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5TH

**INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCE ON
COMPETITIONS
2014**

13-14 February 2014

PROCEEDINGS

Edited by Leentje Volker & Beatrice Manzoni



Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment

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SESSION 1A

THE CLIMATE

Towards A Professional Commissioning Practice

*An Assessment of Recent Public Design
Competition Culture in The Netherlands*

Michel Geertse

Towards a professional commissioning practice

An assessment of recent public design competition culture in the Netherlands

Michel Geertse (Architectuur Lokaal)

Introduction

Unlike some of its neighboring countries, the Netherlands do not have a strong tradition in public design contests. As of old, this kind of procedures are unpopular among public clients. Persistent prejudices prevail. Design contests are expensive, consume a lot of time and their outcome is uncertain (Spreiregen 1979). The few Dutch public design contests that have been organized in the past years are mainly used for image reasons and incidentally to generate ideas or just 'to do something different'. These procedures are rarely used for contract allocation. Public clients prefer to solicit bids from a select group of preferred architects. The implementation of the European Public Procurement Directives (Directive 2004/17/EG and 2004/18/EG) had a profound impact on Dutch design competition culture. Suddenly, open competition was compulsory for public contracts with a value above the European thresholds. Confronted with this legal obligation, Dutch public clients have resorted to European (predominantly restricted) tender procedures to award their contracts for design services (SESAM).

Most architects resent recent design competition culture in the Netherlands. Especially the European Procurement Directives, or – to be more precise – their unnecessary strict interpretation by Dutch awarding authorities, in the past years have given way to a seemingly endless stream of criticisms (Kroese et al. 2008; Van der Pol et al. 2009; Geertse et al. 2010; Stegmeijer 2010). These complaints are not confined to the architectural sector (Ruiter 2009). Besides overt aggravated requirements, criteria and contract terms and mounting transaction costs, architects complain about lacking properties, usually attributed to 'classic' design contests: peer review and holistic, qualitative review methods. It must be pointed out that these issues are not a specific Dutch phenomenon; everywhere in Europe the formal straightjacket of EU procurement causes similar problems (Geertse et al. 2010: 50-59). However, those who think architects prefer design contests are wrong. They are not enthusiastic about this kind of selection procedures because of the slim chances of winning and the considerable transaction costs involved. They resent the lack of commitment surrounding most design contests. Clients ask a lot, but generally offer little in return. The bulk of the Dutch design contests concern so-called 'ideas competitions' in which architects are asked to enter 'free designs'; they receive no remuneration for design costs, prize money is negligible and they have to transfer all intellectual property (Pöll 2013; Kempe 2013). Also abroad, these ideas competitions are a serious concern to architects (Geertse 2011). Despite the dominant sentiments towards design contests in the Netherlands, they are actually booming. The *Steunpunt Architectuuroopdrachten & Ontwerpwedstrijden of Architectuur Lokaal* (hereafter the *Steunpunt*) reported a spectacular increase(+74%) of design contests in 2012 (Steunpunt 2013).

This paper surveys recent Dutch competition culture within the architectural sector. This paper focuses on commissions by public clients in the period 2006-2013. It will sketch a geography of Dutch competition culture through an empirical assessment of Dutch competition practice, including

comparisons to practice abroad, and explore the ambiguous relation between public tender procedures and design competitions. Although often perceived as opposites, these procedures actually have a lot in common and are growing closer together.

A geography of Dutch design competition culture

Mapping design competition culture is far from easy. There is no central registration of design competitions (tenders for architecture and design contests) in the Netherlands, nor in its neighboring countries. *Tenders electronic daily* (TED) at ted.europa.eu, the electronic supplement to the *Official Journal of the European Union*, is a valuable resource for selection procedures resorting under the European Public Procurement Directives, but as a repository it has its shortcomings. Firstly, it serves as a repository for recent procedures. It does not store older contract and award notices. Queries by common procurement vocabulary (CPV) codes, is the easiest way to interrogate TED, but contract notices do not always have all the correct CPV codes – sometimes the wrong CPV codes are applied and in the case of integrated contracts the CPV code for design services is often missing – and the project description often does not clearly describe whether the (integrated) contract entails design services or not. National public procurement portals have similar disadvantages. Moreover, the infrastructure of these national portals is not always transparent. In the Netherlands we have the national public procurement portal *TenderNed* at www.tenderned.nl. The new Dutch Public Procurement Act (April 2013) compels Dutch awarding authorities to publish all their national and European contract notices on *TenderNed*. Other countries, like for example the UK, do not have a central portal and do not have a clue how many national portals they actually have (Winston 2013). In the case of design contests, registration is even more diffuse.

For the Netherlands, the online database of the *Steunpunt* is the best available resource to map the geography of Dutch design completion culture. This organization has collected information about all public procurement procedures for architectural commissions and all design competitions since July 2005, when the national decrees for implementation of the European Public Procurement Directives were formally adopted. The *Steunpunt* not only registers notices for procedures, but also monitors the proceedings of these procedures. Thus the *Steunpunt* offers unique information about design competition culture in the Netherlands. Of course we have to account for the methodology used by the *Steunpunt* for data gathering. Firstly, It gathers data manually to evade the trappings of missing and wrong CPV codes and poor project descriptions. Of course, manual work will result in an error margin, but this margin is not specified. Secondly, the *Steunpunt* focuses on what it calls ‘architectural commissions’. It defines ‘architectural commission’ as a commission or contract, including ‘a full design component’. An architectural commission must include the production of a design, not just the detailing or engineering of an available design. Finally, the *Steunpunt* is dependent on the availability of documentation and information. Its database gives a good overview of publicly announced design competitions (tenders and contests), but this database does not give a lot of information about invited and private design competitions, although this invisible ‘market’ must constitute the majority of the Dutch design competitions.

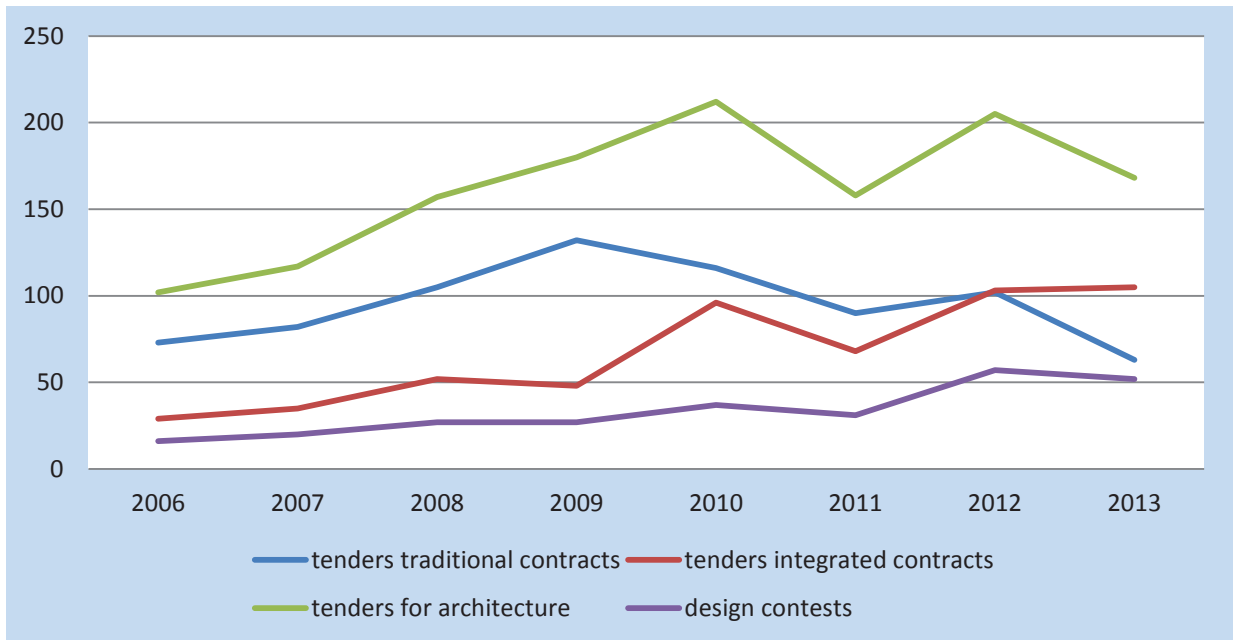
When we turn to the database of the *Steunpunt* (graph 1), it immediately becomes clear that recent public design competition culture in the Netherlands is dominated by (European) tender procedures. These graphics need some explaining. Although, just like the rest of Europe, the Netherlands have been severely hit by the economic crisis and its consequences from 2008/2009 onwards, the number of procurement procedures for architecture initially continues to grow, while the number of contracts available in this period actually substantially decreases. This deviation is

primarily caused by improved compliance with the European Public Procurement Directives by decentralized awarding authorities (Idzenga et al. 2010; Van Dieten et al. 2012). First in 2011 improved compliance can no longer compensate the general economic downpour in the building industry. The year 2012 brings a short recovery, but 2013 brings a continuance of the downhill trajectory. This downward trajectory is being reinforced by the new Public Procurement Act, which provides compulsory guidelines with regard to the proportionality (requirements, transaction costs et cetera) of tender procedures. In the wake compulsory European tenders, many public clients used so-called 'nation tenders', procedures that echo European tender procedures, for contracts with a value beneath the European thresholds. Often these national tenders were disproportionate, if one compares the contract values with the requirements and transaction costs involved. Under the new Public Procurement Act national tenders for design services have more or less evaporated. Public clients use invited tenders instead, which are not registered by the *Steunpunt*.

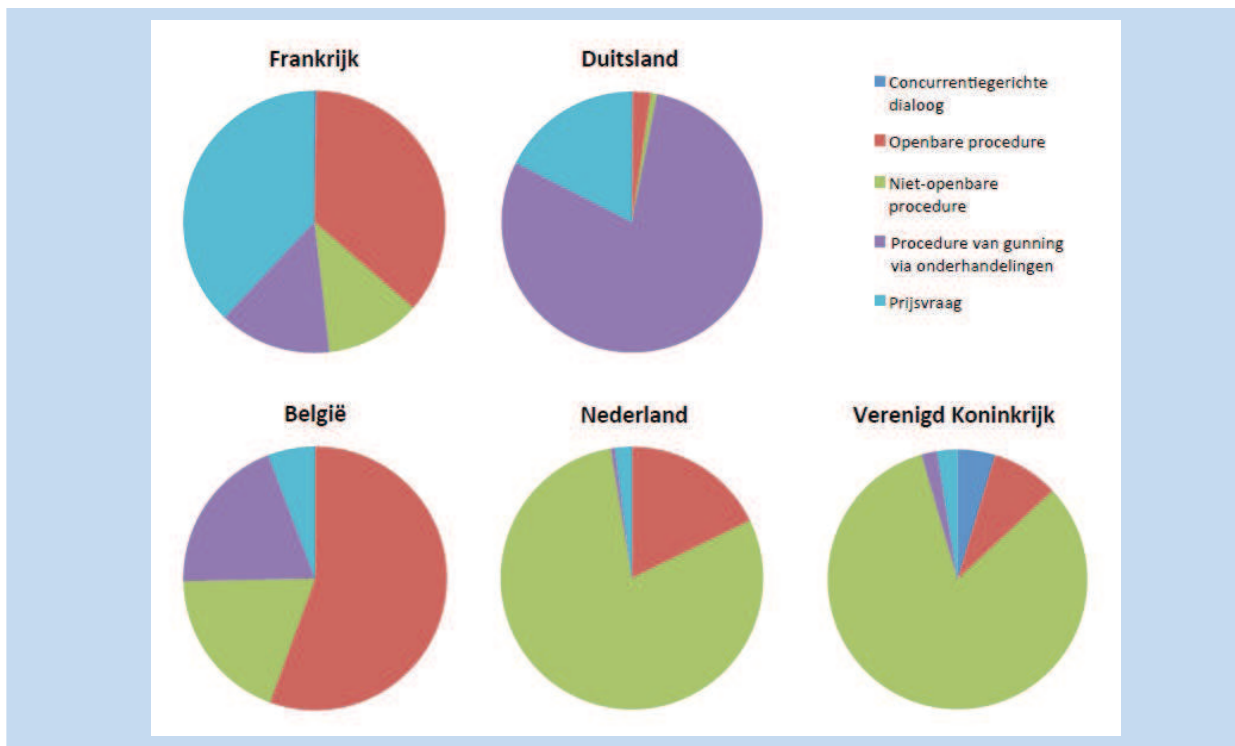
Graph 1 also clearly reveals an orientation towards integrated contracting in the Netherlands. Integrated contracting is official State policy and is being actively promoted among decentralized awarding authorities, both by the State and protagonists of the construction industry. Especially the year 2010 witnesses a significant upsurge of integrated contracts at the expense of the –then still dominant – traditional contracts. In 2012 integrated contracting matches traditional contracting, while in 2013 the former has surpassed the latter. Throughout the period 2006-2013 the number of design contests in the Netherlands witnesses a steady increase, but their number pales compared to the number of tenders.

Dutch awarding authorities mainly use the restricted tender procedure to award architectural commissions resorting under the European Public Procurement Directives (graph 2). With regard to public procurement, Dutch design competition culture is primarily informed by the practice in the UK. We roughly use the same procedures and we have also borrowed the concept of integrated contracting from the Anglo-Saxon world. This design competition culture differs from that in other European countries. In France, public clients mainly use design contests and open tender procedures; in Germany, public clients mainly resort to negotiation procedures, followed by design contests. It must be pointed out that these countries have national legislation with regard to public design competition culture. Design contests are compulsory for prestigious public buildings. In Belgium, the open tender procedure dominates public design competition culture. However, we must account for the fact that TED statistics provide a misleading overview for the Belgian context. The share of design contests is larger. The 'open calls' organized by the Flemish Chief Architect are registered as single contests, while an open call actually is a clustered notice of several design contests (one open call can cover 30+ design contests). These foreign alternative procedures are generally dismissed by Dutch awarding authorities as too alien, too cumbersome and/or too expensive (Geertse, Jansen & Talman 2012).

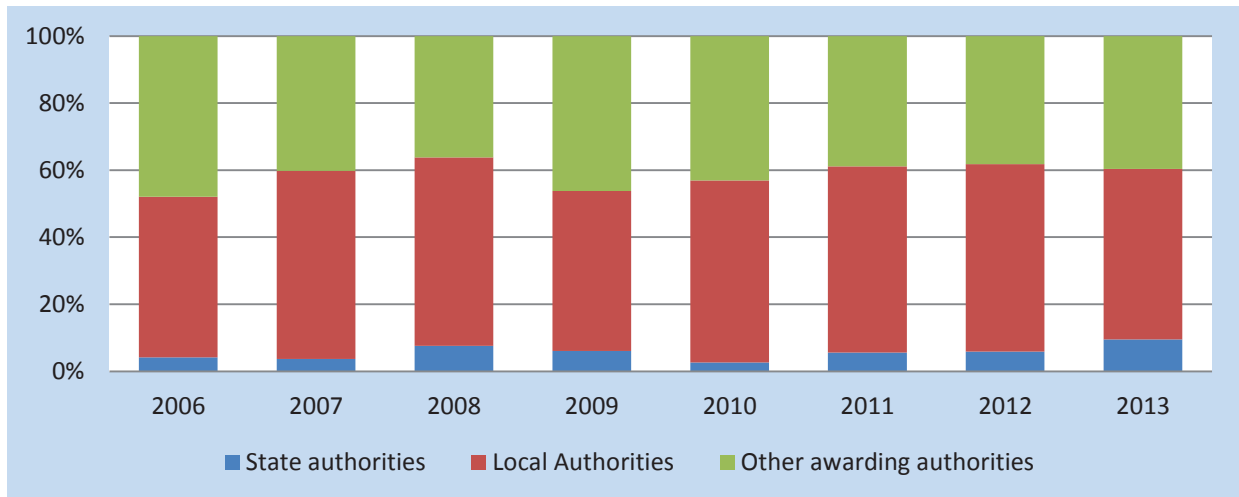
The database of the *Steunpunt* enables identification of the clients behind Dutch design competitions (graphs 3 and 4). Unsurprisingly, tender procedures are predominantly organized by organizations that are regarded as 'awarding authority' under the European Public Procurement Directives (governmental agencies and institutions controlled or predominantly financed by the government). Tender procedures are predominantly organized by local authorities (municipalities and provinces), followed by 'other awarding authorities'. This latter category mainly concerns school boards and universities and, to a lesser extent, special services providers in the water, energy, infrastructure and postal services sectors (sectors covered by Directive 17/2004/EG). In the case of



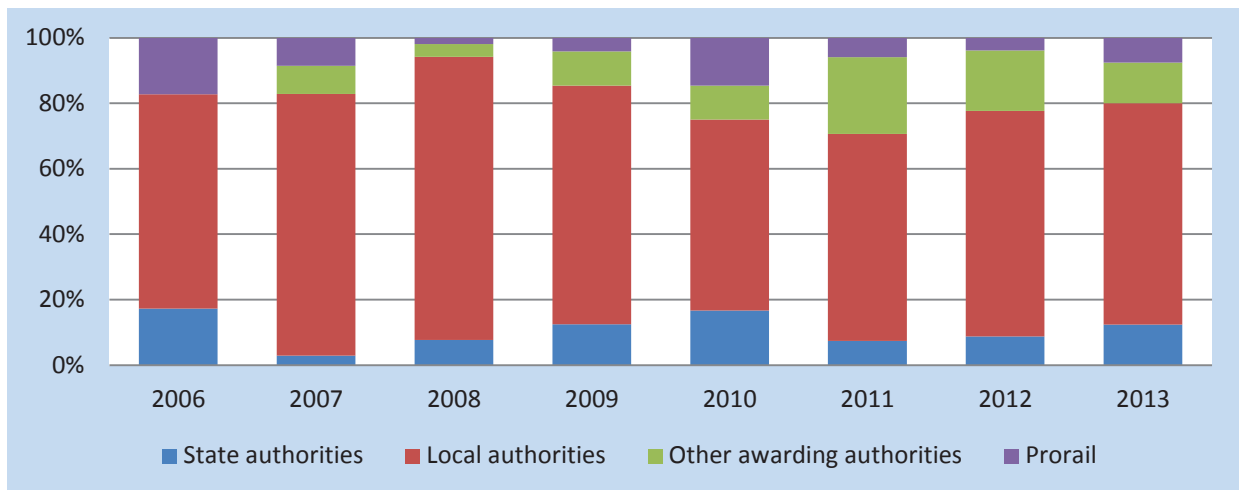
Graph 1: Tender procedures for architecture (traditional design services contracts and integrated contracts including design services) and design contests in the Netherlands in the period 2006-2013 (the figures for 2013 exclude December 2013). Source: Database Steunpunt Architectuuropdrachten & Ontwerpwedstrijden / SESAM



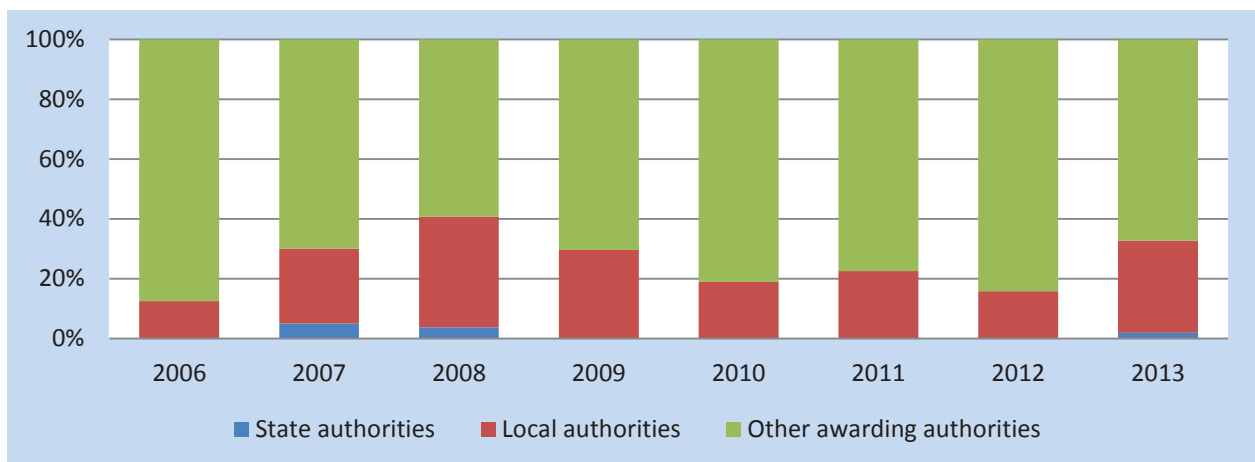
Graph 2: EU procurement of architectural design services in Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands and the UK, based on contract notices published in OJEU (November 2008-November 2011) with CPV-code for design services. Light blue= design contest, purple= negotiation procedure, green= restricted tender procedure, red= open tender procedure, dark blue= competitive dialogue. Source: Geertse, Jansen & Talman (2012).



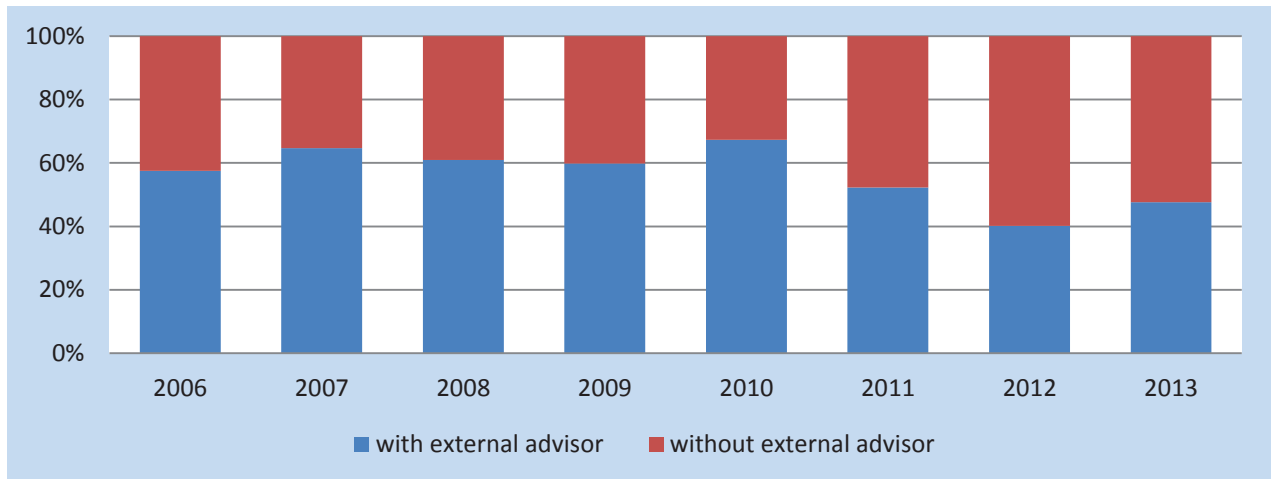
Graph 3: public clients behind tender procedures for traditional design services contracts in the period 2006-2013 (the figures for 2013 exclude December 2013). Source: Database Steunpunt Architectuuropdrachten & Ontwerpwedstrijden / SESAM



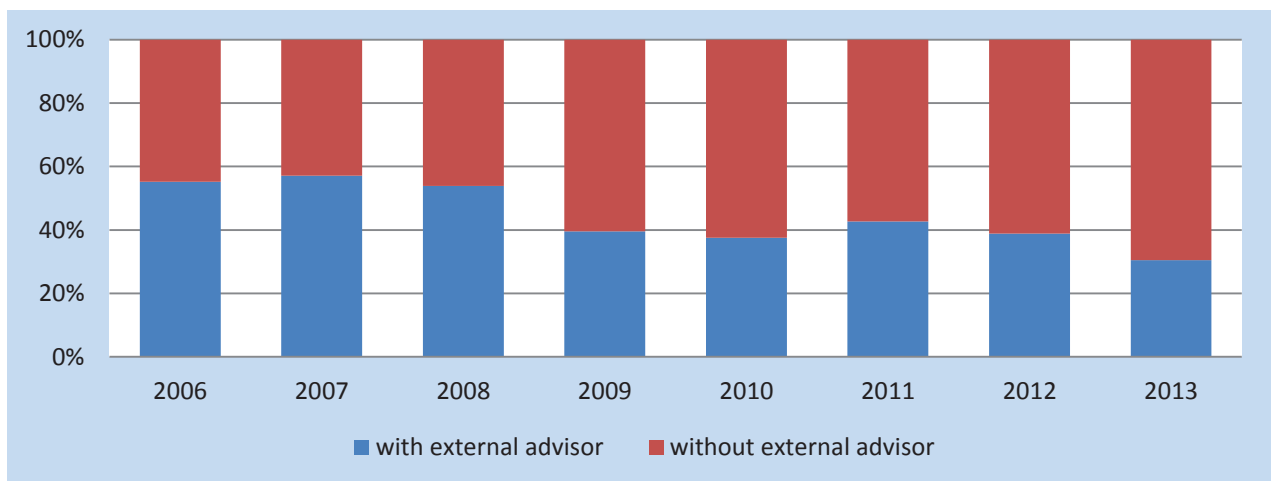
Graph 4: public clients behind tender procedures for integrated contracts, including design services, in the period 2006-2013 (the figures for 2013 exclude December 2013). Source: Database Steunpunt Architectuuropdrachten & Ontwerpwedstrijden / SESAM



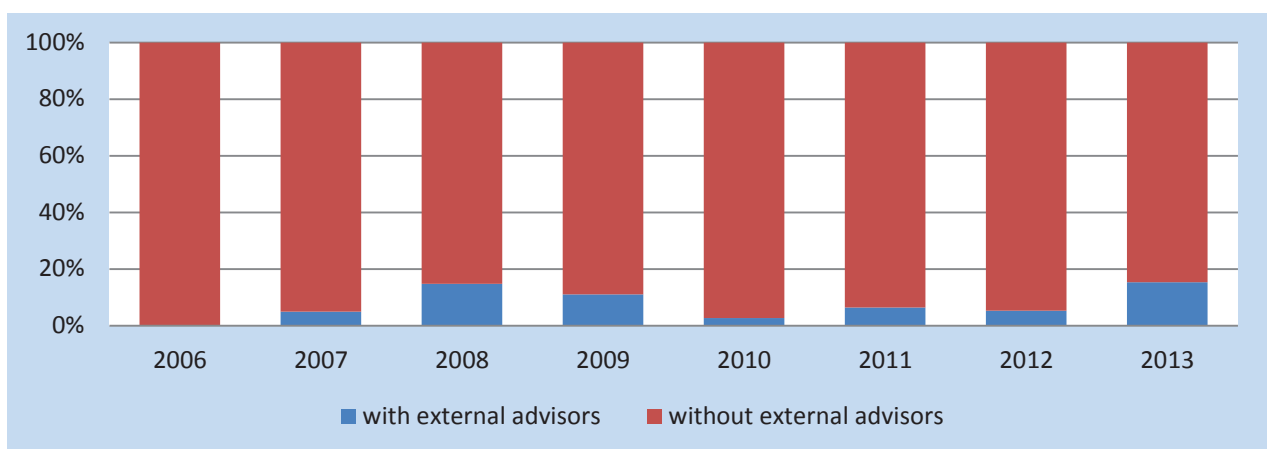
Graph 5: clients behind design contests in the period 2006-2013 (the figures for 2013 exclude December 2013). Source: Database Steunpunt Architectuuropdrachten & Ontwerpwedstrijden / SESAM



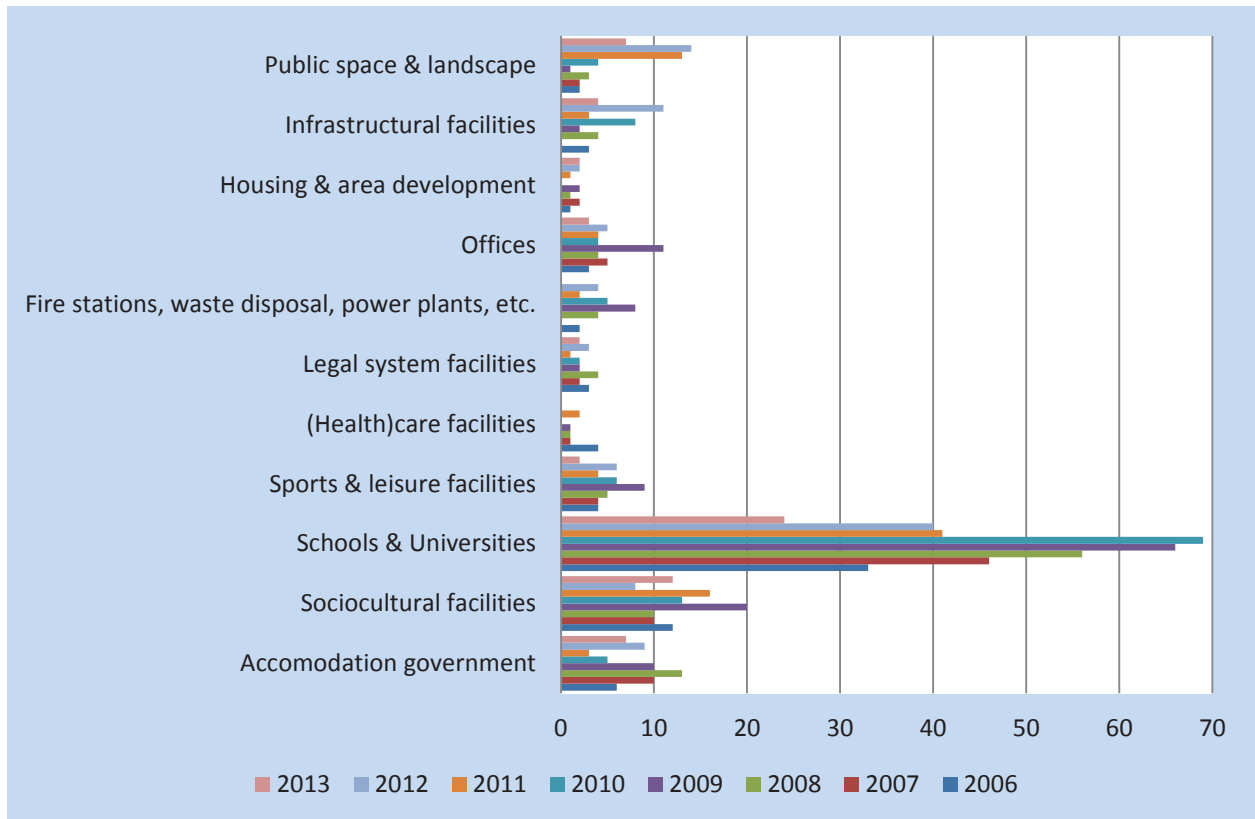
Graph 6: External advisors responsible for tender procedures for traditional design services contracts in the period 2006-2013 (the figures for 2013 exclude December 2013). Source: Database Steunpunt Architectuuroopdrachten & Ontwerpwedstrijden / SESAM



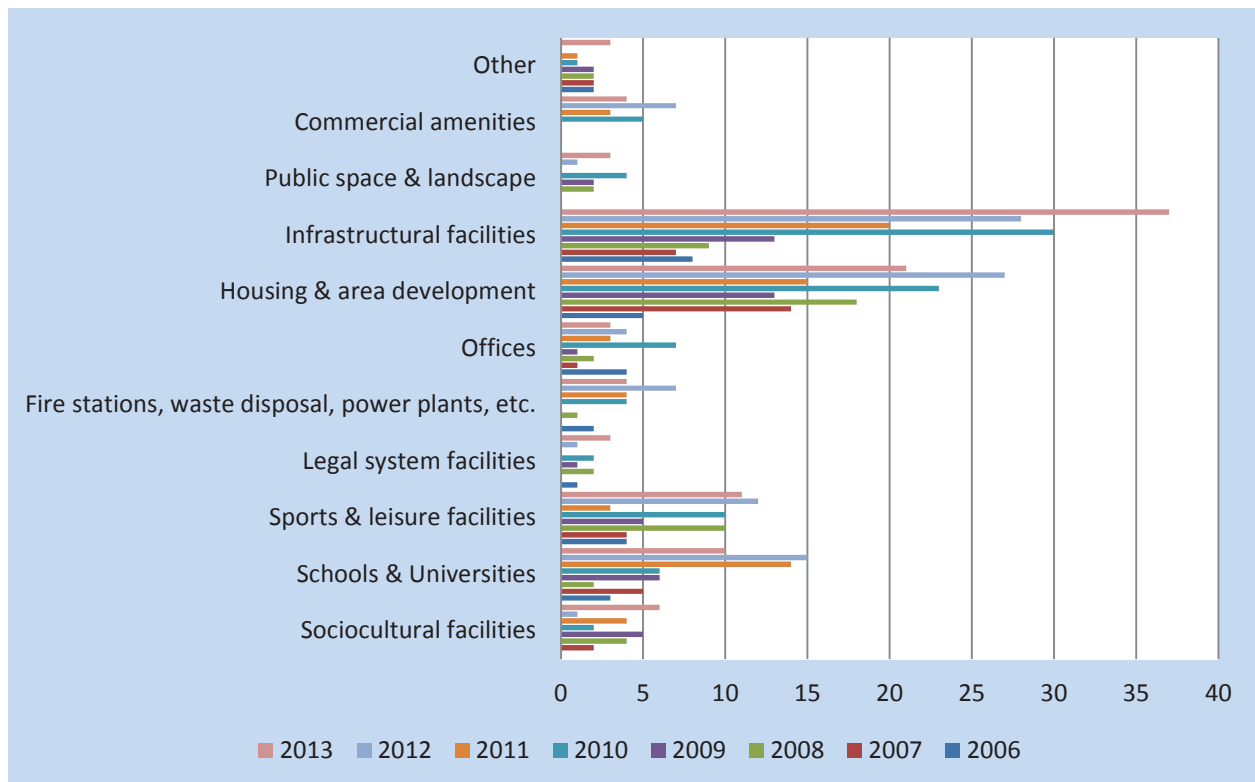
Graph 7: External advisors responsible for tender procedures for integrated contracts, including design services, in the period 2006-2013 (the figures for 2013 exclude December 2013). Source: Database Steunpunt Architectuuroopdrachten & Ontwerpwedstrijden / SESAM



Graph 8: External advisors responsible for design contests in the period 2006-2013 (the figures for 2013 exclude December 2013). Source: Database Steunpunt Architectuuroopdrachten & Ontwerpwedstrijden / SESAM



Graph 9: Taxonomy of commissions for tenders of traditional contracts in the period 2006-2013 (the figures for 2013 exclude December 2013). Source: Database Steunpunt Architectuuroopdrachten & Ontwerpwedstrijden / SESAM



Graph 10: Taxonomy of commissions for tenders of integrated contracts in the period 2006-2013 (the figures for 2013 exclude December 2013). Source: Database Steunpunt Architectuuroopdrachten & Ontwerpwedstrijden / SESAM

integrated contracting, Prorail, the Dutch railway network operator, deserves explicit mentioning. These awarding authorities include a lot of 'incidental' public clients. A school director only incidentally solicits design services for a new school building. The same goes for a small municipality that wants to commission a new town hall. These inexperienced awarding authorities make use of external advisors to organize their procurement procedures (graphs 5 and 6). These advisors have a big impact on Dutch design competition culture. They are responsible for about 60% of the tenders for traditional contracts and 40% of the tenders for integrated contracts, although at the moment their share is decreasing under the influence of the professionalization of governmental purchasing departments.

Design contests are organized by different clients than public procurement procedures (graph 5). In this category local authorities are not the dominant client. Here 'other awarding authorities' does not refer to schools, universities and special sector providers, but predominantly to cultural and professional institutions. Dominant cultural institutions include organizations such as EUROPAN, the *Stimuleringsfonds voor Architectuur*, architecture centers and the Netherlands Architecture Institute. Professional institutions include the Royal Institute of Dutch Architects and its local branches. These clients only incidentally use external advisors to organize their design contest. Most of them use the standard brief of *KOMPAS bij Prijsvragen en Meervoudige Opdrachten* (Van Campen & Hendrikse 1997) developed by *Architectuur Lokaal*. The majority of these contests concern so-called 'ideas competitions' which represent only marginal financial interests, so the need for a formal, legally airtight procedure (the general rule in Dutch public procurement) is generally considered negligible.

A closer look at the commissions tendered by public clients learns that traditional and integrated contracts are used for all kinds of building projects (graphs 9 and 10). Nevertheless, some preferences are clearly identifiable. Design services for educational buildings and representative public buildings (town halls, cultural buildings and social facilities) are predominantly tendered as traditional contracts. On the other hand, design services for housing and area development, infrastructural projects and commercial facilities (retail and food service industry) are predominantly tendered as integrated contract. It is more difficult to describe a taxonomy of commissions for Dutch design contests. Unlike procurement procedures in which public clients solicit specific design solutions that meet a detailed program of requirements, a lot of design competitions do not stipulate specific design solutions. They often stimulate 'out of the box' solutions. Moreover, design contests cover a far broader spectrum of assignments. Nevertheless, generally speaking we can discern definite anchor points in public space, cultural facilities and housing in the corpus of Dutch design competition briefs (SESAM).

The past years a lot has been said about the architects competing in Dutch design competitions. Although some architects emphasize the fruits of European public procurement, that is the accessibility of public contracts to all eligible market operators (Geertse, Jansen & Talman 2011: 8-9), most architects lament compulsory European tender procedures. They complain European public procurement has achieved the very opposite of a level playing field. Most tender procedures assess the track record of eligible architects. As a consequence, tendered design services contracts are usually awarded to settled, larger architectural firms. The *Steunpunt* has refuted popular belief that a successful elite of large architectural firms is responsible for an ever-growing number of awards. By means of annual diversity ratios (number of architectural firms that have secured an award through public procurement / number of public procurement procedures pro year) it has demonstrated that public contracts are actually awarded to an expanding population of architectural

firms (Geertse, Jansen & Talman 2010). Still, there is no denying that large architectural firms and specialized architectural firms get most tendered public contracts. The new Dutch Public Procurement Act intends to change this situation. Accessibility to public contracts by SMEs is one of the spearheads of this new legislation, although so far it has effected little change in European public procurement procedures. But of course, local SMEs have sufficient acquisition opportunities regarding public contracts beneath the European thresholds. The Public Procurement Act has had the effect that national tenders dissolve. Public clients increasingly turn to so-called regional tenders to offer opportunities for local firms and local employment for smaller commissions (Geertse and Talman 2013). Although the European public procurement rules aim to create an open European market and stimulate cross-border trade, the number of tendered Dutch public contracts that are awarded to foreign firms is negligible (SESAM). This observation is consistent with reports on cross-border procurement commissioned by the European Commission (Ramboll & HTW Chur 2011).

Dutch design contests attract a different population of contestants. Design contests especially hold appeal for start-ups and SMEs and young architects that do not have their own firm yet. The diversity among winners is much bigger than in (EU) procurement. Although also in Dutch design contests Dutch winners dominate, these procedures relatively produce more foreign winners than Dutch public procurement (database of the *Steunpunt*).

'Communicating vessels'

Although to the uninformed beholder public procurement and design contests must represent different, rigidly separated worlds. One might say that this division reflects the duality that is inherent to the architectural profession as an applied art. Architecture is both an autonomous art and an economic service to clients (Geertse 2011). Public procurement focuses on the economic dimension of architecture. Architectural design is perceived as an economic service to be purchased. Design contests on the other hand emphasize the cultural potency of architectural design. They rely on design agency to produce creative and innovative solutions. However, the separation between public procurement culture and design contest culture is not as absolute as one might expect.

Design contest principles	Public procurement principles
1. Plan	1. Partner
2. Assignment	2. Contract allocation
3. Artist	3. Market operator
4. Object focus	4. Process focus
5. Consultation	5. Acquisition
6. possible design solution	6. best and final offer
7. design contest regulations	7. tender procedures
8. Assessment by jury (peer review)	8. Assessment by client (review by laymen)
9. Anonymity	9. Interaction

Table 1: Principles of design contest culture and public procurement culture. Based on Volker 2010, 115.

Despite the different backgrounds of design contest culture and public procurement culture, they actually have a lot in common. Both essentially focus on selection procedures for architecture. The former focuses on selecting a plan on the basis of the best offered design solution, whereas the latter focuses on selecting an eligible contract partner on the basis of the best bid (table 1). Both face similar challenges: conceiving a transparent and objective assessment method and keeping the transaction costs for all parties involved as low as possible. These cultures are corresponding vessels and inform each other. Traditionally, public procurement culture is informed by the disadvantages of

design contests. Public clients abhor an uncertain outcome of their selection processes. They want certainty and avoid every imaginable risk. Thus tender procedures are characterized by a highly formal approach, extensive requirements (turnover, experience, staff, certificates et cetera), detailed contract terms, a strong focus on price and legally binding best and final offers. Public clients desire sound products without risks and they want it as soon and as cheap as possible. Design contests, on the other hand, traditionally are informed by the disadvantages of public procurement culture. Design contests are often used as a means to offer opportunities to young designers who are not able to compete in tender procedures, to explore the full potency of architectural design outside the formal straightjacket of EU procurement. These procedures often serve image reasons as well. Clients want to profile themselves as culturally informed enlightened commissioners. It must be pointed out, that there are also clients who use design contests as a relatively cheap means to solicit 'free designs'.

The aforementioned exchange between public procurement culture and design contest culture is perceived from the client's perspective. Of course, selection procedures for architecture are also a concern to the contenders involved: the architects. Also from the architect's perspective we can discern an interaction between public procurement culture and design contest culture, but the nature of this exchange is very different. Here, public procurement perception is informed by the advantages of design contests. Architects resent excessive requirements, the strong focus on price and the absence of peer review. Similarly, perception of design contest culture is informed by the advantages of public procurement. Especially the absence in most design contests of a substantial commission to justify the transaction costs involved is very relevant. It must be pointed out that Dutch architects are also informed by foreign design competition culture (Kempe and Thill 2008; Geertse et al. 2012: 50-59). Dutch architects also compete elsewhere in Europe and thus have firsthand experience in foreign tender procedures and/or design competitions. Foreign public procurement culture and design contest culture and the relation between the two can at times be very different from Dutch commissioning practice. Of all the foreign examples, especially the Open Call, a restricted design contest with prequalification on the basis of a small portfolio, by the Flemish Chief Government Architect has a tremendous appeal to architects, especially the younger generation. Institutions such as *Architectuur Lokaal/Steunpunt* actively promulgate foreign best practices such as the Flemish Open Call (Geertse et al. 2012: 44-49).

Towards professional commissioning practice

The malpractices in Dutch design competition culture have initiated fierce public debates about public commissioning. In 2008/2009 these debates centered around the preposterous requirements in public procurement, that effectively excluded the majority of Dutch architects from tendered public contracts. The discussions were dominated by negative sentiment. Stakeholders involved blamed each other. Especially, the uninformed and inexperienced public clients were easy targets in this public discussions. Obviously something needed to be done. It was Chief Government Architect Liesbeth van der Pol who took the initiative to unite representatives of all stakeholders involved in one body, the *Regiegroep Aanbesteden*, to produce solutions on the basis of consensus. Simultaneously, *Architectuur Lokaal* set out to raise the efficiency of its *Steunpunt* with regard to public procurement. Subsequently, the activities of the *Steunpunt* and the *Regiegroep* were linked and a State subvention was secured to implement a program, to be executed by the *Steunpunt*. Both friend and foe agree the activities of the *Steunpunt* have had a significant impact on Dutch

commissioning practice for architectural design. Since June 2009 the *Steunpunt* collects all contract notices and design contests published on digital portals such as TED and TenderNed and publishes them on its website www.ontwerpwedstrijden.nl. It monitors the proceedings of these procedures up to the final contract award. More importantly, it writes a letter with suggestions for improvements of the published brief, both solicited and unsolicited, to the contact of the procedure. Thus the *Steunpunt* actively contributes to eliminating legal errors and reducing disproportionate requirements, criteria and contract terms. It actively promulgates implementing practical attributes from design contest culture into public procurement, such as expert review, emphasis on quality instead of price, remuneration for design services rendered during the procedure (Geertse et al. 2010: 18-19).

Based on the knowledge gathered by monitoring tender procedures for design services, the *Steunpunt* developed a digital tool which enables public clients to produce a brief for their tender procedure for architectural design services: KOMPAS light. The first version of KOMPAS light was published in December 2009. At the moment the third version is running online (SAO 2013). This digital tool was well received by architects, advisors and public clients (Geertse et al 2012: 11, 20-21, 29-33). In 2012 the *Steunpunt* published a new installment in the KOMPAS light family: *KOMPAS light Prijsvragen* (SAO 2012). This new KOMPAS focuses on improving design contest culture. Whereas the first KOMPAS light introduces attributes of design contest culture in public procurement, the second KOMPAS introduces attributes of Dutch public procurement culture and of foreign design contest culture into Dutch design contest culture. These attributes mainly regard the proportionality principle (anchored in the new Public Procurement Act) and the principle of a two-tier selection process to reduce transaction costs (based both on the proportionality principle and design contest practice abroad). The year 2013 witnessed the first Dutch design contest organized by means of the new branch of the KOMPAS light family: the open call The Hague, Building on each other (Municipality of The Hague 2013). The KOMPAS light instruments predefine the legal structure of procedures – thus promoting standardization, which can lead to reduced transaction costs – to enable clients to focus on their ambition, rather than to sideline them in legal trivialities. This campaign is further supported by collecting and disseminating best practices (Geertse et al 2011).

Although the *Steunpunt* can claim some success in improving Dutch design competition culture, it by no means is solely responsible for the recent changes. Purchasing professionals in the Netherlands have adopted a change of paradigm (Rietveld 2010). Realization had dawned that increased incentives to exclusively compete on price are irresponsible. Value maximization increasingly is sought by offering a fixed or maximum fee to stimulate competition on quality. As long as market operators stay within budget, the qualitative best bid wins. Experts are increasingly called upon for consultation with regard to the assessment of qualitative bids. So, general public procurement culture as a whole is slowly accumulating attributes of classic design contest culture. Moreover, market operators' lobby organizations, especially those representing SMEs, have successfully lobbied in the Hague for a new Public Procurement Act that offers more safeguards for entrepreneurs. The new Dutch Public Procurement Act rewards these lobbies and introduces a whole string of rules to improve public procurement practice, such as an obligation to reduce administrative burdens, compulsory guidelines with regard to the proportionality of procedures and the discouragement of lowest price as sole awarding criterion (Chao-Duvis & Kluitenberg 2013). Of course, these legal changes also promise to affect architect selections, but it is still too early to determine the exact impact of the new public procurement legislation.

Changes are not just reinforced on the national level. Although a lot of local authorities

struggle with the proper organization of design competition culture, some municipalities actually pride themselves in being enlightened commissioners. Especially the Municipality of Rotterdam which has given itself the title ‘Architecture City of the Netherlands’ is making a serious effort to institutionalize a thriving municipal design competition culture. After the commotion surrounding the tender procedure for design services for its new town hall (2009), the municipality radically changed tack in its architectural policy (Brouwers & Maandag 2010). Enlightened commissioning is a spearhead of this new policy. The policy is implemented through the *Protocol Designers’ Selections* (table 2). Architect selections must be of a high standard, simple and accessible. All selection procedures are publicly announced to secure accessibility for all interested architects. Small (<€ 30.000) and medium commissions (€ 30.000–€ 150.000) are published on the site of the *Steunpunt*. Large commissions (>€ 150.000) are published on TenderNed. Every category has its own proportionate requirements, a considerate and transparent assessment (including peer review) and an emphasis on architectural quality. For small commissions Rotterdam uses its own Open Call which is based on the well-known Flemish Counterpart. Interested architects send in a small portfolio. On the basis of the received portfolios 3-5 architects are invited to a restricted procedure in which they are asked to draft a design for a fixed remuneration. Assessment is being carried out by a jury.

Protocol ontwerper selectie
Stadsontwikkeling (OBR d5+V IGWR)
27.06.2011

1. Honorarium	2. Voorbereiding	3. Publicatie	4. Selectie	5. Gunning	6. Verantwoording	7. Commissie	8. Doorlooptijd
	Ambitie Complexiteit Betekenis Tijd Budget (/m2) Vraagspecificatie Commissie		veel deelnemers	3-5 deelnemers			
< 30.000 Klein	Visie	Steunpunt Ontwerpwedstrijden	Portfolio CV	(n.v.t)	(n.v.t)	Intern	35 dg (5 wk)
	Ontwerp	Steunpunt Ontwerpwedstrijden	Portfolio CV	Ontwerp	Gunning + Media	Intern	77 dg (11 wk)
30.000 – 150.000 Middel	Visie	Steunpunt Ontwerpwedstrijden	Referentieproject	CV 10 % 1-5 pt Visie 60 % 1-5 pt Honorarium 30 % 1-5 pt	Gunning	Intern	84 dg (12 wk)
	Ontwerp	Steunpunt Ontwerpwedstrijden	Referentieproject	Ontwerp	Gunning + Media	Intern	90 dg (14 wk)
> 150.000 Groot	Visie	Aanbestedingskalender	Referentieprojecten Solvabiliteit	CV's 10 % 1-5 pt Visie 60 % 1-5 pt Honorarium 30 % 1-5 pt	Selectie + Gunning + Media	Intern	161 dg (23 wk)
	Ontwerp	Aanbestedingskalender	Referentieprojecten Solvabiliteit	Ontwerp	Selectie + Gunning + Media	Extern Intern	182 dg (26 wk)

Table 2: Protocol Designers’ Selections of Rotterdam Municipality. Source: Rotterdam Municipality

Conclusion

How to summarize the main points of this article? Like in most European countries, design competition culture in the Netherlands is not homogeneous. It comprises two distinctly different cultures: public procurement culture and design contest culture. Each culture has its own distinct background. Public procurement culture clearly is dominant. Forced by the European Public Procurement Directives, Dutch ‘awarding authorities’ – first and foremost municipalities - are obliged to publicly tender all public contracts for design services that represent values above the European thresholds. Design services are increasingly procured through integrated contracting. Although both

traditional and integrated contracting are used by different clients for all kinds of commissions, we nevertheless can identify distinct preferences. Tenders are the domain of settled architectural firms; start-ups and SMEs experience great difficulties competing in public procurement. Design contests are primarily organized by cultural and professional institutions. The assignments cover a wide range of subjects that often defy categorization. Nevertheless, we can discern distinct anchor points in housing, public space and sociocultural facilities. Design contests mainly attract young architects and small firms.

To the uninformed beholder public procurement culture and design contest culture represent different, strictly separated worlds. Public procurement focuses on the economic aspect of architecture. Architectural design essentially is a service to be purchased. Design contests stress the cultural component of architectural design and champion agency and autonomy of design. However, they are not rigidly separated, but are 'communicating vessels'. From the clients' perspective, public procurement culture is primarily informed by negative feedbacks from design contest culture and design contest culture by negative feedbacks from public procurement culture. However, the architect's perspective on public procurement is informed by positive feedbacks from design contest culture, whereas his perception of design contest culture is informed by positive feedbacks from public procurement culture.

The exchange between these two cultures fuels a fierce public debate about malpractices in Dutch design competition culture. Under the influence of this debate and its demand of a professionalization of Dutch commissioning practice, public procurement culture and design contest culture are slowly growing towards each other. Public procurement culture appropriates attributes from design contest culture, whereas the latter borrows properties from procurement culture. This trend of *rapprochement* is facilitated by the actions of dedicated institutions, such as *Architectuur Lokaal/Steunpunt*, the successful lobby of branch organizations, especially the ones representing SMEs, for improved public procurement legislation that safeguards proportionality and accessibility, and the exemplary commissioning practice of enlightened public commissioners such as Rotterdam Municipality.

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Some Reflections on the Problematic Location of the Entity “Clients” in the Ontological Structure of Electronic Ressources on Competitions

Jean-Pierre Chupin

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE PROBLEMATIC LOCATION OF THE ENTITY “CLIENTS” IN THE ONTOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF ELECTRONIC RESSOURCES ON COMPETITIONS

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1 – What is a « client » in a theoretical model of the competition phenomena?

Of an epistemological nature, and considering the need for ontological definitions in parallel to ongoing case studies on competitions in the world, this paper addresses the paradoxical definitions of “client” and “clients” in a general theoretical framework for research on competitions. A simple comparison of two types of electronic resources on competitions, mainly typical websites and online databases, supports a questioning of common representations and potential controversies about the gap between clients and designers in the process. Competitions are often said to establish a distance between clients and designers. We formulate the hypothesis that this preconceived representation comes in part from the communicational and media potential of competitions rather than the design / judgement process itself and that it comes from a misunderstanding of what a competition represents. In our digital age, the impact of competitions websites on the dissemination of some clichés about competition cannot be underestimated.

This paper reflects on a decade of personal experience in the building and use of competition projects library, here presented as Electronic Library of Competitions (ELC), as an invitation to recognize that even the ontological structure of a relational database such as the *Canadian Competitions Catalogue* (www.ccc.umontreal.ca) remains an imperfect theoretical reconstruction of this complex temporal phenomenon called “design competition”.

How can we define the notion of client in a theoretical model of the competition process? While it is clear that a competition is a temporal phenomenon involving a great variety of actors, it is more difficult to define, a priori, what a client represents in this process. One might argue that there are various clients all along the process. To the question “who is the client?” a possible answer may be: “the one who launches and ends the competition?” This answer is unsatisfying since a professional organiser can perform these actions without being the client, even more so if we admit that this service, as a professional act, precisely is addressed to a client, either private or institutional. The head librarian may be considered the client of a competition for a new public library when she is in fact only one of the representatives of the public mandate giver, depending on the various levels of hierarchy.

In this intertwining of responsibilities, typical of public spaces and places, the “client” either tends to be seen at one extreme or the other of the chain of decisions. However, can a administrative director or even a minister of culture or of education be considered the client of a school or a library, when everybody, in fact, in a democracy, is eligible to the title of client of a public space or building?

A sociological answer will not be more satisfying by replacing the client with the user. Client and user are not synonymous entities furthermore they tend to belong to opposite sides

of the project in architectural terms. Although designers must work with some representation of the user, and while there obviously are users of buildings, there is no user of a “project” per se. In other words, if we stay within the logical structure of a competition, the user is implicit during the process and becomes explicit only when the building is realised. On the contrary, and logically speaking, everybody should be considered a client in a competition process for a public building, including designers themselves. Like the notion of “user”, the notion of “client” is not easy to circumscribe at an epistemological level.

But there is an entity, typical of the competition process, which is entitled to behave as a potential client and that is the jury. One should also consider by definition that in a competition, the jury theoretically is the representative of the public. As such, the jury is the temporary client to which designers submit their projects, in this kind of qualitative process. In other words the jury is the closest representation of an “ideal model of the clients” formulated by a specific competition framework. To make this even clearer, and to use an extreme case, it is not rare to see private organisers asking to be the sole members of a jury for a private building and to see public organisers’ dream of the same kind of restrictive jury composition. The weight of French president François Mitterand in the questionable judging of some famous competitions in Paris in the 1980’s is well known in that respect, as shown by François Chaslin (1985).

In general, jury are composed to be representatives of public interest and some competition rules consider that neither the elected politicians nor the administrative representative should be a jury member, as they can be tempted to emphasize political or institutional interests above general public needs.

In fact the history of competitions is a testimony of the difficult equilibrium requested to compose a fair, knowledgeable and “representative” jury and I would even add that the history of competitions is a slow and ongoing movement toward the democratic recognition of public interest: the same way that the history of the Internet mirrors the tensions between transparent communication and manipulative propaganda.

In the following two sections we evaluate both explicit and implicit representations of clients first in a general survey of competitions websites and second in a more scientific database like our own *Canadian Competitions Catalogue*. This comparison is not meant to act as a methodological apparatus but mainly as a reflective device.

2 – Where are the « clients » in the pages of various websites on competitions?

Coming from 45 countries, more than 150 websites on competitions have already been compiled in a special on-line resource regularly updated by the *Research Chair on Competition (C.R.C)* and the *Laboratoire d’étude de l’architecture potentielle (L.E.A.P)* labs at Université de Montréal (<http://www.leap.umontreal.ca/index.php?id=85&lang=en>).

When examined closely, it appears that dozens of competition websites give access to inconsistent levels of data and information. Although they display considerable amounts of images, these websites are rarely grounded on a coherent definition of the competition. Even a reliable resource like “competitions.org”, directed by Stanley Collyer, will often display announcements or results by considering the organisers of a competition as clients but also as “sponsors”. If we take for example a case related to the “Ullswater Yacht Club Design Competition”, it is said that the *Royal Institute of British Architect (RIBA)* was the mandated sponsor and the notion of client appears only in a sentence like: “The report should also include an elemental cost statement to demonstrate how the scheme can be delivered within the client’s identified budget”. Although this distinction is accurate, it is clearer that this kind

of general website on competitions puts the emphasis on the competition process alone, when it is not on the winning scheme only.

For another semi private semi public competition like, “The spaces between: An urban ideas competition”, the client is named as follows: AIA Utah YAF/ Salt Lake City Downtown Alliance in which the American Institute of Architects, Utah section is one of the clients. But it is also explained in the summary of the competition brief – as such a text coming from the organisers themselves - that “Two winning projects and fifteen finalists will be eligible for the People’s Choice award”. In this complex case, there is a mix of collective judgement through a regular jury and public vote, which demonstrates how ambiguous the notion of client appears when we browse competition websites.

We can distinguish three types of websites and attempt to categorise them through their main purpose: 1-billboard announcements, 2- promotional displays, 3- Journals. It is difficult to qualify the first and biggest category, what we call the “billboard announcements” type of websites, but the well-known “Death By Architecture” website perhaps best illustrates this category. This kind of calendar resource of registration deadlines is very useful and surprisingly enough, they do not come from public international organisations like the UIA expected to gather information, but from personal initiatives (Mario Cipresso in that specific case, launched his own website as early as 1995!). On such online resources, relying on their power of dissemination throughout the architectural community, you will not find competitions listed by clients’ names but rather by categories, deadlines, juries and all basic information needed to decide whether you want to register or not. Although “awards” are distinct processes and should not be considered as competition per se, you will find them often mixed with competitions announcements.

The second category is perhaps the most intriguing since it appears to play mostly on the communicational potential of competitions sometimes coming from clients but more often from designers. On the one end, clients’ websites like *Design Montreal* or *Montreal Ville Unesco de Design* (<http://mtlunescodesign.com>) in Canada, display a series of competitions in order to promote their own politics on design strategies for the enhancement and promotion of public projects. On the other end, designers’ websites like <http://EuropaConcorsi.com> are based on what architects upload of their own projects, sometimes even when they were runner up and not laureate. As it presents itself: “it is a user-generated content architecture website” which means that participants are encouraged to publish their own projects on the platform. When entering a key word in the research engine, it appears that the emphasis is placed on projects rather than on competitions and it often displays a strong disparity between search results for competitions, with only one project documented, and search results for projects, without basic information on the original competition. If you type “Canada” for example, you will get 53 projects, 1 announcement and 8 competitions (when our own database lists more than 300 competitions organised since 1945). It is true however, that in the case of [Europaconcorsi.com](http://EuropaConcorsi.com), and when the information is published by the editors, you will find the clients’ names, but along with project managers and general contractors, and in the category: “Buildings”, confirming, if necessary, that this kind of website is about architects’ self promotion (about their projects or their buildings) - rather than about objective documentation of competitions.

“Journals”, the third type, may be the smallest in number of items, but remains the soundest in terms of the amount of information displayed for each documented competition. Journals like the already mentioned *Competitions* in the USA or *Wettbewerbe Aktuell* in Germany have a long history of objective displays of both announcements and results. A

journal like *Wettbewerbe Aktuell* distinguishes between the clients of a competition and the clients of a project but does not differentiate between private and public clients. Needless to say, they started as printed journals and are now offering digital versions. One can suspect that the editorial rigor imposed by the old technologies of printed press is not what still assures a kind of discipline governing the content in these cases.

Without operating a complete and systematic survey of online resources, we can easily guess that any potential client wishing to understand what a competition is about, or how clients are being respected in the process through these websites might find it discouraging rather than enlightening. This situation is problematic while potential clients may use such websites when trying to figure whether they should follow what appears the riskier path of a competition process. But since in most of these resources, as in mundane discussion about competitions, the emphasis is put on the winner and rarely on debating or even explaining why this project won and how it influenced the clients understanding of his or her own needs and expectations, the risk of a distorted representation of competition is increased.

The study of competitions through these websites may have a sociological pertinence as such, but research on competitions cannot expect to rely on the basic requirements of rigorous documentation as do true relational documentary databases. It seems that most competition websites propagate inappropriate myths about the competition process, first of which is that competitions are for designers and not for clients and users. It should not come as a surprise that competitions are less regarded as research objects than as fluctuating and problematic phenomena and in some cases as “generators of controversies”. But even this last issue appears to be a myth. Indeed, as shown by Bruno Latour and more particularly by Albena Yaneva in the design disciplines, design projects are, by definition, designed and built at the core of a complex network of controversies. It is not so much that design projects suffer from controversies as they are actually made of these paradoxical tensions as clearly shown by Yaneva in *Mapping Controversies in Architecture* (Ashgate, 2012). Framed by Actor-Network-Theory, her approach allows theorizing what she calls the “architectural” rather than “architecture” that usually concentrates on buildings rather than processes. In that respect, the principles of a competition database as we would like to evaluate now, would fall into the field of architectural processes, regardless of issues of scale. It is the variety and heterogeneity of actors, which is at stake in such a representation of competitions, understood both as a procedural and as a temporal phenomenon.

3 – Where are the « clients » in the ontological structure of a database of competitions?

Databases of all kinds are all too often considered as mere archival devices – as digital shelves - and when they offer a public interface on the Internet, they sometimes appear as websites. Two main differences should be underlined here. First, you can design a website page after page with no specific logical structure of the main subject, and second, you can sometimes “search” in a website but the results will rarely be comparable and structured. For example, you can design a website on “Bread”, even to sell a variety of breads, without understanding how bread is made. You can even design a website on bread using the same structure that was used for a website on cheese. To follow this example, you may do some research in this page-by-page website, but you will not be able to compare the various types of bread. Any reliable comparison needs an ontological structure and the theoretical mapping of an entity / relation diagram of the subject. This is precisely why a database of competition

projects can be considered a research tool and as such contribute to the theoretical modelling of this complex phenomenon often generically called « competition ».

Our research program at both *Laboratoire d'étude de l'architecture potentielle* (L.E.A.P) since 2002 and *The Research Chair on Competitions* (C.R.C) since 2012, revolves on the gradual and regular updating of documentary databases on competition projects (*Canadian Competitions Catalogue*, *EUROPAN Competitions Database*). With the collaboration of librarians and IT specialists, we have achieved a systematic, annotated archive of competition projects in digital form, including preparatory documents, official documents, sketches (draft versions of the project), presentation prints, photos of physical models or digital models, presentation texts, jury reports and media and trade press reports. A genuine digital archive – a true project library – is being developed, through research work and monthly updates. Since 2006, a substantial amount of these documents are freely accessible from a public interface (<http://www.ccc.umontreal.ca>), with an original search engine. In 2012, the public entity *Innovation Canada (Fondation Canadienne pour l'Innovation)* has selected the CCC as a most valuable digital resource for the preservation of potential architectural, urban design and landscape architectural projects and has granted a special financial support to considerably improve the ontological and relational structure of the system.

The first database we designed focuses on Canadian competitions and the second on a certain type of competition best known under the name *Europan*, still considered the largest competition-organising body in Europe. The *Canadian Competitions Catalogue* (C.C.C.) aims, in the long run, to document all competitions organised in Canada since World War II. Compared to the European context, this challenge seems eventually achievable. Unlike Switzerland, which organises approximately 200 competitions a year, or Germany which organises more than 600 per year, and unlike France, where more than a thousand competitions are organised every year, this Canadian catalogue would cover less than 350 competitions identified between 1943 and 2013. In the fall of 2013, we have only achieved one-third of the task set before us, having archived approximately 115 competitions. This represents, however, several thousand projects since, for some competitions, more than a hundred teams were involved. Across Canada, there are major geographic and cultural disparities and of the 10 Canadian provinces and territories, Quebec has organised the most competitions. From this perspective, the archive already gives us an insight into contemporary Canadian history. It should also be noted that, in the majority of cases, the competitions were organised by private organisers (sometimes with a percentage of public funding), despite the fact that in Quebec, the Ministry of Culture tried to drive this process in the 1990s. North American governments have been torn between the principles of free market economics and the unpredictability of competition juries, and the very principle of competition itself. The CCC can also serve as a measuring tool to evaluate these tensions.

What about the European situation? The issue of digital data is raised to an altogether different scale, if we consider that the *Europan-France* phenomenon involves several thousand projects and that if the *Europan-Europe Catalogue*, for which we have designed a prototype, provided a comprehensive record, gathered more than 15,000 projects would become accessible! For example, the ninth session of *Europan Europe* gathered more than 22 participating countries and offered 73 sites to competitors. For the French session alone, 6 sites were proposed to competitors, for which approximately 200 teams designed development proposals.

In summary, the *Canadian Catalogue* offers a relatively limited corpus, covering a very large territory, with no apparent coordination: a collection that is constantly but randomly

growing, making comparative research very difficult. The *European Catalogue* likewise covers a very large territory, with a rapidly growing corpus, but there is a certain level of control and coordination from the European management team. Theoretically, this should ensure ideal conditions for operation, observation and comparison, both for archivists and for researchers. Nevertheless, each competition session highlights the urban and territorial issues affecting a given period. The European phenomenon is a bit like a snapshot of the generation of architects and the urban issues in play.

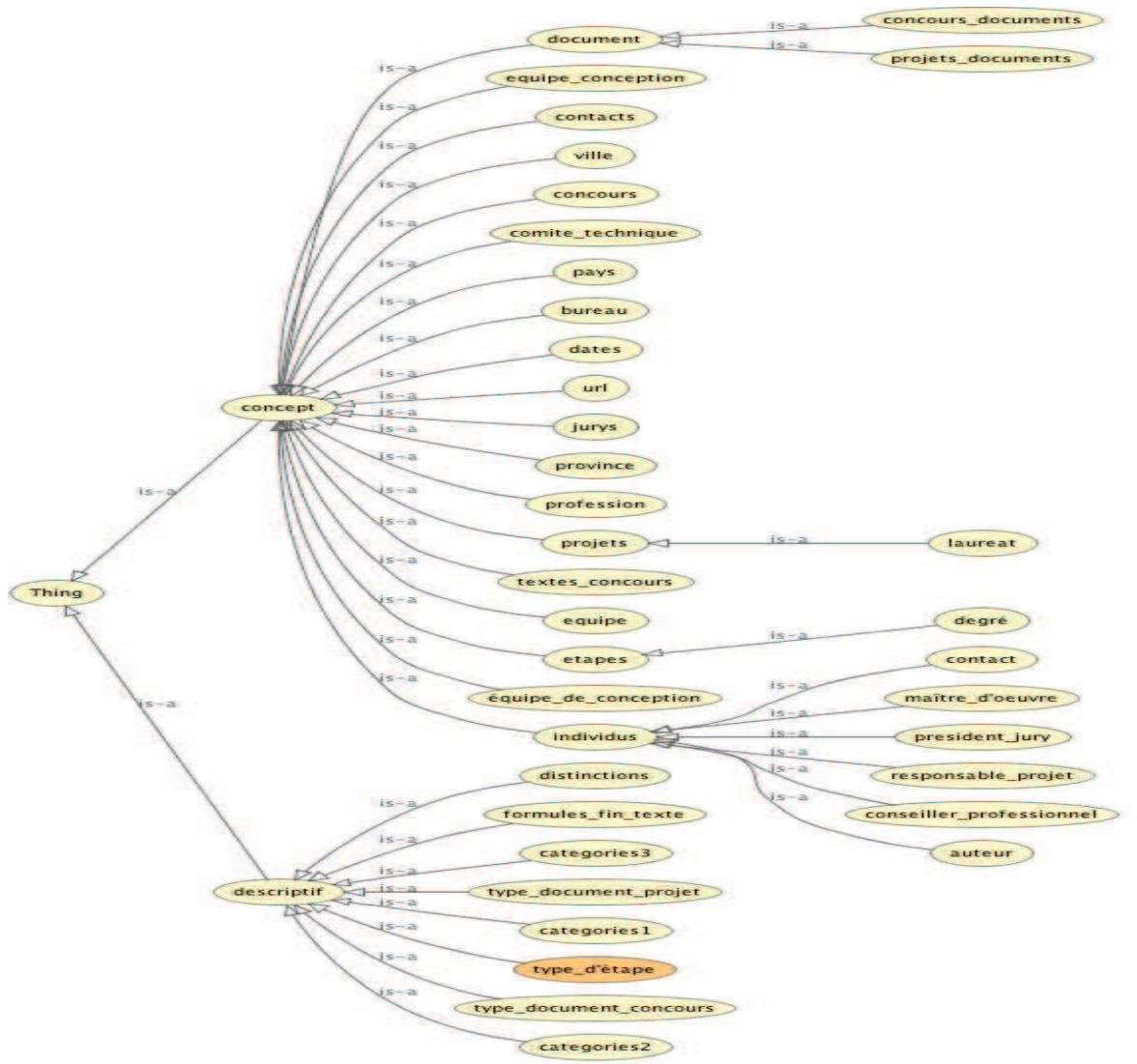


Fig. 1: Diagram showing the sub entity client (“maître_d’oeuvre”) in relation to the super entity individual (“individu”) in the ontological hierarchical structure of the Canadian Competition Catalogue (www.ccc.umontreal.ca).

For researchers, designing and compiling a documentary database, even more so a relational database is an invitation, a challenge even, to start theorising about the phenomena through the defining of the contours of certain disciplinary concepts. This is, of course, the main advantage of relational database system – enabling an architectural event, such as a

competition, to be reconstituted or at least modelled to a certain extent. The bottom line is that the projects in themselves are in some ways less important in such a digital archiving system than the complex fabric of relationships that can be represented and, even more importantly, that researchers can uncover using the documentation tool. When an IT technician asks simple questions such as, “What is an architectural competition?” or “What is a design project?” “Is a project a set of procedures, a set of documents, or both?” The researcher needs to clarify some epistemological assumptions. We need to take the risk of defining the relationships between research objects, if only to subsequently think more clearly about the weaknesses of the modelling endeavour.

Like in any scientific model of a phenomenon, there are ontological gaps and practical choices, which makes the classificatory paradoxes of these apparently coherent ensembles closest to some difficulties encountered throughout the history of library science or even biology as described by French philosopher Michel Foucault in his seminal *The Order of Things (An Archeology of Human Sciences, (1966 – (1970))*.

In order to design the CCC, we have developed an ontological structure, which distinguishes between concepts (country, teams of designers, offices, technical committee and individuals, etc) and qualifiers or descriptive terms (categories, types of documents, stages, etc) (Fig. 1). Behind the concept “individuals” you will find at list 6 entities: project manager, project superintendent, professional advisor, jury member, author, etc) but the entity “client” as such, and for all the reasons developed in the introduction of this paper, does not exist in the ontological structure of our database! The notion of “Project owner”, although it is a poor translation of the French “maître-d’oeuvre”, would nevertheless be the closest to what a client may be in our representation of competitions (Fig. 2).

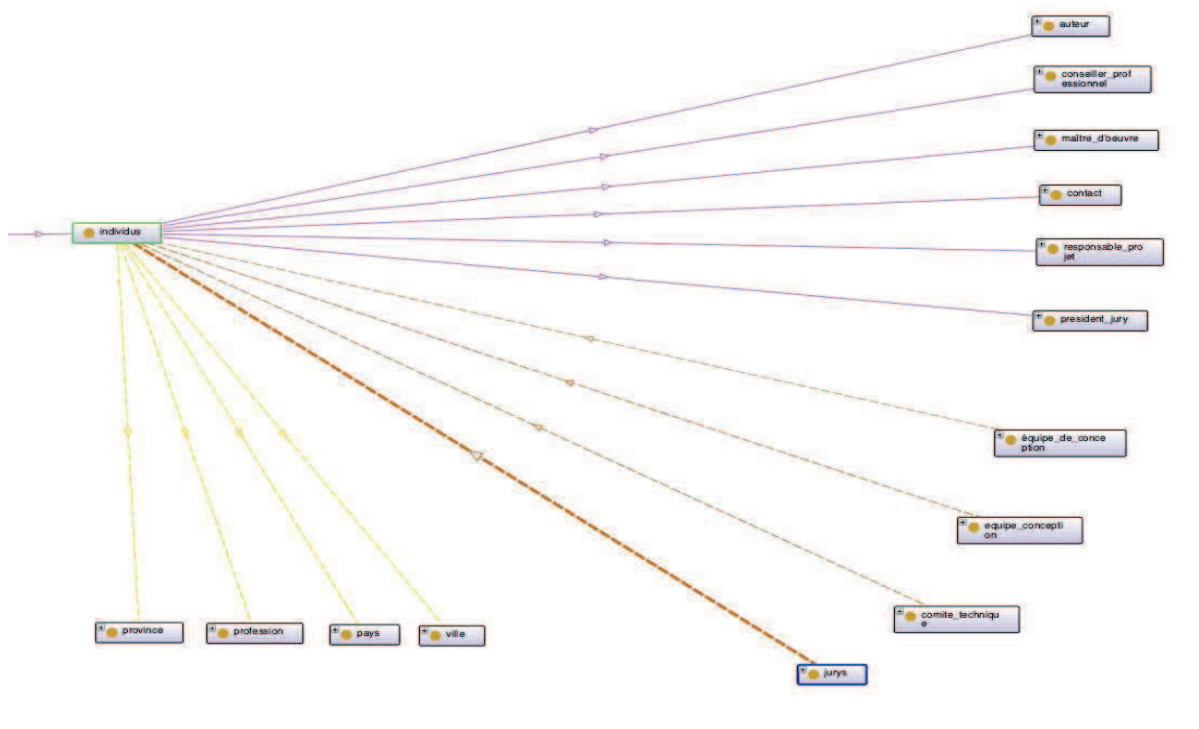


Fig. 2: Diagram showing an extract of entity / relations diagram displaying the entity “individual” and the various qualifiers related to it in the logical structure of the Canadian Competition Catalogue.

4 – Database of competition projects as scattered archives but potential libraries

However, we can already be sure that these databases will never be complete, for the simple reason that the records are at best scattered and at worst mostly destroyed. Our databases and their respective search engines and web interfaces are designed to enable comparison within a single site, across different sites and according to topics suggested by the organisers etc. It goes without saying that the scale of this work represented a real challenge to our organisational capacities and to our ability to convince architect offices to contribute to the undertaking.

In the case of European, the plethora of prints and presentation books led to the destruction of the archives by the organising countries themselves. On the other hand, for the Canadian competitions, which were more conventional in nature, it is sometimes easier to find drawings from the 1960s than digital files from the late 1990s.

If we go beyond these technical issues, genuine theoretical questions can also be formulated. To do this, it is important to distinguish between two types of digital archives. Firstly, archives that aim chiefly to store and preserve, and most of such archives feature two layers, the first of which is composed of a set of digital documents and a second layer comprising an elementary contextualisation of such data. We say elementary, because when comparing what these archives offer and what we are aiming to offer, we cannot help but notice a major difference in the area of data contextualisation - our aim being to genuinely 'model an architectural competition'. In our case, the ordering operations went from formulating research questions to identifying the corpus then compiling documentation and finally analysing the data. In some ways, the fact that our databases are now being used as historical records is simply one of the many paradoxes that we live with on a daily basis in research.

Although databases can appear as depositories, they do not have the mandate to preserve documents, only ideas and representations. Indeed a competition database is closer to the notion of a "library of projects", than it is to a digital archive and we propose to call these digital resources ELC: for *Electronic Libraries of Competitions*. This naming is a way to underline the idea that each competition is like a book (or research object) of which each stage and even each project is like a chapter or section (and research cases or experiences). The library may not contain every published or printed book, but each book is a coherent entity in itself. If a library is to be also considered as an archive, it is an archive of ideas, more than an archive of objects.

5 – Are Electronic Libraries of Competitions (ELC) threatening communicational devices?

Some books are dangerous; some libraries have a restricted access and the history of libraries show how powerful they have been in the emerging of modern civilisations and democracies. How far then can we keep the analogy between competitions and books? Would *Electronic Libraries of Competitions* be threatening communicational devices due to their transparency and projected light on the comparative phenomenon? A corollary of such questions would be the issue of innovation: Do competitions stimulate innovation or encourage repetition? This complex issue has important implications in the clients' representation of what a competition actually does.

Contrary to our expectations, some rather surprising reactions have ensued the public launching of these databases. When we presented the model of our system to the various organisers in other European countries in the summer of 2006 at a large European-European

forum in Dordrecht, the Netherlands, some managers were surprised that our system gave as much credence to the losers as to the winners. Even though we clearly announced the results and stated the competition winners and other shortlisted and mentioned projects, some organisers were worried that all the projects were being shown, instead of eliminating projects that the juries had not selected. A similar attitude can be noted within professional architecture offices that lose too many competitions and end up rejecting some of their own projects. It seems as if a project only has any value in the field if a jury confers such value. Architectural history, which is made up of project-to-project transfers and influence, would seem to categorically contradict this incorrect assumption.

These “non-winning” projects nonetheless have an architectural value that goes beyond their selection by a competition jury and the history of architectural competitions is marked by unsuccessful competition projects, which influence the practices, and the discipline as a whole, sometimes in a more profound way than the project actually built. Two well-known modern paradigms of this phenomenon are for example Le Corbusier’s *Palais des Nations* project in 1927 or Rem Koolhaas’ *Parc de la Villette* project in 1982. But in our view, all projects designed in a competition setting represent an architectural heritage, indeed poorly known, and as such they constitute a formidable reservoir of neglected ‘potential architecture’.

This theoretical interpretation does not mean that clients who choose the competition process to build their projects easily recognise that they participate in a collective endeavour and the production of architectural knowledge. At best they see competitions as a way to communicate with the public at large and it is more and more frequent nowadays to encounter situations in which a client’s representative under the name of “communication adviser” will control the competition process. These new actors do not consider competitions as scholars would do – as reservoir of potential architectures, ideas and solution – but, on the contrary, often threaten their clients about the dangerous transparent power of a process supposed to open the gate to controversies and counter-effects within the press and the public. As a result, it becomes sometimes impossible to display a newly judged competition in a documentary website since it would open the way to a criticism of the jury’s judgement. This paradigm shift in the way clients deal with competitions becomes a new problem, which makes the systematic documentation of competitions and its display on the web a rather risky path. As explained by Emmanuel Caille, chief editor of French journal *D’A (D’Architectures)*, in a special issue on competitions in April 2013, competitions are now being seen as instrumental in the communication strategies of cities and big institutions (not to speak about companies and private institutions). Documenting a competition sometimes becomes impossible when communication offices on both sides of clients and designers are willing to control the display of information following a competition. At a time when information is being transmitted in almost real time, it is precisely the transparent, fair and democratic characters of the competition phenomena, which are at stake.

The paradoxical nature of the process however, is such that its spectacular and media potential threatens the competition phenomenon and the experimental nature, quite often turns into a polemical dead end. Without digging into the sociological aspect of this displacement, we can underline here, that in general, only the winning projects are disseminated and the public exhibitions at the end of the selection process do not do enough to ensure lasting visibility for the different projects. True comparisons – for example by potential clients - are therefore difficult, if not impossible, and the other projects – the losing

projects - are doomed to be forgotten in the depths of professional architectural offices. This paradox only serves to enhance the dispersion of documents and ideas, and further devalues architecture in 'project' form. Whether they are run for cultural, heritage or domestic programmes, competitions, by their very nature, offer the basis of an empirical situation well suited to comparing projects. Each competition, by definition, is based on the confrontation between interpretations of a request formulated as a brief. Each competition is in some way a type of analogous experimental process understood, as early as 1989, by Helen Lipstadt in her seminal work on what she called the "Experimental Tradition", even though we should now be more careful to distinguish between experimentation in projects (as designers do) and experimentation nature of the empirical competition process itself.

6 – Architectural Knowledge and the Preservation of Projects: A *Borgesian* paradox?

To what extent do these *Electronic Libraries of Projects* change our research methods? The consequences for research are diverse and fruitful. As shown above, the comparative nature of each competition is better respected when not only the winner but also all competitors are presented objectively along with original expectations, judgement criteria, jury report and media reception.

A particular disciplinary issue that can be addressed with the help of *ELC* concerns the understanding of the design process. From an architects' perspective asking what aspects of a project architects and clients want to show or keep can help reveal how they summarize the process through a selection of documents. This issue is crucial and reinforces the distinction between archives and libraries. While an archive should be exhaustive, ideally speaking, a library is always a choice and a construct. In general terms, to what extent does an architectural project have to be documented in order to do it justice? Does the whole design process need to be reconstituted? As researchers in the field of design thinking and design processes, we feel that this idea is illusory and pointless, the chief concern being to ensure that the relationship between the project and the competition is well preserved. The validity of this 'slimmed down' approach is supported by the fact that the architects themselves identify some sketches as emblematic of a project, despite our observation that with the advent of digital design tools since the middle of the 1990s, the relationship with drafts has radically changed.

Although in some ways *ELC* enable contemporary architectural productions to be made available, let us not forget that their primary purpose is to enable research into contemporary architecture. One of the most helpful features of relational documentary databases is their ability to integrate analysis levels at every scale, and that these analyses are in themselves a layer of interpretation for the data stored within the archive. One example of the new capacity this provides is in distinguishing those winning projects that genuinely bear witness to their historical era from shortlisted projects that sometimes reveal ideas whose full meaning only becomes clear with historical hindsight. In Brest in 1997 (European France, session 5), the jury selected a project inspired by fractals and a certain 1980s deconstructivism, but did not seriously consider a project which now highlights a widespread fascination for its 'hybrid networks', and which has therefore since acquired a new value. By juxtaposing projects and comparing them, with hindsight, one can see, as in the 2003 Nanterre competition (European France, session 7), that the issue of tower blocks was starting to raise its head again in the Paris scene and that Rem Koolhaas' ideas were a major influence

on most competitors. From this point of view, these collections of projects become historical tools that, in some cases, can assist in political decision-making.

If Electronic Libraries of Projects contribute to the production of knowledge, through their use by designers and researchers alike, can we consider that in the new ‘knowledge markets’, ELC become efficient knowledge dissemination devices? In the strict sense of the term, a documentary database is no more an archive than pressed flowers or butterfly collections represent archives of living nature. However, these relational and most of all contextual documentary databases form a method for archiving these competitions as events. Documenting a competition is of course about documenting projects and gathering information by which the competition conditions and parameters can be understood. Architects seem to accept more and more the need to preserve a presence of their projects within the global scene or event of the competition. Finally, one unforeseen consequence of our work has been to realise that our databases are now starting to be considered as collective archives in which architects in some way entrust their ideas and proposals to us, to keep their memory. On both sides, there is a form of generosity. Archiving the event has become a way of ‘re-presenting’ it, particularly if we consider that many architects enter competitions to renew their ideas and develop their practice through this confrontation with other architects. It becomes clear that if a project is not merely a collection of drafts, neither is a competition merely a collection of projects. It is a complex encounter between a client’s brief, designers’ proposals in the form of projects, expert knowledge of all kinds, and jury members’ value systems and deliberations – all of which are somehow redefined during each competition process. Competitions are closer to what we would call after Schön (1987), reflective practices or more precisely, as we would like to coin it, reflective collective situations.

As reservoirs of collective intelligence, competitions and more particularly Electronic Libraries of Projects, can be seen as collective reflective devices. As shown by theoretician of artificial intelligence Pierre Lévy (1994), collective intelligence supports the process of democratization, which, for what regards competitions, should be seen as a coherent quality. The ontological search for the “client” takes on a different scale when we consider these ELC at the level of world heritage preservation. But contrary to the world heritage list of the UNESCO, which has become an issue of political and economic interplay between governments and touristic markets, ELC are still protected by the paradox of classification. This paradox, briefly expressed by the expression “classification as disorder”, brings archivists, librarian, researchers and architectural designers together around the notion of ordering. Michel Foucault has highlighted the role of order in the development of modern science and has shown that mankind only became a knowledge-bearer after the Renaissance epoch, once a vast range of correspondences and relationships had been exhausted. From this perspective, ‘knowing’ would seem to be a question of creating relationships and classifying.

A conclusive story can illustrate how ordering should be seen as a way of building knowledge, be it at a figurative or literal level. Foucault was much amused by “a certain Chinese encyclopaedia” that is cited in a novella by Jorge Luis Borges, and Foucault used this image in the preface to his monumental work *The Order of Things* (1966). In this typically Borgesian encyclopaedia, “*animals are divided into: a) belonging to the Emperor, b) embalmed, c) tame... f) fabulous... i) frenzied j) innumerable... n) that from a long way off look like flies*”. Although archivists would probably find this monstrous classification method amusing, the same seems to apply to designers, and this may be why their imagination is wired in such a strange way. To come back to our subject, this may be why designers’ archives are organised so strangely too and this is why architects’ libraries are so important in

the end as if architectural knowledge was to be found in between archives and libraries. This is even more intriguing since Borges was clearly referring to the ordering of books in a library and there was one Belgian librarian to whom Borges was alluding to, a famous one indeed: Paul Otlet. Let us continue Borges' quotation up to the passage that implicitly refers to Otlet: "*The Bibliographical Institute of Brussels also resorts to chaos: it has parcelled the universe into 1000 subdivisions: Number 262 corresponds to the Pope; ... Number 263, to the Lord's Day; Number 268, to Sunday Schools... It also tolerates heterogeneous subdivisions, for example, Number 179: "Cruelty to animals. Protection of animals. Moral Implications of duelling and suicide. Various vices and defects. Various virtues and qualities..."*"

Paul Otlet was the symbol of a new way of ordering knowledge following the positivistic trend in Science at the beginning of the XXth century (Levie, 2006). Surprisingly, Foucault did not pick up on this important, even crucial reference, since Borgesian criticism focuses first on decimal classification, on its potentially absurd yet potentially brilliant juxtapositions! It is well known that decimal classification was invented by Melvil Dewey (1876), and that it was perfected, but also adapted to a more complex level by Henri La Fontaine and Paul Otlet. Along with Henri Lafontaine and later Le Corbusier, Otlet dreamt up the *Mundaneum*, an ambitious project to say the least, which aimed to document the whole world's knowledge in one single location. Needless to say, the Mundaneum never got to be built, but the classification made its way as a virtual architecture of knowledge.

Having said this, however, who has not, in the well-ordered shelves of a public library, found himself selecting a book just next to, two shelves further on, than the one that he actually came in to look for? Finally, this Chinese encyclopaedia whose incomprehensible classification of the real and imaginary so amused Foucault, had a name in Borges' novel, although this fabulous name was also, and even more strangely, omitted by Foucault. Borges' encyclopaedia was entitled *The Celestial Emporium of Benevolent Knowledge*. Is this not the very definition of our digital libraries of projects? It seems to me that this type of "Emporium of Architectural Knowledge" ought to start being compiled over the next few years as Electronic Libraries of Projects come into contact one with another, across cultures and oceans.

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“Shall We Compete?”

Pedro Guilherme

“Shall we compete?”

Pedro Miguel Hernandez Salvador Guilherme

Abstract

Following previous research on competitions from Portuguese architects abroad we propose to show a risomatic string of politic, economic and sociologic events that show why competitions are so much appealing.

We will follow Álvaro Siza Vieira and Eduardo Souto de Moura as the former opens the first doors to competitions and the latter follows the master with renewed strength and research vigour. The European convergence provides the opportunity to develop and confirm other architects whose competences and aesthetics are internationally known and recognized. Competitions become an opportunity to other work, different scales and strategies. By 2000, the downfall of the golden initial European years makes competitions not only an opportunity but the only opportunity for young architects.

