC and specially trained for the task by the SAA. Two trained architect members appointed by the SAA and six non-architect-trained jury members appointed by the municipality and the MREC (see note 2).	Competition official, competition secretary (also jury member) and four non-architect-trained jury members appointed by the administration for real estate. Two architect-trained jury members appointed by the SAA.
<i>Ordinary housing (without age limits)</i>	50-150 regular apartments	No such category	No such category
<i>Senior housing (targeting an age group)</i>	50 apartments	40 apartments	No such category
<i>Residential care homes</i>	50 apartments (20 flats for elderly people suffering from dementia, 20 apart. frail elderly with somatic problems, and 10 flats hospice/ convalescence)	40 apartments	48 apartments
<i>Other facilities</i>	A centre for meetings, activities, massage, training, spa for all residents, frail or not. In the centre there should be a restaurant open for everyone.	Community centre, activity centre, restaurant and an event centre located near the entrance of the building.	Coordination with existing facilities: municipal level: 1. 3 units sheltered housing for older frail people, 2. Day care centre, 3. Prosthetic equipment, 4. Care assessment service, regional level: 5. Pharmacy, 6. primary health care centre, 7. Maternity clinic, 8. Pediatrics, 9. Health emergency service, 10. Physiotherapy, 11. General dentistry, 12. Psychiatry
<i>Winner (total number of proposals)</i>	GPP Arkitekter A/S, Aarhus, Denmark (33 proposals all in all: 1 Danish, 1 Finnish, 1 German, 30 Swedish proposals).	Arkitektbolaget i Växjö AB, Växjö, Sweden (60 architect's offices registered for pre-qualification. 58 registrations were assessed as valid applications, and, after an assessment process, and 5 offices were commissioned to conceive a proposal).	Atrio Arkitekter AB, Kalmar, Swede (24 architect's offices registered for pre-qualification. All applications were assessed as valid, and, after an assessment process, 3 offices were commissioned to conceive a proposal).

- Note 1)** One architect employed at one of the competing architect's offices who participated in the competition in the municipality of Tingsryd in 2006 acted as advisor and co-author in writing the comprehensive building development program and the detailed building requirement program, which were added as appendices to the competition program in the competition in Ljungby 2009.
- Note 2)** The competition jury was changed in the early phase of the assessment process. The managing director of the real estate company resigned, and was replaced by two new jury members.

Part A.

On the background of three municipal architecture competitions

I. The municipality of Järfälla – An open architecture competition about future-oriented habitats for the ageing population

In the spring of 2003, a member of the right-wing political opposition tabled a motion in the Municipal Assembly (MA) that called for sustainable solutions for future eldercare and for the organization of a special committee that would supervise this matter from within the MA (Andersson, 2011b). The left-wing majority rejected the idea of a special committee, but the matter was sent to the Committee for Social Welfare and Health (CSWH). The CSWH was instructed to investigate into the state of municipal eldercare and assess senior citizens' needs and expectations of assistance and care for the near future and some decades ahead. In 2004 the Administration for Social Welfare and Health (ASWH) detected an urgent need for short-term housing for frail older persons. This need initiated a debate within the administration and the committee concerning the existing architecture for eldercare. The discussion resolved into the organization of an architecture competition focused on innovative thinking about architecture and built environments that would aid in the assistance and care of the frail older (Socialnämnden, 2005).

