Architectural competitions as a municipal instrument for innovating space for the ageing society: the dynamics of three competitions

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Abstract
Sweden is entering the ageing society. On a national level, and in a cyclic process with a time lap of 30 to 40 years, three architecture competitions have been realized during the 20th century in order to renew spatial thinking concerning housing for dependent and frail persons in need of daily care and caring, in the following termed Residential Care Homes, RCH. During the first years of the 21st century, the number of available flats in a RCH dropped with 23 per cent. As a result, the matter of appropriate housing for frail older people entered the political agenda.

In 2010, the Swedish government launched the governmental program Growing Old, Living well, GOLW, in order to explore residential housing for the emerging ageing society. In the program, architecture competitions were recognized as a method for innovating architecture and the built environment. This study is a parallel case study on three municipal organizers’ considerations and preparations for organizing invited architecture competitions with pre-qualification. The research material consists of written documentation, questionnaires and interviews. All in all, 42 respondents participated, all actors in the municipal process of realizing either a pilot study in view of a subsequent architectural competition, or just the latter option.

The assembled research material was submitted to a close reading analysis, which allowed for reconstructing the municipal organizational processes as to their dynamics. The study sheds light on how municipal actors work with the matter of organizing a competition, and gives an estimate of time necessary for planning one. The study lends support to assuming that the ideal time frame for organizing and realizing municipal competitions is approximately 21 months. A more compressed time line will generate problems that will be visible in the architects’ submitted proposals and the subsequent jury assessment process.

Key words: architecture competitions, competition programmes, organizational process, municipal stakeholders, housing for older persons.
Introduction
Sweden is an ageing country, and the group of people aged 65 years and above is increasing, approximately 19 per cent (Statistics Sweden, 2013). Since the end of the 19th century, the relationship between the ageing person and the architectural space has been in the centre of interest, when going from a pre-industrial society to the modern Swedish welfare society (J. E. Andersson, 2011a; Gaunt, 1996; Åman, 1976). On the one hand, this transition has implied an extended societal responsibility of taking care of dependent and frail older persons for the Swedish municipalities, and the creation of a new care and caring profession, somewhere in between nurses and home helpers, on the other hand, (Szebehely, 1995). Some eighty national architectural competitions have been organized over the period of 1860 to 2012, the lion’s share by the municipalities (J. E. Andersson, 2011a).

With a cycle of 30 to 40 years, three architectural competitions have been organized on a national level in order to define the spatial perimeters of the municipal care and caring for dependent and frail older people (Ibid). These competitions have been closely linked to subsequent reforms of the national social legislation. Hence, through the process of organizing and using architecture competitions, the public institution has an influence on the development of new architecture (J. E. Andersson, 2012; Patterson, 2012). The latest investment in new competitions in this area, was the two-year governmental programme Growing old, living well, GOLW, that the Swedish government launched in 2010 (Regeringskansliet, 2010).

The governmental program forwarded the architectural competition as an especially important instrument for innovating forms of housing for this group of people (Ibid). The Swedish Institute for Assistive Technology, SIAT, supervised the channelling of the SEK 50 million allocations into various architectural competitions, pilot studies in view of a competition and projects that targeted the matter of appropriate housing for senior citizens.

The architectural competition as an arena for innovation
During the first decade of the new millennium, innovation has become a central concept in several fields of interest, not to mention the one of policies and politics (Perren & Sapsed, 2013). Over the period of 1960 to 2000, the use of the word in the British parliamentary discourse describes a tenfold increase, and it is likely that the same would apply to the Swedish one. Still, the word is semantically vague and context bound. It tends to assume its meaning in the head of the individual user (Ibid). However, the implication of the word oscillates between two scenarios, either as a type of innovation that will generate a step-by-step change of existing frameworks, or as radical process, which implies an eradication of existing beliefs and systems in order to achieve renewal (OECD, 2005; Swedberg, 2008). This dual understanding applies splendidly to the architectural competition, since the phenomenon finds its roots in the turmoil that followed upon the French Revolution and the need for re-inventing new social values and civil institutions (Chupin, 2011; Szambien, 1986).