From the early tentative, explorative years of Siza’s firs competitions to the current massive participation of Portuguese architects in foreign competitions there is a long, cumulative effort of competence and visibility that gives international competitions a symbolic, unquestioned value.

Keywords

International Architectural Competitions, Portugal, Souto de Moura, Siza Vieira, research, decision making

Introduction

Architects have for long been competing among themselves in competitions. They have done so because they believed competitions are worth it, despite all its negative aspects. There are immense resources allocated in competitions: human labour, time, competences, stamina, expertizes, costs, energy and materials. There is no predefined expected success. Yet architects continue doing it. But in face of the increase number of architects and the perils of architectural competitions architects are now posing themselves, more often than before: Shall we compete?

Competitions’ “Pros and Cons” have been described by some authors, to state a few: Paul Spreiregen¹, Judith Strong², Jack Nasar³, and G. Stanley Collyer⁴. The following tables present, in a joint view, the reasons⁵ put forward by these authors on this subject.

Table 1 - Positiva aspects for competition

Positive aspects			
Paul Spreiregen ⁶	Judith Strong ⁷	Jack Nasar ⁸	G. Stanley Collyer ⁹

¹ Spreiregen, *Design Competitions*.

² Strong, *Winning by Design*.

³ Nasar, *Design by Competition* [1st edition 1999].

⁴ Collyer, *Competing Globally in Architecture Competitions*.

⁵ When possible, a simple citation is used, otherwise a synthesis of the idea is provided. This list is not complete yet.

⁶ Spreiregen, *Design Competitions*.

⁷ Strong, *Winning by Design*.

⁸ Nasar, *Design by Competition*.

⁹ Collyer, *Competing Globally in Architecture Competitions*.

Positive aspects			
Paul Spreiregen ⁶	Judith Strong ⁷	Jack Nasar ⁸	G. Stanley Collyer ⁹
New talent is revealed (p.219)	Competitions provide equitable distribution of design commissions	Competition architecture is highly public	Competitions provide valuable commissions and permit to go after larger projects (p.8)
Old, established talent is stimulated (p.219)	Competitions permit a better distribution of public funds	In general, competition can bring out the best in people	Competitions provide training for becoming a better architect (p.8)
A public "dialogue with design" is stimulated (p.219)	Competition provides space and a forum for public participation in the shaping of the built environment	Competitions produce (p.25)	International competitions permit a rapid entrée into the international market (p.8)
The design professionals are stimulated by the results (p.219)	Competitions contribute to an overall improvement of the quality of what is built	A valid means for securing work and doing a good building (p.25)	Competitions overcome the limits of cross border service (p.9)
New or unfamiliar concepts can be explored (p.219)	Competitions produce better buildings	Competitions produce new solutions (p.25)	Competitions are a vehicle for creation of major civic buildings and public spaces (p.10)
The best abilities of the design professionals are brought to bear on a particular problem (p.219)	Accountability	Competitions generate publicity (p.25)	Competitions foster "Excellence in Architecture" (p.11)
Competitions can boost morale in an office (p.219)	Access to opportunities		Competitions run by non-regional basis according to EU rules, seem to be relatively transparent and appropriate for entering (p.12)
New design forms can result (p.219)	The quality of architecture		Competitions may be exercises to gain experience in an area of expertise (p.13)
Competitions maintain an attention to design, all other components being kept in perspective (p.219)			Competitions may be an excellent opportunity to discuss ideas that could not be explored on a day-to-day basis (p.13)
Competitions reveal, at any time, the profession's ability to deal with a specific problem (p.219)			Competitions can boost morale and creativity (p.13)
Competitions bring a wide point of view to focus on a particular problem (p.219)			Competition may not be the only method of career advancement for an architect, but no award in profession (...) quite matches the stamp of approval conferred by winning a major design competition (p.21)
Competitions free the designer from normal and possibly unnecessary constraints (p.219)			
Accepted norms are tested as well as challenged (p.219)			

The positive aspects can be grouped into three major categories:

- (1) the discovery and presentation of (new/old) talent;
- (2) the production of quality architecture and new solutions;
- (3) to provide attention, marketing or publicizing architecture (and the architect).

Table 2 - Negative aspects against competitions

Negative aspects			
Paul Spreiregen ¹⁰	Judith Strong ¹¹	Jack Nasar ¹²	G. Stanley Collyer ¹³
The costs of the competition to the client (p.221)	Competitions are not the only way to achieve the competitions positive aspects	Relation between low success rates and effort (p.27)	There are less and less open competitions for younger architects (p.11)
The time required to hold a competition (p.221)	Competitions saddle the promoter with a young and inexperienced design teams	Design juries are not unbiased (p.27 and p.154)	Perils may be: financing, site ownership, jury composition, anonymity, governance stability, compensation and fees, style (imposition and openness), reputation (p.12-13)
The possibility of selecting an excessively costly winning solution (p.221)	Competitions cause controversy	Competitions do not always meet the client's needs (p.27)	Open competitions are not appealing to well established firms (p.15)
The elimination of the program development phase of architectural services, in which a program of needs is developed (p.221)	Competitions consume an inordinate amount of time, money and energy	Competitions may not get the best solution (p.27)	Demands from the clients (in brief) made to the architects can only be considered blatant exploitation (p.15)
The absence of a dialogue between client and architect in the preliminary design phase (p.221)	Competitions can foist an architect on an unwilling promoter	Competitions lose dialog with client (p.27)	The lack of anonymity is a concession to clients and an additional burden to designers in terms of effort and financial resources (p.16)
The unsuitability of competitions for very complex buildings (p.221)	The competition system comes between the architect and the client	Competitions exploit architects (p.28)	Competitions may end up not being realized (p.17)
The possibility of selecting an insufficient experienced architect (p.221)	The competitions system in a terminal muddle	Competitions result in unbuilt projects (p.28)	Briefs may end up by not being used to evaluate competitions (p.17)
The possibility of an impractical selection by the jury (p.221)		The user has little opportunities to influence the brief and design decisions and their needs are seldom known, represented or emphasized	Changes in regimes may change the course of a competition (p.17)
Including appropriate security requirements or restricted areas of the building (p.221)		Findings suggest that competitions may not yield masterpieces (p.46)	
The cost of a competition to the design professionals (p.221)		Judgement of design is prejudiced by each one's experiences and, apparently, relates to an inversed pattern of architects and non-architects (p.57)	
The lack of information available to potential sponsors regarding managing competitions (p.221)		Designers lack popular taste (p.57) and public maintains preference for "popular" over "high" styles (p.57)	
The realities and pressures of the patronage system of selecting architects (p.221)		Competitions tend to care about the "aesthetic statement" over the comprehensive meanings (p.67)	

¹⁰ Spreiregen, *Design Competitions*.¹¹ Strong, *Winning by Design*.¹² Nasar, *Design by Competition*.¹³ *Competing Globally in Architecture Competitions*.

Negative aspects			
Paul Spreiregen ¹⁰	Judith Strong ¹¹	Jack Nasar ¹²	G. Stanley Collyer ¹³
The notion that competitions are "a lot of trouble" (p.221)		Designers tend to act as artists (p.70)	
The notion that "good design" is expensive (p.221)		Competitions lack monitoring (p.157)	
Overly elaborated drawings and design representations seem to be required (p.221)		The selection of the winner is not the end of the process (p.157)	
The method and sequence of public financing – budgeting, appropriation, funding, staging et cetera – make competitions difficult for a public agency to entertain let alone manage (p.221)			
Competitions may or may not interest enough designers, or the right designers (p.221)			

On the other hand, the negative aspects can be grouped into another three major categories:

- (1) competition structure and procedures;
- (2) jury's assessments, representativeness, autonomy, impartiality, ethics and credibility;
- (3) extensive use of human resources, time expenditure, creativity and financial resources allocated to competitions by everyone, particularly architects.

These aspects influence the architects' commitment to participate in a competition (either an open or by invitation, although the latter has additional implications that induce participation that may be outside this study). This commitment is important to the proficiency put into the action of producing an entry and of communicating it. The commitment reflects the architect's use of competences (including his, and teams, level of competence¹⁴ and abilities which are of the utmost importance to his potential success in competition.

If we take a quantitative approach on all items that were previously enumerated we can observe that the negative aspects surpass the positive ones (48 over 38). So on simple analysis an average architect should definitely not enter in an architectural competition! However if we take on a qualitative approach it is possible that we may arrive to other conclusions. A qualitative approach implies a specific evaluation of each item and its particular weight in an overall assessment.

The fundamental decision of participating on a competition also depends on a series of political, sociological and professional events (such as prizes and visibilities, connections, either present or desired, or work load), not entirely dependable on the architect¹⁵ that influence his decision to enrol a competition. The initial years of profession, less work load thus more time to compete, and the will to ascend to notoriety makes young architects more available to compete.

¹⁴ Mills et al., *Competing Through Competences*; Dreyfus and Dreyfus, *Mind over Machine*.

¹⁵ Glendinning, *Architecture's Evil Empire?*; Lo Ricco and Micheli, *Lo Spettacolo Dell'architettura*; Stevens, *The Favored Circle: The Social Foundations of Architectural Distinction*.

Methods and Objectives

We will follow a mixed approach including a literature review of relevant architecture studies, an inventory of competitions, case studies and interviews to present an approach to the values inscribed in these international competitions and will propose some reflection upon its relevance both within national and international context. We will provide some links between the work of the architects, the social, political and economic situation in Portugal and in the world, to provide a systemic understanding of the reasons why Portuguese architects compete, their aims, objectives, needs and strategies. What motivates them and induced to participate in this endeavour.

We will follow our line of research, previously presented at Architecture as Human Interface¹⁶, Helsinki and Aesthetics: The Uneasy Dimension in Architecture¹⁷, Trondheim, we will use the two Portuguese Pritzker Prizes – Álvaro Siza Vieira (1992, ASV) and Eduardo Souto de Moura (2010, ESM) – as expert views for reaching a conclusion on which were the main points that drove these two architects into participating in so many competitions since 1987 onward. We will complement these two Portuguese authors with others in order to extend the collected data and provide a diachronic view of international competitions by Portuguese architects.

Portugal, the last 5 decades

We will illustrate the participation of Portuguese architects in international competitions and its social, political and professional implications using archetypal examples of 4 generations. These generations follow, to some degree, Douglas Coupland¹⁸'s "X", "Y", "Z" and "A", although we have chosen to adapt them to national specific chronology and economy, that, we believe, explain why Portuguese architects choose to compete and face the internationalization of their work.

In this approach we will discuss those aspects most connected with the making of the architect, its reputation and the market of the architect. Vera Borges¹⁹ speaks of at least three current professional phases for the Portuguese architects²⁰, each with significative differences:

- The young architects, with up to ten years of professional practice. Their works are still "innocent", and the dedication, resilience, compromise and personal effort characterize their work, mostly done at home or in precarious (or shared) offices. Experiences, even failed ones, are accounted for. Most may already have international experience (either through Erasmus or in a practical training period). The interest is in serving the client.
- Architects with more than 10 years that want to interacionalize its offices, and they are pivots with market capacities, activity concentration, specializations and scale.
- Architects that illustrate the professions' glamour, and that occupy "positions of power or hierarchy", accumulate opportunities (like most relevant public work) and are or are

¹⁶ Guilherme and Rocha, "Architectural Competition as a Lab: A Study on Souto de Moura's Competitions Entries," 2012; Andersson, Zettersten, and Rönn, "Editor's Comments."

¹⁷ Guilherme and Salema, "Competing for Ornamen. An Insight on Álvaro Siza Vieira and Eduarado Souto de Moura Architectures"; Guilherme, "Competence within Competitions. Siza's Aesthetics."

¹⁸ Coupland, *Generation A*; Coupland, *Geração X*.

¹⁹ Vera Borges has a PhD. in Sociology from the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales and FCSH-Universidade Nova de Lisboa, directed by Pierre-Michel Menger (Centre de Sociologie du Travail et des Arts) and Luís V. Baptista. Master degree on Communication, Culture and Technologies of Information, ISCTE. Under the direction of Manuel Villaverde Cabral, has developed the study «Architects Profession» at the Institute of Social Sciences (University of Lisbon), where finished the postdoctoral research project on the careers of artists and their labor markets (2005-2013). Main areas of interest: professions, organizations and artistic labor markets. Previous publications: Todos ao palco! (Celta, 2001), O mundo do teatro em Portugal (ICS, 2007), Teatro, Prazer e Risco (Roma Editora, 2008), Les comédiens et les troupes de théâtre au Portugal: trajectoires professionnelles et marché du travail (Harmattan, 2009); Profession and Vocation (coord. with Ana Delicado and Steffen Dix, ICS, 2010), and Creativity and Institutions (coord. with Pedro Costa, ICS, 2012). Is currently pursuing another post doctoral research on Reputation, labor market and territory: Between theater and architecture, at DINÂMIA/CET-IUL with Pedro Costa. CV available at <http://dinamiacet.iscte-iul.pt/?pessoa=vera-borges>.

²⁰ Borges, "Reputação, Mercado E Território. O Caso Dos Arquitectos," 78,79.

becoming internationally recognized. Most international acclaimed and prized Portuguese architects, and the Star architects, may be included in this group.

We have chosen to follow Álvaro Siza Vieira²¹ (b. 1933, graduated in 1955) and Eduardo Souto de Moura²² (b. 1952, graduated in 1980) due to our previous research²³, to the fact that they are well known internationally and inclusive have been awarded Pritzker Prizes. They represent, respectively, the X and Y generation and are grouped as representatives of a generation marked by the 1974 Portuguese's revolution. We have added to our research Gonçalo Byrne, João Luis Carrilho da Graça, ARX due to the fact that they have taken use of the 1986 admission to Europe Community to go abroad. We also present some international competitions from other offices that have competed more enthusiastically after 2000, like AtelierMOB (Tiago Mota Saraiva) and TERNULLOMELO Architects, who represent a younger architect's perspective or different approaches to competitions.

Up to the 60s

The First National Congress of Architecture in 1948 concluded "that Architecture should be expressed in an international language (in accordance with CIAM), rejecting the standards of architectural regionalism"²⁴ that sustained the regime in its essence and splendour. Since the 30's Portuguese architects²⁵ had contacts with RIA²⁶, UIA²⁷ and CIAM²⁸ and there are records of trips²⁹ to France, England, Nordic Countries, URSS and USA by some Portuguese architects. So although the country was quite closed to the outside, the community of Portuguese architects was quite open to foreign influences.

In 1957 Fernando Távora (Siza's first influence) sounded the alarm: "This was a generation of architects aware of the need of a new social and historical approach, interested in developing their own specific process with different co-ordinates, not those hitherto imposed on them but in harmony with the concerns of other architects and in other European countries."³⁰. Siza says about

²¹ Álvaro Siza (b. June 25, 1933, Matosinhos) graduated in architecture from the University of Oporto in 1955 (1949–1955). His first project was built in 1954 and between 1955 and 1958 he collaborated with the Portuguese architect Fernando Távora. Having worked without interruption for six decades, Álvaro Siza's career has seen him gain international recognition and prestige. With a host of influential and impressive projects, his broad repertoire ranges from public housing, private dwellings and schools to urban design and rehabilitation, museums, furniture and product design. Foremost among his works are the Bonjour Tristesse Apartment Building in Berlin, the Museum of Contemporary Art in Santiago de Compostela, the Serralves Museum in Oporto and the Iberê Camargo Foundation in Porto Alegre, Brazil. Álvaro Siza and his work have been distinguished with several prizes, including the Mies van der Rohe European Architecture Award in 1988, the prestigious Pritzker Prize in 1992, the Royal Gold Medal from the Royal Institute of British Architects (2009), the Golden Lion for Lifetime Achievement of the 13th International Architecture Exhibition of the Venice Biennale (2012), as well as several honoris causa doctorates from leading universities in Spain, Switzerland, Italy, Portugal and Brazil, among others. Álvaro Siza is also committed to teaching, working as a professor at Oporto's School of Architecture since 1976, having participated at numerous conferences and seminars worldwide, and accepting positions as a visiting professor at Lausanne's EPF, the University of Pennsylvania, Los Andes University of Bogotá and the Graduate School of Design of Harvard University.

²² Eduardo Souto de Moura (b. 1952, Oporto) graduated in architecture from the Oporto Fine Arts School (FAUP) in 1980. In 1974, he collaborated with Noé Dinis' architectural practice, and from 1974 to 1979 he worked with the seminal architect Álvaro Siza. From 1981 to 1991, he was assistant professor at his alma mater and later began working as a professor at the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Oporto. Souto de Moura has been visiting professor at several architecture schools, such as Paris-Belleville, Harvard, Dublin, ETH Zurich and Lausanne, and has taken part in various seminars and conferences in Portugal and abroad. He established his own firm in 1980, whose work has been featured in various publications and exhibitions. Nominated seven times for the Mies van der Rohe European Union Prize for Contemporary Architecture, his work has won several prizes, such as the SECIL Architecture Prize – for Casa da Artes in 1992, Braga Municipal Stadium in 2004 and Casa das Histórias Paula Rego Museum in 2010. In 2011, Souto de Moura was distinguished with the prestigious Pritzker Prize and in 2013 received the Wolf Prize.

²³ Guilherme and Rocha, "Architectural Competition as a Lab: A Study on Souto de Moura's Competitions Entries," 2012; Guilherme and Salema, "Competing for Ornamen. An Insight on Álvaro Siza Vieira and Eduardo Souto de Moura Architectures"; Guilherme, "Competence within Competitions. Siza's Aesthetics."

²⁴ Costa, "Álvaro Siza," 9.

²⁵ Pardal Monteiro knew and was friend of Pierre Vago (1910–2002) and is known to have participated in several trips with Vago to the USSR in 1932. He also participated in several travel meetings by the L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, by the RIA, CIAM and at the meeting it was decided the foundation of UIA (in September 1946 in London at the RIBA).

²⁶ Reunions Internationales d'Architecture (RIA)

²⁷ International Union of Architects (UIA)

²⁸ Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) from 1949 to 1956

²⁹ In 1963 Anahory makes a study trip to the Scandinavian Countries. There are records of frequent architectural trips by Fernando Távora (later also with Siza Vieira and Alexandre Alves Costa) to Spain, Greece.

³⁰ Costa, "Álvaro Siza," 11.

his teachers: “Those young Masters, trained in the spirit of the CIAM and also in an emerging critical sensitivity, provided us with both open information and with a rediscovery of our country’s complex cultural roots. They broke down the divisions between teacher and pupil, they helped us to get beyond what was keeping us apart from Europe – even in relation to Architecture.”³¹ In 1962 the Portuguese magazine “Arquitectura”³² published the first works by Siza³³, described as an “upcoming talent”. He was considered unorthodox – “seeking individuality, seeking fantasy, seeking originality”³⁴ -, and as his career progressed, he was taken in and supported by his peers. It would be in fact Távora, Siza’s teacher at his 4th year at FAUP, that would offer Siza his first two works³⁵: the Quinta da Conceição pools, Matosinhos, 1958-1965; and the Boa Nova tea House, at Leça da Palmeira, 1958-1963.

John Donat³⁶, following an indication by Pancho Guedes³⁷, publishes in “World Architecture One” projects by Fernando Távora and Álvaro Siza Vieira. This is the first known publication of Siza’s work and perhaps fundamental for his international visibility.

He was further “exported” (or “branded”) internationally mainly by the hand of Portuguese architect Nuno Portas in 1967 (Tarragona) and 1968 (Vitoria) in the Spanish Small Congresses³⁸ (where he meets Oriol Bohigas (SP), Aldo Rossi (IT), Peter Eisenman (UK), and Vitorio Gregotti (IT) among others). “It was at that time that contacts with architects in Spain were developed, and through them contacts with others. In the small meetings in Barcelona, a place where ideas which were coming from inside and outside the Iberian peninsula were debated, I met Oriol Bohigas for the first time; already a remarkable figure in architectural culture, he was an acknowledged catalyst for the energies of both our countries and their various regions.”³⁹ Siza is further published in the Spanish magazine “Hogar y Arquitectura” in 1967 by Nuno Portas and Pedro Vieira de Almeida.

Up to the first competitions by Siza (1978) we could not find relevant records of relevant participation of Portuguese architects in international competitions. However, there are several records⁴⁰ of work done abroad in Brasil and Belgium by Pedro Cid⁴¹ (1925-1983), Eduardo Anahory⁴² (1917-1985), and relevant national architectural participation in some World Exhibitions that prove knowledge and proximity to Europe and international architecture.

In 1960 Portugal jointly funded the European Free Trade Association (EFTA)⁴³ favouring trade agreements with the European Economic Community (EEC), to which Portugal was unwilling to enter at that time, and the rest of the world. Yet, due to this opening, between 1967 and 1978 Portugal

³¹ Siza and Angelillo, *Alvaro Siza*, 31.

³² Edited by Nuno Portas, Vassalo Rosa and Pedro Vieira de Almeida.

³³ In an article “Three works by Álvaro Siza”

³⁴ Costa, “Álvaro Siza,” 13.

³⁵ Esposito and Leoni, *Eduardo Souto de Moura*, 9.

³⁶ *World Architecture One*.

³⁷ Described by Peter Cook as “the joker in the pack” in Guedes, *Pancho Guedes in Conference at the Art Net*.

³⁸ Correia, “O Nome Dos Pequenos Congressos: A Primeira Geração de Encontros Em Espanha 1959 – 1967 E O Pequeno Congresso de Portugal”; Correia, “A Crítica Arquitectónica, O Debate Social E a Participação Portuguesa Nos ‘Pequenos Congressos’ – 1959/1968”; Correia, “O Início Da 3.ª Série Da Revista Arquitectura Em 1957. A Influência Das Leituras de Casabella-Continuidade E Architectural Review.”

³⁹ Siza and Angelillo, *Alvaro Siza*, 31–32.

⁴⁰ Borges, “Eduardo Anahory: Percurso de Um Designer de Arquitectura”; Furtado and Castelo, “Notas Sobre a Produção Arquitectónica Portuguesa E Sua Cartografia Na Architectural Association”; Pedrosa, “La Génesis Del Pensamiento de Nuno Portas: Portugal Años 1960”; Pedrosa, “De España Con Amor. Los Años 1960 Y Los Ecos de Las Reflexiones Arquitectónicas Españolas En Portugal”; Silva and Furtado, “Ideias de Arquitectura Portuguesa Em Viagem.”

⁴¹ Portuguese Pavilion in Brussels (1959) by Pedro Cid,

⁴² Who was also a correspondent for some international magazines like *Domus* (Milan); *L’Architecture d’Aujourd’hui* (between 1959-1963) and *Connaissance des Arts* (Paris); *DBZ-Deutsche Bauzeitschrift* e *MD-Moebel Interior Design* (Stuttgart); *Bauen + Wohnen*, 6 (Munich); *33 Architekten-Einfamilienhauser* (Zurich)

⁴³ The European Free Trade Association (EFTA) is founded in 1961 by Austria (AU), Denmark (DK), Norway (NO), Portugal (PT), Sweden (SE), Switzerland (CH) and the United Kingdom (GB), to promote closer economic cooperation and free trade in Europe.

shifted its foreign (commercial) relations from the foreign provinces and the Atlantic market towards the European Market. By 1972 Portugal had in fact changed from a main poor agricultural economy to an industrial modern country awakening to what happened outside its borders in Europe. This opening would be the prelude of a political change.

After 1974

The introduction of a democratic system in Portugal after the April 25th revolution favoured the development of the country and a rapid opening to the outside. The return of emigrants from abroad (those from the colonial war and those that had fled from fascism) and the appeal of a new urban culture forced rural migration to the cities, a fast and contradictory change of the Portuguese society and an urban sprawl. The country was avid for change, architects were asked to respond to new needs and there were opportunities for inducing political change through architecture.

The SAAL⁴⁴ programme was a “methodical, patient, rational and dialectic”⁴⁵ experience of local initiatives that was put into practice to improve the quality of living conditions: rent racketing, illegal housing, overcrowding and the lack of sanitary facilities. The SAAL project followed 1920s initiatives, in particular the Bruno Taut (Onkel Tom’s Hutte) and Alvar Aalto (Sunilla and Paimio housing). São Vitor zone (SAAL, Oporto, 1974-77) and Quinta da Malagueira (Évora, 1977) were some of the projects that provided Siza with its international label of being a “social architect”. As Bernard Huet states “Of all the architects from Oporto, Siza was without doubt the most accessible, the most theoretically prepared to integrate the new participatory data in his own method.”⁴⁶

Álvaro Siza starts the first international work only after 1978 and takes part in international competitions entries on a regular basis afterwards. Brigitte Fleck states that at that time (late 70s) Siza “who literally had nothing to do in Portugal”⁴⁷ would be invited to some competitions in Berlin, Madrid and Salzburg, on a series he would afterwards (after 1990) designate as the “cycle of monotony”.

The International Architectural Exhibition Berlin (International Bauausstellung - IBA, 1979-87) was one of the most important events of the 80s and a large laboratory of careful urban renewal and housing design in West Berlin. The renewal strategy was based on several international competitions, each for reconstructing different parts of the city, from the “international expo” approach to the ambitious attempt to repair the city. IBA was most appealing for most architects and Álvaro Siza, Zaha Hadid, Rem Koolhaas, Peter Eisenman, Mario Botta, Peter Cook, John Hejduk, Aldo Rossi, Frei Otto, Arata Isozaki, James Stirling and many others contributed to a vivid and experimental, rather plural, architecture contrasting the more traditional urban planning (Rob Krier and Léon Krier). IBA was divided into the “IBA Neubau” (new buildings) across Tegel, Prager Platz, southern Tiergarten and southern Friedrichstadt, under Josef Paul Kleihues, and “IBA Altbau” (renewal of existing blocks) in Kreuzberg, under Hardt-Waltherr Hämer.

Siza entered his first competition at “IBA Altbau”, for the design of the polemic Gorkitz Swimming Pool in 1979, on an urban vacant area in Kreuzberg. As Brigitte Fleck⁴⁸ points out, following the publication of his two open-air swimming pools⁴⁹ in Portugal in international magazines, Siza

⁴⁴ Serviço de Apoio Ambulatório Local (SAAL) - Local Ambulatory Support Service.

⁴⁵ Costa, “Álvaro Siza,” 27.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Fleck, *Alvaro Siza*, 54.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Swimming Pool in Quinta da Conceição Park in Matosinhos (1961-65) and Ocean Swimming Pool on the Avenida Marginal in Leça da Palmeira (1961-66).

embodied the “Portuguese experiment [in public participation]”⁵⁰ and an international enlightenment for a country under profound social, political and territorial change, that triggered curiosity and outside interest. Yet Siza faced in this competition an intense opposition from the public, due to the dome over the central swimming pool⁵¹ over a parallelepipedic square building (80x80) that resembled (too much) a mosque. He would still survive the first round, due to one member of the jury, but, in the end, would only be awarded a special prize.

Six months later he was again invited to a new competition in Frankelufur, again because of his expertise in citizen participation. Yet the supposed participatory process that Siza would provide (in line with his experience in Portugal) and that the competition could foster was in fact “only an instrument for pacification in order to achieve an easily compromise”⁵² and soon his proposal was rejected and put aside.

By that time Souto de Moura⁵³, who had begun studying as an art student at the School of Fine Arts in Oporto, entered the FAUP in 1970 but would only graduate in 1980 (because of the 1974 revolution period). He worked with Noé Dinis and Fernando Távora at SAAL (making Souto de Moura part of a generation of architects that felt the relevance of the political and social change in Portugal) and, during his early years (1974-1979) also worked with Siza. “It was then that Souto de Moura spent some time in my studio, collaborating on SAAL project at São Vitor and others. I quickly understood with a treacherous dismay and greater joy, that I would not have him as collaborator for very long.”⁵⁴ They became Souto’s important influences, along with Rossi and Aalto. He participated in some of Siza’s competitions (Fraenkelufer Housing and the Swimming Pool Gorlitzer Bad) and continued doing so afterwards in joint competitions.

Souto’s first individual international competition was the imaginary House for Karl Friedrich Schinkel (Japan, 1979) to be located near the Boa Nova Tea House. He proposed the construction of an abstraction of a ruin of classical nature, reassembling one of Piranesi’s ruins, in contrast with the absent figurative illusion of Schinkel. In an interview in 1994 Souto de Moura said:

“Schinkel is a person I was interested in and who seemed to be one of the keys to the Modern Movement. I’ve always considered the Modern Movement to be a continuity of Classicism, regardless of what I’ve had to say against it. (...) And then, of course, there was Mies and so on... (...)”

I really wanted to take part in this competition, building the Neo-Classical house within the Leça refinery. On his travels, Schinkel showed a certain interest in industrial materials. He was, like all gifted architects, finely attuned to both the past and the future, and the future at that time was industry, the myth of the machine. I wanted to create a counterpoint between the classical style and an industrial landscape, which are not as different as they may appear.

It was one of my favorite projects: there were no pre-requisites for the design and the way it turned out was the way I had proposed. The House embodied innocence: there was a

⁵⁰ Of the participation of citizens – residents and families - during project design phase.

⁵¹ Siza would use the same idea of a hierarchical monumental space for the swimming in the Sports Center Llobregat in Barcelona (2005) with skylights reassembling some of the Istanbul most well know Turkish hamami stone ceilings with diffused lighting. This project in Barcelona could also be seen as the research put into practice, more than 35years after a different, but linked, competition project.

⁵² Fleck, *Alvaro Siza*, 55.

⁵³ Souto de Moura was born in Oporto en 1952, and is 10 years younger than Álvaro Siza Vieira.

⁵⁴ Siza and Angelillo, *Alvaro Siza*, 67.

*waterfall, a river, a few fountains. These are there not as decorations, but out of my interpretation of Schinkel.*⁵⁵

This first competition was indeed very important to Souto de Moura, and happened much earlier in his career than with Siza. Although it was an ideas competition and was almost simultaneous with Siza's first "IBA Altabau" competitions. The participation in previous competitions with Siza provided Souto with the interest, the competence and the will to participate. The choice of Schinkel's competition can be understood as an opportunity for him to research in design.

Table 3 – Álvaro Siza Vieira competitions



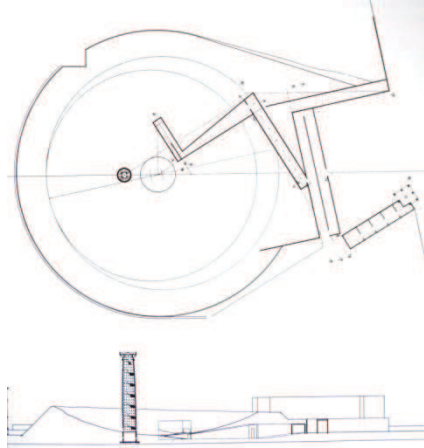
Siza, Boa Nova Tea House | Leça da Palmeira | 1958/1963



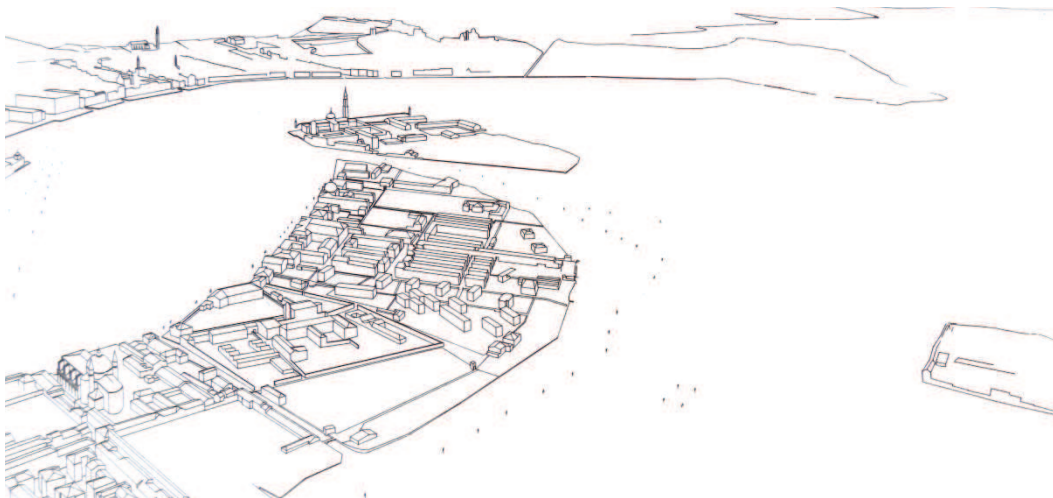
Siza, Ocean Swimming Pool | Leça da Palmeira | 1961/1966



Siza, Schlesisches Tor Urban Redevelopment | Berlin | Germany | 1st prize | 1980-84, 1986-88



Siza, Memorial to the Victims of the Third Reich at Prinz Albrecht Palais | Berlin | competition | 1983



Siza, Campo di Marte | Guidecca | Venice | Italy | 1st Prize | 1983

⁵⁵ Moura and Pais, "In Search of an Anonymous Work. An Interview with Eduardo Souto de Moura.," 31.

Souto clearly demonstrates that a competition can be the place and the time for reflecting on the conditions of the project. His own views about Shinkel, his ideas about the modern condition of classicism and history are reflected on this design. He would further explore the idea of columns (pillars) in the covered City Market at Braga (1980-1984).

The EEC

In 1986, Portugal left EFTA to join the European Economic Community (EEC), as a full state member, that later became the European Union (EU). In the previous convergence and following years Portugal's economy progressed considerably as a result of EEC/EU structural and cohesion funds and Portuguese companies' easier access to foreign markets. The country developed and the golden years of construction provided the opportunities for Portuguese architects to mature and develop.

During the 80s Álvaro Siza started 41 projects in Portugal and 22 International Projects, half of these international projects were international competitions but he only built 4 of these international projects:

The Competition for the administrative building of the Dom Company in Cologne in 1980 was won by Siza, and he presented an almost simple leaning tower, inspired by the company's main product, but slightly tilted in order to avoid the close imitation. This project was never built but stands for the way Siza picks standard objects and reinvents them, providing new ways of looking at them. From the object to the building: "I believe that almost everything that determines the 'design' is found in the complex system of facts and 'desires' as a matrix."⁵⁶

During the 80s new themes are addressed by Siza as if he had lost his first stereotype as a sort of community architect. He was called to compete for cultural buildings, urban spaces and restorations, master plans and public buildings. His competitions started to experiment other hypothesis of impact over the city. These new themes would involve urban area restorations (Giudecca, Venice, Italy, 1985; "Project for Siena", Sienna, Italy, 1988), public buildings (Bibliothèque de France, Paris, France, 1989; Cultural Center in Madrid, Spain, 1989-90).

In the Cultural Center in Madrid in 1989-90 Siza wins the competition. Yet in a second phase the organisers change the shape of the site and specify a different arrangement of spaces leading Siza to present a radical different solution. Siza is invited to share the commission with a Spanish architect and declines the commission. The project is never built.

Siza does not decline the competition because of an outside architect: "At times the guilt is attributed to foreign architects that worked with me, to whom on the contrary I owe much that I have learned, and unforgettable support and patience in the long process of a project, and for the translation of what was not understood immediately, as I desired or needed."⁵⁷

Siza's growing status as an architect and his firm belief in principles provide us with another clue in his limits to take competitions to building phase. Siza embodies the true nature of the ethical architect, in the sense of being true to his own authentic professional ethos. Far from being just the 'prima donna' author, Siza is in fact protecting his dismissal of authorship and the prevail of the first sketch. The first sketch (esquisse) most often made at the site transforms itself in an autonomous part of the project. It is the author's conscious will written in the form of a sketch. This

⁵⁶ Siza and Angelillo, *Alvaro Siza*, 24.

⁵⁷ Siza, *Alvaro Siza, 1954-1988*, 11.

“disappearance of the author”⁵⁸ (as Kenneth Frampton expresses so well) and the importance of the first sketch collides with the imposition over the competition. This is not acceptable in Siza’s terms.

Yet during the 80s Souto de Moura only does 2 international competitions and 3 in Portugal. In 1987 he does the competition for the Hotel in Salzburg, just one year after Siza’s competition for the Extension to Winkler casino and restaurant, Salzburg (design) (1986). Curiously he continues participating in some of Siza’s competitions: Urban Park in Salemi, Italy, 1986; and in the 1992 Seville Exhibition ideas competition, Spain, 1986. Souto is by that time researching and questioning the Portuguese house and the dwelling and he does that in Portugal.

Souto de Moura’s competitions during this period are again extremely connected to an ongoing research⁵⁹ which starts in Salzburg, and continues in the Ideal Olivetti Bank. Some of these experiences, dealing with the deception⁶⁰ (of stories), were afterwards used in some Portuguese projects like the Geoscience Department (Aveiro University, 1990-1994) and The Burgo Tower (Oporto, 1991/95 Phase 1; 2003/04 Phase 2; 2007 Construction).

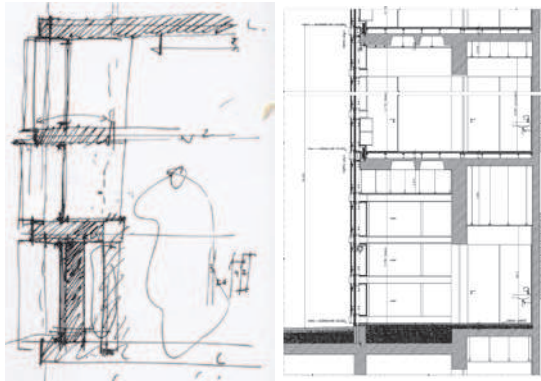
Table 4 – Souto de Moura competitions



Salzburg Hotel | 1987/89



The Olivetti Bank | 1993



The Burgo Tower (1991/95 Phase 1; 2003/04 Phase 2; 2007 Construction)



⁵⁸ Frampton, “The architecture of Alvaro Siza,” 186.

⁵⁹ Guilherme and Rocha, “Architectural Competition as a Lab: A Study on Souto de Moura’s Competitions Entries,” 2013.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 175.



Department of Geosciences Aveiro University | Portugal

Then in 1992 the Agreement on the European Economic Area (EEA) is signed in Oporto, Portugal. The EEA Agreement enters into force between the EU and five EFTA States in 1994. On 26 March 1995, Portugal started to implement Schengen Area rules, eliminating border controls with other Schengen members, while simultaneously strengthening border controls with non-member states, and, in 1999, it was one of the founding countries of the Euro and the eurozone.

The 90s is the decade for the confirmation of the Portuguese Star System – Siza Vieira - with the internationalization of the ‘myth’ by means of the Pritzker Prize (presented to Siza in 1992). Siza becomes the first Portuguese Star Architect.

This condition proves to be quite important for the competition “call” as he was by then a world figure. His work could not only transform and give credit to an intention of project, but also could assure a competence⁶¹ and an aesthetic⁶² that could actually make a difference.

Lo Ricco e Micheli describing the condition of the “Star Architect” state:

“Architectonic star system architectonic: is a system of global production, based upon publicity of authorship in the world of architecture as the true stars. Of elitism and oligarchy nature, the architectonic star system is parallel to the cinema, music and artistic star system.

A Star-architect is not born: it becomes! Few do it, but, once you enter this divine sphere, fame is assured. All efforts that had been done are prized with celebrity. To be a star architect, it is not only needed to be a genial architect and professional, have rich and powerful clients that finance the projects without any intromission, but it is also necessary a carefull work supplementary imagination, that bring to the architect to being recognized at the eyes of the larger public, including by people that do not deal with contemporaneous architecture.”⁶³

In art, as Vera Borges⁶⁴ confirms, “the artistic value and originality are subjectively evaluated; So prizes, rankings (...) are used to make comparisons and endless competitions in the hierarchy of talents.”⁶⁵ Further she states that “(...) prizes are attributed as the result of small cumulative successes: to receive the Pritzker prize, the Architectural Nobel, as it is designated, can tell us that

⁶¹ Guilherme, “Competence within Competitions. Siza’s Aesthetics.”

⁶² Guilherme and Salema, “Competing for Ornamen. An Insight on Álvaro Siza Vieira and Eduardo Souto de Moura Architectures.”

⁶³ Lo Ricco and Micheli, *Lo Spettacolo Dell’architettura*, 1.

⁶⁴ Citing Rosen, Sherwin (1981), “the economics of superstars”. *American Economic Revies*, 71, pp 845-858 and Menger, P. -M. (2012), “Talent and inequalities: what do we learn from the study of artistic occupations?”, em Vera Borges e Pedro Costa, *Criatividade e Instituições. Os Novos Desafios aos Artistas e Profissionais da Cultura*, Lisboa, Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, pp. 49-75.)

⁶⁵ Borges, “Reputação, Mercado E Território. O Caso Dos Arquitectos,” 76.

the individual has earned the attention of a larger circle of individuals and that it was consensually considered as the having most talent. (...) The originality, the creativity, the pleasure to do a creative activity, the tenacity and resilience help to justify the persistence (...) in the artistic market and the tension that resides in the binomium profession / vocation"⁶⁶. In architecture the tectonic construction differs from traditional arts and provides the additional symbolic layer linked to the existent (in connection to the 'genius locci') and produced (built) space.

In addition to the Pritzker prize, two events produced a sudden change, not only Portugal but in the world, in the way we see architects and competitions: in Portugal the Expo98 reconstruction of a part of Lisbon and its ability to produce a new 'image of the city'⁶⁷; and in Spain the Bilbao effect.

The 'Bilbao effect' was a term popularized by Witold Rybczynski in 2002 in an article with the same name expressing the ability for a building of a prominent architect to induce changes in the city and turn into a landmark of global importance and attractivity. As the author says, after Bilbao Guggenheim by Frank Gehry (opened in 1997), select competition were "(...) the preferred way for choosing the architects of high-profile buildings, resembles[ing] a beauty pageant. With great fanfare a list of invited architects is announced. Their proposals are often exhibited, and sometimes the architects themselves give public presentations. The ranks of the competitors are winnowed. The anticipation is an important part of the publicity surrounding the proposed new building."⁶⁸ To the clients (cities, big firms, cultural agents) architects were expected to perform loudly: "Where Gehry billows, Libeskind zigs and zags. (...) [or] Calatrava's stylishly engineered structures (...)". In his opinion

*"I have no objection to architects' duking it out, and I think it's great that architecture is attracting so much attention. But I am sceptical that designing in the full glare of public competitions encourages architects to produce better buildings. The charged atmosphere promotes flamboyance rather than careful thought, and favours the glib and obvious over the subtle and nuanced. Architects have always entered competitions, but they have usually seasoned their talents first by doing commissioned work. Libeskind, Nouvel, Koolhaas, and other young architects of today have built their reputations almost entirely by participating in competitions; a friend of mine calls them "competition show dogs." And show dogs are rarefied creatures often refined and styled to the point of caricature."*⁶⁹

The visibility of the Bilbao effect did in fact shadowed similar previous occasions, well described by Gabriella Lo Ricco and Silvia Michael, where architects have been called to brand a building or a company. One could recall Le Corbusier, Frank Lloyd Wright or Philip Johnson⁷⁰ authorship strategies. Also Peter Eisenman frequent appearances with the city's football club tshirt. Or even the Vitra's architectural park in Weim am Rhein, after 1981, with buildings by Siza (1991, Production Hall), Zaha Hadid (1993), Tadao Ando (1993), Frank Gehry (1989, 2003/1989), Nicholas Grimshaw (1981/1986), Buckminster Fuller (1975/2000), Jean Pruvé (1953/2003), SANNA (2012) Herzog & de Meuron (2010) and Renzo Piano (2013). To build for Vitra is to be acknowledged as an author

⁶⁶ Ibid.

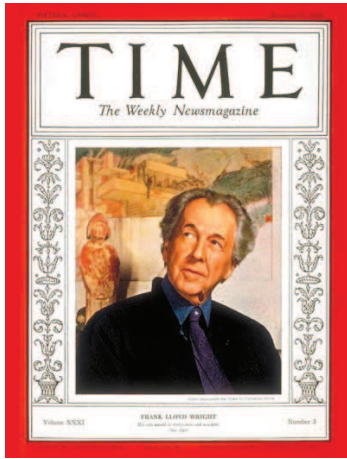
⁶⁷

⁶⁸ Rybczynski, "The Bilbao Effect."

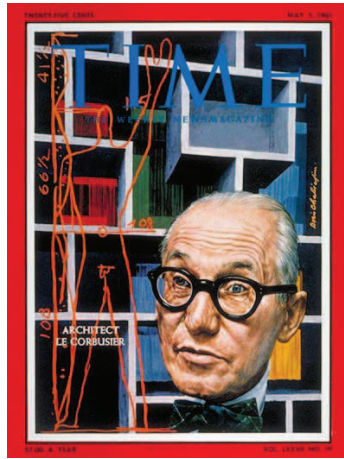
⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰

Table 5 - Magazines with the Star System



Frank Lloyd Wright | Jan. 17, 1938



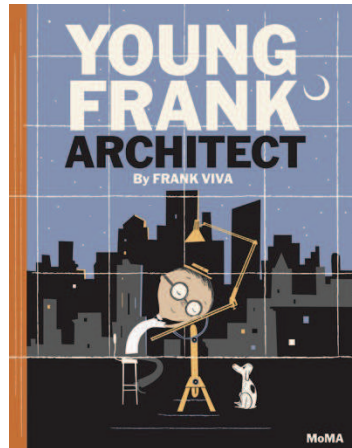
Le Corbusier | May 5, 1961



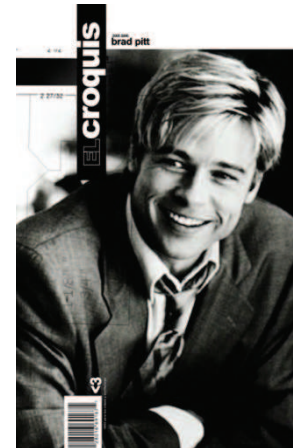
Philip Johnson | Jan. 8, 1979



Frank Gehry commemorative issue



Cover of Young Frank, Architect, published by The Museum of Modern Art



Brad Pitt in fake El Croquis | Provocative number!

Siza, although gaining visibility with prizes and competitions, would remain far from what is considered a star-architect.

So, during the 90s Siza did 57 national projects and 31 international projects while Souto de Moura does only 4 national competitions and 3 international competitions. This shows that by then, the Pritzker prize had earned Siza a national and international visibility that would render him more opportunities and invitations for competitions. The Pritzker importance is confirmed by Lo Ricco and Micheli:

“This is the case of Tadao Ando and Álvaro Siza Vieira: when we analyse the location of the projects after the Pritzker prize, we can notice a notable increase in commissions outside their original countries, mainly in the United States.”⁷¹

And by Álvaro Siza himself:

⁷¹ Lo Ricco and Micheli, *Lo Spettacolo Dell'architettura*, 147.

“For my part, coming from foreign lands, it seems strange that it is interesting to so few, the enchantments of the thousand greys of stucco, or of darkened brick, or of great windowless walls, or of heavy wooden window frames, or the invariable rhythms of windows that only break, exploding in the folding of street corners or where something exterior to architecture happens. Patience!

It is possible that cities invite foreign architects expecting them to do the opposite of what is normally done there, exercising the conflictual and fecund crossing of cultures that the world of works entail. It would be wonderful to achieve the syntheses that are guesses at or supposed; to universalize the surprize of lights given to the Mediterranean sun. But, naturally, such cannot be achieved merely by drawings, drawings can only act within the world they are transforming.”⁷²

This confirmation of Siza as the main Portuguese international architect is well demonstrated by the continuous magazines that show his work around the world.

Table 6 – The Spanish El Croquis magazine covers



El croquis Covers | No 68/69 (1994) + 95 (1999) | No 140 (2008) | No 169/169 (2013) | Álvaro Siza

As architectural competences and professional work increase, competitions seem to be seen as an extra research opportunity. When considering the tangible questions (financial, time, etc) and those intangible (fame, success) there is, potentially, a rather personal decision either to enter or not a competition despite its “pros and cons”. This “call” to compete by Siza or Souto de Moura seems to be an understanding of a globalized world and a need to go further away from Portuguese borders.

Portuguese architectural offices prospered during the economic boom and the development of the country. The need for new equipments that would provide the suitable convergence for Portugal to the Europe’s standards provided the development of a large amount of architects and their offices⁷³. Sporadically these major offices would make an incursion in foreign soil, in particular in competitions.

⁷² Siza, *Alvaro Siza, 1954-1988.*, 11.

⁷³ Most Portuguese offices have 1 to 4 architects, a medium size office has 5 to 10 architects and a larger office more than 10 architects, but

The new Century

As stated before in the postwar era before 2000, Portugal gradually integrated with the rest of Europe, and the milestones in this process came during periods when Portugal was one of the fastest-growing countries in the world. Income per capita doubled in the decade after 1960, when Portugal joined the European Free Trade Association. The years after joining the European Community in 1986 were likewise marked by great progress. Yet the advent of European monetary union marked the beginning of Portugal's prolonged slump.

Several economists, including Ricardo Reis⁷⁴, explain the evolution from 1974 with the following phases: a 'Boom' until 2001; a puzzling 'slump' from 2001 to 2008; and the present crisis from 2008 onward. These economic phases can be partially explained by some factors, such as the fact that up to the mid-90s Portugal's net foreign debt was close to zero but has grown up to more than 100% the nation GPD, due to a steady rate of international borrowing to sustain a steady growth of consumption and its funding. Also the shift to nontradables (mainly services providers) with the decline for decades of manufacturing and the change in Portuguese society from an agricultural and industrial one towards an economy of service providers.

These major economic changes shattered the construction activity in Portugal and induced an increase in export of architectural and engineering services in Europe, Mediterranean countries and the Portuguese spoken countries. Most of the Portuguese offices that had been working in Portugal, after the adhesion to EEU started to develop some openness to the outside. Competitions provided, again, a mean to achieve the end.

As Cabral and Borges⁷⁵ reference in their study about the Portuguese architects, the need for inside affirmation and peer recognition, the conscience of a preference in limited cluster of award winning architects in Portugal to whom the status is recognized and they are given access to higher social positions and to quality brands. The 'successful career is one important aspect of the Portuguese architects:

*"However, the survey also reveals that nearly half of the respondents, in particular older and male architects have had "successful careers". They form the groups of innovators and of conservatives, whose main distinguishing dimension is the former's positive orientation to change and the negative orientation of the latter. Where could this orientation towards change lead? In his recent work on new architectural activities and practices in Europe, the sociologist Michel Bonetti, professor at the Paris-La Villette School of Architecture, lists four main domains: innovation in the objects being made; organizational innovation in the conception processes; innovations in the urban development processes; and innovation in the conception techniques that use high technology (Chaidon & Evette, coord., 2004)."*⁷⁶

One example is Gonçalo Byrne (b. 1941, graduated in 1968), who is actually older than Souto de Moura, and not a member of the Oporto School. He is considered with Tavora and Siza one of the masters of Portuguese architecture and enjoys international prestige among the most selected circles of European architecture (academic media, in prizes, as a member of juries in international competitions). He was very near Nuno Portas in the 70s and also worked at SAAL. He has a very personal work, is very recluded and is committed to smaller and subtler works. The port of Lisbon's

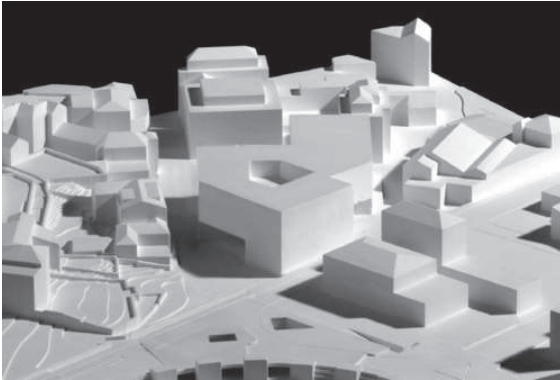
⁷⁴ Reis, "The Portuguese Slump and Crash and the Euro Crisis."

⁷⁵ Cabral and Borges, *Relatório Da Profissão: Arquitecto/a*; Cabral and Borges, "Architecture as Vocation and Profession: A Survey of Portuguese Architects."

⁷⁶ Cabral and Borges, "Architecture as Vocation and Profession: A Survey of Portuguese Architects."

Sea Traffic Coordination and Control Center (1997/2001) gave him an important international visibility in Wallpaper. Had a regular competition strategy in Portugal since 1977 to 1995 and then starts competing abroad: from 1996 to 2000 he does 6 national and only 2 international competitions; and from 2000 to 2007 he does 7 national and 10 international competitions. His competitions in Portugal are mostly connected to the Universities and he has gained quite a fame in dealing with complex programs. It is clear a change with the entrance in the EEU, and a new view of the potential market competitions could provide abroad.

Table 7 Gonçalo Byrne competitions



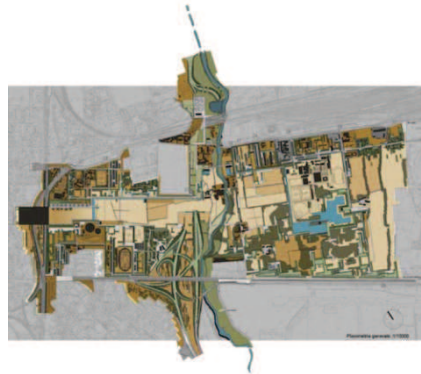
Palazzo del Cinema di Locarno | 2012



Concorso per la Nuova sede della Provincia di Bergamo | Finalist | 2009



Edifici-mondo: Concorso Per Il Recupero Del Centro Antico | 1997/1998



Concorso Internazionale "Milano Parco Forlanini" | 1st Prize | 2002

João Luis Carrilho da Graça⁷⁷ (b. 1952, graduated in 1977) is another good example of the change from mostly Portuguese competitions before 2000 (18 national competitions and only 3 foreign competitions) to mostly international competitions after 2000 (16 national competitions and 15 international competitions) until 2010. This change was needed to maintain the office and provide the necessary contracts.

⁷⁷ João Luís Carrilho da Graça (b. 1952, Portalegre) graduated in architecture from the Lisbon Fine Arts School (ESBAL) in 1977. In the same year, he began working (first built project in 1982.), as well as lecturing at the Faculty of Architecture of the Technical University of Lisbon between 1977 and 1992. He has taught at the Autónoma University since 2001, at the University of Évora since 2005 and was an invited professor at the Navarra University Architecture School in 2007 and 2010. Carrilho da Graça has given lectures at seminars and conferences at several international universities and received prestigious distinctions, such as the honoris causa doctorate from the Lisbon Technical University in 2013; the Medal from Académie d'Architecture Française in 2012, the title "Chevalier des Arts et des Lettres" by the French Republic in 2010; the Pessoa Prize in 2008 and the Order for Merit of the Portuguese Republic in 1999. His work has also garnered important awards and prizes, such as the AIT award 2012 for the Carpinteira Pedestrian Bridge; the Sacra Frate-Sole 2012 for Portalegre's Santo António Church; the Piranesi Prix de Rome 2010 for the São Jorge Castle Archaeological Museum; the Valmor Prize in 2008 for the Lisbon Music School; in 1998 for the Expo '98 Knowledge of the Seas Pavilion (also FAD Award in 1999) and the SECIL Prize in 1994 for Lisbon's Communication and Media Studies School. Further information can be found in <http://jlcg.pt/>.

Table 8 – João Luís Carrilho da Graça competitions



Poitiers, França | Theatre and auditorium | International competition | 1st prize | 2004-2008



Sénart, France | New theatre of Sénart | International competition, restricted | 2st prize | 2009

Both of these two offices (Gonçalo Byrne and Joao Luis Carrilho da Graça), based in Lisbon, have acquired an international strong reputation. Yet, this reputation, not supported by the ‘aura’ of the Oporto School did not grant them with the same hypothesis as Álvaro Siza and Eduardo Souto de Moura. The latter were indeed branded as the Portuguese architecture primarily by the Italian architectural magazines and later by the French ones. This Italian-French influence was contrary to the Germanic-Anglophonic influence which was thought to be more in tune with the Lisbon School (which never formally existed). Examples of this connection are Raúl Hestenes Ferreira (b. 1931, graduated in Lisbon in 1961, Master in 1963 under Louis Kahn) and Tomás Taveira (b. 1938, graduated in Lisbon in, post graduated in the MIT) studies in the States. Clearly these two clusters were firmly rooted in the two main architectural schools⁷⁸. Since 1986 new universities⁷⁹ appeared and disrupted the concept of the two schools in Portugal.

ARX Portugal⁸⁰ (b. 1991), a younger office, run by Nuno Mateus (b. 1961, graduated in 1984) and José Mateus (b. 1987, Graduated in 1986) only started making competitions more recently. In a recent interview⁸¹ Nuno Mateus confirms that competitions are one of the best ways to get an architectural procurement, mostly with interesting programs, larger project dimension and most interesting buildings (such as classified). He confirms having made 4 to 6 competitions by year in Portugal and abroad. For him “a competition is a very interesting proceeding since it puts our ideas and capacities [competences] against our colleagues, and, through that, we can assess our [own] competence.”⁸² To José Mateus success is never guaranteed, a competition implies that the cost of initial studies (that would normally cost 1/3 of project fees) is not paid, and requires more than 1000 hours work (the competition for ‘Parque Mayer’, in Lisbon, took 1700 hours and they were awarded a second place), and costs about 20000€ to 30000€ each to be produced. It is, despite being the most ideally democratic procurement, the generalized impoverishment of architects and one of the most important causes for its fragility.

⁷⁸ The Lisbon Fine Arts School (ESBAL) later the Faculty of Architecture at the Technical University of Lisbon (FAUTL) and Faculty of Architecture at the University of Oporto (FAUP).

⁷⁹ Lusitana university was founded in 1986.

⁸⁰ In 1991, Nuno Mateus with José Paulo Mateus, founded ‘ARX Portugal Arquitectos’. The office work is wide spread from private to public commissions in Portugal and abroad as well as several international competitions. Some of its major projects are built and a few are currently under construction. ARX’s work has obtained several prizes and mentions such as the International Architecture Awards The Chicago Athenaeum, USA (Ilhavo Library), International Association of the Art Critics, Prize in Architecture 2003 (Maritime Museum), and Nominations for the Sécil and Mies Van der Rohe Prize, 2002 (Maritime Museum). Further information can be found in <http://www.arx.pt/en/competition>.

⁸¹ “Concursos Arrasam Com Ateliers de Arquitectura.”

⁸² Ibid.

Table 9 – ARX competitions



Hotel in Dubai | 2007



Gijón Museum | Spain | 2010



UNICAMP | International competition for the Exploratory Science Museum | Brasil | 2009



Helsinki Library | Finland | 2012

Another young architect, Tiago Mota Saraiva⁸³ (b. , graduated in 2000, Erasmus student) has participated in 9 international competitions from 2005 to 2012. ATELIERMOB is a multidisciplinary platform for the development of ideas, research and projects in the areas of architecture, design and urbanism. It lists more than 175 projects and more than 30 competitions (21 national and 9 international competitions, 8 competitions have obtained prizes) and it is possible to observe that competitions have been a part of the office's strategy of market and research.

⁸³ Tiago Mota was between 2003 and 2005, associate to the EXTRASTUDIO – arquitetura, design e urbanismo Lda. In 2005 funded ATELIERMOB – Arquitetura, Design e Urbanismo. Ateliermob is a multidisciplinary platform for the development of ideas, research and projects in the areas of architecture, design and urbanism. The company was founded in Lisbon, as a result of several works carried out by its founding partners. Ateliermob has been working on projects of different typologies and scales, for public and private entities. In parallel, we have been developing research work to support the project-oriented practice, an architecture blog, design, urban planning and participation in several national and international competitions. Currently, ateliermob is constituted by two partners – Andreia Salavessa and Tiago Mota Saraiva – and a team of skilled professionals associated, when possible, with other entities and technicians in order to enrich and broaden the spectrum of its multidisciplinary services. Referenced in several national and international publications, ateliermob has held conferences in Lisbon, Oporto, Coimbra, Barcelona, Montpellier, Toronto, Vaduz and Cluj-Napoca, and achieved awards and honorable competition classifications. Further information can be found in <http://www.ateliermob.com>, <http://europaconcorsi.com>, and <http://issuu.com/ateliermob>.

Table 10 – ATELIERMOB competitions



030 Paris New Courthouse | Paris (FR) | competition | public building | honorable mention



027 Stockholm's public library | Stockholm (SE) | competition | public building

Confirming this tendency, Pedro Melo⁸⁴ from TERNULLOMELO ARCHITECTS references that competitions are without any doubt expensive (more than 10000€) and take a lot of time: “in average we work for a month with 2/3 full time people to small competitions.”⁸⁵ Although with no assured income and no guarantee of implementation they continue to believe in the importance of these proceedings and continue doing 2 to 3 competitions per year, mostly internationally, in Italy, where the probabilities of success are better. Pedro Melo believes that “they should continue participating in competitions because they believe that with a good jury, a condition not always present, this is the best formula for guarantee the implementation of better designs and an more informed choice of what is to be built, avoiding the repetition of the same architects.”⁸⁶ Also “these are always growth proceedings for the office: it permits to have access to programs that would otherwise be outside of reach, experiment new strategies. Usually we feel a change, if we want, a ‘jump’ in our production after each competition in which we take part. Maybe that is what motivates us.”⁸⁷

Table 11 - TERNULLOMELO ARCHITECTS competitions



Padiglione Italia Expo 2015 | Concorso Internazionale di progettazione per la “progettazione del Padiglione Italia” - Milan, Italy



Costeras Marceddi | Riqualificazione di 8 borgate marine della Sardegna - Marceddi, Italy | 1st Prize

⁸⁴ TERNULLOMELO ARCHITECTS is a Lisbon-based architectural firm founded in 2006 by Chiara Ternullo and Pedro Teixeira de Melo. Further information can be found in <http://www.ternullomelo.com/>.

⁸⁵ “Concursos Arrasam Com Ateliers de Arquitectura.”

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.



Aragonese Castle Cathedral | Ischia, Italy | 3rd Prize



Boutillière | Riqualificazione e restauro con eventuale cambio di destinazione d'uso dell'area denominata "Boutillière" in comune di Cogne - Cogne, Italy

Conclusions

The data collected is acknowledge to be a reduction of an observed phenomenon and is categorized in a specific way in order to be illustrative of why architects do compete. Since it is assumed as not being representative of the whole profession its conclusions may only share part of the whole truth. Nonetheless they are a possibility for further studies within a larger population of study.

Most of information gathered proves that Portuguese architects only started to look to competitions outside its borders when it was politically possible (after 1974/1976) after the internationalization of Álvaro Siza (mainly by Nuno Portas after 1968 and through the IBA Altbau competitions). There was an initial competition period where Siza proved internationally his expertise with social housing, developed his personal architectural grammar, method and language. He reached a certain point in his career when he was generally known and his competences (and 'poetry') were internationally appraised by the Pritzker. The Pritzker brought more visibility and he gained new projects and new competences were recognized in a twist of fortune. Competitions no longer were necessary since his name was sufficiently well known. Only some invited competitions were still appealing.

Siza's national and international ascension made possible the dissemination of the Oporto School and Souto followed the lead of his master. Souto de Moura, early in his career, takes serious interest in competing internationally; he progresses steadily until he gets to be well known. But Souto made from opportunities a lab for research⁸⁸. He is thought to be using competitions as experimental platforms for ideas and concepts, and by doing so he explores competences and designs not current to his professional practice. These experiments provide him with future competences, design strategies and aesthetics he will give use to in other projects.

It has been proved that Portuguese architects do international competitions mostly following what could be described as the 'Siza's effect'⁸⁹. Siza's effect could be described as an appealing status of visibility, attention, recognition and glamour that Siza has acquired along his years of practice, by his own merit and international recognition, which has assured him a special attention and veneration.

By 1992 the 'Boom' in Portugal was rising and other architects initiated the foreign call for success and national recognition. Byrne and Carrilho are examples of architects that ventured abroad to gain new projects, new challenges and new possibilities of fame. The national experience provided them with the competences to achieve good scores in competitions and, foot by foot, they ventured abroad. The road opened by Siza would be extended to everyone and not only to Siza's followers.

⁸⁸ Guilherme and Rocha, "Architectural Competition as a Lab: A Study on Souto de Moura's Competitions Entries," 2013.

⁸⁹ Out of the Bilbao Effect (Rybczynski, "The Bilbao Effect.")

With the national economic downfall, to go abroad was not any more just an opportunity but a necessity. The Open Market made available competitions everywhere and offices saw a way out of the crisis. ARX and young architects like Tiago Mota Saraiva or Nuno Melo are no longer competing abroad because of what they can do afterwards in Portugal: they are competing abroad because that is the market for them and competitions provide the best way to reach that market.

There seems to be three generations present: an early 74 (X) – Álvaro Siza, Vieira, Eduardo Souto de Moura, Gonçalo Byrne and João Luís Carrilho da Graça - opening to the outside; a following generation (Y) – ARX - using that initial trust; and a newer one (A) pursuing competitions as means to an end (of notoriety, fame and success) – ATELIERMOB and TERNULLOMELO ARCHITECTS. These generations comply with the three main economic trends after 1974 – the ‘boom’ to an European continental market (up to 1986) and then to the Eurozone (after 1986/2002), the economic ‘stall’ after 2000 and the present ‘crisis’ – and appear to reflect different pattern of motifs why architects choose to compete.

Table 12 – Comparative analysis of all architects

Architect	Year of birth	Graduation	University	First Project	First Competition	Generation	BOOM (1974-2000)	SLUMP (2001-2008) + CRISIS
Álvaro Siza Vieira	1933	1955	FAUP	1954	1979	X	26 INT	4 INT
Gonçalo Byrne	1941	1968	FAUTL	1972	1977	X	6 PT+2 INT	7 PT + 10 INT
João Luís Carrilho da Graça	1952	1977	FAUTL	1982	1983	X	18 PT + 3 INT	16 PT + 15 INT
Eduardo Souto de Moura	1952	1980	FAUP	1977	1979	X	8 PT + 6 INT	18 PT + 20 INT
ARX	1960	1990	FAUTL	-	2007	Y	-	-
Tiago Mota Saraiva	-	1999	FAUL	2000	-	Z	-	21PT + 9 INT
Nuno Mello	-	-	-	2006	2006	Z	-	-

It is known by Cabral and Borges⁹⁰, and previously referenced in 2013⁹¹, that Portuguese architects “take pride in being an architect”⁹² and take “material and symbolic well-being”⁹³ as a main dimension of their identity⁹⁴. This ‘symbolic gratification’ makes up the sociological challenge that must be resolved by competitions. Competitions prove the most fittest and competent of all – the fittest of all survives the cold war of life. International competitions provide the legitimacy for competence and Portuguese architects know that!

Of all aspects listed earlier Portuguese architects seem to select just a few, and follow individual and market options. It seems possible that the selection of competitions follows a pattern of proximity to the career opportunities, competences and expertises already acquired. Past experiences as collaborators or as international students (Erasmus) and proficiency in computer images seem to be relevant for the apparent easier condition of the avid Portuguese young architects. Also it seems

⁹⁰ Cabral and Borges, *Relatório Da Profissão: Arquitecto/a*; Cabral and Borges, “Architecture as Vocation and Profession: A Survey of Portuguese Architects.”

⁹¹ Guilherme and Rocha, “Architectural Competition as a Lab: A Study on Souto de Moura’s Competitions Entries,” 2013.

⁹² Cabral and Borges, “Architecture as Vocation and Profession: A Survey of Portuguese Architects,” 21.

⁹³ Indeed, 57% of the inquiry (Cabral and Borges, *Relatório Da Profissão: Arquitecto/a*; Cabral and Borges, “Architecture as Vocation and Profession: A Survey of Portuguese Architects.”) rejected the idea that the “architect as an author is outdated” and just 19% agreed with it.”

⁹⁴ Cabral and Borges, “Architecture as Vocation and Profession: A Survey of Portuguese Architects,” 21.

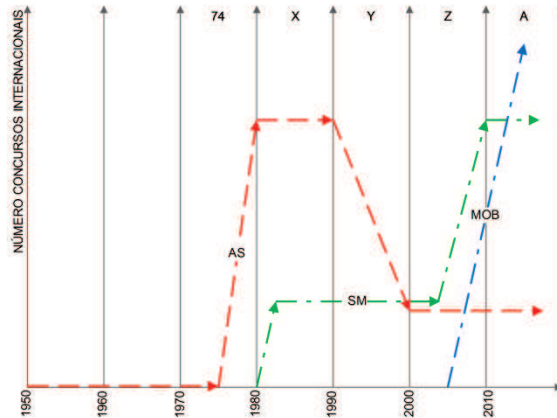
probable that the rate of competitions is connected to market needs, although there are opportunities of research and visibility that are explored sporadically by some architects.

It is also quite probable that competitions are in fact an opportunity, maybe the unique current opportunity, for the younger Portuguese generations of architects to reach some visibility, even at high financial and time expenses. Even if they do not win it is always an opportunity to develop and appear under public scrutiny. The globalization provided by the internet and the quick spread of information provides an additional opportunity for visibility and publicity for younger generations of architects.

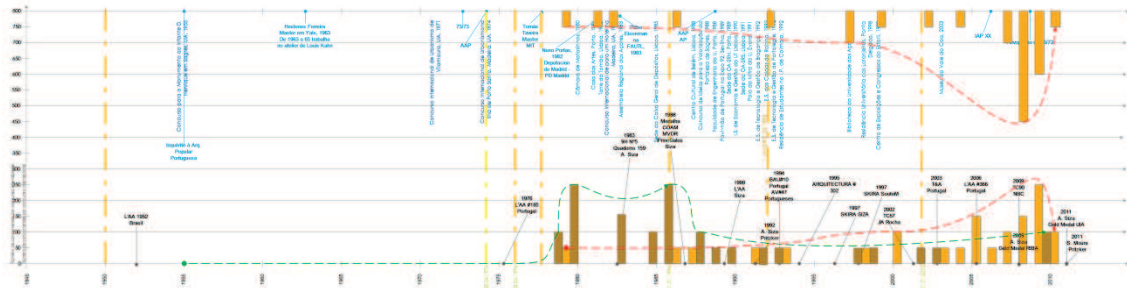
From the early tentative, explorative years of Siza's first competitions to the current massive participation of Portuguese architects in foreign competitions there is a long, cumulative effort of competence and visibility that gives international competitions a symbolic, unquestioned value.

Additional graphics to be presented at the conference

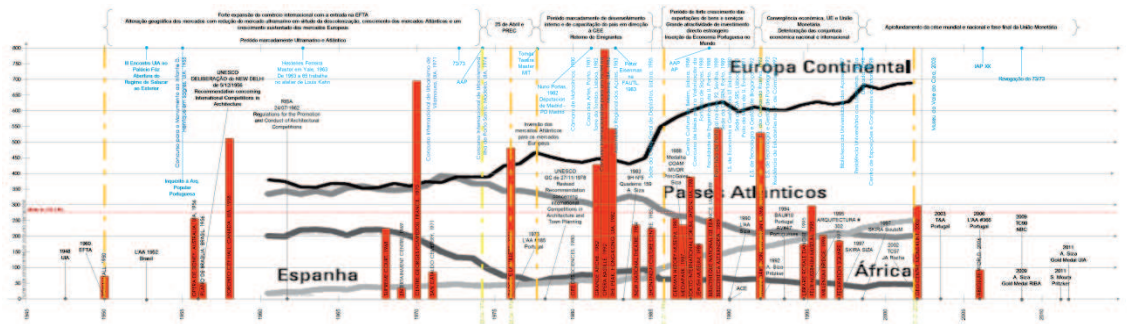
Table 13



Comparative participation of Portuguese architects in International competitions
Álvaro Siza (AS) + Souto de Moura (SM) + ATELIERMOB (MOB)



Time Line of Portuguese architecture – Álvaro Siza and Souto de Moura



Political + Economic + architectonic Time Line

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SESSION 1B

INNOVATION

Architectural Competitions as a Municipal Instrument for Innovating Space for the Ageing Society: The Dynamics of Three Competitions

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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).¹ 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 un-verbalized 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-

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):

On the organizer's side

- a. The preparation for a competition
- b. The open invitation to architects
- c. The selection of architects to invite
- d. The writing of the competition programme
- e. The jury assessment process
- f. The realization of the winning competition proposal

On the participating architects' side

- a1 -
- b1 *The application to the competition*
- c1 -
- d1 *The interpretation of the competition programme*
- e1 -
- f1 *The refinement of the winning proposal*

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 underlying

ing dynamics of administrative, 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, Gaevle and Linköping (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 Gaevle, 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 Linköping. 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 Gaevle and Linköping 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.

Item	Question theme
1	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.
2	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.
3	The competition proposals in comparisons with the envisioned space and stipulated requirements in the competition programme.
4	The architectural competition as seen as prior to and after realization.
5	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.

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.

Total number of respondents in the three architectural competitions, AC, p= persons	Characteristics of respondents			Used methods			Response rate
	women	men	total	questionnaire ¹	interview ¹	total	
Burlöv AC ² , 16 p	8	4	12	2	11	13	80%
Gävle AC ² , 27 p	10	3	13	8	9	17	55%
Linköping AC, ³ 19 p	9	4	13	5	9	14	73%
SIAT, 2 p	2	0	2	5	3	8	100%
SAA, 2 p	1	1	2	1	3	4	100%
Total number: 66 p	30	12	42	21	29	56	64%

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 Malmö. 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 Gävle

The municipality of Gävle is the seventeenth largest community in Sweden. The municipality comprises of approximately seventy smaller communities, and eighteen larger conglomerations, among which town of Gävle 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 Gävle 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 Linköeping

The municipality of Linköeping is the fifth largest community in Sweden with about eighteen larger conglomerations, among which the town of Linköeping 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 of organizing 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 Linköeping 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 architecture 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

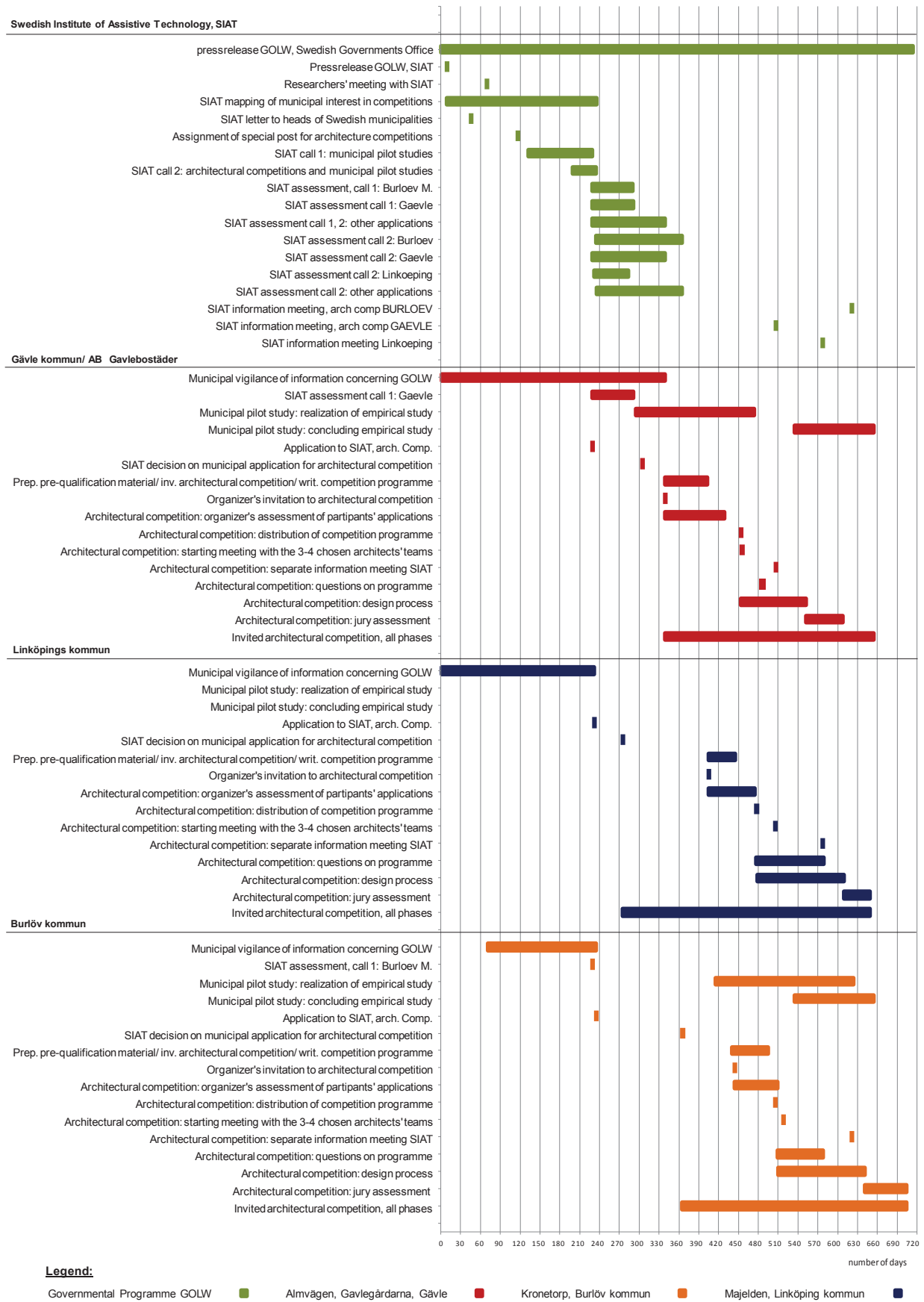


Figure 2. Overview of the timeline for the full governmental programme, and as implemented by the supervisor and the three municipal organizers of architectural competitions.

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 idea² 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 Linköeping 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 Linköeping, while the municipality of Buerlov 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 Linköeping represent the average, 20 months.

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 Gävle

The press release of the SGO concerning the GOLW was spotted almost immediately at the Administration for Eldercare, AE, at the municipality of Gävle. 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 Gavlegårdarna, 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 Gävle 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 Gävle 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 Linköeping

The press release of the SGO was imminently noticed at the municipality of Linköeping: 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 Linköeping 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 Linköeping 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 Linkoepping 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 Linkoepping appears as the most competent municipal organizer, since existing routines and ways of collaborating in an intra-administrational way produced preliminary drafts of the forth-coming 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 Linkoepping 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 Gävle 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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Crossing the Radical Edge

Which Kind of Innovation Can Architectural Design Competitions Produce? A Differentiated Approach Based on Housing

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Crossing the radical edge.

Which kind of innovation can architectural design competitions produce? A differentiated approach based on housing.

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This paper investigates how the format of architectural competitions influences the degree of innovation achievable. Innovation can be defined as a new combination of means and aims. The applicability of the notions concerning innovation developed in the management and social disciplines to architecture has received little attention— especially for what concerns approaches looking at innovation in the post-modern reflexive sense, beyond technology and profit as briefly described above. Available theoretical frameworks concerning innovation in planning and design (Ibert, Verganti) have highlighted specific features that applies to these fields. The paper argues that both frameworks are relevant, as the innovation that can be achieved through architectural competitions is mostly design-driven, but in case of radical innovation it implies changes at organizational level as well. Starting from the differentiation between radical and incremental innovation along the Verganti's model, the paper compares the process foreseen from three competitions set-ups for innovative housing design (IBA Hamburg, European and the Vienna system of subsidized design and build housing competitions) with two processes where housing innovation was achieved without a competition (Borneo Sporenburg, Amsterdam, 2000 and Cité Manifeste, Mulhouse, France, 2005). The question of how and when the alignment between the different innovativeness of the relevant actors (architect, developer and sponsor) can happen represents an essential difference in the case studies analyzed. Processes not based on competitions are able to integrate a dialogue between the actors that will facilitate this alignment as well as create a fruitful exchange that can move the team nearer to a solution. The design of competitions aimed at innovation will need to cater for the hows and whens of this alignment. Exchange and dialogue are needed, because of the complexity of the task and of the positions of the various actors. While a dialogue happening too late might put the implementation at risk, to confront innovation with the requirements of implementation from the beginning on might reduce the innovativeness of the proposal. As well, similarly to what described concerning the relevance of the design industry leaders, also in the analyzed processes radical innovation could be achieved (both with or without competition) when at least one key actor on the client's side took upon himself the role of care-taker of the innovative vision, becoming kind of invisible motor in the process. An integrated perspective is necessary, looking not only at the competition phase but at the whole process, from conception to implementation and use.

Keywords: innovation, radical design-driven innovation, innovation in planning architectural competition design, collective housing, dialogue-based architectural competitions.

Introduction

It is a common assumption that the competition format is conducive to the production of innovative design solutions. Yet the question of how the format of architectural competitions influences the degree of innovation achievable is little researched, as little attention has been given about how to understand and categorize innovation in architecture, especially innovation based on design and not technological advances.

The aim of this paper is to question how different competition settings influence the possibility of achieving innovative design solutions and the degree thereof. This paper will thus first review available theoretical frameworks concerning innovation in design and planning, and then compare how the processes/ conditions highlighted in these frameworks are reflected in five processes from the field of collective housing. In the selected case studies the achievement of innovative design was declared as important aim of the process. Three of these processes used the open competition setting; in the other two cases architects were directly commissioned. The restriction of the analysis to the field of collective housing- thus to one family of products- is thought to allow an easier comparison of the innovations achieved. The sources used to analyze these five processes include the briefs, available publications documenting the processes and the results, as well as interviews with relevant actors conducted in the frame of my doctoral thesis research.

Innovation

Innovation has been traditionally defined as a new combination of means and aims that produces an added value of some kind. The traditional view of innovation referred to the process of profit-driven manufacturing and linked the possibility of an added value with a form of technological advance. Today innovation is increasingly understood as something that goes **beyond technological change**. As a result it includes products and processes that have nothing to do with technique, such as **social innovations, political innovations, new lifestyles**. Also included are **measures that do not necessarily raise efficiency or profit**, but still can bring an advantage, such as environmental strategy, sport, communications, as the understanding of **post industrial innovation** has moved **beyond industrial production/manufacturing and its enterprise organization**.

This wider notion makes of innovation something less clear-cut. It cannot be protected through patents, and it is increasingly steered rather through **networks**, than by singular individuals or enterprises, as suggested by studies on lead user-developed innovations for products ranging from open source software to high performance windsurfing (van Hippel 2002). If industrial innovation could be made started in the research laboratory of a company by a group of inventors matching users profiles with new products, post – industrial innovation - also called ‘reflexive innovation’- happens outside the lab, in a global context connected via networks of different kind. Behind it we find **a much more heterogeneous and diversified group of actors that need to act in multiple contexts and with increasing reflexivity** (Rammert 1997).

Distinction between radical and incremental innovation

The applicability to architecture of the notions concerning innovation developed by the management and social disciplines has received little attention– especially for what concerns approaches looking at innovation in the post-modern reflexive sense, beyond technology and financial profit. Yet these notions might represent an important starting point to answer some of the questions raised by the call for papers.

In order to describe innovation economists have introduced the distinction **radical versus incremental innovation**. This dichotomy refers to the degree of innovation

contained in certain changes, and presupposes that there are **substantial differences between the two kinds of innovations** in terms of impact on the existing set up and response they require from the management and the users, thus they should be considered separately.

This dichotomy applies to the **internal dimension** of the organization introducing the innovation (knowledge, resources): incremental innovation is 'competence enhancing', as it is based on the existing set-up, while radical innovation is 'competence destroying', as it requires a totally new set-up. It also applies to the **external dimension** (the market itself, including the users): incremental innovation does not annihilate the competitiveness of other products on the market, while radical innovation does. Radical innovations make existing products obsolete and non-competitive, while challenging existing users' expectations and needs (Abernathy Clark 1985).

These two dimensions can, but do necessarily have to, coincide. Innovations radical in terms of change required in the producing organization might be only incremental for what concerns the final users and the market they represent (see for example the electric car). On the other hand a different keyboard can be produced with little change to the existing production processes, but requires a radical response from the market and the users.

According to the American sociologist and statistician Rogers who first draw attention to the relevance of innovation adoption processes (Rogers1983), innovation decisions have to do with the evaluation of the specific characteristics of the innovation, and will be driven by **cost-benefit analysis** and by **uncertainty**. **Adopting innovation is about believing in an advantage**, in terms of costs, efficiency/performance, or even status. However, the adoption rate will also depend on **how compatible the innovation will be with previously introduced ideas and values**, as adopting something new and unfamiliar- even if of potential benefit- involves a large dose of uncertainty. The decision to adopt will also depend on the **innovativeness** of the ones adopting it. In Rogers' definition (p.36) innovativeness is 'the degree to which an individual or other unit of adoption is relatively earlier in adopting new ideas than other members of a social system'. People have, in other words, different degrees of innovativeness and deal differently with the risk taking involved when going for a radical decision. The degree of innovation, its being incremental or radical, is reflected in the level of risk involved both in producing and adopting it. It will therefore strongly influence both the decision to produce it and also how the final users will react to it.

In the competition setting design submissions strategies have been distinguished between designs that implement the brief and the ones looking for a creative solution (see for example Manzoni et al, 2012). The perspective in these analyses is that of the architect and how he manages business approach versus creativity. The radical/incremental innovation dichotomy perspective relates however to the whole process, starting from the competition setting in itself. Radical solutions are in fact more difficult to achieve, because they often imply a new set-up at many different levels, and might not happen under standard setting. Therefore the question if and/or how radical solutions be achieved under 'standard' conditions of architecture competitions is relevant. But what can be said about radical innovation that is design-based and not technology based? What are the specific conditions and barriers?

Radical and incremental innovation in design: the model of design-driven innovation (Verganti)

By changing the meaning of products, design can also be the motor of radical innovation, as suggested in **the model of design-driven innovation** developed by the Italian management researcher Roberto Verganti. Radical innovations move 'outside the spectrum of possibilities of what people knew and did' (Verganti 2009, p.52). Radical innovations move beyond the immediate fulfilment of existing users' needs on the basis of existing models and create a new meaning of the product. Incremental innovations move instead within the adaptation of existing socio-cultural models, and represent de facto small 'breaks' within the status quo.

While this model was developed for design products, it can be applied to architecture and to the work of architects. A first connection between the notion of design-driven innovation and architecture is the shared background of the actors involved: design-driven innovation, intended as an innovation that is born out not of users' needs, but out of an interpretation of societal trends and dynamics, and thus represents a jump – was mostly developed within the Italian design industry - for example Alessi - and was mostly the outcome of a collaboration between architects, designers and entrepreneurs with a vision. These collaborations were not intended to find a better functional solution to a given problem, but were aimed at creating a new and better interpretation of the problem, thus establishing new meanings about what specific products are about. This is essentially a vision shared by architects who are willing to search for creative design solutions in a wide societal perspective and not simply implement a given brief. Architects as well can understand their task as not only about solving given problems, but also about finding ways to conceive space for given needs, in a perspective not necessarily prioritizing the immediate user, but looking ahead, at the development of society as a whole. In this perspective, radical interpretations are the most interesting ones and design becomes a critical process that is aimed at **innovation as a new interpretation of the meaning of a product** and not at creative problem solving.

The basic principle of radical design-driven innovation is that designers act as **interpreters**. Through their interpretation they produce a novel meaning and envision a new context of life for the product. Their reference is a wider perspective on the changes in society, culture and technology, what can be defined as the 'design discourse'. This discourse is an informal, diffused research process shared by other parties interested in the meaning of things, such as architects, suppliers of raw materials, editors of magazines and other media, universities and design schools, hotel and exhibition designers, consultants in the sociology and anthropology of consumption (Verganti 2009, p.118).

In the process analysis of Verganti design-driven innovation results out of a collaboration between designers and company leaders interested in implementing radical visions and willing to take the risks involved in it. As described by one of them (Alberto Alessi in Verganti p.109), it is *about 'walking the unknown path' and being able to 'move on the enigmatic borderline between what could become real (...) and what will never become real'*.