In October 2005, the ASWH arranged a multi-disciplinary seminar as a way of preparing for the architecture competition in which researchers from the sciences of architecture and nursing presented findings on appropriate care and housing for frail older people. A new policy document for intra-municipal work that promotes collaboration between the administrations during the preparation of municipal matters would involve the ASWH with the City Planning Office (CPO) as well as the Municipal Executive Office (MEO) in the process of organizing the architecture competition. A pilot study of 2004 that dealt with a residential care home on a fringe location near the railway served as a preliminary document for defining requirements, and the implications of the ageing on society (age-related issues, home care services, home medical services). In June 2006, the CSWH addressed a proposition to the Municipal Executive Committee (MEC) with the idea of an open architecture competition for the development of the former airbase of Barkarby, the so-called Flottiljen site. The committee opted for an open architecture competition in order to generate a multitude of architectural solutions. In June 2006, the MEC unanimously passed the motion and allocated two million Swedish Crowns, SEK, for the organization of the competition. The prize sum was set to SEK 700,000 (first prize approximately SEK 300,000 and other prizes not lower than SEK 50,000), and for other expenditures. Furthermore, the competition was part of a municipal ambition to market the municipality as being future-oriented.

II. The municipality of Ljungby—An invited competition with a pre-qualification procedure about safe-haven residences and residential care homes

The matter of appropriate housing for fit or frail older people in the municipality of Ljungby started as a consequence of a national committee report on appropriate housing for the increasing proportion of older people in society (DEL, 2007, 2008). In particular, the committee promoted the idea of a new type of housing for older people, namely a modernized version of service co-housing in which a variety of different services would create a sensation of safety and security, the so-called safe-haven accommodation (*trygghetsboende*) (Ibid). The services could include health care services, restaurants, social space and eldercare. One month after the publication of the committee report in 2007, the centre-left-wing majority tabled a motion in the MA inspired by these safe-haven residences. The motion suggested that new housing for both active and dependent seniors would be built on the site of a former bandy-pitch. The Municipal Real Estate Company (MREC) was assigned as the property developer. The right-wing coalition that formed the local minority government for the election period 2006-2010 contemplated the motion. However, the MA never voted on the matter, since the MEO concluded that such a project had already begun and was on-going. Nonetheless, a working committee was established with all in all seven members: three members from the ASWH, two members from the Administration for Infrastructure (AI), and one member from the MREC, plus the consultant that the MREC had contracted as the coordinator of the project.

Almost instantly, when the motion was tabled in the MA, the ASWH initiated an internal development group, consisting of those responsible for the development of local eldercare and a contracted exterior consultant who was an architect specialized in housing for frail older people. Two months after the motion, the work for the new combined residential care home and safe haven residence was on its way. The development group began to define a comprehensive building development program and a detailed building requirement program based on an imaginary building for the site. These documents were included as appendices to the competition program. There are different opinions as to when the idea of an architecture competition was first formulated, but the leader of the project, appointed by the MREC, raised the idea as early as in the second meeting of the working committee in March 2008, which can be read in the minutes from the meeting. Eight consecutive meetings finalised the preparations for the competition. In November 2008 the MREC advertised for participants in an architecture competition with a pre-qualification procedure. The MREC allocated a budget of SEK 500,000 to be divided equally among five participating architects' offices once they had submitted an approved competition proposal.

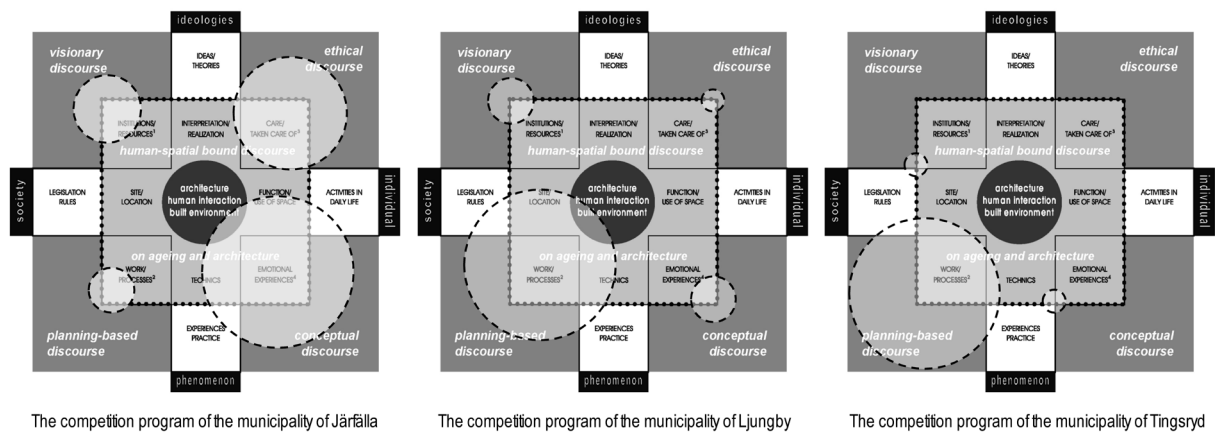
III. The municipality of Tingsryd—An invited competition with a pre-qualification procedure about residential care home and primary health care service