The subordinate in the phrase ‘architectural competitions’ suggests a primary focus on the built environment, however, competing in architecture is not all about conceptualizing new architectural space, it is also an arena for an intellectual process of verbalizing the unverbalized and the obscurely thought: Architectural competitions can be seen as discursive events (J. E. Andersson, 2011; J. E. Andersson, 2011b; Larson, 1994; Volker, 2010a; Volker, Lauche, Heintz, & Jonge, 2008). These aim at harmonizing hopes and visions of an improved architectural quality, which the organizing stakeholder convey in the competition programme, with the conceptualized outcome as design proposals, which the team of different and com-

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1 The author of this paper, professors Magnus Rönn, KTH, and Susanne Iwarsson, Lund University, along with a representative of the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare (Socialstyrelsen), NBHW, Mr. Christer Neleryd, assembled a
peting architects elaborate on the basis of the programme (Tostrup, 1999; Volker, 2010b). In that sense, the competition programme has an essential role in bridging the gap between various actors that are involved in competitions.

**Closing gaps between different stakeholders and fields of interest**

Theories on the human learning process describe the cognitive interplay between tacit knowledge and explicit knowing in practice as a type of gap-closing procedure in order to promote a mutual sense-making (Kreiner, 2011; D. Schön, 1988). Depending on the type of architectural competition, i.e. open, invited, multi-phased or dialogue-based, it could be said that the process of bridging the gap between different stakeholders and fields of interest is different. In the open competition, the competition programme will constitute the main instrument for harmonizing the organizers’ key issues with the participating architects. This construction also suggests the need of several participating architects, in order to create a valid sample for the organizer from which the winner will be subtracted (Stang_Våland, 2010). In this case, the winner has a pop-up quality that makes it stand out in comparison with the different interpretations of the programme (M. Rönn, 2008). The judgment is based on a qualitative assessment rather than a rational checklist (Svensson, 2008).

In a study on gap-closing procedures in relation to an architectural competition, which included an open-dialogue phase between the members of the jury, and the participating teams of three invited architects, suggests that gap-closing is susceptible to the personal inclination of the actors and the way to participate in this exchange of knowledge: a balanced critical approach tend to be hard to apply and assume during information retrieval (Ibid). This could lead to a distortion of the architectural design: the reflective conversation with the design task and the site may cloud the artistic judgment and generate erroneous conclusions (D. Schön, 1984). In comparison with the open and the dialogue-based competition, the invited competition seems to offer a type of processual gap-closing linked to the eight steps in the competition (M. Rönn, 2011; Volker, 2010a):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>On the organizer’s side</th>
<th>On the participating architects’ side</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. The preparation for a competition</td>
<td>a1 - The application to the competition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. The open invitation to architects</td>
<td>b1 The application to the competition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. The selection of architects to invite</td>
<td>c1 - The interpretation of the competition programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. The writing of the competition programme</td>
<td>d1 The interpretation of the competition programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. The jury assessment process</td>
<td>e1 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. The realization of the winning competition proposal</td>
<td>f1 The refinement of the winning proposal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1. The organizational steps in an invited competition.

The present paper will present a study on the first phase of implementing the governmental programme ‘Growing Old, Living well’ by three Swedish municipalities. In relief to their considerations for realizing an architectural competition, in figure 1 this phase is termed ‘The preparation for a competition,’ some of the adjustments that the supervisor of the programme, the SIAT, prepared, will be addressed. The SIAT administration of the programme has some relevance for the municipal inclination to organize architectural competitions.

**Aims and purposes**

This study has been realized as a three-fold case study on how three municipal stakeholders considered the opportunity to organize architectural competitions, and their preparations in order to make the opportunity to come true. The aim of the paper was to explore the underly-
ing dynamics of administrational, intra-personal and organizational processes that take place inside a municipal organization in order to address such an endeavour. The paper is focused on the very first phase of the normal eight step procedure, and how the municipalities responded to the SIAT's invitation of funding architectural competitions that focused on various residential housing forms for the senior generation, aged 65 years and older. The research questions were seven:

- Is it possible to establish a timeline for the organizational procedure of a municipal architectural competition?
- Is it possible to find the igniting flame of the municipal process that resulted in a competition?
- What were the motives for making an application for funding of a municipal competition?
- What was the rationale for choosing a particular organizational form of an architectural competition?
- How did the wording of the competition programme along with additional documents evolve?
- Has the timeline any implication for the realization of a municipal architectural competition?