Innovation in planning

While the perspective of design-driven innovation provides a relevant framework in terms of definition of what an innovative architectural design radical in nature is and does, in architecture competitions the clients or sponsors are very often public actors, and not private entrepreneurs. In these cases the issue of innovation has to be looked at also in terms of planning, and of the connected political and administrative decision processes.

Innovation is in fact an important issue also for political and administrative systems. These systems are often confronted with 'new' problems that can not be solved with usual tools (such as revitalization of industrial areas, shrinking cities, sustainability, integration of migrants, or creation of housing attractive to specific users groups). For such problems regions and/or cities need to develop new approaches and innovative solutions for innovation deficient sectors. The issue is particularly relevant in the current context of competitiveness among the so-called 'learning regions' and regional innovation systems, where ensuring the possibility of innovation in planning is part of necessary collective survival and success strategies.

The planning disciplines represent a specific case of policy innovation, and have in the last years joined the debate on how to implement innovative solutions, and which barriers need to be confronted. The planning context follows in fact **a different logic** than the manufacturing and service sector, if not *in toto* at least in substantial parts (Fürst and Knieling, 2002; Ibert, 2003; Häußermann and Siebel, 2004). In particular risks will need to be minimized, as the innovation process within a political context and system has higher transaction costs than 'individual' innovation processes. **Therefore the planning sector has specific difficulties to pursue radical innovation.**

As top-down processes, possible in manufacturing or services, do not apply here, planning innovation has a lot to do with breaking existing routines, changing mentalities, creating the possibility of new approaches from within, in order to confront open-ended questions. This means that planning innovation needs to be organized as learning process,

It has been noted that particular efforts are needed to separate the consensus reaching process – necessary in planning and administrative systems - from the innovation phase (Fürst and Knieling, 2002). These two processes (consensus reaching, innovation) are in fact steered by opposite logics, and will in the end tend to neutralize each other. **Separation in terms of phases** (first the idea, then the administrative part) or **in terms of institutions** (separation between the ones deciding the innovation and the ones implementing it).

Looking at a series of innovative projects realized as part of the EXPO 2000 Hannover and of the IBA Emscher Park, Ibert (2003) suggested as well that **extra-ordinary events** are possible tools to break the status quo and create a starting point for innovative planning. Possibly architectural competitions can also act in this sense. The advantage of the connected 'charismatic effects', is that they work as communication vehicle for the new both towards the involved actors and towards the outside of the organization. They also fulfil the somehow narcissist need of recognition of public administration. In this sense they open planning innovation to marketing and 'packaging' strategies (Ibert, 2003, p.88).

What discussed for the planning context makes clear that next to the object-related layer, innovation – especially once the public hand is involved- will also have to work on a **organizational level**. Ibert writes: ‘The innovation task changed the object of urban and regional planning- innovation oriented planning is ‘immaterial’ planning’ (Ibert, 2003, p.36, original text in German). It is not about the hardware of a city or a region, but about the software, and about the management of the required complex and interactive communication process.’

Competitions and housing innovation

Housing production very often involves public competitions of different kind calling for innovative approaches to compensate for a general lack of innovation within this sector. There are in fact relevant public interests at stake in producing housing that is affordable and that can perform both over the short and long term, reacting to an increasingly fast changing society. As private market forces rarely have been able to fulfil these requirements, there is in Europe a long story of state intervention in housing. Today however interventions are mostly steered through indirect object subsidies to private developers (both commercial and non-profit ones), often with a competition attached calling for innovative proposals able to cater for new societal trends.

Because of this combination- the fact that competitions are common in the provision of housing in many European countries, and innovation is a recurrent and relevant theme in these competitions – housing provides an interesting and wide enough field of research in relation to the question of how the setting of a competition relates to the potential of achieving innovation and/ or which degree there of.

Housing competitions across Europe come in a variety of formats. Next to delivery-oriented competitions, such as property developers’ competitions (Case study 1), there are many open formats such as European (Case study 2) or the ones connected to extraordinary events such as the German *Internationale Bauausstellungen* or IBA (Case study 3) where the aim is to achieve prototypical solutions, trend setters, housing beyond current standards. A detailed overview of these case studies is provided in the appendix.

These three formats of architectural competitions all include innovation as part of their stated aims. Yet innovative results radical in nature happened when innovation had a clear priority and relevance, in the brief as well as at political level. Where a balance is sought between innovative design and other more standard aims (for example sustainability or affordability) incremental innovation is the most likely result, as for example is the case of the Viennese property developers’ competitions. A **specific focus on innovation** is in fact needed as radical innovation will hardly happen by chance.

The question of **how and when the alignment between the different innovativeness of the relevant actors (architect, developer and sponsor) can happen** is central and represents an essential difference in the setting of the competitions analyzed. In the case of the property developers’ competitions, by directly involving a designer - developer team, the alignment between architect and developer – fundamental to reach implementation -happens within the initial phase of the project and is sealed by the selection of the bid. Yet on the developers side the aim of the innovation is linked to the need of getting access to the site, so it is not – or only in part- an own interest, it is a

'must do' for the developer, and not necessarily a 'must have'. Once the team has won the bid, the 'care taking' is mostly left to the architects, but the final decision power is in the hands of the developers. This might cause little attention being given to the actual implementation of the concept, making innovation more strategic packaging of the design than real substance. On the other hand, the involved developers have a binding commitment to realize the competition proposal. This cannot result in a building completely different from the proposed design or in no building at all. In this lies a great potential for incremental innovations that might secure the bid while still limiting the risks on the developer's side.

In the case of Europan, even if relevant decision makers are part of the jury, there is no binding commitment on their side to implement the selected project. Because of this lack of connection, winning an Europan competition is no guarantee of implementing the proposal, and many of the projects will never become reality. The alignment of the innovative concepts with the expectations of the involved players- especially the ones who will carry the risk of it- is expected to happen during the jury session and in the following stages, but this is often very problematic. According to the current president of the organization Thomas Sieverts (Sieverts, 2011), competitions such as Europan are more the starting point of a long process that often excludes the winning architects. Therefore in order to still preserve the obvious qualities of the open setting of Europan, it is necessary to include in later stages 'other competitive formats which should be part of the competition brief from the very beginning'. He suggests that this also has to do with an increasing complexity in the planning and building processes in which architects will have to take new positions.

The example of the competition *Smart Price Houses* for the IBA Hamburg 2013 shows a possible middle way. The setting combined an open competition calling for innovative approaches in the first phase, together with a second phase where the selected projects could be further developed and then presented during a fair to interested developers who could choose not only the site to bid on, but also which of the two projects to realize. In this setting, the competition's jury has given away part of its decision power, as it makes a first but not a final selection of projects for the different sites. It is then up to the developer to select which project that will be realized. Yet, in the case looked at in detail in this paper, the fair did not work. Possibly because of the far reaching radical aspects of the proposed design- based on the idea of providing to the users a basic multilevel structure and not a finished building - no standard housing developer was interested. The developer who eventually stepped in was introduced to the architects directly by the chef of IBA and was de facto an outsider for what concerns housing, his fields being office buildings.

This further suggests that radical innovation might need to move out of standard set-ups also in terms of actors, not only in terms of process. This is of course not easy, as it represents a further unknown. A high pressure due to the exceptional setting of an international event such as the IBA also leads to the definitive need to move from the drawing table to the construction site and might help. Still much depends in the end on how and with which resoluteness the actors involved manage the unforeseen and therefore also on how much relevance the innovative aims have for them. Are the actors really interested in taking risks involved in delivering something exceptional, or will a more standard solution also work? Is the realization of the innovation a must?

To conclude, it seems that in order to be effective in terms of delivering a built building, the design of the competition aimed at achieving radical innovation needs to confront two contradictory requirements: it has to provide enough freedom for innovative proposals that might imply a new and not yet foreseeable organizational setting, and still providing an organizational setting. This means that predefined settings need to be complemented by the possibility of one-off solutions that cannot be predicted in advance.

Housing innovation without competitions

The previous analysis of competition settings showed that in order to be effective the implications of a design-driven innovation need to be catered for at organizational level. Yet in all the three cases the design itself was developed on the basis of a predefined brief and 'within' the submitting practice or team. Thanks to ability of 'reading' the brief and interpret it, the team managed to match the expectations of the jury. But are competitions the best way to achieve innovative interpretations or can innovation more effectively achieved otherwise? What are the advantages and what is missing?

In order to start answering this question, two processes of well known housing design-driven innovation that have not relied on competitions have been reviewed. The first case (Case study 4) concerns the masterplan for the Borneo Sporenburg site, Amsterdam Eastern Harbour (2000), developed by the Amsterdam Planning Department with the aim of creating a new urban housing typology. The second analyzed process (Case study 5) concerns the *Cité Manifeste*, a smaller rental housing project in Mulhouse (France), developed to test how the performance of subsidized affordable housing can be raised while.

Other than in competitions, in these projects the design innovations emerged out of collaboration and exchange. Both projects involved **workshops of some kind** and intense dialogue between the actors involved. This was for example the case for Borneo and Sporenburg, where the typology able to respond to the masterplan's vision and to the developer's expectations was found in a workshop, after a competition failed to deliver an innovative design deemed to work. Or in Mulhouse, where the architects were directly selected by the client's side and were asked to cooperate together through an intense series of workshops, in order to make sure that their ideas could as well 'work together'. Here the relevant collaboration was not only between architects and clients, or architects and experts, but also - and maybe surprisingly - between different architects/planners, who could profit from each other's ideas and creativity, even if this meant renouncing to part of the authorship's claims. For this to happen, architects had to be able to work in such collaborative settings.

The role of the innovation care-taker (in Amsterdam, the director of the Planning Department, in Mulhouse the director of the non profit developer) appears here more clearly cut than in the competitions processes described before. These actors initiated the project, defined the aims of the innovation and where involved all along the process. They not only steered the project through the difficult patches and are the main risk-takers at a personal level, but they were part of the design process as well.

Compared to competitions, there appears to be a higher degree of flexibility in the processes here considered and at the same time a stronger idea from the beginning on about what needed to be achieved. This flexibility is especially relevant for what concerns the possibility of changing direction if needed, without stalling the whole process. This was especially clear in Amsterdam, when the competition did not bring the expected results, but also in Mulhouse, when the bidding procedure for the construction had to be repeated and some exceptional measures had to be devised in order to explain the project to potential contractors.

For what concerns the necessary resources, the analysis also shows how time and personal involvement are essential once innovation and especially radical innovation is sought after, and not necessarily construction money.

Crossing the incremental-radical edge.

What discussed above implies **radical design-driven innovation can be achieved both through architectural competitions and as well other more dialogue-based processes**. Non-competitive, dialogue-based processes might be easier to steer, and appears to have worked well especially in front of specific expectations of some kind (find a typology that incorporate an own front door with high density requirements, or develop new approaches for affordable housing based on a specific site) developed by a visionary but delivery-oriented client. The value of competitions, on the other hand, lies in the fact that they are democratic system open to newcomers and potentially more far reaching than other selection procedure, they can be more charismatic, and this charismatic effect might include also the developers pushing them to more experimentation and to take more risks if involved from the beginning on (see for example IBA).

As radical innovation is about crossing an enigmatic edge and chartering unknown territories, no setting will give a 100% guarantee that a satisfactory radical result will be found. However, the case studies have highlighted a series of conditions that might help move the results of a competition move from incremental to radical:

Open formulation of the brief

The brief needs to provide enough free spaces and constitutes a project in itself. As radical innovation it is not about fulfilling the task, but defining the task anew, strict requirements and prescriptions should be reduced to the minimum possible.

Relevance of dialogue

Specific attention needs to be given to how and when relevant actors other than the architects will be involved and to their risk-taking rationale. Radical innovation needs a dialogue between the interpreters and the ones in charge of the implementation, in our case between architects, clients, planners, developers, users. This dialogue represents an important phase on its own right, as it implies conflicting perspectives and adjustments in order to align the different innovativeness of the various actors. The degree of innovation effectively achievable will strongly depend not only on the submitted design proposal, but on how far the relevant stakeholders might go, thus if the organisation behind the call for innovation is open to the implications of radical change. As the alignment of the innovativeness of the involved actors is an essential aspect of

the process, **the design of competitions aimed at innovation will need to cater for the hows and whens of this alignment.**

The case studies have shown that a dialogue happening too late might put the implementation at risk (see for example the IBA) but as well that to confront innovation with the requirements of implementation from the beginning on (as in the case of the property developers' competitions) might effectively limit the degree of innovation achieved. The format of this dialogue, and its inclusion or not in the competition phase is therefore a very relevant question that needs to be confronted. New forms of competitions that include the possibility of a dialogue (dialogue based architectural competitions) should be considered. This format of competition is of quite recent use in architecture – at least for what concerns public procedures. It is used in German speaking contexts for situation for projects where the brief is not yet definable. In Nordic countries the use has been documented also as a way to ensure efficiency (reducing the number of entries) while helping submission to correctly interpret the needs of the client and enhancing creativity (reported by Kreiner, 2010).¹ However further research should pay attention to how dialogue based competitions could be used as a way to come to more radical solutions.

Role of 'care-taker'

Similarly to what described concerning the relevance of the design industry leaders, also in the analyzed processes radical innovation could be achieved (both with or without competition) when at least one key actor on the client's side took upon himself the role of care-taker of the innovative vision, becoming kind of invisible motor in the process, making sure that the initial aims were not lost along the way. The more power and involvement the care-taker had, the more of the innovative result could be achieved. The role ranged from initiating the project, defining the brief of the project and the expectations of the project, steering of the 'free spaces' for the design and managing the risk. Paradoxically, they took the responsibility for potential failures, even if in case of success their role was not fully recognized. The recognition of the importance of a care-taker does not mean that architects are less relevant, but that the inventive power of the architects needs to be accompanied by another kind of power that could steer the project along the process. Only when these two powers were aligned and could share the aims, radical results were achieved.

Accepting failure as possible outcome

Competitions might fail. A failure will translate in a loss of credibility for the ones running the competition and there is a risk of 'packaging', meaning by this that standard solutions will be marketed as innovative because they resulted out of a competition. Competitions looking at achieving radical innovation should not rely on the expectation that a winner will be found in any case.

¹ Dialogue-based competitions have been criticized for a variety of reasons. The lack of dialogue is seen for example by the Architects Council of Europe as an important guarantee for protecting the copyrights of the participants as the client is practically in a position to shuffle ideas from one project to another. (Pendl, 2011). Moreover, this format has also been thought to neutralize creativity as it create a safer field for architects to move on (Kreiner 2010).

Directions for further research

Failures and restarts are part of the search for innovation. A high level of uncertainty will invest the whole process of radical innovation, including the implementation and the use phase, not only the competition phase. If in the innovation process competitions represent an important piece, but not the whole, it seems important to **develop more integrated perspectives**, looking at how different formats of competitions and non-competitions based phases can work together and how change and risk can be managed at different levels (material and immaterial, design-driven and organizational). In a time in which the role of architects is changing, moving from building to strategy and specialization, a better understanding of design-driven innovation processes in architecture and planning might represent an important resource not only for the architects themselves, but as well for other stakeholders in the planning sector.

Table 1: Overview Case Studies

	1. Property developers' competition Vienna	2. European	3. Smart price housing IBA Hamburg	4. Masterplan Borneo and Sporenburg Amsterdam	5. Cite Manifeste Mulhouse
Type of process	Design and build bid Architects and developers submit together	Open anonymous competition for young European architects	Combination of open idea competition with a second stage. Developers fair to match projects and implementation's actors.	Masterplan for new low-rise high density typologies (your own front door).	Direct selection of the architects, who are then asked to collaborate together (each of them designs a part).
Why / for whom Aims	Quality assurance for public subsidies	Create chances for young European architects and urban designer/ Helps cities to find innovative solutions	Trendsetting, Case Study houses for the 21 st Century	For specific users (family with children) and for the city in general (long lasting urban/residential qualities).	Trendsetting. Demonstrates that is possible to raise the standards of affordable housing.
With which resources/ Additional resources	Public resources, including building sites, subsidies, competition budget in combination with private funding	Depending on the project	Public resources catering for the competition and for special innovative aspects. Private investment for the rest.	Possibility of restarting the process	The project is developed within standard setting, but with an experimental setting
How was the innovation possible	Competition among developers on the basis of the quality of the design	Open brief based on themes more than strict requirements. International expertise.	Flexible requirements Open brief	Deep involvement on the client side Political relevance and will to reach a new, better performing solutions	Open brief. Extreme commitment from the client and the architects Flexible requirements
Range of innovation achievable	Incremental	Incremental to radical	Incremental to radical	Radical	Incremental to Radical
Strength / Potential (competition setting)	The implementation is checked in advance thanks to the collaboration in the conception phase between architect and developer	Provide fresh ideas and provide to the client access to an international expertise.	Included 'developer finding' phase' separated from the 'innovation finding' one. This was both a potential and a weakness.	-	-
Weakness / Risks (competition setting)	Operates on the basis of the established model. Risk taking is limited.	Implementation is an optional and not binding. The architects tends to be excluded. Failure to implement	Finding the right developer might not have worked.	-	-

Case study 1

Property developers' competitions (Vienna)

Property developers' competitions for subsidized residential projects are run by some European cities (such as Amsterdam, Vienna, Milan). These are a form of design and build competitions where a public invitation to tender is set up to select the developer for a given site on the basis of a design proposal. In Vienna the system is known under the name of *Bauträgerwettbewerb* and was started in 1995. Since then it has been steering the production of subsidized public housing of this city that is relevant both in terms of number of dwellings produced and quality achieved. They are defined as quality assurance tools, aimed at the provision of 'affordable housing of a high standard and innovative project content' (www.tina.at).

In this kind of competitions the teams competing against each other are formed by architects and developers working together. The projects developed are then assessed on the basis of the proposed architecture, ecological approach, costs – benefits (the building costs cannot not be higher than a prefixed level and the conditions of the tenancy and/or purchase agreement are part of the submission) and more recently social sustainability criteria (see table 2). The developer leading the winning team will be able to purchase or in some cases lease the site from the Fund for Housing Construction and Urban Renewal of the City of Vienna (*wohn_fonds*) and is awarded both one-time subsidies and subsidies in form of a loan to be repaid within 25 years. The subsidies are calculated by square metre of usable residential floor space produced.

As the site is given at price below current market's level and there is a scarcity of sites available for residential development in Vienna, these kinds of competitions have been highly successful. They have as well contributed to significantly raise the quality of Viennese subsidized housing, as developers have been forced to reach good architectural proposals in order to 'win' the possibility of building.

Even if 'innovation potential' is one of the criteria considered, what is looked for is 'especially a balance between the four main criteria'. In other words **the innovative approach is only one of more equally important factors within the process that is thought to happen within the standard pre-defined setting**. While this setting is good to provide incremental innovation, radical design-driven innovations remains out of reach (for an idea of the quality level achievable see Schluder 2005). Innovative projects include Bike City - a building where the parking requirements could be reduced and the money saved invested in more generous collective spaces - or more recently the 'smart housing' concept - a new concept for affordable housing where the city asked developers to conceive more compact floorplans and agreed to lease the sites, in order to lower the costs and raise the affordability of the dwellings. In both these cases the innovation lied in the a priori change of the set-up and not on in the design itself.

Table 2
Property developers' competitions. Overview selection criteria

architecture	urban structure, residential structure, appearance, innovation potential
economy	site cost, construction cost, costs and contractual terms for occupiers, cost relevance of building equipment
ecology	building engineering, building ecology/low-impact building, residential ecology/construction biology, free space/green space/urban ecology
social sustainability	suitability for day-to-day living, cost reduction through planning, living in communities, housing for changing needs

Source: www.tina.at

Case study 2

Europan (multiple locations, Europe)

Europan is a well established housing competition in Europe, taking place organized every two years in form of an anonymous architectural design competitions. It concerns a variety of sites and is open to European architects under 40 and to students in their final year. Each edition focuses on specific themes related to contemporary urban conditions (such as mobility or adaptability) and how housing can react to them, enhancing existing urban qualities and creating new ones. The innovation potential of Europan is that of providing fresh and possibly radical interpretations, as it involves young architects from all over Europe as well as a network of experts who sets up the thematic frame and take part in the jury.

Especially for small towns, Europan represents a charismatic event and the possibility of reach out to a very different planning expertise than the one usually available as well as to new interpreters and their interpretations.

'... to get the best ideas, you need architectural competitions. For a town that has problem and still has, it is an opportunity to progress, to break out of this depression by means of new but refined ideas of innovation. And when I say 'give me a recipe' and this recipe actually it possible to reverse the atrophy of a town, I give it a try' *Helmut Resch Architect, Head of planning, (Europan 2012)*

One of the problematic aspects in Europan lies in the weak link between the architects and the innovation 'care-takers'. The involved administrations and private actors are not bound to realize the winning proposals, making the transition from proposal to implementation a very open ended process. *'In order to succeed, you need the involvement of key individuals who are committed to implementing the concept of urban development. But of course you need to rely on all the different players in the private and public sector.'*

In order for implementation to happens, a whole series of conditions not defined in the competition phase have to be clarified *ex post*, on the basis of the selected proposal. It is therefore not surprising that many winning submissions have not found a way into realization, as the setting might cater for innovation in terms of design, but not at the organizational level.

Case study 3

IBA (Internationale Bauausstellung), Hamburg / Competition Smart price housing

The German IBA is a recurring event that does not rely on a fixed setting, but refers to a tradition. To respond to the challenge of combining innovative housing concepts with the requirements linked to a realistic implementation process IBA Hamburg (2013) devised a specific process, based on several stages. The aim was to find and develop highly innovative housing concepts (Case Study Houses for the 21st century) that, in the tradition of the Bau Ausstellungen, could function as trendsetter and impulse for the necessary cultural, urban and landscape transformations of the city

The first phase of the process was focussed on the content of the innovative proposal, and included an open international competition for innovative housing concepts run in 2009 along the four pre-selected themes (water, hybrid and smart-price and smart material houses). In the second phase a restricted number of teams is asked to elaborate their proposals further, and the winning bids are then selected. Both for the water and hybrid housing, submitting interdisciplinary teams have to include the developer or investor from the beginning on. For the smart price and smart- material houses, the presence of a developer from the beginning on is not a must In the following phase IBA Hamburg publishes a brochure and organizes a fair, in order to attract possible investors and developers.

For the category *Smart Price Houses*, all teams interested in the competition were invited to participate in the international workshop, set up in collaboration with the German architecture magazine ARCH+, to discuss the possibilities and future perspectives of affordable housing. The invited contributors included experts from the field of architecture, planning, research, building industry. The results of the workshop constituted then the basis for the competition in terms of thematic approach.

The aims are consequently 'high'. The results should be far away from standard production. Yet the financial risks will be not on the IBA side. Private developers are expected to join in the process, to finance the construction and to market the resulting dwelling. They have to buy the site, and in order to ensure that the innovative approach does not get lost, IBA is going to subsidize the extra costs that are related to the innovative aspects of the project. Besides they will be able to profit from the 'packaging' of the event, as the projects will receive a high level of media attention.

The strength and weakness of this process can possibly be understood by looking at how this influenced one of the submitted proposal based on a particularly radical concept.

In the selection at the end of the first phase in this category there is a particularly radical concept that proposes to provide the users with a basic multilevel structure (Grundbau), instead of a finished housing building. The users - called settlers - will build the actual dwelling on their own, making use of a set of pre-selected elements, to be provided by a do-it-yourself store. A manual compiled by the architects explains how to 'plan' and build the house (a first version of it was part of the submission).

The proposal represents a radical rethinking of the standard process through which collective housing is delivered. The essence of the project lies in what Jörg Leiser defines the 'economic model'² behind it, not in the architecture. The project is about shifting roles, and responsibilities from the producers (planner and developers) to the users, by proposing a new definition of ownership in multilevel housing. It invalidates relevant usual set ups, and routines on the

² Possibly a more appropriate term- also with reference to innovation theory- could be 'business model'

developer side (as well as on the architects and users side). The effects of this changed economical model are wide reaching. New specific approaches in terms of design strategies, roles in the process and legal issues were developed beyond the initial IBA's set up in order to make the project work.

This concept does not come with a developer attached, neither does it find one at the fair. According to the architects: *'IBA organized a developer fair, where they introduced all the projects to Hamburg's developers. This was in our case not successful, as this project is the worst project he can imagine.'*

In the end the head of IBA stepped in personally, and established a contact between the architects and a developer who had previously worked as an architect and that usually developed office spaces. After deciding to join the project, this developer organized the contacts with an interested do-it-yourself store that provided the required building elements to the settlers. Yet the matching between the developer and the concept took time, as the developer did not jump on the boat immediately.

Case Study 4.

Borneo Sporenburg, Amsterdam, 2000

The masterplan of Borneo Sporenburg was focused on the development of new low-rise high density housing typology to provide attractive housing for middle-class families in proximity of the city center. The municipality wanted to attract users not catered for by the standard production and that can guarantee long term attractiveness for this site on the Eastern Amsterdam Docklands. From the beginning on the city focuses on a long term agenda, wanting to 'build sustainable housing neighbourhood that you do not have to tear down after 30 years' (extract from an interview with the director of the City Planning Department, 2005).

Even if subsidies are available, it is however up to private actors (mostly housing corporations) to carry the main financial risk connected with a non-standard housing typology. The innovative approach consequently needs to break the existing routines of private developers as well as to fulfil their expectations in terms of return of investment. The aims are consequently multidimensional: there are the specific users (middle class families with children), in order to guarantee long term social balance in the city; there are the housing corporations, who need to join the project and take over the short term financial risk involved in the ambitions of the project. In this the project mirrors the mix of public and private perspectives that need to be combined in much contemporary housing provision in Europe. The final result had to create a win-win solution, in line with the visions of the municipal planning department, as well as to guarantee the necessary return of investment for the investors and developers.

In terms of design, the solution had to combine two contradictory requirements. It had to respect a mandatory density of 100 dwellings per hectare, stipulated by the Dutch national law. And it had to fulfil the expectations in terms of 'family living' usually connected to low density typologies such as single-family housing or row housing. As no such solution was available on the market, the planning process had to be designed in such a way that a solution could be found.

The question 'how to organize an invention' is explicitly formulated within the planning team from the beginning on. Not surprisingly, the first step was a design competition, yet this was not successful.

'First we did a competition among six architects. We gave them a slice of the area, ca 6 hectares and said: put your 600 houses on it keeping in mind the questions that we have put on the paper. Of course we had the secret idea that one of the six would come out with the brilliant idea and we would be finished, but this did not happen. (...) We could see one of the consequences of what we had required: everybody was thinking about the 60s and 70s estates in London, where everybody walks on these decks that are not very attractive, they do not have a feeling of being a public space. So we said, this is not what we want. We really wanted a public space, and this in the Amsterdam sense of the world is a street with bicycles.' (interview with the director of the City Planning Department, 2005)

As the competition failed, the next steps are more complicated. A second round with an architect, a landscape architect and urban planner is set up as a work. The landscape planner came up with a novel and intriguing scheme for low rise high density housing, but it is not clear how the housing can work. An architect is directly selected by the planning department in charge to develop the housing type, while the planning department designs the public space and infrastructure. The stakeholders (Municipality and developers' corporation) finally decide to give it a try and a pilot project is started, the success of which made the completion of the project possible.

The actual architectural product achieved is a low-rise high density housing development based on a patio typology, with each house having an own front-door. Patio housing goes way back in housing history, but these forms of housing are typical of southern climates, and were practically

unknown in the Netherlands. They represented here an innovation according to the fact that they were new in the specific urban context, and not in absolute terms.

Its success in doing so can be linked to a series of essential features:

- the freedom and steering power given to the managing team, in combination with their personal involvement also as planner and designer. They designed the public spaces, as usual in the Netherlands, but also saw this as a 'hobby project'. They felt that 'to make something new is always more attractive than to go on and on and on' (Schaap interview).
- the fact that it was possible to pull the plug and restart in case the intermediate results were not satisfactory enough. This willingness and possibility to restart the process as the competition results were not in line is a very rare possibility, especially within public administrations.
- the fact that time was made available. A development process that is aimed at creating something new needs to make time for the unexpected.

Case study 5

Cité Manifeste, Mulhouse, France, 2005

This pilot project was built by a French non profit housing developer to test alternatives to low-quality standard housing production and to show that within the standard frame much more generous typologies can be achieved. The project was developed according to the predefined standard procedure in place in France for subsidized rental housing project of this kind (*habitations à loyer modéré, HLM*). It did not entail a competition, the client directly selected by the client. The typologies developed by the five architects teams provides additional 'appropriable' spaces that extends the dwelling surface.

Specific free spaces in the process allowed and/ or contributed to the innovative level of its output. The work of the architects was based on a program (*cahier des charges*) unusual in a number of ways. Next to a series of 'practical' pieces of information concerning issues such as time tables, budgets, norms applying to social housing and the historical background of the site, the document indicated a series of innovative aims that the client expected to achieve in the project. Yet this was done not in terms of constraints – as usual – but in an **open formulation**, exploring general and specific issues that the projects should relate to, and at the same time avoiding the fixing of a strict functional or spatial program. What emerged in the brief is a specific focus on three aspects: life quality and comfort, the possibility of evolution and modularity of the spaces, and the link between public and private spaces. The result is a very open programmatic document, concentrated not on the quantitative aspects of the project but on a series of qualities or attributes deemed relevant to achieve the overall aim of the project. The architects are asked to develop, through their projects, a position on these issues.

The normative requirements the proposals had to fulfil are equal to any other project of this kind. Still, the total **buildable surface per plot is variable** – and can therefore be raised, as long as the budget per flat is kept. This allowed both the production of the central innovative proposition of all the projects (appropriable spaces) and the possibility to control the budget by raising the number of flats built and achieving better economies of scale. Usually the price of the site is calculated on the maximum buildable surface, and appropriable spaces such as the one proposed here represent a loss of fully usable surface and lower the return of investment.

One of the few constraints of the brief was that the involved architects had to collaborate intensively with each other to achieve a coherent ensemble was. Yet the fact that this collaboration actually took place can be connected to the selection procedure, done by direct commissioning by the director of the housing cooperative, on the basis of a list provided by the leading architect, Jean Nouvel. Some kind of shared background among the architects could be thus expected from the start. Further more, the fact that the project was directly commissioned to the architects, and not based on a competition procedure, is explicitly named by some of the involved architects (Poitevin, Lacaton) as a relevant positive factor contributing to the success of the operation, as it gave the group more freedom to interact and exchange.

In the project setting the architects played a central role in the innovative perspective, as they had to find a different approach to solve what is a 'usual' problem. Their role corresponded to the traditional understanding within the profession of what design oriented architects do: find creative, out of the box design solutions. Yet they had to have as well specific skills to cope with the collaborative set up of the process as well as to make sure that their proposal could match the strict budget requirements. The project was far away from a routine assignment, it required personal commitment beyond the fee, and enthusiasm.

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Beyond the Success and Failure of the Athens D.O.E.S. 2002 Cultural Olympiad Competition

Maria Theodorou

**BEYOND THE SUCCESS and FAILURE OF THE *ATHENS D.O.E.S. 2002*
CULTURAL OLYMPIAD COMPETITION**

Dr Maria Theodorou

ABSTRACT

On the occasion of the Athens 2004 Olympics the Hellenic Ministry of Culture supported the launching of an open international architecture competition on *Ephemeral Structures in the City of Athens (Athens D.O.E.S.)* under the auspices of the International Union of Architects (UIA). The competition was organized in the context of the Cultural Olympiad's programme for architecture and approached the contemporary Athenian cityscape as a site for experimentation by considering it to be both the site of practice and the site of thought. The competition brief provided architects an opportunity to invent 'fields of forces' whose impact would offer the inhabitants an opportunity to re-orient their perception of Athens.

Structured into two parts, an ideas category for the students and a professional category for architects, the competition attracted 1279 registrations, 466 submissions from 54 countries and 34 prizes were awarded. 60 professionals were involved in the various stages, as members of the jury, authors of the brief, exhibitions designers etc., and backed the aspirations of their client, i.e., the 21st Greek State's wish to challenge the prevailing 19th century perception of Athens. Nevertheless, the commissioning of the competition projects stumbled on the local construction industry that resisted any idea of research and innovation in architecture.

The paper reframes the Athens 2004 competition in the context of the current financial crisis to discuss the potential of introducing Bruno Latour's actor-network theory to think competition briefs that can be designed and implemented by an assemblage of clients, architects, emerging technologies and common usage.

KEYWORDS

Athens 2004 Olympics, Ephemeral Structures, Parasite, Architecture Competitions, Actor-Network Theory and Architecture, Assemblage

INTRODUCTION

Are we currently experiencing a paradigm shift unfolding? On the one hand, there is the evidence of swelling social agitation, economic crises, and environmental challenge. On the other, the work of influential thinkers (Latour, De Landa, Hardt and Negri and their seminal books with telling titles - such as *Actor-Network theory*, *New Philosophy of Society*, *Commonwealth*, *Multitude*) advocate for a reconceptualization of the way we connect to the world. In their work concepts like ‘common’ and ‘assemblage/multitude’ are introduced as a way out of the concepts of ‘public’ and ‘society’ respectively.

It is also argued that the modern state and its institutions are in their final throes (Martin, 2013). Other types of formations emerge which are still difficult to grasp – most are apparently short-lived (occupy movement) – but their impact is making an imprint as to the potential for future alternatives of living and operating together. Can institutions, that emerged within the modern state and twisted around within its neoliberal variation, survive? or is it the work of our time to invent new type institutions or formations? [R. Martin, 2013]

This is the general framework in which this paper unfolds, while ‘safely’ nesting within the specific field of architecture competitions. Its basic premise draws on the early 20th inaugural relation of architecture competitions to the institutionalization of the profession within the modern state¹ [Aymone, 2009]. This relation appears to still hold, manifested for instance as a consensus institutional rhetoric of competitions which corresponds, as Tostrup argues, to the consensual democracy in the neoliberal state [Tostrup, 2009].

A question therefore worth asking can be the following: Is it currently possible to trace the evidence and detect the possible impact of a paradigm shift in the institution of architecture competitions? This sounds, and indeed it is, an overwhelming and entirely impossible task in the context of a short paper. Nonetheless, the choice of a well-placed case study can at least provide productive insights and open up the implications of such a question. This is in fact, what this paper aims to attempt.

The chosen case study is an international architectural competition in Athens. A number of features converge to make this appropriate for our investigation. Above all its timing: 2002 was only two years away from the 2004 Athens Olympics “coming to their birthplace”. Greeks have embraced with enthusiasm their European identity as promoted by the EU monetary integration; Greece joined the euro in 2000 and held the EU presidency in 2003. There was a sense of euphoria and financial bliss as Greece acquired visibility and confidence in thinking its future beyond the deeply embedded 19th century stereotype of classical antiquity. Even the massive, overwhelming and mainly uncontrolled, influx of immigrants who flooded the ‘national’ territory, was seen through the exotic lens of ‘multiculturalism’.

The competition captured this moment of opening to create a brief that functioned as a toolbox of concepts for the architectural reinvention of the city of Athens. The architectural community (the many participants, star jury, and architectural institutions) shared the enthusiasm with their client (the national state), while the general public and the media

joined in. This was the big ever international competition organized in Greece in terms of the number of participants. There were no disputes (which are very common in most architecture competitions in Greece), the UIA safeguarded the process of openness/anonymity and the UNESCO regulations were followed through.

It came as a disappointment that none of the competition awards were realized. Implementation stumbled at the local construction industry unwillingness to be involved; for they had a bigger fish to catch and fry. The Olympic infrastructure was to be built by exploiting the available illegal immigrant cheap and unskilled labor. The standard traditional techniques (reinforced concrete) yielded big and quick returns; there was no time to be wasted on architecture experimentations in research and innovation. New technology of materials and construction was nowhere near the local construction industry concerns.

The success of its resonance and the failure of its implementation are the distinct feature of this competition; in a strange, or not so strange, coincidence, the competitions fate appears to reflect the success story of Greece: it lasted until 2004 and was turned into a deafening and deepening failure story from the year 2008 and onwards.

The paper argues that the Athens DOES conceptual tool box, created for the architectural reinvention of Athens at the moment of a cultural high in 2002, touches upon a number of creeping and unresolved issues that were to force their way into the open with a fore in 2008. The competition brief seen retrospectively, appears to touch this moment of a seismic shift that was about to happen. The current dislocations of neoliberal state cannot leave the institution of architecture intact and architecture competitions are in for a much needed reconsideration.

ATHENS D.O.E.S.ⁱⁱ: THE CONTEXT – the client and the program

On the occasion of the Athens 2004 Olympics the Hellenic Ministry of Culture supported the launching of an international architecture competition on ‘Ephemeral structures in the city of Athens’ under the auspices of the UIA (International Union of Architects). The competition was organized in the context of the Cultural Olympiad; it was included in the programme for architecture and approached the contemporary Athenian cityscape as a site for experimentation by considering it to be both the site of practice and the site of thought. With the games ‘coming back to their birthplace’, the competition call, asked for a return to Athens as a site for thinking architecture rather than a replay of the 19th century idealised city of the classical past. The competition was in fact, an invitation to architects worldwide to re-think their relation to the city of Athens.

The challenge of the competition programme was to intertwine practical needs to wider theoretical considerations. The architectural task was to provide a series of structures that would be constructed and used for events directly or indirectly related to the athletic ones during the games. On the other hand, the competition brief inserted a series of concepts in the programme thought to be relevant to the design of the cityscape. Nonetheless, an

engagement with issues of architectural theory was required only insofar it enabled the competitors to use concepts as tools for architectural invention and not as an aim *per se*.

The competition was open anonymous and structured into two categories: one ideas category for the students and one professional category for architects. At the practical level, its programme was not object oriented; it attempted a move away from typology and asked for ‘theme-structures’ to be designed. Four out of the six ‘theme-structures’ were directly related to the Cultural Olympiad events, that is, structures for leisure activities, such as events platforms, open-air theatres, ‘creative’ activities spaces, and semi-open exhibition spaces. The design of all the above had to meet the detailed technical specifications given by the competition programme.

The fifth ‘theme-structure’ asked the competitors to reflect on the category of leisure in contemporary cities. The brief here reflects the consolidation of a ‘society of pleasure’ and its cultural considerations; this was a distinct feature in Athens (and not only) in the nineties. The brief introduction reads as follows:

“Leisure’s antithetical relation with work has been fully exploited by modern planning with the allocation of appropriate time and design of specific areas for both. Nowadays, cities are turned into cityscapes, i.e., states of constant configuration. The conventional distinction and space configuration of work/leisure seems redundant. Moreover, in the contemporary context of identity politics, city-leisure may concern activities where individuality - as a set of different cultural traits and individual desires - may be fully displayed, enjoyed and accepted by fellow ‘inhabitants’. The term ‘inhabitant’ indicates an ongoing assimilation of city-inhabitants to city-visitors. We may say that cityscapes have ‘inhabitants’ while cities had dwellers. Nevertheless, city-leisure may also be a collective activity, a face-to-face interaction or even a site for negotiating conflicting cultural or other visions and enjoying shared fantasies. The competition posed the question of leisure for individuals or groups within the contemporary city as a question to be thought of and designed. The design of such structures attracted the majority of participants. [Theodorou, 2003, Volume I, p. 16]

The sixth structure, the ‘Landmarks of Olympic Activities’ was reserved to the professional category only. This was a special structure to operate as a landmark to signal the entrance of athletic venues and other Olympic city-events. While being a kind of way-finder for spectators it would also be used for crowd management services and as a watchtower when needed. The landmarks were expected to contribute to the ‘Image of the City’ for the 2004 Games.

The Cultural Olympiad and the Games provided not only the practical but also the theoretical framework that determined the competition’s content. The very theme of the ephemeral, for instance, touched directly upon concerns for the after use of Olympic structures and slightly dislocated the discussion regarding the appropriate ratio between permanent and temporary constructions that host the athletic venues. This was the recurrent theme of the IOC – UIA Conference on *Olympic Games and Architecture* in

Lausanne in May 2001, where the ephemeral competition was first announced by the author.

Nevertheless, the choice of the term ‘ephemeral’ had wider theoretical implications that a number of authors were invited to by the author, who as the competition director devised the theoretical and practical agenda of the competition. M. Cousins, P. Hirst, A. Benjamin, D. Papalexopoulos, Z. Kotionis and I. Efremidis were invited and asked to work on the peculiarities of the competition framework such as the absence of competition site, the description of ‘the name of Athens’ and key terms such as the ephemeral, the parasite, the condition of contemporary cities, and produce a text, or a photographic essay. Their work constituted the competition context that in a conventional competition brief corresponds to the background information, which contains the history, the description and the drawings of the competition site. The material was structured in two parts; the first one concerned the key-terms whereas the second provided ‘information’ regarding the city of Athens. The competitors were asked to work within the competition’s framework and use its key-terms as tools for architectural invention in addition to the regulations and the specific technical requirements for the design of the theme-structures.

The competition brief took the form of a series of essays that aimed to construct the competition’s city Lexicon: the task of the essays authors was to define or redefine terms such as the ‘ephemeral’, ‘the parasite’, to unravel the implications of designing ‘in the name of Athens’, provide appropriate material, and remind participants of the long forgotten political aspect of cities immersed in the ‘all things cultural’ mentality of the nineties. In other words, the competition created its own conceptual framework.

ATHENS D.O.E.S.: THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK – beyond architectural invention

In the text that follows, the phrase in the title that appears by the side of each term/concept draws the attention to the current implications of the term/concept and highlights its connection with conceptualizations of the current paradigm shift. The text below each term/concept is drawn from the original formulation as stands in the competition brief.

EPHEMERAL –to rethink ‘time’ in the city implies an understanding of architectural objects as material things of concern with which individuals make attachments (as in Latour’s 2005 associology)ⁱⁱⁱ.

The term ‘ephemeral’ adopted by the competition has a negative meaning in the everyday language. What appears to be negative in the ephemeral is that it lasts for too short a period of time and then it vanishes. And although the word temporal refers to a short period of time as well, it does not seem to have the same negative connotations. The difference between the two terms reproduces the difference between the Latin *temporalis* which is related to *tempestas* (defined as ‘weather’ in the Oxford Latin dictionary) and

the Greek *ephemeron*: that which lasts for one day (Chantraine, P. Dictionnaire etymologique). However, a day *ἡμῶν* in Greek is not the day of a month but the destiny experienced by an individual [Onians R. B., 1951]. Hence the difference lies in the fact that ‘temporal’ refers to time as an entity that can be measured and mastered (under controlled weather conditions). The ephemeral, on the other hand, relates to a different experience of time, during which one’s destiny remains unchanged as an effect of an attachment established between an individual and a thing or event, or between individuals. The ephemeral lasts as long as the attachment remains unchanged, and there is no secure method to measure its duration. As it is difficult to predict when, due to a change, the attachment will be dissolved, we may say, that the melancholy and the negativity that accompany the common use of the term ephemeral, reveals the anxiety of not having control over one’s own fate.

The structures of the competition were ephemeral in the sense that they were to be mounted and remain in a site as long as they produced attachments and people used them. When the situation changes, they should be demounted and transported to another site, transferring the traces and the history of their ephemeral attachments from site to site and city to city. The ephemeral of the competition does not denote the existence of an expiring date but it rather implies the mobility and adaptation of attachments as a requirement for the design of the projects.

Thus, competitors were asked to design non site-specific structures. However, such a choice run the risk to produce generic objects that fit anywhere in the world. To avoid that, the competition asked two things. First that the competitors design ‘in the name of Athens’, second, that the structures operate as guests to be adapted each time to the features of the sites hosting them. By posing the problem of the site-adaptability of the structures the competition sidestepped the traditional dichotomy between site-specific VS generic architectural objects. On the other hand, to avoid the branding approach that ‘in the name of Athens’ could lead to, the competition employed another negative term, that of the ‘parasite.’ The parasite while addressing the problem of site –the site may be considered as the ‘process of being a guest’ - it touches upon the question of architectural form.

IN THE NAME OF ATHENS – *a moving away from the 19th century concept of land as the repository of the national identity where every attribute fits in its location and can be mapped in a mimetic way, to the navigational mapping in the ever changing city territory. (as in Latour’s navigational mapping)*

In an instructive historical account, Mark Cousins presented the way the notion of nation state was combined with the generality of the term urban. He then goes on to indicate that the abandonment of both is substituted by the contemporary question of identity, which takes the form of a question concerning the identity of the city. The ‘in the name of Athens’ design approach proposed by the competition reverberates the contemporary concerns about identity. This could lead competitors to think the identity of the city as set of easily recognized trademarks, of the architectural branding kind.

However, the brief encouraged the competitors to address the problem of turning an architectural object into an Athens-scape. The first word of the term refers to the competitor's conception of Athens. The second indicates the architectural inscription of a continuous adaptation process that the structures should perform to follow the cityscape transformations. The 'in the name of Athens' along with the notions of the ephemeral and the parasite could then be employed as tools to invent an architectural solution to the question of city-identity intended as a set of the cityscape's changing attributes.

THE CITY AS A POLITICAL INSTITUTION - *from the institutional democratic order to the field of forces (as in Hardt's and Negri's multitude)^{iv}*

Paul Hirst's text presents a brief history of cities, from ancient Greece to globalization. It examines the city as a political institution and considers the ways the processes of globalization are changing the political function of contemporary cities. The political aspect of the city is introduced into the competition only to make evident that any recourse to the traditional idea of city - even if this city is Athens, the very site that generated the idea - is just impossible. Both the traditional concept of the city and of democracy is problematic. To make these terms points of reference for the design seemed -the least- romantic. Cultural diversity and individuality constitute today's chaotic city context and as the author notes it is difficult to combine diversity and democracy. This bleak depiction of cities opened a possibility for competitors to envisage the leisure structures, the competition is asking for, as a kind of community/communication generators

PARASITE - *from settled and distinct entities to the assemblage of unstable networks that include human and technical/technological actors (as in Latour's Actor–Network theory)^v*

The Ephemeral structures, were thought of within this condition of hospitality. Athens the host-city was not considered the neutral backdrop in which the ephemeral structures should be accommodated. The competition brief asked for structures that constitute alien architectural 'entities' and called them parasites. These parasitical entities should not quite fit in the host-city context but should be able to initiate a transformation process. The term hospitality – (*philoxenia* in Greek) evokes in fact a transformation process accomplished by following specific rules by which an alien, (*xeinos*) -and potentially hostile- individual or element becomes a friend (*philos*) and it is accommodated into a hosting structure. In the hospitality process, guest and host interrelate and both enter into a transformation process.

Andrew Benjamin's text explores the relation between architecture and parasitism. The author works through the 'possibility of allowing the figure of the parasite to play a role within the generation of form'. He also defines parasitism as the co-presence of maintaining and transforming. When a parasite is attached to an existing structure/site, its survival depends on the survival of the structure/site. This involves the maintaining of an

existing situation while at the same time transformation occurs as an effect of the parasite's presence. A parasite to remain as such should not be incorporated and merged with the structure or the site; it has to maintain its difference. The combination of the structure/site and the parasite is always an unstable situation, and will be maintained as long as their attachment produces effects of an incomplete transformation.

Dimitris Papalexopoulos' text, introduced the issue of digital technology and its relation to parasitism. The author argues that a novel kind of network relevant for architecture might emerge which combines physical and digital parasites.

ATHENS INFO – from the ideal image to the changing human scape: the complexity of persons / networks / organisations / governments / cities / nations assemblages (as in De Landa's New Philosophy of Society)^{vi}

To approach site as parasite, that is, as 'in a process of being a guest', falls back to site-related problems in the construction of buildings in Greek cities, and in Athens in particular. The continuous inhabitation of most cities is physically manifested in the form of archaeological remains. Undisturbed layers of history become unintentionally unearthed in most cases whenever the digging to lay the foundations of a new building starts. Depending on the importance of the findings, the project may need to be transformed or have to be quitted. The unearthed history of the site has been an obstacle to a number of building projects and previous architectural competitions, the well-known one for the Acropolis Museum included.

Athens is a landscape of history. This can also be said for the entire Greek territory. It is with the foundation of the new nation state in the 19th century and in the context of the emerging nation-states in Europe, that the landscape is invented as the depository of identity. Geography, geology and archaeology used the notion of landscape to support national claims. The layers of history became the testimony of the Greek identity and the material proof of a direct connection between modern and ancient Greeks. As a repository of national identity, the landscape of history was sacred and state protected. Greek identity had to be consolidated and preserved uncontaminated. Building restrictions applied by the archaeological service created isolated nucleus of ancient ruins within Greek cities but also within the Greek territory as a whole. New construction kept the prescribed distance and do not lay claim to any continuity or relation with the past. The past had a place that represented the ideal, as did the present, which stood for the real. The two never coincided deliberately and were actually in sharp opposition. In such a context the 'in the name of Athens' of the competition sits uneasily. The promoter did not want to give a historical account of the city or its detailed description, but to offer a rather oblique view of it.

The photographic essay by Iosif Efremidis, has as its starting point the romantic 19th century views from hilltops as well as the landscapes with ruins. The photographic essay undoes the 19th century view of landscape as a depository of national identity. The shoots taken early in the morning show no sign of people and just depict the amorphous built

environment of the city. The black and white is also an allusion to the neoclassical fiction of whiteness. The photographs depict the reality of the present and evoke the ideality of the past. The everyday life of individuals is missing and seems crashed between the monumentality of the amorphous building mass and the perfection of the monuments. It is this in between that the competitors should use as an actual and conceptual site to give architectural form to their ephemeral and parasitic structures.

Human presence is at the centre of Zissis Kotionis text. The author attempts a guided tour in the city. The city's history is however re-created as a series of fictive narrations of the inhabitants' experience, in different locations and in different historic moments. The approach is inscribed and draws from the concept of landscape as a depository of history. The difference with the 19th century is that this history is not a collective narrative that is established as a collective memory of Greek identity. It is the history of individual experiences that does not even lay any claim for authenticity. It shows the individual expectations, fantasies and activities projected and inscribed into the landscape to transform it into an ever-changing cityscape.

ATHENS D.O.E.S.: OUTCOME AND SUCCESS – *the alliance: client - the architectural community (participants, the jury, institutions) and the public – the power and the glory (as in Agamben's Economy of Government)*

The competition process was documented in publication entitled the title ATHENS D.O.E.S. It consists of four volumes which follow the various stages of the competition and mark the events organized in its context. The titles of each volume is drawn from the language of theology; they operate as a reminder of the Greco-christiano-judaic tradition in which the thinking of architecture and of architecture competitions is embedded

- Volume I: **Annunciation**, a re-edition of the competition programmed
- Volume II: **Hermeneutics**, texts prepared by the members of the competition's technical committee after their first encounter with the 470 competition entries
- Volume III: **Revelation**, the catalogue of the exhibition, the identity of all participants and projects revealed
- Volume IV: **Judgment**, the adjudication process, texts by jurors and awards

By the time the Jury arrived in Athens the judgment setting that was also an exhibition setting was ready and hosted in the Byzantine and Christian museum. Following the opening in Athens the winning projects touring exhibition was shown in London, Paris, Limassol, Herakleion and Lamia and travelled even in Japan.

ATHENS D.O.E.S.: FAILURE AND DEAD ENDS - *the divergence: client + architectural community VS the local construction industry - The emerging formations: the becoming 'common' of the public*

Experimentation can be described as the thought's ability to confront the unknown and especially *aporia*, the dead end state. Experiment's endings are not always secured and it

is when they hit a dead-end that become more effective. An experiment's dead-end may lead to the reconsideration of the problem and of the whole context in which a problem is posed or arises. In that sense, the competition dead-ends are less about its failures and more about the need to reconsider its failing context. The first dead-end of the competition concerns the difficulty of the implementation stage and has been briefly mentioned in the introduction. The second touches upon architecture's confrontation with city symptoms.

The jury noted the inability of the participants to work upon 'the name of Athens' and turn it into architectural invention. This is not an issue of theory turned into practice, of concepts related to structures or a problem of addressing the local context; it touches upon architecture's process of sublimation. In fact, the 'in the name of Athens, together with the other concepts-tools (the ephemeral, the parasite, the political, the photographic presentation and the fictive history of Athens' localities) that were included in the competition programme, describe the Greek cities' symptoms. 'In social analysis the symptom would be that which is ideologically thought to introduce disharmony in a society that would otherwise be harmoniously unified under a certain utopian ideal' [Stavrakakis, 1999].

The brief invited the participants to fully accept and work with the 'symptoms'. As the winning projects indicate (see appendix), architects came up with beautiful and celebratory objects to provide a public space for the 2004 Olympics occasion and architecture reinforced its process of sublimation. "Sublimation is ... the public space in which our singular perverse bodies may make contact with one another through the creation of beautiful objects that stand for them". [Rajchman, 1991]. This was in line with the contemporary production –by means of computer technology - of sublime or sublimated architectural objects scattered worldwide which is indeed remarkable and assimilates architecture to the star system.

The public was attracted by architecture's capacity to provide a fantasy for the future at the beginning of the 21st century. It would be interesting though to observe how the various architectural micro-fantasies interact with a city's context but far more interesting to experiment with the ability of structures to leak out the problems that they cover up. However, nothing of this sort was proposed by the participants. Nonetheless, it is the public that disappears by the on-going dislocation of constructed realities in today's Athens.

CONCLUSION

The irony is that Athens is currently a site for experimentation as the competition envisioned. Racism and extreme nationalism followed the short-lived and once trendy concept of multiculturalism; the economic euphoria is a thing of the past, an open wound for the unemployed as the state and its institutions are crumbling.

All the above have visible effects in the city and its inhabitants; and this explains the intense interest of international architecture schools which organize study visits to Athens

while well-known thinkers parade and give talks in disused building attended by passionate and engaging audience. Athens has finally become a hub for thinking through and experiencing first-hand another way of city living.

It seems, the political challenge of architecture would be to “shape” the experiences of emerging formations and aggregates that are still difficult to grasp; maybe this is not a task that can be delivered by competition briefs in which the various roles of the client, of the architectural community, of the ‘vanishing public’ and the technical/technological factors /implications are seen as belonging to separate entities that consent or dissent.

The current dislocations cannot leave the institution of architecture intact and it seems architecture competitions are in for a much needed reconsideration. It might be necessary that the re-designing of our world becomes a task of an extended assemblage of humans, emerging technologies and common usage and it remains to be decided “...whether the assembled aggregates can form a livable world” [Latour 2005].

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APPENDIX (attached on a separate PDF file)

Illustrations with captions and basic information on of the competition

AUTHOR BIONOTE

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ⁱ "The introduction of competition rules during the late 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th coincides with architects getting professionally organized in associations and unions". [Andersson et al., eds. 2013, p.7]

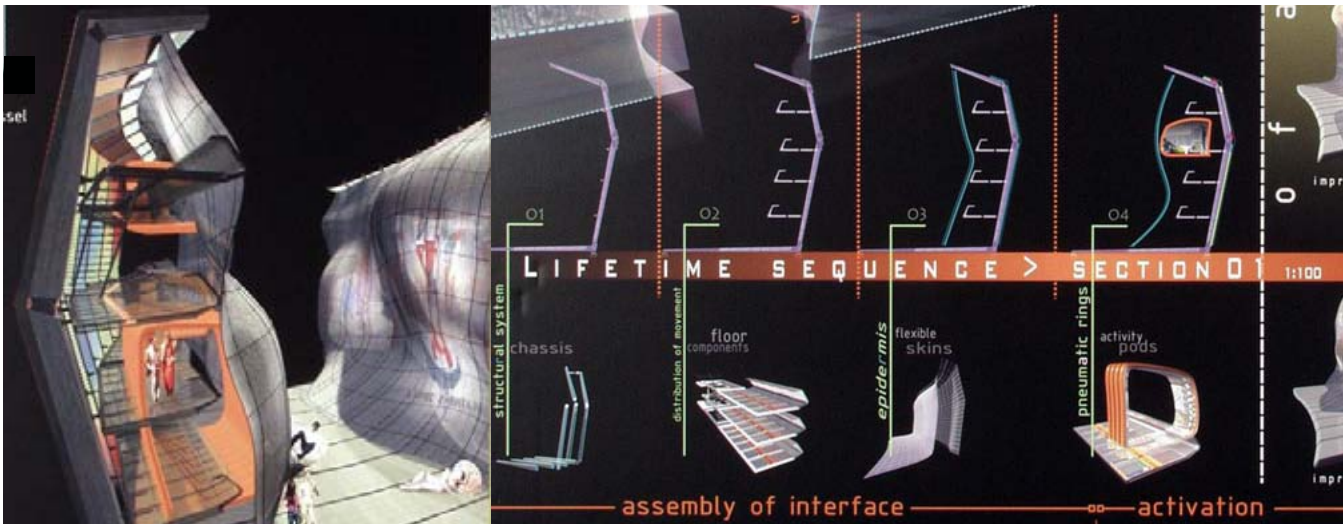
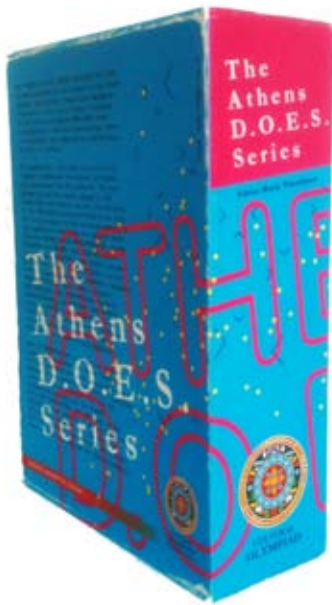
ⁱⁱ The presentation of the competition in the present paper draws extensively from material included in its four-volume publication [Theodorou, 2003].

ⁱⁱⁱ Associology / Actor- Network Theory: Treat human and non-human agents (called actors) as equals - An actor is made up from heterogeneous elements called networks - Networks: associations of human, natural, technical/technological actors (assemblages) - Networks are highly unstable. [Latour, 2005]

^{iv} Democracy and the project of Multitude: The multitude is neither an identity (like people) nor uniform (like masses), the internal differences of the multitude must discover the common that allows them to communicate and act together. The common we share...is not so much discovered as it is produced. [Negri & Hardt, 2001]

^v As above endnote iii.

^{vi} Assemblages are wholes whose properties emerge from the interactions between parts - Unlike organic totalities, the parts of an assemblage do not form a seamless whole -The synthesis of the properties of the whole is not reducible to its parts - They are highly unstable; do not obey rules of linear causality (causes fail to produce expected effects) [De Landa, 2006]



P5 110 | U.S.A. | mention

EPHEMERAL STRUCTURES IN THE CITY OF ATHENS 2002

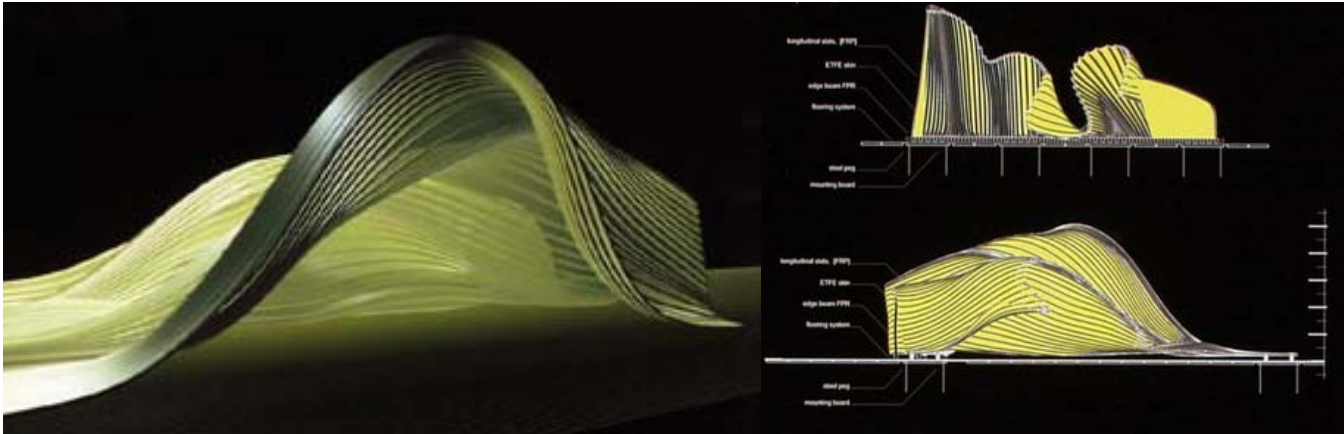
ATHENS D.O.E.S. international (UIA-UNESCO) architecture competition, Athens 2004 Olympic Games, Cultural Olympiad grant 800.000

Brief

“With the [Athens] Olympic games as trigger, the competition provided an opportunity to imagine catalytic interventions that could generate urban transformations. Via the metaphor of host and parasite, it asked for these interventions to be non site specific, while embodying in their concept the idea of the host city – as experienced, remembered, or simply imagined. The innovative strength of this brief lay in the fact that what it asked for was neither contextual nor typologically driven, nor based on an idea of urban design as planning. The categories of intervention asked for were seen more as acupunctural interventions, whose impact would offer the inhabitants the opportunity to re-orient their perception of Athens, in other words interventions that could themselves “re-make” the context.” (excerpt from the Jury’s preliminary statement)

Involvement

60 professionals were involved at the various stages of its implementation; among which, invited jurors (Zaha Hadid, Elias Zenghelis, Sylvia Lavin, Hani Rashid, Yatsuka Hasime etc.), authors of essays for the brief (Mark Cousins, Paul Hirst, Andrew Benjamin, etc.), authors of essays assessing the entries (edited by the Archis chief editor Ole Bauman), exhibition designers, technicians, etc.



P4 011 | GERMANY. | prize



P5 096 | FRANCE | mention



P4 034 | FRANCE | mention

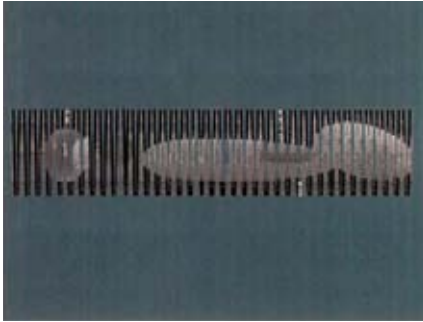


P1 015 | U.S.A. | prize

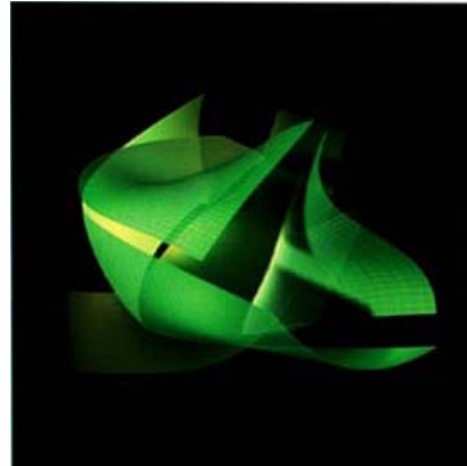
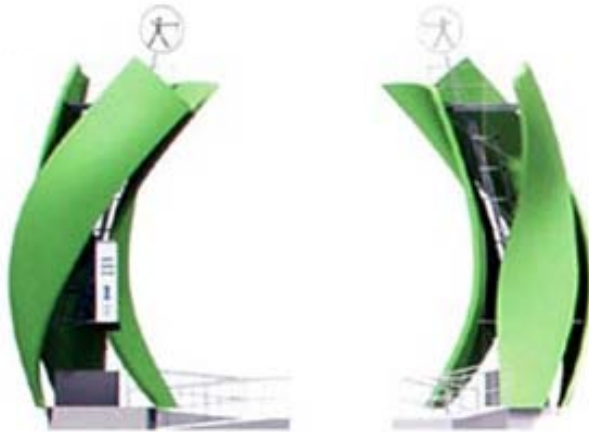
Outcome

The competition attracted 1279 registrations, 466 submissions (of students & architects) from 54 countries. The jury awarded 34 prizes/mentions to participating teams from 13 countries.

The six first prizes presented a high level of ingenuity and buildability; they were selected from a complementary group of interventions that formed a 'family' of urban catalysts, connected by their association to that part of architecture discourse that assigns them to the category of the 'field' rather than as finite objects projects.



P5 141 | ITALY. | mention



P6 021 | FRANCE. | prize



P2 023 | U.S.A. | mention

Impact

Nationally/Internationally

- The competition and its publication functioned as a platform for thinking and discussing architecture and its making and brought the Greek architectural community as a whole into contact with the architectural community worldwide. It reached a wider public in the form of touring exhibition and public presentations in London (RIBA), Paris, Athens and various cities in Greece, Cyprus, and Japan.
- It continued to attract the interest in subsequent years and a number of invited presentations were delivered in architecture schools as well as at the program in Hellenic Studies at Princeton (respondent: professor of Urbanism Christine Boyer)

Internationally

It was classified as a best practice example for the UIA – UNESCO international architecture competitions

Personal

“...the jury wishes to unanimously express its wholehearted appreciation and thanks to Dr Maria Theodorou ... for her commitment and professionalism - and for her unfailing guidance throughout, from the competition’s inception and theoretical development, to the last details of organization, management and hospitality” (excerpt from the Jury’s preliminary statement)

SESSION 2A

THE CLIENT

The Client Regime in Competitions

*From Requirement to Professional Praxis in
Selection of Design Teams to Competitions*

Magnus Rönn

The client regime in competitions

- from requirement to professional praxis in selection of design teams to competitions

by

Magnus Rönn, School of Architecture and the Built Environment,
Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm, Sweden

Abstract

This paper discusses the client regime in competitions. I present a client regime theory based on case studies of six restricted competitions in Sweden; three architectural competitions and three developer competitions. The competition task includes both senior housing and ordinary apartments. All six competitions have been organized by the public sector.

The aim of developing the theory was to understand how organizers select design teams for restricted competitions. There are two main driving forces for clients: Attracters and Gatekeepers, which have a decisive impact on the selection of design teams for restricted competitions. Strong attracters give clients a wide range of applications to choose from by gatekeepers, who point out the participants.

The organizer initiates prequalification by inviting candidates to competitions. General information, submission requirements and criteria for the evaluation of applications provided by public clients are part of an established practice. Demands in the invitation refer to requirements in the procurement law and professional practice. Criteria for evaluations are based on professional experience and have an open character, typical for how juries assess design proposals. This is the case for both architectural and developer competitions.

Companies respond to an invitation by submitting an application. One important difference between architectural competitions and developer competitions is the number of interested candidates and design teams. The three architectural competitions generated 120 applications from architecture firms. The client invited 11 design teams (9%). The three developer competitions attracted only 21 applications from construction companies and real estate managers. 16 were invited (76%). This difference is very important and has a huge impact on the relation between attracters and gatekeepers in competitions. The selecting committees had only one meeting for choosing candidates in developer competitions. In architectural competitions the selection committees use three to four meetings for assessing applications and had to develop judging strategies for finding design teams suitable for the competition task.

Key words: Architectural competitions, developer competitions, restricted competitions, invitation, prequalification, selection, client.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper presents and discusses a theory; *the client regime theory*. It is a theory for understanding prequalified competitions in architecture and urban design from the client perspective. The theory is founded on results from a research project (Rönn, 2012), which studied prequalification in architectural competitions and developer competitions.¹ In both these competitions the organizer initiates the process with an invitation. Candidates reply to invitations by sending in applications. The clients' selection committees then choose design teams. If there are more applicants than places in the competition the organizer must make an evaluative selection. Some candidates must be seen to be more suitable than others. This is the basic problem, common for all competitions with a limited number of participants.

In Sweden the majority of architectural competitions and developer competitions are organised by municipalities. The town planning office is a main actor in architectural competitions. Property departments in municipalities control developer competitions. In restricted architectural competitions the economic competition covers development of design proposals. But it is the future assignment and implementation of the winning design that makes the competition attractive. The same goes for developer competitions. This competition enables the builder, constructor and real estate manager to procure publicly owned land. They compete with both design and financial offers. The winner gets access to the property. It is a risky investment in future profits. The realization is controlled by a land allocations agreement between the municipality and the company behind the winning design.

There is no architectural research on developer competitions in Sweden. I have only found one study in Finland by Leif Östman (2012) investigating this competition form from an architectural point of view. Government agencies, research reports and university papers that have an economic, legal and business perspective on land allocation dominate the literature on developer competitions in Sweden. Architecture and prequalification do not play a leading role in these investigations. Thus, my study contributes new knowledge that is important for the understanding of prequalified competitions and their conditions.

The academic research on architectural competitions covers 16 theses. They can be divided into two main types: research on competitions from an *architectural historical perspective* and analyses of *contemporary competitions*. However, there are few studies about how design teams are selected in restricted competitions.² Focus is on design proposals, quality and judgment. There are a handful of research projects about prequalification for architectural competitions in Holland, Denmark and Sweden. Leentje Volker (2010) has investigated how public promoters in Holland contract architectural services using architectural competitions. There is a dissatisfaction among architects towards the bureaucratic and expensive application requirements from public clients (Kroese, Meijer & Visscher, 2009; Volker, 2010). The procurement law is criticized both by architects and clients in the public sector.

Volker and Lauche (2008) note that the evaluation of architects for competitions and the judging of design proposals resemble each other, even though the criteria differ. The selection is based on a combination of experience, reputation, references and architectonic qualities. Kristian Kreiner and Merete Gorm reviewed prequalification in Denmark in 2008 and 2009. Map-

¹ The concept "developer competitions" can also be translated as "real estate competitions". The main competitors are companies such as builders, construction companies and real estate managers.

² The following theses on competitions have an *architectural historical perspective* (Waern, 1996; Tostrup, 1999; Sauge, 2003; Rustad, 2009; Bloxham Zettersten, 2000; Hagelqvist, 2010). The following theses analyze *contemporary competitions* (Blomberg 1995; Östman, 2005; Svensson, 2008; Fialho 2007; Volker, 2010; Schmiedeknecht 2010; Katsakou, 2011; Andersson, 2011, Silberberger, 2011; Ramberg 2012).

ping from 2008 gives an account of the promoters' perspective. Kreiner and Gorm seek knowledge using questionnaires to architect offices and promoters (public and private). My studies deal with public clients.

I have investigated prequalification of architectural firms in ten competitions held by municipal or government organizers (Rönn, 2011). The organizers' selection committees evaluated the applications from design teams using the same "soft" criteria as in judging design proposals. It is criteria with an open character used for identifying and assessing qualities in architecture. The result is in line with findings by Volker and Lauche (2008). But first the candidates have to fulfill a number of "must have" demands specified in the invitation. Otherwise applications don't move on to the next step for assessing design teams. The "soft" criteria are crucial to selection committees when making a final decision at the end of the evaluation. In a follow-up research project I examined prequalification in three architectural project competitions and three developer competitions (Rönn, 2012). The empirical findings from these six case studies have been used for theorizing invitation, application and selection of design teams in restricted competitions. In this paper I will (re)use findings from the research project.

Aim, theory and method

The theory in this article is built on case studies. The article has two purposes. First, I wish to present a theory on client regime in restricted competitions. Second, I wish to test/explore the theorizing of empirical findings in architectural and developer competitions. The theory provides a fundamental model of how design teams are invited to prequalification competitions in Sweden.³ The emphasis is on early control of the competition through the invitations and choice of design teams.

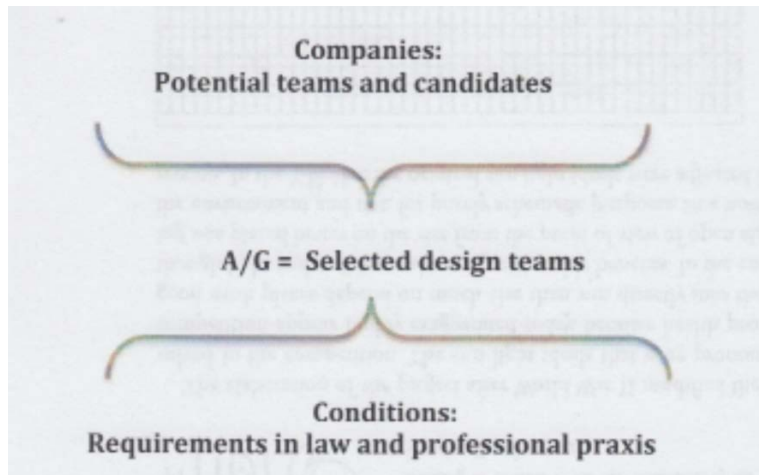
I hope that the theory contributes to the understanding of the power play, lays a good foundation for advice to the organizers and can be used to find an explanation of the result of prequalification. Even if the future is always unsure it is possible to predict some of the forces that restricted competitions set in motion. This is because invited competitions follow a set of regulations and established praxis.

If this is a good theory depends on its ability to deliver good advice to the organizers who need to make a choice. The empirical base is six competitions in Sweden which had housing and architecture for an aging population as the competition task. The competitions were organized by municipalities and public developers. Case studies were used as a means of investigation. This is a research method which is suitable for both theoretical development and testing of fundamental assumptions (Stake, 1995; Johansson, 2000; Flyberg, 2005). I will present a detailed description of the organizers' invitation. This gives a good picture of the fundamental conditions for architectural competitions and developer competitions. The similarities and differences in the invitations highlight areas for applying the theory.

The theoretical hypothesis of client regime is that the organizer's choice of competition team is a function of *attractors* and *gatekeepers*. These are two forces that arouse interest from firms, respectively discourage potential candidates, to restricted competitions and regulate the choice of design teams for competition tasks. The relationship creates a dynamic power game. How the meeting evolves between attractors and gatekeepers in a specific case determines which team will participate in the competition. The client regime represents steering in com-

³ I believe Sweden and Finland have similar cultures with regard to competitions. Even though developer competitions are not regulated nationally, professional praxis based on experience results in great similarities in the way invitations are extended for competitions.

petitions through general information about the purpose, goal, demands and criteria in the invitations. The following graphic model summarizes the theory of client regime:



Model: The client regime theory. Magnus Rönn 2013.

The attracters (A) and gatekeepers (G) are at the center of the model. These two forces, each within their own context, have a dynamic relationship to each other. Attracters represent forces in the model that arouse interest from clients, potential design teams and competition candidates. The availability of attracters in an organizer's invitation entices clients to free up capacity and resources for applications. Without attractive content organizers will not attract an adequate number of competent competitors. Typical attracters to competitions are (a) challenging competition task with large marketing value and prestige, (b) high prize sum and good remuneration as organizer and client, (c) regulations which provide fair preconditions, (d) competent members on the selection committee and (e) a credible organizer who (f) promises the continued assignment to the winner.

The role of the Gatekeepers in this model is to limit participation in the competition and regulate the choice of the team. These conditions are essential to all restricted competitions. The gatekeepers in competitions provide the general information in the invitation, the must-have requirements which are mandatory for the applicants and the criteria the organizer intends to use for identifying a suitable team for the competition task. Three to six teams have been chosen for the six competitions in the study.

The conditions presented in the invitation exemplify the qualities the organizer is seeking in the participants. This governance at an early stage must be balanced according to the availability of the potential teams and candidates. Too strict demands may discourage too many firms, minimize competition and deter the emergence of innovative teams. Gatekeepers in the competitions provide control and the organizers selection committee review of the applications. This is done by taking into consideration (a) requested documentations, (b) reference projects and their relevance, (c) information from the reference persons, (d) the competence and professional composition of the team, (e) the creative abilities of the candidates and, (f) resources for carrying out the competition task.

2. CASE STUDIES

Here is a short description of the six competitions as cases. The description is based on the organizers' invitation and includes key information from each competition about the task and the general conditions, objectives, requirements and criteria for selection. This is the information in the invitation used by companies and design teams to decide if they will form a de-

sign team and apply for prequalification.⁴ Attractors and gatekeepers are partly imbedded in the invitation by the organizers.

Case 1: Senior housing in Gävle

AB Gavlegårdarna sent out an invitation for prequalification in 2011 (Advertisement, Prequalification Project Competition). The competition has two aims. First, the organizer wants to receive design proposals for attractive and suitable housing for senior citizens. Second, to negotiate architectural services for the assignment. Four firms are going to be chosen for the competition. The winner will design the buildings if the organizer carries out the project.

The competition area is 13 000 square meters and includes attached houses from the 1960s. The buildings have technical defects and accessibility problems. The organizer wants to refurbish the area and supplement the existing buildings with new housing to enable the elderly to continue living there. The need for new housing is somewhat unclear. According to the competition program the area should be supplemented with at least 50 apartments (AB Gavlegårdarna, 2011-10-10).

The general information in the invitation to prequalification is:

- *Competition form*: Invited project competition.
- *Number of invitations*: four companies (architectural firms/competition teams).
- *Remuneration*: 150 000 SEK per participant after submission of approved proposal. The winner will receive an additional 50 000 SEK, in total 650 000 SEK.

The “must-haves” in the invitation are:

- *Register*: The application must include a list of the material submitted.
- *Company information*: Name, organization number, postal address, telephone number, e-mail address and web site.
- *Taxes*: Affidavit stating that all taxes and fees have been paid. This affidavit may not be more than 3 months old.
- *Financial status and economic issues*: Affidavit from a business and credit report company with information about key economic figures and risks. This affidavit may not be more than three months old.
- *Reference project*: Review of three reference projects the applicant considers relevant to the competition task, at least one of which has been completed.
- *References*: Contact information including name, address, telephone number, e-mail to the reference persons for each project.
- *Curriculum vitae*: A CV for each of the key persons and their role in the reference projects.
- *Project organization*: Statement of the project organization for eventual continued assignment. The team should have experience and knowledge about Swedish norms/demands.

⁴ Empirical data from data from competitions were collected during 2010-2012. Internet homepages at municipalities in Sweden have been examined. The inventory resulted in a selection of prequalified competitions with housing and architecture for an ageing society as the common competition task. By questioning the organizers I obtained access to invitations, applications and documents from the selection procedure. These documents have been analyzed by close reading. Personal experiences have been collected from all individuals in the selection committees in the sex competitions using an open questionnaire on the competitions background, competition form, judging process and personal experience from prequalification. The response was good. 20 of the 24 members in the selections committees answered the interview guide. Their professional merits had an interdisciplinary nature with an emphasis on architecture, planning, public procurement and care for the aging.

- *Language:* The application should be in Swedish, which is also the language of the project assignment.

Applicants that fulfill the requirements will be evaluated by the following criteria:

- Architectonic design capacity with regard to the design of buildings in the existing environment, adaptation of green areas, re-building, new building and accessibility.
- Housing design for seniors and knowledge of their needs including prerequisites as well as personnel and technical support.
- Competence in project organization and experience from planning and projecting.

According to the invitation the organizer has appointed a selection committee of three persons to judge the professional merits of the candidates. The committee is made up of a technical director, an architect from the municipality and an outside consulting architect. Out of 36 applicants, the committee chose the following four architectural firms/teams to participate in the competition: 1) Basark, 2) Nyréns Arkitektkontor, 3) Rahel Belatchew Arkitektur & Uribo, and 4) White Arkitekter (AB Gavlegårdarna, 2011-09-19).

Case 2: Housing for assisted living in Linköping

In 2011 the municipality of Linköping issued an invitation to prequalification through the local authority for care of the elderly and the built environment (Linköping municipality, 2011-08-21). The competition has two purposes. First, the organizer wants proposals for assisted living with various constellations. Second, the municipality is going to negotiate architectural services. Four teams will be chosen for the competition. The winner is promised the assignment provided it is carried through.

The background to the competition is that the town districts are in shortage of housing for senior citizens in an area where the aged population is increasing. The municipality hopes that the competition will increase their possibilities to remain in the area. The competition assignment included some 40 new assisted living apartments with common areas. The competition assignment also included adapting the outdoor areas to suit the needs of the elderly.

The general information for prequalification stated in the invitation is:

- *Competition form:* Invited project competition.
- *Number of invitations:* Four firms (architectural firms/teams).
- *Remuneration:* 200 000 SEK per participant after submission of an approved proposal, in total 800 000 SEK.

The “must-haves” in the invitation are:

- *Listing:* The application should include a register listing the material submitted.
- *Company information:* Name, registration number, address, telephone, e-mail and web site of the firms in the competition team.
- *Company structure:* Affidavit stating the company forms of the competing firms.
- *Financial status and economic issues:* Affidavit from a legal credit survey company containing information about the key economic figures and risks for the competing company. This document cannot be more than three months old.
- *Reference projects:* An account of four reference projects, which the contestant considers relevant to the goal of the competition. Pure marketing information may not be submitted.

- *Reference persons:* Contact information including name, address, telephone, e-mail for the reference persons for each reference project.
- *Curriculum Vitae:* Statement with CVs for key persons, their roles in the reference project and eventual further assignment.
- *Project organization:* Description of project organization for eventual further assignment. The team should have experience and knowledge of Swedish norms and regulations. The applicant should also describe how they will meet the demand for capacity and availability if awarded the project in Linköping.
- *Quality and environment:* Description of quality and environmental management assurance system for the firms involved in the application.
- *Language:* The competition and project language is Swedish. Applications should be submitted in Swedish with the exception of documents such as publications, articles, jury statements etc., which may be in Norwegian, Danish or English.

Applicants that meet the requirements will be evaluated by the following criteria:

- Relevant competence in design and functionality.
- Competence from other related assignments.
- Candidates presenting a wide and varied illustration of the competition goal.

According to the invitation the selection committee, a group of experts from the organizing body, will appoint the candidates for the competition. Two of these are architects employed by the municipality and two are persons with experience in health care and care giving. The selection committee chose four firms/teams for the competition out of 33 applicants: 1) Fojab Arki-tektekter & JJW Arkitekter, 2) MAF Stockholm & Argark, 3) Marge Arkitekter & Land Arkitektur and 4) Semrén + Månsson & Rubow Arkitekter (Linköping municipality, 2011-11-01). Two of the teams include architects from Denmark; JJW and Rubow Arkitekter.

Case 3: Senior housing in Burlöv

In 2011 Burlöv municipality organized a restricted competition in cooperation with the landowner, Kronetorps Park AB (Burlöv municipality, 2011-09-26). This competition also has two purposes. First, the organizer wants to receive suggestions for new housing and environments with especially high quality including activities for the elderly. Second, organizer wish to negotiate architectural services for designing 100 apartments and drawing up a detail plan for development in the area.

Kronetorp is the municipality's largest remaining land resource located in a strategic area between Malmö and Lund with direct train connections to Copenhagen. Burlöv municipality has plans to transform Kronetorp into an age-integrated town district for 60,000 inhabitants with work places and cultural and recreational activities.

The general information in the invitation for prequalification is:

- *Competition form:* Invited project competition.
- *Number of invited participants:* Three firms/teams will be invited to compete.
- *Remuneration:* 300 000 SEK after submission of approved proposal, in total 900 000 SEK.

The "must-haves" in the invitation are:

- *Listing:* The application should include a list of the material submitted.

- *Company information:* Name, organization number, address, telephone and applicant's web site.
- *Company form:* Affidavit stating the firms' structure.
- *Curriculum Vitae:* A CV for each key person in the competition project must be provided.
- *Project organization:* Statement of the project organization with an eventual continuation of the assignment including the key persons and their work contribution in percent. The team should have experience and knowledge of Swedish norms and demands.
- *Reference project:* At most five relevant reference projects of which at least two must be implemented. The material in the application may include printed plans, illustrations, publications and charts.
- *Reference persons:* Statement of reference persons for the reference projects including name, address, telephone and e-mail.
- *Language:* Swedish is the language for the competition and project assignment. The application must be made in Swedish. The accompanying documents such as publications, articles and jury statements may be in another language.

Applicants meeting the requirements will be judged by the following criteria:

- Architectonic ability.
- Capacity for innovative thinking.
- High level of competence in environmental design.
- Competence with regard to the needs of the elderly.
- Experience and resources.

According to the invitation the organizer has appointed a selection committee of five professional persons to choose the candidates for the competition. Two persons in the committee represent the land owners. Three persons represent the municipality: the head of the welfare office and two representatives from the town planning office. The selection committee pointed out three architectural firms/teams to participate in the competition out of 51 applicants: 1) Johan Celsing Arkitektkontor, 2) Tema landskapsarkitekter & Chroma Arkitekter and 3) White Arkitekter (Burlöv municipality 2011-12-06).

Case 4: Senior housing in Danderyd

Danderyd municipality issued an invitation in 2011 for a developer competition for senior housing. Interested companies were invited to consult the municipality's homepage for further information. The municipality also sent out a special circular to 15 construction companies and real estate managers in Greater Stockholm. According to the invitation 3-6 constructors would be invited to participate in a developer competition.

The municipality has two main goals for the competition. First, the municipality will sell the site to the winner. Second, the municipality wants to receive suggestions for ca. 35 senior apartments suitable for the elderly in a building designed with 2-4 stories (www.danderyd.se). 50 % of the apartments should have a quiet side facing the common courtyard to minimize noise coming from traffic in the area. The municipality will set up a land allocation agreement for realizing the winning proposal with an option for the winner to directly negotiate the purchase of the property. (Land allocation agreement, KS 2010/03 00).

The general information in the invitation is:

- *Competition form:* Invited developer competition followed by land allocation agreement.
- *Number invited:* 3-6 building contractors or real estate managers.

- *Compensation*: The competition is held at the expense of the participants. The winner is offered the chance to purchase the property with the building permissions.

The “must-haves” in the invitation are:

- *Company presentation*: Presentation of the company and its experience in building senior housing.
- *Building program*: Presentation of a general program for housing design and equipment to facilitate use by the elderly. Principal/standard design solutions should be included.
- *Quality of life*: Presentation of program with activities which create a rich social life on the property. Principal/standard solutions should be provided.
- *Design ideas*: Sketches presenting the design ideas for the housing and the plot.
- *Reference project*: Summary of references for similar projects by the team that have been carried through by the company at hand.
- *Economic value*: An indication of the value of the site and building permission.
- *Language*: Not specified in the invitation.

The invitation does not specify any criteria for evaluating the applications. According to the development manager for the municipality the intention was to use the same criteria for choosing the candidates and the judging of design proposals in the competition. From this statement the evaluation criteria for selecting candidates may be described as follows:

- *Interior design*: The apartment layouts and common areas may bring an additional value for a maximum of 10 % of the property value. The added value is in relation to the other applications.
- *Architectural Design*: The reference project’s architectural design may generate an added value of 10 % of the property value. The added value is for design as compared with the other reference projects.
- *Environmental goals*: The architectural design of the reference project, environmental program and heating can bring an additional value of maximum 15 %. The added value is accorded for low energy homes and solutions that have a passive construction.

A selection committee of three persons will evaluate the companies’ applications. The development manager reviews the companies regarding agreements and technology, the city architect judges the design references and a representative from the social services should examine the documents describing the housing. The invitation generated six applications; all of them met the application requirements and proceeded to the competition. The following six companies/teams were therefore invited to the developer competition: 1) Bonum Seniorboende, 2) NCC Construction, 3) RCC Stockholm, 4) Seniorsgården, 5) Skanska and 6) Strabag Projektutveckling + Turako Fastighetsutveckling & Conara (Report 2011-05-19).

Case 5: Rental apartments in Nacka

In 2010 Nacka municipality invited companies to participate in a prequalification competition for housing development (Report 2010-03-09). According to the invitation five design teams with constructors or real estate managers and architects would be asked to participate. The purpose is to designate a builder to construct apartment houses that have their own long term management. The new housing should serve as a model and favour an economic, social and environmentally sustainable construction (Invitation, 2010-03-16).

The area is deemed suitable for a block of 30-50 apartments. At the same time as the competition is being prepared the urban planning work begins to make the site accessible for housing

purposes. The municipality intends to conclude a land allocation agreement with the winner. The property will be awarded with leasehold. Detail planning of the new property usage will be made in cooperation with the winner.