The architecture competition in Tingsryd originates from a municipal decision in 2004 to concentrate all housing for frail older people close to the town of Tingsryd, in a centrally located town block called the Eagle. At that time, three political parties formed a centre-liberal-social democrat coalition, and the intention was to locate residential care homes in the vicinity of existing primary health care services and an emergency rescue centre, in order to provide an optimal eldercare with maximum safety for the dependent seniors. In April 2005 a right-wing motion was tabled in the MA that emphasized the need for a new investigative, detailed development plan for the site. This work would be performed by the Planning and Building Administration (PBA), and resulted in a program with functional and spatial requirements that described the future eldercare in terms of the senior residents' needs and new demands of staffing, and that also involved a search for private real estate development entrepreneurs who were interested in investing in new housing for frail people. The motion passed, and, at the end of 2005, a special working committee that consisted of representatives from the CSWH, the MEO and the CPO was also created on a central level.

On an administrative level, a working committee was created and led by the AI and the Department for Real Estate Matters (DREM) presented a preliminary report concerning the site. Furthermore, representatives from three municipal administrations participated in the committee's work, the ASWH, the PBA, and the MEO. Due to the complexity of the task that involved real estate and activities on both municipal and regional levels, representatives from the County Council of Kronoberg (CCK) were also consulted during the preparation of the architecture competition with pre-qualification procedure. At the end of January 2006, the MEO accepted the competition that AI presented. The architecture competition with a pre-qualification procedure was announced in building journals in February 2006. In May, the pre-qualification procedure was completed and three architects' offices were invited. Simultaneously, the competition program was updated with regard to activities, functions and spatial requirements. The MEC allocated a budget of SEK 600,000 to be divided equally among participating architects' offices after they had submitted an approved competition proposal. Since this municipal decision-making process has had the smallest number of informants, it is possible that there are some lacunae in the description of the background to this architecture competition. Also it has not been possible to identify a municipal ambition of using the architecture competition to market the municipality.

Part B. On three competition programs and their use in the competition process

In this section, the competition programs of the three competitions are presented and their use during the competition is described. Each program displays a certain rhetorical character that is a combination of the three genres of classical rhetoric as distributed in the discursive model of an architecture competition; see Figure 2.



I. The municipality of Järfälla — A competition program in order to promote innovation.

This architecture competition has a significant particularity: it was the representatives of the ASWH who were the promoters of the competition idea and wrote the larger part of the program. The competition program was presented as a booklet with a distinctive layout, photographs and appendices (a historical background and nomenclature used within eldercare). The competition program was labelled with the municipality's newly adopted and self-promoting slogan of «Järfälla Leads the Way». A consultant with experience of architecture and eldercare was contracted by the ASWH for developing a draft for the program. This draft was subjected to a relay race, with the three main authors (including the consultant) of the ASWH and two co-writers at the CPO and the MEO. The whole procedure of writing the program, defining the assessment process and the jury composition was handled as a municipal matter, and the MEC defined the parameters. Later when a solid draft of the program was established along with ideas for a consultation process during the jury assessment process, the SAA became involved in the process. The competition secretary was a representative from the SAA. One of the two jury members assigned by SAA approved the document, while the other member raised objections that for some unknown reason were not respected.