Methodology

This study has been realized as a multiple case study, in which the geographical delimitation has been the three Swedish municipalities of Burloev, Gaeve and Linkoeping (Johansson, 2002; Yin, 2003). In this context, the underlying considerations of three municipal stakeholders for organizing and realizing three individual architectural competitions and two preparatory studies in conjunction with the governmental programme have been explored.

Parallel research methods have been used in order to triangulate the necessary empirical data for the study: key word searches in open data bases, close reading of the official documentation that belong to the three competitions (Brummett, 2010), digital questionnaire and structured as well as un-structured interviews. The searches in data bases have helped to delimit the cases, but also supplied additional information in order to confirm or refute knowledge retrieved from the questionnaires and interviews. The questionnaires and interview protocol was based on an existing one that was used to retrace the events that took place of previous architectural competition realized by a municipal stakeholder in 2006 to 2007 (J. E. Andersson, 2011b).

Given the fact that the three competitions opened with the one in Gaeve, this study served as a pilot study to assess the chosen methods’ efficiency. The digital questionnaire proved to be biased by the informants’ personal knowledge of using computers: only informants with a high skill in using digital document managed to return the forms, while informants with lesser skills failed or submitted erroneous files. This tendency was confirmed during the initial information retrieval of the second competition in Linkoeping. As a consequence, the questionnaire had to be converted into an interview protocol with five question themes, see table 1. Additional interviews had to be realized in Gaeve and Linkoeping in order to overcome the
setback with the digital questionnaire. In the competition of Burloev, the interview protocol replaced fully the digital questionnaire. The interview protocol was the most efficient research method.

Table 1. Overview of themes in interview protocol and digital questionnaire.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Question theme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The background of the idea to opt for an architectural competition (choice of site, the preparation of the competition programme, user involvement and of others municipal actors representing eldercare, and town planning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>The competition programme, the writing process of the programme, and the programme as a fundament for the participating architects’ design processes and the subsequent jury assessment process.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The competition proposals in comparisons with the envisioned space and stipulated requirements in the competition programme.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The architectural competition as seen as prior to and after realization.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Additional questions that arouse during the conversation and a closing question concerning the capacity of the architectural competition to generate innovative thinking for new housing for the senior generations.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The respondents

Through the competition documentation along with contacts with the municipal organizers and the Swedish Architects’ organization, the number of presumptive respondents was delimited to 66 persons, who had been involved to various extents in the realization of the three competitions. The majority of these represented the three municipalities, but age, gender and active years in a profession were not included in the analysis. Most respondents were women. Approximately, thirty architects were part of the group of respondents: this profession was the best represented, while other professions covered a broad spectrum of care professions, politicians, or other building experts.

Table 2. The respondents, used methods and response rate in the three competitions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total number of respondents in the three architectural competitions, AC, p= persons</th>
<th>Characteristics of respondents</th>
<th>Used methods</th>
<th>Response rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>women</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burloev AC, 16 p</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gävle AC, 27 p</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linköping AC, 19 p</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIAT, 2 p</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAA, 2 p</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number: 66 p</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES: 1) In the case of the municipalities: both the questionnaires and the interviews were complemented with additional mails or phone calls in order to comprehend the answers. In the case of SAA and SIAT, the number below interview indicates the number of phone calls to these key respondents, while the number below questionnaire indicates the number of mails sent in the matter. 2) The head architect in each participating team of architects was contacted with a questionnaire or a mail. This person often involved other colleagues in answering the questions. 3) In Linköping AC, the information regarding the participating architects and members of these teams was supplied by one of the representatives of the SAA.

The respondents were contacted by emails, and asked for an interview. The respondents were promised full anonymity, and the response rate was 64 per cent, see table 2. The interviews lasted 15-30 minutes, and they were recorded. The exact phrasing of a question was adjusted to the respondent’s use of language.
The cases
The demographical situation in the three municipalities of this study is similar to the Swedish national one with an increasingly larger proportion of older people among the population. However, they describe three different scenarios of the on-going ageing process.

The municipality of Burloev
The municipality of Burloev represents a still mostly rural context, with two larger urban conglomerations, however under constant pressure from the two larger and expanding urban regions of Lund and Malmoe. The urban concentrations describe different ethnical and socio-economical contexts, one being wealthier and ethnically more Swedish than the other one.