The general information in the invitation is:

- *Competition form*: Invited developer competition regulated by LOU, chap. 14, (project competition) followed by land allocation agreement with the winner.
- *Number invited*: 3-5 design teams (contractors, builder or real estate managers in cooperation with architectural firms).
- *Compensation*: The design teams participate at their own expense. The winning company (main applicant) will be granted land allocation for constructing the housing with leasehold for the site. The agreement will be concluded when the detail plan is established.

The “must-haves” in the invitation are:

- *List*: The application must contain a list of all the enclosed material.
- *Company information*: Name, registration number of the company, address, telephone, e-mail, Webb address and affidavits for the company’s structure should be included for each company on the team.
- *Economy*: Affidavit describing the company structure and its financial status. The applicant must be a registered company which has never been the object of bankruptcy or insolvency (LOU, 10 chap., §2). The applicant must have a minimum rating of 3 on the UC (Business and Credit Information) credit scale. The certificate may not be more than three months old. The municipality has the right to obtain additional rating certificates to control the information. Foreign companies shall present the equivalent information.
- *New companies*: Newly started companies shall submit a certificate from a bank or verify their economic situation by other means (LOU, 11 chapter, § 7). Guarantee from main owner behind the company is accepted.
- *Taxes*: Completed form from the Swedish Tax Authority not older than three months.
- *Reference project*: 3-5 reference projects, demonstrating the applicant’s ability and ambitions to produce climate-smart buildings with low energy use and good adaptation to the site.
- *Company strategy and management*: Planned management organization for the coming rental apartments including reference objects for the property management.
- *Project organization*: Organization for the design proposals. CVs for the key persons who will participate in the competition and their respective roles. Key persons should be experienced in Swedish norms and regulations.
- *Quality assurance and environmental management*: Applicants’ system for managing quality and environmental objectives.
- *Rental levels and directions*: Statement of the rental levels for the reference object and the direction and ambitions for rental levels in the design proposals in the competition.
- *Language*: Competition and project language is Swedish. Applications must be in Swedish. Appendices such as publications, articles and jury statements may be in English.

The company’s application will be evaluated by the following criteria:

- *Housing management*: Experience in long-term facility management, preferably for rental housing.
- *References*: Relevant reference objects, preferably rental properties, rental blocks in hilly terrain and energy-efficient housing.

- *Financial status and facility organization:* Economic standpoint, project organization, future property management and rental levels for the competition project.

The committee that made the choice in Nacka consisted of three persons; the municipality's technical and property director, the city architect and the head of the environmental office. The municipality received seven applications. After examining the applications five design teams were chosen for the competition: 1) Botrygg Gruppen & Erséus Arkitekter, 2) Bygg Vesta & White Arkitekter/Johan Kirsh, 3) Peab Bostad & Engstrand and Speek, 4) Stockholms kooperativa Bostadsförening/kooperativa hyresgästförening & Kjellander and Sjöberg Arkitekter/Ola Kjellander and 5) Wallenstam + Semrén & Månsson (Protocol 2010-05-20).

Case 6: Housing block in Trelleborg

In 2011 Trelleborg municipality invited companies to prequalification for a developer for housing with space on the ground floor for commercial activities (Invitation, Trelleborg municipality). The competition was marketed both on the municipality's home page and through direct contact with 24 companies. The municipality had two purposes behind the developer competition. First, to invite five teams of constructors and architectural firms to take part in the competition. Second, the municipality would sign a land allocation agreement with the company behind the winning proposal for continued planning, design and implementation.

According to the invitation, the municipality is seeking a design team with a strong interest in taking on the future of the city center. The development should have innovative architecture, communicate the quality demand on urban design and be environmentally sustainable. The price of the land has been set at 2 000 SEK per m². The cost for development of the site is entirely the responsibility of the developer behind the winning design proposal.

The general information in the invitation is:

- *Competition form:* Invited developer competition followed by land allocation agreement and sale of land.
- *Number of invitations:* 5 design teams of construction companies and architectural firms.
- *Compensation:* 50 000 SEK for each proposal submitted, in total 300 000 SEK as prize money. The winner is offered to buy the property at a price that has been fixed in advance.

The "must-haves" in the invitation are:

- *Listing:* The application must include a list of the contents of the application
- *Company information:* Description of the construction company with contact information for representatives.
- *Collaborators:* Information about the collaborating architectural firms and the responsible architects.
- *Reference project:* List of references from 2 projects with similar competition tasks carried out by the construction company and architectural firm applying. Time, extent and role of the applicant in the reference project should be described.
- *Economy:* Credit rating from the central credit authority should be provided. It may not be more than three months old.
- *Taxes:* The tax authority form showing paid taxes. This document may not be more than three months old.
- *Language:* Applications and competition proposals are to be in Swedish.

Applications that fulfil the requirements will be evaluated by the following criteria:

- *Professional merits*: Competence, experience and design teams' references.
- *Long-term facility qualities*: Organizational and economic capacities as well as stability of the constructor/developer.
- *Urban design ability and creativity*: Ability to solve complex real estate and urban assignments requiring creative solutions in all phases: from sketch to implementation of architecture and urban design projects.

The jury made the selection in this case. Four persons from the competition jury evaluated the application proposals and pointed out the design teams for the developer competition. The invitation resulted in eight applications from construction companies and real estate managers in cooperation with architectural firms. The following five companies/ teams were invited to participate: 1) JM/Seniorgården & Plan och byggnadskonst, 2) Peab Sverige & Grotmij, 3) Riksbyggen & Arkitektlaget Skåne, 4) TrelleborgsHem & White Arkitekter and 5) Veidekke Bostad & Metro Arkitekter (Protocol 2012-02-27)

3. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

This section presents, compares and discusses findings in architectural competitions and developer competitions. In an appendix the competitions are compared in eight tables from six invitations to the restricted competition.

The client regime has an organizing body in municipalities with conflicting interests when it comes to architectural competitions and developer competitions. In architectural competitions the town planning office plays a leading role. This is the case in Burlöv and Linköping. Developer competitions are organized by managers who control the land and represent the owner. This is obvious in Danderyd and Nacka. One conclusion is that the growth of developer competitions reflects a displacement of the public clients' power from the town planning office to the property department. Correspondingly, the interest in competitions is shifted from architecture to the price of the land, building costs and real estate management. There is a much stronger commercial context in developer competitions. The power shift is evident in the invitation to prequalification.

The architectural competition in Burlöv, Gävle and Linköping is directed towards architect firms. The developer competition is directed towards constructors, builders and real estate managers who are the main applicants and make the agreements with municipalities on implementing the winning design. This is also the case even if developers cooperate with architects. In Danderyd only real estate managers were invited to the competition. Here architects are invisible in the applications. In this sense, developer competitions can be seen as a competition form that transfers influence from the architects to the developers and constructors.

Many competitors wished to participate in Gävle, Linköping and Burlöv. The invitation attracted 120 design teams. Of them 11 (9 %) proceeded to the competition (see table 1). The conclusion is that architectural competitions have sufficiently strong attracters. Only teams with excellent applications will be chosen because of the tough competition for participating. Gatekeepers thus acquire a steering role in the final choice of design team. The numerous applications from architectural firms generate an evaluation procedure with several meetings of the selections committees. Thus gatekeepers acquire a qualitative selection of participants where the "soft" criteria in the invitation play a significant role in the result.

The conditions for participating in developer competitions in Danderyd, Nacka and Trelleborg varied greatly compared to architectural competitions. The invitation only attracted 21 appli-

cations. 16 (76%) were invited to the competitions (see table 5). Few potential teams and candidates found the conditions attractive enough to invest their resources on drawing up applications. The relationship between attracts and gatekeeping becomes weaker and does not create a need for thoughtful strategies for judging the applications. Selection committees need only meet once. Evaluating applications becomes simple. Selection committees approve a large number of applications from firms that meet the “hard” must-haves in the invitation. For the same reason the “soft” criteria for evaluation don’t play the same decisive role in developer competitions

General information in invitations

There are different purposes, profits and benefits for teams in architectural and developer competitions. The information in the invitation follows a uniform pattern in Burlöv, Gävle and Linköping (see table 2). This is because the competition is regulated by national competition rules and controlled by The Swedish Association of Architects. The purpose of competitions for organizers is both to get good proposals for new housing and an architect for the continued assignment. The winner is promised the assignment as long as the competition is not cancelled. The cash prize varies from 650 000 SEK to 900 000 SEK. Compensation for the team varies from 150 000 SEK to 300 000 SEK. The payment for the architectural work is in accordance with recommendations from the association of architects. Both the higher price and the more extensive competition assignment in Burlöv act as attracters raising greater interest in the competition from potential candidates in the field of architecture.

The same degree of uniformity is not found in the general information in the invitation to the developer competitions in Danderyd, Nacka and Trelleborg. The competition assignment includes both design, construction and management of the housing. The common purpose is that the competition should result in a land allocation agreement (see table 6). The agreement will give the winner the sole right to negotiate with the municipality on the realization of its proposal for new housing. Danderyd and Trelleborg intend to sell the land to the winner while Nacka will grant the land for leasehold. Trelleborg set the market price for the land in advance so teams could focus on competing for quality instead of the price of land. Danderyd will sell land to whoever makes the best offer. The competition is at the cost of the participants in Danderyd and Nacka. Developers see participation as a highly uncertain and risky investment in the future. (Östman, 2012). The municipality of Trelleborg is trying to attract more candidates through economic compensation for the development of a design proposal. The prize amount is SEK 300 000 in the invitation. The competing teams will get 50 000 SEK each for their entries. The compensation is very low compared to the assignment and has not resulted in increased interest in the competition.

Must-haves in invitations

There are several departments involved in producing invitations for public clients, both in architectural competitions and developer competitions. The conclusion is that the “must-haves” in invitations express a common point of view among organizers and represent a regime supported by conditions based on the law for public procurement and professional practices. Applicants must fulfill these conditions to take part in competitions. Selection committees are satisfied with the content of the applications and consider the choice of teams to be based on sufficiently sound background material.

The “must have” demands in the invitation to competitions in Burlöv, Gävle och Linköping is typical for restricted architectural competitions (see table 3). The “must-haves” are not negotiable but “hard” conditions. The application must contain all of the required documents. Teams not meeting the requirements will be eliminated. A closer look will reveal that differ-

ent requirements in the invitation have different emphases. Some convey information about the firm in the application. Documents/illustrations of the reference project, reference persons, competence and project organization for the assignment are needed. There are also requirements giving the organizer the right to disqualify firms with tax debts and weak economies. Reference projects, participants' CVs and composition of the persons in the project organization are data the selection committees weigh heavily when evaluating applications.

Two important conditions for gatekeepers in architectural competitions should be commented upon. The first is the requirement for relevant and implemented reference projects. This is a condition that limits renewal in competitions. Young architects and recently started firms cannot meet that requirement. The architectural competitions in Burlöv, Gävle and Linköping favored established firms. This is the general problem with restricted architectural competitions (Rönn, 2011). But difficulties for young architects to participate in competitions will go unnoticed as long as invitations attract a lot of applications from established and competent teams with excellent reference. The second condition is the requirement for Swedish as the language for competitions marketed in European databases. Of course, the work is much easier if everyone speaks Swedish but this condition limits applications from foreign companies. In spite of the requirement two teams competing in Linköping had Danish architect firms as partners. Foreign firms with Swedish contacts have certain possibilities for meeting the language requirement.

The “must-have” requirements for developer competitions in the municipalities of Danderyd, Nacka and Trelleborg have the same “hard” core as in architectural competitions (see table 7). The difference lies mainly in the greater variation of conditions which can be explained partly by the fact that there are no national competition rules for developer competitions. Recurring requirements are that applications contain information about the firm, reference projects, reference persons, and document competence and data about the planned project organization. The municipalities of Nacka and Trelleborg also require Swedish as the competition language, which amplifies an already weak competition for participating. Moreover, developer competitions also lack the international prestige and status of architectural competitions. Another limiting requirement for developer competitions is that the application must include a tender for the land, future rent levels and management of housing. Only a handful of large firms consider these conditions in the invitation attractive.

The relation between attracters and gatekeepers remains problematic for developer competitions. Conditions in the invitation discourage small local and regional constructors. Mainly large or national developers and real estate managers submit applications. An explanation for this weak interest must be sought outside the competition. Better knowledge of potential candidates in the building sector is needed. The case studies in Danderyd, Nacka and Trelleborg only show there is weak competition but says very little about the causes. Since the organizers do not have access to a wide choice of applicants the qualitative judgment of candidates is weak. The way in which the “must-have” requirements are formulated lead to economic aspects that become more important than the teams' competence and the architectonic quality of the reference project. The competition in Danderyd is an example for this displacement of interest. One of the invited companies in this case is Strabag projektutveckling. The developer is part of an international construction company active in Europe. The goal for Strabag projektutveckling is to *“increase turnover from 2 billion to 6 billion (SEK) in Scandinavia”* (Application 2011-05-13). A determining factor in this case is that the company offered a price for the purchase of land that was much higher than the competitors'. This developer competition turned out to be more of a price competition.

Evaluation criteria in invitations

The same type of criteria is used for evaluating candidates for architectural competitions and developer competitions. The criteria reflect praxis based on experience from competitions (see table 4 and table 8). This conclusion is true for both competition forms. The intention is to identify good qualities, rank applications and point out suitable teams for the competition assignment. Since the criteria are formulated ahead of time they have an open character which gives the selection committee a great deal of leeway. The criteria are used in the final selection of candidates for participating in the competition.

The criteria in the invitation for applications in the Burlöv, Gävle and Linköping competitions are expressed in a very general way (see table 4). The invitation from Linköpings municipality has general criteria found in many restricted competitions (Rönn, 2011; Rönn 2012). The “soft” nature lies in the flexibility and direction of holistic assessments. The focus is on architectural quality, creative ability, competence and resources of the design team. Burlöv and Gävle even add knowledge of housing for the elderly. A common denominator for the architectural competitions is that the criteria are a part of the evaluative choice of candidates. Only 11 out of 120 teams could participate in the architectural competitions. The fundamental principle is comparison, evaluation and ranking of teams according to preferences, interpretation of references and searching for rational reasons that legitimize the choice.

The invitations to the developer competitions in Nacka and Trelleborg have the same type of “soft” criteria for evaluating the applications (see table 8). The choice of team is based on judging their creative abilities, references, experience and competence. In Nacka the invitation is completed with additional criteria on energy-efficient housing, long-term facility management, rent level, economic and project organization. Trelleborg requires additional criteria such as economic and organizational capacity and developer stability. The competition in Danderyd differs by using numerical values. Selection committees seek measurable grounds for the subjective choice of teams. That is a normal reaction when negotiating goods and services. The difference with architectural competitions doesn’t lie with the criteria but rather with the competition task. That is why criteria in the developer competitions refer to design, construction and management. But since the competitions attract so few applicants the selection committees didn’t need to develop assessment strategies to evaluate teams using the criteria.

In summary, the client regime theory is usable for architectural competitions and contributes to the explanation of how public organizers appoint design teams. Since these competitions have regulations and follow established praxis it is possible to steer the competition through invitation. This seems to be a necessary context for the client regime theory. I have not been able to demonstrate the theory in developer competitions. The empirical data in the case studies cannot explain the limited number of applications. Knowledge must be sought beyond the organizers. Continued research is needed to develop and apply the client regime theory to this form of competition.

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Winning design in competition at Burlöv. Winner: Johan Celsing Arkitektkontor.



Winning design in competition at Gävle. Winner: Nyrén Arkitektkontor.



Winning design in competition at Linköping. Winner: Marge Arkitekter + Land Arkitektur.



Winning design in competition at Nacka. Winner: Wallenstam + Semrén & Månsson



Winning design in the competition at Trelleborg. Winner: Riksbyggen + Arkitektlaget Skåne.



Winning design in competition at Daneryd. Winner: Strabag projektutveckling + Turako Fastighetsutveckling + Conara. Illustrations: Total Arkitektur och Urbanism.

Appendix: Tables

Table 1: Applicants, participants and winners in the architectural competitions

Restricted architectural competition	Number of applicants	Invited Candidates	Winning teams
<i>2011, Competition in Gävle</i>	36	4 (11%)	Nyrén Arkitektkontor
<i>2011, Competition in Linköping</i>	33	4 (12%)	Marge Arkitekter & Land Arkitektur
<i>2011, Competition Burlöv</i>	51	3 (6%)	Johan Celsing Arkitektkontor
Total:	120	11 (9%)	

Table 2: General information in invitations to architectural competitions

Aspects	Gävle	Linköping	Burlöv
<i>Competitions form</i>	Restricted project competition	Restricted project competition	Restricted project competition
<i>Number invited teams</i>	4 architect offices/ design teams	4 architect offices/ design teams	3 architect offices/ design teams
<i>Compensation</i>	150 000 SEK per applicant + 50 000 SEK to winner. In total 650 000 SEK.	200 000 SEK per applicant. In total 800 000 SEK.	300 000 SEK per applicant. In total 900 000 SEK.

Table 3: Must-haves in invitations to architectural competitions

Specific demands	Gävle	Linköping	Burlöv
<i>List of enclosed material</i>	A list of submitted material	A list of submitted material	A list of submitted material
<i>Company Information</i>	Name, organization no, phone no, addresses (postal, e-mail, web site)	Name, organization no, phone no, addresses (postal, e-mail, web site)	Name, organization no, phone no, addresses (postal, e-mail, web site)
<i>Company structure</i>	No specific demand	Affidavit stating company form	Affidavit stating the firms' structure
<i>Taxes</i>	Affidavit stating that all taxes and fees are paid	No specific demand (control by the organizer)	No specific demand (control by the organizer)
<i>Financial status and economic issues</i>	Affidavit reports on economics and risks. Not older than 3 month	Affidavit reports on economics and risks. Not older than 3 month	No specific demand (control by the organiser)
<i>Reference project</i>	3 relevant reference projects, at least one has to be completed	4 reference projects, relevant to the goal of the competition	5 relevant reference projects, at least two have to be completed
<i>Reference person</i>	Contact information; name, phone, addresses to each reference	Contact information; name, phone, addresses to each reference	Contact information; name, phone, addresses to each reference
<i>Curriculum vita</i>	CV for key persons in the team and their role in reference projects	CV for key persons in the team, their role in reference projects and eventual assignment	CV for key persons in the competition project

<i>Project organization</i>	Presentation of the team for eventual assignment and their about Swedish norms/demands	Presentation of the team for eventual assignment and their about Swedish norms/demands + availability in place	Presentation of the team at present, for eventual assignment and their about Swedish norms/demands
<i>Quality and environment</i>	No specific demand	Assurance system for quality and environment	No specific demands
<i>Language</i>	Swedish as application and competition language	Swedish as application and competition language	Swedish as application and competition language

Table 4: Evaluation criteria in invitations the architectural competitions

Criteria	Gävle	Linköping	Burlöv
<i>Architectural quality and design capacity</i>	Architectonic design capacity with regard to the existing environment, adaptation of green areas, rebuilding, new building and accessibility	Relevant competence in design and functionality	Architectonic ability Capacity for innovative thinking
<i>Housing design</i>	Housing for senior citizen and their needs	No specific criteria	Competence in needs of elderly
<i>Competence, experience and resources</i>	Competence in the design team, experience of planning and projecting	Competence from other related assignments	Experience and resources
<i>Other criteria</i>	No specific criteria	Capable teams in relation to the competition goal	High level of competence in environmental design

Table 5: Applicants, participants and winners in the developer competitions

Restricted developer competition	Number of applicants	Invited Candidates	Winning teams
<i>2011, Competition in Danderyd</i>	6	6 (100%)	Strabag Projektutveckling
<i>2012, Competition in Nacka</i>	7	5 (71%)	Wallenstam + Semrén & Månsson
<i>2012, Competition in Trelleborg</i>	8	5 (63%)	Riksbyggen & Arkitektlaget Skåne
Total:	21	16 (76%)	

Table 6: General information in invitations to developer competitions

Aspects	Danderyd	Nacka	Trelleborg
<i>Competitions form</i>	Restricted developer competition + land allocation agreement.	Restricted developer competition + land allocation agreement.	Restricted developer competition + land allocation agreement.
<i>Number invited teams</i>	3-6 building constructors. (No architects firms)	3-5 design teams. (constructors + architects firms)	3-5 design teams. (constructors + architects firms)

<i>Compensation</i>	No compensation for the design proposals. The winner is offered to buy the site.	No compensation for the design proposals. The winner is offered to leasehold the site.	50 000 SEK per invited team. The winner is offered the property at a fixed price.
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Table 7: Must-haves in invitations to developer competitions

Specific demands	Danderyd	Nacka	Trelleborg
<i>List of enclosed material</i>	No demand.	A list of documents in the application.	A list of documents in the application.
<i>Company presentation/ Information</i>	Presentation of the company (applicant) and its experience.	Presentation of companies in the design team.	Presentation of constructor including contact information.
<i>Design ideas and building program</i>	Design ideas, general program for housing, principal standard solution and equipment for elderly.	No demand in the invitation.	No demand in the invitation.
<i>Quality of life</i>	General program for activities/social life.	No demand.	No demand.
<i>Company strategy and Collaboration</i>	No demand.	Presentation of property management + references	Presentation of collaborating companies + responsible architects.
<i>Reference project</i>	Similar implemented projects by the design team (housing for senior citizens)	3-5 implemented projects demonstration the applicant's ability	2 similar implemented projects by the applicant + the role of the design team in these.
<i>Project organization</i>	No demand in the invitation	Organization for the design team + CV for key persons and role.	Professional merits for members of the design teams.
<i>Financial status and economic issues</i>	An indication of the value of site and its building permits from the constructors.	Ambitions for rental. Document showing the financial status. Minimum rating 3 at the credit scale.	Document showing credit rating for invited form credit authority.
<i>Taxes</i>	No demand. (The organizer conduct tax control)	Show paid taxes by document from Tax authority.	Show paid taxes by document from Tax authority.
<i>Language</i>	No specification.	Swedish as application and competition language.	Swedish as application and competition language.

Table 8: Evaluation criteria in invitations in the developer competitions

Criteria	Danderyd	Nacka	Trelleborg
<i>Design</i>	Interior design and architectural design may bring 10% + 10% added value.	Design references (preferably rental houses at complicated sites)	Ability to solve assignment and find creative solutions in all phases from design to implementation.

<i>Professional merits</i>	No specific evaluation criterion.	No specific evaluation criterion.	1) Competence, 2) Experience, 3) References
<i>Environmental goals</i>	Environmental design and construction + program for heating can bring 15% added value.	Energy-efficient housing.	No specific evaluation criterion.
<i>Housing management and economic standpoint</i>	No specific evaluation criterion.	Long-term facility management, rental level, economic and project organization.	Economic and organizational capacity + the developers stability.

The Building Process as a Chain of Displacements

*Following a Construction Project from Strategic
Planning Through an Architectural Competition to
the Building Permit*

Jan Silberberger, Ignaz Strebel and Peter Tränkle

The building process as a chain of displacements

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Following a construction project from strategic planning through an architectural competition to the building permit

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Abstract: While research on architectural competitions can be considered a well-established field nowadays, research on the transition between the competition procedure and the subsequent project phase remains fragmentary. The paper at hand aims at addressing this gap. Standing in the tradition of actor-network theory (Callon 1986; Law and John 2004; Latour 2005) the paper is attentive to the various displacements that shape a construction project from strategic planning and preliminary studies to the end of the competition procedure and then through the subsequent project phase. In this way, the paper embeds the architectural competition into the building process and elaborates a perspective on the latter as a set of intertwining procedures that constantly assess and re-define the construction project.

Keywords: architectural competition; project phase; planning process; building process; actor-network theory

Introduction

In his book “Starting From Zero: Reconstructing Downtown New York”, Michael Sorkin (2003) provides a comprehensive account of the planning incidents preceding the “Post World Trade Center Design Competition”. For instance, Sorkin points to the fact that between March and May 2002 no less than 230 public workshops had been carried out, all dealing with the question what to do with Ground Zero. These workshops, which had been organized by various non-profit making organizations attracted broad levels of the population and produced more than 18000 ideas for Ground Zero. Between July and October 2002, a representative cross section of these 18000 ideas has been presented in an exhibition at the Municipal Art Society of New York. At the same time, rather untouched by the ideas

produced in the workshops, developers Silverstein and Brookfield as well as the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation (LMDC) commissioned four architecture firms to develop schemes for Ground Zero. Six of these schemes were presented to the public in the so-called “Listening to the City” meeting on July 20, 2002 with the result that the 4500 people attending refused enthusiasm for any of the plans. Stung by this attack on its schemes the LMDC decided to organize an international architectural competition for Ground Zero: 400 architecture firms applied, seven teams were selected to develop schemes. While an architectural competition in the view of a superficial beholder as a matter of principle stands for the production of a large variety of solutions, Sorkin (2003; 2005) argues, that the World Trade Center Design Competition achieved the opposite. As Sorkin (2005: 112) states: “Although the seven [competition entries] offered some dramatic form-making” and although several of them “include interesting ideas for the memorial”, “they are predominantly strategies for locating vast amounts of office space on [...] the site. (...) Virtually every [competition entry] served to legitimate a primary lack of choice: that of the [competition] program for the site.”

Leaving Sorkin’s full analysis on the World Trade Center Design Competition as a Trojan horse aside we will pick out one of its central aspects – the lack of an adequate competition programme – in order to introduce our line of thought. Following Sorkin’s account we observe that all the various ideas and concepts produced within the vast amount of public workshops have not been adequately incorporated into the competition programme – one might argue that these ideas and perspectives have found their way into an exhibition, however not into the architectural competition and the schemes it produced.

At this point we would like to refer to Menz (2009), who divides the building process into six phases: Strategic Planning, Preliminary Studies, Project, Invitation to Tender, Implementation, and Management (see Figure 1). In his definition, Menz (2009: 207 and 211) in turn refers to the “Service Model” as provided by the Swiss Society of Engineers and Architects (SIA), “Regulation SIA 112” (2001). This regulation coordinates the client’s responsibilities and the tasks of the various planners involved during the building process by defining subphases and goals of subphases and in this way provides a useful illustration of the building process as a whole. Using the terminology proposed in Figure 1, we can note that in the World Trade Center Design Competition case the enormous and various efforts that had been undertaken during the strategic planning phase succeeded in formulating a variety of needs and solution strategies as well as definitions of the project (first part of preliminary studies phase), but did not succeed in significantly influencing the competition programme and therefore the outcome of the competition, that is, the selection procedure and the project selected.

The story told sheds a light on (problematic) displacements during the preparation of an

architectural competition. Building on this introduction, the plan for the paper at hand is to describe the chain of displacements shaping a construction project from strategic planning to the permit-obtaining procedure. After providing a brief explanation of the methodology applied and an overview of the cases studied, the paper will address displacements occurring during the preparation and the execution of an architectural competition. This will be done largely by means of literature review. In its second part, the paper will be attentive to the displacements that unfold during the project phase.

Phases	Subphases	Goals
Strategic Planning	Formulation of needs, solution strategies	Needs, goals and general conditions defined, strategy for solution determined
Preliminary studies	Definition of the project, feasibility study	Procedure and organization defined, project basis defined, feasibility demonstrated
	Selection procedure	Project selected which will best meet the requirements
Project	Preliminary project	Concept and profitability optimized
	Construction project	Project and cost optimized, schedule defined
	Permit-obtaining procedure	Project approved, cost and schedule verified, construction credit granted
Invitation to tender	Invitation to tender, comparison of quotations, application for contract to be awarded	Contract ready for awarding
Implementation	Construction planning	Project ready for implementation
	Implementation	Building structure constructed according to specifications and contract
	Commissioning, completion	Building structure accepted and commissioned, final cost settlement accepted, defects corrected
Management	Operation	Operation ensured and optimized
	Maintenance	Fitness for use and value of the building structure maintained for defined period of time

Fig. 1: Phases, subphases and goals of subphases of the building process.

Methodology

The findings presented in this paper base on three different research approaches. Firstly, we conducted an ethnographic study on the work of the jury boards of four architectural competitions in Switzerland. In addition to the jury assessment session we also observed meetings during the set-up of the competition brief (see e.g. Silberberger 2011; 2012). Secondly, we conducted a series of eight focus group workshops with competition organizers, competition jurors, competition participants, architecture journalists, and experts

regarding building law (see e.g. Strebel et al. 2012). Thirdly, we did a series of expert interviews with ten competition organizers and visited them at their workplaces (Silberberger and Strebel 2011; Strebel et al. 2012). For this year (that is, between August and December 2013) we arranged for revisiting seven of these ten competition organizers as well as the respective clients in order to supplement the body of data on the preparation and execution of architectural competitions by adding data with regard to the subsequent project phase. In this latter endeavour we limited ourselves to construction projects that mainly concern apartment complexes. As Figure 2 shows, we tried to cover a certain range with regard to the type of client, the “scale” of the task, the location of the construction project as well as the size and standing of the winning architecture office. Yet, we are far from claiming that our data sample is representative. Rather, we would like to highlight the explorative character of our study, therefore working with an expressive sample.

Title of project	Task posed	Client	Type of client	Organizer	Location	Form of procurement	Type of procedure	Winner	Date of jury decision
Neubau Wohn- und Gewerbesiedlung Kalkbreite	New construction of a housing and trade estate (90 flats + office and trade space)	Baugenossenschaft Kalkbreite	Public	Amt für Hochbauten Zürich	Zurich	Project competition	Open	Müller Sigrist Architekten AG, Zurich	01.04.09
Rosengartenhof Küssnacht	New construction of 12 apartments in combination with commercial space (ground floor)		Private		Sursee	Study commission	Invitation	Roman Hutter Architektur GmbH, Lucerne	
Mehrgenerationenhaus Winterthur	New construction of an apartment complex (150 flats)	Genossenschaft für selbstverwaltetes Wohnen (GESEWO)	Public	Keller Partner Bauberatung AG	Winterthur	Project competition	Restricted	Dachtler Partner AG, Zurich	03.04.09
Zürich-Enge. Wohnüberbauung Landolt-Areal	New construction of an apartment complex (52 luxury flats)	Agruna AG	Private	Planpartner AG	Zurich	Study commission	Invitation	Bünzli & Courvoisier Architekten AG, Zurich	31.10.11
Ein Haus für junge Menschen	New construction of a house for apprentices (12 rooms and a restaurant)	City of Zug	Public	City of Zug	Zug	Project competition	Open	von Ballmoos Krucker Architekten AG, Zurich	22.09.11
Wohnüberbauung Gries	New construction of a housing (30000 sqm) and trade (6000 sqm) estate	Allreal Generalunternehmung AG	Private	Allreal Generalunternehmung AG	Volketswil	Study commission	Invitation	huggenbergefries Architekten, Zurich	21.06.07
Projekt 1 der Baugenossenschaft “mehr als wohnen”, Hunziker-Areal	New construction of a housing complex (300 flats + commercial space on the ground floor)	baugenossenschaft mehr als wohnen	Private/Public	Amt für Hochbauten Zürich	Zurich	Project competition	Restricted	ARGE futarafrosch + DUPLEX Architekten, Zurich	March 2009
Quartier Feldbreite, Baufeld C1	New construction of a housing complex (150 flats + commercial space on the ground floor)	Alfred Schindler-Fond	Private	Alfred Schindler-Fond	Emmen	Investor-/architectural competition	Invitation	Senn + MVRDV, Rotterdam	13.08.13
Umbau der ehemaligen Papiermühle	Reorganization / conversion of a former mill into a residential building and office space	City of St.Gallen	Public	Hochbauamt St.Gallen	St.Gallen	Study commission	Restricted	Bischof Gruber Architekten, Zurich	16.11.09

Fig. 2: Basic facts of the construction projects observed.

In the course of the interviews we provided the interviewees with a “project diagram” (see Figure 3), which we invented on the basis of visualizations of procedural aspects of architectural projects as have been introduced, e.g. by Rem Koolhaas and Bruce Mau in “S, M, L, XL” (1995) or Clare Melhuish in “Luis Vidal + Architects – From process to results” (2013). The chart shows a vertical division into two main phases (preliminary studies, project) and a horizontal division into “actors”: human participants and non-human participants that

are themselves divided in first and second level material. First level material comprises physical conditions (such as for instance the geology of building site, the existing infrastructure or the existing building in case of an extension). Second level material consists of all documents (plans, schemes, concepts, expertises, reports) and models produced during both depicted phases. The basic project stages (feasibility study, competition programme, preliminary evaluation, Q&A, jury assessment sessions, jury report, winning project and approved project) are already entered and obligatory passage points (Callon 1986; Scheffer 2008) – public notice, project selected, public approved – are highlighted with red dots. The representation of second level material within the project phase is an empty funnel, which linearly extrapolates the various design aspects of the winning competition entry (architecture, urban planning, structural planning, energy efficiency, cost planning, heating/ventilation/sanitation/electrical installations) in the same way as Melhuish (2013) suggests.

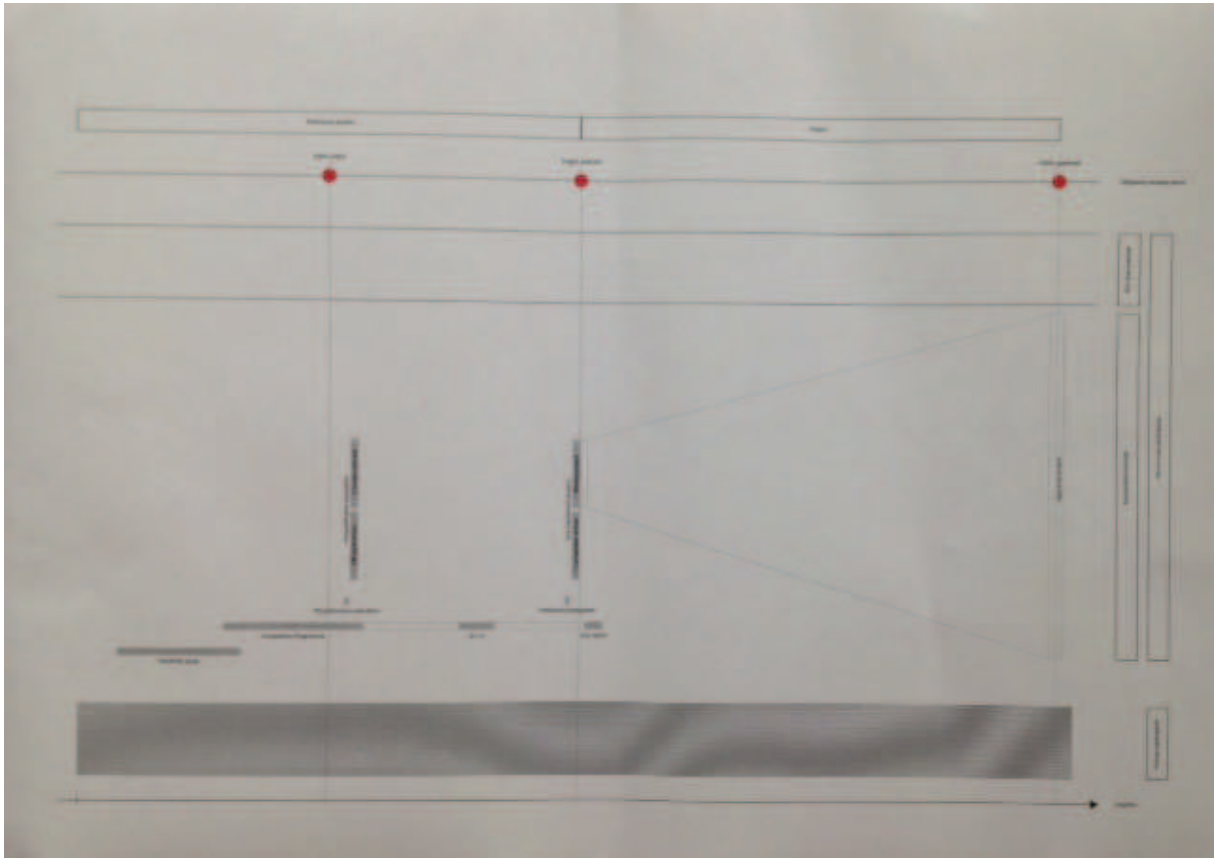


Fig. 3: Project diagram used in interviews.

The idea behind this chart is to illustrate and trace the connections, associations and relations between the different project stages and actors. In addition to the project diagram we furnished our interview partners with the competition project as represented in the jury's final report. We actively encouraged our interview partners to edit the project diagram and to draw into the plans representing their competition entry in order to illustrate and support their statements (Figures 4 and 5 provide an example of this conduct).

Displacements during the set-up of the competition brief

Silberberger (2011) has shown that the authors of a competition programme – by trying to describe the (design) problem or (building) task respectively and not its solution – aim at providing a certain scope for the competing architecture offices and at the same time at making them fulfil certain specifications. In particular, Silberberger (2011) has elaborated that writing a competition brief is not about compiling a list of specifications to be worked off by the competing architecture offices but about setting up a stage that facilitates (further) growth of insight into the (design) problem at hand. In his paper Silberberger (2011) discusses how those who write the competition brief translate the contents of feasibility studies (e.g. detailed figures regarding interior spaces) into a competition brief.

Tying in with this research, the series of interviews that we conducted quarried three major challenges competition organizers are faced with when translating the results of strategic planning into a competition brief. One interviewee mentioned that for instance the considerations regarding fire safety oftentimes reach a level of detail during the strategic planning phase (and within feasibility studies) that is not adequate for an architectural competition. If one incorporates these highly detailed considerations one-to-one as requirements into the competition brief, “architectural questions would be eclipsed by mere sub-disciplines,” as the interviewee put it. All interviewees in unison argued that the information gathered during strategic planning has to be organized into a hierarchy so that at least some of it can be put aside in order to not supercharge the brief with specifications regarding sub-disciplines. Yet, translating feasibility studies into a competition programme does not just mean reducing information. But, as another interviewee stated: “In a competition programme you have to define scope for the competing architecture offices. And you must advise them of that scope.” That is, the information gathered during strategic planning also has to be assessed in the sense that the authors of the brief have to decide which information enters the brief in the form of binding instructions and which of the parameters defined by means of feasibility studies should be loosened (again). Hence, the translation of the results of strategic planning into a competition brief does not just imply getting rid of parts of the vast amount of information gathered by means of feasibility studies, but primarily to translate the perspective on the (design) problem itself, that is, to develop a more adequate, more precise idea of the (design) problem at hand.

Displacements during the creation of competition entries

In the preceding section we have seen that the set-up of a competition brief can be considered a full-blown design process (although it is usually not referred to as one) defining the competition’s space of possibilities. In this section we will be attentive to a rather obvious design process: the translation of the competition programme into various competition

entries. Various scholars have researched how architects proceed when designing a building. The literature ranges for instance from Schön's classic "The reflective practitioner" (1983) to recent research from Yaneva (2009).

Out of this vast body of literature we would like to pick the work of two scholars, Darke (1979) and Kreiner (2010), to make our point. Following Darke (1979), architects do not start from the constraints and do not react to the entirety of constraints when designing. Rather, they develop an essential position, an approach towards the (design) problem. Subsequently they test this essential position or approach – the "primary generator" (Darke, 1979) – in an iterative process against the various constraints. Kreiner (2010) investigated how architects deal with competition briefs. He observed that competition participants time and time again ask themselves whether they understand or interpret a certain specification as a binding "instruction", as an "indication", which should be implied into the design, or as an "inspiration", that is, as a reference value, which can be drastically reinterpreted if necessary. Combining Darke's and Kreiner's analysis, it can be stated that architects that participate in a competition do not treat all specifications equally, but in the same spirit as the authors of the brief organize them into a hierarchy: Within an iterative testing procedure they modify their essential approach according to certain specifications but also translate the specifications given in the brief, say into an indication or inspiration, if necessary.

Displacements during jury assessment sessions

After having briefly described how architects translate the specifications given in the brief into competition entries, this section will deal with the question how juries in architectural competitions "translate" the parliament of competition entries into a winning project. As in the case of architecture practice, jury practice in architectural competitions can be considered a field well researched. Chupin (2010; 2011) mostly referring to the field of design methodology (and to scholars as for instance Simon, 1969; Schön, 1983; 1984; Rittel and Webber, 1973; 1984) compares the jury board's assessment of the competition entries to the practice of an architect designing a project. In describing the jury's evaluation as a reflective practice he highlights the jury's active role in shaping the winning project as well as the interrelation between the board of jurors and the submitted architectural projects. Kreiner (2006) and Kreiner et al. (2011) also address the interrelation between competition entries and the board of jurors. Mostly referring to the field of organisational studies and decision-making theory (and to scholars as for instance Lave and Wenger, 1991; Weick, 1995; March, 1999) they point out the inconsistency of the jury board's perception with regard to the optimal solution for the problem at hand. In their accounts Kreiner (2006) and Kreiner et al. (2011) show how the interplay between certain competition entries and the board of jurors results in major changes regarding the perception of the ideal solution throughout a sequence of jury

sessions. Tying in with this research, Van Wezemaal et al. (2011) provide an account of how a specific feature of one competition entry provokes a jury board to rethink its preconceptions with regard to the task posed.

Against this background, it can be argued that the competition programme does not necessarily constitute a stable, robust definition of the competition's solution space. Rather, it has to be considered an intermediary fixation, which can be translated into a new space of possibilities during the jury assessment sessions. Taking up this point, Silberberger (2012) introduces the concept of non-trivial machines as proposed by von Foerster (1984) in order to address the aspect of uncertainty within jury deliberations while at the same time elaborating that the jury board does not proceed arbitrary but in a procedurally sound way. In particular Silberberger (2012) focuses on the instrument of the so-called "honourable mention", which Regulation SIA 142 (2009) defines as follows: "In planning and design and build competitions, outstanding entries, that were initially excluded from the awarding of prizes because of critical violations of terms specified in the competition brief, can be awarded an honourable mention" (art. 22 sec. 2). In addition "(c)ompetition entries that are awarded an honourable mention can be ranked by the jury on the first place and can be recommended for further development and completion" (art. 22 sec. 3). That is, while EU law requirements – transparency, non-discrimination and equal information – demand a "once and for all" valid brief (Volker, 2010), the juries in Swiss architectural competitions are allowed to "rework", "redesign" or translate specifications given in the brief while judging the submitted architectural projects.

Displacement during the project phase

In this section we will put forward a central hypothesis concerning the translation of the winning project of an architectural competition into a project that obtained the construction permit. As Figure 1 shows, during the project phase the client and the executing architecture office primarily deal with economic aspects ("concept and profitability optimized", "project and cost optimized"). Our hypothesis concerns this shift from general (architectural) questions, which predominate the strategic planning as well as the preliminary studies phase to economic issues. One would assume that the project, which is determined to best meet the requirements in an architectural competition may cause serious problems when having to be cost optimized. This is simply due to the fact that economic aspects cannot be considered decisive selection criteria in jury deliberations. Therefore, the question is how the client and the executing architecture office incorporate the jury board's recommendations with regard to optimizing the winning project (as stated in the jury's final report) into the construction project. This question is particularly interesting due to two reasons. Firstly, as we have shown in the preceding section, the decisions made during jury assessment sessions are the

outcome of a potentially controversial discussion and therefore the achievement of a collective. Yet, this collective (except for maybe two of its members) dissolves as soon as it produced its decision. In this way, the transition between preliminary studies and project phase constitutes a disruption, which can be compared to the disruption between strategic planning and the set-up of a competition brief as described by Sorkin (2005), where most of the 18000 ideas produced in the public workshops leave the process. Secondly, according to Gilbert and Jormakka (2005: 76), “the contestants and the jury operate with cultural capital which, for the client, means little and whose laws invert the logic of the economic world”. Hence, the future business partners – above all, the client in an architectural competition does not know with whom he will be working in the successive building process (since the competing architecture offices remain anonymous during the competition) – may extremely differ about how to optimize the project and its cost. On this basis it becomes understandable why many architects regard the project phase as almost something like a “restart”, that is, as a phase within which ideas, but also persons involved are swapped and replaced.

A further complicating matter regards unexpected incidents that can occur once the project phase is in progress. During our interviews several such unexpected incidents – ranging from unexpected modifications of zoning plans to the discovery of listed walls dating back to the beginning of the 17th century, from the “appearance” of geological problems to emerging difficulties in structural planning – have been mentioned. In the following, we will focus on one specific unexpected incident in order to illustrate our case.

The “Kalkbreite” case

The example discussed stems from the “Neubau Wohn- und Gewerbesiedlung Kalkbreite” (see first entry in Figure 2). As Figure 2 shows, this construction project comprises, besides affordable housing, office and trade space, which is planned to be located on the ground as well as on the first floor. Only shortly after the architectural competition had been finished, that is, right at the beginning of the project phase, the client (Baugenossenschaft Kalkbreite) started to promote its trade and office space to potential future tenants. Among others, a cinema exhibitor showed interest and soon agreed to rent spaces for 25 years guaranteed, which obviously means economic security and moreover is considered to entail further tenants (as for instance a café, a restaurant or bar). Eventually, negotiations between representatives of the Baugenossenschaft and the cinema exhibitor led to planning a cinema with five halls. This meant that the winning competition entry not only had to be modified regarding structural planning and noise prevention, but also that the project perimeter originally defined had to be reworked. The latter therefore posed a two-fold problem concerning design aspects as well as administrative issues regarding urban planning laws. Design-wise, integrating a five-hall cinema resulted in an additional “oriel” (see red mark in

bookshop, restaurant, bar, café and other loosely defined “small” enterprises a cinema with 5 halls enters the arena).

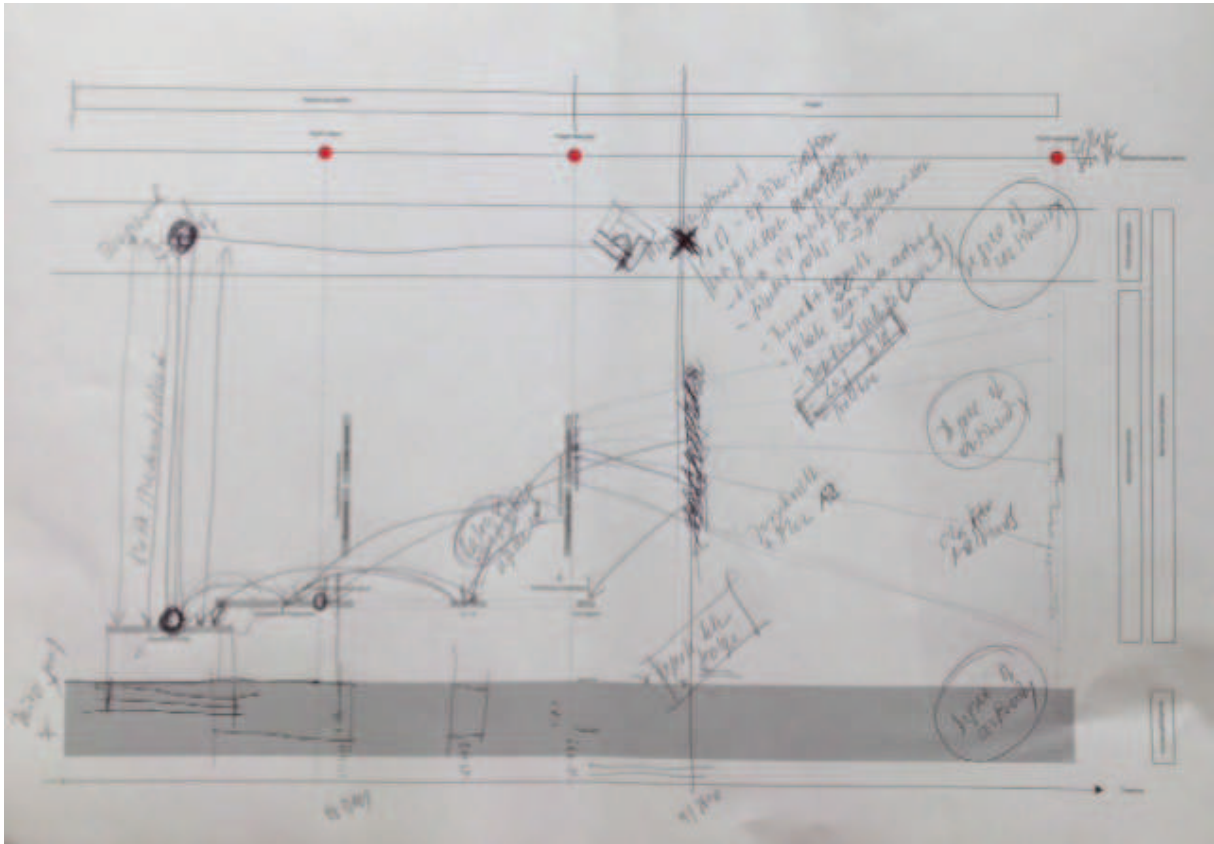


Fig. 5: Edited project diagram (interview Baugenossenschaft Kalkbreite).

Within the interview it became apparent, that for instance the jury’s final report is taken into account even months after the jury’s final decision (in case problems or interruptions occur) as a model supporting the necessary decision-making. Hence, in our case, Latour’s concept of “distributed agency” (1987) does not only apply to a material level – the various scattered material, which is mobilized by local actors – but also exhibits a temporal dimension in the sense that former decisions fixed in earlier documents are folded into current problem solving events. Across our set of interviews, we argue that especially in the case of disruptions within the project phase, mobilizing or falling back on documents produced in earlier phases plays a crucial role in re-constructing continuity. At this point we can refer to Latour’s concept of “circulating reference” (1999), which he elaborated in order to describe the efforts necessary for making the research process reversible, that is, for allowing to trace back from “abstract” representations in a scientific paper to the “original” material and in this way for enabling the re-enactment of the research process. A simple linear development of a construction project can easily be traced back. Yet, as soon as problems or interruptions occur, the complexity of the planning process rises, which entails a growing uncertainty regarding reversibility. This calls for a detailed and precise documentation of every decision-making process as most of the responsible human actors are just temporarily involved and oftentimes only oversee a specific subphase of the building process.

Conclusion

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Intending the Faculty and its Relation with the City

Herman Vande Putte

Intending the faculty and its relation with the city

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Summary

This paper presents an analysis of the preparation of the idea competition 'Building for *Bouwkunde*' that was held in 2008. The competition intended entrants to design a replacement building for the lost building of the Faculty of Architecture of the Delft University of Technology, based on the reflection on two themes: '*new concepts*' and '*dynamics of city and campus*'. The first theme intended innovation of the faculty's architecture education and research; the second a reflection on its future social and physical position in society.

The conflict between the pragmatic and utopian discourses during the preparation and editing of the brief is reconstructed through an analysis of the parameters and values that have been used by the different debaters in the months after the fire. The debate started with a bold position of the dean a few days after the fire when he announced that a new and sustainable icon was going to be built on the same location. The sense of liberation after the fire, and the fact that for a faculty of architecture its building is at the essence of its mission, triggered a grand discourse on the subject. One group considered the fire a unique opportunity to rethink and rebuild the faculty. They asked for a time-out to study the vital matter. Pragmatic forces were supported by the rush preparation of a temporary accommodation for the faculty in an old building on the campus, where debate was utilitarian only, but delivered.

From this view the brief of the idea competition reads as an indecisive attempt to regain control on the pragmatic and utopian discourses of the preceding months. It is stated here that this attitude is in conflict with the basic concept of an idea competition where pronounced positions initiate focused debate. The briefs' hesitation may be due to the lack of time for its preparation, the very different positions within the faculty on the first theme, as became clear during the launch of the competition on the Venice Biennale September 2008, and the lack of knowledge on the operationalization of the intended link of the faculty with the city, which was the second theme of the competition.

Introduction

The Faculty of Architecture of the Delft University of Technology, generally known as *Bouwkunde*¹, is the major architecture education institution in The Netherlands and the largest faculty of the Delft University. It was created in 1905 (Macel, 2008). In 2008, at the moment of the fire, staff was up to 600 headcount and student population was close to 3500. The Faculty has a reputation on the field of education and research and collaborates worldwide with the major institutions on architecture. The dean of the Faculty at the moment of the fire, Wytze Patijn, was *Rijksbouwmeester* of The Netherlands between 1995 and 2000.

The lost faculty building, situated at the Berlageweg, was designed by the former professors Van den Broek and Bakema. It was a functionalist thirteen storey concrete building with a major plinth, designed in the late 1950's and built in the late 1960's. The campus along the Mekelweg, on which the faculty building is situated at the far end, was created in the early 1950's at the outskirts of the city of Delft, to deal with the growing space need of the university and the need for specialist labs of a large scale.

Many architecture students, alumni and staff members saw the faculty building at the Berlageweg as a second home and a source of inspiration due to its consistent detailing and family atmosphere (Maandag, 2008). In both a material and an emotional sense, the destruction of the building by the fire was a major loss for the architectural community of the Netherlands and beyond (Volker, 2010, p. 198).

The first days after the fire

The day of the fire, the 13th of May 2008 already, as soon as it became clear the building was lost, the dean of the Faculty, Wytze Patijn, and the president of the board of directors of the University, Dirk-Jan van den Berg, started organising provisional accommodation for students and staff (Interview with W. Patijn, 2013). A tent village to accommodate the studios was created from the next day on the football courts adjacent to the Faculty building. Staff was invited by other faculties on the campus to accommodate with them. The dean and his staff moved to an empty floor at the Faculty of Natural Sciences.

Within a week the university agreed with the insurance company upon the strategy for the longer term accommodation. Temporary accommodation was going to be provided for five years first, and during that period a new building was going to be designed and constructed. Two projects were launched immediately: the search for a five year accommodation that would be ready before winter, and the search for a concept and designer for the new building.

The days after the fire there was a sense of liberation, with staff and students and with the wider architecture community (Interview with O. Bouman, 2013). The fire created a positive chaos in which everything seemed possible (Volker, 2010, p. 199). The dean was seen as the '*libertador*' of the architectural community, as he was able to see the fire as an opportunity, and refused to think in terms of a disaster. His approach liberated *Bouwkunde* from its preconceptions and stimulated to rethink the faculty. The atmosphere was fantastic, and everybody admired him for being so strong (Interview with O. Bouman, 2013).

¹ "In Dutch, *bouw* can refer to both the activity of building and the physically constructed object. *Kunde* refers to craft, but also has connections with knowledge and art. *Bouwkunde*, in other words, describes a creative process, the balancing of workmanship and art, construction and appearance" (Idea competition brief, p.1).

Many felt the responsibility to help the faculty. Institutions and universities offered workplaces for staff and students and gave free access to their libraries to continue ongoing research. The director of NAI saw an opportunity to reflect fundamentally on the future of architecture education and offered the faculty a podium. The idea emerged to make the reflection on the program for the new building part of the Dutch contribution for the 2008 biennale in Venice 'Architecture beyond Building', for which NAI just started the preparation.

The dean, with his experience of *Rijksbouwmeester*, understood the need for a public tendering and proposed to organise an architecture competition. Because of the scale of the financial and intellectual loss, Minister Ronald Plasterk of Education, Culture and Science decided to allocate an additional € 25 million to create not just an ordinary new faculty building but an 'icon'. Within two weeks after the fire the outlines for the new building were set: an iconic sustainable building at the location of the Berlageweg that should make a statement in architecture education.

From then, many insisted to stretch the decision agenda, tabled a wider range of alternatives or strived after a broader set of decision criteria. The following description of the discourse reconstructs these attempts from May 2008 till the eve of the launch of the idea competition at middle September 2008.

Variable	Values
Location	[Berlageweg]
Architectural expression	[icon]
Sustainability	n/s ²

Figure 1: The position of the dean concerning the new accommodation

The temporary five year accommodation

The days after the fire proposals were received spontaneously for the temporarily five year accommodation of the faculty. These proposals ranged from buildings that had previously contained academic functions, several off-campus buildings in and outside the city of Delft, and a proposal of erecting a new campus village on the sports fields (den Heijer, 2008, p. 20; 2009, p. 20). Not all buildings were large enough to accommodate all staff and students or were situated at easily accessible locations.

The dean, the president of the university board and the team members involved with the selection implicitly applied two main criteria for the selection of the temporary accommodation: to keep all students and staff together, and to locate close to the Mekelweg campus. Other criteria were the premises' fitness for use, the contribution to the faculty's identity, the availability on 1 September 2008, the availability for a period of several years, the initial investment and the annual costs, the potential for growth and flexibility for change, the procedures and their risk to the project's feasibility, the accessibility by public transport and by car and availability of parking places (den Heijer, 2009, p. 22).

On 23 May 2008, ten days after the fire, the decision was taken to refit the former headquarter building on the Julianalaan, situated in the Northern part of the campus, and start immediately with

² n/s : abbreviation of 'not specified'. The dean didn't elaborate on the sort of sustainability he was aiming for with the new building, nor the level.

the necessary transformations to accommodate the new cohort of students on the first of September 2008 at this location (den Heijer, 2009, p. 21).

The main two criteria for the selection of the five year accommodation may have been inspired by the need to create stability in these turbulent days, when a lot of students and staff were almost in shock, some felt ill or in apathy. Grouping may have been considered the appropriate technique to limit the personal damage. But, the agglomeration technique that is used here, illustrates a base-line for organisation accommodation. Facilities proximity and concentration are recurrent techniques for organisation control and efficiency (Singh, 2010).

The debate

- **Questioning the location**

Soon the news about the competition spread in the faculty and the architecture community (Volker, 2010, p. 198). Project management and architect firms started contacting the university and offered their services.

Two professors of the faculty, Hans de Jonge, founder of the department of Real Estate and Housing, and Maurits de Hoog from the department of Urbanism, when hearing about the outline of the replacement project, questioned the idea to rebuild the new building at the location of the Berlageweg (Interview with H. De Jonge, 2013; Interview with M. de Hoog, 2013). They suggested the dean and the Board of Directors of the University to widen the reflection and study the relation between the campus and the city. They suggested also the entire Faculty of Architecture should participate with its knowledge in such a major decision for the university.

‘Shouldn’t we build the new faculty building at the central station of Delft?’ they asked the dean in a provocative way. With this question both professors appealed on the regrets that lived in the faculty and with older staff in particular about the fact that the faculty left the city-centre in the 1970’s when it installed on the Berlageweg in the functionalist building designed by their fellows Van den Broek and Bakema.

Their proposal also referred to the limited contribution of the Faculty of Architecture in the current design and management of the university’s accommodation. During the construction of the campus along the Mekelweg in the 1950’s, the Faculty of Architecture had an important role in the conception and the realisation of the masterplan of the campus and contributed to the design of several faculty buildings. This cooperation faded the decades thereafter. The real estate management department of the university operated almost independently from the Faculty of Architecture, excepted the few consultations in the 1990’s on the longer term strategy of the campus.

It was the masterplan that came out of this consultation in the 1990’s that was subject of another sentiment in the faculty on which Hans de Jonge and Maurits de Hoog appealed. The plan divided the campus in three zones. The university intended to concentrate its activities on the central part of the campus. The southern part was going to be transformed into an area for spin-offs and technology driven companies called Technopolis. And from the southern part it was decided to withdraw and sell the land and related buildings for redevelopment. This northern part of the campus is the oldest part, built between the 1890’s and 1920’s and is the part that is situated the closest to the city centre.

This masterplan, although created in collaboration with some faculty staff, wasn't very well received within the Faculty of Architecture. They saw the university moving further and further away from the city centre. The university, started at the Oude Delft in the centre of the city in 1842, spread to the periphery of the city in the 1890's already. And this trend was enforced in the 1950's with the construction of the new campus along the Mekelweg. At the end of the 1990's, the construction of the new library at the campus finalised this move. The university had then entirely left the centre of Delft. The small size of the city of Delft is undoubtedly debet to this early moving out, as is the semi-industrial dimension of some of the technical university's activities, but the subsequent moves out of the city centre were never supported by all staff and students.

Additionally, the decision to locate the faculty's five year accommodation in the former headquarter building on the Julianalaan, situated in the northern part of the campus, turned part of the disposal decision back. It was discovered then also that the developer of this building struggled with the redevelopment due to the low marketability of the sort of apartments he intended to realise in this huge and monumental building. This fact raised questions on the feasibility of the oncoming selling-and-redevelopment projects in this part of the campus as this area contains several similar monumental buildings.

- **Two forums reflect on two themes**

The dean and Board of Directors agreed upon the proposed widening of the debate. End of May 2008 a think tank was created along the architecture competition. Both forums were asked to reflect the same two themes. The first theme was related to the future faculty of architecture, its education and research concepts and the space to best support this. The second theme was the future position of the faculty in society. This related to its physical location and to its relation to the university campus, the city of Delft and the wider region. The theme had to reflect also on the future relation of the university campus and the city. Another aspect of the second theme was the social position of the faculty in general, the social relevance of architecture and the architecture profession.

This paper doesn't follow the debate that took place in the think tank or the conclusions that came out of this forum. These have been documented in publications of Arkesteijn..., Den Heijer..., etc. A more detailed analysis of the work of the think tank along the method of the current paper can be made part of another research project.

- **Creative Festival**

The very next morning after the fire, students called for a new beginning already (Arens, van Waart, & Willemse, 2009, p. 28). A group of students from the Faculty of Architecture and students from the Faculty of Industrial Design considered the fire as an unasked-for opportunity to investigate new ways for architecture education. "Few months ago the entire *Bouwkunde* was boiling with criticism and discussions about what was wrong. Why are we hesitating to ask these critical questions again when we finally have the chance to give answers" (Molenda, 2008, p. 10).

The student's proposal to organise a series of brainstorm sessions was welcomed by the dean and the president of the Board of Directors, and during the weekend of 7 and 8 June 2008 a 'Creative Festival' was set up in the camp tents near the burned building. 80 students and staff from different faculties worked in 12 groups. The festival intended to generate original perspectives for the new 'Building for *Bouwkunde*' and have them commented by a jury. The dean and president of the university were a.o. assisted by the director of the NAI, Ole Bouman. They prepared for a building

oriented judgement on sustainability, learning environment and architectural expression but had to change to the organisation oriented criteria interaction, atmosphere and process.

Remarkable visions were the transformation of the entire Mekelweg into the new street of *Bouwkunde*, the creation of a faculty building as a node on a green field around which students can physically build their own learning environments, the use of knowledge constellations for education instead of standardised itineraries and the promotion of entrepreneurship to merge the faculty with other disciplines (Molenda, 2008). Suggestions were made for a building that is less closed and better integrates with the landscape and Mekelpark than the former building, more possibilities for social interaction in the corridors and on the building's plaza's, and a larger flexibility of the accommodation (Vollaard, 2008a).

To Ole Bouman, president of the jury, there seemed to be something special in the air after the fire that made all groups present social participation as an important topic for the new accommodation. The winning team proposed a collaborative model for architecture education, that should emerge from collaboration with experts, academics and private and governmental parties. This team was asked to continue its reflection and participate in the preparation of the Dutch contribution to the 2008 Venice Biennale (Arens et al., 2009, p. 28).

• **Archined column and comments**

Three weeks after the fire Archined columnist Piet Vollaard captured the sentiment when he wrote that "everybody expected the new *Bouwkunde* building to be an example in all respects". To achieve this, he recommended a deliberate patience beneath decisiveness. Vollaard referred to an open letter of the faculty's education staff with two major recommendations for this stage.

First, the faculty should avoid making the programme of requirements for the new accommodation too fast. A reflection on the type of education was needed first. It was also necessary to make an inventory of the strong points of the Berlageweg building, as these were undoubtedly present but hard to name. To Vollaard, there was a risk for architects in this stage of the project to think in spatial solutions already instead of situations, circumstances and capacities. The ideal new *Bouwkunde* was perhaps not a building in the traditional way.

Some qualities of the building of Van den Broek and Bakema were mentioned in the reactions on the column. It was remembered that the building on the Berlageweg had been subject of discussion from the first day on, but one of its sustainable qualities was that it challenged the users for an infill to operate well. Similarly the new building should offer a basis with a lot of space for tailoring. Another quality of *Bouwkunde* was that it was not a building, but a city in itself, with squares, alleys, a kiosk, shops, workshops, green, high rise, underground catacombs, offices, a library, theatre, pamphlets on the walls, discussion, gossip... The future accommodation of the faculty should become like that again, and this was, indeed, not necessarily a building.

The second recommendation from the faculty's staff and copied by Vollaard was the selection of the designer and the guidance of the design and construction processes in such a way that the chances for the realisation of this excellent program of requirements were maximised. To Vollaard, the name of the designer didn't matter as there are enough good designers. Attention should be paid now to the commission in order to make this commission inspiring in itself.

In a reaction on the column it was suggested to opt for an integrally developed mini-city, where

multiple architects can participate for multiple volumes. This avoided the problem that the new *Bouwkunde* was going to be the vision of one architect and that students had no realistic chance to participate.

Another reaction suggested to move the faculty to the city of Rotterdam. This was considered beneficial for the students and for the city of Rotterdam. The relation between the city of Delft and the students of *Bouwkunde* had never been very warm. When studying means enlarging your horizon, Delft was considered just too limited. Rotterdam is a real city, that inspires and offers students the space, both physically and mentally, with better accessibility. Being located physically on the campus is, anno 2008, with the invention of internet, no longer necessary to foster inter-faculty collaboration. And, the knowledge and skills of the faculty were considered useful to Rotterdam too. Rotterdam is still under construction and the debate about its built environment is intense. Rotterdam is struggling with its business image and a boost of creative engineering students can be of help to change that image. The reaction concluded that the Faculty of Architecture could give a good example for the rest of the faculties of the Technical University and be the first to make the switch to the city of Rotterdam.

The reactions on the column of Vollaard applauded the decision to prepare the Julianalaan building for the five year accommodation. This choice allowed the faculty to move out of the toe of the campus and locate as close as possible to the city, that now could be reached during lunch time to have a sandwich over there.

- **Plead for realism from critic Sierksma**

Begin of July 2008 the three-weekly journal *B-Nieuws* of the faculty offered a forum for opinion-making and reporting on both ongoing accommodation projects. Pragmatic and critical voices alternate in this issue.

Sierksma, the critical columnist of the faculty who retired a few years earlier, made three recommendations to the dean for the new accommodation of the faculty. First, he blamed the progressive panoptisation of the Berlageweg building, where the dean started replacing the wooden partitions with glazed panels, to increase fire safety and communication between staff members alike. Isolation is important, Sierksma argued, to reverse the current trend of slavishly parroting great architects. Long debates at lunch time make sense only when afterwards staff can retract in isolation to continue study and reflection. And these happen to be done alone and in isolation. Second, Sierksma pleaded the new building should be restrained. He suggested to build six replica of the prairie house of Frank Lloyd Wright. These are sober pavilions without the coquetry of the current great of Architecture. And, third, he doesn't want the commissioner to make any statement at the university's campus. No need at all for a leader that wants to create something for his progeny, according to Sierksma.

- **The social mission of architecture**

Urbanist Robles Duran summoned staff to sign a petition for an inner-city campus and against the reconstruction of a singular building. The faculty should move away from the sterile grounds of the Berlageweg. A campus setting with another isolated building cannot represent the faculty of architecture of today. This faculty should express and insert its social convictions and political expectations in the place where people live. "*Bouwkunde* cannot afford to continue with a deliberate alienation and reclusiveness from urban life. Nor can it afford to compress itself into the compulsion

of individual 'superdesign'. *Bouwkunde* is made of many; let this many express themselves democratically within the city." To Robles-Duran the faculty should think about a non-building, realised through spatial appropriation and multiple constructions in the city centre, and respond to the desire of all. "Let us weave into urban life and finally let life weave into *Bouwkunde*. [...] Together we can change *Bouwkunde* from inside out."

- **The provisional accommodation experience**

Within two weeks after the fire, the provisional accommodation for more than three thousand students and several hundreds of staff was fully operational. Staff had spread over the campus and moved in with other faculties. Hundreds of laptops and cellular phones were distributed with staff members. Large tents had turned the sports fields next to the burned-down building into an academic camp site, fully furnished, powered, heated, equipped with wired and wireless internet and with rooms for presentations. The lecture halls and modelling facilities were facilitated by other faculties. Within a few days 'Camp Campus' had emerged as a new place of learning, researching and meeting, and had made it possible to resume all activities.

Unforeseen, the faculty participated in a life experiment on the essentials of organisation accommodation. The mixture of *Bouwkunde* staff and students with other faculties for almost half a year was a mutually positive experience, on the professional side as staff exchanged on the content of their work, but also on the relational side. Faculties praised the extrovert character of *Bouwkunde* staff and their creativity. But, the spreading of the different departments of the faculty on the campus did not work fine for the relations inside the faculty and with students. The tent camp next to the burned building proved to be an essential "central place to meet and a home base for a faculty scattered all over the campus" (den Heijer, 2009, p. 20). The experiment also revealed the vacancy rate on the campus, in offices and education facilities alike. And the loss of almost all documents and research data stored on desktop computers and in cupboards, revealed an unacceptable sloppiness of university management on this field.

- **Programme of requirements of the Julianalaan building**

In the month of June 2008 the project for the five-year accommodation took shape. The programme of requirements made use of a recent study that explored the application of new concepts for studio and office space at the Berlageweg building. Other inputs for the brief were the recent data of the size and mix of functions in the Berlageweg building and the recent surveys on room occupancy and user appreciation building. As the Julianalaan building was almost 10.000m² smaller than the Berlageweg building, the brief foresaw the use of flex-working concepts for all staff and the addition of two glass houses to accommodate modelling studios and exhibition space (den Heijer, 2009, p. 22; Volker, 2010, p. 199).

Works on the building progressed very fast. In September 2008 the renovated building at the Julianalaan was opened for the new cohort of first-year students, and by November 2008 almost all other students and employees had moved in.

- **Special issue *B-Nieuws* of 22 august 2008**

During the months of July and August 2008, the communication about the Julianalaan project towards students and staff switched from an open, critical and utopian debate as it took place in the first weeks after the fire, to an unidirectional broadcasting of concepts decided upon by the project team to the future users of the building, to make them buy-in. Communication specialists of the

university had clearly taken over. The special issue contained interviews with the enthusiast facility manager of the faculty in charge of the fitting-out and with the confident account manager of the Vitra company who delivered all furniture, a description of the project team structure, the floor plans of the future restaurant and the future space allocation of all departments. There were some pictures of the site work in the issue, an article that explained the concept of flex-working, and one on the history of the Julianalaan building. At the last page a practical guide and time schedule for the oncoming moves of staff and students were added.

- **The dean bridges the discourse gap**

Pragmatic and utopian voices met end Summer in the interview with the dean that opened the special issue of *B-Nieuws* of August 2008. The dean spoke first about the main features of the Julianalaan building project. The building underwent a metamorphosis and was going to be reborn as BK-City. A central street was added that was going to act as a spine for all public functions and improve wayfinding in the labyrinth of corridors of the old building. Designers added two huge glasshouses that were going to make the building feel more open and accessible. Further there was abundance of non-dedicated spaces in BK-City that was going to trigger unexpected initiatives and creative anarchy and avoid the faculty got stuck in space like happened in the Berlage building. Students were going to have more studio space than ever, and be facilitated to leave home and work at the faculty again. For staff there was the introduction of flexible workplaces, that created a virtue out of the lack of space of the building and making it less compartmentalised. Flex-working goes together with paperless office, so BK-City staff was going to be allowed for not more than a single meter of paper shelving per person. In this interview the dean mentioned for the first time publicly that he didn't exclude that the faculty would stay longer than five years in this building, as "this will be such an interesting place by then that it won't be easy to leave."

The dean thereafter spoke about the main concepts of the idea competition that was going to be launched a few weeks later. To him it was for sure that the new building should be relevant and useful for the oncoming forty years at least and handle changing demand from research and education. Further on, there were a lot of issues to be studied through the competition. Since the fire, the faculty shared facilities with other faculties; this proved interesting and productive for hosts and guests alike and should be further investigated. Next there is the question about the icon. To the dean this is the last sort of building the faculty needs. But some people insisted on an iconic building whereas others want a flexible structure that can be used in all different manners and that is very neutral. Third there is the issue of the location of the new building. Mekelpark is a given but can be questioned. Why not a building somewhere in the middle of the Mekelweg, he suggested. A building in the city is an old dream of many people, but the dean believed that the campus can be an interesting environment under condition the new faculty building has an open character.

- **Single theme communication**

In the same special issue, the manager of international affairs of the university, Agnes Wijers, in charge of the communication on both projects, announces the launch of the idea competition in Venice on the 14th of September 2008. She proved member of the straightforward approach as her announcement didn't mention the second theme of the competition 'the dynamics of campus and city'.

Decision making

A discourse as reported above, deals with the definition of the decision topics and the range of alternatives to be considered. Subject of discussion are also the factors to be taken into account for the decision.

When deciding, values are given to variables based on preferences.

In the preparation stage decision makers first develop the model of reality they will use to make decisions. This consists of the determination of the elements of reality that are at stake and the division of these in decision variables and decision factors. Decision variables are the elements that can and will be controlled by the decision maker; this step includes the determination of the relation between these variables. Decision factors are the elements that influence the decision making but can't be controlled by the decision maker.

Next decision makers decide on the list of independent decision variables. This is the determination of the list of decision variables for which the decision maker will determine the values. The values of the dependent decision variables will result from this choice through the relation between the variables in the model.

Third step in the preparation stage is the decision on the value range for (all) variables and factors. This value range is related to what is possible and to what the decision maker considers acceptable or relevant. The determination of these value ranges may use techniques such as brainstorming, debate analysis, stakeholder analysis, scenario analysis, etc.

In the decision making stage the decision maker first decides on the values for the independent decision variables. He then calculates the values of the dependent decision variables that result from the values chosen for the independent decision variables and evaluates these values against pre-set decision criteria (for example: the value is within the acceptable value range). Finally he accepts the outcome or refuses it. A reiteration of the decision making stage or the entire decision process including the preparation stage can be at stake.

Analysis of the debate

The above reconstruction of the debate on the faculty's accommodation between June and August 2008 shows the presence of a strong pragmatic and a strong utopian discourse. From the launch of the Julianalaan project, both competed for attention, uniqueness and influence.

The utopian discourse members felt responsible to utilise the opportunities of the historical moment of the loss of the building. Their approach was to slow the decision processes down to enable in-depth reflection. They stretched the decision field by adding topics to the agenda, enlarging the range of alternatives for each topic and widening the decision criteria. They almost neglected the temporary accommodation project of BK-City and clung to the replacement project for which they envisioned appropriate processes to exploit this unforeseen event for the renewal of the profession.

The pragmatic discourse felt more attracted by the hour-based rush project of 60+ Mio Euro to prepare the Julianalaan building for 1 September 2008. Their approach was to limit the growth of the

decision field or make it even smaller when possible. Debating was limited and utilitarian; it served the progress of the projects only.

End August, the pragmatic and utopian voices had been disentangled and channelled to their own forums. Both groups focused on the oncoming events they were most interested in. For the pragmatic group this was the start of the academic year at BK-City. Utopist voices prepared for the launch of the idea competition on the Biennale of Venice in the middle of September 2008, accompanied with the Archiphenix exhibition and the Faculties for Architecture conference in the Dutch pavilion. They considered these the real start of the debate on the future Faculty of Architecture of Delft.

The competition between both discourses took place within the projects also. In the temporary accommodation project on the Julianalaan e.g. the dean didn't copy the Berlageweg setting but convinced the faculty to realise as much as possible of the innovative concepts on education and staff accommodation for which he started the study end 2007 for implementation in the Berlageweg building.

Two forums were organised: a think tank and an architecture competition. This reflects the same tension. The think tank is a means of reflection that appeals to a more pragmatic population; the architecture competition rather attracts creative thinkers (see Figure 2).

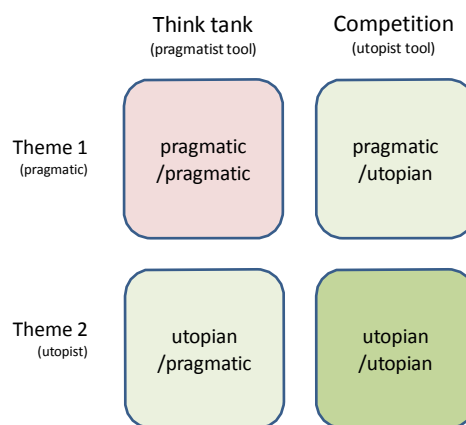


Figure 2: The pragmatic and utopian discourses met in two forums and on two themes.

The definition of two themes for the reflection is a similar sign. The initial concept of the iconic sustainable building at the Berlageweg can be considered a pragmatic approach to the replacement issue (see Figure 2). Its design would be a response to an unambiguous brief using settled knowledge mainly. This sort of design (and designer) could have been chosen through a standard architecture competition, which was the initial idea of the dean.

The utopian discourse asked for the enlargement of the reflection by adding more parameters and more alternatives (see Figure 2). It was then decided to add the second theme to the competition ('the dynamics of the campus and the city') to study the faculty's relation with both its physical and social context. This theme was much less clear than the first theme and responding to it appealed to less settled knowledge. The additional quest from the utopists to study more alternatives made clear that a standard architecture competition was no longer the right tool. The development of the brief would require preceding research. An intermediate step was needed to allow the faculty to make up

Variable	Values
Architecture education	[learning environment] [structure of the curriculum] [collaboration with other faculties]
Relation of the campus with the city	n/s
Concentration or dispersion	[keep the faculty together] [do not remove the faculty from the university] [need of a central spot] [cohabitation with other disciplines] [no physical proximity of faculties needed] [not continuing the Delft campus in the future] [locate at appropriate habitat for activities]
Location	[Berlageweg] [somewhere else on the campus] [Julianalaan] [near the central station of Delft] [inner city location] [Rotterdam]
Identity	n/s
Nature and shape of the building	[non-traditional building] [central node with self-build add-ons around it] [cluster of buildings] [mini-city designed by many] [reuse of existing buildings] [Mekelweg as the central street of <i>Bouwkunde</i>] [sharing facilities with other faculties]
Architectural expression	[icon] [a restrained building] [no statement] [not an icon] [a flexible structure] [not the vision of one architect] [not an isolated building] [a multitude of volumes in the city centre]
Fit for use	[responsive to the space need changes] [at least forty years] [more flexible than the Berlageweg building]
Internal organisation	[create the <i>Bouwkunde</i> atmosphere] [use of a rough basis with a personal infill] [stimulate social interaction] [central street] [operate as a city in itself]
Office concept	[no panoptisation] [less compartmentalised] [flexworking and paperless office]
Studio concept	[large studios] [worktable for all students] [more non-dedicated spaces]
Sustainability	n/s
Process	[deliberate process] [develop an inspiring vision first] [not think in shapes to soon] [more faculty knowledge should be used]

Figure 3: The variables and values present in the debate of May till August 2008.

its mind first and reduce the solution space of the designers. End June 2008 management decided to organise an idea competition in Autumn 2008 followed by an architecture competition in Spring or Summer 2009. The outcome of the idea competition would be used as the input for the brief of the architecture competition after analysis and decision.

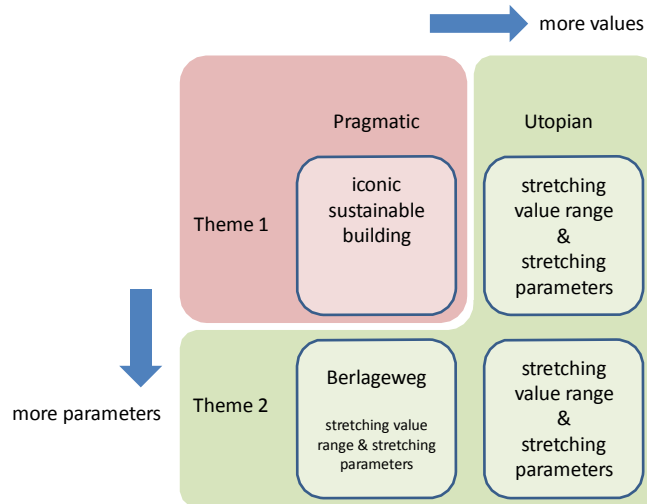


Figure 4 - The debate stretched the range of parameters and values (the green zone in the figure).

The brief

The 'Building for *Bouwkunde*' idea competition was officially launched on 13 September 2008 by the Minister of Education, Culture and Science in the Dutch pavilion of the biennale in Venice in the presence of the dean of the faculty, the president of the university, *Rijksbouwmeester* Liesbeth van der Pol and many staff and students who travelled to Venice to celebrate this new start (Interview with L. van der Pol, 2014).

The objectives of the idea competition were in line with the explorative nature of the utopist discourse: (1) to stimulate research by design, (2) to encourage creativity among the important younger generation of designers and (3) to stimulate scientific development in the field by means of critical reflection and debate (Volker, 2010, p. 202). The dean saw the competition as a chance to enhance the reputation of the faculty.

The organisation was set up in a way to have as many people involved as possible: the entrance requirements were low, the jury panel was interesting, a substantial amount of prize money was foreseen, the launch was set up as a major event reported worldwide by the professional press, and all information on the competition was distributed using a dedicated website 'Building for *Bouwkunde*'. This website contained the brief, some drawings of the campus and eleven additional documents with background information.

- **More than a building**

The brief is an eight page textual document with two parts of almost equal length. Part A contains the competition brief; part B treats the competition rules. Part A only is analysed here. Volker (2010)

focused on part B and analysed the idea competition procedure from the viewpoint of the concerning European legislation.

The brief opens with entitling the loss of the faculty building – besides a personal disaster – an opportunity “to take a fresh and critical look at the education of the future and to realise a modern, innovative and refreshing design for the university building, which can hold its own in terms of power and presence with the well-known *Bouwkunde* building from the years of Van den Broek and Bakema.” From the start the authors of the brief reveal their mind-set: the first theme is approached in a pragmatic way and the second theme isn’t even mentioned.

Follows thereafter an explanation on the importance of the accommodation of a faculty of architecture for its education processes. The Berlageweg building, at the moment of the fire, had become the home of a community that felt represented and well served by this building. In particular the street on groundfloor functioned well.

In the assignment entrants are asked “*to formulate, both in text and images, a vision on the two competition themes: new concepts and dynamics of city and campus. This vision should be presented in a sketch design for a new Bouwkunde on the existing site, or on a well-argued, alternative site.*” The demanded architectural expression was more than an icon or materialised hype: the expression should be strong and inspiring but leave space for the own view of the users, students and staff alike, and express the expertise of the faculty. The building should be a building for the faculty of the future, able to accommodate the current program and to respond to future changes. And the building should position itself in the physical and social contexts of the campus and the city.

- **New concepts**

The first theme of the competition “new concepts” asked for a reflection on the education system of the faculty and the appropriate architectural expression and internal organisation for it. On the education topic, the brief describes the current field of interest (the full scope of design, for all phases and all fields of the built environment) and the trends in university education in general, such as the growing internationalisation, the merger of disciplines and the attention paid to sustainability. On the research part a similar trend exists: merger of disciplines and growing internationalisation.

The above, and in particular the international dimension, should be expressed in a building that is “a merger of form, function and construction” (this is really what is written in the brief!) for a building with a personality, that is ‘more’ but different and unorthodox.

The building should be a facilitating and stimulating centre for learning and education with studios and halls. Its internal organisation should respond to the digital age but give a central place to the library and the model hall. It should be the home for many, a place to meet and socialise. The office part should be a statement on flex-working. Its environment should represent the faculty’s approach and inspire students and staff.

The building should demonstrate technical intelligence for integrated sustainability.

- **Dynamics of city and campus**

The second theme focused the reflection of the participants on the context of the faculty and the university, both social and physical. The brief first reminded the changed context of the university

since May 2008 with a shrinking state funding that necessitates collaboration with other institutions and industry on the longer term.

Related to the grouping and dispersion of the faculty and the university, the brief mentioned the current trend whereby education institutions and organisations collocate in a single location. This results in synergetic effects on the image of the faculty, as is the case with a location on a campus, knowledge city or business park, and it enables sharing facilities with others.

The brief repeats that the location of the faculty building can be either Berlageweg, another location on the campus, an inner-city location or “other viewpoints” when argued. The accommodation can be shaped as single building or a group of buildings if that allows for better connection to the context. Accessibility should certainly be considered when choosing a location.

Further on, the relation of the faculty and the faculty building with the campus and the city was repeatedly mentioned in very general terms: “Crucial is the position of the faculty building in relation to the city of Delft and even the wider region” and “the challenge relating to the dynamics of city and campus lies in positioning the Faculty in spatial, social and functional terms”.

At the end of part A an half page programme at building level was added, mentioning surfaces per function and some relations between these functions.

Analysis of the brief

The brief wasn't positioned as a prudent document and not a radical thinking on the subject. Its boundary was a politically safe and intermediate position between the pragmatic and utopian discourses. Topics as well as solution ranges were reduced compared to the preceding discourse.

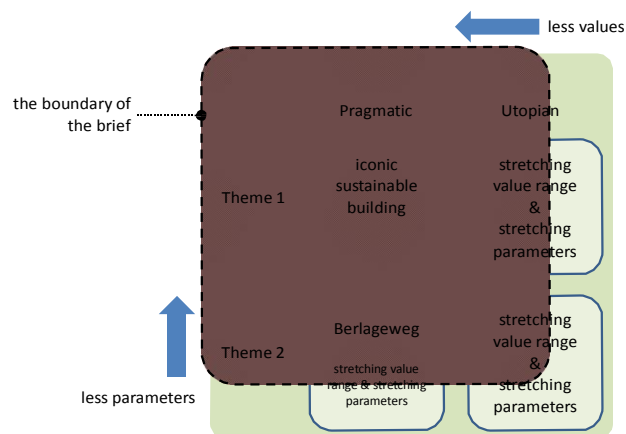


Figure 5: The brief takes a retracted position in relation to the preceding debate

On the architecture education, the utopists asked for rethinking architecture education from scratch and to start this with a reflection on the position of architecture in society. This was also what the programme of the Dutch pavilion on the biennale was about. The brief contented with mentioning the global trend on merging scientific disciplines and growing internationalisation. It was added that the education deals with all phases and all aspects of the creation and use of the built environment.

On the field of architectural expression the brief settled rather clear. An icon can not respond to the need of a building for architecture education. The building needs character.

The second theme 'dynamics of city and campus' was approached reluctantly. No theorizing nor operationalization took place in the brief and participants were kept in doubt about the intended infill of the theme. This doesn't necessarily mean that the theme wasn't discussed in the project team, but the superficiality of the allegations do not suggest a thorough debate took place.

The brief seems for instance to contradict on the issue of concentration or dispersion of activities and shapes of the building, and suggests it as a topic of research by the participants. On one hand the trend to cluster education and to collocate with institutions and industry is mentioned. But on the other hand participants are asked to reflect on locations on and off the campus and to reflect on single building and multiple building alternatives as this allows for better connections with the context. The brief sees concentration of staff on a single location in conflict with a vivid exchange with parties outside the faculty, but doesn't explain it.

In general the brief uses a circular way of writing and a technique of seclusion of thinking. This is often the case when very different opinions have to be reconciled in one text. But in case of an idea competition this is may become unproductive for the quality of the entries. Solid statements intuitively provoke a broader and more creative positioning from the responses, or, at least, fasten this process with the entrants.

The brief – add-ons

The eleven add-ons to the brief weren't too much of help either to fuel the debate. They sketched just part of the context of the competition. Two documents relate to the history of the faculty, six inform on the program of requirements and three letters of the deans of other faculties of architecture explain on the challenge of the competition.

- **History of the faculty**

A two-page note of Macel describes the history of the faculty: its growth from a few students in 1863 up to the several thousands today, the need to adapt the accommodation to this growth and to the changing view on architecture and architecture education (Macel, 2008). He remembers the well-functioning of the public part on the ground floor and first floor of the Berlageweg building but the poor functioning of the studios, lecture halls and the offices for the growing staff. What exactly the link has been between the faculty's education and research concept on one hand and its accommodation needs and setting on the other, isn't described by Macel. His note doesn't refer to the link of the faculty with the campus or the city either.