Figure 2. The rhetorical character of each competition program in which the circles suggest the perceived use of the rhetorical genres found in the programs.

The discursive nature of the program is a mixture of conceptual, ethical, planning-based and visionary discourses. This is probably due to the co-writing process, but could also be explained by the fact that ASWH was the main writer. In the procurement process of eldercare commissions, these issues are normally defined with a conceptual and ethical approach. In the program, the future users, namely the ageing residents, were described with potential diagnoses and needs. During the competition period, the participants addressed thirteen questions on the program to the competition official. By the end of the competition period, some 33 proposals had been submitted. The winning Danish architects found the program to be vague, and, consequently, they anchored their creative idea in the perceived qualities of the site. However, they focused on two key words that were stressed in the program, 'integration and co-use'. Although they relied on their previous experience of designing housing for dependent seniors in Denmark, these key words made them change the commonly accepted idea of a remote location into a central location in the town plan. This central location of the residential care home with short-term housing became the *modus operandi* for the organization of the full town plan for the site. The plan consisted of flats and single houses in ordinary or senior housing.

II. The municipality of Ljungby — A competition program in order to realize new space for older people

The municipal real estate company was the formal organizer of the competition, but the program relied extensively on the comprehensive building development brief and the detailed building requirement brief that were developed by the ASWH. These twin briefs were based on an investigation of the six existing residential care homes. The competition program and the briefs described vaguely the future users, namely the ageing residents. The competition program was not handled as a municipal matter. The MREC approved the document, and so did the municipal representatives who were jury members, but the document did not undergo a consultation process that involved any other municipal administrations. The six page competition program contained two sets of assessment criteria, but this was not noted by the representative at the SAA, who also approved the document. However, neither of the jury representatives from the SAA claimed that they had seen the document beforehand, nor that they had had the opportunity to approve or adjust the program. The consultant who the MREC had contracted received special training from the SAA in order to function as competition secretary. The representative of the SAA stated that it was difficult to find architects who were willing to be jury members. Possibly, due to the financial recession that occurred during the autumn of 2008, 66 architects' offices performed the pre-qualification process: a summary of previous commissions of housing for older people and a bid for a subsequent commission of producing constructive drawings. The municipal members of the jury, along with one of the two SAA jury members and a specially contract-

ed architect conducted the selection process of five architects' offices. The organizer attempted to explain the purposes of the competition program by inviting the selected five architects' offices to an opening meeting in situ. At this meeting, an illustration of the potential building mass was presented. This induced the architects to believe that there already existed a solution, and that their proposals would be compared to this imaginary building. This added to the general feeling of discontent among the participating architects with regard to, in their opinion, the poor quality of the competition program. At the meeting, the participating architects formulated 36 questions on the competition program, mainly pertaining to the building aspect of the envisioned architectural space. These were partly answered at the meeting, and partly during the competition period.

The competition program was mainly structured in a planning-based discourse with appendices of the same discursive character and with some passages in other discourses. Not even the winning architect's office was positively intrigued by the comprehensive building development program or by the detailed building requirement program. Instead they found them to be rigid. In particular, the drawings that were included were found to be obtrusive and erroneous. Another participating architect stated that it was the «worst competition program they had ever had to work with,» it was «sloppy.»

III. The municipality of Tingsryd—A competition program in order to cover complex planning

The design task in this architecture competition was of a complex and logistic nature, combining the urbanistic and building level with a third comprehensive level that involved municipal and regional planning of various health care services. The competition program with appendices was treated as a municipal matter, and the MEC confirmed the document. An official representative of the SAA approved the document, along with one of the SAA-appointed jury members. This jury member made several suggestions for improvements, and some were met, but, generally, the SAA representative described the program as «inadequate». Once the pre-qualification procedure was completed, the three selected architects' offices along with the jury members were called to an opening meeting at the competition site. The competition secretary was one of the jury members from the DREM.