The population attains the number of 16 783 inhabitants, which makes the municipality into one of the smallest Swedish municipalities, December 2011 (SCB, 2012). There are a high percentage of people with foreign background, about 16.3 per cent (Nilsson, 2012). The number of older people is about 16.45 per cent, a number that is projected to remain stable until 2020 (Ibid). The municipal eldercare attains a level of approximately SEK 12909 per inhabitants and year, which is lower than the average on a national level, SEK 16 240 (Ibid).

The municipality of Burloev opted for means to both an architectural competition and a pilot study on housing preferences among the senior generations of the local inhabitants. The competition was concentrated to the open farm land that surrounds a manor from the 18th century. In close proximity of the manor, there are additional farm buildings and an 18th century garden folly with trees and plants of botanical interest. The municipality envisioned a competition active on an urban design level in order to supply an overall solution for, over time, connect the now quite different conglomerations.

The municipality of Gaeve
The municipality of Gaeve is the seventeenth largest community in Sweden. The municipality comprises of approximately seventy smaller communities, and eighteen larger conglomerations, among which town of Gaeve is the largest one. The structure of the town is based on a rectilinear central grid, but it includes large and lush green areas that are closely integrated with the inhabitants daily living during the four seasons (AB_Gavlegårdarna & Gävle_kommun, 2011).

In 2011, the population attained a number of 95 428 inhabitants, December 2011 (SCB, 2012). The level of people with a foreign background is about 14.5 per cent (Ibid). There are a high percentage of older people, aged 65 years and older, about 17.8 per cent (Ibid). This level is forecasted to increase slightly until 2020, when it will reach about 19.61 per cent. The municipal eldercare attains a level of approximately SEK 17 229 per inhabitants and year. There is an 8 per cent difference between the official numbers and the local ones (AB_Gavlegårdarna, 2012).

The municipality of Gaeve through its real estate company AB Gavlegaardarna, ABG, envisioned a refurbishment project of one storey high terrace houses that originally had been built as a special type of housing for older people, introduced in 1938, and enjoying state subsidies for its construction. This type of housing was highly popular among the senior population during the 1930, 40s, 50s and 1960s, since this type of housing was part of the ordinary stock of residential buildings. It allowed a continued independent living outside the less appreciated old people’s home. The current residents shared this feeling, and in order to involve them in the project, ABG also applied for means to start the process with a pilot study on the residents’ ideas for refurbishing the houses.
The municipality of Linköping

The municipality of Linköping is the fifth largest community in Sweden with about eighteen larger conglomerations, among which the town of Linköping is the largest one. The town structure follows a rectilinear grid that includes both university, and a military regiment. In 2011, the full population attained a number of 147,334 inhabitants, December 2011 (SCB, 2012). The level of people with a foreign background is about 17.6 per cent (Ibid).

The percentage of older people aged 65 years and older, is about 15.7 per cent (Ibid). This level is forecasted to remain quite stable until 2020, about 16.7 per cent (Ibid). Despite the stable figures, the municipality foresees an eight per cent increase in the population till this year, due to the stable increase of people in the younger ages that are attracted by education and ample work opportunities in industries and the military. The municipal eldercare attains a level of approximately SEK 13,310 per inhabitants and year.

In this case, the municipality saw the opportunity to combine the opportunity to organize an architectural competition with a local continuous and on-going process of building or refurbishing residential care homes in the inner city area or the districts of suburbs from the 1950s and 1960s that surrounds it. This work is head by a special political board, the board for the elderly (Linköpings Kommun, 2007). The municipality of Linköping has a history of being an exemplary model when it comes to organizing eldercare and supply appropriate housing for the older generations (Caldenby, 1982; Hultin, 1979; Höjer, Smedmark, & Törnblom, 1982; Sundberg & Wahlstein, 1979; Wahlstein, 1979; Walter, 1979). Most of the different types of housing for older people that have been developed in Sweden are still in use in the city, despite a national recommendation of updating the nomenclature to the universal concept of residential care home (vård- och omsorgsboendet).