- **Impressions on life in the Berlageweg building**

The book *Bouwkunde. Portrait of the Faculty of Architecture of Delft University of Technology 1970-2008* was added to the website in a PDF-format (Patijn & Faculty of Architecture, 2008). It is a photographic evocation of 35 year use of the Berlageweg building. The interviews with students, staff and alumni tell about their personal relation with the building, their emotions about its loss and their expectations for the new accommodation. At the end, the book shows some pictures of the

living in the tent campus and the construction works in the Julianalaan building. The community of Faculty of Architecture is reported without link to the campus or the world beyond.

- **Built architecture education**

A second group of documents relate to the program of requirements for the new accommodation. In search for a contribution to the design of the new faculty building from the group of architecture historians of the Faculty, Van Wijk and colleagues researched the relation between architecture education concepts and the functional organisation of the school building for ten faculties of architecture worldwide (van Wijk, 2008). This proved hard to do, author reports. The research delivered an understanding of the major drivers for different architecture education concepts and the design of their accommodation.

This analysis is inward oriented and serves mainly the first theme. It almost doesn't bring any element that relates the faculty and the faculty building to its surroundings. Mentioned are the central situation of the building of the Faculty of Architecture of Coruna on the university campus that "gives it an almost monumental status, like that of a town hall in a historic European city", and the intervention of Sharoun in the Technische Universität Berlin. He gave the groundfloor and façade of the building an open character as he was concerned about the interaction between the architecture students and their surroundings. Mentioned by the author is the recurrent use in the analysed architecture schools of a urban elements inside the building like a large and central public space. This may be shaped linear, and act like a street, or square and function as a court.

- **Neutral or statement architecture**

Has the new building to be designed from a vision on the architecture education? That is the question Van Manen and da Fonseca asked the architects Wiek Roling, Herman Hertzberger, Winny Maas and Miciel Riedijk, who studied in the Berlageweg building or worked there for many years (Van Manen & da Fonseca, 2008).

Van den Broek had a clear idea on what students needed to be trained as a good architect and designed the building to support that idea: proportion, size and scale are present throughout the building. To Hertzberger the building should not be drawn from such a strict program on education. It should be flexible. A city with streets could be an interesting model or reference for the new building. The street is a highly qualitative space. It also gives the building a certain neutrality, just like streets in the city. Streets can hold different programs over the years, while the street itself remains the same street. Hertzberger doesn't see importance to give the building a strong expression.

Maas on the contrary doesn't want neutrality. The school should take a position first and develop the building from there. All agreed that the building wherein a Faculty of Architecture is accommodated is capable of stimulating education (or not stimulating it). And as a consequence, the building for the Faculty should be different from the buildings of other faculties. There is no way out that educational visions influence the building. The building is an enabler.

None of the interviewees elaborated on the relation of the Faculty and its education system with society, or how this relation with the outside world should and could be established through the shaping of the building.

- **The Faculty of Architecture at work**

Added to the competition website to inform participants is a clinical description of the Faculty and its departments (Faculty of Architecture, 2008). This note reads like a mission statement and a formal report of the current position of the Faculty in the architecture education and research. The conforming tone suggests there is almost no room for a provoking vision on future education nor a revolutionary concept on the connection of the Faculty with the campus, the city and society in general.

- **To enable is the art of architecture**

Vollaard participated actively in the debates after the fire. His two-pager that was added to the competition website is a moderate vision, realistic and challenging alike (Vollaard, 2008b). Author settles on a few issues. His plead is for the design of a modest well-performing piece of equipment, tolerant to as many different teaching methods, ideas and users as possible. "Form follows function? [...] In everyday practice it is the other way around. Over time function follows form. Changes in use are either allowed by the building or not."

For the exchange of knowledge with the other faculties, Vollaard considers proximity with the campus sufficient. "A certain autonomy for the faculty is needed [...]. It would be silly, un-productive, even arrogant to dissolve the faculty in the whole of the campus."

Vollaard knows about the aspirations to reinstate the link with the city. To him the faculty didn't lose the link with the city when it moved from the city centre of Delft to the Berlageweg at the outskirts of the campus. But, what is lacking is a city atmosphere and liveliness (and a good café). He concludes: the school of Architecture is primarily a social construct operating in an enabling architecture. And meeting places like a good café are crucial to that.

- **Thoughts on university accommodation**

The most practical and concrete document is the two page note of Den Heijer, although the status of this document is not clear (den Heijer, 2008). The first part of it is a summary of visions in literature on education buildings; the second part is more like a program of requirements for the new building from the perspective of the improvement of the campus, but expressed in a vocabulary that is very different from the brief of the competition.

On building level the note mentioned a trend towards a faculty as a place to meet. There will be less space available in future education buildings but this space will be of a higher quality. It will have a higher meaning to staff and students, and have a more important role in the marketing of the institution.

On the campus level, the note recalled to decision of the campus masterplan of the 1990's to organise the campus in three zones and concentrate the buildings of the university in the middle zone where the Mekelpark was built recently. The note repeated the call of Hans de Jonge and Maurits de Hoog of May 2008 to make better use of the knowledge of the Faculty and the university for the development of the accommodation of the University. In general, the note encouraged designers to increase the efficiency of the university's accommodation and enhance its functional qualities and sustainability.

The note strived for a design of the future faculty building that contributes to the realisation of a larger mission, i.c. to improve the many deficiencies of the campus on the social level and its efficiency and sustainability. This message is transmitted in this note using a rational vocabulary. Like the other add-ons on the website, the note neither envisions or operationalises the relation of the building and the campus with the city of Delft and society.

- **Sustainability challenges**

No speculative or eliciting statements at first sight either on the one page note on sustainability (van den Dobbelsteen, van Dorst, van Hal, & Verheijen, 2008). The note enumerates the measures that can be taken to design in a sustainable way. The focus seemed to be on technology mainly. However, when read more closely, the note invited designers to take responsibility to the societal expectations and realise a smart piece of built environment along the program of requirements of the Faculty and the larger community alike. In this way, the building could reduce the impact on the urban ecosystem in all aspects.

- **A fragment of utopia**

A third sort of documents that was published on the website of the idea competition to accompany the brief are three letters from deans of other faculties of architecture in the world. Allan Stan, dean of the School of Architecture in Princeton University, quotes Tafuri when he recalls that “architecture, as opposed to other systems of visual communication”, has the privileged “possibility of inserting, within reality, a fragment of utopia” (Allen, 2008). To Allen Stan, the opportunity for the new school at Delft is the creation of a free place for experimenting, playing and taking risks, and to connect the faculty as profoundly as possible with the world outside the academy. In a single statement Stan recalls the two themes of the idea competition.

- **Education did not change so much**

Peter Russel, dean of the Faculty of Architecture of the Aachen University, confirms the unique opportunity Delft is confronted with when making the new building (Russel, 2008). To him, the shape of the new building depends on the education system the faculty wants to apply in the future. And he reassures the faculty: not so much has changed in architecture education since Durand. Architecture education in Europe is rather homogeneous and constant. But, what if this education tradition in fact exists because it continues itself? What in fact is the role of a faculty of architecture in society? To Russel, one must design the faculty first, and then design its building(s). And, he adds, this faculty will be interdisciplinary.

- **Memento**

And, third, a half page note of admiration of the dean of the Faculty of Architecture of the ETH Zurich for the way the faculty survived the disaster (Tonnesmann, 2008). He would like the new building incorporate a memento of what happened, and capture in its design the courage and solidarity that carried the school the past few months.

Analysis of the add-ons

The add-ons to the brief dwell extensively upon the architecture education and whether the new premises should be designed on the basis of an education concept or an organisation model. The opposition to statement architecture is sharper than ever.

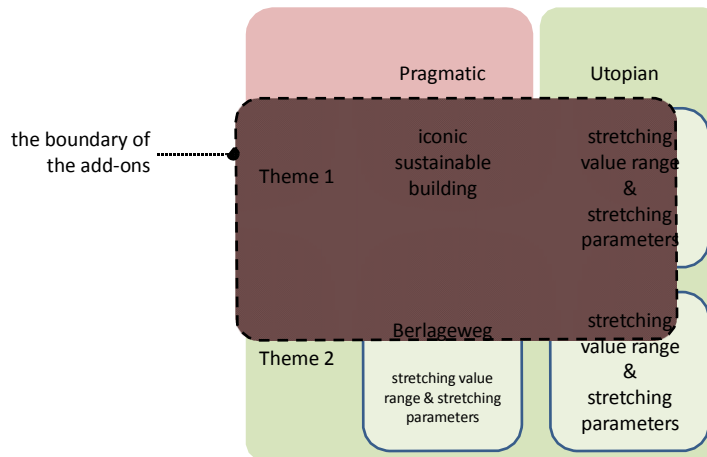


Figure 6: The add-ons to the brief merely underpin the debate without enlarging it; the underpinning happens on certain topics only; some items added earlier in the debate are neglected.

Figure 7 (on the next two pages): Variables and values of the brief and the add-ons.

On the relation with the campus and the city the add-ons at last give some more content. A 'place for one's own' for the faculty community is considered necessary. This should aspire reference to "the utopia of which architecture has the privilege to insert a fragment within reality", but can be built on a lively campus.

On the topic of sustainability, no impact on the urban ecosystem in all aspects is intended. The new accommodation can help resolving the problems of society and the campus and be a spatial element in the campus composition (see also: Interview with L. Reijnen, 2013).

Reflection

During the preparation of the competition, the focus of the dean and the president of the University was on the continuation of the faculty's education and the preparation of the accommodation for the 3,000 students and staff before winter. When the academics inside and outside the faculty prompted for a debate on the future education and the role of the faculty in society before a new building was ordered, the dean and president were so pragmatic that they organised the two forums to work on these subjects and meanwhile did what they considered right. The dean implemented part of his new concepts on education and staff accommodation by pragmatically pushing them in the BK-City project.

Variable	Values	Brief (More than a building & Assignment)	Brief (New concepts)	Brief (Dynamics of city and campus)	Brief (Add-ons)
Architecture education	[learning environment] [structure of the curriculum] [collaboration with other faculties]		[merging disciplines] [international] [all phases, all fields] [full scop of design]		[interdisciplinary]
Architecture research	<i>topic not present</i>		[sustainability] [merging disciplines] [international]		[one or several, past & current & future] [changes in in time, or not?] [proportion, size, scale]
Relation of the campus with the city	n/s			[spatial, social & functional position]	[a fragment of utopia] [connect profoundly to outside world]
				[position Delft & region]	[no impact on urban ecosystem in all aspects] [poK of faculty & society] [campus is part of the city already] [liveliness, atmosphere, café are needed]
				[special social position on campus]	[interaction of students with surroundings]
				[present, integrate, distinguish] [representative, environmental quality] [pleasant environment]	
					[solve campus problems (social, effict., sust.)] [contribute to univ portfolio performance] [building is spatial element in campus]
Concentration or dispersion				[trend of grouping education on one location]	
	[keep the faculty together] [do not remove the faculty from the university] [need of a central spot] [cohabitation with other disciplines] [no physical proximity of faculties needed] [not continuing the Delft campus in the future] [locate at appropriate habitat for activities]			[position in univ and society]	[do not dissolve faculty in the campus] [spatial autonomy of faculty is needed] [proximity with faculties through campus is ok]
Location	[Berlageweg] [somewhere else on the campus] [Julianalaan] [near the central station of Delft] [inner city location] [Rotterdam]			[Berlageweg] [campus, knowledge city, business park]	
Identity	n/s			[other viewpoints]	[what is the role of faculty in society] [design faculty first, then its building(s)]
		[meaning for the faculty] [represent knowledge & expertise] [image of the faculty]	[international]		[memento of courage & solidarity after fire]

Variable	Values	Brief (More than a building & Assignment)	Brief (New concepts)	Brief (Dynamics of city and campus)	Brief (Add-ons)
Nature and shape of the building	[non-traditional building]			[single building]	
	[cluster of buildings] [central node with self-build add-ons around it] [mini-city designed by many] [reuse of existing buildings] [Mekelweg as the central street of Bouwkunde]			[group of buildings connecting to contexts]	
Architectural expression	[sharing facilities with other faculties]			[sharing fac. with CITG & ID & univ]	
	[icon]	[no materialised hype]	[unorthodox]		
	[a restrained building]	[strong expression]	[different]		[modest]
	[no statement] [not an icon]	[more than icon] [balanced]	[personality] [more]		
Fit for use	[a flexible structure]	[space for own views] [inspire students]	[meiger form-function-construction] [usable layout]		[flexible,
	[enabling] [not the vision of one architect]				
	[not an isolated building]				
	[a multitude of volumes in the city centre]				
Internal organisation	[create the Bouwkunde atmosphere]				[free place for experimenting]
	[use of a rough basis with a personal infill]				[education concept is leading for design] [education concept may not be leading]
	[central street]	[current program] [future changes]			
	[stimulate social interaction]	[responsive to the space need changes] [at least forty years] [more flexible than the Berlageweg building]	[flexible]	[facilitate, stimulate] [represent]	[building is enabling, tolerant] [take a position first, develop building then]
Office concept	[no panopticon]				
	[less compartmentalised]				
	[flexworking and paperless office]	[street] [canteen] [party]	[meeting] [social place]		[street] [place to meet]
	[large studios]	[informal meetings] [lectures] [project presentations]	[studios, halls] [central place for library and model hall] [centre for learning and education] [digital networks]		
Studio concept	[workable for all students]				
	[more non-dedicated spaces]				
Sustainability	n/s				
Process	[deliberate process]				
	[develop an inspiring vision first]	[vision] [theme1, theme2] [sketch design]			
	[not think in shapes to soon] [more faculty knowledge should be used]				

In retrospect, the pressure to house the Faculty before winter has stifled many of the utopian discussions. It was repeated all-over that BK-City was a temporary accommodation, what made utopists look the other side. To many staff members involved in the BK-City project it was clear from their first visit to the Julianalaan building that this location had the potential of becoming the new accommodation of the Faculty. If there hadn't been the request from the insurance company till the middle of 2010 at least that the construction of a new premise within five years was conditional for paying out, the idea competition could be labeled a lightning rod for the utopist discourse while pragmatists built BK City. Anyhow, the latent loss of commitment of the University's management to the idea competition partially explains the indecisiveness of the content of the brief and its fear to encourage participants to go for a sharp debate, as may be expected from an idea competition in contrast to an architecture competition.

But there are more reasons for this position of the brief. There was the lack of time for the preparation, of course, as the launch was just four months after the fire, but there may be institutional reasons as well. The quest to open the debate about the new building and to bring it from a rather traditional forum of replacing a building into a less defined discourse on the societal position of the faculty and its physical location, mainly came from sources that were external to the faculty's core of architects. It is not by coincidence that the elaboration of the second theme by the competition project team is almost non-existent and primarily came from third parties, such as the writers of the add-ons to and the NAI.

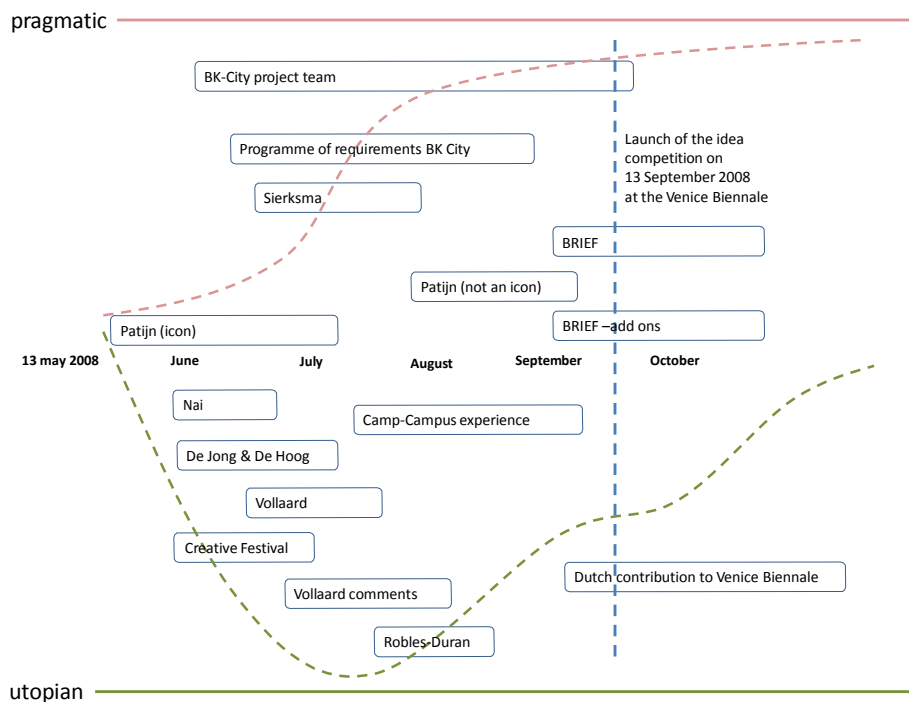


Figure 8: The pragmatic discourse gains power through the quick and successful implementation of BK-City, to the detriment of the utopian momentum, that had lost power already when the idea competition was launched

Two institutional reasons explain the above. First, the Faculty of Architecture of Delft emphasized for many years the importance of the object in the urban approach of the built environment (Interview

with H. De Jonge, 2014). At the Faculty, urban planning equaled urban design equaled building design. Making cities was considered making more objects at the same location. The approach denied the importance of the integration of the various disciplines of the built environment in an urban vision. As a result of the dominance of this approach in the Faculty for many years, there was (and still is) a lack of knowledge on the operationalisation of the second theme of the competition.

Second, the Delft University of Technology, managed by engineers for engineers, is non-urban in its core. Research on the history of the accommodation of the University presents a pattern of reluctance and distance to urbanity and societal involvement³. Apparently this non-urban attitude penetrated the Faculty of Architecture and became visible when the Faculty was confronted with redefining its accommodation reflexively. This explains also the prudence of the Faculty to confront the utopist dimension of architecture when its own accommodation is at stake.

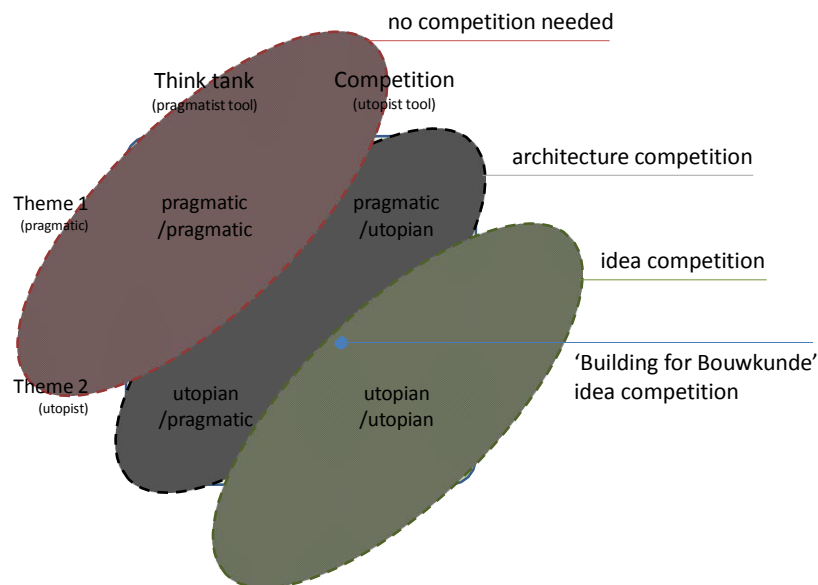


Figure 9: The application fields of idea competitions compared to architecture competitions on the pragmatist versus utopist dichotomy scheme.

Given the preserving content of the brief and the moderating ambitions of the Faculty, the use of an idea competition may be questioned in this particular case (Interview with H. De Wijn, 2013). Idea competitions better suit clients that are self-confidently open to change (Figure 9). In September 2008 pragmatic forces were gaining terrain very fast in the relocation process and the utopist momentum was partially lost when the competition was launched. At the time the entries had to be assessed and the winners were announced, in Spring 2009, the idea competition had lost its relevance. No resources were made available to fully exploit the 466 entries of the competition, let alone to implement some ideas of the winning entries in the University's accommodation strategy.

³ The mentioned research on the history of the accommodation of the Delft University of Technology, from its origin in 1842 till 2000, is part of the PhD research of the author.

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SESSION 2B

STRATEGIES

Managerial Implications for Architectural Competitions Based on Paradox Theory

Beatrice Manzoni, Leentje Volker and Hedley
Smyth

Managerial implications for architectural competitions based on paradox theory

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Abstract

Despite being one of the most important means to obtain commissions, explore in design terms and develop design quality, architectural competitions are an extremely controversial practice. Nevertheless, they are increasingly adopted within the European procurement law, to the point that exploring and understanding their debated issues is essential to improve their effectiveness. We use a paradox lens to open up managerial insights and to develop a theory of architectural competitions' paradoxes. We propose a set of paradoxes and managerial implications for architects and clients/juries with regard to each competition phase: programming, selection and shortlist, design of the proposals, and jury decision making.

Keywords

Paradox, competition stages, procurement system, competition tradition, managerial implications

Introduction

Starting at the latest with the Greeks, architectural competitions have traditionally been a vehicle for the creation of major civic buildings and public spaces, such as government buildings, performing art centres, educational facilities, public libraries, museums and housing (Strong, 1996). Architectural competitions have multiple goals (e.g. Larson, 1994; Spreiregen, 1979): disclose new talent, challenge 'conventional wisdom', create a dialogue on design, enlarge support, increase competition, select an architect, educate students, gain insight in competences, contribute to the cultural dimension of the built environment and expand the boundaries of design. Svensson (2009) adds the aims of marketing a project, assuring quality through jury assessment, running architecture politics and coordinating different fields of interests. Yet, competitions cost money, take more time and their designs rarely get built (Spreiregen, 1979).

Despite this, competitions are still common practice. They are even incorporated in the European procurement regulations for architectural services (Sudjic, 2006). Exploring and understanding the debated issues of competitions therefore remains essential to improve the effectiveness of these phenomena for both the client and the architect. Given this, we aim at understanding the paradoxical features that are embedded within the present architectural competition system and the

managerial challenges they determine for the actors involved. We mainly provide a theoretical contribution, critically examining and interpreting the current European competition system in light of paradox studies.

The paper is organised as follows. First we introduce the current procurement system and competition tradition. Then we review paradox studies as a theoretical framework to interpret and analyse competitions. Finally we discuss paradoxes of competitions and managerial implications for architects and clients/juries.

Different systems beyond competitions

Today architectural competitions are the result of diverse roots: the competition tradition versus the tendering for works and services, and the search for a design partner, which flow into the procurement principles (Strong, 1996).

On the one hand, the competition tradition is based on the client's intention to acquire a design product as a patron. This tradition acknowledges the artistic characteristics of architectural design and increases scholarly acknowledgment of unique shape-making creative services (Duffy & Rabeneck, 2013). The anonymous design submissions become part of a peer review and/or a public debate about the potential quality of the firm. The client and the architectural community are represented on a jury committee that has the authority to choose a winner based on an evaluation of the design proposals.

On the other hand, procurement principles apply when considering an architect selection as a partner selection process (Morledge & Smith, 2013). In the procurement approach, architects are considered entrepreneurial service providers competing for a contract, by acting as either model users or critical reviewers (Duffy & Rabeneck, 2013). Such a partnering selection process aims at acquiring maximum value for the client. Hence, the client has the final say. In order to know with whom the client will be doing business, physical interaction between the client and the service provider is an important element in the selection process.

Both traditions are equally important, even if their coexistence originates several contradictions and dilemmas, which can be fruitfully addressed as paradoxes.

Paradox studies as a theoretical framework

A paradox is defined as “a thing that combines contradictory features or qualities” (Oxford English Dictionary). In the academic literature, it is a set of contradictory yet interrelated elements, logical in isolation but irrational when juxtaposed (Lewis, 2000). These elements can be demands, feelings, perceptions, identities, practices or messages at multiple levels (organizational, project, group, individual). Tensions exist with regard to goals (performing paradox) and to identity and interpersonal relationships (belonging paradox), as well as to processes (organizing paradox) and knowledge (learning paradox) in professional organizations (Smith & Lewis, 2011).

In general, architecture faces a broad paradox between long-term sustainability and short-term business performance (Aho, 2013). Architects have to earn money through commissions, while winning awards to build up a particular design reputation (Brown et al., 2010; Manzoni et al., 2012). They have responsibilities towards the profession, the client, the staff and the own firm; they see their profession as both a vocation and a job and wear the hats of artist and consultant (Gotsi et al., 2010). Furthermore, they are caught between preserving creative freedom and novelty, while controlling and ruling creative processes (DeFillippi et al., 2007). Finally, they struggle between the ambition for creative exploration and the need for commercial exploitation (Duffy & Rabeneck, 2013).

Clients – and juries representing them in competitions – also look for design excellence to make a

stand in society. At the same time they are interested in keeping the investment they make under control. They search for a design project, which meet entirely their own idea of the project, while also for a design partner able to suggest them something they did not think about (Volker, 2012).

Having to contend with extremes typically drives actors towards making a choice between two opposites. Because tensions are interrelated and persist over time, however, a choice between extremes does not ensure sustainability in the long term. This reveals a synergic potential, which is also what distinguishes paradox from other apparently similar concepts, such as that of dilemma (see Smith & Lewis, 2011 for a detailed comparative review). Resolving a dilemma means weighing pros and cons and choosing the option where pros prevail over cons. Dilemmas can prove to be paradoxical, however, when tensions can be more usefully approached from a both/and perspective rather than an either/or perspective (Quinn, 1988).

We believe this is the case of Rönn (2009)'s competition dilemmas for example. Anonymity versus architect–client communication is evidently an illustration for competing choices. In this case, an either/or approach is possible, but under anonymity no direct interaction is possible; while if communication is chosen, there is no competition based on anonymous product quality in its traditional meaning. Instead, if we look at this dilemma as a paradox, a balancing act between the two choices could lead to anonymous submissions with briefing sessions that allow for a dialogue, ending up in, for example, competitions based on competitive dialogue (Kreiner et al., 2011). This combination has recently been recognized in diverse countries as an improved competition formula. Approaching tensions as paradoxical implies accepting and fostering the coexistence of competing extremes (Quinn, 1988). This helps in capturing and explaining the complexity of reality, sustaining long-term performance, enabling learning and creativity, and fostering flexibility and resilience (Smith & Lewis, 2011). Because tensions foster creativity and complex insights, paradoxes can also be something exceptionally positive. They trigger change, acting as brainteasers and challenging common logic and thinking (Handy, 1994).

In the following section we use existing literature to explore the current architectural competitions' system with a paradox lens, revealing paradoxical tensions in the concept. Then we bring to the forth several managerial challenges that result from the system's controversies, leading to implications for architects and juries in dealing with the different phases of the competition process.

Paradoxes of architectural competitions and managerial implications

This section presents inherent paradoxes of architectural competitions, as encountered in each competition phase, as well as managerial implications for the actors involved – architects and clients/juries, as summarised in Table 1.

Table 1. Paradoxical characteristics and managerial implications

<i>Competition phase</i>	<i>Paradoxical characteristics</i>	<i>Managerial implications</i>
Programming	Writing a brief which is prescriptive as well as open to interpretations	Client/jury: enabling the submission of controversial entries and facilitating adherence and non-adherence to the brief. Architect: reading the brief with conflicting demands in mind, listening to and teaching the client.
Selection and shortlist	Ensuring an open competition but among relevant players	Client/jury: ensuring comparability among entries and influences the character of the selected design proposals to evaluate in the final competition. Architect: having a rich portfolio of other similar projects to enter competitions, while entering competitions to acquire projects.

Designing the proposals	Conforming to brief and instructing the client	Client/jury: including a dialogue in competitions and/or answering effectively to Q&A sessions. Architect: balancing brief's possibilities and constraints within the same proposal; reconstructing client–architect interaction and dialogue within the competition team.
Jury decision making	Balancing emotions and rationality	Client/jury: composing a jury that mirrors the composition of the criteria required, including the relevant stakeholders to embrace multiple views on the project. Architect: offering a rigorous submission that is also triggering emotions and debate.

Programming: prescribing AND allowing for interpretation

Paradoxical characteristics

Each competition begins with the definition of the project that entails writing the brief, deciding the process' schedule, goals and requirements, selecting the jury, allocating the budget and prizes and setting up the logistics. Afterwards the client or commissioning body publicises it, and in some cases alert or invite qualified architectural firms.

At this stage the brief is the most critical aspect, being a prominent cause of failed competitions or abandoned projects when inadequate (e.g. Andersson 2010; Svensson, 2009). The brief includes the purpose of the competition; the nature of the design problem; a site description and the expectations in terms of architectural, urban or landscape expression; a description of the functions and activities required as well as technical, environmental and architectural requirements to be met (UIA, 2008, Art. 9). By doing so, the brief nourishes architectural teamwork and equips the jury with arguments for assessing entries (Andersson, 2010).

Given this, the brief has to be prescriptive, but also leave space for freedom of interpretation for the competitors to operate. There is a paradox between 'precision' and 'latitude' (Rönn, 2009). On the one hand, "the more clearly the stakeholders can define their positions, the better equipped designers are to understand the motivations that are at work and to present solutions that work" (Malmberg, 2006: 4). On the other hand, the freedom of interpretation should be as wide as possible, being competitions exploration-oriented by nature (UIA, 2008). Thus, a competition brief reads as both instruction and inspiration and should be both unambiguous and non-constraining.

Managerial implications

For architectural firms competing, the paradox above implies reading the brief with conflicting demands in mind, listening to the client and teaching the client what he wants, adhering to the brief requirements and challenging the brief (Manzoni & Volker, 2013; Manzoni et al., 2012).

In the preparation of the competitions, the client needs to design "the rules of the game" and define the level of playing field. This requires involving domain specific experts in advantage (Volker, 2010). For juries that have to make a decision, this implies dealing with contrasting entries and selecting a winner, enabling a combination of adherence and non-adherence to brief requirements in the same proposal, when a contrasting design solution seems preferable (Jones & Livne-Tarandach, 2008).

Selection and shortlist: ensuring an open competition AND preselecting relevant competitors

Paradoxical characteristics

With the exception of open competitions, all the other competitions require to submit application documents, to be selected for competing. Most of the time, these documents include data about the company's financial status and organization and reference projects. These are relevant information, according to existing regarding the selective search of professional service firms (Day & Barksdale, 2003). Yet they inevitably limit a wide access to competitions and prevent from making a choice based on architect's performance.

This entails a paradox between allowing for an open and democratic competition among all potentially interested professionals and ensuring a competition only among relevant and comparable competitors.

On the one hand, prequalification criteria are often too many and too restrictive to ensure a democratic access to competitions (Volker & van Meel, 2010). If these criteria had been adopted in the past, many buildings commissioned to unknown architects wouldn't have existed today. On the other hand, an open access to competitions prevents the entrants from competing with relevant and similar competitors and the jury from choosing among a reasonable and comparable number of entries. Too many entries jeopardize the fairness and reliability of the judging process.

Managerial implications

Architects have greater winning chances within restricted competitions, which preselect based on relevant and coherent past project experience and firm's structure and allow for competition among a limited number of entries. This implies building a specialised project portfolio in order to be pre-selected, which forces however the practice into a specific market (Manzoni et al., 2012). At the same time competitions are often the channel through which many architects and practices start their own professional activity, but asking for a minimum turnover and number of projects automatically excludes younger and smaller practices. Moreover competitions should offer the chance to diversify the core business, doing projects client would not directly commission to the firm.

Similarly to the previous paradox clients and juries also need to ensure the comparability between the entries by having a limited number of similar competitors, as well as a wide range of competitors for choosing better design quality. Within the given rules, they have to be able to pursue what they originally had in mind. This sometimes requires creativity, pragmatism and political intervention (Volker, 2010).

Designing of proposals: conforming to the brief AND instructing the client in a shadow dance

Paradoxical characteristics

This phase entails the conceptualization and development of the competition assignment. Competing teams decode and translate the brief into a proposal, dealing with unclear substantial aims; complicated briefs; unrealistic project budgets; too many or too elaborate documents required for submission; an almost non-existent honorarium paid for competing; little or no interaction with the client during the process; delay during the process (Volker & van Meel, 2010).

Given this, every design proposal acts as a 'letter of intent' but also as 'educational development' (Rönn, 2009), being an answer to a client's question, but shedding light on the competition program. Meeting the brief is not always the optimal answer. It can happen that the winning entry is less compliant with the brief than were others. At the same time, ignoring the brief in favour of educating the client can counterproductive.

In addition to that, competing is 'shadow dancing' with an absent partner, who is the client and/or the jury (Kreiner, 2007). This entails a paradox between 'anonymity' and 'direct communication'

(Rönn, 2009). Anonymity is the best way to select a design, but dialogues at different stages of the process are useful to clarify the brief, build a relationship and facilitate the jury's assessment (Kreiner et al., 2011), yet in public design contests dialogues are not allowed to protect anonymity.

Managerial implications

Architects need to balance possibilities and constraints of the brief in the same proposal, purposefully improvising, while being pragmatic in dealing with clients' requirements and being authentic. Moreover they need to seek and reconstruct client–architect interaction and dialogue by replacing the absent dialogue with the client (e.g. with broader conversation within the office) (Manzoni & Volker, 2013; Eikhof & Haunschild, 2007).

Juries need to create the conditions for a client–architect interaction, by either including a dialogue in current procedures (Danielsen, 2010; Volker & van Meel, 2010; Kreiner et al., 2011). Answering the Q&A sessions in a matter which resets the boundaries of the competition while maintaining a equal level of playing field is something which requires a certain consistency among client organisations (Volker, 2010).

Jury decision making: balancing emotions AND rationality

Paradoxical characteristics

Juries are in charge of choosing the winner among design submissions. The composition of the jury, as well as the process of assessing and awarding the entries, presents paradoxical features.

The jury has to represent the often conflicting diversity of interests and issues in the creation and use of the future building (Banerjee Loukaitou Sideris, 1990), aiming at being at the same time the expression of a 'professional' and a 'community' taste (Rönn, 2009) and being responsible to several stakeholders, such as clients, future users, critics and other architects (Kazemian & Rönn, 2009; Svensson, 2009). A jury has to choose an entry, which is relevant both to the client and to the profession, satisfying the call for both 'security' and 'innovation' that means well-proven construction, efficiency and durability, but also a longing for something new (Rönn, 2009).

Moreover, jurors need precise evaluation criteria set on advance in the competition brief to ensure fairness in decision making, but at the same time they ask for flexibility in assessing the entries, because entries can reveal new unplanned insights into the competition's problems. Rigid criteria do not allow for unexpected design concepts, while flexibility does not offer elements on which jurors can anchor their comparison of the entries (Rönn, 2009).

Finally, the awarding process is the result of a paradoxical sense-making process, which involves emotional affective responses to design proposals as well as rational criteria privileging design technicalities (Kreiner, 2006; Van Wezemaal et al., 2011; Volker, 2010). Privileging rationality points towards fault-free design solutions, which fulfil all the brief requirements. Privileging emotions may favour submissions presenting unplanned insights and solutions mobilising unforeseen criteria opportunities.

Managerial implications

Architects should offer a submission, which is at the same time rigorous in meeting the brief requirements, as well as triggers an emotion that catches the attention of the jury. Research shows that discussion about the submission increases the changes of selection (Volker, 2010). This can be done by contributing just a little more or different than the others, while also answering the problem as drawn by the client.

On the client side, jury panels should mirror the composition of the participants required: if a particular professional qualification is required from participants in a contest, at least a third of the members of the jury shall have that qualification or an equivalent qualification (EU Directive, Art. 73). The minimum they should include is authorized clients' representatives and experts in specific

domains that relate to the assignment (Volker, 2010), when not even potential users (Nasar, 1999).

Conclusions

Based on previous research we stated that the current competition system is the result of a merger between the procurement principles and the competition tradition. Within these traditions different interests are at play: finding a partner vs. a design; focusing on the process vs. on the object; allowing client-architect interaction vs. ensuring anonymity.

Despite the worldwide downfall in real estate construction, competitions remain an important tradition in architectural design. New traditions, concepts and processes should therefore be inhabited in common use. Only by on-going discussion and critique practitioners will implement the necessary adjustment to current reality. In this paper we suggest that the competition system would possibly benefit from a paradoxical mind-set, approaching what is traditionally recognized as a trade off/dilemma as a paradox. Paradox theory opens up an interesting perspective to able change and innovation in the competition tradition.

We suggest that management approaches aiming at improving the system and its procedures should go in the direction of understanding how to make actors accept and resolve the interwoven contradiction between the extremes. For architects this often implies submitting balanced but controversial proposals that trigger the right kind of emotion in satisfying the clients' needs. For clients this involves interweaving both boundaries and solution space in the assignment and the competition rules. Furthermore, the composition and supervision of the jury panel is essential in bringing competitions successfully to an end.

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The Architect, the Client, the Competition... And the Struggle

Antigoni Katsakou

THE ARCHITECT, THE CLIENT, THE COMPETITION... AND THE STRUGGLE

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"[...] the clever cook puts unlikely things together, like duck and orange, like pineapple and ham. "It's called artistry." You know, I am an artist the way I combine my business and my pleasure..." Albert Spica (the Thief) in Peter Greenaway's *The Cook, the Thief, His Wife and Her Lover* (1989)

Abstract

Architects have always been concerned with fame and glory, holding a special position in the society of their era. Yet, like the agents of many other professions, they too have had to struggle for to survive within contexts sometimes extremely hostile to their 'artistry'. Struggle for predominance and the right to define the architectural field's standards of accomplishment, is at the center of the professionals' relation to each other, but also to agents of other, interacting with their own, social groups. Competitions in particular have often been considered as one field where architects significantly conjunct with other social groups.

This paper aims primarily at providing a first-hand account of the professionals' attitude toward competitions and thus feed the debate on the architects' motives for participating in them. Subsequently, it seeks to reflect on the way accomplishment standards of the architectural profession are defined through the process framework of architectural competitions, and through the interaction within them between professionals, or between architects and clients, as well as on the way these standards relate to distinct conceptual approaches and their radical or conventional character. To do that, emphasis is placed on the architects' attitude towards different types of competition procedures (mainly distinguishing invited from open competition procedures) throughout their professional career. Discussion is based on data collected during a set of interviews conducted by the author with representatives of five architectural firms in Switzerland.

Introduction

Architects have always been concerned with fame and glory, holding a special position in the society of their era, the spirit (*Zeitgeist*) and cultural status of which they are supposedly reflecting on the fruit of their work. Yet, like the agents of many other professions, architects too have had to struggle for to survive within contexts sometimes extremely hostile to their 'artistry'. Take for example, the architect's struggle, in numerous occasions since the antiquity, to settle in his social role as a profession apart, distinct of the various guilds operating within the building sector. It suffices to consider that still in 1792, in a particularly significant for one of the world's most powerful nations competition, the one for designing the residence of the United States' President, many of the submitted designs belonged to amateurs, and were evenly judged by a jury of amateurs (de Jong & Mattie 1994; 8). The architect's struggle to establish the profession demanded expertise and the proof for it, in order to achieve recognition within the construction sector but also in the broader

social arena. Struggle for predominance and the right to define the architectural field's standards of accomplishment, is at the center of the professionals' relation to each other, but also to agents of other, interacting with their own, social groups. Competitions in particular have often been considered as one field where architects significantly conjunct with other social groups or (in *Bourdieuian* terms) with *social fields*; be them the building users, the commissioners, the politicians, or the press. As de Jong and Mattie (1994; 8) point out, setting up competition regulations bore a significant impact on a social level regarding the esteem paid to the profession in general.

This paper aims primarily at providing a first-hand account of the professionals' attitude toward competitions and thus feed the debate on the architects' motives for participating in them. Subsequently, it seeks to reflect on the way accomplishment standards of the architectural profession are defined through the process framework of architectural competitions, and articulated through the interaction between professionals, or between architects and clients, within this particular operational framework. By examining the architectural professionals' choices within the competitions ground, it is possible to shed additional light to their claims on fame, glory and social recognition, in relation to the respective standards of these values in the particular time period. What are the architects' choices and criteria for picking into which competition procedures they will participate? What kind of conceptual strategies do they adopt for competition submissions? How do they choose to represent architectural concepts to the commissioner and the public in general? Finally, how do they perceive the system and the clients' wishes?

Discussion is based on data collected during a set of interviews conducted by the author with representatives of five architectural firms in Switzerland¹. Firstly, the architects' views in relation to answers they furnished to the above questions will be commented on the whole. Hopefully, this presentation of their views will help cover a certain gap in the respective references, as architects are not normally the ones to talk in public for the conditions of their profession or in relation to the institution of competitions: "*architectural competitions are highly public activities and, inevitably, the results do not always please everyone, or anyone, even the promoter. In all of this, the voice of the architect has been largely silent, although, to be sure, there have been protests by the unsuccessful at the most flagrant frauds*" (1991; p.5).

I will focus especially on the architects' attitude, throughout their professional career, towards different types of competition procedures (mainly distinguishing invited from open competition procedures), in order to provide evidence for the widely commented fact that, depending on the architect's/architectural studio's status and the stage of professional evolution he/she or the team is in, a change of attitude towards open procedures is in order. Highly desirable at the beginning, open competitions are less preferred by architects when they have already established a certain reputation within the profession. I will argue that such a change of opinion may be associated with the project's *radical* or *conventional* character and the adoption by the architect, at the beginning of one's career, of a less consensual approach towards widely established architectural standards.

Switzerland has a long tradition on architectural competitions, but the principal reason for the country's offering an appropriate case study to deal with the issues mentioned above is the

¹ The author has met with representatives of the five firms in the week 12-15 February 2013 in the firms' offices in several Swiss cities: Geneva, Lausanne, Zurich, and Basel. Every representative's opinion, communicated in the following in the form of a citation, refers to the discussions held during this time period. Some of this material has been used to confirm certain points of the arguments built in a former paper by the author, see Katsakou A. (2013), *The Competition Generation. Young professionals emerging in the architectural scene of Switzerland through the process framework of housing competitions – a case study*, in Rönn M., Bloxham Zettersten G., Andersson J. E. (eds.), *Architectural Competitions – Histories and Practice*, Stockholm: KTH & Rio Kulturkooperativ, pp. 36-65.

systematic and intensive application of the competitions' system during the last fifteen years, mainly for the construction of a large number of housing units, and particularly in the German-speaking part of the country. Competitions in general have been used during the same period for the reconfiguration of several Swiss cities' urban and suburban tissue. Various facets of this subject have already been discussed by the author in previous essays².

An additional reason for studying the Swiss framework is the fact that, in the case of Zurich, a city that may be considered as a model example for competition organizing, an important change in the competitions' background seems to be taking place during the last few years: a more or less standard number of open procedures per year (since the mid-1990s and until grossly 2010) is being replaced by invited ones, to the point that, in 2012, all housing competitions organized by the administrative services of the city were actually restricted procedures. What are the reasons for such a change and how may they be considered as significant for the future evolution of the competitions' system?

The architectural firms

The interviewed firms were in their majority founded in the last ten years; in this sense, they 'correspond' to the flourishing period of competition organizing mentioned in the introduction and therefore provide a representative set of cases regarding particularly the impact of competitions on the career of newly-established architectural studios. A second common feature of them is even more significant for the principal argument of this paper: the fact that their competition submissions have often been widely published (in the country and abroad) for their innovative character and architectural quality.

It must be immediately noted though, that as may be easily inferred, the views of the specific architectural bureaux are here cited not primarily for their value as representatives of the whole architectural profession in Switzerland. Such a case applies but to a limited degree; mostly they could be considered as representatives of what seems to be promising about the most recent production of the Swiss architectural scene. Additionally, their views are important because they are sometimes unexpected, in comparison with concepts that are considered as generally accepted within the profession, or even by the official voices of professional associations.

In total, representatives of five Swiss architectural bureaux have been interviewed which will remain in anonymity, in the following. This is done for two major reasons: firstly, for the simple fact that review of the cited points has yet to be completed by the colleagues that had the kindness to build a case offering their personal views. Secondly, because the effort for retaining only the essential traits of each firm's trajectory in relation to the questions addressed in this paper, entails already for the author a certain analytical operation which remains closer to the point of the argument and to its value in a broader context. Therefore, in the rest of the paper I will refer to these five studios as Firm A, B, C, D, and E.

Firm C was established in 1998, immediately after the graduation of the two founders from Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich, where they have been awarded their diploma under the supervision of a very well-known German architect and prominent educator of the school. The first competition procedure that they have won was in 2001 for a small recreation space in another German-speaking city of the country. This first project has not been built until after ten years of the competition's completion, but thanks to some direct commissions that the firm was able to secure in its first steps, participation in other competitions has been possible. Thus, a year later (2002) the first prize in a significant competition for a museum space in Zurich brought them to the foreground of the architectural scene. In 2005, first prize in another competition for a major housing

² See bibliographical references at the end of the paper.

development has again brought significant publicity to the firm as the out-of-the-ordinary arrangement of the facades broke up with monotonous continuities of the existing built tissue. The firm continues to grow as commissions are secured, sometimes through participation in architectural competitions, not only in Switzerland but also abroad. In a period of ten years, their studio grew into a team of 6 associates and 35 collaborators; they have taken part in about sixty competition procedures in total, winning prizes in almost half of them; two thirds of these were actually first-prize awards.

Firm B is an architectural bureau set up in 2007 in the French-speaking part of the country by three former classmates. The architects had initially chosen for the geographical emplacement of their office the German-speaking part of the country, despite the fact that they have obtained their diploma degrees from the country's French-speaking Federal Institute of Technology, having secured a commission in that area and getting in parallel started with competition designs. This last part of their initial endeavours has proven in the end more fruitful than the direct commission which was in the meantime lost; a first prize was their ample award for their early efforts in the competitions' ground in a competitive procedure that was in fact particularly significant also for the organizing city, as the housing programme the authorities were putting in place was falling behind in comparison to their German counterparts. Since their first prize in 2009, Firm B has already won several other competition prizes, and achieved second place ranking in another prestigious competition of its city for a new sports' complex. Since 2008, they have managed to double the number of their office's collaborators and entered, after certain direct commissions, the entrepreneurial world managing the construction of a project on their own.

The third office taken into consideration (E) is a female bureau, founded again by two former classmates, who have invested several years in collaborating on an occasional basis, before deciding to set up a joint practice in 2007. Both with apprenticeships to internationally well-known architectural bureaux of their home country, just as Firm B and Firm C, they first gained distinction in the competition's background, quite unusually, through an open ideas' competition organized the same year of their practice's foundation. The competition's commissioner was a newly founded association of several housing cooperatives in Switzerland which sought for innovative ideas regarding the inhabiting ways of the future in the context of the contemporary city. A project competition launched by the same cooperative in 2009 brought Firm E in the first place of the winning teams with an innovative proposal that in a way transcribed the complex structure of the surrounding urban tissue into the new building complex and each building in itself.

The fourth architectural bureau (Firm A) that concerned our enquiry is set somehow apart from the majority of architectural firms, at least in Switzerland, as it is one of the few choosing a diagrammatic representation mode in many of its designs. The two main associates founded the bureau in 2003 four years after their graduation and their apprenticeship alongside well-known masters of the Swiss architectural scene. So far, and besides several prizes won in competitions, they have yet to win a first-class award and to be actually commissioned for a building through the process of a competition; in 2012, they counted in their firm's history a total of almost sixty projects, of which half were designed for competition submissions and a sixth of them was awarded second class prizes. Their office is today made up by a team of six people.

Lastly, Firm D was established in 2006 by the merging of two separate architectural firms, and of people that have already collaborated in various projects before tracing a joint course; in fact their first-prize competition project was one designed while still separately established professionals. This particular housing project was in the end aborted because of the objections met at the level not only of the neighbourhood but also of a part of the city's organising authorities. The extensive experience of one of the partners in another European country has affected, according to his opinion, the mentality and representation modes of his design in the beginning; he had already won seven prizes (including one first prize) in competitions that he did on his own account during a period of ten years

(1998-2008). Up to 2012, the joint practice which, counts 11 members, has participated in around thirty competitions and won in total ten prizes, half of which were first-prize awards.

The competition tradition

For all the firms, competitions seemed to be the obvious path after graduation for to get a chance on distinction and commissions. Firm B talks of a continuing competition tradition in the country, which according to Firm E may also be dangerous. They say that what is attractive to architecture professionals, who often compete *“for fun”*, *“because they like it this way”*, makes them at the same time an easy prey to the client, who secures a lot of work done on little or no compensation. It is important, as Firm E points out that doing competitions turns out quite easy too: many of their friends and colleagues prepare competition submissions with the minimum of technical means, using a laptop at home or at an improvised professional space, and sometimes on quite spontaneous collaborations. For Firm E, no specific plan regarding the expansion of their office has been laid out. Yet competitions have been an obvious course of action: they characteristically speak of a very *“democratic”* procedure where an honest chance of distinction exists for those who are not (yet) famous; competitions offer the possibility to advance in one’s professional career, exclusively thanks to the quality of one’s work; in short, competitions make it *“attractive to be a good architect”*. Such a perception of the competition system involves a deep faith in it, a faith that does not allow for doubts of corruption in the assessing process of the projects. Is not this faith a trait testifying, at least in the German-speaking part of Switzerland, to the quality of the competitions’ process framework?



Project Competition, Cooperative Housing in Zurich (2009), Jury Session

Two factors having an impact on the competition tradition of the country are underlined by all architects: firstly, the geographic part of Switzerland into which a specific competition is organized and its architectural culture; secondly, the people holding key positions in state administration services. Firm C and Firm E mention that *“the culture of competitions”* seems diminishing while distance increases from Zurich. Zurich is under common agreement the most representative

example of a successful application of the system in Switzerland. Firm D designates that a significant role in this success has been played by the former director of the City's Building Services, who actively promoted the competitions' operational framework within the context of collective housing. His retirement in 2012 is considered as, at least, a retarding factor for the organisation of competitions; for Firm D the best thing to hope for, in this situation, is that the Building Department will reboot in relation to competitions' organisation after taking some time to adapt to his departure. Firm E, in fact, refers to the former director of the Building Service of the City of Zurich as the "*mastermind*" of competitions who actually knew how to turn an "*unsexy*", "*uninteresting*" subject, such as collective housing into a field that after fifteen years still draws attention, raising discussion around the respective public building programs and their success.

An additional reason for which one may talk of different architectural cultures in the distinct geographical parts of Switzerland is the fact that the majority of interviewed architects acknowledge the superior quality of competition briefs in the German part of the country; competition objectives are often more explicitly and clearly stated than in the French-speaking part, a fact speaking of more conscientiously prepared feasibility studies. Firm A points out that between the German and the French-speaking region, differences are considerable, characteristically commenting that in the German-speaking part one struggles for the quality of the project while in the French-speaking part "*one feels struggling for architecture itself*": competitions are not that obvious a way for building, and the whole process of designing and implementing a project is often more complicated.

But how do architects choose the competitions to participate in? Firm A declares that at the beginning of their career they were interested in absolutely every subject. What was important to them was to build up a varied portfolio dealing with a wide range of building programs. This seems to be largely the case with many architectural firms. Firm E offers though an interesting interpretation of their filtering criteria when they report choosing competitions according to subject and to how interesting this last sounds in relation to what they know they can offer; admitting their strength in the conceptual part of the architectural project and on a strategic level, they leave aside projects that involve little work in this field. They declare keen on understanding the project's context, and this makes one reason for which they will normally not get involved in competitions abroad. For Firm D the cost of participating in a competition abroad is almost restrictive for Swiss bureaux, which must pay their collaborators higher than national firms, where manpower is normally cheaper. Such a process turns out as non-sustainable.

Firm C which is an architectural office with an already extensive portfolio, as well as the largest of all interviewed firms, brings up the issue of the office's resources at a given moment, that is to say of the availability of specialised colleagues within their collaborating team, for to decide whether or not to participate in a specific competition procedure. Equally, another point widely discussed in the circles of the professionals, turns up in the discussion: the people making up the competition's jury. For Firm C it is a matter of urban planning culture and of the jurors' attitude toward the city. Can the jurors really 'read' the submitted projects? Evidently they refer to an advanced degree of comprehension: will the members of the jury be able to read intentions and visualise the potential of the assessed project? The language of the brief is equally important to them as an indication of whether or not the jury will be able to fully grasp their architectural approach.

Open or invited procedures?

Switzerland's competition tradition is certainly linked to the fact that many procedures are open to all architects. Firm D underlines the difference between Holland and Switzerland regarding this point; in the first country, participation in competitions is based on professional lists and invitations while open competitions (at least since the mid-1990s) are a common phenomenon in Switzerland. They report that, while working in Holland, their principal collaborator had, along with the office he was then working for, his eyes turned toward Switzerland, in order to filter competitions in which it

was possible to participate. Firm D pleads for more open competitions and points out that the official professional organisation, the Society of Architects and Engineers (SIA) should be putting pressure to public and private clients toward that direction.

In Zurich since around 1998 and until 2010 at least 3-4 open competition procedures were organized systematically per year for the construction of new, or the reformation of existing housing estates. Different kinds of building programs were also following the rule of open competitions. Since 2010, the number of open procedures has gone diminishing, from October 2012 to August 2013, out of seven competition procedures only two were open procedures (while an equal number of competitions was referring to housing programmes). From April 2012 to December 2012, another eight competition procedures, of which half concerned housing projects, were actually selective procedures either on prequalification or on invitation.

In this background, Firm C speaks out on what seems to be a common secret of the profession: the kind of competition procedure is particularly important, when one is still at the beginning of a career. Advancing on the professional pathway normally means a larger list of works that increase the chances to be remembered in case of restricted procedures. For Firm E, it was admittedly a problem to enter *"into the pool of the people that may be asked"*. The same seems to be true also for Firm B. But how does one get into the pool? Firm A's experience is related to the innovative character of their projects. Their out-of-the ordinary architectural solutions have not brought them so far a first prize, but they have secured them, relatively rapidly, a place in the list of the bureaux that are often invited in restricted procedures; this may be connected also to the fact that in many restricted procedures and according the instructions of the SIA, a proportionate number of 'young' architectural bureaux must imperatively be included in the list of invitations. In such cases, 'young' is also almost a synonym for the 'out-of-the-ordinary', therefore innovative approaches are particularly favoured. Firm B adds that often a first prize multiplies the possibilities of connecting a specific bureau with the building program corresponding to the competition that earned it this distinction, in their case, a connection with the design of collective housing. For Firm E, it is obvious that restricted procedures involve specific bureaux depending on the competition's theme. Firm E points out that invited competitions rime with an advanced level of detail in competition entries; offices have to produce even more work and present a more developed project. This kind of specialisation is for Firm A a means to save time for everyone involved in a competition procedure: the client may profit of the bureau's particular knowledge in relation to a specific type of project, while the architect does not need to bother with competitive procedures in which he would have even less chances to win judging on lack of experience.

Specialisation is of course only one important aspect of the distinct impact open and restricted procedures bear upon a firm's trajectory, and potential assessment, in the professional arena. A competition's outcome, and therefore, a firm's professional recognition within the competitions' background may significantly be altered, according to Firm A, in relation to the condition of anonymity which characterises open procedures and is, on the contrary, annulled in many cases of restricted procedures. In these instances, it is allowed to the architect to defend his conceptual choices in front of the jury, discuss with them and explain the reasons which led to these choices. Such an option is valuable, Firm A continues, in case of a feasibility study quickly made, and not taking into consideration all important data regarding the competition's context and building program. It is common that poor feasibility studies are behind impossible to solve competition briefs, which competing architectural firms are forced to affront by not respecting some part of the program. Such circumstances can only be clarified through the process of a restricted procedure with oral presentations by the participants. The same applies for Firm A, in case a conceptual choice may in reality be much more flexible than originally supposed by the jury. It is possible that a specific proposal ends up with an honourable mention instead of a winning prize, because of seemingly not respecting an, even subsidiary, parameter of the program, whereas such a detail could easily be adapted to the client's wishes following appropriate and direct discussion.

What do the clients expect? Architects' conceptual approaches and visual communication

For Firm E the first competition in which they have been distinguished (as mentioned before an ideas competition) was one where the client really sought for innovative approaches. The competition's commissioner was looking for experimental thinking, and this was what they tried to do: their playful approach, which led them to produce a whole leaflet treating the perceptual qualities of existing in the city of Zurich, dense housing estates, and was commented by Firm D, who served in this competition as part of the jury, as an outstanding architectural proposal, suited well the client's expectations. The jury and the commissioner were in this case, unanimous as to assessment of the submissions. Nevertheless, in many cases, the client's biggest apprehension about competitions is to be end up with a project he does not really approve because of some, indefinite to him, architectural standards, to which the jury (forcibly in its majority professionals of architecture) obey, due to professional solidarity.

The success of the city of Zurich and its former director of Building Services seems in fact to lie, according to Firm D, and apart from the inherent linking of competitions with the quality of the produced outcome, to a large degree exactly on the fact that he continuously advanced that no prefixed choice was to be imposed on the client. This point is particularly important; the fear of getting stuck with a project difficult to implement and/or with an architect reluctant to discuss his 'ideas', or even take any form of criticism on his project is one of the main reasons that many commissioners, mostly private, avoid architectural competitions. It makes for a point constantly in an effort to contradict by professional organisations who aspire to the organisation of more architectural competitions (see RIBA, *Open Up Your Options*, nd). Firm D additionally draws attention to the fact that in Switzerland, what is considered as extra work by the architect (as extra details that are asked for a submission in the framework of a project competition) is, in fact, another important reason for which competitions become attractive to private clients.

For Firm B every client is a different case. They do not consider themselves badly treated by their clients; their attitude remains quite a modest one regarding their work, despite their so far considerable 'success'. They declare interested in having their office running, in building. They confess having been misled, with regards to their first project, by their ignorance of the building regulation in the area. They found out in the course of the project's implementation that the beautiful finishing line of their apartment buildings was actually impossible to build according to building restrictions of height; at the same time, they realised that the materials they were proposing could never combine well together, they thus had to entirely revisit their original scheme, at least in terms of its exterior aspect. "*They assume*", they say today. The alterations was something that had to be done, the project is the best solution they could come up with. Their conceptual approach is on the whole quite distinct from that of Firm A, who speak of an "*engaged*" attitude towards architecture that they felt they had to adopt at the beginning. Their choice was to avoid being "*consensual*" with respect to established standards. They consider their radicality as "*the best thing that can happen to a client*", with respect to the project's quality; out-of-the-ordinary ideas are likely to produce the most appropriate solutions to difficult problems. They clarify that "they are not interested in utopias". Being radical just for the sake of breaking through the *status quo*, is not what really sets them working. Nowadays, they are sceptical about their conceptual approach and they consciously try to reduce its impact. Their representation images, the diagrammatic line of which seems to get attenuated, towards other more conventional representation modes is another way to moderate their projects' radical character.

The same seems to have been the case with Firm D, who offers an intermediate position-taking between the more consensual of Firm B and the more radical of Firm A. They consider radicality sometimes hides ignorance or misapprehension of the program's prerequisites, or even a kind of 'naive' attitude toward architectural composition, which privileges the aesthetic and remains attached to powerful but non-thoroughly thought concepts. Although their competition record is

nowadays quite rich with competition distinctions, they admit having been preoccupied in the past with the fact of acquiring only second prizes and never the actual commission. They then realised that they had to change course of action; their conceptual approach nowadays tends to 'dose' innovative thinking.

For all architects, representation images, as demanded in competition submissions, are a major issue with respect to the communication between architect and client. Firm E reports using three-dimensional images in panels, only when these images are an organic part of the conceptual process. But they admit images are a problem, as images are "*too easy to read*". Firm C points out that it is too difficult for the jury laymen not to be "*attached to the first image*", while for Firm B the problem is located in the fact that for a layman an image means different things than for the professional. People look at an image and believe it to the detail while professionals have developed the ability of abstraction, it is mostly the essential, an atmosphere, an intention that they will retain. It then becomes difficult to perform necessary adaptations to the competition project. Firm E report that as members of juries they found that in each single case, images were always a matter of discussion; even more so, as it is difficult for lay people to read floor plans. They report feeling as if they had to educate the jury, as if people showed fear and distance to the competitions procedure on account of lack of knowledge. They do not fail to point out that in the end everybody seemed happy with the results.

Discussion

What has been mentioned in the previous sections comes in many cases as a confirmation of views that often figure in the columns of the specialised press representing the entire profession. As noted in the introduction, these are rarely written by architects. If they are, the authors are most often those that have already won prizes and, in a way, already earned a certain 'right to their own voice'. To a degree the interviewees have been chosen on the same grounds. After all, primed architects may be considered as the ones fixing the standards of accomplishment in their field. Nevertheless, their relation to *fame* and *success* seems ambivalent. The juxtaposition of Firm A and Firm B reveals two radically different approaches to the competitions' background that, in a way, are both compensated and thus raise questions regarding what may be considered as accomplishment standards, or else 'professional success' in architecture and the way to achieve it.

According to Bourdieu, such standards are defined either by the professionals who focus on distinguishing their field's artistic values from those holding meaning for other social classes, or by professionals who consider success in the architectural field as completely relative to the significance the field's product hold within a broader background taking into consideration other social fields. Bourdieu talks of two principles of hierarchisation in continuous struggle within the artistic fields, "*the heteronomous principle, favourable to those who dominate the field economically and politically [e.g. "bourgeois art"] and the autonomous principle (e.g. "art for art's sake"), which those of its advocates who are least endowed with specific capital tend to identify with degree of independence from the economy, seeing temporal failure as a sign of election and success as a sign of compromise.*" (1983: 321) For a 'young' architectural bureau, winning prizes (other than the first prize) in competitions and building a reputation through participations in open procedures means that it may then be included in the pool of young bureaux invited by exception to participate in restricted procedures and therefore increase its chances of predominance. If Firm A is considered as an agent representing, within the cultural field of architecture, the *autonomous* principle of hierarchisation (because of its radical approach that has only brought so far second-class distinctions) then their change of position towards restricted procedures indicates a probable passing to the other side of the field, a side traditionally most responsive to external demands (the clients' and the economic capital's wishes), and therefore more *consensual* in its approach. At the same time, it is to wonder which position-taking is most importantly rewarded in the competitions' background: the initial radical approach of Firm A secures them a place in the list of the bureaux to

be invited in restricted procedures and therefore makes it in a way more probable for them to earn distinctions (and commissions in the future). On the other hand, Firm B has already won, five years after their founding, two first prizes but they still seem to have trouble to get invited; what is more, they get increasingly linked to the building program that earned them these prizes. Who, among the two agents of the profession is in the end more likely to set success standards, also in conjunction with the competitions' institution?

The way accomplishment standards are defined through the distinct position-takings of agents and through the transformation of these position-taking along a professional career is inevitably interconnected with the way architecture responds to the social context of its time and the needs of the public. Talking of the Wexner Center for the Visual Arts competition at the Ohio State University (OSU), Nasar underline that the public dislike for the competition-resulted building "*highlights a split between [...] the high-brow artistic statement intended for the appreciation of other artists and the everyday meanings seen by the public and occupants*" (1999; p.1-2). He goes on like this: "*Architects, like other professionals, value peer evaluations with criteria removed from the interests of the client or public. [...] They give the aesthetic standards of the relatively small audience of their peers priority over popular meanings and function for the end user.*" (p.2) Rybczynski too clearly opposes to the whole idea of public competitions, talking of a "*wow factor*", of buildings designed almost exclusively to invite the public "*to look at them*", which frequently lack any real cohesion with their context (Rybczynski 2002; 3-4) and therefore distance architecture from its primary, social role. "*The charged atmosphere [of public competitions] promotes flamboyance rather than careful thought, and favors the glib and obvious over the subtle and nuanced. Architects have always entered competitions, but they have usually seasoned their talents first by doing commissioned work.*" He believes that good architecture comes out as a result of a "*creative conversation*" between the architect and the client which cannot be reproduced in the process framework of the public competition. A radical architectural approach, even within the background of less 'impressive' competition procedures may easily lead to extreme experimentations, even if its followers advocate for its eventually purposeful adoption.

Another particular characteristic of the Swiss competitions' scene is also significant to depict. Based on Bourdieu's theory of social distinction and the hierarchy of social fields, Lipstadt explains that the architects' *disinterestedness* as to efforts and pains, altogether the only certainty of outcome when starting off with a competition project, manifests their faith in their field's predominant 'capital', the artistic excellence and appreciation of their work, first of all by agents of the same field (1989; 2000). Following Smith's theories for liberal markets, Gilbert and Jormakka (2005) place equal emphasis on architects' longing for public admiration; they speak of the architects' purposeful neglect to opposing conditions of the competitions' framework and relatively feeble chances of winning, due to an over-confidence in one's own good fortune and value.

In the case of a competitions' process framework where a prize means in the majority of cases a commission and a built project, things seem to change slightly. The Swiss framework bears in the end limited resemblance to a case of disinterestedness: architects have very real chances to win and build, thus a very real stress to build takes on the upper hand, in the way they position their firms toward the competition tradition. The concern to acquire built work leads, in the end, to a number of compromises: among them, it is sometimes possible to comprehend the project's radical identity which, for some agents, was the very reason for participating, indeed for designing, in the first place. The stress to build, maybe to the exception of Firm E who seem, for the moment, at ease with their cautious, more conceptual approach, is a common underlying (or even explicitly stated) point in all interviewees' offered set of thoughts.

This concern can certainly be considered as the best manifestation of the architects' constant dilemma between theorizing and practicing; between creating according to some kind of objective evaluation standards (that promote architecture as art) and according to the very specific demands

of an, often extremely ordinary, building program; between accommodating established evaluating criteria and questioning them; between promoting and managing construction, and taking exclusively pleasure in their art. Such dilemmas are often solved by a hardened attitude (an almost cannibalistic one?) towards the younger colleagues, but also through the sometimes unconscious altering of design principles and conceptual approaches.

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The Competition That Changed Your life: About and Beyond Winning

*Strategic Considerations for Architectural Practices
on the Basis of The Analysis of 116 Competitions
Stories*

Silvia Forlati

The competition that changed your life: about and beyond winning.

Strategic considerations for architectural practices on the basis of the analysis of 116 competitions stories.

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Keywords: participants' profiles and motives, strategic formulations, empirical research

Are there recognizable patterns in the way competitions serve the development of architecture practices? How can competitions be effectively used by architects? The paper is based on a survey developed by the Wonderland platform for European architecture in collaboration with the Vienna based practice SHARE architects. **116 stories about 'the competition that changed your life'**. According to the survey, competitions represented a relevant investment for all responding practices, with an average of 3,4 competitions and **2,000 working hours per year** (corresponding to the annual working time of one full-time collaborator). The quantitative data pinpoints that considering winning as the only positive outcome of a competition could make little sense of the considerable investment in competitions done by the practices surveyed. A much **'broader spectrum of interests and concerns'** (Kreiner 2010a, p.122) might actually constitute the reason why some architecture practice considerably invest in competitions. It is in the qualitative perspective (the stories) that elements of the spectrum can be searched for. The stories collected document in fact a range of possible approaches and ways in which competitions can change the life of an architecture practice. Therefore they give indications about what relevant interests and concerns might lead a practice in this field of action.

The analysis has been structured according to two broad categories: 'about winning' looking at what in the approach could contribute to the success, and 'beyond winning', focussing on the side effects of competitions in order to understand what might be gained beyond getting the job. By using competitions as exceptional opportunities to test radical design approach, to find out what one really wants, as 'switches' for experimentation, practices can possibly maximize their 'return of investment', at least in terms of creative and organizational capital. In this approach, winning is actually a positive side-effect while it is the experimentation and learning process that represent the main core benefit.

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introduction

'If I had the chance, I'd like to make the following experiment: take part in a competition every month with my studio and, at the same time, spend the same amount of money hiring people to simply go dancing at every party and talk about me with everybody they meet. Investing the money in people would probably produce better results.'

Herwig Spiegl, Alles Wird Gut, Vienna 2007 in: Wonderland Manual for Emerging Architects, p.157

Is it really true that competitions are a bad investment for architects, as suggested by one of the partners of the very successful Austrian practice ALLES WIRD GUT? (The name of the practice, by the way, translates as 'everything will be well'. The practice is well known in Austria and beyond, and has an impressive record of successful competitions submissions). Does it make sense to invest in competitions or do they represent a futile self-exploitation? What specific benefits do they bring?

From the point of view of the amount of work produced by the participating architects to come to one selected option architectural design competitions represent a 'generous wasting of ideas and excessive meeting of efforts' (Gausa, 2003), 'wasteful procedure' (Kreiner, 2010), a 'suffering process where everyone suffers and only few can be happy' (Dobberstein, 2011), a 'needless multiplication of efforts' (Gilbert and Jormakka, 2011, p.283 quoting Proudhon). Yet, they also represent a fair system of procurement based on the quality of the submitted ideas. They can provide unique chances to get a practice started, access to new markets, propel a practice to fame. As suggested by the chairman of competitions' workgroup for the Architects Council of Europe Georg Pendl (2011), the truth is possibly somewhere in between, as competitions represent simultaneously 'wonderful chances of success and abuse'.

This double sidedness is relevant for all the actors involved. Organizations and bodies overseeing the profession (such as professional chambers), involved in the running of competitions, need to make sure that the system remains fair and as effective as possible. But architects need as well to enter the process with open eyes, fully aware of both the high potentials and high risks that investing in competitions involves, taking care of not falling into futile 'self-abuse'.

It is therefore important to gather information about what can competitions bring to practices (the rationale of making competitions, beyond just winning, thus the 'spectrum of interests'), about the investment required as well as its risks and paradoxes. The experience of practices involved in competitions represents an important source of knowledge. What can be learnt out of experience? Are there recognizable patterns in the way competitions serve the development of architecture practices and how competitions can be effectively used by architects?

Methodological approach

The paper is based on a survey developed by the Wonderland platform for European architecture in collaboration with the Vienna based practice SHARE architects, to which I belong. Wonderland is a network of young European practices aimed at fostering exchange. The survey was part of the project 'Deadline today', an exhibition and symposium about architectural design competitions that took place in Vienna Architekturzentrum in June 2009. It contains **116 stories about 'the competition that changed your life'** submitted by practices from 25 countries in response to an open call. The practices were asked to submit both a descriptive text and answer a series of

approximately 40 questions about the role of the specific competition and competitions in general played in their practice. The survey framed both the general results achieved by the teams thanks to competitions, and the specifics of the 116 entries. Part of the survey is published in the *Wonderland Manual for Emerging Architect*, in the chapter 'Making competitions' (Forlati et al, 2011, p. 268-328).

The common denominator among the practices is the fact that they had experienced at least one competition that relevantly contributed to their career. The respondents included both teams from outside Europe doing projects in Europe and European teams doing projects outside Europe. One specific practice was directly contacted because of their outstanding achievement (they won an architectural competition against 1556 competitors). The average age of the practices was below 9 years. In terms of size, both the average size and the majority of the practices were below 10 people (including collaborators). Compared to the European average sizes), they were nonetheless relatively large practices as only approximately 6% of the architecture practices in Europe are above 5 people (Mizra and Nacey 2012, p.44).

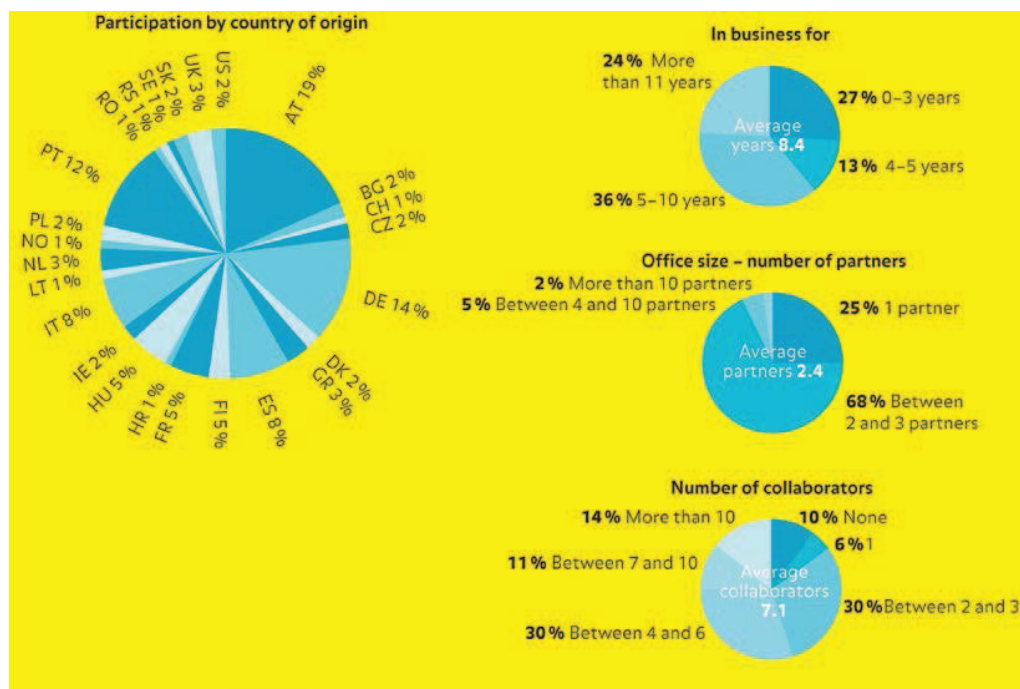


Image 01: Overview of the 116 practices taking part in the survey on which this paper is based.
Source: Forlati and SHARE architects(2011) p.287

The call was published through the Wonderland network itself), the Austrian Chamber of Architects and Chartered Engineers, and competitions listings web-sites such as www.competition-online.de. By filling in the questionnaire and sharing their story, the teams were given the possibility of taking part in the exhibition. There was no financial reward for the time invested in the submission, yet there was a potential for media attention. Considering the modality of the call, and the fact that their designs were recognized as award winning, the practices are assumed to be design-oriented European small to medium practices, open to an international perspective, interested in

cultural capital and with a relevant experience in taking part in architectural competitions. A minority of the practices were well known-practices at least in the national context of reference, and no 'star architect' took part.

The paper proposes both an overview of the data shared by the practices, as well a cross analysis of the qualitative aspects that emerged out of the stories, focused at the common denominators both in terms of strategic approaches and achievements. In this way the paper intends to pinpoint possible empirical answers to the questions formulated above (*Are there recognizable patterns in the way competitions serve the development of architecture practices? How can competitions be effectively used by architects?*). The relevance of these answers is clearly related to the specific profile of the practices surveyed, and the aim is to document a range of differing approaches within the sample, and not a good for all recipe.

Overview

According to the survey, competitions represented a relevant investment for all responding practices, with an average of 3,4 competitions and **2,000 working hours per year** (corresponding to the annual working time of one full-time collaborator).

One competition involved in average 568 working hours from a team of more than 3 people within the practice. Additional hours were invested by consultants and sometime by partner offices. (*A previous survey of practices with similar profiles showed that in average PR work involved 162 hours per year, and was something where practices did not feel that they were investing enough*). Once the competition is won, the average fee received for the resulting commission was just above 300,000 Euro.

The average ratio between submissions and realized project shows how difficult it is to reach realization. On the basis of the overall experience of the survey participants the following data emerged: out of 100 entries, 37 received an award of some kind, 17 won a first prize, and of these first prizes only 8 were eventually built. The resulting (possibly oversimplified) average rule of thumb: **out of 10 competitions, two of them result in a first prize, and one gets built.**

In terms of direct return, the practices indicated in average that 19% of the buildings they realized were commissioned thanks to competitions, and 39% of the practices indicated in competitions the most important source of new commissions. Considering the investment quantified above, competitions looked at in terms of one-to-one results represent an extremely time-intensive and in the end inefficient way of procurement for the practice surveyed. Alternatives such as the ones suggested in the opening quote of this paper (PR, networking,...) could be after all much more effective. On the other hand, the relevance of competitions in the practice suggests that the quantitative factors highlighted above and considering winning as the only positive outcome of a competition represent only one side the issue, as they do not catch a possibly much **'broader spectrum of interests and concerns'** (Kreiner 2010a, p.122) that might actually constitute the reason why some architecture practice considerably invest in competitions.

It is in the qualitative perspective (the stories) that elements of the spectrum can be searched for. The stories collected document in fact a range of possible approaches and ways in which competitions can change the life of an architecture practice. Therefore

they give indications about what relevant interests and concerns might lead a practice in this field of action.

The following analysis has been structured according to two broad categories: 'about winning' and 'beyond winning'. In the first of the proposed categories, I have looked at how competitions were approached within the practice, and what in the approach could contribute to the success. In the second category, I have looked at the broader 'spectrum of interests and concerns' beyond winning,) in order to pinpoint the role that competitions making play for the surveyed practices.

*(In the following pages practices have been distinguished according to the their country of origin. More quotes from the same practice can be identified thanks to the asterisks, for example German practice ***).*

about winning

Competitions as turning points

Competition represented determining turning points for a relevant number of submitting practices, and this in at least three ways: by enabling to start a practice for real, by providing access to a different market segment and/ or to a different geographical context.

27% of the practices surveyed declared in fact that the competition *'that changed their life'* was the reason to start their practice. **Two different patterns emerge from the stories.** In some cases the competition was of an effort done while working for another office, that took place during holidays or in the after-work. For others however the success happened out of a consistent focus on producing competitions to get the practice started. To these two different patterns correspond two equally different approaches towards competitions and success. In the first case there is an obvious sense of having been lucky and a loose approach to winning. The focus is on the challenge, on the 'playfulness', on passion, and winning is experienced as a surprise. For the second type of pattern there is instead a strong sense that the effort required was demanding to an extreme, almost 'heroic'.

'At the time one of us was still a student, the other had just finished. We did the competition only to enjoy (Spanish practice).

'In architecture sometimes things happen just like in 'wonderland' (Spanish practice).*

'(We were) just a bunch of friends starting from a blank: no PR network, no money, hardly spare time being busy doing something else to learn a living. (...) A competition is for us more a way to challenge ourselves and keep learning than craving for the first place.' (Italian practice).

The extreme of this 'heroic' phase concerns both the financial conditions of the practice as well as the psychological ones. In this phase there is no secured income and the team has to deal with constant self-doubt and the highest uncertainty over a longer period of time (from one year to fifteen in the case of the Finnish team). Awards other than the first prize might offer short-term help, but only winning means surviving. This need to win is possibly an important specific condition from at least two points of view.

I opened my own office (...) with no contracts at hand. The first year was actually pretty tough and I was always short on money. Working at home from my laptop I tried to participate in as many competitions as possible. In retrospective I would call this year 'the heroic phase'. (Austrian practice)*

- a) The role of luck in winning architectural competitions has been considered as determining as it is not possible to foresee how literally the brief will be interpreted by the jury (Kreiner, 2010, p. 103). Yet the stories share the fact that victory resulted out of a consistent effort, possibly indicating that a learning phase can bring fruits (it is possible to learn the green).
- b) The key competition is by many of these teams described as the last try, or last 'gamble' (Austrian practice**), an all-or-nothing situation

Our office started within 12 m2 and two laptops. (...) Most of our contributions were (...) prizes and honourable mentions. The big dream of feeding ourselves by creating good architecture and contribute something to our cultural life came closer, but our architectural ego, increased much faster than our financial one. (German practice who invested two years before winning the competition that changed their life)

where the future existence of the practice will be decided. Similarly to the descriptions of 'after-work' competitions attempt, also here: freedom of thinking, doing the project out of own interpretation, 'basic instinct' (Austrian practice**), and not explicit strategic considerations drive the team. All this suggests that a deeper reach into creativity connected to the extreme conditions described above may pay off.

The stories showed as well that competitions could act as turning points also for already established practices, not only for start-ups. By offering the opportunity to acquire projects in a different scale, of a specific typology or in a different county, competitions could change and upgrade the profile of some practices significantly.

In the case of projects in a bigger scale (and consequent scale of the fee), the upgrade has an internal dimension – for example, increasing the stability of the office as bigger projects guarantee an longer term income, or upgrading the way the collaborators are contracted and paid- as well as an external dimension- the increased professionalism changes the positioning of the firm towards the outside. A further benefit is the raise in self- trust, as the projects, once successfully concluded, can provide the confidence *'to plan every project of any size'*, as stated by an Austrian practice who won and realized a prestigious commission in Germany, its biggest project up to that time.

Successfully competing and realizing a project of a certain type further implies the possibility to access restricted competitions for similar projects. This might also become a mixed blessing, pushing towards an unplanned specialization of the practice, as experienced by a German practice that won two competitions for school buildings and *'since that time (...) we were always invited for school competitions and we are doing more or less nothing else than school buildings'*.

In all these cases successful competitions provided unique even if costly opportunities for the submitting teams otherwise not available. In this perspective the relevance of competitions is the opportunity they offer to get a practice started, to jump scale of commission or to set up foot in a different country. Yet this opportunity strongly depends on the type (open/ restricted) and 'density' of competition available, and varies therefore from context to context. **It is possible to successfully use competitions as strategy to set up or upscale a practice, it is however a risky endeavour with no success guarantee.**

*Three times they have been left with empty pockets. ... today, looking back they'd admit was a bit **foolish and careless**. Had they not won this time, they'd probably got hungry, down to the last cent, and distressed by the broken dream of setting up office together. (Austrian practice**)*

***There is a limit in everyone's self-confidence** and in the mid 80s we as well started to doubt that it was going to work. (...) we decided that this will be the last one if nothing will come out of it (Finnish team, working for fifteen years part time)*

Competition as discipline within the discipline

The stories collected were focused on the 'one' competition. The data provided by the practices show however that at least for some practices competitions represent a consistent and continuous effort, and not a one-off event, providing more than success. 39 % of the practices stated that they lived off competitions and 3% in a way. Most of the practices (85%) indicated that they have a specific set-up for competitions, including specialized collaborators both within and outside the office. This information corroborates the idea that **competition making represent an own specialization within the discipline**. This is after all nothing new: competition specialists have existed in history for example in Victorian England (Gilbert and Jormakka 2011, p. 283) and well known offices are known also in connection to their competition successes. What might be however new is the increasing professionalism and level of the submissions, exacerbated by a shrinking demand for professional services and consequent raised level of competition within architectural competitions.

'You need to produce at high level, it makes sense to select, as it is worth to present less projects, but very well presented, as participants are more and more belligerent, prepared to do everything to win.'
(Spanish team)

The information collected suggests that this specialization works in different dimensions, and that **practices might consciously or unconsciously develop (and combine) different kinds of specialized competitions skills**. One relevant dimension is the **specialization in term building typology** partly discussed above. This trend is particularly relevant in contexts where competitive public procurement procedures select the participants on the basis of restrictive criteria such as having already realized building with a similar program or similar building costs. In Germany for example only practices that have realized three schools in the previous 5 years can take part in schools competitions, forcing a kind of 'typological' specialization for competitions participants that excludes young teams from accessing the market, or particular segments of it (Gies, 2011, p. 323).

Yet the practices also described how **winning was supported by a mix of both design-based and not design-based strategic skills**. In this perspective, success in making competitions becomes not only a matter of luck, but also the result of learning and testing process, where also lost competitions become valuable lessons in mastering a very complex task that requires 'exercise and learning'.

'...a question of exercise and thinking. It is like playing the piano: you cannot play the piano concerto only by thinking of playing it' Through exercise you learn to 'read the green' as golfers would put it.'
(Austrian practice*)

Jury decisions are partly driven by chance, and jury might or might not select projects that do not literally 'respect' the brief, but move beyond it in some ways. The stories show the coexistence of at least two interesting possible approaches about how to deal with this paradox. One approach is about conscious strategic decisions about how far to go. In order to do this it is important to **'decode' the information**. In this case an important part of the skills is about reading the brief, and transforming this reading in a strategic positioning towards the brief, consciously managed. An important part of this 'decoding' (wording of the practice quoted in the text box above) is about **judging the judges**, as the composition of the jury *'is an important indicator of how to set up your strategic planning'* (Austrian practice*).

Yet for a relevant number of other practices the decision about how far to go is about **'doing what you believe in'** (Austrian practice^{***}), and not the result of an explicit strategy elaborated on basis of the brief or of the jury composition. The relative relevance of these two approaches is reflected in the different criteria the practices indicated as relevant in selecting a competition: for the most a challenging theme is very important, the jury is important for approximately one fourth.

In terms of results, both approaches might pay off, sometimes to an extreme.

At least 6 competitions out of the 116 surveyed were successful even if (or better said because) the submission moved beyond the brief in a very explicit way. The teams that go for the 'do what you believe in' approach do not appear to be consciously choosing between two possible alternatives, but more to have determined in advance a position from which they operate. **Their spectrum of aims, consequently, is broad, and more about defining a creative own positioning and approach than winning. They win nonetheless or possibly because of it.**

Learning to 'read the green' means moving also beyond design, and learning to grasp the complex interplay of the different factors (brief requirements, regulations, jury approach, interests and decision power of relevant stakeholders), either explicitly or implicitly, instinctively or through rationalized analysis. It also means to use experience and exercise to **build up skills and set-ups that work on the long run, moving beyond the perspective of one individual competition.**

The relevance of a long-term approach in the way competitions are developed in a practice is also what emerges from the experience of possibly the most successful competition practice that contributed to the research. The practice in question won (among other competitions) also the largest architectural competition in history in terms of number of participants (1,557 entries from 82 countries). The scale of the project was such that it propelled the practice from a three people practice to leading a team of 117 people with twelve consultants at the height of the project. To explain their success, the practice referred to their **'Five Second Rule'** to make competitions:

'an idea needs to be read from a distance of five meters within five seconds'

The interesting point is that we won the competition in spite of a real radical, conceptual project. Many colleagues start doing these common, boring designs believing that this is what people want. But we believe the opposite: only if we work on the consistency of your projects, on new, experimental approaches we push the imagination of the clients into new fields of interest. (Austrian practice)

*It was a very courageous project with very few expectations towards an honourable mention... we were completely overwhelmed (Austrian practice^{***})*

While founding our office we decided NOT to participate in competitions (... yet) the competition was special because it provided a platform to show our approach (...). After winning (...) our approach brought us several projects. (Dutch practice)

Architects should not only try to answer but also to question in creative ways. (German practice)

Dammit, let's make a statement, no overreacting conservators' bullshit.. we don't make a winning entry, we make the project we want to experience here when hanging around (...) (Polish team)

The test is run using the consultants that are relevantly involved from the beginning on. Next to the design work, the practice focuses on preparing and planning the process carefully, using spreadsheets, brief analysis, deliverables, design time, design freeze, sheet layout, production, red-marking, report production, sign-off dates and finally, shipping dates.

The tools and procedures developed by this practice explicitly highlight the importance of a **communication** that works in the specific set-up of a jury session. The 'Five Second Rule' is in fact about being able to catch the attention and interest of a jury with no time or energy for an in depth analysis. But it has also a reflexive effect, as it implies is that the idea at the base of the submission is so clear that it can be easily communicated in its essence. The effectiveness of this clarity is relevant for stakeholders other than the professional jury. These stakeholders might be part of the jury themselves or be anyway in a position to influence the success of the project. (The practice in question noted that thanks to its 'kind of simpleness' people as well as the most relevant stakeholder- not an architect but the president of the country running the competition - could understand the concept very quickly.)

Competitions as collaborative efforts

Collaborations with consultants and beyond were an important contribution to the success of a number of the submitted projects. Competitions mostly resulted out of collaboration with consultants from other fields (61%) and/or other architects (29%).

While the main workload remained with the submitting practice, collaborations helped in a variety of ways. Young practices could compensate their lack of experience by referring to experienced consultants and raise so their credibility. Multidisciplinary team work resulted in innovative winning approaches, but also joining up with other architects was successful: it helped fulfilling selection criteria by restricted competitions, but could as well raise the level of design by joining forces.