During this daylong meeting the competition program was further elucidated further by presentations made by representatives of the services concerned: the ASWH, the primary health care service, and dental care and emergency service. The CPO presented the detailed plan and planning regulations pertaining to the competition site. Finally both the participating architect and juror inspected the various existing buildings, and contemplated different ways of solving the problem. One of the SAA

representatives described this event as very relaxed and open-minded. After this meeting the selected architect's offices started their creative work. Possibly this opening meeting explained many of the participating architects' questions on the competition program, because only 6 questions were registered. These referred to the exact understanding of various programming documents. The future users, i.e. the ageing residents were never described in the competition program. Yet the participants from the winning architect's office thought that the competition program supplied the information they required, and they said that it has been a useful support during the subsequent remodelling phases. The competition program was executed in a planning-based discourse. The appendices that were added to the program were of the same discursive nature, and were lists of spatial requirements to fulfil a wide range of health related activities.

Part C. On the use of the program during the jury assessment process

This study suggests that the competition program is not only active during the competition phase when the participating architects use the program in order to conceive a competition proposal. The competition program is also a vital document for the jury assessment process. In this process, the program has a controlling and regulating function in order to establish whether or not the submitted proposals comply with the envisioned space and other requirements. Each jury report displays a certain rhetorical character that is a combination of the three genres of classical rhetoric as distributed in the discursive model of an architecture competition; see Figure 3.

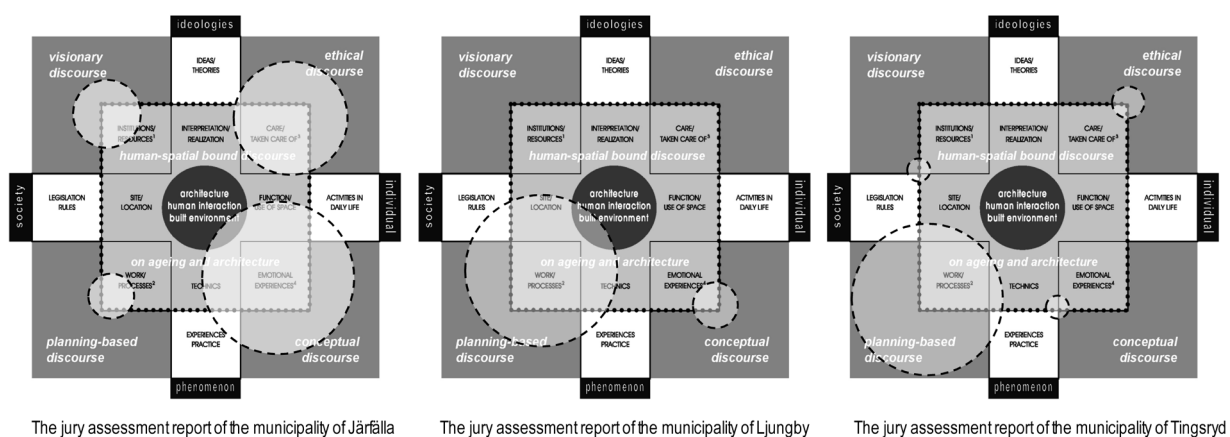


Figure 3. The rhetorical character of each jury assessment report in which the circles suggest the perceived use of the rhetorical genres found in the reports.

I. The municipality of Järfälla – A need of redefining the competition program for the assessment process

In this open architecture competition, the option for an open architecture competition was part of the organizer's intention of having the competition task explored by a multitude of proposals with various design solutions. This hope was realized, since the number of 33 proposals was the highest number of any architecture competition on housing for dependant seniors that had been arranged during the period 1864 – 2007 (Andersson, 2008). The jury assessment process and the consultation process were defined in the competition program. At the same time, this variety of solutions made the municipal members puzzled, since their previous engagement as authors had created preconceived ideas of what the submitted proposals would look like. In order to past this impediment, the competition program had to be reinterpreted so as to find the quintessential guidelines. This called for a pedagogical approach that the two architect-trained jurors and the competition secretary from the SAA initiated.