Results

In this section, the individual processes that initiate, surround and end the realizations of architectural competitions and pilot studies in the three municipalities in the sample will be explored. However, common for all of these investments in new architecture for the ageing society, is the dependency on the overall timeline of the governmental programme. This also applies for the supervisor of the full programme, the SIAT, who adjusted their organization in order to promote the investment in municipal competitions and local studies on housing preferences among older people. In consequence, the full operation of implementing the governmental programme describes five decisive phases, of which three relate to the SIAT – 1) the integration of the assignment in the SIAT activities; 2) the open call to activate an interest among municipalities to apply for funding of a competition or a study; 3) the mapping of the municipal interest in organizing competitions or studies – and two phases relate to the three municipalities in the sample 4) the process of formulating an application to the SIAT; 5) the realization of competitions and pilot studies in the three municipalities, see Figure 1.

The implementation of the programme by the supervisor SIAT

The governmental programme envisioned that the investment in accumulating new knowledge about housing for older people would be realized during a 24 month period, 6 July 2010 to end of June 2012, followed by a 6 month period for assembling the reports and the financial balances of the individual projects. Some nine days after the press release by the
Figure 2. Overview of the timeline for the full governmental programme, and as implemented by the supervisor and the three municipal organizers of architectural competitions.
Swedish Governments Office, SGO, the SIAT presented its own the 15 July 2010. During approximately four months, the SIAT engaged in few external activities in order to boost a municipal interest for the programme. Instead, the SIAT was approached by the initiators behind the idea who during an informal meeting in September presented how to combine evidence-based experience with research-based knowledge. In line with previous projects realized by the SIAT, the institute chose to prioritize the first avenue, and rule out the integration of research in the implementation of the project. In mid-September, the heads of the 290 Swedish municipalities were addressed a personal letter, in which the institute presented the possibility to apply for funding of either local architectural competitions or pilot studies on housing preferences among older people.

In November, an external consult, an architect-trained person, was employed in order to systematically map the municipal interest and promote the organization of competitions around the Swedish municipalities. In January 2011, the competition track was presented for the first and only time in an open call in a special journal that is oriented towards municipal and regional administration in Sweden, Dagens Samhälle [Society of today, in an approximate translation]. This presentation also promoted funding of local pilot studies, the second call for this track. The call for competitions closed on March 1st, while the call for pilot studies a day before. The SIAT involvement in the process can be resumed in the following moments:

- Open press release
- Letter targeting the chair of the municipal executive committee
- External consult mapping municipal interest
- 2 calls promoting the pilot study
- 1 call promoting the architecture competition
- Assessment of submitted applications with a negotiable approach in order to promote applications that were of interest for the SIAT

Despite the mapping of the municipalities and promotion of organizing competitions, the municipal interest remained modest, only eighteen municipalities expressed an interest, however, much feeble, in arranging an architectural competition. Only seven would apply for funding, of which five municipalities were granted, while two applications were rejected. (J. E. Andersson & Rönn, 2012a, 2012b). In the end, the municipalities of Burloev, Gaevle and Linkoeping were the only ones to realize competitions, since one municipality with granted funding refrained from organizing a competition, while another chose an ad hoc organizational form. This resulted in proposals that were incompatible with the requirements of the programme (J. E. Andersson & Rönn, 2012b).

The process of organizing architectural competitions in three municipalities
Figure 2 shows that information about the governmental programme was almost instantly picked up by two municipalities, i.e. the municipalities of Gaevle and Linkoeping, while the municipality of Burloev was a bit slower in integrating the information about the new investment in appropriate housing for older people. The timeline for the individual processes of organizing architectural competitions vary between 18 to 22 months depending on when the information about the GOLW started to influence different municipal administrations. The longest time of preparation was to be found in the municipality of Gaevle, while the shortest was found in the municipality of Burloev. The municipality of Linkoeping represent the average, 20 months.

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2 These persons were professors Susanne Iwarsson, Lund University, Lund, and Magnus Rönn, School of Architecture, Royal Institute of Technology, KTH, Stockholm.
The organizational process in the municipality of Burloev

In this municipality, the igniting flame to the idea of organizing an architectural competition can be linked to the mail that the SIAT composed and distributed to the chairs of the 290 Swedish municipal executive committees. During a session in the committee, the chair presented the GOLW programme to its member. The committee mainly noted the funding of pilot studies in order to look into older people’s expectations on appropriate housing for later stages in life. The SWC was commissioned to formulate an application to the SIAT concerning funding of a pilot study. The pilot study would prepare for an architectural competition, the very first one in the municipality.