'Interdisciplinary thinking produces innovation. Today it is a habit for us to do competitions in dialogue with artists, landscape architects, musicians, social workers, etc.' (German practice)

'We linked with another practice to enter the competition, wanting an Irish winner for it' (Irish Practice)

beyond winning

Overall effectiveness

One important piece of empirical piece of knowledge emerging from the compared analysis of the stories is that **successful submissions are beginning and not endpoints of a process, and that this process rarely is easy and unproblematic.** Substantial difficulties in moving from a successful submission to a realization are in fact an experience shared by many of the practices. While some of the difficulties are possibly comparable to the ones in 'normal' direct commissions, others can be specifically linked to the competition setting.

The submitted stories suggest that **in competitions clients might feel less bound than in a direct commission both towards the predefined requirements and to the resulting project.** The stories included cases where the clients felt free to strongly rework the brief after the project was selected, to contract other architects or to let the project die. The suggestion of one of the teams involved in one of these cases is that in competitions only after the competition is decided *'the client starts to think seriously about his requirements.'* (Austrian practice). This delayed definition results in a substantial additional workload for the architect, and possibly in relevant differences between the winning competition design and the realised project that in the end invalidate the work of the jury.

As clients delegate part of their decisions power to experts, **the final selection might be something that the client does not agree or cannot live with for a variety of reasons** (including not trusting the team but liking the idea), and in the end has little chance of getting properly if at all realized: This pattern can be found in cases where not selected proposals were realized by someone else, as well as cases where the result of the competition was put aside in favour of a new, directly commissioned project.

Not only projects do not get build as foreseen in the competition phase, but also they do not get built at all. The data already discussed say something about the 'mortality rate' of successful submissions. In the overall experience of the surveyed practices, only 47% of the won project since the practice's inception were built. Of the 100 projects awarded a first prize in the survey, 39 were realized and 33 were under construction and 9 in contract negotiation. Still 11 were on hold, 8 were cancelled and 11 did not imply realization. Even if we cannot compare these 'mortality' ratios to the

'The commission went through several difficult circumstances, difficult to explain. We designed two complete executive projects, the second finally was built 6 years after the competition' (Spanish practice).

'11 years have passed, and we are not working on a third scheme based on a new transportation plan' (Greek team)

for the architect, and possibly in design and the realised project

*'I was wondering why the f*ck they established a jury with a Pritzker prize winner, if they preferred a post – modern Disneyland'. (German practice)*

As it was an idea competition, we didn't expect any direct commission, but we were sure about the possibility of being invited in case of a project competition for the new train station. (Then) the architect Rafael Moneo was directly contracted (...) (Austrian practice who won an idea award in Spain).

We were informed that the project was very well received (...) yet we were only awarded the second prize. (After four years) we encountered to our surprise (...) a flashy rendering and a model (...) Beyond the non-descript Eastern European developer attitude the project resembled in its massing and urban gestures quite closely our original scheme' (Greek team in a invited competition for a private developer).

one of direct commissions, it is clear that a 'dead' competition project has involved much more work a 'normal' one, both if we look at the total work done by all the participants, but possibly as well only at the work done by the winning practice to get to a successful submission.

The information collected leads to two important reflections. First, the research on the effectiveness of the competition should include the following implementation phase, looking for specific patterns of failure, as the ones suggested above, and their relevance.

Secondly, also in view of the risks of winning projects remaining unrealized, in terms of 'getting the job' competitions appear to be relevant where no other options are available (for example for beginners as unique access chance), but otherwise a highly ineffective way of procurement. Yet, as already pinpointed, to look at competitions in terms of 'getting the job' might be a much too limited perspective.

'There was a political shift in leadership and the project was cancelled because the new administration preferred not to adorn itself with borrowed plumes... The empty lot was turned into a parking lot – for several million euros.'
(Austrian practice, whose project for a transfusion centre was cancelled after construction began)

'The financial crisis happened, and not the project is on hold' (Austrian practice)

'The commission is ours if they manage to raise the money' (Slovak practice with a project in Norway)

Side effects

The patterns analyzed in the previous pages already introduce the idea that competitions bring more than just a job, as they strongly affect the way a practice operates, positions and reflects on itself beyond having got an additional project. **To understand the possible return of the considerable investment of competitions, it is therefore important to understand and possibly factor in what I would call side-effects.**

The fact that side effects are relevant by-products of competition is confirmed by the experience of several practices that showed how **even 'lost' competitions could positively and relevantly influence their development.** In these cases the competitions, even when lost, created the opportunity for the practice to show its abilities to potential clients or in general, and thanks to this acknowledgement new projects could be gained.

'Even if I did not won, the work was very much appreciated. This competition gave me the possibility to have other work (...) and to open my office. (Portuguese practice)

Won competitions were indicated as key event that lead to changes in the way the office was organized and run. As already discussed before, self-trust and increased acknowledgement, as well as the network of consultants used in the competition phase constituted further resources for the practices beyond the competition it itself.

But is this enough? Asked about the benefit they saw in doing competitions, only 15% fully agreed that competitions a good opportunity for getting new commissions, while most practices (59%) indicated the fact that they stimulate architectural thinking.

'Moving from working for free all the time to getting paid to be working like hell' (Austrian practice)

'The project has shaped the way in which we approach and run projects now and in the future' (Irish practice*)

This perspective also emerges out of some of the stories: **Competitions are described as exceptional opportunities to test radical design approach, to find out what one really wants, ‘switches’ for experimentation. In this approach, winning is actually a positive side-effect while it is the experimentation and learning process that represent the main core benefit.**

In this, competitions seem to work differently than usual projects. While this difference is not explicitly discussed in the stories, it is possible to assume that the critical and experimental intensity has to do with the need to take responsibility for the project, as difficult or contrasting requirements cannot be neutralized by talking to the client (as suggested in Kreiner 2010b). the presence of a deadline and possibly the spirit and ambition of the task in itself.

What I have called side-effects constitute potentially relevant interests and concerns for making competitions, beyond the ‘getting the job’ logic. In this perspective consistently investing in competitions has to do with a return of creative and organizational capital for the practice, and not necessarily with the return linked to winning and to the follow- up project.

‘We have completely embraced the fact that every commission might become a competition at any point (and vice versa) and we appreciate it, as it keeps us innovative and self-critical.’(French practice working in Asia)

*‘A lot of architect friends did competitions to try to get work but to me **competitions were opportunities for experiment (...)** a sort of frame in which to test ideas.’(Portuguese practice)*

‘We use them as a raw material for research; they become switches that turn on speculations and open up possibilities when other means of theoretical and archival research have come to a dead end.’(Greek practice that used competitions as part of a PhD by architectural design)

‘At the end of the day there is no logic in the process. The project is everywhere, but you do end up with the project only because you have to deliver it on deadline day’ (Irish practice)

conclusions

What can be inferred from the patterns described until now about how to effectively use architecture competitions to develop an architecture practice? The following series of strategic considerations are primarily referable to not fully established practices similar to the ones responding to the survey, with an interest in a design based profile.

Relevance of competitions

- Competitions offers unique opportunities for practices at different stages of their development, however these opportunities come in face of a considerable investment and risks. Cases where the first try is the first win are possible but totally unpredictable. Usually a successful competition is part of a series of other submissions done by the practice, suggesting the need to develop a consistent line of work in this field in order to come to a result.
- Competitions results are anyway unpredictable, but it is possible to **develop and /or train strategic skills in selecting the competition, design development and in terms of operational and communication approaches** ('reading the green' or procedures such as the 'Five second rule') that might raise the chances of success.
- While it is not possible to directly steer and maximize the winning of competitions, it is possible to **maximize the side-effects** for every competition done and transform them in a capital of some sort for the practice. These side effects include: **developing new/experimental approaches, establishing collaborative exchange networks both within and beyond the profession, developing organizational set-ups and ways of working for producing interesting ideas**. All these resources can be used to inform the way the practice works both for normal commissions and for competitions.
- In terms of design content, the strategy of prioritizing interpretations that move beyond the expectations of the client instead of mere brief implementation pinpoints the potential of developing own stand-points and agenda that can then inform submissions as well the other projects. **Competitions can become so tests or 'switches' for an experimentation that moves beyond the submission**. By this the practice can broaden the spectrum of interests and concerns beyond the submission, and **gain also when the competition is lost**.

Specific risks highlighted in the previous analysis concerns recurrent failures in the implementation phase (winning is not enough), that make the investment in competitions- when looked at in terms of winning – particularly ineffective.

All in all it remains an open question, even in front of a maximization of the side-effects discussed above, if the 2000 hours invested in average per year by the practices surveyed make sense. Alternative strategies of procurement such as PR work could at least in part be considered, whereby- differently from competitions- these strategies are possibly less sexy and attractive to architects, especially to the ones fitting in the profile here considered. PR strategies in fact do not rely on any skills included in most architectural education curricula, do not usually involve a broader spectrum of interests and concerns as competitions do, nor provide the chance of changing the life of a practice in a day. As the saying goes, no risk no fun...

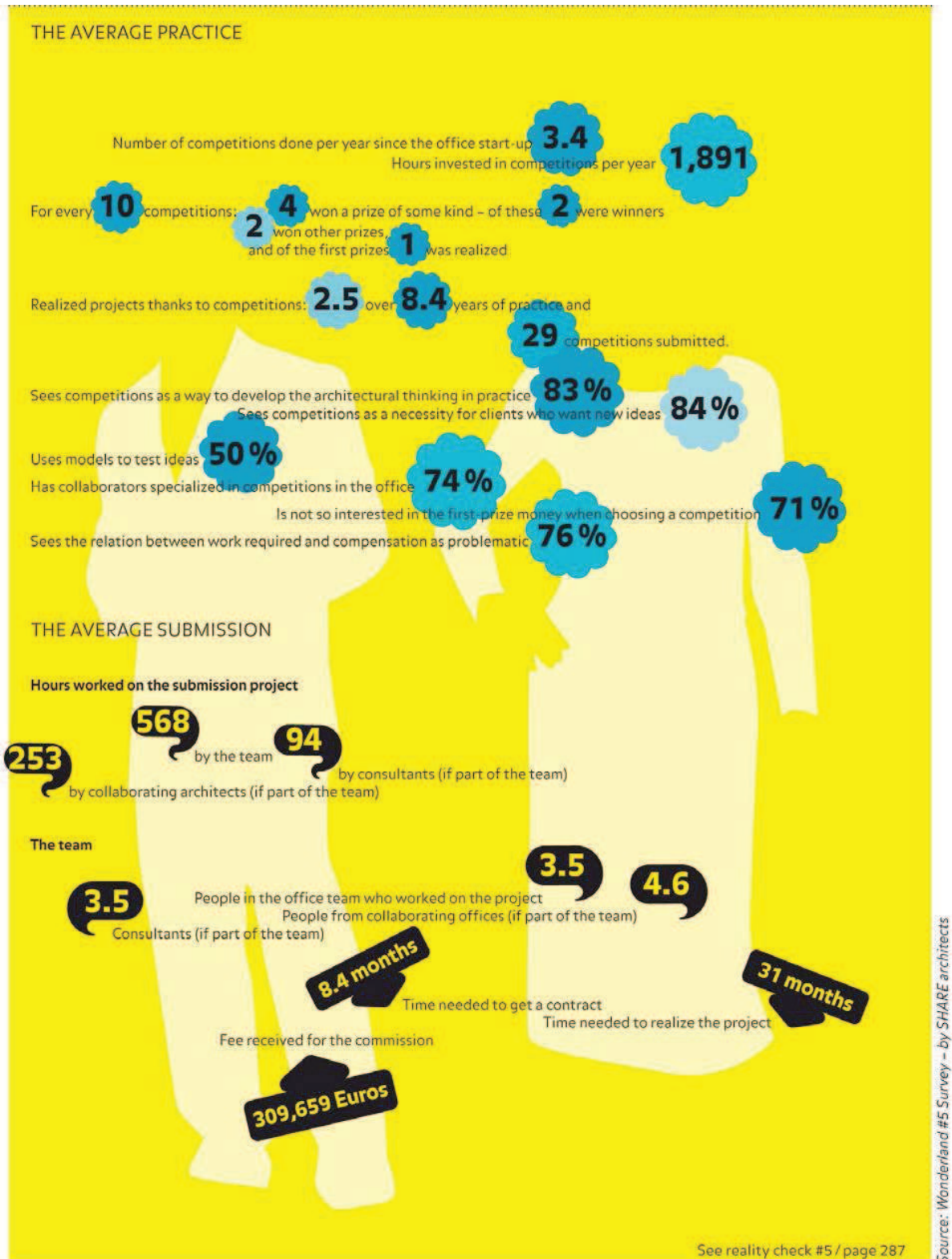


Fig.1: The average practice/ The average submission; Wonderland Survey #5.
 in: ForlatiS.; Isopp A; Piber A (eds.): *Wonderland Manual for Emerging Architects*.p. 272

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Deadline Today: 99+ stories about architectural competitions Exhibition/symposium. AZW Vienna: Wonderland platform for European architecture. June 18th-July 20th 2009.

SESSION 3A

ASSESSMENT

An Epistemological Assessment of Tensions between Expert Evaluations and Qualitative Judgment in Architectural Competitions

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An Epistemological Assessment of Tensions between Expert Evaluations and Qualitative Judgment in Architectural Competitions

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Contribution to the theme:

What is the relation between competition form and innovations? Addressing the role of the client, jury, and design teams in competitions in relation to the outcomes.

Keywords:

expert evaluation, judgment, qualitative debate, expertise, risk society, architectural competition

Introduction

How do expert evaluations and expertise impact the outcome of the architectural competitions? What do they bring to the judgment process? This study of experts and expertise in the judgment process originated from our previous study that showed that environmental management tools are shifting the definition of quality in the architectural competition today (Cucuzzella, 2013b). Environmental management tools and certifications are some of the many outcomes of what we refer to today as risk society. This is a society that began in the early 1980's, focused on the assessment and quantification of an array of risks, each with their corresponding set of experts. Among these today, the environmental experts are prominent newcomers in the competition.

This paper has three main parts. In the first part, we will circumscribe the various issues related to qualitative judgment in the architectural competition today, specifically with the growing imperatives of sustainability. Here we will also introduce the methodology adopted. Second, we present a series of competitions in order to categorize the types of expert evaluations in the competition today, identify how these impact the jury deliberation and the conflicts they introduce. In the third and largest section, we place this work in the general theory of judgment where we highlight the differences between the expert evaluation of specific project criteria and general qualitative judgment. A critique of the prescriptive and restrictive character of expertise is conducted through a wider theoretical framework. Here we examine the series of observed tensions from a broader epistemological and historical perspective, by looking at the theories of risk society. Here we will reflect on how the emergence of a risk society has changed the way humans deal with uncertainty and how this has led to a rethinking of how we judge the built environment.

1. Identifying Tensions in the Judgment Process of Competitions

The specific focus of this paper is to understand how the various forms of architectural expertise are having an impact on the way the jury judges the competitor projects in order to identify the project with the best overall qualities. There are many tools or processes to help define the many dimensions of quality of an architectural project, of which the competition process is an important device. The jury process is ideally meant to collectively find the project with the overall best qualities through a constructive deliberation. We contend that experts confront this construction with the prescriptive measures and restrictive visions resulting from their assessment tools. Is the growing expertise in the competition leading to a fragmented vision of the project intentions?

We compared a variety of Canadian competitions where the reliance on expertise was a dominating factor in the jury deliberation process. We found that this situation arose most frequently when an environmental certification was a strict requirement and explains why there was a focus on such competitions. In addition we have been increasingly observing in competitions today that proving a building is environmentally sustainable through the acquisition of some green building certification has become a goal in itself. In a previous research, we have observed that these certifications actually become the main competition prize for the client in the Canadian context (Cucuzzella, 2012).

In Canada, the emerging norm used to address sustainability, particularly environmental sustainability is the LEED (Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design) rating system. This rating system is increasingly required as part of the criteria in Canadian competitions. It was introduced in Canada in 2003, but has gathered traction in competitions, specifically since 2008. We complemented some of the Canadian competition analyses with examples of competitions from around the world in order to better understand the phenomena.

We conducted a comparative discourse analysis of the competition brief, competitor textual proposals, and the jury report. We also conducted a comparative analysis of the visual dimensions of the competitor panels, i.e. drawings, schemas, tables, and renderings. Our results are presented in a two-fold manner. We first present a categorization of various expert-types within the competition. We then present some brief analyses of the impacts of experts and expertise on the competition process within this categorization. For purposes of brevity we will only present the results of a few competitions in this second part. We conclude this paper with a reflection of these observations through the lens of the contemporary Western condition of risk society in order to contextualize their implication.

2. Experts, Expert Evaluation and Qualitative Judgment in the Architectural Competition

Who are the experts in the competition process today? Although one could consider that most of the actors engaged in a competition are experts in one way or another, in this research we propose to distinguish between *explicit experts*, *implicit experts* and another category that can be referred to as the *meta-experts*.

2.1 Observations

What we will call the *explicit experts* in a competition are those actors that deal with areas like energy or material efficiency, technical or structural feasibility, performance measures, and acoustics among others. They are referred here to as 'explicit' since in most cases, their titles include their area of expertise. The growing plethora of measurement tools or software to assist in the task of performance evaluation today calls for increasingly improved performance and therefore more explicit-experts. This precise quantitative assessment comes into conflict, at times, with the more qualitative debate of the overall project. These experts usually have no deciding power in the jury since they are typically called in before the jury takes place. However, we are witnessing that some of these explicit experts are at times invited as jurors.

We will also identify a category of *implicit experts*, since: *the client* is an expert of the requirements; *the advisor* is an expert of the competition process; *the architect* of the jury is an expert in architectural quality; and *the competitors* are obviously experts in design. We refer to these actors as 'implicit' since their professional titles do not state their area of expertise. For example, the client, who is the representative of the user, understands the project in a general sense and within this, has a rich understanding of the requirements. Another example is the architect. The architect is above all, an expert in the conception and construction of projects. As part of this area of expertise, they are inherently experts in qualitatively judging the diverse dimensions of quality.

What about the *meta-expert*? This is an expert whose claims remain on the most part unchallenged since he/she is perceived as the ultimate expert in his/her field at large. A meta-expert can be either an explicit expert, for example, the world-renowned expert on energy assessments. In this case, the meta-expert has worked at an international level on questions related to energy efficiency and energy systems and where their work is cited worldwide. A meta-expert can also be an implicit expert. In this case, an example could be a world-renowned architect that has won competitions internationally. He is respected as a professional who inherently understands the essence of winning projects. Both of these types of meta-experts are important to our observations, as they have demonstrated their capacity to short-circuit the debate in the jury process.

One wonders how we can maintain the balance necessary for a qualitative judgment in this 'market' of experts. Today, this is aggravated by the need to refer to environmental experts – be it a person or an environmental certification system, before a final judgment can be made. In this sense, tensions are abundant, since architects and jurors are caught between a will to protect the planet through prescriptive rules and expectations for innovation and excellence.

Of course, tensions and conflicts occur in many complex projects that have substantial technical requirements. Nevertheless, the fact that competitions nowadays include an evaluation of performance appears to increase the conflicts of expertise and as such, may explain why more and more, competitions are seen as exhibiting a difficult 'crab mentality' – where the actors in this process, rather than working together to collectively define the best project, seem to draw out the entire process to a halt through their competing points of view. How do these experts impact the jury deliberation?

2.1.1 Explicit expert in the jury: The environmental expert

A burgeoning situation in the competition today, with the imperative of sustainable development, is when an expert of a green building rating system is included in the jury rather than used only for consultation. This new situation changes the deliberation process significantly. Because they are explicit experts, their voice can heavily drive the jury deliberation, leaving an imbalance in the weight given to the more qualitative arguments. These explicit experts are not experts of overall architectural project quality, but rather experts of a very specific and fragmented part of the project limiting their vision of the overall project.

This situation increasingly occurs in Canada. A library competition in Montreal emphasized this conflict. In this case, even if the jury¹ conferred that all teams could achieve the LEED requirement, of the two last teams left competing for the winning prize, the safest project regarding the ability to achieve LEED Gold rating was selected. The jury claimed that the runner up was too risky in terms of attaining LEED, yet the team's discourse was the most encompassing regarding how they addressed sustainability. The winning project did not have any encompassing sustainability strategy, rather only an enumeration of technologies to address performance issues. This specific situation was further aggravated by the fact that for the mayor, the LEED ranking was the most important criteria of architectural quality. The explicit expert in the jury biased the decision, pushing the qualitative architectural dimensions aside so as to ensure a predictable LEED certification was secured. This has occurred in a series of competitions in Canada, particularly where the LEED certification is high.

¹ The jury consisted of 7 members: 2 architects, 1 environmental expert/architect, 2 representatives of the client, 1 academic, 1 cultural representative

2.1.2 Explicit nonhuman expert in the jury: Rigid environmental prescriptions

So an explicit expert is not the only element to perturb the qualitative debate. A rigid environmental certification requirement could also sharply sway the jury. For example, the New Montreal Planetarium competition, launched in 2008 had a LEED Platinum certification requirement – the highest rating of LEED – and the only explicit criterion for sustainable development. The most redeeming quality for the winning project was not its symbolism as the jury² stated: *“Further exploration of the symbolism of the cones in terms of iconography and the materiality”* (Ville de Montréal, 2009, p.7)

From the media perception, the most conventional of the projects submitted won, yet it met the strictest LEED standards mainly from ‘tried and true’ technical solutions that were easily understandable by the jury and visible to the public (extensive green roof). The multitude of press releases and documents connected to the project emphasized the importance of the project for strengthening Montreal’s position as a leader in sustainable development. This would also be an example for the next category, which is the invisible member in the jury.

Another example of a competition that was rigidly driven by the measurable requirements of low carbon performance was the *Concours EDF Architecture Bas Carbone 2011*. This was the 4th edition of this competition, organized by EDF on the premise that *“the low carbon performance stimulates architectural innovation on all levels and processes of design towards a quality that privileges comfort and the habitat.”* (Caille and Francois, 2011, p.15, author's translation). In spite of the fact that the jury consisted of mostly architects³, the jury’s comments regarding the winning project were very divided on this outcome since there was much concern about the lack of overall architectural quality. It is clear that technical solutions won this project. In fact, the state architect/urbanist, and member of the minister of ecology of sustainable development as well as member of the jury, voiced profound concern about the project saying that, *“I have some fears with regards to the image, as part of a larger whole, and with the omissions it may encourage. I think that we must one day give ourselves the means to analyse the existent correlation between the technical solutions and the urban form and to measure these on the architecture.”* (p.29, Caille and Francois, 2011, p.29, author's translation). In this competition, the rigid environmental requirements can be considered as the invisible ‘member of the jury’, driving the entire deliberation process down the path of reducing the debate of architectural quality to a decision of the best project based on the best quantifiable result (lowest carbon).

² The jury consisted of 9 members: 3 architects, 1 environmental expert/architect, 3 representatives of the client, 1 set-designer, 1 academic

³ The jury consisted of 12 members: 4 architects, 2 urbanists, 2 politicians, 3 representatives from EDF, 1 environmental expert

2.1.3 Meta-expert in the jury: The elephant in the room

Yet, there is another problematic scenario that can be related to either explicit or implicit experts – the meta-experts. These actors are perceived as world-renowned specialists of a profession, field of expertise, or domain. They are similar to the explicit experts in a jury, specifically in the way they are seen to set an imbalance in the jury deliberation.

An example of this situation in Montreal was a competition for a cultural center launched in 2010. Here the meta-expert was the jury president⁴. There were four finalist, all projects equally strong. As an observer in this competition's jury deliberation process, it could be seen that there was a deliberate swaying of the jury members' perception of the four finalist projects by this expert. In other words, the jury president's comments regarding the four finalists were intentional in that they were deliberately seeking to eliminate all the finalists, except that finalist that this meta-expert wanted as the winner. The way in which this was done was through a combination of the jury president's comments followed immediately by a vote. In this case, the meta-experts comments directly influenced the voting by the jury and in turn, the selection of the final winner.

Another exemplary case illustrating this situation was the competition for the Centre Georges Pompidou. It is well known that the influence of Jean Prouve was instrumental in ensuring that Piano-Foster's proposal for the Centre Georges Pompidou would be selected as the winning project. There was no room for further discussion within the jury after he presented his point-of-view. In this case, the story ended well, as the winning project is now a historically praised building. But how many big-name architects have influenced juries? In such cases, it becomes a selection of the meta-expert where the competition is transformed into a co-optation process rather than a judgment process. We can say that the meta-expert is essentially the 'elephant in the room'. Everyone is aware of his huge presence, yet no one wants to explicitly acknowledge him or the way in which his point-of-view redirects the judgment.

2.1.4 Nonevaluable by experts: When proposals escape quantifiable evaluation

Architects seem to be aware of this inflation of experts in competitions today and tend to produce fuzzy and open-ended projects. Such projects escape any definitive expert assessment and can only be qualitatively judged because of their ambiguous details. In these cases the competitor proposals are meant to depict a striking idea that is not yet quite crystallized in terms of constructability. In these cases, it is not clear what the expert evaluations can bring, specifically because the images are meant to represent an intention more than constructive details. There are many examples of this, such as the FRAC competition of Marseilles, where Kengo Kuma's winning project was starkly different from what was depicted in the competition

⁴ The jury consisted of 10 members: 4 architects, 1 environmental expert/architect, 1 representative of the client, 1 artistic director dance and resident of borough, 2 cultural/political representatives, 1 municipal urbanist

(Caille, 2013). Whether it is the rendering technologies available today, the lack of constructive details in the original competitor proposals, or the compromises taken during the construction phase after the competition, it is very difficult for explicit experts to make any conclusive quantifiable evaluations in cases where projects are open-ended. We know that a certain amount of transformation will inevitably occur because of unforeseen constraints. In the case of this example, one could say that the built project was a non-recognizable representation of the competition proposal.

2.2 Analysis

Our research on competitions show that environmental experts and certifications are not only problematic for the jury process, but they also seem to impact the design phase, shifting the designer's focus to technological solutions (Chupin and Cucuzzella, 2011). Our research has also shown that it is not only environmental experts that deliberately sway jury decisions, but any of the expert-types identified can also purposefully bias jury decisions. So, we can see that the conflicts related to experts in a competition are complex. We have observed at least three problems. The following is an analytical summary of the above-observed situations.

First, in the case where *an explicit expert, such as an environmental expert, is a member of the jury*, the difficulty in the jury deliberation arises because the expert is not usually versed or has 'whole' project experience since his/her expertise lies within the question of performance optimization of buildings. We can counter-argue that experts of environmental certifications may also be architects, who have project experience. Yet observations in the jury have shown that, in their role as environmental experts, their arguments are systemically those related to the certification system. Such an expert opens up a discursive gap in the jury deliberation, leading to deadlock, since a project may not meet the quality ideals of an architect in the jury, who has a whole project vision, yet the same project may meet the quality ideals of an explicit expert in the jury (Cucuzzella, 2013a).

Second, in the case of *the explicit nonhuman expert in the jury – where environmental management tools are very strictly adopted* – the main difficulty lies in the double-edged situation where there is the questionable validity of such preliminary environmental claims on one end, yet there is a *perceived* accuracy of these results, accompanied with their strict use, on the other end. This presents a daunting inconsistent and contradictory situation for the jurors. Our previous studies have shown that the timing of these environmental evaluations in the competition are counter-productive as they occur far too early in the design process – in other words, much uncertainty exists since the project is not yet concretized and constructed (Cucuzzella, 2013). In addition, research has already begun to show that energy estimates conducted early in the design project, which often use ideal scenarios, are far from the post-occupancy use, so they do not guarantee better building performance (Burnett, 2007, Newsham et al., 2009, Scofield, 2009, Carassus, 2011). The question of validity and reliability of these expert evaluations arises. Yet the boroughs that run the competitions would prefer to have this early

'stamp of approval'. Even if the timing seems paradoxical, in Canada, this is fast becoming the norm.

Third, in the case where *a meta-expert is the president or even simply, a member of the jury*, the jury is often swayed in the direction that this expert intends – similar behavior as in the explicit expert. In this case however, the arguments are seen as 'black box' arguments since they are perceived to come from the expert's extensive and exceptional experience, rather than from a series of quantified results, which are more 'white box' arguments. Here the debate typically fades quickly as it converges to the meta-expert's advice. On the one hand, this can be problematic since the fairness and democratic nature of the competition process is diluted in such an intervention. Yet, on the other hand, because of the extensive project vision of a meta-expert, their arguments and choices may be the most appropriate. This is not always the case however.

Some of the conflicts related to expert evaluations in these three situations are then directly related to (1) the value systems embedded within each jury member and the expertise that each one brings to the deliberation; and/or (2) the valorization given to systematic methods of quantifiable evaluation. These values dictate a worldview that to some extent, define what is designated as 'quality'.

However, in the fourth case, when proposals are *nonevaluable by experts*, this presents a contradiction. In a contemporary competition context when experts are increasingly sought after, this is a situation when the limits of such expertise are made evident. Are we witnessing a situation where architects produce images of buildings that remain intentionally open to interpretation and to future developments because they want their projects to remain supple to the forgoing process? Tostrup suggests that the visual and verbal competition material presented by competitors, communicate the value systems that are embodied in their proposals (1999). Even if architects say this is done in the spirit of openness of their work and suppleness to process, can it also be that they want to escape any expert evaluation?

3. Theoretical Implications: Expert Evaluation, Qualitative Judgment, and Risk Society

How should the question of expert evaluations in competitions then be studied? Ideally, in a competition the winning selection is made through a collective deliberation process (Strong, 1996). Qualitative debate in the competition is the means to collectively construct and finally choose the best overall project (Chupin and Cucuzzella, 2011, Van Wezemaal et al., 2011). However as Nasar has stated, the jury deliberation process is not a given (1999). Let us emphasize that without a qualitative debate the final choice of the winning project is reduced to a vote rather

than remain a collectively constructed judgment. From this perspective, it is difficult to circumvent the general theory of qualitative judgment.

3.1 Distinguishing Expert Evaluation and Qualitative Judgment

According to the American pragmatist James Dewey judgment is defined as criticism and further states that: *“Judgment has to evoke a clearer consciousness of constituent parts and to discover how consistently these parts are related to form a whole. Theory gives the name of analysis and synthesis to the execution of these functions”* (Dewey, 1934, p.310). Dewey, however, prefers to refer to these functions as discrimination and unification, and claims that the unifying phase (synthesis) is in fact the creative response of the individual who judges and that without a unifying view, criticism (and therefore judgment or emergence) ends in the enumeration of details. Dewey says that discord, conflict, disagreement, or dissonance induce reflection of a situation, experience or object of observation. One cannot ignore the reflection necessary to comprehend this discord or conflict, and by doing so, can resist from oversimplifying a given problem. For Dewey (1910 (ed 1933)) reflective thinking is judgment suspended during further inquiry, where a state of doubt is maintained until some conclusion can be finally reached. A judgment therefore arises when there are different meanings, rival interpretations, points of contention regarding some matter at stake, in short, when there is doubt and controversy. Evaluation, on the other hand, is the specific analysis of constituent parts of a whole, an inevitable activity in the criticism of a whole.

The author of «How We Think» (1910 (ed 1933)) claims that there are three main characteristics of judgment: (1) a controversy, consisting of opposite claims; (2) a process for defining and elaborating claims and of sifting through facts; and (3) a final decision, therefore arriving at closure. In order to arrive at a judgment, a series of inquiries where elements such as evidential facts, principles, and tacit knowledge, may all be necessary (Dewey, 1910 (ed 1933), Lera, 1981, Guba and Lincoln, 1989). Evidential facts are a result of the evaluation of empirical data – an objective perspective. Principles provide the worldview – a normative perspective. Tacit knowledge is the knowledge acquired through experience and is considered subjective, where experience is the natural stimuli for reflective inquiry. These three can be related to what Habermas (1985) has termed the cognitive-instrumental (objective), the moral-practical (normative), and the aesthetic-expressive (subjective); all three dimensions of modern culture that have become increasingly detached as they have become increasingly expert driven (Habermas, 1985).

Furthermore, Schön (1983) has stated that the complexity, uncertainty, uniqueness, and value-conflict so prevalent in real world situations, such as in architectural design situations, do not fit the model of ‘technical rationality’, since in this perspective they are reduced to problem-solving exercises. According to Schön (1983), when knowledge taken from a technical rationality is placed within the broader context of reflective inquiry, then the link between the uncertainty and

uniqueness prevalent in practice and the more quantitative approaches to evaluation are made possible. This critical perspective is what Schön (1983) refers to as reflection-in-action, a necessary activity during the conceptualization or judgment of a project whose constituent parts are evaluated using methods that lie within the quantitative, measurable, provable doctrine relying on the quantitative rigidity of the experts. We have seen in some competitions that the problem-solving approach is given precedence, a puzzling anomaly when judging architectural projects that have qualitative dimensions that are not measurable.

From this definition, evaluation is then incomplete on its own to judge quality in an architectural project. Yet we have seen how evaluations by the explicit experts in some competitions provide quick conclusions, since they assume to have enough evidence – knowing that this evidence rests on their fragmented or sliced vision of the project. Architects (the implicit experts) in the jury, on the other hand, are observed to be in a continual state of suspended conclusion and reflective thinking, grounding the information from explicit experts within their overall project experience – preferring qualitative debate rather than quick deductions.

In the competition cases described above, this debate was avoided based on three major reasons: (1) a powerful and persuasive opinion by an implicit meta-expert that biases the jury and forces an early convergence to a winner (2) a discursive gap amongst the jurors because an explicit environmental expert in the jury pushes decisions to lean heavily on the measurable data rather than the qualitative debate; and (3) the environmental certification requirement heavily biases the jury decisions as this must be unquestionably met.

In the first case, the qualitative debate is cut short because of a forceful and strategic argument that seems incontestable to the other jurors. In this case, as the collective construction of quality among the jurors and their judgment regarding the winning project is cut short, has the meta-expert confiscated the definition of quality? And if yes, then judgment in such situations, as elaborated by Dewey, may have been *controlled* where the controversies were evaded, the elaboration of claims and the sifting through of facts, were abandoned. Yet, in some cases this situation results in great winning projects. Can it be that the meta-expert has embedded tacit knowledge that can circumvent such shortcomings in the jury process?

In the second and third case, the deliberation gives priority to the arguments that can be 'proven', or what Habermas (1985) refers to as the cognitive-instrumental or objective realm, rather than those to those arguments that can be constructed through questions of the moral-practical (normative) or the aesthetic-expressive (subjective). In this case, we are increasingly observing, particularly through the growing imposition of the use of environmental certifications for public buildings today, an evaluation of quality emerging from the prescriptions of environmental certifications. Are the environmental experts – the actors of risk society – conditioning the definition of quality?

This question actually introduces a contemporary paradox where risk society and its plethora of environmental analysis or prescriptive tools are redefining quality in a general sense, and not only for architectural projects. This represents not only a practical but epistemological problem, since more and more today, quantifiable and empirical data is actually needed, not only to design an architectural project but also to judge its quality. Can a reflection on what constitutes a risk society help in untangling the question of experts in the competition?

3.2 Is Risk Society a Society of Experts?

Risk society emerged in response to the modern conditions of technology and uncertainty. It describes the way that modern society responds to risk. Giddens defines it as "*a society increasingly preoccupied with the future (and also with safety), which generates the notion of risk*" (Giddens, 1991, p.3). Risk society emerged specifically with the parallel emergence of: (1) the growing concerns of environmental risk, as these had come to be the predominant product of industrial society; and (2) the renewed interest of subjective Bayesian statistical methods of risk assessment. Obviously the question of environmental risk has been around since the emergence of the industrial revolution. However, since the 1980s, there has been much work done in the field of Bayesian statistical methods, specifically, in the discovery of the Monte Carlo methods with a rising interest for complex applications. At this important junction the hypothesis of risk society was put forth, particularly as has been theorized by Ulrich Beck and Anthony Giddens.

How is risk defined in this context? "*Risk may be defined as a systematic way of dealing with hazards and insecurities induced and introduced by modernization itself*" (Beck, 1992, p.21). Where society is increasingly threatened by potential risks that are a result of the modernization process. By modernization we mean the way humans increasingly seek technological mastery over nature. The prevention of these 'manufactured' risks through measurable, predictable means has become inadequate in a society where risks are being introduced faster than they could be understood, let alone quantified. In fact, Giddens (1991) has stated that the modern understanding of risk was supposed to help humans control their future, to normalize it. Yet according to Giddens (1991) and Beck (1992) things have not turned out that way. Even if this modern understanding of risk was supposed to help humans control their future or to normalize it, attempts to control the future through these measurable methods have led to the realization that humans need different approaches for relating with uncertainty.

A risk society is therefore focused on efforts for identifying and controlling risks, specifically through probabilistic expert knowledge, even in a global situation where many risks cannot be predicted in a reliable manner. The incarnation of this societal condition in the western world is attested through the development of the International Standards Organization (ISO) 31000 family of standards referred to as Risk Management (International Standards Organization, 2009). In these standards, the creation of uniform risk criteria and evaluation metrics is central for risk

management and reporting. The growing international power of insurance companies is another important testimony to the contemporary condition of risk society.

Beck has stated that risk has deepened the reliance on experts, since they have the very precise knowledge to make the authoritative evaluations based on unambiguous and measurable criteria (1997). In our paper, we refer to these individuals as explicit experts – those experts with exclusive knowledge that is only communicable through metrics and quantified results. In a world where uncertainty or danger are governed by risk managers, it is no surprise that there is an overcompensation of risk management experts entering the process in design competitions, where uncertainty and ambiguity are the rule rather than the exception.

Furthermore, according to Beck (1992) there is a paradoxical existence between progress and risk – risk is increasing because of the industrialization of technology and science, rather than being abated by technology and science. There is a disjunction between cultural production and their environmental and societal repercussions (Giddens, 1991). Giddens argues that there is a need to reshape our theoretical understanding of the modern project, in large part because environmental ecological questions lie within a framework of manufactured uncertainties⁵. The emerging relevance of new ways of thinking of future consequences, such as the precautionary principle rests on the failure of traditional scientific approaches to deal with such uncertainty, but more importantly, on the myth of scientific progress which reduces the world to produced artefacts driven by the efficiency of technology (Larceneux and Boutelet, 2005, Latouche, 2006). However the critique of technology, expertise, and even efficiency is not new.

3.3 Risk Society and the Conflicts of Experts

As far back as 1954, in his original and seminal French publication, *The Technological Society*, Ellul identified a perplexing paradox with technology while critiquing the ideology of efficiency. He claimed that technology drives intention and so individuals have become the slaves of the technologic society, where “*the multiplicity of means is reduced to one: the most efficient*” (Ellul, 1964, p.21). He stated that:

“(...) the individual participates only to the degree that he is subordinate to the search for efficiency, to the degree that he resists all the currents today considered secondary, such as aesthetics, ethics, fantasy. Insofar as the individual represents this abstract tendency, he is permitted to participate in

⁵ The distinction between manufactured and natural risks is increasingly blurred because of the global condition of environmental impacts. WHITESIDE, K. H. 2006. *Precautionary Politics: Principle and Practice in Confronting Environmental Risk*, Cambridge, The MIT Press, STIRLING, A. 2007. Deliberate futures: precaution and progress in social choice of sustainable technology. *Sustainable Development*, 15, 286-295.

the technical creation, which is increasingly independent of him and increasingly linked to its own mathematical law.” (Ellul, 1964, p.74)

For this author, technique is rigorously objective. He claims that all methods are rationally arrived at, are based on absolute efficiency, and this in turn has transcended the individual's desire or ability to think and act outside this technological realm weakening humanity's ability for creativity and reflection. He argued that:

“Technique, in the form of psychotechnique, aspires to take over the individual, that is, to transform the qualitative into the quantitative. It knows only two possible solutions: the transformation or annihilation of the qualitative” (Ellul, pp. 286-287).

If a thought cannot be transformed into the quantitative then, is it really annihilated, as Ellul has stated? Although this may be an extreme perspective of civilization in modernity, evidence has shown that there is a definite affinity towards the quantitative over the qualitative when explicit experts are members of the competition jury process.

In the same year that Ellul published *The Technological Society*, Heidegger published *The Question Concerning Technology*. Heidegger (1977 (1954)) refers to technology as both, a means to an end and as a human tool – being instrumental in the latter, and anthropological in the recent. The instrumental reveals more than it conceals. In the following quote, Heidegger (1977 (1954)) explains that technology involves securing various ends through means, but this does not necessarily indicate that we can control the ends.

“Everything depends on our manipulating technology in the proper manner as a means. We will, as we say, “get” technology “spiritually in hand.” We will master it. The will to mastery becomes all the more urgent the more technology threatens to slip from human control.” (Heidegger, 1977 (1954), p.5)

This reflection was further elaborated by Hannah Arendt with regards to technological innovation in modern society in her seminal book, *The Human Condition*, published in 1958 She realized the weakness of human action in modern society and identified a paradox with regards to the *ecology of action* in modern society – a situation where, as humans become more powerful through an increase in technological progress, the ability for humans to be able to control the consequences based on technological innovations decreases. This paradox is amplified, since the process of predicting potential risks in order to reduce them is ever more prevalent in modern society yet, uncertainty is the basic condition of the outcomes of technological innovations. She argued that:

“Modern natural science and technology, which no longer observe or take material from or imitate processes of nature but seem actually to act into it,

seem, by the same token, to have carried irreversibility and human unpredictability into the natural realm, where no remedy can be found to undo what has been done." (...) Nothing appears more manifest in these attempts than the greatness of human power, whose source lies in the capacity to act, and which without action's inherent remedies inevitably begins to overpower and destroy not man himself but the conditions under which life was given to him." (Arendt, 1998, first ed 1958, p.238).

How is this paradox identified in the 1950's relevant for the understanding the situation of expertise in the competition? We can say that the condition of risk society, with the plethora of risk experts, the need to predict as many risks as possible, the unchallenged relationship to the results of these evaluations, and the predominance of these risk evaluations in assessing a quality project is manifest in the competition processes (construction of brief, jury deliberation) at the expense of in-depth qualitative debates. We are not suggesting that such evaluations by explicit experts are excluded from the competition process but rather that these, as Dewey (1910 (ed 1933)) has suggested, remain in the deliberation until all claims have been debated and where judgment is suspended during further inquiry rather than oversimplifying a given problem.

The attraction of quantitative methods (even semi-quantitative methods) is that they have predictive powers where decisions based on computable data are simpler to rationalize; humans are very comfortable with this type of support for decision-making (Dewey, 1930, Ellul, 1964). A flagrant example of this is when competitions have a strict requirement of environmental certifications. We have seen in Canadian competitions that this has become a main protagonist of the impoverishment of qualitative debate, since judgment is driven by the prescriptive environmental guidelines. Can the drivers for innovation lie within a prescriptive environmental methodology, especially during the early phases of conceptualization? Is the instrumentality of the environmental certification as a means towards better performance in buildings redirecting the architect's energy of fantasy or imaginary? Environmental certifications are a way to reduce known risk with regards to known impacts. They seek to control the outcomes of action – what Arendt so eloquently described. They are also embedded in risk society, as they are the exemplary of risk management tools.

How is risk society shifting the qualitative debate in architectural competitions? Can we say that architectural projects are slowly being reduced to any other development project, concerned more with the quantification and minimization of potential measurable risks rather than by an architectural intention and anticipative vision? In a risk society, qualities and outcomes that cannot be measured are harshly challenged. And this is one of the main reasons why environmental certifications for buildings have become so important – they allow for the utmost control (as far as humanity has been able to predict to date) of potential risks in buildings. This presents an obvious problem when assessing the quality of architectural projects.

Discussion

From an understanding of risk society as a society of experts to our engaging criticism of modernity through the paradoxes of conflicting technological experts, we have reflected on how deeply these issues are rooted in our contemporary western condition. We can already conclude by acknowledging that the conflict of experts in competitions stems, in part, by the discursive gaps between the two sets of experts – the explicit and the implicit experts. The explicit experts often have universalizing statements of a very fragmented vision of the project. It seems, at a first glance, that their arguments are real, concrete and incontestable. The implicit experts often have project specific arguments of an integrated project vision. Their arguments appear abstract and contestable since they cannot be easily proven with a measuring tool or software.

The dichotomy between performance measurements and the complexity of projects is a disciplinary problematic. This becomes quite evident in the competition and represents a point of fragility since some jury members prefer to measure quality from an objective perspective, while others will argue that the notion of architectural quality can only be debated in order to arrive at a collective construction.

Can we say that all that is left of the complexity of the project through the filter of the explicit experts are the technical details? In this light, the conflict of experts may then be summed up as the contradiction between the fact that explicit experts escape the complexity of design projects yet, clients require official expert advice to counter-balance the expertise of the architect. Explicit experts in this sense, appear to be rather remote to the very idea of a competition as a space for qualitative debate and judgment.

We are not suggesting the exclusion of the explicit experts in a competition process, or the total exclusion of rigid prescriptive green building rating systems, which, in their current use, may stifle creativity in the search for innovative solutions. Rather if we are asked, as *experts* on competition research, to provide a recommendation, we could formulate two. First, ironically, we would advise that the explicit experts should remain external to the jury process, since their project vision is limited at best, and fragmentary at worst and could have an counter-productive on the redefinition of quality. Second, environmental tools such as green building rating systems, can be used as guidelines by the competitors in order to guide them in their performance objectives, if necessary, without having to be part of the competition process at all.

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Are Clients, Architects and Juries Becoming Environmental?

*A Critical View on the Competition Briefs and the
Juries' Assessments in Relation to the Outcome in
Ten School Competitions*

Leif D. Houck

Are clients, architects and juries becoming environmental?

-A critical view on the competition briefs and the juries' assessments in relation to the outcome in ten school competitions

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ABSTRACT: This paper first examines how evaluation criteria for judging architecture evolve over time. Secondly it takes a look on how new assessment criteria are emphasized when judging architecture. Finally this paper seeks to study to what degree the new assessment criterion, whether a project is environmental or not, is emphasized. This is studied through the examination of ten school competitions in Norway. The clients' competition briefs, the assessment criteria, the competitors' proposals and the juries' assessments are compared in respect of the qualities daylight and being environmental. Based on the results from this study, one conclusion is that the environmental criterion is a new parameter fundamentally affecting which project designs will win or lose competitions. The juries may even seem to over emphasize the importance of sustainability compared to other traditional criteria like daylight.

INTRODUCTION

Are the architectural assessment criteria in design competitions timelessly valid, or do they evolve over time? When society demands more environmental building solutions, how is this reflected in the competition briefs? Do the juries assess on environmental criteria, and if so, how is this evaluated in relation to other assessment criteria? New environmental demands ask for new, innovative building solutions. This paper aims to present and discuss how, and to what degree, design competition briefs have focused on the two conflicting qualities: energy friendly buildings and daylight. It also explores how the various design teams responded to the tasks, and how the juries assessed and selected the winners. The investigation is based on material from ten school competitions held in Norway, from 2009-2011.

BACKGROUND

In the very first recorded architecture competition in 448 BC, Callicrates assumedly hung up his drawings for ten days for the people of Athens to vote on his proposal for the new Nike temple (Smith, 1926). The assessment criteria, or rather what issues were discussed in the discourse about his and the other competitors' proposals, remain unknown. It is not until the emerging renaissance in Florence, in the year 1401, that we can study an architectural competition in more detail - how Lorenzo Ghiberti worked on his motifs, discussing his work with several of the thirty-four jury members and customers, while Filippo

Brunelleschi kept his work all to himself during the year allotted to accomplish the proposal (King, 2001). In this paper I will examine ten school competitions with respect to stated assessment criteria, compared to how the jury actually judged. In the first section I will go swiftly through some contemporary theory on different aspects of the architectural competition as such, with an emphasis on assessment criteria. In the second section I will examine the ten school competition cases and then relate the results to the theory and then suggest some conclusions.

FIRST SECTION: THEORY

Randomness and the competitors' strategy

In his article «Empirical Observations and Strategic Implications for Architectural firms» Kreiner explores the architectural competition in an extremely original way: he simulates 50 competitions between the same eight architectural firms, each ten times (500 simulations!) (Kreiner, 2009). He explains that the value of the simulation model *“lies in the ways in which the model inspires us to learn from empirical facts – or rather, to prevent us from drawing too strong implications from single events in a complex reality.”* Kreiner explains three strategies on how to read the competition brief as a scale of interpretative freedom: the brief can be read either as an instruction, as an indication or as an illustration. When read instructionally, the strategy will simply be to follow the program verbatim, not questioning the meaning or challenging the boundaries (rules and constraints) of the competition. On the opposite side of the scale, an illustrational interpretation will lead to a creative exploration of the design options. Also, he discusses the phenomenon of randomness and luck linked to architectural competitions and explores sources of unpredictability through examples from a case study. Kreiner sums up the aspect of randomness in the following way: *“Based on our empirical observations, no right or wrong buttons exist to be pressed. There are only buttons that are made right or wrong after having been pressed.”* Through the simulations Kreiner shows that focusing on winning may harm the value of winning, because the proposal may be less thrilling and of poorer quality than the potential of the task.

Do architects do their best?

Magali Sarfatti Larson raises the question of whether the clients *“...expect that the competitive situation will spur the architects to give their best?”* (Larson, 1994). In an attempt to see this from an architect's point of view, this quote from Rem Koolhaas is illustrative: *“Wanting to win a competition is not the same as wanting to do your best possible work”* (Koolhaas & Mau, 1995). When entering a competition the architect's considerations may be even more complex than suggested by Kreiner. Even if the architect has a clear picture of how to read and answer the competition brief, the choice of strategy can still be a dilemma, for example, if underlying values of the competition briefs are at odds with the architect's own personal convictions. So what does it mean, as an architect, to do your best? Is it to follow your convictions or to obey the competition brief, or to satisfy the jury?

Evolving values

In her article “Architecture competitions as discursive events” (Larson, 1994), Magali Sarfatti Larson shows how the majority of competitors could not win the competition for the Yale Mathematics Building

in 1970, because it was too easy to misinterpret the competition's preface. To put it simply, the competitors stumbled into the shift from modernism to postmodernism. The architectural values changed!

In her book "Architecture and Rhetoric", where architectural competitions in Oslo from 1939 to 1990 are examined, Tostrup shows how architectural values evolve over time (Tostrup, 1996). The dominating concern in the competitions in the late 1940s is the creation of good workspaces – which apparently means rooms with optimal sunlight conditions. This is repeatedly stated by the juries and by the competing architects. In the competition for the new government building in 1948, one competitor declares that the primary requirement he set for the project was "No office shall face north". Also the competition brief prescribes the office rooms to be not more than 5 m deep and the net height to be approximately 3.2 m. In the later decades daylight mattered, but emphasis was set on other values, such as space and spatial liberation (in the 50s and 60s), and what Tostrup labels "*sophisticated spaces*" in the 1980s.

Reidunn Rustad (Rustad, 2009) also shows how different dominating architectural values both change and are maintained over time. Typically, daylight is a central value in her first competition case from 1927, whereas daylight is not mentioned as a separate factor in her later cases. Interestingly, she leans her work on discursive theory by Fairclough, Lecaue and Mouffe. It is outside the scope of this paper to dive into discursive theory, but one of its aspects should be drawn attention to, namely the discursive process. In the first stage, "politics", the meaning of a value or term is discussed, in the second stage, "*hegemonia*", there will be a common understanding of, and agreement about the meaning of the term. In the third stage, "*objectivity*", the hegemony has existed over time such that original meaning and discussion about the term's meaning is forgotten. Rustad refers to Fairclough (Fairclough, 1992) in the following: "*It should not be assumed that people are aware of the ideological dimensions of their own practice. Ideologies built into conventions may be more or less naturalized and automatized, and people may find it difficult to comprehend that their normal practices could have specific ideological investments.*"

To summarize this section: Over time, the importance of different architectural values will vary. This may have been the case for daylight, at least in Norway, and one could argue that this value has become an automatized ideology – an objective value in its own right. In the 1940s both the competitors and the competition brief would explain the exact implication of good daylight, e.g. ceiling heights and orientation, whereas contemporary competition briefs asking for good daylight may assume that there is a common understanding about how this achieved.

Assessment criteria and quality judgment

In a study on how to achieve high architectural quality based on four case studies, Kirsten Arge and Siv Bleiklie identify the first phase of the design process as very important (Arge & Bleiklie, 2003), and that 1) a good architect, 2) an architectural concept strong enough to be kept through the whole building process and, 3) the client's wish for good architecture, are common aspects for all of the four cases. An architectural competition could be considered a useful tool to secure these three aspects in a project.

Judging competition entries is not the same as judging built architecture – a building. If we for instance examine the articles in "Judging Architectural Value" (Judging Architectural Value, 2007), we will discover a fundamental discourse on the very core of what architecture is and can be, and why some

buildings become icons and some not. There is a focus on architecture as art. If one looks for judgment criteria for good or bad architecture however, there are no clear-cut guidelines – until the interview made by William S. Saunders and Nancy Levinson. Kenneth Frampton is asked: *“Consider the rapidity with which architectural fashions change, how quickly one taste of culture displaces another these days. Consider the widespread, often reflexive desire to be “cutting edge,” to anticipate new movements and participate in the very latest developments in design. How does this affect the judging of design? What responsibility does this place upon the critic who wishes to be serious?”* From Frampton’s answer we can identify a set of aspects to be considered when evaluating architecture: Ethical, ecological, psychological and biological criteria. When asked other questions, Frampton mentions other values: The aims of the client, constraints imposed by building regulations, socio-economical and ideological limitations, the play of climate, constraints of production, the sensuous accommodation of the body. He also quotes Alvar Aalto: *“...Architecture must have charm, it is a factor of beauty in society...”* In his article in the same book, Roger Scruton identifies the following values: 1. Buildings should outlast the purpose for which they are constructed, 2. Aesthetic considerations should take precedence over all others, 3. Most users of a building are not clients of the architect – architecture is public art, and 4. Architecture is a vernacular art. The book closes with an article by the editor William S. Saunder, who has examined writings on architecture. He has found the following criteria to be the most common¹.

“...architecture should:

- 1. be art, i.e. should provide a vitalizing, ineffable affective experience through its expressiveness, originality, and formal power and subtlety;*
- 2. be beneficial to the socially and economically underprivileged (...)*
- 3. revive the “best” tradition of design;*
- 4. be well constructed and use fine materials and craftsmanship;(…)*
- 5. allegorically express and/or comment on the spirit of our age,(…)*
- 6. embrace, explore, and express the desires and energies of “ordinary” people and vernacular expressions.”*

Compared to the assessment criteria for judging architecture competitions (see below), the assessment of built architecture seems rather to focus more on architecture as an art form than on its functionality. Leentje Volker is of the opinion that *“there seems to be no real difference between discussions about realized objects or designs as projections of future buildings”*(Volker, 2010). I think one should be aware of the responsibility of a jury to assure that a building fits the purpose it is planned for. When looking for built architecture with capital A, the perspective will be somewhat different. I will dare to claim that most professionals think most Greek temples are great architecture, although their idea of a temple’s functionality is very vague.

In the year 1974 Judith R. Blau interviewed 152 Manhattan architecture offices with the aim of discovering their convictions about architecture (Blau, 1984). Through a list of 36 quotations they were asked how much they agreed or disagreed with each one. We must assume that these underlying convictions among architects will affect both their work, and the way they assess architectural

¹ Saunders does not specify further what literature has been explored

competitions. The general picture of Blau's investigation is that formal or aesthetic criteria are ranked less highly than social or functional criteria. The number one quotation (95% strongly agree or agree) is "Good buildings must relate to their environment". It is not only ranked number one, it is clearly *the* number one; the number two quotation only gets a score of 86%. The quotation "Top priority should be given to the serviceability of buildings: access to transportation, sunlight, public safety, acoustics and so forth" is ranked as number 6 with a score of 81%. The reader should pay attention to the incident that although the value of relating a building to its environment should be considered important, there is no plausible reason why it should get a very much higher score than the serviceability of a building. Relating this notion to Tostrup's exploration of changing architectural trends, a question should be asked: Could it be that there was an excessive emphasis on the value of relating buildings to their environment because in 1974 this value was new? And I would also like to ask the reader: When you read about the architect above saying that the mantra for his competition proposal for the Norwegian government building was "no office should face north" – did you think this was an exaggeration? **If this is the case, could there be new trends and new values in the architectural realm today – and if so – is there an excessive emphasis on this "new" value when projects are assessed?**

The National Association of Norwegian Architects set out rules for architectural competitions as early as 1907 (Sauge, 2003). In the section concerning assessment, we can read that the proposals should be given a thorough review, and the artistic, practical and economic advantages should be compiled. Even a method of giving points is described. In short, points from one to ten were to be given for the plan, the artistic treatment and the economy respectively.

In Magnus Rönn's comprehensive study of architectural competitions in the Nordic countries (1999-2000), he points out six general design criteria (Rönn, 2011) [author's translation]:

1. *Unity ("helhet") and fundamental idea*
2. *Coherence and surroundings*
3. *Entrance position*
4. *Suitability and functional set up*
5. *Economical and technical solutions*
6. *Development possibilities*

The study also refers to the *Swedish Action Program for Architecture and Design* (Kulturdepartementet, 1997/98), where "good quality" is described accordingly: "Good quality cannot be defined once and for all. Our experiences, knowledge and values influence how we look at quality. Quality is also dependent upon situations and time... This means that we reconsider what is good quality according to how our values and needs change." [author's translation] If Rönn's study had been carried out in the 1940s based on Norwegian competitions, daylight would probably be the number one design criteria, as Tostrup pointed out. And most likely we would have to scroll to the mid-70's or the 1980's to find the design criterion *Coherence and surroundings*. The reader should note that in the assessment criteria listed above, there are no criteria concerning energy, environmental aspects or sustainability.

In a later study executed in 2005 (Svensson, Tornberg, & Rönn, 2006), experienced jury members were

asked about opinion about elementary evaluation criteria for architectural competitions. In this study the environmental criterion occurs, and interestingly, it is the only criterion mentioned by these architects that does not occur in the Swedish Architects Association's evaluation manual. I assume that the criterion "design for all" and for sure the criterion "environmental and/or energy" would appear on Rönn's list above if the research had been undertaken today. In the further research Svensson et al. (Svensson et al., 2006) documents that the environmental criterion is applied in four of the nine investigated competitions.

The Swedish Architects Association's operates with 16 assessment criteria. The criterion "total experience" (*helhetsupplevelse*) covers universal design, and likewise the criterion "design" (*utforming, gestaltning*) covers treatment of light. The Swedish Architects Association says that: "*All competitions have environment as a criterion nowadays. In three of the competitions even the level of energy consumption should be calculated.*" (Cofaigh, 2013).

Based on the Swedish material above, it appears that at some point after the year 2000 there has been a change in the assessment criteria in architectural competitions. **A most relevant question for this study is therefore to examine to what extent the energy/environmental criterion is being applied by the clients and the juries today.**

Applying the assessment criteria

In a case study, Charlotte Svensson shows how a jury uses the assessment criteria in the competition brief more as a guide for comparison between projects (Svensson, 2009). What also happens to the jury in Svensson's case, is that the politicians are worried about the opinion of the public. This concern is one of the direct reasons for the jury to develop a new assessment strategy. This fits in with what Max Bazerman (Bazerman, 2006) calls "bounded willpower"; our willpower is bounded in such a way that we tend to give greater weight to present concerns than to future concerns. Another bound he describes is the "bounded awareness": People have a bounded awareness that prevent them from noticing or focusing on observable and relevant data. "*Bounded awareness exists when individuals do not attend to predictable, accessible, perceivable, and important information, while attending to other equally accessible and perceivable information.*" This notion of human behavior should make us aware that even for a jury it would be possible to overlook, and fail to judge, important aspects of a building project.

Schools and daylight, generality and flexibility

When reading about the architectural development of school buildings, it becomes clear that daylight traditionally has played a significant role in the design (Wu & Ng, 2003). Daylight has been valued for its positive impact on human behavior and the performance of school children. Therefore ceiling heights, window sizes and the depth of the class rooms are all aspects that have been carefully considered to optimize daylight conditions. Recent comprehensive studies have revealed how daylight impacts on learning (Heschong, Wright, & Okura, 2002; Nicklas & Bailey, 1997). Daylight is important to adjust the circadian system and affects sleep and human wellbeing (Bakke & Nersveen, 2013; Dumont & Beaulieu, 2007; Küller, Ballal, Laike, Mikellides, & Tonello, 2006; Roennenberg, Allebrandt, Mellow, & Vetter, 2012) Sleep deficiency among adolescents has been shown to increase the risk of morbidities such as obesity, diabetes or accidents (Leger, Beck, Richard, & Godeau, 2012). One research project shows that the most popular pupils tend to occupy the working spaces closest to the windows, and that the pupils

tend to seek contact with the windows in the breaks (Shemirani, Memarian, Naseri, Nejad, & Vaziri, 2011).

It has been common knowledge for architects that northern countries need more window area to compensate for shorter days and the reduced amount of daylight in wintertime (Büning, 1948). Other rules of thumb have been to not design rooms deeper than approximately 6-7 meters (Cold, 1980), and also not deeper than double the ceiling height (Byggforsk, 2001). Norwegian Building Codes require a minimum 2% daylight factor as a mean value for a regularly occupied room, whereas Danish regulations demand a 2% daylight factor on any working plane. In the UK, the guide for good practice advises a 5% daylight factor as a mean value in teaching areas (Department of the Environment, 1996).

In the Scandinavian countries, the experimentation with novel pedagogical solutions along with the equivalent experimental solutions in building plans, have led to the construction of school buildings almost devoid of the traditional long corridor and adjoining classrooms. New educational principles and plan solutions are now also emerging in Germany and solutions with teaching areas without direct daylight are shown as exemplary (Burgdorff & Schneider, 2013).

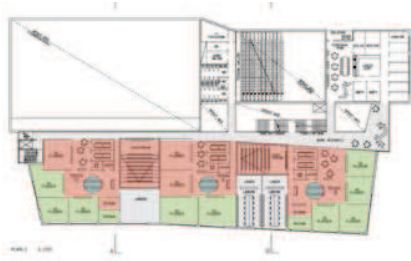
The results from the first phase of the research

I will have to devote a few lines to explaining the first phase of the research. The research was based on the drawings from 10 school competitions in Norway held in the years 2009-2011. The competitions will be outlined in more detail in the Problem and Method section below. The overall thesis for the research was that increased demands for more energy efficient buildings may affect design of schools. Studying an issue of the journal *Arkitektur N*,² where three schools were presented, two designed before 2000, and one designed after 2000, it became very obvious that there had been a shift in values in terms of what physical demands a school building should fulfill. The schools designed before the year 2000 focused on good daylight. This was achieved through a so called “finger” diagram. The one school designed after the year 2000 had a focus on a compact plan. The client’s aim here was to build the first passive energy school in Norway.

My research was therefore undertaken to explore the possible switch in values from emphasis on daylight to emphasis on compactness. I decided to measure tangible characteristics of the competition entries:

- 1) *The amount of linear meters of façade per class devoted to classroom and prime teaching areas*
- 2) *The number of study group rooms with direct daylight*
- 3) *Ceiling heights*
- 4) *Class room depths*
- 5) *The ratio of width to depth of the classrooms.*

² *Arkitektur N* No. 6, 2010. *Arkitektur N* is the Norwegian Review of Architecture



Plan winning project case 1



Plan winning project case 4



Plan winning project case 9

Green: Primary teaching area with daylight. Red: Primary teaching area without direct daylight. Grey or white areas: Other functions than primary teaching areas

Obviously, what we are talking about here is a technical understanding of daylight; the ability of a building to receive daylight in the first place (linear meters of façade), the ability to distribute daylight into the deeper areas of the building (ceiling heights), and the ability of a working plane to be lit by daylight (classroom depth). Although the qualitative, intangible aspects of daylight certainly influences our experience of architecture, that is not the object of this research. The quantitative aspects listed above are not only important parameters for daylight as such, but also for understanding a building's capacity for change. Hence, if a project proposes a total mean value of only 6 linear meters of façade per class to be spent on classrooms, study group rooms and any other prime teaching areas, it is only geometrically possible to provide daylight for a class room, and not for any single group room or other prime teaching area – unless the classroom is to be even narrower than 6 meters. Furthermore, this value tells us that a normal-sized classroom will have to be at least 10-11 meters deep. According to the rule of thumb—that a room should be no deeper than the double of its ceiling height to achieve sufficient daylight, we can see that the ceiling height has to be 5 meters for the daylight conditions to be sufficient. For an experienced professional, no daylight computer simulations are necessary to predict that the daylight conditions in the classrooms will be poor. And for the group study rooms and any other possible prime teaching rooms having no façade, and therefore no windows, even a layman should be able to “see the light” with regard to the daylight conditions. I would also argue that a teaching room with windows offers a greater utility than a room without windows; it can simply be used for more purposes.

The parameters above are easy to measure and compare, and are therefore very useful in the competition phase. On competition drawings, often windows in the facades do not correspond with the plans or sections. Also at this stage it may prove more relevant to investigate and comment on a project's potential rather than its various window details. The first phase of the study showed - depending on the parameters - that in 7 to 8 of the 10 cases, the winning projects had the very worst values on the daylight parameters compared to the losing competitors. In other words, the winning project could in most cases be identified through measuring basic daylight parameters. To verify the quality of the data set, it was decomposed into principal components and a PCA-analysis was carried out by Knut Kvaal, Professor in mathematics at the University of Life Sciences at Ås. Included in the data set were not only the measurements relating to the projects' daylight capacity, but also information on the shape of the schools, distribution of entrances,

locker room solutions and educational solutions. The results were significant and showed that to win a school competition, one should, statistically, rather propose more deep and narrow classrooms, lower ceilings, fewer linear meters of façade than the other competitors. This result makes one ask how the competition briefs were formulated, and how the juries valued, or did not value the daylight.

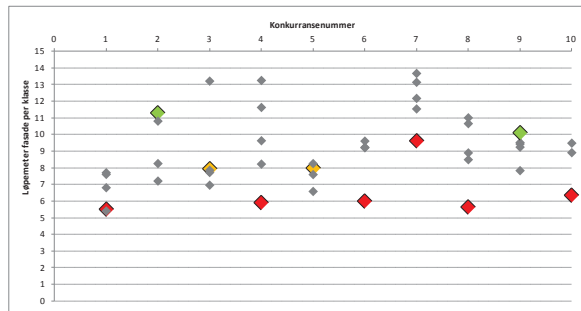


Figure 1: The competitions 1-10 and linear meters of façade per class for class room, study group room and additional prime teaching area. In six cases the winning project has the lowest amount of facade meters. In five of the cases the linear meters of facade per class are about six meters.

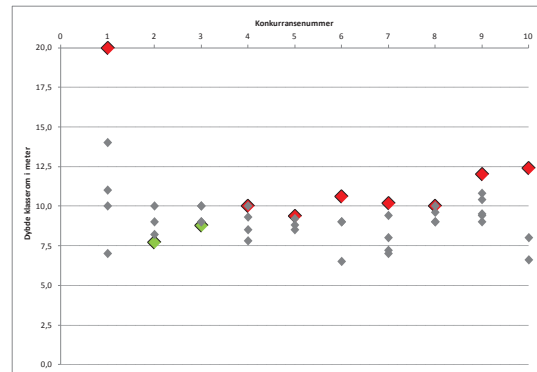


Figure 2: The competitions 1-10 and the depth of the designed classrooms. In eight cases the winner has the very deepest classrooms compared to the losing projects.

Red diamonds: Winning project has the poorest daylight value compared to losing projects. Yellow diamond: Winning project has medium value. Green diamonds: Winning project has the best value. Gray diamonds: Not winning projects. (Houck 2012).

SECTION TWO: PROBLEM AND METHOD

In this section I will study the clients' competition briefs, the composition of the juries and the juries' evaluations. This will be compared to the outcome of the ten school competitions examined earlier. The study will focus on the daylight and environmental issues in particular.

The thesis is that the competition briefs asked for and emphasized energy efficiency innovations. In a limited design competition it is not only important to choose the best project. First and foremost the competition brief has to be formulated, and the competitors have to be chosen, in such a way that the jury gets good projects to choose from. In Leentje Volker's (Volker, 2010) City Hall case, an expert is quoted as saying one should not judge the details during the tendering procedure, because each firm "*will throw the design as presented into the wastebasket*". This is an interesting discussion related to what can be called "details". The aspect of sustainability, which often requires the reduction of the building façade, and the aspect of daylight, which requires access to façade area, should be considered opposites in a basic design dilemma, and not a question of detail. When a winning project is chosen, it is very difficult to achieve major changes in the project, like changing deep and narrow classrooms into square ones. Such a change would alter the lay out and inner functionality of the building dramatically.

This study is based on the competition briefs and the written evaluations of the juries from 10 school competitions in Norway. One competition was held in 2009, five in 2010 and four in 2011. The total number of designs is 44, proposed by 28 different architectural offices. In this study, the competition number one to eight are all limited design competitions, where four to five architecture offices are prequalified and chosen out of a group of applicants, mostly counting about 20-30 offices. Competition number nine is a design-and-build competition where the design teams work together with a contractor. A design as well as a turnkey offer was to be delivered, but there was also an interaction phase planned after the competition phase. Competition number ten is a concession contracting, Design Build Finance Operate, which means the competitors design, build and operate the school facility for a predefined period, the capital investment being repaid through the revenue stream (Winch, 2010).

This study examines the following:

- 1: The jury members
- 2: The competition briefs with focus on daylight requirements
- 3: The competitions' different assessment criteria formulated by the clients prior to the execution of the competitions
- 4: How the projects were judged in relation to the assessment criteria, with particular emphasis on the environmental/energy question and daylight

In this paper, the environmental/energy criterion should be understood as a tangible criterion on how well a project is designed in order to save energy. Other environmental aspects, such as transport costs, carbon dioxide accounts, degree of pollutants and emissions are not the part of this investigation. The daylight criterion is examined in respect to any comment the jury may express about daylight, either as a qualitative value or as a more quantifiable quality in terms of to what degree there is sufficient daylight or not.

RESULTS

This section presents the result. The different results will be analyzed successively, while the overall discussion and conclusion will be reserved for the end.

The composition of the juries

The size of the juries varies from four to ten members. If we divide the jury members of all the competitions into two groups, the users and non-users, the result is 16% and 84%, respectively. A division of the jury into members with building competence, educational competence and others (parents, politicians) we get the distribution of 51%, 34% and 15%, respectively.

The results show that on average half of the jury members have building competence, while there is only a modest participation of users.

The competition briefs

Six competition forms require daylight in some way. Three competition forms do not have a single sentence about daylight, and in one case it has not been possible to gain access to the competition form.

Competition	Daylight requirements in the competition briefs
1	Size of the brief: 17 pages. No requirements concerning daylight
2	Size of the brief: 41 pages. No requirements concerning daylight (Daylight and overview mentioned as a provision against bullying, violence and racism.)

3	Size of the brief: 39 pages. <i>"All prime teaching areas should be oriented to outer walls to secure best possible light conditions. It must be taken into account how to obtain light in the deeper areas."</i>
4	Size of the brief: 38 pages. General section: <i>"A building with much daylight, and still important with blinds"</i> In the room description, activity room: <i>"Preferably with daylight..."</i> Sports: <i>"Preferably with daylight..."</i>
5	Size of the brief: 32 pages. No requirements concerning daylight
6	Size of the brief: 46 pages. General section: High ceilings required. Also: <i>"...structure securing high utilization of daylight. Daylight should be accessible in all workspaces. Whenever possible, daylight from multiple directions should be provided."</i> Room table where daylight requirements for each room is marked with yes, no and yes/no. Group study rooms are marked yes/no
7	Size of the brief: 35 pages. For all the teaching rooms, classrooms, group study rooms and so on, there is a list of requirements starting with the following requirement: <i>"good light- and acoustic conditions"</i>
8	Full competition brief not received
9	Size of the brief: 27. pages General section: <i>"Good light (daylight) ... must be given priority"</i> Entrance: <i>"...the entrance area must have extensive glass areas"</i>
10	Size of the brief: 18 pages Teaching areas 1 st to 7 th grade: <i>"...and a rich amount of daylight in the room."</i>

Table 1: Daylight requirements in the competition briefs.

The competition assessment criteria

Examining the ten competition briefs, we find a total list of 23 different assessment criteria. Some criteria have been formulated in different ways in the respective competition briefs, but similar criteria are collected under one headline, for example “aesthetics” and “architecture.” All ten competitions had listed the criteria “Programmed functions/functionality”, seven competitions addressed the “environmental/energy”, “area efficiency” and “architecture/aesthetics” criteria, and then “economy” in six, “accessibility /design for all” and “topography/site” in five. Only in competition number 5 was the “indoor climate, health” mentioned as an assessment criteria (and daylight should be considered a precondition for obtaining a good indoor climate).

The Swedish Architect Association includes *accessibility* in the evaluation criterion “total experience”, whereas this issue is found to be a separate evaluation criterion in five of the ten cases examined in this study. In the five competitions where accessibility is an evaluation criterion, the total sums of evaluation criteria are respectively six, nine, ten, ten and fourteen. One way to interpret this is that the relative importance of this criterion varies to some degree.

The terms “architecture” and “aesthetics” are frequently used as assessment criteria. It is outside of the scope of this study to go into the semantics involved in such terms, but it is an interesting observation, that in the Swedish assessment criteria mentioned in the Theory section of this paper, the expressions “design” (*utforming*) and “shaping” (*gestaltning*) are used in the headline, not architecture.

The assessment of the competitions:

In the study, the juries’ written evaluation reports vary from 6 to 18 pages. In terms of competition number ten we only received the final scores on the five assessment criteria, not the comments of the evaluation group. Because of the obviously poor daylight conditions in the winning designs discovered in the first part of the research, we now wanted to investigate how the juries commented on the daylight and in environmental/energy issues. As we shall see, environmentally friendly buildings are often understood by the juries as compact, area efficient and economical buildings which result in short internal distances and a modest footprint. These design parameters may be in opposition to good daylight conditions.

Competition 1

The jury does not comment on daylight in their general assessment. According to the jury in the separate reviews, the winning project has the best pedagogical solutions. Still the drawings show that the proposal has 3 classrooms without daylight, and not a single group study room with daylight. The jury’s comment on daylight is: “*The daylight conditions have to be improved for parts of the area...*”, and the jury suggests this can be done through skylights. At the same time, when judging the environmental criterion, the winning project is criticized for its extensive use of glass. However, the winning project “*is among one of the best*” on area efficiency the jury writes, and the jury reports that the winning project has the lowest gross area.

Competition 2

In this project the environmental criterion is to suggest solutions more environmental visionary than required by the current legislation. The jury comments on the compactness of the different proposals. The winning project is given credit for its more oblong shape in the east/west axis, which, the jury comments,

also creates the possibility to collect solar heat. Of all the competitions in the research, this winning project is the only one with square classrooms. In all the other competitions, the winning projects have classrooms deeper than they are wide. The winning project here is the only one where the jury does not comment on daylight. All the façade areas are calculated. The project most criticized for its environmental solutions, is given credit for its optimal daylight conditions. Another losing project, which is criticized for its extensive façade area, is also criticized for its extensive use of skylights. The third losing project is given credit for area efficiency, but the jury has complaints about daylight deficiency.

Competition 3

This is a competition where both environmental and daylight aspects are totally absent. The jury gives a general comment on the varying façade areas, and that this is significant for maintenance costs. Neither in the assessment criteria, nor in the 9-page jury evaluation is there any trace of environmental comments in the sense of energy saving. In this jury, there were no participating architects chosen by the National Association of Norwegian Architects.

Competition 4

In this case, no environmental criterion for judging the projects is mentioned in the competition brief. However, the jury argues that the energy goal set for the project (105 kWh/m²/a) makes it necessary to consider this aspect separately, even to employ an external consultant. The jury praises the winning project for being compact and argues for the benefits of this: Short walking distances within the project and a good area efficiency. The jury recommends the winner to consult a daylight expert to develop a strategy for bringing the daylight deeper into the building.

Competition 5

The jury has had the different competition proposals' compactness, window area as a percentage of façade and the gross area measured. Additionally, the jury obviously has - through some unknown method - evaluated whether the competition proposals have sufficient daylight or not.

Project/value	Compactness (Surface/volume)	Window area % of façade	Window area % of gross area	Daylight conditions
1	0.39	25	17	Not sufficient
2	0.34	35	22	Challenging
3 (Winner)	0.26	28	13	Satisfactory
4	0.32	25	-	Not sufficient

Table showing the measured values in the jury's report.

As the table shows, the winning project is the most compact, has the least window area compared to gross area, and is still considered to be the only project with sufficient daylight conditions. In the evaluation, the energy criterion counts 15 % and the collective health, indoor climate and choice of materials criterion counts 10%. As the table shows, only the winning project is still found to have sufficient daylight conditions. At the same time, the project is considered to be the most compact. What characterizes the winning project is that it is a 4-5 story building – compared to the 2-3 story buildings proposed by the losing competitors.

Competition 6

The head of this jury came from an architectural practise well known for its environmental profile. In this case, the competition brief required an environmental profile on the use of material, energy, and technical solutions. The jury interpreted this to mean passive energy standard. The jury calculated the different projects' degree of compactness and also the glass area. The jury chose the second most compact project with the lowest area of glass as the winner. The jury advises: *"A high amount of glass should be avoided because it has a far greater heat loss than insulated constructions"*. One loser project is criticized for being the least compact, and for having a great amount of glass.

Project/value	Compactness (Surface/gross area)	Window area m ²	Window area/gross area/1,4	LCC cost NOK/gross area
1 (winner)	1.61	986	0.16	662
2	1.73	1428	0.23	670
3	1.5	1453	0.24	680
4	1.64	874	0.16	670

Table showing measured values in the jury's report

Competition 7

This competition has the highest number of jury members (10) of all the competitions in the study. Part of the environmental assessment criteria in the competition brief, is the evaluation of lighting, air, heating, ventilation, indoor climate, noise and pollution. But the term "daylight" is not mentioned. The competition brief asks for environmentally friendly solutions, but does not wish to exceed the current legislative standards concerning energy use. The winning project is given positive comments by the jury for its reduced footprint, area efficiency, the reduction of area needed for transportation and for its compact plan. When it comes to daylight, the jury says that the use of glass should be limited in energy and environmentally friendly buildings. Also, the jury is concerned about the maintenance issue related to extensive use of glass, especially in a school building. Under the criterion *"Architecture and aesthetics"* the jury is of the opinion that a building can achieve a "light" expression through materials other than glass.

Competition 8

The competition brief included a description of the different functions, but did not mention any total gross area limit. Thus, the projects vary in size from 4318 m² to 6208 m². The jury divides the competition entries into four compact solutions, and two "axis" solutions. Under the environmental criterion, only two issues are discussed: Area efficiency/compactness and sunlight. The jury points out that less façade area will give less energy consumption. When it comes to daylight, the only sentence mentioning this in the general comments is the opinion that teaching areas facing south are difficult due to direct sunlight. In the individual comments, daylight is commented on in all the projects except the winning project. Some projects are criticized for having "dark zones" and rooms without daylight, and in one project a skylight in the "school plaza" is mentioned as a positive quality. The winning project and one other project come out the most compact, with the least façade. In the final concluding section, the jury does not focus on environmental aspects, but rather on functionality and also on the fact that the winning proposal is area efficient.

Competition 9

The jury comments are comprehensive, 18 pages long, though the comments are thematically less structured than in the other competitions. The terms “environmental”, “energy” or “area efficiency” do not show up at all in the jury’s report. However, the jury pays systematic attention to the daylight conditions. The jury complains about narrow classrooms, dark zones, and deep building volumes, while writing positively about narrow building volumes and using terms like “high, bright and open spaces” in a positive sense. In this jury, there were no participating architects chosen by the National Association of Norwegian Architects.

Competition 10

The client in this project only shared with us the assessment criteria as 5 headlines, and the points given by the evaluation group. In an interview, the clients’ project manager explained that there were no explicit requirements concerning daylight in the competition brief. Secondly, there was a focus on fulfilling the environmental requirements from the organization “*Fremtidens Byer*” (Cities of the Future), an organization whose aim is to reduce the impact on climate derived from buildings. According to the project manager, the jury commented on the daylight conditions. He added that it was obviously quite a challenge to provide the teaching areas with daylight, while at the same time fulfilling the requirements of the passive energy standard. On the question of whether they actually wanted narrow and deepclass rooms and a compact school, he replied, “*We do not choose these projects, these are the projects they (i.e. the competitors) give us.*”

Competition	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1.1 Assessment criteria on environment/energy in the competition brief	No Main focus on area efficiency	Yes Environmental solutions exceeding the legislation	No Does not appear in any of the 5 assessment criteria	No No environmental criteria mentioned	Yes Energy use counts 15%	Yes Environmental profile required	Yes Environmental assessment criteria, but this is vague formulated and without ambitions	Yes	No Focus on educational solutions	Yes Environmental solution counts 20%
1.2 Did the jury evaluate environment/energy?	Yes Winning project is the most area efficient	Yes	No No environmental criteria evaluated	Yes The jury puts the environment on the agenda. External environmental evaluation	Yes Compactness and window areas measured	Yes The jury requires passive house standard. Compactness calculated	Yes Area efficiency and compactness are assessed as environmental	Yes Evaluates area efficiency and compactness as environmental	No Environmental criteria evaluated	Yes
2.1 Daylight requirements in the building program	None	None	Yes	Yes	None	Yes	Yes	?	Yes	Yes
2.2 Assessment criteria on daylight in the competition brief	No	No	No	No	Yes Health and indoor climate counts 10%	No	No	No	No	No
2.3 Did the jury evaluate daylight?	Yes Comments on daylight conditions, but winning project has 3 classrooms without daylight	Yes	No	Yes Daylight recommendations for winner project	Yes Systematic evaluation on daylight Only the winning project is valued as satisfying	No Calculates the amount of glass and chooses the project with the lowest sum as winner	No	Yes Some comments about dark zones and rooms without daylight	Yes Daylight is systematically commented on by the jury	No
3.1 The winner's daylight capacity compared to the losing designs (Houck, 2013)	Lowest values on daylight parameters	Highest values on daylight parameters	Neither best nor worst	Lowest values on daylight parameters	Lowest values on daylight parameters	Lowest values on daylight parameters	Lowest values on daylight parameters	Lowest values on daylight parameters	Neither best nor worst	Lowest values on daylight parameters

Table 2: Relation between competition assessment criteria, jury evaluation and the daylight capacity in the designs, based on the competition brief and the written jury evaluation.

The environmental criterion – arguing through numbers

Table 2 above shows that in six of ten cases, the environmental criterion was stated in the competition brief, and then assessed by the jury. Additionally, in cases one and four, there was no environmental criterion in the brief, yet the jury still assessed on this criterion. In case four, they even ordered an external expert report. In case three, the jury listed five criteria derived from the competition brief, none of them environmental, despite this sentence in the building program: *“It is a goal to develop a building with high environmental standards, with emphasis on energy solutions, indoor climate and waste treatment.”* Both cases where the juries do not evaluate on any environmental criteria, case three and nine, there were no jury members engaged through the National Association of Norwegian Architects. When environmental criteria are judged, the evaluation seems to concentrate on area effectiveness/compactness and a low score on façade area and glass area. These parameters are measured and used as arguments in the jury evaluation. The numbers are discussed as pure numbers and are not related to any intangible architectural qualities. As a comparison, economy is rarely discussed through numbers, except in the case of one project. In others, the gross area is mentioned, but in 6 of 9 cases the juries argue for the environmental aspects of the different projects referring to numbers.

The daylight criterion

In six of the competition briefs we find daylight requirements. These requirements are not quantified. In none of these six cases, has the client decided to make daylight an assessment criterion. Daylight is only explicitly expressed as a criterion in one single case. Still, daylight is systematically evaluated in six of the ten cases in such a way that it can be traced in the jury reports – seemingly independent of whether daylight has been paid attention to in the competition brief or not. In the cases where there are no comments about daylight in the jury reports, it cannot be concluded that it has not been a concern. Nevertheless it would appear unlikely that daylight has been a very central part of the discussions.

- None of the competition briefs quantified the daylight requirements;
- None of the winning projects were praised for good daylight conditions in the jury reports;
- Only in one single case is a (losing) project is given a very positive general remark on its’ daylight conditions;
- In one case the jury reveals its ignorance of daylight’s physical dynamics, believing daylight is able to pass through a skylight, proceed two stories down, and then turn 90 degrees to lighten up teaching rooms;
- One jury considered the winning project to be the only one with satisfying daylight, although the project had the least window area of all the projects, and was considered the most compact. The winning project also had the deepest classrooms (Houck, 2013).

We should also devote some attention to what the juries did not include in the competition reports:

- The single most important room, the classroom, is never discussed, neither is the fact that the classrooms in most proposals were narrow and deep;
- Not a single competition brief required deep and narrow class rooms, but all except one client got them;
- Not one single jury made any comments on the fact that they chose winning projects where, on average, only 20% of the group study rooms had the possibility of direct daylight, and in some cases there was not a single group study room with any direct daylight at all.

We have seen that the jury can disregard the assessment criteria in the competition brief and introduce new assessment criteria. The investigation shows how a historically important quality of architecture, daylight, can be taken for granted, and thus is evaluated, but at the same time ignored. If we think of Rem Koolhaas' remark mentioned in the method section - "*Wanting to win a competition is not the same as wanting to do your best possible work*" (Kolhaas & Mau, 1995) - the question remains whether the architects designed the best possible project, or whether they primarily designed projects that would fit the assessment criteria in order to win, or even tried to guess how the juries would assess. It seems obvious that in general, the winner designs were successful in meeting the environmental assessment criterion, whereas the juries assessed the designs accordingly. At some point, what it takes to achieve adequate daylight quality was either forgotten, ignored, found unimportant, or incompatible with the central qualities of compact projects: short internal distances and a modest footprint.

Returning to the theory: What can we learn from this study in a broader perspective?

1. **Randomness:** Whereas some jury choices can be considered random (Kreiner, 2009), some are not, or at least there are different probabilities for different choices. It becomes clear that it would be more or less statistically impossible to win any of the competitions in the study by proposing classrooms that are wider than they are deep. Some architects had understood this, and some not. Some had learned from previous competitions, and some had not (Houck, 2013).
2. **Evolving values:** We have seen examples of evolving values in architecture (Larson, 1994; Rustad, 2009; Tostrup, 1996). Jury decisions understood as "bad luck" (or good luck) by some architects, may be a trend, a greater movement, a new direction – understood and applied by others. The environmental criteria should be understood as such: A new parameter fundamentally affecting which project designs will win or lose competitions.
3. **Overemphasizing values:** We have seen in Blau's investigations (Blau, 1984) and in Tostrup's work (Tostrup, 1996) how some architectural values at certain times became very important to an extent that calls for an explanation. Bounded willpower and bounded awareness (Bazerman, 2006) can explain why the new value – environment/sustainability – is emphasized in such a way that it is what I would call an automated value; daylight is given an unnaturally low priority. Unnaturally because of the importance of daylight for humans (Bakke & Nersveen, 2013).
4. **The role of the client, jury and design teams in competitions in relation to the outcome:** As we have seen, regardless of whether the client has asked for good daylight conditions, it seems to be hard to influence how the juries evaluate. The juries appear to act relatively independently. However, one conclusion could be that the juries pay more attention to assessment criteria expressed by the client, than to any expressions in the competition brief. We have seen that the assessment criteria did not require quantified values to be compared, whether for environmental assessment, or daylight considerations. Nevertheless, most juries chose to quantify the environmental aspects, but not the daylight aspects.

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Design Competition towards Sustainability: A Case Study of Low2No International Competition in Finland

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Design competition towards sustainability: a case study of Low2No international competition in Finland

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In current mitigating-climate-change scenario, the urbanized area is believed to be crucial to the sustainable development of our living environment. In this respect, the low2No international competition has been recently held in Finland with an attempt to trigger systematic change on sustainable development nationally toward a low carbon future. In order to stimulate the systematic change, new competition forms are set rather than following the firm competition tradition in the country. The low2No international design competition is expected to serve as vehicle not only produces sustainable design solutions but also collect and distribute replicable knowledge on sustainability. Therefore, the low2No international design competition provided a new paradigm of design competitions to promote long-term sustainability design strategies in Finland.