This pedagogy, which could be called *architectural critique*, implies an iterative search of proposals that reflect the intentions of the program (Andersson, 2009; Svensson, 2009). These proposals were analysed as pros and cons in relation to eldercare, infrastructure and the built space in a future-oriented perspective. The search was pursued on the two levels of architectural space that were suggested in the competition program; the town plan for the full site, or the design of the residential care home. Proposals that the jury found interesting were referred to the two referential groups that assisted the jury for a second opinion. Finally, five proposals were also evaluated by specialists when it came to investment costs and total costs of construction. The winner was found on the urbanistic level in which the location of the residential care home proved to be the most important factor. In contrast, the jury concluded that all submitted proposals presented rather conventional solutions concerning housing for dependent seniors. One of the SAA representatives, along with the competition secretary who was a representative from the SAA, promoted this which went on for 3 months. The jury assessment report describes how the jury had to redefine the programming requirements in the competition program through the application of five to seven proposals (Andersson, 2009). All in all, the jury assessment required 7 meetings over a 3 month period.

II. The municipality of Ljungby—Emotions overthrow the competition program

This invited architecture competition with pre-qualification procedure proves that architecture acts on an emotional level: the municipality is situated in a forested area of Sweden where a storm in 2005 caused severe cases of deforestation with accompanying financial repercussions for the citizens. One of the proposals had a remote similarity with a high-

ly controversial and local idea of memorizing this event. In combination with the program that through its discursive character emphasized a focus on an innovative architecture that would integrate flats in ordinary housing or residential care homes, the emotional aspect of architecture motivated a search for architectural prototypes that seemed consistent with the built environment in Ljungby. This urbanistic approach to the submitted proposals had not been foreseen in the program. The memorial of the storm was designed by the firm that turned out to be the winner of the competition, but the parallels would affect another proposal in the competition. Moreover, it would cause a controversy among the jury members, and alienate the architect-trained jurors appointed by the SAA from the local member appointed by the MREC.

The competition ended with a dissentient decision. This consequence is highly unusual, since the Swedish competition rules promote consensus thinking and if this situation occurs, the rules call for further deliberations in order to reach a unanimous decision. According to the SAA representatives, they argued for this solution, but the local jurors opposed the idea. Consequently, the SAA representatives in the jury wrote a reservation against the jury decision in which they proclaimed another proposal as the true winner of the competition. They argued that this proposal had solved the design task described in the competition program in the most eminent way. Hence, the jury report reflected the local jurors' preference for a certain proposal. The group of municipal jurors stated that this proposal was the overall best solution, since it was anchored in the urban context that the city defined. It was said that the winning entry reflected the special character of the town, a motive that was not mentioned in the competition program. However, even the winning architects were unhappy with this decision since the controversy suggests that the architectural quality of their proposal was inferior to the one promoted by the SAA jurors. All in all, the jury assessment required 4 meetings during a 1 month period.

III. The municipality of Tingsryds—The complexity of the task redefines the competition program

In this invited architecture competition with pre-qualification procedure, the jury assessment work was closely linked with the competition program, since the assessment involved a thorough comparison of programming requirements with the three altogether differing design solutions. The jury assessment process and the consultation process were defined in the competition program, although the exact members of this consultation were not listed. In the end, seven assessments of the three proposals reached the jury. One of the municipal representatives acted both as competition secretary and jury member, but it has not been possible to establish whether this person had received special training for the task by the SAA. One of the SAA representatives stated that the jury secretary did not attend all the jury deliberations and that the secretary

functions were partly assumed by one of the two SAA representatives. The concentration of health care services, and eldercare, as well as housing for frail, dependent people at the competition site raised an ethical issue—the segregation of frail older people and isolation in a hospital environment—made the outdoor space into a mitigating factor.