The head of the Social Welfare Administration was in charge of the operation. This person decided to form a steering group that also included the head of the administration for physical planning and the town architect. The pilot study was designed as a special employment for about eight months. The study targeted the group of people aged 40 to 65 years of age and their expectations on housing for later stages in life. The methods were defined as interviews, questionnaires, and seminars that would attract this group of people. The pilot study was loosely associated with the idea of organizing an architecture competition on a comprehensive planning level. The application was submitted to the SIAT on 25 February 2011, who granted the application some two months later without any objections.

The broader understanding of the GOLW might be due to the fact that the municipality at the same was working on a new physical planning document for the municipality in a long-term perspective. During the same meeting in the executive committee, which forwarded the matter of a pilot study in conjunction with the GOLW project, the outcome from an inspirational seminar on the expansion of the municipality along with a new station for commuters’ train to the larger urban areas of Copenhagen, Lund and Malmoe was debated. The executive committee also commissioned the municipal town architect to develop an application for an architectural competition on a comprehensive level to the SIAT. On March 1st, the application for organizing this type of competition was submitted. The municipality of Burloev invested the following moments in the process:

- Picking up on the SIAT letter to the chair of the executive committee
- Aligning the GOLW with a pilot study on housing preferences in the community
- Aligning the GOLW with an architecture competition on a comprehensive level
- Revising the application for an architecture competition according to the recommendations of the SIAT
- Realizing an 7 month pilot study on older people and housing preference
- Realizing an 11.3 month invited architecture competition with pre-qualification, of which 1.8 month were devoted to preparing the competition documentation.
- The overall organization process of an architectural competition with a pilot study was 21.1 months.

The SIAT found the application for an architectural competition controversial, since there was an obvious conflict between the detailed level presented in the GOLW, and the scope of the competition. In May 2011, the special consult of the SIAT met with representatives of the municipality. This resulted in a revised application that circumscribed a particular area around an 18th manor as the competition area. The new owners of the estate were involved in the project. The SIAT approved this revised application on 11 July 2011. Despite the possible positive outcome of the competition, the municipal representatives, both officers and politicians, were concerned by the time schedule that the GOLW implied. This made the town architect and the head of the SWC into the key persons in elaborating both the competition...
documentation and the pilot study. The Swedish association of Architects, SAA, was consulted, and the pre-qualification process coincided with the writing of the programme.

The organizational process in the municipality of Gaevle

The press release of the SGO concerning the GOLW was spotted almost immediately at the Administration for Eldercare, AE, at the municipality of Gaevle. The administration understood the programme from an accessibility and usability perspective, either the older person’s dwelling, appropriated during life that due to emerging age-related cognitive or physical disorders had to be adjusted in order to allow a prolonged ageing in place, or adjustments of the older person’s dwelling in order to create an improved work environment for eldercare staff who provides home-based care and caring services. With this understanding of the GOLW, the municipal real estate company, AB Gavlegårdena, ABG, was contacted so that they could propose a special residential area with dominantly older people and some level of necessary maintenance actions to fulfil. The ABG has previously organized architectural competitions.

The ABG suggested the 32 rental flats in one-storey terraced houses at Almvägen, built during the 1960s with state subsidies as a type of special housing for older people within the ordinary residential stock of flats. Despite the fact that the majority of the older residents were able and fit with random needs of eldercare, the AE decided to focus on this type of housing. This decision was based upon the assumption that older people, residing in the nearby area with individual and privately owned houses, would take an interest in moving to the terraced houses in case of an increased need of care and caring due to an age-related problem. Integrating the ABG policy of user involvement in refurbishment projects, the AE designed a pilot study with several interactive meetings between the residents, municipal officers, and representatives of the Real Estate Company as well as national organizations in defence of older people’s rights. The application concerning means for a pilot study on the particular situation that the terraced houses by Almvägen created was submitted to the SIAT in 25 February 2011. The municipality of Gaevle in collaboration with the ABG invested the following moments in the process:

- Picking up on the press release made by the Swedish Governments Office
- Aligning the GOLW with a pilot study on housing preferences at a particular site
- Aligning the GOLW with an architecture competition on increasing accessibility and usability within existing residential architecture
- Revising the application for both the pilot study and the architecture competition according to the recommendations of the SIAT
- Realizing a 6 month pilot study on older people and housing preference
- Realizing a 10.5 month invited architecture competition with pre-qualification, of which 2.1 months were devoted to preparing the competition documentation.
- The overall organization process of an architectural competition with a pilot study was 21.8 months.