By examining the applicability of analytical concepts of ‘boundary objects’-BO (Star & Griesemer, 1989) and ‘trading zones’-TZ (Galison, 1997), international design competition can be scientifically analyzed in order to avoid so-called ‘complicit relationship’ of design competition researches. Moreover, the procedural innovations of design competition can be elevated and analyzed based on BO and TZ approach. In this paper, we follow this line of research and propose to consider international design competition as devices designed to produce new ‘trading zones’ (Liang & Mäntysalo, 2013, in press). Particularly in the Low2No international competition, the procedural analysis on a magnitude of relevant documents, including design completion regulations, procedures, issues, the different roles of stake-holders and their individual perspectives is to be introduced by tracing the development of BO and TZ alongside the whole competition. Questions on how the design and planning issues are formed, interacted and solved and what factors affect the competition process through the Low2No international competition will be answered as preliminary findings.

Keywords: international design competitions, procedural innovations, sustainability design strategy, systematical change.

1. Introduction

In last decades, the importance of international design competitions has been more and more recognized as a standard form of guaranteeing design quality. International design competitions have been accepted widely as platforms jointly allocating better solutions especially with prominent urban projects. Currently, the application of design competition not only lay with design issues, but also in political, social and economic perspective in our built environment. However, the scientific analysis on the dynamics of international design competition is rare in literature. As Alexander & Witzling (1990) stated that most studies - even those that are more systematic - are ‘prescriptive’ or ‘normative’: they tend to draw on anecdotal knowledge and personal experience and explicitly aim for the promotion and improvement of competitions.

Malmberg (2006, 3) also concluded that there is a “confusion over the role of the competition itself and how it translates into the built piece of work”. This unsatisfactory situation may root in the complexity of design competition, meaning that there are various levels of multidisciplinary communications among stakeholders, heterogeneous components of jury members with hybrid preferences, different technologies of representation (such as images, texts, models and spoken discourses) and their respective preconditions intertwining during the process of design competitions. Therefore, it is of great interest to analyse the complicate competition nature of design competition in a scientific way.

Nowadays, it is a common practice to utilize international idea design competition to gather design knowledge and resources on large scale urban project, which has a potential impact on the sustainable urban development. Lipstadt (2006, 11) further emphasized the importance of identifying competitions that were deemed excellent by those who participated in them, and to extract models for best, or at least better practice from them. Therefore, it is of prime value to scientifically address the model international design competitions regarding their increasingly role in our built environment in a sustainable way. The hidden interrelations of different components of international design competition and their consequent impact on the scientific approach, respectively, need to be clarified. In this respect, the scientific concepts of BO and TZ have enabled us to reveal the complexity of design competition, especially in terms of improving communications during urban development (Liang & Mäntysalo, 2013, in press).

Herein, the Low2No international design competition has been chosen as case study due to its pioneering and specific relation to Finnish national sustainability strategy, its representativeness of procedural innovations towards a model of sustainable urbanism. Based on the analytical concept of BO and TZ, we will analyse how the ‘*inter-language*’ of BO and TZ has been constituted, interacted and evolved during the competition process, in order to clarify the vague nature of the competition and establish design completion knowledge for distribution among global stakeholders with interest to promote sustainable development in their respective area.

2. Research methods

Star and Griesemer (1989) first introduced the concept of “boundary object” in their historical analysis of coordinated interaction of actors from different “social worlds”, including scientists, trappers, amateur collectors and university administrators, providing and cataloguing specimens for Museum of Vertebrate Zoology at the University of California, Berkeley, in the first decades of 20th century. As vehicles in coordinating such multi-cultural interaction between different communities involved, “boundary objects” are both “plastic enough to adapt to local needs and constraints of the several parties employing them, yet robust enough to maintain a common identity across sites” (Star & Griesemer, 1989, 393). In fact, the BO concept has been widely cited and adopted in the field of knowledge management of computer science, environmental science, management and design. In particular, they were further adopted in the field of urban planning and design in the late 1990s. Henderson (1991) adopted the BO concept on analyzing design activity especially with visual representation such as drawing and diagram, which has put forward the collective work in terms of facilitating the coordination and communication cross boundary groups involved. The concept of BO is closely connected to the concept of ‘trading zone’-TZ,

introduced by Galison (1997) in the scenario of dealing with the dynamic and evolutionary processes of multidisciplinary interactions. Galison (1997) further employed the “trading zone” concept to explain such phenomena during the development of radar during WW II; how theoretical physicists collaborated with radio engineers to exchange information and services without a deeper comprehension of each other’s respective disciplines.

In general, BO is believed to be sort of limited case of trading zone: “boundary objects might be thought of as a kind of time slice of a trading language” (Galison, 2010, 46). TZs concern coordinated interaction of scientists and professionals as a locally emerging and evolving hybrid language, whereas BOs were fixed artefacts and concepts for a certain fixed purpose of multi-cultural collaboration. Carlile (2002, 451-452) pointed out the effective boundary objects “establish a shared syntax or language for individuals to represent their knowledge”; and “to learn about their differences and dependencies across a given boundary”. Mengis (2007) also specified that the shared language in a structure and format made boundary objects to facilitate the knowledge transfer and integration. This is also closely related to the ‘inter-language’ of TZ. Galison argued that ‘inter-languages’, as semispecific pidgins, or even full-fledged creoles, can be generated for the *local* coordination of different systems of discourse despite their *global* difference (Galison, 1997, 783; Gorman, 2010, 8). It is the “local infrastructures of shared concepts and instruments that had enabled such exchange” which Galison identified as ‘trading zones’ (Galison, 1997, 803). Mäntysalo, Balducci and Kangasoja (2011, 262) have stressed the importance of “practico-linguistical challenges involved in attempting to create local conditions for meaningful bargaining and compromising between the “subcultures of interest groups - a trading zone of planning, where each party involved would have the capacity to sufficiently grasp the meaning of issues and solution proposals to be traded with”.

The aforementioned concepts have been already pioneered in several planning studies. Recently, in the book entitled *‘Urban Planning as a Trading Zone’*, numerous case studies, applying the trading zone and boundary object concepts in urban planning, have been collected by Italian and Finnish researchers, (Balducci & Mäntysalo, 2013). For example, Valeria Fedeli reported two selected case studies of ideas competitions in ‘Grand Pari(s) de l’agglomération parisienne’ and ‘Città di Città’ cases. According to Fedeli, ideas competitions can serve as a “device designed and promoted in order to produce new ‘zones for trading’ around ‘problems of the public’ in conditions in which traditional planning tools and devices have shown their limits and aporia” (Fedeli, 2013, 41). Liang & Mäntysalo (2013, in press) has recently applied the research methods of BO and TZ in Baietan, Guangzhou international urban design and planning competition by monitoring the evolvement of ‘inter-language’ of BO and TZ.

The analytical concepts of BO and TZ are potentially helpful to understand how the interrelations come about and what they could produce in terms of generating knowledge. In the case study, the emerging need of redrawing the boundaries of mind and skill sets on sustainability through interaction of multidisciplinary stakeholders of an international design competition is particularly feasible using BO and TZ.

In current mitigating-climate-change scenario, a better understanding of the pioneering form of

Low2No design competition to promote the communication across the boundary and to generate ‘inter-languages’ as knowledge innovations is to be established. Hence, it is greatly interesting to study the feasibility of the concepts of ‘trading zone’ and ‘boundary object’ in elaborating dilemmas and complexity involved in the international design competition of low2No in Finland, which are similarly confronted with a manifold of stake-holders with different disciplines and cultural backgrounds, in need of gaining systematic innovation on sustainable strategy development.

We will follow the line of research and consider international design competitions as devices designed to produce new ‘trading zones’ as communicative approach. Design competition as a ‘designed trading zone’ (Fedeli, 2013, 41) is able to provide us an empirical case to identify, trace and analyze the interrelations of different stake holders involved in connection to local conditions. Analysis from the reflection of the newly-reformed low2No international design competition, will supply us a pair of lens to look into the urban project, allowing us to analyze how the design or planning issues are defined, evaluated and connected to the urban development. The theoretical foundation provided by these concepts will enable us to trace the flow of ‘inter-language’ of the TZ and BO, how boundary objects of international design competitions have been interacted, developed and constituted trading zone, to facilitate mutual “translation” between actors from different fields. Following questions is to be answered:

1. How does the international design competition of Low2No develop innovative strategies for sustainable development in Finland?
2. Is Low2No international design competition analysable in terms of BO and/or TZ concepts?
3. What are the important results through the analysis?

The current research is based on documentation analysis and interpretation from different levels of archives crossing government laws, official design competition announcement, the competition request for qualification, and articles document competition process at the first place and official announcements. Thanks to the documentation laws on design competition in Finland, there exist fruitful publications on the topic of the Low2No international design competition from governmental, professional and public level and content considerable data. Translations are strictly related to the original resources. The reliance on document interpretation could be compromised due to the lack of first-hand information. However, at the first stage of our research, the authors focused on the dynamics of the international design competition in order to gain more general insights of improving competition procedures.

3. Case study

3.1 Design competition initiatives: a platform of stimulate systematic change

In Finland, two-thirds of the greenhouses gas emissions originated from fossil fuel usage in the energy production sector (Nenonen, 2010), and this value is comparably higher in Nordic counties. With ambitions of transforming Finland into a carbon neutral country, it was recognized¹ by the

¹ Refer to an interview with Esko Aho-the leader of SITRA : “We [SITRA] recognized that most of the changes required now are systemic... The need now in Finnish society is not related to technological capacity or to skills, but how we use them and take full advantage of them.” - Bechthold & Kane (n.d., 2011), P5

SITRA - the Finnish Innovation Fund - that a systematic change from social, political and technological perspectives is inevitable. With the international opening of pre-qualification process on participators, new competition forms are introduced to provide opportunities of rethinking current sustainable strategy through designing a sustainable city block in Helsinki, Finland. As presented in the competition brief: *“We hope that a model of sustainable urbanism emerges from the proposals that will not only serve the City of Helsinki and its inhabitants, but more broadly, be a learning model for development globally”*². The Low2No international design competition is supposed to generate replicable solutions for radically sustainable design, leveraging its reputation and institutional knowledge of private industry and government and eventually triggering systematic changes towards a low carbon society in Finland.

The competition site is located on 100 hectares reclaimed land areas of Jätkäsaari, one of the large redeveloped areas along with the relocation of Helsinki’s port facilities to the eastern edge of the city in 2008. The aim of the competition is to *“to design a large building complex on an approximately 3/4 hectare site on the reclaimed goods harbor at the western edge of Helsinki’s central business district”*². The location of Jätkäsaari city block came out from the rounds of negotiations. After meetings with the deputy mayor, real estate department, Helsinki’s mayor and the planning department, the requirements for the Jätkäsaari city block were significantly loosened to the needs of the competitions. On December 11, 2008, the city council voted to give SITRA the corner block of Jätkäsaari area.

The interrelations of stakeholder were rather complicate, as the organizer - SITRA - determined to trigger national systematic change by stimulating knowledge input by introducing a new form of international design competition, the Low2No case. However, the external knowledge input not only requires preconditions of incubation but also transformation in connection with local conditions.

² As quoted from the design competition brief of Low2No competition. Retrieved 26 Nov. 2013 from <http://www.low2no.org/pages/resources>



Figure 1: Jätkäsaari goods harbour, courtesy of Suomen Ilmakuva Oy
Source: Low2No competition brief

3.2 The shift on competition rules, brief and request for qualifications

Design competitions have been vastly used in the area of education, culture and area planning in Finland. Most of them were administered by the Finnish Association of Architects (SAFA), and they have been accepted as a common method to evolve innovative and qualitative proposals (Kazemian & Rönn, 2009a). The development of the design competition policy in Finland heavily rooted in the foundation of SAFA and partly influenced by the Swedish one as well (Huotelin & Kaipainen, 2006; Solla, 1992). Over the past decades, there were over 2000 design competitions held in Finland. International design competitions were accepted as tools for accumulating design knowledge in urban and regional development of Helsinki such as the international design competition of greater Helsinki vision 2050. Almost all open competitions in Finland were well documented and publicly accessible; the results of invited competitions were published on the SAFA website, the museum of Finnish architecture and in the appendix of the Finnish architectural review that is periodically published by SAFA' (Huotelin & Kaipainen, 2006). These open sources provide information for researchers, and make the competition procedures more transparent for the public. The Finnish competition rules are considered as the result of 130 years of continuous improvement and have steered the development of the architectural system (Huotelin & Kaipainen, 2006). However, in order to promote systematic innovations, new forms of competition have been specified by STIRA: “...people to redraw the boundaries of how they think, and reposition their skill sets. (...) Without it you will have a competition that is all about what is already known, and the standard format with standard results.”³ The intention of redefining the boundary of mind and skill sets on sustainability is challenging with respect to the propounded competition tradition in Finland.

³ As quoted from the Interview with Steinberg, 11 Feb, 2011 by Martin Bechthold and Anthony Kane (2011), P8

New competition rules are set for facilitating the scopes of the Low2No international design competition. With a review of competition rules of SAFA and Low2No, the rules of Low2No emphasized the type of competition as “*sustainable development competition which has a significant architecture component*”⁴; the fulfillment of requirements of public procurement legislation is also highlighted. The competition was publicly announced both on design objectives and process.

Kazemian and Rönn (2009b, 6) argue that the competition system in Finland is one of the most effective in the Nordic countries in terms of implementation, based a research of architectural competitions carried out during 1999-2000, which highlighted the strong competition culture of consensus among jurors and considered “disagreements among the jury members in the final statement as something dangerous as that have to be avoided”. In the new rules concerned with Jury of competition, the requirement of agreements of the jury panel is changed from “*a quorum shall be formed by the entire jury panel*” of SAFA rules to “*a quorum shall be formed by 2/3 of the jury*” of Low2No rules” to increase the tolerance of advancing, innovative yet somehow controversial proposals, which is considerably deviated from the competition tradition in Finland.

Moreover, requirements on the composition of jury of “*At least 1/3 of the judges must be professionals in a relevant field*”⁵, and a proportion of these must be independent experts” from the SAFA competition rules are removed in the new low2No rules. A technical expert evaluation from the Helsinki University of Technology was proceeded to evaluate the feasibility of design proposals and presented to the jury. Eight individuals constituted the jury and three of them are academic experts from the United States.

In the section of adjudication of the competition, the requirement of “*an entry which deviates essentially from the binding design requirements, as set out in the competition conditions, cannot be awarded a prize in an open competition, but it can be purchased*” was also removed in the new Low2No competition rules in order to leave more spaces for the design innovations. Moreover, a study trip of Finnish stakeholders to sustainable example projects in California was organized to raise the awareness on sustainable design.

Form of competition are specified as two-stage with open request for qualifications-RFQ and continuation of best team selected from the RFQ started from March 2009 to April 2009. In the first stage 74 applications from 23 countries were received, out of which 5 finalists were qualified to propose further sustainable development strategies. ‘Multidisciplinary team expertise’ and ‘systematic thinking’ were highlighted with a wide ‘interdisciplinary competency’ in the RFQ, which deviate from the Finnish traditional competition practices.

⁴ Quoted from the international low2No design competition rules, P1 Quoted from Martin Bechthold and Anthony Kane (2011), P8

⁵ A professional is here defined as:

- a person who is a qualified architect or who has the qualifications set out in the Land Use and Building Act and the orders issued by virtue of it, or
- a person with an education which, in the case of an open competition, has been approved by the SAFA competitions council, or, in the case of an invitational competition, by the SAFA competitions secretary. Such a person must be sufficiently qualified to evaluate the designing task. - SAFA competition rules

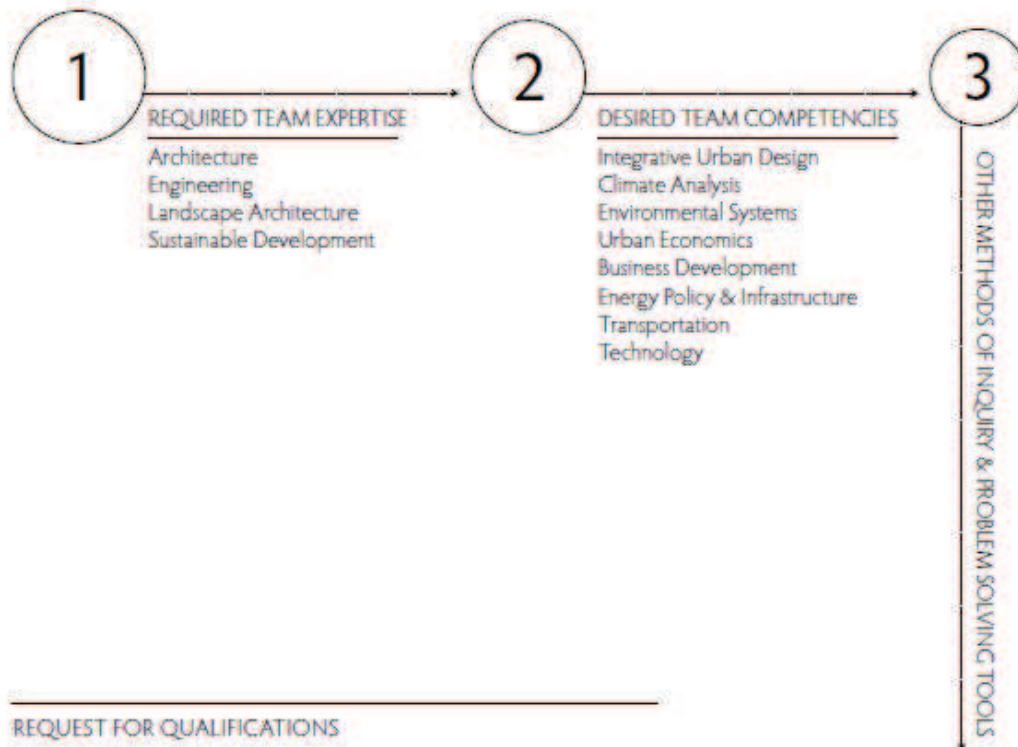


Figure 2: the criteria of RFQ Source: Low2No Competition RFQ

In the Finnish procurement laws, it is required that jury evaluation report should be publicly accessible. A committee within SITRA reviewed and scored the respondents based on the following minimum criteria: “*Quality of the team 0-40 points; Experience of the team members 0-40 points; Evidence of systemic thinking 0-20 points*”⁶. It was pointed out that these interdisciplinary criteria could “*exclude Finnish practices, instead of favoring international teams*”⁷. After the first stage of RFQ, none of the five shortlisted⁸ teams from the RFQ was from Finland, which led considerable controversy in the host country. Some Finnish architects argued the feasibility of promoting Finnish knowhow without involving of Finnish experts (Bechthold & Kane, 2011). In the end, three of the finalists involved Finnish firm in their consortium (see Figure 4). Bechthold and Kane (2011) stated⁹ that SITRA considered the integration of the external knowledge can trigger the national systematical change instead of following traditional local design culture. The international five finalists included expertise from various disciplines which covering investment consultants, traffic, customer behavior, design, engineering and planning fields (see Figure 5).

⁶ Quote from the competition RFQ documents, P3.

⁷ Quoted from Bechthold & Kane (2011), P11

⁸ There are Arup (London), BIG (Copenhagen), REX (New York), Rose & Partners (Cambridge, MA) and WSP (London).

⁹ “Systemic change was bound to come from outside, with SITRA acting in its natural role as translator and mediator between languages and cultures”, quoted from the interview with Steinberg, 11 Feb., 2011- Bechthold and Kane (2011), P11

E_LIFE	ARUP Sauerbruch Hutton Experientia Galley Eco Capital	Lontoo, Iso-Britannia Berliini, Saksa Torino, Italia San Francisco, USA
CRADLE OF INNOVATION	WSP Group Heatherwick Studios B & M Architects JKMM Architects Space Syntax Helsinki University AA Palmberg Ltd Pekka Himanen	Lontoo, Iso-Britannia Lontoo, Iso-Britannia Helsinki, Suomi Helsinki, Suomi Lontoo, Iso-Britannia Helsinki, Suomi Helsinki, Suomi Helsinki, Suomi
LOW CARBON - HIGH URBAN	Peter Rose & Partners Michael Van Valkenburgh Associates Guy Nordenson and Associates Matthias Schuler, Transsolar Climate Engineering Mobility in Chain ARO Architectural Research Office Peter McKeith	Boston, USA Boston, USA New York, USA Stuttgart, Saksa Milano, Italia New York, USA St. Louis, USA
RECIPROCITY	Bjarke Ingels Group, BIG Vahanen ARUP Foresight Innovation Transsolar Energietechnik Anttinen Oiva Arkkitehdit AOA Masu Planning Passiivitalo.fi Pasi Mäenpää Mikko Jalas	Kööpenhamina, Tanska Helsinki, Suomi Kalifornia, USA Stuttgart, Saksa Helsinki, Suomi Kööpenhamina, Tanska Espoo, Suomi Helsinki, Suomi Helsinki, Suomi
REBUILDING	REX Architecture Transsolar Energietechnik Magnusson Klemencic Associates Bureau Bas Smets Now Architecture	New York, USA Stuttgart, Saksa Seattle, USA Bryssel, Belgia Helsinki, Suomi

Figure 4: The composition of five finalists Source: Jury report

In order to foster a comprehensible design proposal, four central design objectives are highlighted in the competition brief for the second stage: “*energy efficiency; low to no carbon emissions; high architectural, spatial and social value; sustainable materials, methods & operations*”¹⁰. The broad defined design concepts of low carbon design were set up in order to trigger potential systematic changes. As shown in the title of the competition, the low2No represents a strategic meaning of transition from low carbon to carbon neutrality situation. According to Mr. Justin Cook - the sustainable design lead - who helped to shape the design objectives of competition, the focus on carbon design objective will supply connecting points to systematic innovation¹¹. The connecting point of the ‘carbon’ focus of design issues to a certain degree promoted the cohesion and integrity of the design proposal.

¹⁰ Quoted from the competition rules of Low2No design competition

¹¹ “There was an increased appreciation for the potential of something like this, the potential impacts, and a recognition of how all of the elements of a competition with a wide scope would align with all of the activities and goals of SITRA. Once we made that connection (ED: to carbon) the competition took off as a much bigger thing.” - Bechthold & Kane (n.d.,2011), P8

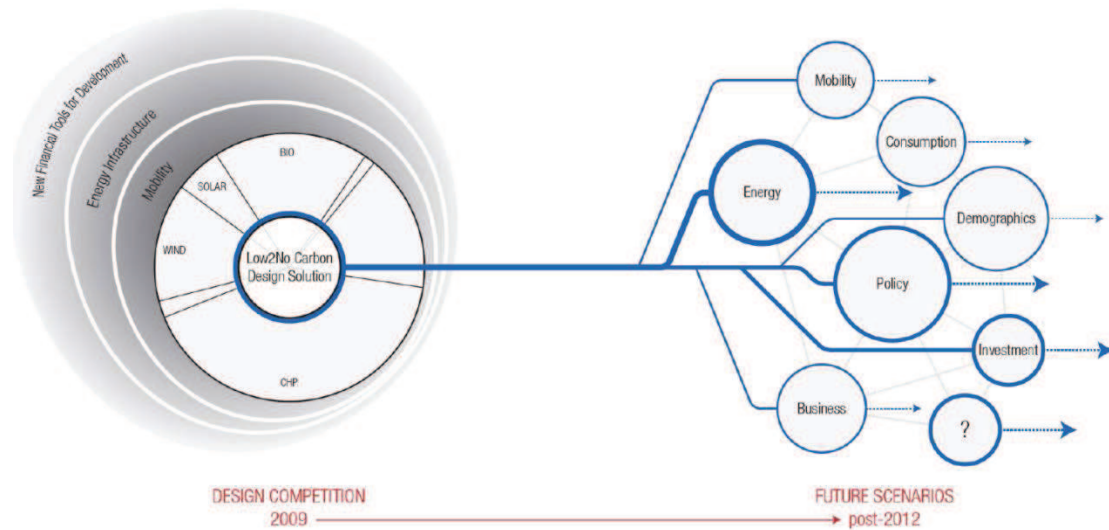


Figure 3: The Low2No competition design issues Source: Low2No brief.

Bechthold and Kane (2011) argued that the long history of societal consensus and common action constitutes the basis of change on interrelations of stakeholders. It shows that the shifts on competition rules, brief, request for qualifications and project site were made possible due to the strength of organizer, SITRA, which are considered as the strong promoter for innovation and could report directly to the Finnish parliament.

3.3 Design competition evaluation and implementation

The qualified competing teams from the RFQ will propose indicators which measure the degree towards carbon neutrality, and also provide a new approach compared to the traditional Finnish competition. The qualified five teams are required to submit three tasks from July 8, 2009 to August 17, 2009, which included following works:

1. *A framework for sustainable development that was replicable and could be adapted to other sites.*
2. *A system of indicators that could provide measurable evidence of how carbon neutrality was accomplished.*
3. *A design solution - referred to as the 'vision' in the brief - to serve as a tangible example for the implementation of the sustainability strategy, testing the degree to which it allowed for soft accomplishments such as high spatial value, vibrant neighborhoods, and changing user behavior to be realized.*" - Competition brief of the Low2No design competition

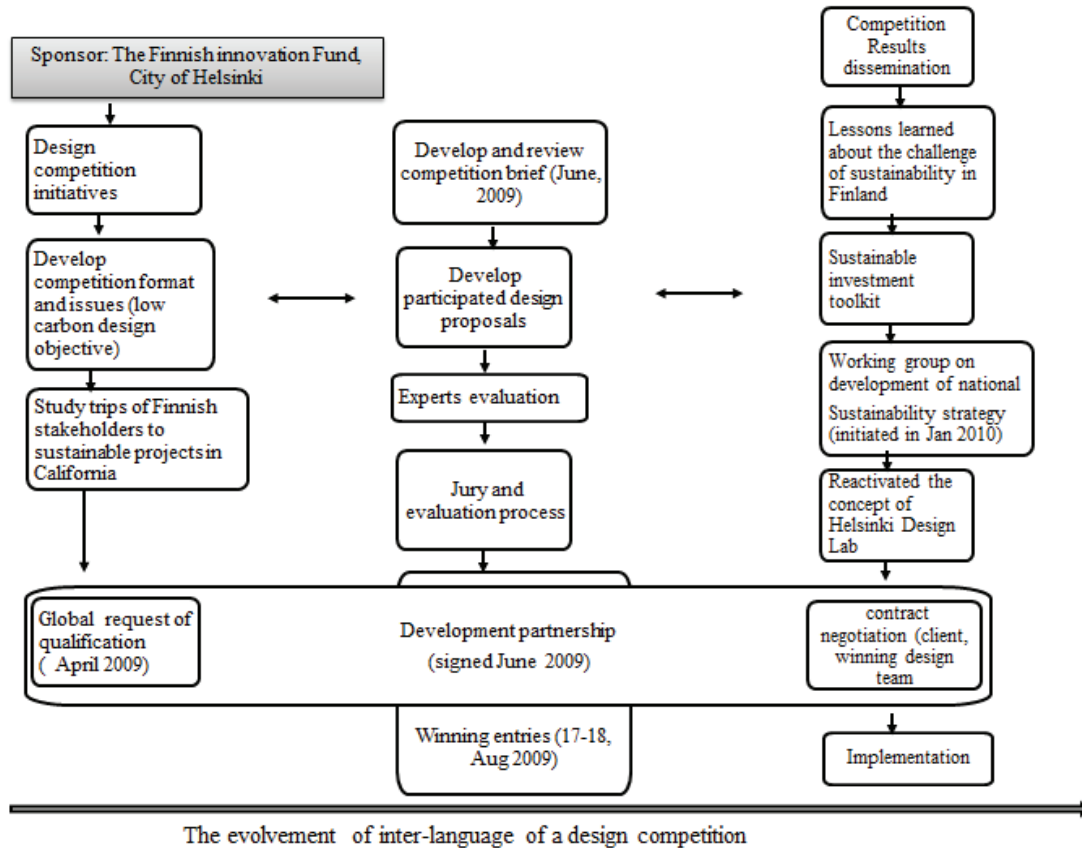


Diagram 1: the procedural flow of Low2No competition as described by the author

Eight evaluation criteria were also specified¹² to score the design proposal from the five finalists. However, critical voices on the conflicts between the ambition and time limits of the low2No competition were raised as well (Bechthold & Kane, 2011). The design tasks and evaluation criteria have functioned as infrastructures for fostering expected outcomes of replicable knowledge on further sustainability development national wide. At this stage, texts, diagrams, models and other types of technics of representing the design proposal came out as kind of boundary objects to promote the development of ‘inter-language’ at the professional level. The jury played a crucial role to guide the development based on the evaluation criteria.

The competition brief guided the subsequent evaluation of the five finalists, especially with elements concerned with sustainability in a systematic approach. For example, the financial strategies developer from proposal C_life claimed that they were inspired by the criteria of competition brief, which required to “*consider how their proposals generate wealth across stakeholders and find ways to define price in a way that does not externalize costs onto society*” (Bechthold & Kane, 2011, 17). As Lisa Galley, who interacted with the design proposal of Arup & Partners reflected that: “*This competition was an example of a process where the disciplines were*

¹² “The efficacy, sensibility and rigour of the total low/no carbon solution; the efficacy and robustness of the broader, holistic model of sustainability; the robustness and simplicity (of the approach and use) of the sustainability indicator framework; the urban and architectural quality, and the near and long term implications of the design proposals conveyed through the visual representation of the vision; the ability of the framework/strategy for the proposed approach to be replicable within similar contexts; the feasibility of proposals including the overall economic efficiency and life cycle costs.”- Low 2No Competition brief

all brought in on the front end rather than later on”¹³. Various perspectives such as architecture, engineering, climate landscape, and development finance and mobility behavior were presented in the design proposal. The shift on competition rules, brief and request for qualifications were supposed to set up the preconditions for fostering innovative knowledge through the competition. In the competition brief, the original master plan was challenged with the competition design proposals. The Low Carbon - High Urban competition design proposal focused on ‘urban scale’ and radically proposed a new master plan. Indeed the ‘urban scale’ were emphasized from the requirement of competition brief with the statement of first phase of master plan will be realized by 2012. Even it is not directly disqualified by the jury according to the new competition rules (see P7), as Marco Steinberg - the director of strategic design of low2No put: “*We didn’t want to exclude the opportunity that somehow the master plan could be impacted, but you can’t erase the master plan. You have to take it as a given and figure out where the space for opportunity is. I hope we communicated to the teams that we were interested in an approach and not a solution*”¹⁴. But this opposition to old master plan lowers the feasibility of design proposal¹⁵, since the infrastructure construction of the old master plan already began. The Rebuilding 2.0 proposed a high rise tower and also broke the zoning limitations from the old master plan. The idea of constructing high rise tower was intended to increase the urban density. However, it was considered deviated from the Finnish building culture by the Jury.

	c_life	Reciprocity	Rebuilding 2.0	Low-Carbon High-Urban	Cradle of Innovation
Architecture	Sauerbruch Hutton	BIG AoA	REX NOW Croxtan Collaborative* Magnussen Klemenic Arup New York Transsolar* Bureau Bas Smets	Peter Rose & Partners ARO	Heatherwick Studios B&M Architects JKMM Architects WSP Group
Engineering	Arup			Guy Nordenson and	
Climate Landscape	Arup Arup	Transsolar Masu Planning		Transsolar Michael Van Valkenburgh and Associates	WSP Energy WSP Finland Helsinki University AA Palmberg
Development Finance	Eco Galley Capital	Vahanen Mikko Jalas (economics)	Jonathan Rose Companies		
Mobility Behavior	Experientia	Pasi Maenpa (urban sociology)		Mobility in Chain	Space Syntax
Other		ARUP Foresight (innovation) Passivitalo (passive houses)	Front (facade consulting) 2x4 (graphic design)		Pekka Himanen (Social Philosophy)

* specialty in sustainability

Figure 5: The five finalists Source: Bechthold & Kane (2011).

Regrets on insufficient communications occurred with the lack of presentation to the Jury in person¹⁶. In the end, the C_life proposal led by ARUP’s London office won the design competition with main focus on “human behavior” and “community development”, taking a combined bottom-up and top-down approach. “Energy strategy”, “carbon neutral policies”, “financial strategies such as green mortgages” were mentioned to respond with the competition brief and evaluation criteria of “feasibility including economic efficiency and life cycle cost”. The “ethnographic data”, “occupant behavior such as 50 ways to change human behavior” and “information infrastructure such as link information campaigns, legislation, economic frameworks,

¹³ Quoted from Bechthold and Kane (2011), P8

¹⁴ Quoted from Bechthold and Kane (2011), P18

¹⁵ "...But judging a proposal that challenged every aspect of the existing master plan was difficult for the Jury...Major changes for phase 1 of the master plan—which included SITRA site—were simply unrealistic..." quoted from Bechthold and Kane (2011), P18

¹⁶ As Steinberg agrees “*I think it would have been nice to have the teams engage in a discussion with the jury. Ultimately we were trying to weigh their intellectual capacity and experience.*”- quoted from Bechthold and Kane (2011), P20

and civic infrastructure to encourage both a grassroots, and government regulated, movement toward sustainability.” were suggested from the C_life. Project indicators including “overall measure, carbon emissions, energy, transport, and quality of life” with detailed measurements and rationale were proposed. The architectural design solution of C_life is rather “generic suggesting its possible adaptation to various contexts.”¹⁷, doubted on some jurors with architectural and technical perspective; as ranked lowest in the technical report in the quantitative evaluation (Bechthold & Kane, 2011, 18). The proposal was based on the provisions of old master plan. As Alejandro Gutierrez, the team leader from Arup’s London office admitted that they did not ‘challenge the master plan in the traditional, formal way’ (Bechthold & Kane, 2011, 20).

“The team’s proposal best met the Low2No competition assessment criteria. Furthermore the Jury found great promise in the outlined strategy that combined both a clear top-down as well as a bottom-up strategy for leveraging the Jätkäsaari opportunity in the spirit of the Low2No challenge. The jury felt that particularly the consumer/behavioral framework coupled with a monetary/economic model brought the best balance to this holistic strategy” – P16, Low2No Jury Final Report

At the procedural level, the shift of competition rules and RFQ already put up the change on the profound national competition tradition. Rounds of negotiations on prioritizing the Low2No competition also reconstruct the interrelation of the stakeholder and their perceptions. Key words such as “systemic change”, “sustainable development”, “quorum”, “composition of Jury”, “adjudication of competition”, “multidisciplinary team expertise”, “systematic thinking” and “interdisciplinary competency” were more frequently put forward to constitute the common shared language to promote the competition. At the knowledge level, the shift of competition brief also practically guided the direction of generating knowledge. In particular, requirements of learning about differences and dependencies across a given boundary were specially emphasized in the case from the preference of choosing international design teams. The shifts on competition rules, brief and RFQ considerably constituted boundary objects for fostering and generating “inter-language” as the knowledge innovation.

It was realized by some experts that there were conflicts between master plan and the ambitions of the competition¹⁸. The conflicts between the ‘systemic innovation’ and the existing conditions are obvious, and it is hard to define to which extent the design proposal should position itself by just following wording of competition brief. As Galison (2010, 44) stated: “images, symbol systems, calculational and diagrammatic schemes - even complex objects - could be part of a generalized notion of language that is far from ‘just words’ in the trading zone”. As we reviewed from the competition process, the shift on competition rules, brief, RFQ and interrelations of stakeholders constitute effective boundary objects to foster the ‘inter-language’ as the final outcome of innovative knowledge. However, it is critical to increase the degree of interaction among stakeholders to avoid possible communication gaps due to the time limits of the competition. As

¹⁷ Quoted from the design proposal of C_life.

¹⁸“There was a contradiction in how the competition was set up. It was clear that the competition was for a specific building on a specific site in the existing master plan. It was equally clear that the outcome they were looking for was systemic change at a large scale. Those two things were in conflict.”- quoted from Martin Bechthold and Anthony Kane (2011), P20

one action from the pre-Jury evaluation phase, the study trip of Finnish stakeholders to sustainable example projects in California to raise the awareness on sustainable design definitely helped to construct the grounds of the ‘inter-language’. However, the lack of interpersonal presentation during the competition evaluation definitely reduced the degree of effective communication. If we ought to set up a better communication environment, we can synthesize a more inclusive ‘inter-language’ not only from the design excellence of the winner but also other finalists.

Through networks established by the Low2No competition, further steps were proceeded to speed up the communication of sustainability such as the “sustainable investment toolkit” and “Helsinki design lab”. Moreover, a working group on national sustainability strategy was initiated in January, 2010 which included heterogeneous stages of interactions by stakeholders and public. In particular, in one session of the “Helsinki design lab”, it also included some members of the other five finalists. Up to this phase, it is important to concrete, transfer and integrate the ‘inter-languages’ in connection to local conditions.

Communications and negotiations between the developer and the winning team are proved to be problematic with concerns of the cultural gaps and heterogeneous working dynamics; they found that they were talking in different languages¹⁹. In the case study, much was done in order to put the ‘inter-language’ connected to the local conditions. A series of conferences, workshops and working groups were organized to construct the common basis for understanding on design approaches and working methods by SITRA, which functioned as culture mediator. This practically helped to the evolvement of ‘inter-language’ generated by the competition, which are interacted with local conditions. In the case study, the focus on input of external knowledge to stimulate national systematic change should connect to the corresponding interactions to localize the knowledge.

4. Preliminary findings

This study demonstrates that the low2No international design competition is not only a platform of producing design solutions, but also an infrastructure to generate knowledge in low-carbon urbanization development. Based on the in-depth analysis, we came to the key question of how the organizer perceives and define the design issues, how they organize the design competition, who participate the design competition and how they are evaluated. In short, how to produce and develop an inclusive, appropriate and integrative enough ‘inter-language’ of the design competition? How to facilitate the flow of ‘inter-language’ associated with project conditions? The shift on competition rules, brief, RFQ and preconditions practically served as effective boundary objects to facilitate the production of ‘inter-language’ as outcome. Moreover, the strong commitment of the organizer and societal consensus of stakeholders actively pushed the evolvement of ‘inter-language’. The competition evaluation process further functioned as boundary objects to promote the evolvement of ‘inter-language’ to the professional level. And the competition implementation process supplied the chances to transform the ‘inter-language’ in connection with local conditions. However, there were still some gaps which hindered the knowledge development. In contemporary competition format, either open or invited, the

¹⁹ Steinberg was concerned: “This thing is slipping out of our hands. We are talking different languages here.”- Quoted from Martin Bechthold and Anthony Kane (2011), P26

professional adviser is responsible in assisting of selecting the jury board, set up the procedural rules (competition conditions) and defining design issues, which will be obeyed during the competition process. The Jury will evaluate the competitors and select winners and distinguish the qualities according to the evaluation criteria specified in the project program document: the competition brief with consensus among them. The roles of sponsor, professional adviser and other possible parties are intertwined during the competition specification phase and put a major impact on the decision of evaluation criteria on choosing the winning entry. However, it is possible that the competition design issues are not appropriate along with the development of competition process. Moreover, the evaluation criteria of selecting winning entry may be not accurate in connection to the competition conditions and brief. Even the Jury could possibly judge the competition proposals with hidden personal preference instead of following the evaluation criteria. In particular, competitors may also take the seemingly known or imagined preferences of the jurors into account during the design process. Major documents such as the competition brief are presented in texts, which also easy to raise confusions for the participators. This emphasized the importance of competition procedural innovations. The rigid formats of contemporary design competition require an intensive degree of effective communications between the organizer, professional-adviser, competitor, client and user, which may largely affect the development of 'inter-language' of design competition. As in the case study, the series of conferences, workshops and groups after the competition practically helped to promote the communication. In particular, the integration of Finnish experts in the process of design proposal development also affected the degree of local coordination and potentially led to the confusion of positioning themselves between of innovation and pre-existing conditions.

This paper also probes and proposes to use the analytical concept of TZ and BO to scientifically analyse international design competition. Design competition researches are often criticized for their 'complicit relationship', from which individuals may derive their data from personal experience. This study allows us to conceptualize the flow of international design competition and thus improve the communication and cooperation in our built environment. The conceptual tools of TZ and BO have been proved to be helpful in conceptualizing the vague nature of international design competition. Further, this research emerges a reminder that the challenges on international design competition are not only concerned on allocating best design solution, but also how they are connected with our built environment.

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SESSION 3B

CASE STUDIES

Reuse of Dreams/Changes of Foci

Expectations and Steering Conditions in Two City Hall Competition Processes in Kiruna, Sweden, in 2011-13 versus in 1956-58

Gerd Bloxham Zettersten

Reuse of dreams/changes of foci.

Expectations and steering conditions in two city hall competition processes in Kiruna, Sweden, in 2011-13 versus in 1956-58

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This investigation of an empirical material constitutes a delimited two-part case study, where the background historical part of 1956-58 is based mainly on available archive material, while for the contemporary, main part in 2011-13 documentation is constructed through a series of seven interviews of central actors in the competition process. The findings of the pre-competition phase described in this study will be discussed in relation to selected pre-qualification studies relevant here (in particular, Rönn 2012); meanwhile the historical competition process will be found to be reflected in concurrent norms and practice.

In particular, the *exceptional* conditions and aspects of the present-day Kiruna competition process will serve to highlight one form of imaginary—ideal?—newer competition process that may be reflected in democratic values and openness, dialogue and the contribution of expertise from different types of specialization. This is seen to apply also when aspects may be of a counterfactual character. In Kiruna, the municipality lacking experience in projects of public architecture, the need for input and know-how is particularly great. In this conjunction it will appear that a pre-competition investigative, open dialogue, alongside its opposite, a deferment via agents that may be likened to competition anonymity, is seen to be continued in the subsequent project design phase; but this is mainly a result of specific conditions in the contemporary Kiruna set-up of a double-headed stakeholder body.

As to justification of the method employed reference is here made to an article of central importance in its entirety, “Five Misunderstandings about Case-Study Research” (Flyvbjerg 2006); in agreement with Flyvbjerg’s argumentation in favour of validity in case study research, I claim here that a well-researched case that does *not* support normative theory can instead serve as an exception that proves a more general rule indicative of period and a particular phase in an evolution. For the methodology of interviews as research, I refer to Steinar Kvale’s massive studies of the qualitative research interview (Kvale 1997 and Kvale-Brinkmann 2009); my chosen approach has been a stratagem of general questions formulated

to be used in each of the five major interviews,¹ combined with specific variations applying to the role in the process of the particular interviewee.

The more specific intention, then, of this paper is to create a perspective on the aim and expectations of the organizer/client *in response to* the steering conditions in the given situation of the two city hall competition processes, respectively, for the same municipality, half a century apart. The interchange and collaboration between implicated agents, both the selected representatives and consultants for the stakeholder bodies, and the competing architects, is here seen as part of the steering conditions. In the recent, 2nd competition process the governing *exceptional* precondition has been an absolute time limit for the competition with project design and building process, a fact influencing every aspect of that process.

A concluding comparative analysis of the two competition processes is strongly affected by the fact that it turns out to be hard to generalize the two processes into comparability. This is due both to the divergence of source material and documentation, respectively, but obviously even more so to a divergence in the specific given situation in 1956-58 versus 2011-13. Therefore, I have chosen to introduce the account of the two processes in combination with comments applying to each process, with an outline of actual and postulated givens; these may serve as a guide to different points of issue, or aspects of a problematic illustrated in this case study. Following this, a few concluding remarks concerning the competition scenarios will be made. However, some general observations stand out. Considering the actual set-up determining the character of the two competitions Magnus Rönn has emphasized two present-day aspects of the difference in the conditions then and now: internationalization, and in particular, fragmentation of the organization running the competition.² Further to this claim I argue that the particular collective ethos of the specific—local/national--Kiruna process is one healing factor; furthermore, that that collective ethos can be traced back to the first competition process for a city hall in the 1950s.

Outline of actual and postulated givens for a case analysis

SPECIFIC GIVEN SITUATION. Main potential problem factors:

In 1956-58: No problem factors, really. A straightforward project in a vigorously expanding town municipality for a proper city hall to replace inadequate quarters for the growing city council and administration. Kiruna had been given city rights and status from 1948, roughly half a century after its establishment as a pioneering mining settlement. After two different sketch projects for an administration building (1946, 1954) during a 15-year period of attempts at solving the task by the consultant town architect, an invited competition is decided on by the town council in 1956, now for a city hall. The invitation to five architects is announced in early November 1957; competition deadline is 15 April 1958 and the selection of a winning proposal to be implemented is announced on 4 June. Project design and implementation were started on directly after, as the brief arctic summer period must be used.

¹ The major interviews are marked with an asterisk in the list; cf. References.

² Rönn, M, personal communication, 19.11.2013.

Post-competition collaboration with the architect was apparently excellent, with the Stockholm architect present in Kiruna much of the time and deeply engaged.³

In 2011-13: The specific background situation is described in a separate section to follow below.

I Vulnerability of the new city hall project:

- (a) municipal organizer and industrial client: a double-headed stakeholder body
- (b) the absolute urgency of the time factor
- (c) general exposure: arctic climate considerations for the projected building; the brevity of the yearly construction period; the stakeholder body's lack of experience in using architect services; a habitual lack of respect in the organization overall for architectural values in preference to practical issues of operations and sustainability
- (d) a strived-for collective process and open dialogue between a great many interested parties *potentially* turning into non-productive deliberations and unhappy decisions.

II A complex start-up for the city hall competition:

(a) a two-part package of competitions, where the city hall competition is made to follow directly upon a competition for a new central city plan; it is only in the resolution of the first competition task that the actual site for the projected city hall gets to be known, and this date was by necessity made to lie in the start-up part of the second, city hall, competition.

(b) the fact of the two inter-related competitions means that entrants in the prequalification could not yet know the precise site of the projected city hall, only the general area of the projected central city plan.

STAKEHOLDER STRATEGY AND

EXPECTATIONS In 1956-58:

An initially straightforward stakeholder strategy by the client *alias* competition organizer Kiruna town municipality. An efficient invited competition followed by implementation was clearly the aim, and the result was a successful winning proposal.

However, ambition was evidently high, when apart from two north-Sweden architects and the resident LKAB architect Hakon Ahlberg, of national renown, who were invited for the competition, the recognized Swedish modernist architect Artur von Schmalensee was proposed by the SAA while Finland's already world famous Alvar Aalto was added to the list by the organizer. However, proposals by the first three architects were soon sorted away, but the last two invitations caused a stalemate in the jury deliberations when the competition appeared necessarily to yield two 1st prizes of diametrically opposed modes of form and conception, while a final decision had to be reached as to which proposal was to be

³ Brunnström (1993), p 131f, as well as personal communication in Oct. 2013. Cf. protocols kept by the the city hall building committee 1958-62.

implemented.⁴ When Schmalensee's project was chosen as a result of a congenial analysis by the jury, the city council accepted it and never questioned the decision, as it offered the particular solution needed in Kiruna in practical and social terms.⁵

It is only in the matter of functions analysis and the planning of the use of space in the projected building for administrative units and city services that expectations could not keep pace with reality, neither before, nor after the competition, leading to successive revisions of space planning.

In 2011-13:

In February 2010 the town municipality had drawn up a *municipal target scheme for the new city hall* ("Kommunens målbild") of requirements and values which was to serve as the central objective for the architectural competition, forming the basis of the competition task set up in the brief. A *target scheme* may be equaled to a strategic plan on the part of the organizer of a competition.⁶

In 2011 a civil law agreement was signed between the town municipality and the mining company LKAB, to the effect that LKAB undertakes to replace the present city hall from 1962, as regards (a) present-day functions of the city hall, (b) both architectural quality and the quality of ambiance in the central hall expressed in the long used concept "Kiruna's drawing-room", and (c) floor area—neither more, nor less.

The town municipality, however, ends up only as organizer of the competition, while LKAB takes over as the client in both the design project phase, conducting the tendering, and in the construction phase. After finished construction the town municipality will take over the building, operating it. This division implies a three-phase shift of responsibility for the project.

STATUS FOR PROCESS INTERCHANGE AND COLLABORATION:

In 1956-58, between municipal city hall building committee – competition jury -- architect

In 2011-13, between (a) municipal competition organizer -- industrial client; (b) between a *multiple competence committee alias competition jury* – organizer/client – architects; (c) municipal work groups -- the competition jury; (d) the public and politicians -- the competition jury

⁴ For the Aalto proposal in the Swedish context, see Rudberg (2005).

⁵ Brunnström (1993), p 129ff. The process of the jury evaluation was investigated through Brunnström's interview contact in 1983 with one of the jury's architect members, Jan Thurfjell. Cf. also the brief comparative analysis in architectonic and topographical terms in the section below, "The 1950s process: comments".

⁶ Cf. Rönn (2012) b, p. 7f.

COMPETITION PROCESS with regard to diverging interests and competition form:

In 1956-58: no built-in divergence in a committee process driven by a marked ethos and responsible handling resulting in an invited competition for five architects. Divergence of outlook emerged in the competition evaluation phase, with two first prizes being awarded and with one of them being recommended after intensive deliberation but congenial analysis.

In 2011-13: what might be termed a *multiple competence committee process*, in a complex situation, with a built-in divergence between different—municipal, industrial and architectural—skills and interests. These were represented within the selection committee which was also identical with the jury, active throughout the competition process. The process was prepared and directed by a *consultant competition process leader* and was supported by *municipal work groups*, staff as well as politicians, resulting in an international open prequalification and selection procedure comprising 56 entries, followed by an invited competition for five architectural teams. *The organizer's intention*, however, has been one for maximum openness, dialogue and multiplicity--also with reference to the public--to characterize this competition process. Equally, a marked collective ethos drives the process in the exceptional predicament of Kiruna.

Background for the 2011-2013 competition process⁷

It is in the Swedish Lapland mining town of Kiruna, situated well above the Arctic Circle, that one finds the unique situation wherein the same town organizes a major invited competition for a city hall twice on an interval of c. 55 years, to replace the first, well-functioning and beloved building by a new one. The present extraordinary undertaking is part of a far greater venture-- "*the city transformation*" as it is called in organizational terms—based on the decision to move the entire central area of the town of Kiruna, established only just over a century ago, away from its original location. Below it, massive iron ore mining, having progressed below ground level in the 1960s, has resulted in a honey comb volume at present extending 1365m at an angle of 60 degrees in beneath Kiruna, and already causing ground deformations while threatening collapse of the town site within the near future. This fact was finally established and presented by LKAB as its first prognosis to the municipality in 2004, and work on a municipal action plan was started immediately. That prognosis has since been revised as to even greater haste. The urgency of the undertaking is indisputable, and has led to the adoption of a municipal time plan divided into three phases over the next twenty years, where the limit of the first phase is 2018. It is within this phase that the new city hall must be built, finished and taken over by the entire administration etc of the town municipality; the present plan for the removal is October 2016. The new city hall is expected to be one of the first large buildings in the new town centre, a so-called profile building and in its very essence heavily symbolic.

⁷ The account of the background is based on diverse published information material from the town municipality, Kiruna Kommun, and also on Brunnström 1993 as well as Kyander (2004).

The client, then, in the 2nd city hall competition is the perpetrator, the national mining company LKAB, in a “*collaboration project*” with the town municipality which also comprises *the city transformation*. In view of the present booming industrial market in southeast Asia and with China’s vast needs for iron the company plans on further extraction and expansion. Permission for this is given by the Swedish state which is of course another stakeholder in the extended city venture. Since LKAB provides the living for by far the largest part of the population of Kiruna and the surrounding region, the fact is that the town is subservient to the company and therefore must be “moved” or rather recreated as new in order to continue to serve the company. Therefore a municipal *Vision 2099* was formed in 2004, and the decision was taken in 2011 to run a competition for the new central city plan prior to, but in direct connection with the city hall competition. Both competitions in this package were structured in the same way as an international prequalification followed by an invited competition carried out according to the same procedures;⁸ but in the central city plan competition ten teams were invited as opposed to five in the following, city hall competition.

The competitions package was necessary as the designation of the new city hall site was obviously dependent on the outcome of the central city plan competition. At first, in January 2007, the area designated for the new central town lay to the northwest of the present town; however several objections cropped up, including further finds of iron ore. In late 2009 it was suggested that the adopted overview plan [*Översiktsplan*] was revised, and a new plan outlining an extension of the present town site to the east was adopted by the City Council in September 2011. However, the new site was placed in a flat part of the landscape, a fact that gave rise to the idea of conducting a competition for the central city plan.⁹ It was at that same time, too, that the decision to run the two competitions as a package was taken, and that they should be carried through in collaboration with the Swedish Association of Architects, SAA, which also meant in accordance with the Swedish Public Procurement Act, *LOU*, that includes in it the EU regulation (Directive 2004/18/EC). The first competition was announced in June 2012.

The winning central city plan project, announced on 4 March 2013, “Kiruna 4-ever”,¹⁰ proposes a grid plan in an extended strip of only three city blocks on either side of the main street and therefore in close contact with the surrounding landscape. It was important, according to the jury, that the plan, rather than being spread out, was clearly delimited, yet with direct access to nature. Along this strip of dense townscape are distributed important city functions, and in the middle of it, near the crossing of three traffic arteries, a representative city space—a triangular “square”—is also the site of the proposed new city hall, opposite a new rail station. What is notable in this use of a compact and traditional planning solution, is the reference to the original model city plan from 1900 by a well-known Swedish city planner Per-Olov Hallman; this was a variant of a grid plan—uncommon in Sweden—which however was draped across a slope—opposite to the mining mountain Kirunavaara—and following the variations in the terrain. And it is at a high point along the edge of this plan that the first city

⁸ LF 23.10.2013

⁹ LF 23.10.2013

¹⁰ The winning team is White Architects with Ghilardi + Hellsten Architects and Spacescape; also Vectura Consulting (traffic) and Evidens BLW (economic sustainability).

hall--planned out in the 1950s and finished in 1962--was placed as a solitaire, facing the mining company office on the opposite side of the valley. That symbolic balance is now in the process of being disrupted.

Finally it is relevant to note that at one remove from the main actors in the present city hall project is the *Länsstyrelse* [county government] *for Norrbotten*, involved because the first city hall had been made a listed building in 2001; the county government has stipulated that the listing cannot be cancelled, but instead it has attempted to direct a selection of elements to be “secured” as public “value bearers” and reused, or reintegrated in a different function, in the new design—for a new site--without dictating the manner of reuse. However, that presupposition has proved to be unrealistic and impossible to realize; as will appear, the town municipality instead has an ambition for reuse of a different nature, of immaterial or immanent values. The single most important “reuse” concerns the quality of ambiance in the central hall of the 1962 building, expressed in the time-honoured and popular concept “Kiruna’s drawing-room”, referring to a large, open and welcoming indoor space for many different civic activities. That concept has indeed been readapted in the winning entry, while a couple of significant elements of the actual building have also been included in the new design. At the present time (November 2013) a legal battle through two courts to cancel the listing of the first city hall--which must by necessity be torn down anyway—has not been concluded. As the building cannot be torn down, according to the law, without the listing having been lifted, this may possibly affect the mode of realization of the winning proposal in that the projected reuse of the city hall tower structure will be impossible.¹¹ The present legal process might well be described as shadow fencing, in the face of an irreversible real-life development.¹²

Account, further comments

(a) THE COMPETITION PROCESS, 1956-58¹³

In a city council meeting on 6 April 1956 a municipal city hall investigative committee (*utredningskommitté*) is re-appointed and enlarged with four new members to the total of seven. This is done on a proposition in the matter prepared by the borough finance department (*drätselkammaren*), where the executive chairman is now also made a deputy chair member of the investigative committee. In October 1957, when the committee takes the definitive decisions regarding the organization of the competition, he will also be appointed to the five-member competition jury as a layman representative of Kiruna town municipality, together with an engineer from the municipal real-estate unit. Two other jury members were architects,

¹¹ ÖM, 22.10.2013

¹² LL, 25.10.2013 stated that ironically it was the municipality itself that had initiated the listing--which is now a hindrance in the process from the point of view of the municipality--10 years earlier but that it had led to no response whatever until in 2000.

¹³ In addition to sources consulted and referred to below, see also Brunnström (1993); for that article a thorough investigation of material in the municipal archive and various other sources was made by Brunnström.

and one a commissioner from the national Building Works department.¹⁴ As is evident, the number of people involved in the process is quite limited.

Precompetition process:¹⁵ The question of an administration building for the town is discussed off and on for decades. At the end of May 1954 the borough finance department had discussed an architectural competition with motions for and against, but a rejection of this motion was supported by the city council chairman—who was identical with the investigative committee chair—referring to previous decisions regarding ongoing design work; this was done in spite of voices in the city council requesting both an architectural competition and an enlargement of the investigative committee. This was in reality a small group/committee of three people long given the task of examining conditions for a possible administration building. Meanwhile requirements for office and meeting space increased fast, and therefore it was the number of square meters required that was apparently a main stumbling block already early on. After the 1956 decision, the administrative units were asked to inform the committee of their needs which were discussed “several times”. There had also been discussions regarding the site, but in late October 1956 this is decided on by the city council to be that of the town office itself (*stadskontoret*). Later on, after the selection of the competition project to be implemented, it was discussed whether the construction work would permit a tearing down of that office in stages; at the same time requirements for space needed were revised together with architect Schmalensee well into the project design process. This means that expectations could not keep pace with reality. Generally, however, it becomes clear that once the public decision for an architectural competition has been taken, collaboration between all parties involved proceeds smoothly.

As already mentioned, the consultant town architect (1936-64) Bertil Höök, with his own office in the coastal town of Luleå in north-Sweden, had worked on the task of a modern city hall for Kiruna during a 15-year period. At the April 1956 city council meeting he is discharged from that task and compensated with a sum taken from the total budget of the competition to be held. On the other hand he is chosen as one of the five invited architects and submits three different competition proposals.¹⁶

Of particular note in the **competition process**¹⁷ is the need on the part of the organizer for further information and know-how on the task of planning a city hall. As a not uncommon solution in the 1st half of the 20th century in the Nordic countries,¹⁸ study trips to some newly built city halls in Sweden were suggested and carried out in an informal way in June 1957 by

¹⁴ The jury members were—in the order introduced in the text above: Ragnar Malmström and Åke Forsberg as laymen, Sven Ivar Lind, who was a prominent prof. architect at the Royal Academy, architect Jan Thurfjell of Luleå (interviewed by Brunnström in 1983, cf. note 5) and Ulf H Snellman, commissioner. For example, cf. a written account of the competition process up to date prepared by the investigative committee for the city council meeting where the competition results are approved, 9 June 1958 (“Ang. Stadshus i Kiruna. Till pkt 11 å stf:s föredrag lista 9.6.58”).

¹⁵ Cf. protocols kept by the investigative committee/the city hall building committee 1956-59, as well as protocols from city council meetings (Stadsfullmäktigeprotokoll): 1954-§189, 1956-§ 116.

¹⁶ Brunnström 1993; City Council protocol: 1956-§ 116.

¹⁷ Cf. in particular Investigative /City hall building committee protocols: 1956-10-12, 1957-4-5, 1957-5-6, 1957-9-10, 1957-10-21, 1958-6-3, 1958-6-4.

¹⁸ Bloxham Zettersten (2010).

the committee--which is now usually described in the protocols as “the city hall building committee”. Towns visited were Halmstad, Borås, Västerås, and Gustavsberg—all in the more densely urbanized south of Sweden—as well as the more “local”, northern coastal town of Luleå, visited in October 1957. What one is particularly seeking information on is the planning and functions aspect. As a consequence, space requirements are yet again revised and the sizes and distribution of meeting rooms and offices on the different floors for the various administrative units and city services can be resolved. This is done in anticipation of the writing of the brief, a task which is given in October 1957 to one of the architect jury members, Jan Thurfjell.

In this same phase, in the autumn of 1957, SAA and its competition board is contacted for advice on competition form and suggestions regarding the three architect members of the jury. This advice is followed.

What is especially notable in the contemporary perspective is that consultants do not appear to have been called in until in the project design phase—and then they seem usually to have been contacted by the projecting architect himself, Schmalensee.¹⁹ This is with the exception of the control of the proposed budget and the quantitative analysis of the different competition entries which is carried out by two jury members and an engineer external to the city hall building committee.²⁰

Another point to be noted here is that the competition proposals are received by April 15, but are kept unopened until the gathering of the jury on 29 April. They are then posted in the meeting room of the Kiruna fire station, but kept there under lock and key. Competition rules and anonymity are fully respected. It is not until after the announcement and approval in the city council of the winning proposal that the public is invited in to view the competition entries.²¹

¹⁹ This conclusion is drawn judging from the available protocols in the municipal archive.

²⁰ Åke Forsberg assisted by Jan Thurfjell (author of the brief) and “ingeniör Erik Roshed”. Utredningskommittén, [...]4.6.1958, p 2.

²¹ The exhibition was open for one week, 5-11 June 1958, by invitation of the city hall building committee, and announced in a local newspaper [attachment to protocol of the the city hall building committee meeting 4 June 1958].



(b) THE 1950s PROCESS: COMMENTS

As regards norms and methods-of-approach steering the competition process, these fit in well with those of the period—the 1950s. There are none of the habitual problems of ineffectual preparatory work, or an insufficient brief or poor client leadership; these phenomena as they appear in the first half of the 20th century in Sweden I have previously traced and discussed (Bloxham Zettersten 2010). From the April 1956 decision onwards, things are done “right” on the part of the organizer, with the clear aim of projecting a city hall building and getting it implemented. Information is gathered, and the necessary preparatory work is carried out. A small number of people are involved in the venture from start to finish with some of them shifting between roles, the chairmen in both the city hall building committee and the city council are competent and a driving force, collaboration is good—even praised at the end of the competition—and the process is characterized by a marked, positive ethos.

The competition brief—a central feature of the competition process—was formulated to the point and in brief and factual terms, with the accompanying documents needed.²² It led to a successful proposal which was found most satisfactory by all, in all its aspects. Indeed, expectations were more than met. The project chosen for implementation was approved to be built with hardly any architectonic changes; the changes made during project design were, as already described, almost all of a functional nature and can generally be attributed to changes in space requirements and convenient access. This included a widening of all four sides of the building by 1,5 m.²³ The measure respected the preservation of a large central hall space—in a plain cubic building turned inward, away from the darkness and cold climate—to be used in the years to come for a multitude of public activities. In the fifty years of usage it has grown in significance to carry the immanent values wished for in the new city hall of the 2010s. Alvar Aalto’s response to the same brief differed entirely. Together with a team of eight collaborators he produced a proposal which in its own right is generally recognized as a masterpiece in architectonic terms. In conceptual mode it was the opposite to that of Artur von Schmalensee, turning outward towards, and reflecting, the dramatic topography; here the public meeting space (a *torg*, or “square”) was outdoors, but in the arctic setting this would have been inadequate.²⁴ The effective brief respecting the competition rules was a model of the period, and here proven to be clearly open to free and innovative solutions.

As regards the divided 1st prize—or rather two 1st prizes, as the prize sum was doubled--what was at issue in the Kiruna process was, as we have seen, a hard choice between operations and functions, budget and comfort versus architectonics. The outcome is to be considered in the light of the contemporary SAA competition rules which permitted only *one* first prize in non-ideas competitions!²⁵

The composition of the jury according to the rules in the 1950s was expected to have a majority of professionals as against local laymen representing a position of trust who could *afterwards* become members of a building committee.²⁶ In Kiruna these last two had been

²² SAR:s tävlingsblad 4, 1959, p 143. Cf. Bloxham Zettersten (2010).

²³ The city hall building committee protocol (Stadshusbyggnadskommitténs protokoll), 1959-1-30, §21.

²⁴ Cf. the jury’s evaluation, SAR:s tävlingsblad 4, 1959, p 148ff.

²⁵ SAR:s tävlingsblad 3, 1960, p 84.

²⁶ SAR:s tävlingsblad 3, 1960, p 81.

members of the investigative committee all along--one of them being the deputy chairman—which would be only natural, particularly in this outpost town.

Finally it may be added that an increase in invited competitions had been seen from 1956, in parallel with a great increase in public building activities which were often project oriented.²⁷ Specialization had come to be regarded as a guarantee (a) for expertise in the field being grounds for choosing the invited competition, and (b) against non-professional competition proposals.²⁸

(c) THE COMPETITION PROCESS, 2011-13²⁹

The *competition process leader* for the city hall prequalification and invited competition, a consultant from an independent firm, was called on by the municipality in preparation of this task from 2009, and engaged from the autumn of 2011, with the start of the competition project, with the effective appointment lasting a good year from mid-2012. Long before this point two other significant parties had been involved in the brainstorming and planning: (a) one experienced architect, hired as a consultant, who also became a member of the jury and who in total came to be involved in the entire *city transformation* and city hall project during a period of 5-6 years; and (b) the SLG (*Strategiska ledningsgruppen*), a strategic group of directors for different administrative units, had been considering the differing requirements for the new city hall, making a program analysis, and so they might be described as a proto-committee; their meetings had resulted in written notes/informal protocols kept by the deputy municipality leader who was also participant throughout the following process. It was the SLG who specified the commission to the process leader. Beside their own group, they also constituted six other *municipal work groups*, also described as “reference groups”, representing different municipal units and functions, staff and politicians; these groups were asked in the early phase to express their wishes and requirements as regards qualities for the new building and these results were fed into the competition brief.³⁰ Later on, for the jury assessment of the five competition proposals the SLG also wrote a statement emphasizing important points for consideration by the jury, without taking any sides concerning a particular proposal.³¹

The organizer’s competition process leader wrote the prequalifying program invitation, upon consultation with the SAA competitions secretary, in an ideas exchange with *the LKAB process leader* for the *city transformation* and, in particular, an architect appointed by LKAB

²⁷ SAR:s tävlingsblad 3, 1960, p 85ff;

²⁸ SAR:s tävlingsblad 3, 1960, p 79. Bloxham Zettersten, G. (2010).

²⁹ This account relies in particular on the interview statements by the municipality’s competition process leader ÖM and the LKAB acting process leader, architect NE, while supplemented by and cross-referred to in the interviews with the LKAB process leader PL, and two jury members appointed by the municipality, consultant architect LF and municipal secretary for culture LL. The SAA competitions secretary present throughout the process has corroborated and added to this information, as has the deputy municipality leader MD and the Henning Larsen Architects partner PTJ responsible for the winning team’s proposal.

³⁰ ÖM, 22.10.2013

³¹ MD, mail 2.12.2013; LF, 23.10.2013 who diverges slightly in also mentioning “preferences” on the part of the work groups.

for the specific task of following the city hall project; this architect was assigned, in her role as *deputy process leader*, by LKAB to the jury, and for the post-competition project design phase she is now their process leader.

The LKAB then deputy process leader—the architect—has stated that she came to see her role in the interchange with the competition process leader during his writing of the invitation program as one of explaining the nature and detailing of demands for the projects that may be considered fair and possible in an architectural competition. This resulted in his cutting back on some demands. By taking this stand, she chose to represent architectural interests in the first place, before those of her employer, LKAB.³²

Now—in the post-competition project design phase—the municipality’s competition process leader has switched seats, having been appointed as LKAB’s consultant process leader, due to his acknowledged great competence in the areas of operations, sustainability, energy and climate which were all specified as of particular importance for the competition task.

The jury, alias the *multiple competence* committee, who were actively engaged—as has been pointed out above—throughout the process, consisted of nine people; of these, the municipality appointed six—the consultant architect engaged from the start of the entire project, three administrative leaders within the municipality, the municipal secretary for culture, and one artist—while SAA appointed two architects, and LKAB the deputy process leader/architect. In the invitation it is stated that experts “within, for example, the fields of sustainability/environment, energy, economics, geotechnique, landscape architecture, construction etc” “will be called in to assist the jury’s work” (*Inbjudan*, p. 5).

On the part of the municipality, the steering factor for the inclusion on the jury of the secretary for culture and an artist was the specific aim of transferring to the new building, and strengthening, the positive qualities and functions characteristic of the present city hall; among these qualities were the customary exhibitions of the large municipal “art collection of a very high quality” (*Inbjudan*, p. 2). However, it was not until in the actual competition brief that *an art museum* placed inside the city hall was included as part of the competition task!

The invitation for an open Prequalification was announced internationally on 2 October 2012, and the last day for handing in an application/ notification of interest (*Inträsseanmälan*) was two months later, on 3 December. Language specified for the application was Swedish, Norwegian, Danish or English, while language to be used in the competition and for the project was given as Swedish only. The invitation stated the usual formal requirements (cf. Rönn 2012 b, p. 2f, 10; *Inbjudan*, p. 5f); of special note is a declaration of intent (*Programförklaring*) where the entrant was asked to explain how the team intended to work with the project in order to secure the intentions of the *municipal target scheme for the new city hall*, mentioned above. Reference projects could be five at most, of which two must have been built and at least one of those in a cold/arctic climate, and key roles held by members of the team in those projects must be stated; client referees for the reference projects would be contacted.

³² NE, 24.10.2013, referring to the competition process leader’s initial “tough list of demands”.

56 applications were received which in the Kiruna case were read by all the members of the jury—a measure which appears to be unusual. Individual readings were followed by a group meeting for the whole jury.³³ The *selection process* outlined in the invitation was in three steps: (1) *must* requirements; (2) a ranking using points on a scale 1-5, being weighted according to a percentage system, on three counts; and (3) for the 15 entrants ranked the highest, referees were contacted on two more counts, ability to cooperate and the ability to carry through a successful project design of complex buildings of a similar character within the agreed schedule and budget; these answers also gave points. When a referee could not be reached this gave 0 points, but all reference projects did receive a referee statement from at least somebody. After individual ranking, the jury met in groups with different areas of speciality. Competence in the teams that was regarded as particularly important concerned energy in an arctic climate, architectonic and sustainable project design and experience with structures housing art.³⁴

Regarding the requirements, a comment from the municipality's consultant architect jury member took the form of a complaint that eligibility according to merits and recognized status as successful architects was given priority by LKAB, through their company lawyers wanting a 100% guarantee that there would be no battle between the architects afterwards. Therefore they instituted “a rather tough system for the prequalification” which meant that the jury could not carry out the sorting out process the way they would have wanted.³⁵

The brief was not handed out to the five competing teams until seven weeks after the announcement of the result of the prequalification and of their having been selected.³⁶ The late publication of the brief was due, however, as has already been pointed out, to the specific condition of the previous competition for the central city plan having first to be resolved, to indicate the actual site within it for the new city hall. The public presentation of the winning central city plan project preceded the publication of the brief by only four days, an interval that is said to have caused some hectic activity in the competition organizing group, reconfiguring the brief. This was the result of the winners having abandoned a recommendation in the central city plan brief for a particular area located not in the town centre but slightly to the side, in favour of a smaller site in a new town centre square environment. The change meant dropping an original request for a potential city hall extension, and also for parking in the immediate neighbourhood.³⁷

Six days later, on 14 March, a one-day *start-up meeting* in Kiruna for all the selected teams together introduced the actual competition. It was comprised a series of activities: (a) The competitors were divided up into two groups that were then switched round: the first group was shown around the present city hall by the secretary for culture who was one of the jury members, while the second group received a description of the site for the new city hall from the director of the municipal unit for land development who had been a jury member in the

³³ NE, 24.10.2013 and LF, 23.11.2013. Cf. Rönn 2012 b.

³⁴ NE, 24.10.2013, in particular; LL, 24.10.2013, stating that art structures turned out to be no problem, as that was very common among the entrants.

³⁵ LF, 23.11.2013. The LKAB company lawyers were Svartlings in Stockholm.

³⁶ 8 March 2013 versus 18 January 2013.

³⁷ LF, 23.10.2013 and ÖM 22.10.13; also NE 24.10.2013.

first competition for a central city plan. After that (b) there was a closed meeting (in the city hall Council Chamber) for all the teams at one and the same time together with the jury, the SAA secretary, two city planners co-opted to the jury,³⁸ and in particular, the competition process leader who explained the brief. Afterwards the competitors could ask questions relating to the brief; other questions concerned for example the Swedish Public Procurement Act. These questions and answers were recorded, reappearing together with some adjustments to the brief, as a *PM to the competition brief*, which was sent out to the competitors on 26 March. The teams could also discuss with each other at this time. Following the closed meeting, (c) there was a site visit, when the competitors could take photos, ask questions and make comments; one such comment was that the site seemed too low-lying (a condition, however, that the client could not change!). (d) The group was then shown around in the topography, passing the one new Kiruna public building on the way, a school designed by one of the two SAA jury member architects.³⁹ (e) The start-up meeting was concluded on a pleasant socializing note by a trip to the nearby Jukkasjärvi Ice Hotel, where the group was shown around and then invited by Kiruna municipality to a dinner at the inn/restaurant next door. All interviewees present have attested to satisfaction with the day's arrangements.⁴⁰

The reason for this—unusual--mode of social finish for all the competitors, the jury and the members of the day's meeting (that included, in particular, the two process leaders from the municipality and LKAB, respectively) was both the fact of a non-existent flights schedule to enable departures from Kiruna in the evening, and, not least, the Kiruna tradition of friendly hospitality in a harsh environment. This was when the whole group could get acquainted in a nice way; the only directive was that there could be no discussion of the competition itself between the parties.⁴¹ On this note the start-up meeting dissolved, and the competitors then had until 10 June, 2 ½ months later, to submit their competition projects.

During part of *the competition period* questions could be addressed to the jury members for whom the questioners were anonymous. When the competition proposals had come in, a preliminary meeting of the jury was held, to consider whether all five proposals could be evaluated; this was confirmed, in spite of the fact that all had slight deficiencies (“nothing serious”) in the formal accounting. A large number of consultants were contacted, on several different technical aspects, and two teams of controllers checked the cost estimates, for the municipality and LKAB, respectively.⁴² During *the jury evaluation period* the competition projects were exhibited in the large central space of the city hall, where the public could leave written comments for the jury to consider. Moreover, the jury had a meeting with the public who could ask questions and get their explanations, a process in which the administrative units also took part.⁴³

³⁸ The city planners co-opted to the jury were one partner representative of the winning city planning team Ghilardi Hellsten, and Kiruna's city architect.

³⁹ Raketskolan by Mats Jacobsson, of MAF Architects, Luleå.

⁴⁰ ÖM, 22.10.2013; LF, 23.10.2013; NE, 24.10.2013; PTJ, 12.11.2013.

⁴¹ All the interviewees present were positive, when questioned on this social finish, that this measure could in no way have affected the outcome of the competition to follow.

⁴² ÖM, 22.10.2013; cf. the jury report, <http://www.arkitekt.se/s78914/f16620>

⁴³ NE, 24.10.2013

It was during the summer holiday months that *the jury's internal evaluation* took place. They had six meetings and several (“innumerable”) group telephone meetings. During the final month of August the two co-opted city planners were called in—a request from the town municipality. This was done due to their special knowledge of the urban environment, and they could give their opinions—which the jury considered valuable--without having the right to vote.⁴⁴ The announcement of the winning team came on 13 September: Henning Larsen Architects together with WSP Sverige, Temagruppen Sverige and UiWe, with their proposal “Kristallen” (the Crystal).

The prequalification work had been approved by the municipal executive board, and the winning proposal was approved by the city council.⁴⁵ The competition would in the final instance be financed by the client LKAB where the bills would be sent by the organizer, Kiruna municipality. It should be added that during the competition evaluation period itself LKAB attempted to do no further steering.⁴⁶



⁴⁴ NE, 24.10.2013

⁴⁵ ÖM, 22.10.2013

⁴⁶ NE, 24.10.2013



(d) THE 2010s PROCESS: COMMENTS

In the outline of actual and postulated givens which introduces the account of the 2011-13 process, the main points of issue have already been made clear. In the account above these issues are illustrated through the course decided on for carrying out the competition under the given circumstances. New and important ideals of contemporary openness, dialogue and “softened” procedure such as the *Start-up meeting*, demonstrated within the specific conditions of the Kiruna competition process, will also be underscored in the concluding remarks below. What follows first is further comments relating specifically to the contemporary competition problematic.

Referring here to one central problematic of the present study considering expectations and requirements versus steering conditions, it may be illustrated by the particular point already brought up in mentioning the differing demands to the invitation program of the architect acting for LKAB and the organizer’s *consultant competition process leader*. The latter has expressed his disappointment at the limited demands in the brief on climate, energy and environment/sustainability (“miljö”) as well as the non-qualified response regarding those same aspects in the competition proposals. Already mentioned too is *the municipality’s consultant architect jury member’s* complaint regarding selection requirements being too focused on the professional status of the applicants. In both cases we appear to see evidence of a clash of interest which has grown steadily more central in the present-day competition process, namely the dominance of aspects relating to operations and functions versus architectonics. Apart from demands relating to economic efficiency, always present, this phenomenon may be explained by the present-day emphasis on specialization; consultants, of course, exemplify this clash.

It should be stressed here regarding the Kiruna selection which diverges from the norm--due to LKAB’s status requirements, already mentioned, for the prequalification in order to avoid legal consequences--that this is at odds with the general finding that there is a difference in the tendering of products as opposed to services; there is rarely criticism of tendered

services.⁴⁷ Also, regarding the differing loyalties of jury members, it may be added here that their loyalties or types of responsibility may be seen as of five different kinds; these have been studied in relation to a Finnish context by Swedish researchers.⁴⁸

As already pointed to in this study, the truly outstanding feature of the Kiruna 2010s competition process has been the strived for open dialogue and collective nature of the process. This is seen exemplified in the direct contact with the public in a shopping mall sought by some municipality officials in one of the work groups, to sound out the expectations of the public concerning the new city hall; the questions asked of individuals centered around what function and meaning the present city hall had had in his/her life and experience. The gathering of this information formed a basis for wishes and requirements to be transmitted to the consultant competition process leader in anticipation of the writing of the brief.⁴⁹ A different example of dialogue/interchange, was the responsible partner from the Henning Larsen Architects team holding a meeting with municipality politicians in conjunction with the start-up meeting.⁵⁰

The invited competition form was chosen by necessity as being the only option open within the pressed time frame. The need to find teams from the start was also all-important and this was another factor. But all interviewees directly concerned with the competition expressed a wish that a two-stage competition had been possible, as that would have resulted in a greater freedom to elaborate ideas as well as to meet all demands that the organizer might have wanted to include in the brief.⁵¹ Instead, the chosen competition form would now mean more detailed design work in the project design phase. What happened post-competition is that the client LKAB—who were part of and considered as one with the organizing set-up⁵²—made an attempt to request a significant change in the design affecting *the character* of the winning proposal which had been approved by the SAA;⁵³ however, the matter was successfully solved to the satisfaction of all, and especially the municipal work group concerned, through clever re-design by the architects.⁵⁴

The invited competition is necessarily preceded by a selection procedure which means a pre-competition investigative effort; in the Kiruna 1950s process this meant a search for information and know-how on the part of the organizer, while in the 2010s case the so called prequalification was a competition routine procedure. In Magnus Rönn's studies of the

⁴⁷ Rönn, M, personal communication, 26.11.2013. Cf. also Rönn, M. (2012)b.

⁴⁸ Kazemian, R.-Rönn, M.-Svensson, C. (2007), p 129-36.

⁴⁹ LL, 24.10.2013 and telephone communication 16.12.2013. The form for the direct contact with the public was devised by the work group: they handed out a questionnaire with 15 options for replies, and additional to that it contained "free questions".

⁵⁰ PTJ, 12.11.2013.

⁵¹ In particular, as pointed out by NE, 24.10.2013 and ÖM, 22.10.2013. The range of possible demands had been specified at their introductory meeting with the SAA competitions secretary, when the competition form to be used was established.

⁵² ÖM; 22.10.2013.

⁵³ LF, LL and PTJ—post-interview personal communication. Under §18 of the SAA competition rules the negotiation of such changes could potentially be handed over to the organization representing the competitors, here SAA, who have the moral duty of defending the winning proposal; MR, 15.11.2013, personal communication.

⁵⁴ LL, telephone communication 16.12.2013.

organization of the competition process from the municipal or governmental organizer's viewpoint Rönn has pointed to two fundamental principles that he has formulated in the double concept of *ex-ante* and *ex-post*.⁵⁵

Ex-ante means that organizers try to control the competition process "ahead of time" through the competition task, the competition conditions and the choice of competing architect firms. Ex-post means that the competition is steered "afterwards" by the design and the jury's assessment of the competition design proposals.

In a comparison with the Kiruna 2010s competition process, such an *either-or* concept is hard to apply, due to a number of diverging factors in an exceptional situation. Two main factors were the facts of the double-headed stakeholder body and of the prequalification selection committee being identical with the jury; another factor, the alternating roles of several of the people organizing, partaking in and following up on the process. What is seen is in principle a fragmentation of the competition organization, and thereby also the competition process, a general contemporary phenomenon pointed to by Rönn, as already mentioned. However, in this particular case it is contradicted, or at least countered, by the marked collective ethos of the people involved.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: CONCLUDING REMARKS

Some points supporting comparability:

Both competitions reviewed in this paper have been the invited form, although with a difference in the method of invitation. In the 1950s as in the 2010s the important choice of competition form facing the organizer remains basically the same: an open ideas competition with a follow-up 2nd stage, permitting in depth elaboration of the project, versus the quicker solution of the invited competition. So again, what is really seen to be at issue is the choice between architectonics being made a priority rather than operations and functions, budget and convenience. If there should in fact be a need to give priority to one or other of these options that same choice might also determine *the form of the competition: new ideas versus directed, elaborated project*. However, in the 1950s the competition proposal in the invited competition has also been seen as a sketch—a result of haste, not permitting penetration—to be developed in project design and tendering; this is precisely as compared to the two-stage competition! In 1960 one main advantage of the invited competition appears to have been seen as a way of guaranteeing professionalism, avoiding non-professional entries.⁵⁶

Anonymity of the competition is a precondition and a basic requirement, and this is as true in the Swedish rules of today as in the 1950s.⁵⁷ Start-up meetings that may, in principle,

⁵⁵ Rönn, M. (2012)b, p 15f.

⁵⁶ SAR:s tävlingsblad 3, 1960, p 81, as well as p 79.

⁵⁷ <http://www.arkitekt.se/s12794>: SAA Competition rules, §8, and SAR:s tävlingsblad 3, 1960, p 77.

potentially compromise anonymity were sometimes used also in the 1950s for the invited competition, although not in the Kiruna case. However, there is an indicative difference in the mode of start-up meeting then and now: In the 1950s it was carried out in committee meeting form which included questions and answers, all recorded in a protocol,⁵⁸ while in the 2010s process the Kiruna start-up meeting included various activities--seminars, a closed meeting session, a guided tour which included the projected building site and finally a communal dinner—some of which were characterized by a form of socializing that might border, in principle, on fraternization. The indicative difference appears to confirm a softened and opened-up competition process in the present.

The same applies to the participation of the public in the competition process: As already pointed to, there appears to be a fundamental difference in attitudes that may affect anonymity also in the exhibiting of competition entries during the competition evaluation phase, and the public's contact with the jury in 2013, compared to the formal requirements for anonymity in the 1956-58 process, when entries were locked up and exhibited only after the completed evaluation.

One may conclude that a main point manifesting divergence is the opened-up process:

What we see now is the larger, democratic stage-set versus the smaller organization, familiar to all the actors involved. However, in the present-day process there was indeed a wish for direct contact; as already mentioned, it was an intention on the part of the organizer to see the process characterized by dialogue and multiplicity. The notion of direct contact expresses a general wish to avoid a deferment via agents that may be likened to competition anonymity. This is seen by the culture secretary—one of the officials partaking in the shopping mall direct contact initiative—as being continued in the present project design phase when municipality officials have been prevented from direct contact with the architect team on questions of specific details pertaining to their particular administrative units, or in this case the projected art museum. It is, however, a requirement by the client LKAB that all contact is taken via the municipality's new process leader for the project design phase. Here the double-headed stakeholder body may be confirmed as being a major steering condition.

A general fear today, as expressed by Magnus Rönn, appears to be that multiplicity of agents leads to fragmentation of organization. One may speculate if fragmentation is in the final instance the effect of a general striving for accountability in our time. This is as opposed to an older, more comprehensive view of the method-of-approach and results strived for, a striving that reflected a socio-ethical attitude; nor was that so hard, with far fewer agents. Welfare state ideals and norms dictated method and course of action. In our own post-structural period studies of mechanisms of control reflect a new inquiry, and have made an impact on sociopolitical discourse.⁵⁹

In a general conclusion, what one can see has changed dramatically is the form and method of the whole process--planning, competition as well as the project design phase—making it, in the best case, interactive. A key to a paradigm shift governing building control within the

⁵⁸ SAR:s tävlingsblad 3, 1960, p 82.

⁵⁹ Cf. for example, Gilles Deleuze (1992), "Postscript on the Societies of Control".

earlier Swedish welfare state system versus in the neoliberal audit society of today is discussed by Rolf Johansson as a shift from control by rules to control by goals;⁶⁰ this key might also be seen to apply to the competition process. Where competition rules were of paramount importance in the mid-20th century, one now finds the SAA, in a supplementary guide to a book on tendering in public processes, advocating contemporary openness and “softened” procedure, the more easily for clients to achieve the goal of successful tendering.⁶¹ Equally, it might be claimed that the present-day wish for a collective, democratic process is a means to an end—but an ideal end. It appears to correspond with the well-known general paradigm shift between the 1950s and now from qualitative to quantitative analysis. And yet again, these aspects appear to be contradicted to some extent by the specific and, in parts, *exceptional* process conditions in Kiruna. Here the collective, democratic process is a working ideal.⁶² Some foci have changed, dreams are reused—but in newer forms.

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A Critical Overview of Architectural Competitions in Turkey

*Two Contradicted Competition Stories in Istanbul:
IMC Blocks / Zorlu Center Projects*

Devrim Isikkaya

A CRITICAL OVERVIEW of Architectural Competitions in Turkey: TWO CONTRADICTED COMPETITION STORIES IN ISTANBUL: IMC BLOCKS / ZORLU CENTER PROJECTS

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Short Introduction of the Topic of Research:

Upon the demand of Linen Drapers and Cloth Merchants Market Cooperative, in 1954-55 an area between Bozdogan Archway and Unkapani Bridge along the edge of the historical peninsula Istanbul. Again, upon the demand of the cooperative, the “Site Construction Plan” competition was opened in 1958 for this area and Cihat Findikoglu and his team won the competition. Later on, in 1959, an invitee architecture design competition which covered about 160.000sqm was organized on the area. This competition was won by SITE Architecture Group. The project was constructed in 1961-1967, by remaining true to a majority of its characteristics and was opened with a ceremony by the Prime Minister of the time.

The Research Methods:

Evaluation of the documents regarding the both competition process, site analysis, interviews with the clients, designer groups and the consumer and the owner of the erected buildings, critical overview and competitive analysis of the both projects

Preliminary Results:

Contradictory characteristics of the both multi-leg competition mix-used projects regarding the jury, client, designer, urban and architectural design approaches

The Specific Theme (of the Conference):

- What is a competition? A critical debate on their roles, their contribution to the quality of our built environment and their characteristics across countries and regulations.
- What is the role of the dialogue between client and architects?
- What's the relation between competition form and innovations? Addressing the role of the client, jury and design teams in competitions in relation to the outcomes.
- How do clients manage the competitions process? Focusing on aims, stakeholder strategies and jury deliberations of commissioning client organizations.