The jury report suggests that *architectural critique method* was applied, instead of merely rationally assessing the degree of compliance with the competition program. The main argument for the fact that architectural critique was used is that the jury report makes a detailed reasoning about defined aspects (for instance communal space versus private in the residential care home, and access to the different buildings) that had not been foreseen in the competition program. Moreover, the proposals supplied three individual interpretations of the competition task that allowed for further reasoning based on comparative studies of key aspects that the program created. The winning proposal was assessed as the most optimal solution both architecturally and logistically. The proposal allowed for the differentiation of the outdoor environment. After completion of the architecture competition, the winning proposal has undergone several changes due to new or revised programming requirements. All in all, the jury assessment required 7 all-day meetings in situ during a 4 month period.

Discussion

There is a widespread notion that the architecture competition produces four types of documentation: 1) the competition program; 2) textual documentation of each proposal; 3) the jury's general remarks on the design task in the competition; and (4) the jury's assessment of each proposal (Tostrup, 1999). This paper has confirmed the existence of this fourfold approach, although the texts that accompanied each competition proposal, and were written by the participating architects, have not been included in the study. Moreover, the utilitarian character that is often attributed to the competition program (Ibid.) has been confirmed by this study. The sample of competition programs has been restricted to municipal architecture competitions that deal with space for the frail ageing, and chronologically, to the first decade of the new millennium. The study underlines a belief that a competition program has ramifications for the future building project to realize, and that this can be defined as adequate or inadequate in relation to the design task at stake (Bloxham-Zettersten, 2010). Looking more closely at the origins of each competition program in the sample and the subsequent process, this study demonstrates that the quality of the program will affect the full competition; i.e. the proposals, the assessment process and the jury decision.

Avoidable and envisionable examples of architecture competitions

A municipal organizer has to comply with a democratic decision-making process, with public access to official records and with public procurement processes (SFS1991:900). The success of a competition program seems to be attributable to the administrative procedure for preparing the document rather than the organizer's perspicacity. It is the reliance on the routine preparation of municipal matters with respect to public access to official records that constitutes a *bon milieu* for an accurate compilation of a competition program that will reflect the organizers' visions for the space to be realized by the competing architects. As a complement to this procedure, the SAA representatives' approval of the competition program is important in order to assess the document as a base for generating new spatial thinking. This dual assessment can be linked with the general understanding of architecture either as a *monument* or an *instrument* (P. Pellegrino, 2006). The first notion implies the architectural training and knowledge that allows for the creation of an outstanding piece of architecture, whereas the second notion refers to the usage of architecture, in which the user experiences architecture in terms of its material reality (ibid). This definition of architecture as both monument and instrument would also provide an argument for why a competition program requires close monitoring during its preparation. The architecture competitions in the municipalities of Järfälla and Tingryd appear to be exemplary models for an architecture competition compared to the one in the municipality of Ljungby. These competitions were influenced by the municipal procedure of preparing different matters, and guaranteed a certain level of transparency. The preparatory phase of the competition program aimed at a clear definition of jury members, the consultation process, the length of the assessment period, and the set of assessment criteria. As a contrast to these competition programs, the MREC in the municipality of Ljungby developed this program mainly as a company matter. The competition program and other requirements became less explored than in the two exemplary models of competitions that used the consultation process. This might be the reason for why the assessment period was extremely time-limited, for the presence of two contradictory assessment criteria, but also for the fact that the jury decision ended up as dissentient one. This created a situation that is beyond the Swedish competition rules, since these promote a consensus decision (SAA, 2008). In the case that the jury cannot reach a decision, further deliberations are required in order to arrive at a unanimous decision. In comparison with the two models that used the municipal principle of consultation, the envisionable examples, this competition appears to be the negative outcome in the sample of this study, the avoidable example.