The SIAT assessed the application on a pilot study during about two months, since the application lacked formal support from the AE, but an affirmative decision was delivered by 27 April. The application of means for a pilot study prepared for an architectural competition. By the same date, the ABG submitted an application concerning an architecture competition that would focus on defining the necessary refurbishing actions of the terraced houses. The two applications from Gaevle were linked together, since the head of the pilot study was also to be the secretary of architectural competition. The focus for the competition was to investigate alternative solutions of increasing the level of accessibility and usability in the existing terraced houses. However, the ABG did not exclude demolition, which was completely unthink-
able for the residents. Similar to the application for funding of a pilot study, the application lacked the formal decision of the board of the ABG. In consequence, the SIAT contacted the ABG with the recommendation to revise the application.

The work of revising the application included a special visit of the external expert that the SIAT had employed, who visited the site and engaged in discussing the matter with the applicant. A revised application for an architecture competition was sent in the 6 May. The ABG continued to prepare for the architectural competition, despite the fact that the formal decision from the SIAT was pending. This preparation took place within a special task force within the ABG, which also integrated the execution of the pilot study. On 15 June, professional journals published an invitation of the ABG oriented towards interesting architects to participate in an architectural competition that focused on the terraced houses. It was the same day, that the SIAT issued the formal decision to grant means to the competition.

The organizational process in the municipality of Linköping

The press release of the SGO was imminently noticed at the municipality of Linköping: Three officers at the Administration for Eldercare, AE, and the Administration for Town Planning, ATP, as well as by politicians, members of the special Municipal Committee for the Elderly, MCE. On regular basis, the matter of appropriate housing for older people, mainly dependent and frail, is scrutinized by the two administrations and the committee. The municipality has some 64 residential care homes, operated by some 8 different care entrepreneurs. The entrepreneurs have a four year contract with the municipality that is renewed in a public tendering procedure. Tendering procedures concerning care and caring services for older people have some similarities to architectural competition, in the sense that each tendering document is subjected to an evaluation process in order to assess competence, performance and quality.

Relying on a municipal survey of needs, executed in 2009, the municipality of Linköping immediately opted for an application for means to organize an architectural competition. In the municipality, residential care homes are mainly lacking in suburban areas from the period of 1950 to 1970. Given the Swedish planning when it comes to physical planning and infill project concerning residential care homes in such areas, this shortage can be subjected to a time-consuming process during which concerns from several actors have to be looked into and harmonized. Hence, applying for means in order to organize an architectural competition became a municipal matter that was co-jointly prepared by the AE and the ATP. On 28 February 2011, the municipality submitted an application to the SIAT that comprised three possible locations for a new residential care home in a suburban area. The municipality of Linköping invested the following moments in the process:

- Picking up on the press release made by the Swedish Governments Office
- Aligning the GOLW with an existing survey of housing preferences among seniors
- Aligning the GOLW with an architecture competition that would focus on a new residential care home in a suburban area from the period of 1950 to 1970.
- Updating existing documents for public tendering process of care and caring services into becoming competition programme
- Realizing a 12.5 month invited architecture competition with pre-qualification, of which 1.3 months were devoted to preparing the competition documentation.
- The overall organization process of an architectural competition with a pilot study was 21.6 months.
The SIAT found the application well prepared, and had little to object to. Without any special considerations, the SIAT accepted the application, and the decision was communicated to the municipality by 19 April, 2011. In consequence, the matter of organizing an architectural competition was further prepared by the MCE and the two administrations. The different competition sites were visited and evaluated by the politicians and the officers. The choice falls on a site in a suburb from the 1950s with a sloping terrain. The site is an impediment from the original pinewood forest that once covered the area. The general idea among the participants in the process was that this type of site would also constitute a challenge for the competing architects, since the matter of accessibility and usability was targeted especially.

The application to the SIAT included preliminary drafts of the competition programme and a list of requirements for the future residential care home. In order to minimize the possible consequences of a long planning process, a strategy for integrating the local opinion was also elaborated. The well prepared application in combination with the readily stated confirmation of the SIAT, allowed the municipality of Linköping to refine the competition documentation even further during a four month period. This preparation included a referential process in which the local administrations participated as well as the SAA and the SIAT. Despite this well geared preparation for a competition, the final documentation would supply little information about the residents’ possible cognitive or functional problems in the future residential care home.

Findings
Despite the dispersed character of the three municipal stakeholders, along with the reluctant inclination of the SIAT to implement the GOLW programme, this study supplies the ground for formulating the following six conclusions:

1. The presented cases suggest that a previous experience of organizing an architectural competition in combination with a referential process that involves different stakeholders will generate a more focused design task and potentially more well-digressed competition programme.

2. Out of the three cases, the municipality of Linköping appears as the most competent municipal organizer, since existing routines and ways of collaborating in an intra-administrational way produced preliminary drafts of the forthcoming competition documentation already in the application phase.

3. The above stated conclusion is supported by the fact that the municipality of Burloev also used the municipal tradition of using a referential procedure in order to condensate diversified information into valid competition documentation.

4. In opposition, the case of the municipality of Linköping suggests that pilot studies on matters that are to be explored in an architectural competition have to be accomplished prior to formulating the competition documentation.

5. In the two cases of Burloev and Gaevle, neither of the pilot studies was in the range of being integrated in the competition documentation, since these took place in a more or less parallel position to the architectural competition.

6. The three cases suggest that the supervisor of the full project, the SIAT, wasted valuable time in launching the investment in innovative architectural competitions, since few proactive means, like seminars, workshops or coverage in media, were realized in order to promote this line of the GOLW programme during a period of 7.5 month.

7. The study suggests that a type of gag-closing procedure can be detected in all of the four cases: the supervisor trying to implement the programme, and individually within each municipality in attempt to harmonize differing foci of interest.
These conclusions also suggest a possible ramification on the subsequent realization of the architecture competitions. It is questionable whether the outcome of the competition in Gaevle really promoted an increased level of accessibility and usability within existing housing, since the real estate company contemplated demolition.

Discussion
This study has explored the motivations of three municipal stakeholders to organize architectural competitions with the support of the governmental programme GOLW. The study has shown that these motivations have been depending on individual and underlying considerations that can be related to a type of relational thinking (Lipstadt, 2011). This thinking has very much rotated around the understanding of the older person and what an architectural competition can be used for. This can also be considered as a gap-closing procedure in which the ultimate aim has been to harmonize the municipal organizer’s arena of interest with a national investment in preparing for a demographically older society (European_Commission, 2008; Kreiner, 2011).

The study has aimed at identifying the dynamics in the three municipal processes of organizing architectural competitions in order to create a timeline. Universally, the three cases suggest that the timeline for an invited architectural competition with a municipal organizer is about 21 to 22 months. In realizing this time line, the referential procedure that is characteristic for civil administration is crucial, since it seems to harmonize differing foci of interest into a defined goal to fulfil. However, the cases demonstrate that this period of time has to be mainly focused on organizing a competition based on previously established knowledge: Parallel studies on neighbouring aspects with a potential of generating innovation and new knowledge are difficult to integrate, since two cases in the sample suggest that such studies will end about the same time as the architectural competition. Hence, architectural competitions in combination with pilot studies have to be sequential rather than parallel.

The particular gap-closing procedure that the three cases describe, or even four if the particular role of the supervising organ SIAT also is considered, might be biased by the national context. Yet, the high response rate among the respondents suggests that the conclusions are valid. Given the designated use of the architectural competition as an instrument for creating innovation when it comes to housing for older people, the study may generate some interest in other geographical contexts as well (Perren & Sapsed, 2013): None of the three municipalities picked up on that aspect, but went for a more utilitarian approach of how the governmental allocation could be merged with local interests. In that sense, the study demonstrates that none of the municipalities harboured an ideological motivation for organizing either an architectural competition or a pilot study on housing preferences among older people. The study suggests that a municipal organizer’s motivation for organizing an architectural competition is dominantly rational. Hence, the public organizer’s motivation to influence the development of new architecture must be considered as mitigated and depending on the goal of the architecture: Architecture for older people is not considered to be an iconic architecture (Patterson, 2012), and, in consequence, lesser the desire to create innovation-gearing competition programmes.

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References:


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