Seven conclusions about the discursive character of the competition program

Of special concern for this paper has been the discursive character of the competition program. The study does not allow for any decisive conclusion, but the sample demonstrates the obvious link between the main authorship and the discursive character. Authors within the field of building planning and real estate matters adopted mainly a planning-based discourse as exemplified by the competition programs of the municipalities of Ljungby and Tingsryd. On the other hand, the competition program written by the administration for social welfare and health, ASWH, in the municipality of Järfälla displays a variety of discourses. Based on the presented architecture competitions, there are grounds for the following seven conclusions to be drawn regarding the writing process of the program (authorship and consultation process), and the discursive character of the same:

1. The successful competition programs are prepared through a consultation process that involves at least three municipal administrations;
2. they are the organizer's textual reasoning about the design task that is explored in at least three types of discourses—the ethical discourse, the conceptual one and the planning-based discourse;
3. the competition program produces concepts and generator images that the architects explore in their competition proposals, and that the jury members define during the assessment process;
4. they have foreseen the jury composition, the consultation process, and defined pregnant assessment criteria;
5. they have been evaluated by the architects in the jury in terms of appropriateness to the competition task;
6. they produce few questions among the competing architects; and;
7. they generate proposals that can be assessed by using architectural critique method.

By nature, the practice of architecture implies a constant redefinition of pre-established concepts in order to renew spatial thinking. The writing of a competition program can be seen as the organizer's concern to construct an instrument that would steer the potential competition proposals towards an envisioned type of built space, and to become the organizer's tool for evaluating the submitted proposals. Subject to the competition rules and the implementation of national welfare goals for the older population, the organizer has to produce meaning by use of language, to separate the sign from the signified. According to the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, the sign can either be explained by its form, the signified, or by the concept it represents (Saussure, 1916). The competition program becomes an intermediary in a bidirectional process of either defining the organizer's aims for the future architectural

space, or generating concepts and guidelines that allow for the participating architects to visualize this spatial vision. In the particular context of an architecture competition, an architectural discourse emerges in which the submitted proposals act as a universal geometrical language to communicate, coloured by the individual architect's artistic idiom, and the interpretation of the organizer's vision as found in the competition program. (E. Pellegrino, 2007).

Concluding Remarks

The selected architecture competitions also elucidate the role of the SAA. The exemplary models suggest that the SAA is an essential partner to consult in order to structure and define the design task, the assessment criteria and the jury assessment process. The unusual outcome of the avoidable example in the present sample sustains this argument. The SAA supervision of the organization of the competition and the program supplies a second opinion that is based on previous experiences of competitions as both jurors and participating architects. This scrutiny evaluates the potential of the competition program as a definition of the design task and as an aid for the creative work of realizing feasible competition proposals. The avoidable example suggests that the SAA needs to strengthen this control in order to avoid such outcomes, but also internally prepare the organization to be able to make such an assessment. The avoidable model of an architecture competition also raises questions about the inclination of the corpus of architects to participate as jurors in architecture competitions. This has not been within the scope of this paper, but it does call for further inquiry.

Although the architecture competition is an integral part of the architect profession, and reflects the professional evolution thereof (Hein, 2004), the research field focusing on this phenomenon is incipient. Often the main focus of interest lies on the imaginary outcome as displayed by the different proposals, rather than on the process itself (Lipstadt, 1989). Norwegian research on the link between architecture and rhetoric has established that verbal concepts act as temporal markers in architectural expression (Rustad, 2009; Tostrup, 1999). Swedish research has highlighted the architecture competition as a political instrument to promote or inhibit the realization of the winning proposal (Bloxham-Zettersten, 2000, 2007). This study has contributed to the understanding of the organizer's considerations for an architecture competition in general and the preparation of the competition program and its use during the competition process in particular. To explain the dynamics of the competition program during the architecture competition further research is necessary, since it would elucidate an activity that is «emblematic of architects' place» in modern society (Lipstadt, 1989).

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