ABSTRACT:

This paper's aim is to make a comparative analysis of the two contradicted multi-leg mix-used projects and their architectural and urban design process / the competition process; the communist, nationalist, designer-related, revolutionary, innovative, transparent, extroverted, humble, urban related IMC Blocks include the Linen and Drapers Offices, shops, food court etc., located on the historical peninsula – old Istanbul, completed at the end of 60s and the capitalist, neo-liberalist and internationalist, repetitive, introverted, profiteer, client-related, arrogant, urban rejected, city in city formed Zorlu Center project which includes convention zones, shopping malls, offices and entertainment zones, established between the years 2011 – 2013, in terms of the competition process, actors and products, jury / designer, client / designer, the architectural product / city, designer / contractor relations, in order to evaluate and understand the last fifty years of the Turkish architectural competition culture.

Keywords: multi-leg architectural competition, mix-used project, mat architecture, designer – related / client related, competition culture and politics in Turkey

1. IMC BLOCKS – Urban and Architectural Competition

During the first half of 20th century, Istanbul's linen drapers market expanded to the city's Sultanhamam district and its surroundings in the historic peninsula and settled into the 19th century buildings in the area. In the beginning of 1950's, the city was almost reconstructed and in this respect, especially Sultanhamam and its surroundings, which have gone under great changes in terms of urban morphology in the historical peninsula and lacked the aspects to be sufficient for dense commercial activity. When the notification of the mentioned area to vehicle traffic was sent to the linen drapers, The Merchants of Linen Drapers and Cloth founded "Limited Responsibility Istanbul Linen Drapers and Cloth merchants Shopping Center Building Society" with more than 1100 members in 1954, in order to get themselves an area and a brand new shopping center and to create its own linen drapers- cloth market (Kizilkayak, 2001).

The governor and the mayor on behalf of Istanbul Municipality proposed an area along the edge of the historical peninsula between historic Bozdogan Archway and Unkapani next to the Ataturk Boulevard to the consideration of the cooperative so that the project and the construction of the shopping center would greatly shape the construction of the immediate vicinity as well. An uncertainty about the land confiscation boundaries came into the picture due to the area not having a construction plan and a lack of urban construction program related to the area. Therefore, the municipality urged the cooperative to organize a "site construction plan" competition to be able to realize the required urban arrangements to be done. The jury deemed master architect Cihat Findikoglu and his design team's project the first prize in the year 1958 out of fourteen projects (Ozcan, 1968).

Within the same year, the cooperative organized an invitee and national level architecture project design competition, which would be the continuation of the site construction plan competition, with the support and guidance of the municipality once again, for the shopping center campus in the designated land.

In accordance with the architecture project requirements the participants were asked to design the following: 1117 shops in four different styles, whose value differs according to their size ranging from 80-90sqm (Ozcan, 1968); if possible, storages connected to each shop and other public storages in different places of the shopping center; offices of the levels above the shops in the blocks and taking environmental conditions into consideration, multi-storied offices buildings at certain places, restaurants and buffets; a barber shop, a pharmacy; police center; a post office; large parking spaces, underground parking spaces; appropriate places for tobacco shops.

Around the invited eleven teams and individuals the jury deemed the project of SITE Architecture, office members, master engineers and architects Dogan Tekeli, Sami Sisa and Metin Hepguler for the first prize and to be realized (Tekeli, 2001).

The jury report on the winning project out of eleven proposals as a result of the organized architecture project competition is as follows:

“In the project chosen as the most suitable project among the others for the Linen Drapers, these are the main aspects: The composition of the area between Bozdoğan Archway and Sebsefa Hatun Mosque has been found to be positive in terms of urbanization and architecture. On the other hand, although the number of shops is complete in this project, their width has been found narrow (gross 4.40m). However, the lack of flexibility, in the project can be removed. The ventilation of the orientation to the land and the restricted area buried to the ground by opening ducts to the yards and back service road has been nicely accomplished. The jury refused the high building blocks of the project on the site.”

Thus, the construction of the shopping center which covered a total of about 160.000sqm area and consisting of six different blocks has been completed between 1961-1967 (Ozcan, 1969).

The linen drapers shopping center which is Turkey's first big modern “shopping mall” within its two open courts with closed grounds has been completed in six years, in an environment of inconvenience caused by the construction industry with very limited materials, technology and workmanship, by mostly remaining true to the preliminary project and was opened to service in 1967.

The last stage of Istanbul Linen Drapers Shopping Center competition and construction process has resulted in other competition subject to arise. The proposal of SITE Architecture Office to the shopping center's administrative committee about placing examples of Turkish modern plastic arts by IMC (Shopping Center) structure group was approved. As a result of the plastic arts project competitions which were organized twice, Kuzgun Acar's wall statue, Ruya Koral's ceramic board, Yavuz Gorey's fountains/statue, Ali Teoman Germaner's wall relief, Sadi diren's ceramic board, Nedim Gunsur's mosaic board were applied to the interior and exterior facades of the 1st, 2nd, 5th and 6th blocks (Ozcan, 1969).

In Istanbul, where the exchange concept comes to the fore and Byzantium, Ottoman – Islam shopping centers become dense, the IMC Project which forms an analogical connection between spatial tradition of Ottoman bazaars, covered bazaars, caravansaray, inn and closed bazaar vulture, develops the shopping center typology / concept with a modern interpretation and redefines it, is the reflection of solidarity – organization performance, which is a candidate to the Ataturk's city and social ideology, to the city's physical environment as well.

With the understanding of a new shopping center created by architects, the galleries and common spaces which were now defined as yards between the shopping blocks, the user has taken a step to be tradesmen, or a trade community from being shop keepers addicted to unit shops. The respectful relationship of this building group within the cloes historical environment of Suleymaniye and with Suleymaniye Mosque is also noteworthy (Ozkan, 2001). As Ozkan (2001) states, this shopping center which forms the treshold of Istanbul's historical peninsula and establishes an almost avant-garde relationship as an open structure, is in a position of Suleymaniye Social Complex's pedestal in the design team's words. In this respect, the influence of the environment to the Linen & Drapers Shopping Center, the preservation of the scale which looks big at the top, but is not really that big has resulted in showing respect to the small textured neighborhood scale in its skirts. In addition, it carries the worry that a structure order which does not respect these could devastate all this scale and their respectability (Tekeli, 2001).

As an example of “mat architecture and urbanism” but also of bringing a contemporary concept to the historical shopping center and work place culture, it is a mix-used project. The most attention grabbing aspect of IMC (Shopping Center), it has been designed by taking into consideration the relationship between itself and the urban conditions around it and forming a lively and smooth bridge between the new urban center. In this respect, it is a version of mega city Istanbul, which continuously expands and transforms to a small universe.

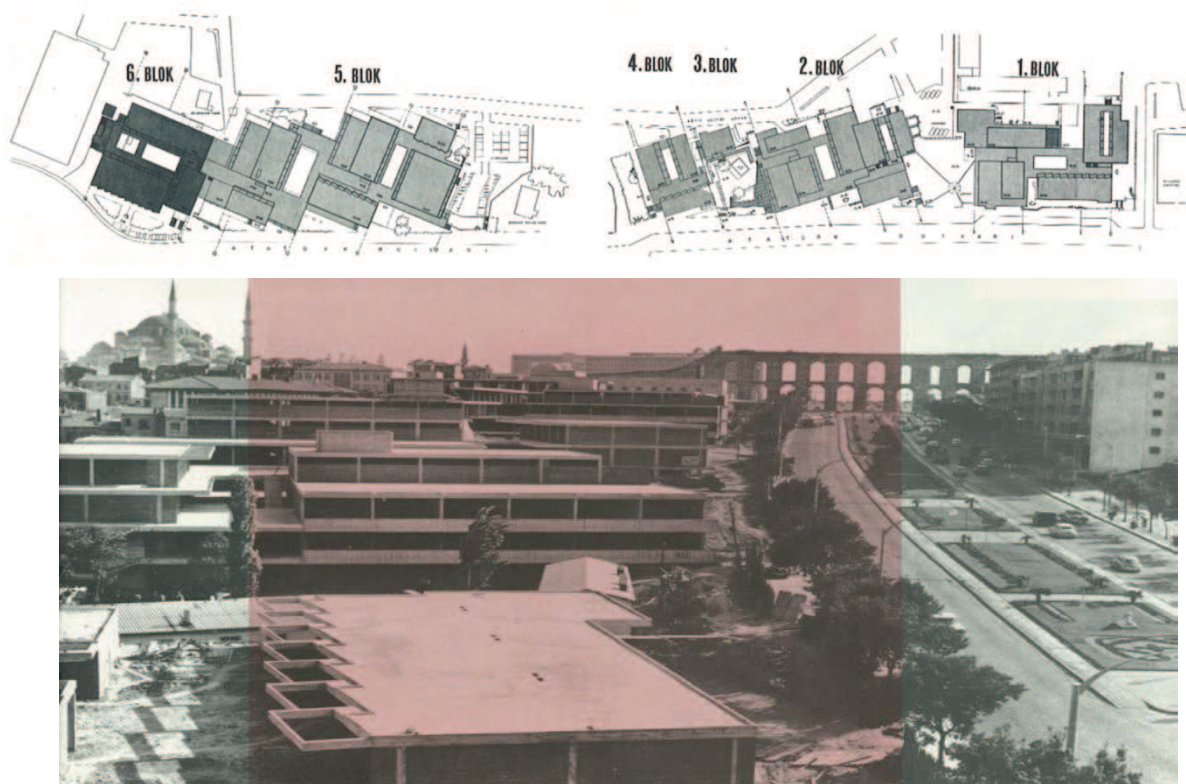


Figure 1., 2. The Location Plan and The Partial Silhoutte of IMC Blocks

2. ZORLU CENTER Architecture and Urban Design Competition

Zorlu Property Development & Investment Inc. purchased the 96,505 sqm of land via a public tender for a record price (\$ 800.000.000) in March 2007, setting a new threshold for land prices in Istanbul. The land is surrounded by one of the last remaining sizeable woodlands in the city, complemented by spectacular views of the Bosphorus and the historical peninsula of Istanbul. The Zorlu Centre which is situated on possibly the most high profile / european site, Zincirlikuyu district in Istanbul, with commanding views of the city and with complicated road connections. The site is easily accessible situated as it is on the crossroads of the city's major avenues, as well as the approach route to the Bosphorus Bridge on the European Side. "Zorlu Land", not only the most prestigious but also the biggest land for construction in Istanbul, is opened for an (two stage) international competition. Zorlu Property Development and Investment Company of Zorlu Holding contracted World Architecture Community to advise on the international project procurement processes for the precious and prestigious land that has been acquired through an open public bidding.

The "Zorlu Center Architecture and Urban Design Competition" started in June 2007 and concluded in 2008 by Zorlu Real Estate which is one of the most substantial investor in Turkey. Within the process of Zorlu Center Architecture and Urban Design Competition, 152 Turkish and international architecture and urban design offices have applied for qualification. 117 out of these have submitted their portfolios within the deadline specified (Competition Catalogue, 2011).

The Advisory Committee composed of Suha Ozkan (Architect), Koksal Anadol (Architect) M. Arch. Vice Chairman – CEO of Construction Centre, Emre Aysu (Architect – Urban Planner, Academician - Yildiz Technical University) Deniz Çağlar Duman (Architect - Consultant – Zorlu Property Dev.&Invst. Inc.), Levent Ergul (Civil Engineer - General Manager – Zorlu Property Dev.&Invst. Inc.) and Doğan Tekeli (Architect - Founding Partner – Tekeli/Sisa Architecture) completed its evaluation on 4th of July, 2007, and has finally selected the following 13 architecture and urban design offices to be invited to take part in the second stage of the competition: Arquitectonica (Bernardo Fort Brescia), Mario Botta, Gregotti Associati International spa (Vittorio Gregotti) + ARUP Consortium, Cafer Bozkurt Architecture Ltd. + Asp Architekten Stuttgart Partnership (Mete Arat, Cem Arat), Coop Himmelblau (Wolf Prix) + Uras & Dilekci Architects Consortium (Emir Uras, Durmus Dilekci), GAD Architecture Gokhan Avcioğlu + Odile Decq / Benoit Cornette Architectes Urbanistes Consortium, Has Architecture Ltd. (Ayse Hasol Erkin, Doğan and Hayzuran Hasol)+ Llewelyn Davies Yeang Consortium (Ken Yeang), Mimarlar Tasarım (Han Tumertekin) + Hashim Sarkis + George Hargreaves Consortium, EAA Emre Arolat Architects, ERA Urban Planning & Architecture Ltd. (Ali Hızıroğlu), Selim Velioglu / seARCHITECTURE Consortium (Erce Funda, Sunaj Jusuf), SUTE Ltd. (Umut Inan) and Tabanlıoğlu Architects Ltd. (Murat and Melkan Tabanlıoğlu) (Competition Catalogue, 2011).

After the final evaluation Tabanlıoğlu Project is selected as the co-winner of the competition. In conclusion, the project of Tabanlıoğlu and EAA Joint Venture Group has developed the project to join as a new ring to the public domain structure of Istanbul. The Zorlu Center

project which will be the first mixed use project in Turkey extends over a construction area of 619.595 sqm including culture and art center, hotel, business center, shopping center and residences. The program of the requirements of the competition is as follows:

Function	Percentage	Construction Area
Residential	35%	82.250,00 m ²
Tourism - Congress	30%	70.500,00 m ²
Commercial	15%	35.250,00 m ²
Office	10%	23.500,00 m ²
Social & Cultural	10%	23.500,00 m ²
Sub Total	100%	235.000,00 m²
Parking & Technical	-	350.000,00m ²
Total	100%	585.000,00 m²

Three residential blocks, a lifestyle and a convention hotel, and an office block are positioned bordering the landscaped plaza, above a sunken shopping zone with retail and entertainment facilities in addition to the convention hall with a capacity of 3500 seats situated below the two hotels. The site benefits from being close to highways and has generous access for vehicles. Two main driveways assigned into the project zone, being convention hall and retail entrances. Five underground parking levels of 250.000 sqm are planned for 5000 vehicles. Zorlu Center as a mega-structure project had been entitled to the Master Planning award, a jury special award in the 2008 Cityscape Dubai Architectural Awards competition (Ozkan, 2011).

3.1. The Evaluation Process

The Advisory Comitee's evaluation statements regarding the projects of the 13 participants are as follows:

- **Arquitectonica:**

The research into new geometries, new volumes and new urban massing were all very interesting. The axes in most cases were abstracted visually and they were mostly related to internal dynamics, rather than to external movement patterns. The proposal tried to encourage the integration of automobile traffic into the site planning and aimed to create a boulevard with side roads and a plaza instead of a closed shopping mall. However, the vehicular access road at the ground level in this kind of an urban design can be a liability for healthy environments due to CO2 emissions and noise pollution. This problem of vehicular design would be amplified due to car parking along the road and on the plaza. It must also be emphasized that the brief's requirement of servicing from a ring road was not taken into consideration. The architectonic qualities of the blocks did not satisfy the jury members. Also the overall glass cladding of the block surfaces creates heavy maintenance problems for the client (Competition Catalogue, 2011).

- **Mario Botta:**

As shown on the panels of the Botta Architects competition exhibition, the highly appreciated line of Botta Architects design understanding, which is very successful for most of the building types, were extended to urban design of such an advantageous site overlooking the Bosphorus in Istanbul. In general, a systematic and orderly detailing of the program is observed. However, the design approach did not cover a site analysis in its urban context. Did not take the external dynamics of the site into consideration. The project did not consider the Bosphorus view as much as it should have and even some dwelling units of the main block are facing the interior courtyard. The serviced apartment units, etc., in most cases, are facing the next block in such a large site. Similarly, the central public space is very introverted and does not open to the Bosphorus. The three blocks on the northern side are not articulated for different functions and there is a sense of insistence on forcing functions to fit in forms. There are no cultural community activities to establish an internal dynamics that may be carried out to the other parts of the site as activity generators. The overall scheme is the result of a very formalistic approach and did not satisfy requirements of the brief, where it was suggested to create an inviting public space (Competition Catalogue, 2011).

- **Gregotti Associati International spa / (Vittorio Gregotti) + ARUP Consortium:**

The search for architectonic qualities for individual buildings of this proposal was appreciated. Even though the research for using different materials such as wood and natural stone was also appreciated, the maintenance costs of such large surfaces of wood, open to the very windy and rough weather conditions of the Bosphorus is a very critical aspect of the proposal. This proposal with the "citadel on top of the hill" reference was found to be lacking the qualities that the competition brief was asking for (Competition Catalogue, 2011). The

desire to create an inviting public space and the maximum use of the Bosphorus view were not considered in this scheme. It was also interesting that the visual, urban and detailing references for most of the proposed schemata were derived from Arabic contexts rather than the region to which Istanbul belongs.

- **Coop Himmelblau (Wolf Prix) + Uras & Dilekci Architects Consortium (Emir Uras, Durmus Dilekci):**

The proposal made a clear analysis of many issues concerning the site. For example, it observed the metro tunnel developed the circular road on the site properly and as a consequence has the best vehicular approach and site servicing is very clear. There is a very successful land use development proposal. Although the proposal is considered as good research in urban matters promising to deliver a very vibrant and rich environment, it neither had the face validity, the urban test for the proposed assortment of volumes, forms, nor coherent geometries and their relationships. The wind turbine on the project also is not considered as a realistic solution since the wind direction in Istanbul is north-east instead of the north direction, as claimed in the proposal document of the design group. The wind speed required may not be achieved due to the forthcoming urbanization around the site. The changing and twisting plans of the residential and office blocks would create daylight, access and plan organization problems on lower levels, where the blocks get wider. The interiors of the retail area seem to create a very vibrant and **dynamic** environment (Competition Catalogue, 2011); however, such large circulation areas might create operational and financial problems in retail functions. Residential block plans are not due to new research, and in general the changing section of the blocks may not lead to a healthy solution.

- **GAD Architecture Gokhan Avcioglu + Odile Decq / Benoit Cornette + Architectes Urbanistes Consortium:**

This proposal provides in this context some good clues for a better environment like the proposed upper level park to be developed on the site. Movement patterns and entry points were all well worked out. Taking the security control systems and linkage systems as site planning and urban design principles were very well thought of as design attempts. The idea of having a grand bazaar type of a podium structure would have been a good idea if all the qualities of such a structure were to be developed. This was neither articulated in its present context nor extended to other parts of the site and the idea rather stayed as an unfulfilled promise. On the other hand, The way the offices, housing and hotel functions were designed does seem to promise a rather critical interrelationship in terms of urban crowding and overlooking due to their masses. The “High Park” theme does not convey the meaning it carries in this scheme with its unsatisfactory pedestrian functions. The high number of blocks,

their varied forms and the way they were placed on the site force the pedestrian level to turn into a cluttered environment, where orientation becomes a problem. Also, the architectonic qualities of the blocks at this stage of development did not satisfy the jury (Competition Catalogue, 2011).

- **Has Architecture Ltd. (Ayse Hasol Erktin, Doğan and Hayzuran Hasol)+
Llewelyn Davies Yeang Consortium (Ken Yeang):**

The proposal focuses on ecological aspects of urban planning and green architecture aspects of building, which is very recommendable especially for this size of an environment. However, although ecological and “green architecture” was the main argument of this project, the jury was not convinced, and in some cases was not satisfied with the specific proposals since some of the ecological concepts were used as formal and aesthetic elements rather than as a system. This problematic attitude is reflected in the heavy use of lawn surfaces on the facades and roofs of the buildings, since maintenance problems and related costs of such experimentation may cause problems of sustainability. Similarly, use of the concept of ‘fissure’ so strongly emphasized in the visual presentations, were not covered in the conceptual presentation. Their role and internal order was not very clear in the system proposal. ‘Ecological core’ as an idea is important for the betterment system of basements, however weather effects on such a territory may have grave consequences on the sustainability of the idea. Although the scale of the buildings above the podium is human, the environment they create on the surface is not lively. The architectonic qualities of the blocks did not satisfy the jury members. Their placement and the final composition create an impression of crowding. The ring road under the eco shell must be checked for being right in terms of underground construction setback lines Finally, the land for this development will become a sub centre of the city when completed, and therefore should try better links with a system in the city rather than claiming an identity without continuities (Competition Catalogue, 2011).

- **Selim Velioglu / seARCHITECTURE Consortium (Erce Funda, Sunaj Jusuf):**

This project is mainly developed due to a clear separation of the residences and other functions in a clear way. The residence blocks are appreciated for their architectonic identities. However, the playfulness of the proposal cannot be tested against the sense of austerity the project and the brief requires. Even though some parts of the layout and arrangement of the blocks are well thought, the overall arguments of the project were found naïve (Competition Catalogue, 2011).

- **SUTE Ltd. (Umut Inan):**

Even though this project satisfies most of the functional criteria of the brief, the lack of the architectonic and urban qualities and problems of using contemporary means of architectural design communication mediums makes this proposal very problematic (Competition Catalogue, 2011).

- **Cafer Bozkurt Architecture Ltd. + Asp Architekten Stuttgart Partnership (Metem Arat, Cem Arat):**

The overall environmental analysis of the proposal is highly appreciated. It is successful both conceptually and contextually. The overall plan formulation and the way its formal solutions were developed is well worked out and the distribution of volumes is appreciated. The pedestrian and traffic accesses are also working well. The orientation of the volumes is well thought out. However, it is advised to reconsider the office block views, where they are facing the retail area on one side and residences on the other side. The residential blocks' orientation and the location within the site are appreciated, whereas their skin is criticized. The facades of these blocks are to be studied further with a more realistic approach, combining the internal needs as well as external expressions. The way the new complex relates with the existing office block in the site is also good. Even though the argument of the project is to create an urban window to the Bosphorus, it is heavily criticized with the over-filled sunken plaza, where Bosphorus view is not considered. It is advised to remove the large size volumes within this sunken plaza in order to make it more inviting and also let the Bosphorus view to be seen from inside. However the developers and the jury are open to new type of activity proposals. It is appreciated that the project comes with many sustainable energy usage alternatives. The suggested transparent and energy producing roof should be very well examined in terms of initial construction and sustainable maintenance costs. The iconic qualities of the life-style hotel block are to be considered and developed further. The poor architectonic qualities of the convention hall volume and its access points are to be reconsidered and redesigned (Competition Catalogue, 2011).

- **Mimarlar Tasarim (Han Tumertekin) + Hashim Sarkis + George Hargreaves Consortium:**

This project is highly appreciated with its minimalist and pristine approach to the requirements of the given brief. The simple but exciting long block and the related different functions are cleverly solved. Also the use of artificial topography underneath this long block and its incision with pedestrian routes is well thought. However, it is advised to elaborate the width and the interior usage of these routes as well as their connections. The depth of the

streets needs to be highly studied once again in terms of wind interference and sunshine entry. It is also asked to consider the use of sloped roof gardens instead of varying the height of the blocks. One of the two strong oppositions to this project is the orientation of the main volume, since its narrow face is facing the best possible Bosphorus view. The architects are advised to develop ways to maximize the use of Bosphorus view from the wider facades of the blocks. The second skin covering the blocks are open to further study due to environmental conditioning problems. The orientation of the 'wall building' is also an important problem from solar gains during the summer. Another criticized point is the area of the artificial topography, where it is exceeding the allowed construction footprint area. The loops within this ring road to avoid the excessive traffic circulation are appreciated. In order to develop ways to create terrace houses for the elderly, the artificial hill is advised for further study, instead of the existing closed courtyard houses. The potentials of this artificial topography should be developed further in order to maximize the use of the Bosphorus view. The proposed mound around the circular road would be helpful in order to decrease environmental noise and gas emissions for this area. The flexibility of the residential plans are highly appreciated however, it is advised to consider once again the alternative façades that should be applied to the residence blocks in order to identify them among the office and hotel blocks. It is also advised to study furthermore the location and the access of the convention area (Competition Catalogue, 2011).

- ERA Urban Planning & Architecture Ltd. (Ali Hızıroglu):

The overall strong and iconic formal qualities of the project attracted the attention of the jury members. The entrance point, the use of open air spaces and the use of Bosphorus view is appreciated as well. Although the project needs to be highly developed furthermore, the jury would like to appreciate the courage to create such a different and dynamic form for this brief. However, the structural problems are one of the main critical issues of this scheme. Structural behavior of the building has to be studied extensively without deforming the main concept. It is also advised to create ways to use alternative surface finishes other than glass without changing the overall form. It is also required to develop ways to make the building in several phases, thus it is advised to consider the splitting of the main mass and consequently the form into parts, without changing the overall rotating and skewing form. Articulation of these volumes reflecting the functions they are housing is also advised (Competition Catalogue, 2011).

- **Tabanlıoğlu Architects Ltd. (Murat and Melkan Tabanlıoğlu):**

The proposal depends on a highly developed research and a good support of consultancy services. The facility services programming is good as well. The emphasis on cultural activities and sports activities is plausible since such alternative uses were asked from competition participants to be offered. This proposal also attracts attention with its very dynamic layout and volumes. The pedestrian areas are well thought and also it is appreciated that the proposed green roof area is connected with the existing green area across the site. However it is suggested to add some more additional functions on top or connect the roof with the functions underneath in order to attract people and especially a quality population to the park above. The organic plan layout of the retail area underneath the green roof is also appreciated, where it is advised to keep the number of seats for the auditorium within the limits of 1500 seats. The suggestion to use the auditorium as a concert hall rather than a convention hall only is also appreciated and welcomed. It is advised that the narrow angles of the triangular buildings should be restudied. The narrow angles create some plan layout problems in some blocks that can be avoided by modifying the angles and depths of the blocks without changing the concept and the overall atmosphere. Furthermore, it is also advised to study the identity of the different blocks housing different functions. It is highly suggested to differentiate the residence blocks from the office blocks. It is also recommended to remove the facade elements that are transformed into floor surfaces or artificial waterfall elements. It is also advised to reconsider the excessive use of triangular shapes and construction modules without further study in the overall project, especially on the facades of the blocks. However, the modifications to the project should not alter the spirit of the overall project as successfully reflected on the model (Competition Catalogue, 2011).

- **EAA Emre Arolat Architects:**

The overall scheme is found very dynamic where the skin is transformed into an artificial hill. The effort to create such a topography and using it as an open public area, and maximum use of Bosphorus views from this open space is also appreciated. However there are some questions that pertain to the slope of this topography where it may discourage people who would like to climb. Also privacy issue of the blocks is another point that should be considered where the blocks meet this artificial topography. The slits on the skin and on some parts of the surface should also be considered once again, since they might not be wide enough to let enough daylight below. The tension between an organic artificial topography and the solid archetypal blocks is also appreciated. The transition of the natural stone skin with its strong facets into a softer green natural surface is remarkable. This transition and tension is also reflected in the atmosphere inside the retail area, with its almost science-fiction

inclination where as the upper level is considered as an undomesticated nature. However, the atmosphere created inside the entrance area has to be studied again since it might be uninviting as it is intended for such a public space. The “*Miesian*” qualities of the high rise blocks are appreciated. However, it is advised to reduce the width of the blocks in order to have more natural light near to the cores. The cloning of the blocks is also another aspect that should be considered where each of them is still housing different functions. The use of double skin on the resident blocks should also be considered, where direct Bosphorus view from inside the flats is required. Also it is criticized that the overall project is based too much on pedestrian usage and pedestrian access where as it is expected that the people using this complex will use their own cars or taxis heavily (Ozkan, 2013). The pedestrian approaches are not developed so well. It is also possible that the main entrance corner with its wide-open ground area might be very empty if this corner is not supported by public transportation and pedestrian access.

As the last stage of the evaluation process five “Finalist Projects” (ERA Urban Planning + Architecture Ltd., Cafer Bozkurt Arch. + Asp Arch. Stuttgart, Mimarlar Tasarım + Hashim Sarkis + George Hargreaves, Emre Arolat Architecture, Tabanlıoğlu Architecture) have been selected by the last jury members, Charles Correa, Architect,India, Martin Filler, Architectural Critic and Journalist,USA, Omer Kanıpak, Architect and Web Media Specialist.,Turkey, Fumihiko Maki, Architect,Japan and Haluk Pamir, Architect, Academician,Turkey (Competition Catalogue, 2011).

Emre Arolat Architecture & Tabanlıoğlu Architecture JV’s project is selected by the Istanbul Board Number 3 for Preserving Cultural and Natural Assets in August 08 according to the zoning plan requirements. Zorlu Property Development & Investment Inc. has started the construction to complete the project by 2011 and almost finished the construction process at the end of 2013.

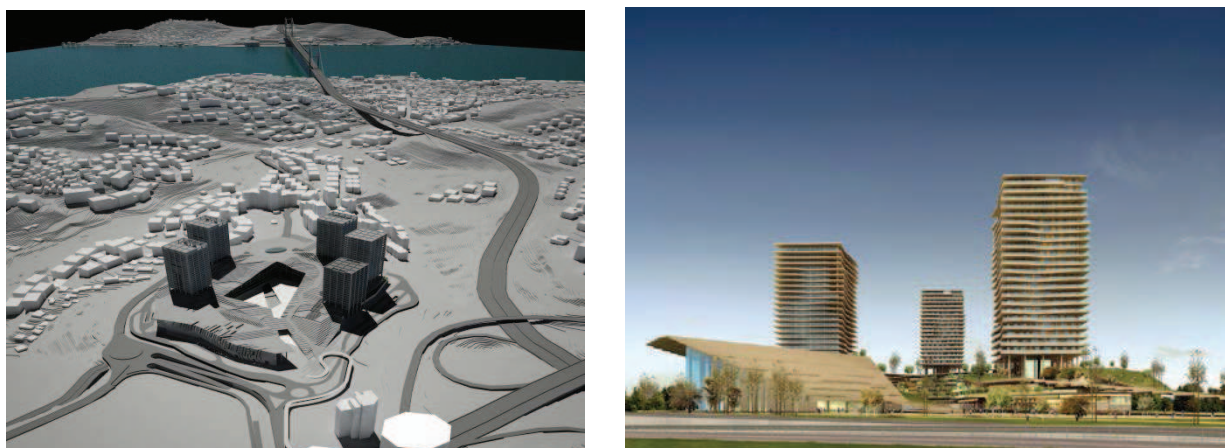


Figure 3., 4. The Model and The Perspective of The Zorlu Center Project, Emre Arolat Architecture & Tabanlıoğlu Architecture



Figure 5. Zorlu Center in The Istanbul Silhouette

3. Conclusion

Istanbul Linen Drapers Shopping Center's Project (IMC Blocks) design and application process within the architecture and urban design competitions ontology in Turkey with its: multi partnered cooperative employer profile (the client); the unified activity skills of municipality officials and other bureaucratic, or technical actors; the political actors' sensitivity towards the competition in question and modern architecture construction and their embracing of these with excitement and the national statute they attributed to the building complex, the multi identity, but compact jury; with its urbanism, architectural and detail competitions, which are each other's prerequisites consisting of two, or even three stages just like the experience lived in the Berlin Potsdam Area transformation process realized in the last quarter of the 20th century, have produced a shopping center morphology which has active publicity aspects that are shaped with the city, determine the construction of the city and open to the city. The structure which brought the definition cancer cells of cities to shopping centers and is even marginal today – due to its circulation plans and contemporary definition it brings to the old-new, traditional-contemporary interpretation, a structure group which has about 160.000sqm of enormous construction area has been analyzed with a competition and despite the low profile construction sector, the project's construction by almost remaining true to the total of the project (today, only 3% of competition projects are constructed), its flexible regulations content and the unclear urbanization and construction conditions in return; with its area data and the architecture of Tekeli, Sisa and Hepguler, which has achieved an international dimension within contemporary and furthermore

revolutionary architectural performance which is unfortunately rare in the Turkish architectural competition's ontology.

Istanbul Linen Drapers Shopping Center's (IMC Blocks) urban and architectural design competition realized between 1958 – 1967. The campus is located as an organic, sustainable part of the old Istanbul, is an urban related open structure which also gives a form to the last part of the historic peninsula as an urban threshold. The modern silhouette of the IMC Blocks is melting in the historical landscape of the Istanbul. IMC Blocks Project which has been created as a result of mat architecture ideology – concept is like a spontaneous accessible city in city form very similar to the traditional old Ottoman bazaar.

The client of the IMC Block project designer is not a capitalist investor / a person who wants to remap the city and its morphology but is a social integrated community constituted by the government, municipality, urban engineers, architects, city planners, the Linen and Draper Cooperative, and the public as the nationalist, secularist and socialist citizens of Istanbul. There is no accurate budget / low budget and a narrow range of construction methodologies / technologies and hard transportation conditions of the modern construction materials.

The IMC Blocks urban and architectural competition is a national design competition and does belong and also symbolizes the power of the revolutionist Turkish public in the 60's.

The Zorlu Center Architecture and Urban Design Competition with no budget limitations but high technology of modern construction, realized between 2011 – 2013 is not a public / citizen related urban project, but related to a capitalist client as a private investor who is the representative of the neo-liberalist, religionist Turkey, and reforms / remaps the urban silhouette and redefines the morphology of the metropolis Istanbul.

The Zorlu Center Project with its restricted entrances is not an open public space but a gated / introverted compound and compact community in contrary to the designer's propositions. It does look like an architectural anonymous combination of towers of power of the contemporary capitalism. In this case Istanbul is transforming continuous into a city without architecture and urbanism in the 21st century.

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Extending Dialogue in a Design Competition?

*A Participatory Urban Design Competition on
Toronto's Waterfront*

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Extending Dialogue in a Design Competition?

A participatory urban design competition on Toronto's Waterfront

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Abstract

Design competitions are often used to select design teams for high profile development projects, yet have received scant attention in the literature. Seeking to redress this imbalance, this paper presents a competition model that was employed on Toronto's waterfront in 2006 for a large public realm project and describes how it was structured around an iterative public consultation process. Although subject to a number of implementation delays, the competition sponsors built a constituency of support for the redevelopment project by engaging lay people in the decision-making process. The paper argues that the competition struck a balance between lay input and professional knowledge and contends that future research efforts should continue to explore means by which dialogue with the users of the built environment can be integrated into design competitions.

Key words

design competition, public participation, professional expertise, user input, waterfront redevelopment, Toronto

Introduction

Since the Renaissance, design competitions have been employed by public agencies and private sponsors to select the designers of important public buildings and new civic spaces (Lipstadt 2003). In some countries, notably France, public agencies are obliged to hold design competitions for projects requiring large amounts of public funding (Cabanieu 1994; Loew 1994). While in many other Western nations design competitions are actively encouraged as tools of 'design excellence' (Ollswang 1990; Pantel 1994; Punter 2005; Spreiregen 1979) and regulated by the various bodies that govern the design professions (e.g. AIA 2011; RIBA, 2013).

Despite this, the literature on urban design policy and practice has tended to ignore the role that design competitions play in shaping the built environment. The small body of research available is relatively limited and debates about the effectiveness of the competition method, both in architecture and urban design, remain inconclusive (Volker 2010). One recurring argument is that design competitions are a public-spirited method for delivering design excellence (Larson 1994; Spreiregen 1979; Van Wezemael 2011), yet there is also evidence that competition decision-making processes, where an expert jury chooses the winning entry, leave little room for public dialogue and lead to results that are often unsatisfactory to lay people (Nasar 1999).

Through a case study of a public realm competition convened on Toronto's waterfront in 2006 by the Toronto Waterfront Revitalization Corporation (TWRC)¹, this paper focuses on the relationship between lay people and design experts during a design competition. It explores the challenges of introducing more participatory means of decision-making before turning to Toronto's waterfront, where regeneration efforts since the 1970s have been characterised by political infighting, over-development and acute public dissatisfaction. The paper illustrates the competition decision-making model and describes how it was structured around an iterative community participation process that was engineered to ignite local interest in the TWRC's waterfront redevelopment programme. Although an expert jury chose the winning design, public exhibitions, a public forum and a stakeholder advisory committee, were convened so that local people could influence the competition process. The paper contends that the competition reconciled some of the challenges

¹ The TWRC was rebranded Waterfront Toronto in 2008. For the purposes of this paper the original abbreviation will be used throughout.

associated with jury-led design competitions and, while engagement efforts could have gone further, it helped establish a constituency of support for the project that forged a middle ground between professional expertise and lay input. At the same time, however, implementation efforts were negatively impacted by political instabilities and financial setbacks that resulted in protracted construction delays. The paper concludes with a critical examination of the competition decision-making model and offers a series of lessons that might be applied to future design competitions.

The research was conducted as a single qualitative case study and formed part of a wider investigation of urban design as public policy on Toronto's waterfront, conducted between 2009 and 2012. By calling upon a range of data sources, case studies allow for the judicious interpretation of real-life situations (Yin 2003) and, in this instance, provided a delineated framework to situate the personalities of the actors and institutions involved in the design competition process. Although case studies have long been stigmatised for their apparent failure to offer scientific generalisations (Stake 1995; Yin 2003), this research embraces the contrary perspective which contends that data-rich cases can maximise knowledge and emphasise particularisation thereby yielding rich transferable information (Flyvbjerg 2001; Stake 1995).

Three sources of triangulated qualitative data were collected during the research fieldwork. Fifty semi-structured interviews with representatives from the TWRC, the City of Toronto, designers and members of the local community provided the personal accounts of the Toronto waterfront story, while over 300 documents and archival data, ranging from planning reports and architectural drawings to meeting minutes and press reports, were used to piece together the design and planning processes; direct observations were also conducted. The verbal, textual and visual data was analysed using content analysis and the interview subjects were coded to protect their anonymity. A brief description of the codes employed in this paper can be found in the appendix.

Unpacking urban design competitions

As one of the preferred methods for choosing designers on projects of "exceptional prominence" (Lipstadt 2003, 396), competitions are widely recognised as laboratories for aesthetic and spatial design experimentation (Larson 1994; Lipstadt 1989;

Malmberg 2006). Competitions tend to attract numerous, and often innovative, proposals for complex design problems and, as a result, the decision to sponsor a design competition, typically made by a public agency or a wealthy private sponsor, is frequently motivated by publicity. Competitions regularly elicit the interest of international design teams and celebrity architects, provoking media attention and generating public curiosity (Sudjic 2006). This can cultivate a constituency of public support and political capital for a project and reduce the risk assumed by the sponsor (Malmberg 2006; Sagalyn 2006). For designers, competitions can also be irresistible. Although winning is rare, even shortlisted proposals can attract clients and lead to commissions (Banerjee and Loukaitou-Sideris 1990; Larson 1994).

Urban design competitions hold much in common with those for architecture and landscape architecture projects (Eley 1990). Typically, a brief will establish the vision and objectives of the competition, an independent jury of experts will be appointed to select the winning entry and, although every competition is slightly different, the competition sponsor will specify whether the competition is 'open' to all qualified designers, 'limited' by certain criteria (such as age or registered profession), or by 'invitation' only (Lehrer 2011; Alexander and Witzling 1990). The competition sponsor also decides whether the competition will conclude with a showcase of ideas, or eventually lead to a built project (Lehrer 2011; Lipstadt 2006; Spreiregen 1979).

Despite these similarities, some important distinctions can be drawn between architecture and urban design competitions. First is the subject matter. Although architecture competitions often incorporate public realm components, especially on large civic projects, the design juries inevitably focus their attention on the creativeness of the building envelope and its visual impact on the site (Alexander et al. 1987). In contrast, urban design competitions are, by their very nature, more spatially dispersed. Ranging from district wide masterplans to public realm proposals, they almost always include a combination of architectural and non-architectural elements that can be tackled at a variety of scales (Sagalyn 2006). This leads to a second difference: urban design competitions generally require the skills of a multidisciplinary consultancy team, rather than an individual designer or team of designers. Most urban design problems demand strategic spatial thinking that challenges the existing layout of the urban fabric at a neighbourhood or district wide scale (Lehrer 2011). In addition to architects and landscape architects, the participants in an urban design competition often include a diverse group of

professionals who can address issues such as historic conservation, morphology, transportation, urban infrastructure and real estate (Eley 1990; Sagalyn 2006).

Whatever the differences, the one consistent theme amongst all design competitions is their political sensitivity. Whether a competition is held for a building, a park, memorial or a neighbourhood master plan, design ideologies and passions collide; public and private interests interweave and the problem(s) identified are often as much about local or regional politics as they are about finding an innovative design solution for a building, space or neighbourhood. As Sagalyn argues, design competitions "...are commissioned for many reasons, almost none of which have to do with design and all of which have to do with political motivation" (2006, 29).

Participation and design competitions

By offering "a variety of proposals and innovative ideas to a jury" (Lehrer 2011, 305), competitions extend opportunities for design engagement beyond standard consultation exercises. The extra layer of evaluation provided by a jury has the potential to generate a more open decision-making environment (Lehrer 2011). It is common for design competitions to include some form of public engagement. Many competition sponsors organise public exhibitions and often a book, or review document, is published to record the results for posterity (e.g. Arnell and Bickford 1984; 1984a; De Haan and Haagsma 1988; Mansour 2003). A growing number of blogs and websites also promote competitions and offer commentary on the results (e.g. competition.org, ribacompetitions.com, thecompetitionsblog.com) and, in some instances, competition sponsors hold public consultation exercises before the competition brief is written to inform the jury's selection process (Cabanieu 1994). Nevertheless, much of the existing academic literature has tended to focus on historical analyses of past competitions for iconic architectural projects, memorials and civic spaces (e.g. Lipstadt 1989; 2003; Solomonson; 2001) as well as descriptive instructions – almost like 'practice guides' – of different competition models (e.g. Spreiregen 1979; Strong 1976). With a particular focus on Scandinavian practice, a further and informative area of research explores how the dialogue between sponsors, competitors and the jury might be enhanced if participants interact with each other and with the judges during the competition (Kreiner et al. 2011).

Despite these trends, substantive research on the engagement tools used during design competitions remains relatively limited. This is particularly alarming because

numerous competitions have been criticised for raising public expectations, failing to engage local people and leading to unfinished or poorly conceived projects (Nasar 1999; Sagalyn 2006). Banerjee and Loukaitou-Sideris share Lehrer's earlier stated view that design competitions can be relatively open and add that there is something "civic-minded, and public spirited" (1990, 116) about the format, casting the design competition method as an event that "catches the fancy of lay people" (ibid.). Similarly, Lipstadt argues that "Competitions encourage those who only observe, including the public, to applaud or admonish architects as if designers were contending in a public tournament" (1989, 9). Yet, while it might be true that public appreciation for design should be celebrated, the idea that competitions are events at which lay people merely marvel at the ingenuity of the designer sets a dangerous precedent.

In a study that offers one of the few detailed accounts of the participatory potential of design competitions, Nasar (1999) argues that a sizable gulf regarding the nature of 'good design' tends to exist between lay people and design experts, both during and after a competition. In his analysis of an architectural design competition for the Wexner Center, a public arts facility at Ohio State University, Nasar (1999) describes how the winning entry by Peter Eisenman divided opinion. Assessed by an influential jury and beating off stiff competition from three world-class architects, the design was simultaneously extolled by the creative elite and admonished by the general public, many of whom found aspects of the final design challenging. Reflecting on his findings, Nasar argues that competitions should be recast as 'democratic opportunities' in which jury deliberations are informed by lay opinion about the meaning of the project. Not only would this enhance transparency, he contends, it would also reduce the likelihood that the expert jury misjudge local sentiment.

Nasar's view is shared by Banerjee and Loukaitou-Sideris who contend that user participation, especially before the jury deliberates, can provide both the competitors and the jury members with important insights into the "social, political, or behavioural aspects of the design problem" (1990, 128). They admit, however, that involving lay people in the competition design process is more challenging and posit whether users could be invited to sit on the design jury to decrease the communication gap between experts and lay people.

Engineering a precipitous shift towards more participatory means of decision-making remains a challenging proposition because the professional bodies that regulate

competitions, such as the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) and the American Institute of Architects (AIA), regard the primacy of the expert jury as a defining component of the design competition method (AIA 2011; RIBA 2013). With this in mind, it is crucial to continue exploring, not necessarily how to directly replace expert juries, but how to better integrate the views of lay people into the competition decision-making process. To examine this further, the paper now turns to the case of an urban design competition on Toronto's waterfront where political and financial pressures have attracted the attention of local people for many decades. Constructing a model of the competition process (see Figure 3), the case reveals how a gentle balance was struck between generating a dialogue with lay people throughout the competition while also retaining the professional input of an expert design jury.

The Toronto Waterfront Innovative Design Competition

Held in 2006, the Toronto Waterfront Innovative Design Competition was sponsored by the TWRC, a quasi-autonomous agency created in 1999 by three levels of government (local, provincial and federal) to redevelop Toronto's vast post-industrial waterfront (see Figure 1). The waterfront's redevelopment has been characterised by quixotic planning visions and piecemeal interventions since the 1970s. Political pressures have led to short-term solutions and, during the 1980s, much of the public land on the waterfront was sold to private developers. The quality of subsequent redevelopment efforts ranged significantly and, as a result, the waterfront became a fragmented place. In response, a redevelopment moratorium was issued in the late 1980s and a blue ribbon commission was established to rethink the waterfront's future (Laidley 2007). It released a wide-ranging report in 1992, although little effort was made to implement the proposals.

Since the creation of the TWRC in 1999, however, the climate for design-led planning has improved. The three levels of government, buoyed by a bid for the 2008 Olympic Games, guaranteed equal financial contributions of \$500 million and the TWRC was tasked with producing and implementing a 25-year design-led redevelopment vision. At the TWRC, a talented leadership team with experience delivering large-scale waterfront redevelopment projects has engaged meaningfully with a group of community representatives, who themselves had an articulate vision and rigorous understanding of the design and planning challenges facing the waterfront. Underpinned by a goal of 'design excellence' (TWRC 2002), this has

culminated in numerous urban design tools, including design competitions and public consultation, being employed throughout the wider redevelopment process.

Figure 1: Toronto's downtown waterfront. The designated area for the Central Waterfront Innovative Design Competition is highlighted in grey.



Toronto is famed for its vibrant inner city neighbourhoods and the competition was, in part, a response to the uncharacteristically poor quality of the waterfront public realm. Little more than 750 metres separate the dense skyscrapers of Toronto's financial district from Lake Ontario, but a wide railway corridor and an elevated highway tear them apart. Pedestrians and road users alike have to negotiate underpasses, busy intersections and a cacophony of highway noise before reaching the water's edge and, on arrival, the conditions only marginally improve (see Figure 2). The principal waterfront street, Queens Quay, is a wide and busy thoroughfare that incorporates a heavily engineered branch of the city's streetcar line. High-rise construction has also encroached on the water's edge and little attempt has been made to sustain a continuous waterfront promenade or celebrate the visual connections between the city and the water. When the competition was initiated this problem was particularly acute at the 'slip heads', former harbour moorings located at the termination of the city's major north-south streets, where only crash barriers and wire fences demarcated the historically important transition between the port and the city (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: The public realm on Toronto's waterfront.



Image 2a: The inhospitable street-level experience caused by the elevated Gardiner Expressway (with kind permission of Waterfront Toronto).



Image 2b: The treatment of the Spadina waterfront slip heads prior to the design competition (with kind permission of Waterfront Toronto).

The decision to launch a competition and address the problems associated with the waterfront public realm was spearheaded by the TWRC's newly-appointed vice-president of planning and design, who brought experience managing competitions from a previous role at the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation in New York. From the outset, the competition had a strong political motive. Since its creation in 2001, the corporation had struggled to implement many of its planning proposals because of financial disputes between the three levels of government, which, at one point during the summer of 2004, had brought it to the brink of bankruptcy (Eidelman

2011). The TWRC's financial difficulties were stabilised somewhat during late 2004 and it was therefore keen to move expeditiously towards implementation. As a senior executive remonstrated, the TWRC had to demonstrate to politicians and local people that the waterfront redevelopment programme was progressing, otherwise the corporation was doomed to failure (CORP 8). The TWRC board of directors announced its approval of the competition in November 2005 and stated that it would tackle the problem of connectivity between the city and the water, while creating a 'signature,' or brand, that would demonstrate the corporation's commitment to the waterfront's long-term future (TWRC 2006).

The Design Competition Process

The competition decision-making model is depicted in Figure 3 and illustrates the four major phases and eleven stages of the competition.

Phase 1: Competition Qualification

Stage one of the first phase of the competition began with the composition of a design brief by the TWRC's internal design team. This reinforced a long-standing aspiration of the City of Toronto, to "knit everything together as one cohesive urban fabric that would create something on a great civic scale" (CORP 3). The brief was also notable for its comprehensiveness. Instead of a theoretical abstract encouraging 'outside of the box' thinking, as is often issued on design competitions (Eley 1990), it set out, over some fifty pages, the corporation's planning strategy as well as a detailed urban design framework (TWRC 2006). The brief also incorporated a far-reaching site analysis that drew upon many earlier planning analyses of the waterfront (City of Toronto 2001; TWRC 2003).

The TWRC was keen to see innovative design responses that might "overcome...existing visual noise and create a sense of interconnectedness and identity" (TWRC 2006, 5). In particular, the brief challenged the functionality of Queens Quay by promoting new 'gateways' at the waterfront slip heads and anticipated the realisation of a continuous waterfront promenade (TWRC 2006). The thinking behind the competition design strategy was ultimately quite simple: although innovative conceptual ideas were sought, considerable planning work and supporting public consultation had already been conducted and there was little desire to 'reinvent the wheel'. As a result, this first stage of the competition did not include any

opportunities for public engagement. By providing a clear design context and well-defined parameters, explained one of the authors of the brief, the TWRC could expect the design teams to act more creatively to solve the problems that had already been identified while, at the same time, raising the public profile of the project (CORP 3).

Figure 3: The Central Waterfront Innovative Design Competition decision-making process.



In addition to setting out the competition design challenges, the brief also made clear that opportunities for public engagement would be created later in the decision-making process. More specifically it stated that a combination of stakeholder committee meetings and open public forums would directly inform the selection process, although an independent jury of experts would ultimately choose the winning team (TWRC 2006). Describing how this would work in practice, a senior urban designer at the TWRC explained that: “It was not a case of ‘pick the nicest design from an architect’, it was a case of ‘you, as design professionals and planning professionals [the jury], should be understanding of what it is the community wants and help them to select a plan that achieves their goals’ ” (CORP 3). The proposed decision-making model reaffirmed the TWRC’s desire to elicit public support for the project and, at the same time, put into practice a wider strategic commitment towards “effective two-way communications with members of the public...[that would]...Build constituency trust and support for the Corporation” (TWRC 2002a, 4).

Public consultation has played an important role in the Toronto planning process for many decades. It became a core component of the waterfront redevelopment process in 1990 when the blue ribbon commission was struck. Although the commission’s work was largely academic, it did pave the way for incorporating public participation in future planning endeavors (Lehrer and Laidley, 2008). The procedure of interweaving large open public forums with stakeholder advisory groups was a TWRC initiative that aimed to straddle the divide between experts and lay people and encourage conflict resolution, education and the sharing of professional and community knowledge. The iterative process emerged directly out of early discussions between the TWRC’s leadership team and local community leaders representing the West Don Lands Committee, a vibrant neighbourhood organisation with a long history of grassroots planning leadership on and around the waterfront (West Don Lands Committee 1999). Now the TWRC employs this process on all of its masterplanning and construction projects, including design competitions.

Using this formula, the TWRC planned for a series of six competition exhibitions to be held at locations across Toronto, as well as a large public forum (TWRC 2006b). The ‘Central Waterfront Stakeholder Committee’ was also convened with the specific objective of consolidating “the many different voices with an interest in the waterfront” (TWRC 2006, 30). Representatives from a cross-section of organisations were invited to take part. These included: the local community associations representing residents on the waterfront and in adjacent neighbourhoods, local businesses

operating within the competition area and advocacy groups such as the Waterfront Regeneration Trust. To support the design competition process on technical matters, a City of Toronto expert advisory team was also convened. Their task was to offer counsel to the jury on the regulatory challenges that might be encountered with respect to planning, engineering and transportation by each of the shortlisted proposals (TWRC 2006).

The brief made clear that the TWRC wanted the competition to lead to both conceptual ideas, as well as a detailed public realm masterplan. The competition thus took the basic form of a two-stage implementation competition condensed over six months. In February 2006, the second stage of the competition was initiated by the release of a detailed request for qualifications (RFQ) – an abridged version of the competition brief – and an open call for competitors (see Figure 3). In accordance with provincial regulations, the only stipulation was that each team include a Toronto ‘partner’ with the necessary registration to practice architecture or landscape architecture in Ontario (TWRC 2006a). The RFQ set out the competition goals and objectives and outlined the timetable and assessment criteria for the competition. Interested teams were asked to produce an initial design concept and highlight their previous experience with public space design, sustainability, transportation infrastructure and community engagement (*ibid.*). 38 multidisciplinary teams from fifteen different countries responded.

During March 2006 the competition moved to the third stage and each submission was assessed against the aforementioned criteria by an internal panel comprising four design experts from the TWRC and the City of Toronto (TWRC 2006a). Sitting on the panel were the corporation’s vice president of planning and design, the head of the TWRC Waterfront Design Review Panel and, from the City of Toronto, the manager of waterfront parks and the urban design director. Once again, the decision-making process remained firmly in the hands of design experts. Based on this internal assessment, five shortlisted teams spanning an international gamut were invited to proceed to the fourth stage of the competition:

- Foster and Partners (UK) and Atelier Deiseitl (Germany)
- Stan Allen Architects and Sarah Whiting and Ron Witte Architects (USA)
- Tod Williams Billie Tsien Architects (USA) and Martinez Lapena-Torres (Spain)
- West 8 (The Netherlands) and du Toit Allsopp Hillier (Canada)

- Snøhetta (Norway), Sasaki Associates, nARCHITECTS, Weisz + Yoes Architecture, H3, Balmori Associates, Halcrow Yolles HPA (USA)

Phase 2: Intensive Design (6 Weeks)

At the start of the second phase of the competition the shortlisted teams were issued with the competition brief, given an honourarium of \$30,000 to cover expenses related to the competition and invited to tour the waterfront before beginning work on their submissions (TWRC 2006). Although the primary aim of the brief was to seek proposals for a complete public realm masterplan, the initial implementation objective was less ambitious. The brief made clear that funding was only available for a series of design interventions at the eight slip heads that had originally been proposed in a document called the *Central Waterfront Public Space Framework* (TWRC 2003). Approximately \$20 million was reserved for this intervention and the corporation admitted that “Other components may or may not be pursued at the same time depending upon a variety of factors, including availability of funding, timing, or related development projects, and need for further design work” (TWRC 2006a, 16). Nevertheless, the design teams were still instructed to consider the entire project in their proposals. In some respects, this was a clever decision. If the winning entry was well-received, heightened public support might encourage further funding commitments from the three levels of government. Yet it was also a big risk because the corporation would inevitably find it hard to sustain interest in its wider redevelopment aims if funding was delayed or unforthcoming.

The five shortlisted design teams were given a short six-week window during April and May 2006 to produce their submissions. Halfway through, at stage five of the competition (see Figure 3), they presented their ideas to the local stakeholder committee, the City of Toronto advisory team and TWRC design staff at a mid-term review. During the subsequent sixth stage, the design teams were expected to react to the mid-term review and develop a final proposal.

Phase 3: Public Feedback (2 Weeks)

Following the competition deadline on May 11th 2006 (stage seven), the competition moved to its third phase and was opened to comment at a widely publicised public forum. This eighth stage of the competition was convened on May 15th 2006 in downtown Toronto (TWRC 2006) and each of the shortlisted teams were given 15

minutes to present their design proposals. The forum attendees then had an opportunity to view the submissions and speak to the designers. Over the following two weeks, the shortlisted proposals were presented at six public exhibitions. Together these events proved pivotal. Over 500 people attended the forum and more than 300 comment cards were left at the public exhibitions (TWRC 2006b). A detailed record of the individual attendees was not kept, but data available from similar proceedings held by the TWRC suggest that the corporation's public events attract a large number of active members of local community associations based close to the waterfront, members of the Toronto design community (professional architects and planners, etc.), representatives from local advocacy group and, invariably, local graduate students interested in urban issues (e.g. TWRC 2003a). Attendance from communities located further away from the waterfront is typically much lower (Leherer and Laidley, 2008). Responding to this problem, and with the aim of re-establishing the waterfront as a "city-wide asset" (TWRC 2006b, 1), the corporation purposefully organised the ninth stage of the competition at sites across Toronto so that people residing away from the waterfront could get involved. The exhibitions and the public forum were publicised through paid advertising, media coverage and the TWRC's newsletter. The results were written up in a public report to the jury (TWRC 2006b).

The public events provided local people who were not directly involved in the stakeholder consultation process an opportunity to play an active role in the competition. In addition, the TWRC used the events to showcase the steps being taking towards implementation, as well as their commitment to community engagement. From the perspective of the *Toronto Star's* architecture critic, Christopher Hume, the public forum was a great success. "Judging from the crowds that showed up daily at BCE Place, where architectural models were on exhibit as well as drawings, this competition has succeed in generating some genuine excitement," he wrote, "God knows this sense of engagement will take some getting used to" (2006, B04). To coincide with the public exhibition, the *Toronto Star* also conducted an online poll, which asked attendees to vote on their favourite of the five submissions. 4,840 readers took part and the results were included in the report given to the jury (TWRC 2006b).

Figure 4: Renderings from the shortlisted design competition entries.
**Permissions required for images proposed for Figure 4.*

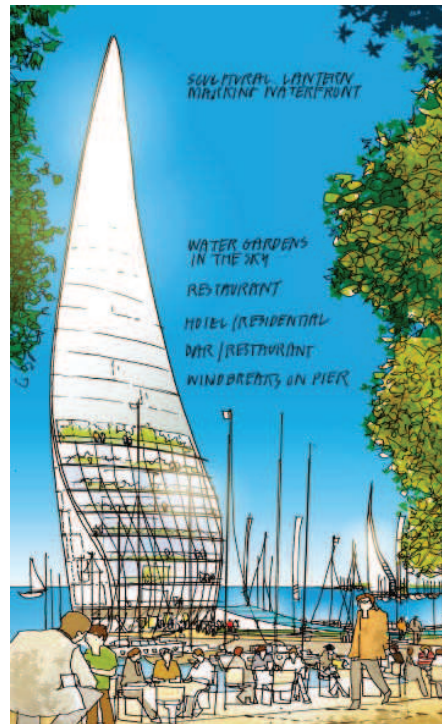


Image 4a: The tear-shaped pavilions proposed by the team led by Foster and Partners.

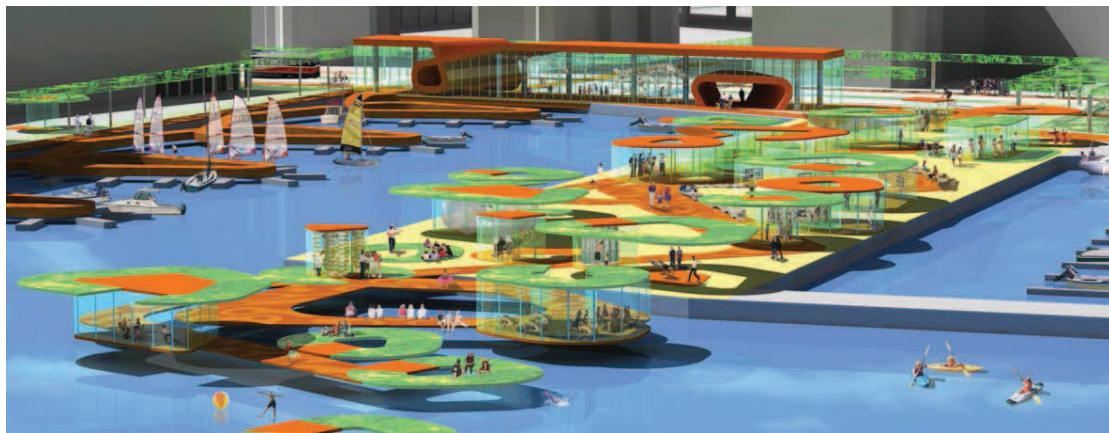


Image 4b: The 'cultural buoys' proposed by the team led by Stan Allen.



Image 4c: The series of new islands proposed by the team led by Tod Williams.

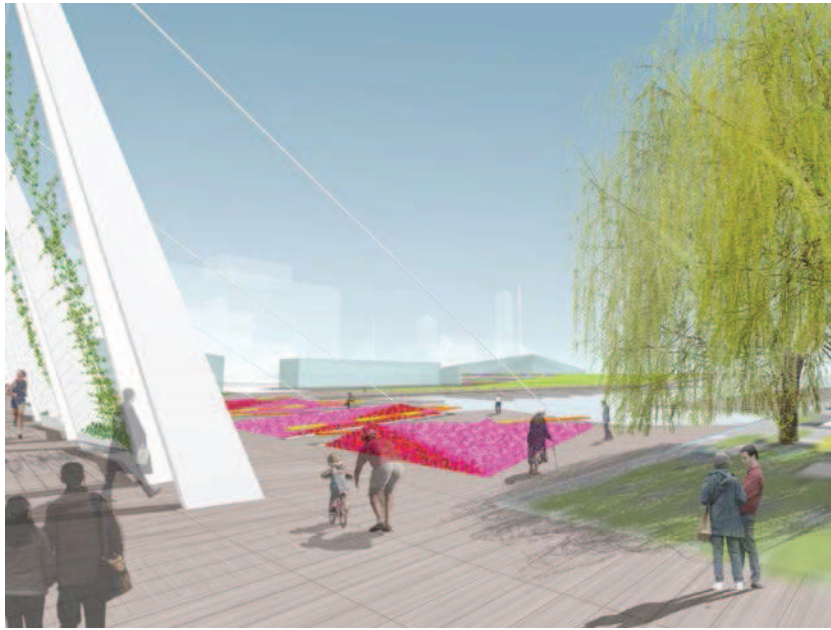


Image 4d: Elements of the public promenade proposed by PORT.



Image 4e: Elements of the public promenade and boardwalk proposed by the West 8 led team.

The five shortlisted submissions ranged in style and approach (see Figure 4). Norman Foster's team emphasised the eight slip heads with a series of piers and iconic teardrop-shaped pavilions (TWRC 2006c). Many of the attendees at the public

exhibitions liked these sculptural pavilions, while some were attracted to Foster's celebrity and believed he could be trusted to deliver a brilliant project (TWRC 2006b). Nevertheless, there was also concern that the design was too iconic. Christopher Hume (2006) noted, for example, that the proposal was dubbed 'Dubai lite' by some forum attendees. The entry by the first group of US architects, led by Stan Allen, also imagined a series of pavilions on the water's edge, in this instance constructed from glass and termed 'cultural buoys' (TWRC 2006c). One member of the public commented that the design was ' "startling" and "creative" and...would 'rival waterfronts around the world" ' (in TWRC 2006b, 3), while another worried that the design was "reminiscent of 60s-style urban planning disasters" (ibid.). The other American submission, by Tod Williams' team, received praise from exhibition attendees for the steps taken to integrate public transit with the natural environment, but was also widely criticised for proposing a series of new manmade islands in the Inner Harbour (TWRC 2006b). The two most celebrated entries were those by the European landscape architecture teams, the first led by the Norwegian firm Snøhetta and the second by the Dutch firm, West 8. Both were praised for their consideration of the existing environment and the emphasis they had placed on a continuous waterfront promenade. Albeit a rather crude sample, the West 8 scheme garnered the most votes in the *Toronto Star's* online poll with 30% support followed closely by Snøhetta who garnered 28% (TWRC 2006b).

Phase 4: Expert Assessment and Results

The fourth and final phase of the competition began at the end of May when the jury began its deliberations (see Figure 3). It was comprised of six design experts from diverse disciplines; the Toronto architect Brigitte Shim was appointed as the chair and was supported by landscape architect Claude Cormier, urban designer Ken Greenberg, New York architect Lise Anne Couture, film maker Atom Egoyan and Bruce Mau, a Toronto-based graphic artist and brand designer. A senior urban designer at the corporation reflects that the kaleidoscope of talent on the jury was intentional. It was selected by the TWRC's design team with leadership from the corporation's vice president of planning and design; the public did not play a selection role. The vice president and his team chose a group of experts that were likely to take city building principles into account, but by inviting a film maker and graphic artist to join the panel as well, they also reinforced the corporation's market-orientated desire to use art and design to brand the waterfront and, at the same time, demonstrate to the general public that the corporation was keen to channel a broad

range of ideas for the waterfront that did not focus solely on architectural and urban design expertise. As a senior urban designer at the TWRC explains, “I like to get more than just architects on these things because otherwise the architects just talk about architecture to each other” (CORP 8).

The jury were asked to assess the proposals using the design principles contained in the competition brief and the feedback compiled from the public events and the stakeholder advisory committee (TWRC 2006). Their report was released by the end of the month (TWRC 2006c). Complimenting all the teams for producing “a remarkable amount of exemplary work” (TWRC 2006c, 3), the report described how the jury had looked for a design solution that offered a bold vision, but could also be implemented quickly. With unanimity, and mirroring the sentiment of both local people and the stakeholder advisory group, the jury chose the entry by the team led by West 8. The runner-up position was awarded to the team led by Snøhetta. A member of one of the local neighbourhood associations involved in the Central Waterfront Stakeholder Committee remembers, “we chose the company...the one that won we liked. They had sort of a European sensibility. It introduced something completely new to Toronto” (CIVIL 4).

Although not explicitly described as such in the jury’s report, this ‘European sensibility’ likely stemmed from the team’s simple and consistent approach to the public realm and the emphasis it placed on civic scale over architectural frivolity. The West 8-led team had responded well to the TWRC’s competition brief and, in particular, the problem of fragmentation. To engineer the facelift of Queen Quay, the winning entry proposed a series of simple yet dramatic design moves: remove two lanes of traffic, transform the surface under the streetcar lines into a carpet of grass, continue the Martin Goodman Trail² along Queens Quay, widen the sidewalk and plant a dense glade of trees to demarcate pedestrian, cycle and vehicular space. At the eight spit heads, the team proposed a series of sculptural wooden decks, quickly coined the ‘wave decks’, to act as anchoring public spaces. Each was envisaged slightly differently, but remained part of a consistent fabric that connected the north-south termini streets at the slips with both Queens Quay and the water’s edge (see Figure 5).

² The Martin Goodman Trail is part of a longer Toronto lakefront bike trail. the Central Waterfront section is yet to be completed.

Figure 5: Renderings of the winning submission by the team led by West 8.



Image 5a: Illustration of the proposed transformation of Queens Quay into a multi-use boulevard (with kind permission of Waterfront Toronto).



Image 5b: Illustration of one of the proposed 'wave decks' (with kind permission of Waterfront Toronto).

Implementing the Central Waterfront Masterplan

In their report, the jury urged the TWRC to give the winning design team a much fuller implementation mandate than imagined in the brief, arguing that any initial efforts should be more broadly focused on a strip of Queens Quay and the waterfront promenade, rather than the slip heads alone. This would demonstrate how the entire

proposal might work and “ensure that the citizens of Toronto see immediate action” (TWRC 2006c, 9). Recognising the political capital that could be gained from this and hoping to reinforce the public dimension of the competition, the TWRC arranged a summer showcase event. For ten days in August 2006 the TWRC closed a stretch of Queens Quay and constructed a ‘mock up’ that included the installation of a one-kilometre lawn, a temporary extension of the Martin Goodman Trail and a lineal flowerbed. The response to the event was generally very positive (Hume 2006a).

Sustaining the Competition’s Momentum

During the remainder of 2006 and throughout 2007 and 2008, the West 8-led team were contracted to deliver a full masterplan for the Central Waterfront and a supporting environmental assessment (EA). Required under provincial law on all large infrastructure projects, the EA was conducted in partnership with the City of Toronto and was supported by a companion EA process. This was completed by the Toronto Transit Commission (TTC) and focused on the streetcar track upgrades that were necessary to alter the configuration of Queens Quay. Public engagement continued during the two-year process through an ongoing series of iterative stakeholder advisory meetings and public forums (Waterfront Toronto 2009). Neither of the final EAs recommended any major departure from the shared boulevard proposed by the winning team and the provincial government approved the assessment process in April 2010 allowing construction to proceed subject to funding (Waterfront Toronto 2012).

Due to their smaller size, the wave decks were not subject to the same strict regulatory assessment and were allowed to proceed almost immediately. The detailed designs for the new wave decks were periodically reviewed by the TWRC’s expert Waterfront Design Review Panel (WDRP) as well as by the stakeholder committee. One of the members of the winning design team notes that the stakeholders “really helped us understand what programmatic things they would like to see more of; the kinds of activities they imagined and the moods they imagined” (DESIGN 8). From the outset, the WDRP was also very supportive of the winning submission and praised its creativity and simplicity in connecting the city to the lake (TWRC 2006d). The panel’s critical commentary, albeit relatively minor, was reserved for the more technical aspects of the construction details (TWRC 2007). However, the panel’s greatest concern related to the implementation of the wider masterplan. While continuously stressing their enthusiastic support for the design

proposals, the panel made it be known that in their professional opinion the success of the *whole* project was crucial to the wider redevelopment vision and that delay would damage the corporation's public credibility (Waterfront Toronto 2008).

The TWRC's ability to secure funding from the three levels of government to move beyond the wave decks proved difficult, despite the combined efforts of the expert design jury, the WDRP and the enthusiasm of local community leaders. Even though regulatory approval had been granted, by mid 2012 only a very small percentage of the Central Waterfront competition vision had been realised. The TWRC constructed three of the eight wave decks during 2008 and 2009 utilising the funding that was available³ (see Figure 6). These have proven to be a major success and have won numerous awards as well as enthusiastic support from local residents (CIVIL 4). The only other aspect to have been completed is a small phase of the waterfront public promenade. It was enabled by funding commitments associated with adjacent building projects and opened in 2010.

Figure 6: Bathurst Wave Deck.



Overshadowing the implementation of these punctuated additions to the waterfront has been the slow progress made on Queens Quay and the remainder of the waterfront promenade. Speaking in 2011, a representative from a local community group lamented that the excitement surrounding the 2006 showcase event had

³ Each costing approximately \$5 million

become a distant memory (CIVIL 4). In July 2012, however, a full six years after the design competition and soon after the research for this paper was completed, initial financing for upgrading a small section of Queens Quay Boulevard was secured from the three governments. The money was tied to essential streetcar track repairs and construction work began in Autumn 2012 and is scheduled to continue until 2015 (Waterfront Toronto 2013).

Lessons from an Innovative Urban Design Competition

The motivation behind the Central Waterfront Innovative Design Competition was simple. The TWRC was desperate to build a constituency of support for its wider waterfront redevelopment programme as it weathered serious financial storms. In some respects it was successful in doing this. It engaged local people in an ordinarily closed decision-making process, enlivened interest in the waterfront and elements of the winning design received positive press coverage and design awards. Yet in spite of this, financial roadblocks persisted and the innovative decision-making environment was undermined by protracted construction delays and lacklustre support from the three levels of government. Nevertheless, the impact of these obstructions upon the intended design vision were relatively minor and those elements of the West 8-led proposal that have been constructed, or are scheduled for construction, remain consistent with the original proposal selected by the jury. Such an outcome is not always guaranteed during a design competition because new clients, and occasionally new design teams, can take over the implementation of a competition entry as time passes.

This final section of the paper casts the Central Waterfront Innovative Design Competition as an example of how competition sponsors might begin to reconcile some of the tensions between traditional jury-based design competitions and public decision-making processes. It begins by underscoring the three most successful elements of the competition decision-making model illustrated in Figure 3 before exploring a series of potential strategies for increasing the public's role in future design competitions.

Establishing a clear competition brief: Researchers have previously identified that the quality of a competition brief and the ability of a design jury to make an assessment that is actually based on that brief, rather than the whims of jury members, remains a challenge during many design competitions (Eley, 1990; Volker 2010). The outcomes on Toronto's waterfront were encouraging in this respect. The contextual analysis

provided a strong foundation for the urban design principles that followed and, because the brief was based on previous studies of the waterfront, the integrity of prior public consultation exercises was also upheld. This meant that the brief became an authoritative guide for the competition participants. It provided the jury with a clear mandate as well as a thoroughgoing sense of the competition's history and its subsequent goals. Moreover, the jury and the corporation 'stuck to the brief' when assessing both the qualification and shortlisted proposals. The scope and depth of the brief helped to legitimatise the competition and sustain the TWRC's commitment to the winning proposal throughout the many implementation hurdles that followed.

Appointing an appropriate jury: The chances for digression from the competition brief were further alleviated by the sponsor's purposeful selection of a broadly focused jury that was sympathetic to the redevelopment programme and, indeed, the rationale of an urban design competition (rather than a competition focused on a single building or object). Evidence of this was born out in the jury's final report, which, in its assessment of the shortlisted entries, strongly urged the TWRC to focus any initial implementation efforts on the urban design vision, in the round, rather than the slip head design elements alone. While financing woes meant this recommendation could not be realised in the short-term, the jury's intelligent advocacy for the project, *in toto*, helped the TWRC to lobby passionately and convincingly to the three levels of government about the need for the winning design proposal to be completed in its entirety and as imagined by the competition winners.

Integrating opportunities for public feedback: Supporting the brief and the expert jury was the public participation procedure adopted during the competition. As discussed at the beginning of the paper, many design competitions fail to generate a successful dialogue between the sponsor, competitors, jury members and the final users of the project. Moreover, design competitions rarely incorporate structured space for public participation (Banerjee and Loukaitou-Siders 1990; Nasar, 1999). On Toronto's waterfront the combination of stakeholder committee meetings and public exhibitions begins to offer a contrary perspective. Through enhanced dialogue, the sponsor and the design jury took into account the opinions of the general public who attended the exhibitions and public forum and, although this process was not entirely open – a jury still made the final decision – the public had a number of clear opportunities to assess and critique the competition entries. The TWRC's design review process, as well as further stakeholder meetings and public forums that occurred after the formal competition had concluded, reinforced this collaborative approach and helped to

sustain the competition's struggling momentum in the face of funding delays. In addition, the jury, whose professional judgment was still considered crucial to legitimise the competition, were obliged to take public feedback into account when making their decision. This reduced any likelihood that the competitors would only aim to please the individual jury members, as experienced on past design competitions (Banerjee and Loukaitou-Sideris 1990), and led to a strong sense of agreement between the jury and the general public about the winning entry. The process described is similar in scope to what Nasar (1999) has termed a Pre-Jury Evaluation (PJE). Although Nasar proposes a more quantitative analysis of user viewpoints than was adopted on Toronto's waterfront, the general concept is similar: the opinions of those who are going to inhabit a building or public space should be recorded prior to the jury's deliberations and directly inform the decision-making process.

Strategies to Deepening the Public's Role in Design Competitions

While the Central Waterfront Innovative Design Competition offers a fresh perspective on how the users of the built environment might begin to play a more substantive role during a design competition, the process was still imperfect and there remain further ways in which the barriers between lay people and experts might be reconciled in future design competitions.

Establishing a public dialogue at the beginning of a competition: Although public opinion was integrated throughout the assessment of the shortlisted entries, the TWRC did not make the same effort to establish a dialogue with local people during the preceding open stage of the competition. The decision to select the five shortlisted teams was instead made by an internal panel of experts. While the cost of hosting additional public forums might have been prohibitive, the PJE stage, to use Nasar's parlance, could have been extended by other means. In future competitions, for example, this could take the form of an interactive website onto which users might input initial ideas. Such a process would encourage interest in the competition while providing the jury with a deeper sense of local sentiment. In a similar vein, the TWRC could have convened the stakeholder advisory committee earlier in the decision-making process and used it, as it did successfully later on, as a platform to discuss the design proposals in more depth.

Inviting a lay representative to sit on the jury: To reinforce the significance of the

structured public engagement conducted by the TWRC during the competition, a representative from the stakeholder committee could have sat on the design jury. While in this instance the jury's decision did appear to reflect the majority opinion of those who participated in the public forums, exhibitions and the stakeholder advisory group, the jury's deliberations were nevertheless conducted *in camera*. As a result, the extent to which the jury based their decision on the judgment of the public participants versus their own expert knowledge cannot be reliably known. Appointing a lay representative on the design jury would provide additional monitoring and "decrease the communication gap often associated with competitions" (Banerjee and Loukaitou-Sideris 1990, 128). Furthermore, the TWRC could have also sought public input during the selection of jurors. Although steps were taken to create a jury with a diversity of design talent, the pool of candidates was still limited by the professional knowledge and ideologies of the experts making the jury selection on behalf of the corporation.

Developing opportunities for post-competition participation: In some respects the TWRC did conduct participation after the competition. Its peer review panel rigorously reviewed the winning proposals on numerous occasions, regular public forums were convened and the stakeholder advisory committee also remained active. Nevertheless, there remains scope for what Nasar (1999) calls post-occupancy evaluation (POE). During a POE the sponsor evaluates the performance of the finished project against the principles contained in the competition brief. In addition, the POE could also be used to assess the quality of the competition decision-making process. While Nasar's proposal emerges from a critical assessment of an architectural competition for a singular building, the role of a POE is just as relevant to competitions in urban design because "They can make the jury and architect more accountable for the project's performance and they can improve our understanding of the actual performance of these public projects" (Nasar 1999, 161). In many instances the biggest barrier to a POE will likely be cost. For the sponsor, conducting a reflective assessment of a completed project would be both expensive and time consuming, especially as many competitions are 'one off' events. On Toronto's waterfront, however, there is a strong rationale for employing a POE because the TWRC has continued to use its design competition model on emerging public realm projects and, as a result, it remains a high profile component of the corporation's wider public participation programme. In particular, the POE might help the corporation pinpoint a more successful means of seeing a project through to full implementation.

Conclusion

This paper has presented a design competition decision-making model and asserted that urban design competitions should incorporate more open and participatory decision-making. It has argued that design expertise can, and should, remain a distinct component of any design competition decision-making process, but posits that a positive balance must be struck between professional expertise and the diverse opinions of lay people during, before and after a design competition. The case of the Central Waterfront Innovative Design Competition highlighted the structured ways that participation was integrated into the decision-making process and, although lay people did not directly influence the jury in their deliberations, the conditions were established for local people to have effective influence over the competition process and the TWRC ensured that the jury took local opinion seriously. This outcome was reinforced by the high profile nature of the public forum held in downtown Toronto, the extensive press coverage given to the public exhibitions and the coupling of the competition to the TWRC's wider iterative public consultation process.

While public participation is often used in different ways during various design competitions the research available to understand these processes is limited. More knowledge is needed about the competition procedures that lead to some of the most high profile buildings, public spaces and neighbourhoods around the world. This paper offered a series of important lessons for practitioners in Toronto and beyond, but was also presented as a stepping-stone for further enquiry. Future scholarship on design competitions should aim to interrogate the decision-making models employed by both public and private institutions employing design competitions in different jurisdictions and establish deeper theoretical perspectives on the relationships that can be forged between lay people and experts during design competitions.

Appendix: List of Interviews and Explanation of Codes

The numbers assigned to the participants below denotes their categorisation in the full list of research participants for the wider project that led to this paper.

DESIGN 8: Senior landscape architect involved in the winning competition bid
(Interview conducted: 25th March 2011).

CIVIL 4: Representative of a local neighbourhood organisation based on the waterfront (Interview conducted: 28th March 2011).

CORP 3: Senior executive and urban designer at the TWRC (Interview conducted: 18th March 2011).

CORP 7: Senior executive at the TWRC (Interview conducted: 1st April 2011).

CORP 8: Former senior executive at the TWRC (Interview conducted: 1st April 2011).

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SESSION 4A

THE CONCEPT

Success or Failure of Competition Formats

*The Sustainability of the Aalto Campus 2015
Building*

Leif Östman

Success or failure of competition formats – The Sustainability of the Aalto Campus 2015 Building

Leif Östman

Introduction

The intention of this study is to clarify concepts regarding sustainability issues in architect competitions, and to be able to present some ideas about how to include sustainability requirements in architect competitions. Currently sustainability issues are often mentioned in competition briefs, and we have seen some competitions with an emphasis on sustainability. Recent examples in Finland are: Ylläs 2010 (Rakennuslehti 2010) and Sibbesborg 2011 (Sibbo kommun). The North Rhine-Westphalia Landeswettbewerb 2012 (Ministerium für Bauen, Wohnen, Stadtentwicklung und Verkehr des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen; Linz 2013) seems to have been an interesting case in Germany and the Norwegian Bodø rådhus with an emphasis on energy efficiency is another attempt to address sustainability issues (Bodø kommune 2013). The sustainability concept is obscure and its integration into the systems of architect competitions is unclear and for these reasons I think it is important to explore this subject and to clarify the concepts. I think it is a central issue in architecture and the production of built environment, but as Fuchs claims with references to Kaltenbrunner: sustainability is not determining an architecture style, this is always an outcome of the societal and situational context (2012, p. 12).

Rönn concludes the findings of his interview-based surveys about competitions into a set of dilemmas. One of them being the problem of foreseeing the coming jury evaluation, another is the dilemma emerging between the interests of the architects as a professional community and the interests of the client (Rönn 2009; 2007, p. 165ff). The former wants the competitions to act as an education arena for architects. Simultaneously it also acts as an arena for development of new artistic codes, as a driver of architecture as an art (Östman 2005, p. 317). I think it is impossible to find a timeless definition for sustainability and that we in the sense of Wittgenstein rather have to look how the concepts are used, and in this case how they are used in the setting of architect competitions. This is a limited explorative study, based on a case study, the Campus 2015 at the Aalto University in Finland (Aalto University 2013b) including a concept analysis, combined with analyses of the current German and Swiss regulations on sustainability in competitions. At the end of the paper I discuss two issues; stakeholder interests and positions, and the evaluation and articulation of sustainability issues in the Campus 2015 competition,

which is about a new big campus building at the very center of the Otaniemi university campus close to Helsinki, which was designed by Alvar Aalto as a winning competition proposal 1949.

The conclusions are that there is still a lot of potential in the field of architectural competitions. There is a dilemma embedded here, asking what is the role of sustainability in architectural judgment – are architectural competitions predominantly about architecture? A closer investigation shows that sustainability was considered as a value in the Campus 2015 competition, but the protocol didn't provide any written answers to the objective aiming at creating "the world's best sustainable university campus" (Competition Programme 2012, p. 6). The evaluation became a holistic evaluation with architecture at its center, raising some questions about what a systematic implementation of sustainability in competitions requires. This study is focusing on the issue of sustainability, in a way picking out one issue among many, sidestepping the major issue, the architecture. I do, however, think sustainability is an important issue that needs attention in general and in this competition. The study won't provide a solution or explanation of a best practice but only try to cast some light on some of the aspects of it in this competition.

Methodology

This presentation is based on an exploratory case study, combined with interviews and a close reading of competition material. The aim has been explanation-building (Yin 1984, p. 107), starting from theoretical propositions as strategic means to guide the analysis of the material (Ibid., p. 100). The overall aim is concept clarification (Lundequist 1999) regarding issues of sustainability in relation to quality of architecture. The case study has been complemented by interviews as means to verify my interpretations of the process. The interviews are based on open questions related to the subject, exploring how the respondents see these issues, broadening the understanding of the process and issues with different interpretations. The central explorative issues are: How was the judgment constructed? Which features of the competitions format were important for the outcome? As means to optimize the research efforts I have limited the number of interviews. The interviews with the architects have been complemented by interviews with other professionals involved in order to test different perspectives.

The idea of the case study is to construct a valid case description, based on evidence and producing analytic conclusions. The results cannot be used to generalize about these issues, but can point out weaknesses, describe processes and make them more open to scrutiny and debate. Indirectly this case study addresses the question about how far protocols should be taken as statements about qualities of the proposals. The material is used to construct reasoning and the reasoning should link different aspects of thinking to the empirical material and findings.

Lipstadt asks for relational studies of the field of competitions as a means to overcome the danger of an *affirmative attitude* towards the subject one is studying (2009). Thus, in a sketchy way, I try to “construct methodically the space of possible points of view on the literary (artistic) act” (Ibid., p. 193) as a matter of positions in a space of “possibles” (Ibid., p. 301). I do this by a rather simple stakeholder analysis combined with interview questions, indicating the central action space and cultural positions different agents hold or take due to their professional or given social position, and as Lipstadt sees it “induces a rupture, with intellectualism” (2010). For example the invited jurors are given a leading role in the jury, for this competition. In another competition they might take another position, but the fact is that the roles of the different agents are rather stable.

The original idea was to establish an understanding of quality concepts from the empirical material (protocol statements). It turned out that the competition protocol almost totally lacked statements about sustainable issues so I decided to do a simple concept analysis with a classification of evaluation statements from the phase 2 entries, combined with interviews about the process and the sustainability issues. The categories were selected by a test analysis and a classification, combined with an organization according to the objectives mentioned in the Competition Programme (Aalto University 2012) and the instructions for the second phase (Aalto University 2013). The categories were selected to show the different qualities, where each sentence is an indication of only one type of quality. Sometimes the distinction between categories is not very clear but this problem is mostly related to architectural quality, usability or organization, which are not of central concern in this analysis.

The competition

The competition was an open international competition with a competition program, initially prepared by the Aalto University Properties Ltd and written by a consultant and checked by the representatives of the client, The Finnish Association of Architects (SAFA) and the competition jury. Due to the delicate request to add a substantial amount of floor area (48.000-52.000 m²) to the very heart of the Otaniemi campus by the architect Alvar Aalto, listed by the National Board of Antiquities, combined with the branding interests of the recently constituted Aalto University, the competition must be seen as a very demanding and important competition in the Finnish architectural context. This is also the reason why professor emeritus Wilhelm Helander was invited as a juror, as a representative of the Aalto foundation (Chair 2013). The competition was a two stage competition, phase 15 April-10 August 2012 attracting 189 proposals, from which 6 were selected for the second phase. Expert analyses were requested for 12 proposals (traffic, ecology, scope, and costs). Representatives of the communities in

Otaniemi took part in workshops and commented on the best proposals¹. The second phase took place 15 January-15 May 2013 and the winner was presented 27 September 2013.

The jury consisted of 14 jurors, chaired by the Dean of the Arts, Design and Architecture School Helena Hyvönen. Professor Trevor Harris and architect Aaro Artto were appointed as *SAFA-jurors*, i.e. independent jurors according to the Competition Rules (SAFA 2008). The university wanted an open process and invited representatives of the students, the staff, the faculty, the university properties and the Aalto foundation. The professional members constituted the majority of the jury. The jury also invited experts, among others for sustainable development, traffic and costs (Aalto University 2013b, p. 6f).

The process was initiated by the Aalto University Properties Ltd, asking the architect Andrew Harrison to compile a preliminary spatial program based on the existing spaces at the different campuses. This was followed by complementary consultant investigations and negotiations regarding parking, traffic and by means of committees at the university (Juror E 2013). The vision of a bike and pedestrian friendly environment came straight from the president of the university, and the sustainability approach was defined through committees and workshops at the university, initially condensed to a 10 page program and later on into the Design Goals in the Competition Programme, with a dedicated section about ecological sustainability (2012, section 4.7). At this stage there was no knowledge of the possibility of getting a metro station to the campus area (Juror E, 2013). Sustainability was one among the 10 objectives of the competition, condensed to “Provides the potential to create the world’s best sustainable university campus” in the Competition Programme (Aalto University 2012). Seppo Junnila, Professor of Real Estate Business at Aalto University, with experience of competitions and expertise in Life-cycle Technologies and Management, Sustainable Buildings and Industrial Ecology was invited as an external specialist (Aalto University 2013b). He was not involved in the writing of the program or defining the objectives, but before the evaluation of the first phase he was asked what is possible to get from the entries with the given objectives regarding sustainability. As an answer he provided some advice to the jury (Junnila 2013). The analysis of the cost calculation consultant was also used as a measure (floor area ratios) to evaluate the energy efficiency of the proposals (Junnila 2013; Juror E 2013). In a later stage of the phase 1

¹ The University wanted to involve the staff in the process as a way of creating an open and transparent process (Chair 2013), but after consulting advice they accepted the normal procedure of SAFA competitions with very limited public access to the proposals before the jury had finished its work. Some small images of the proposals were published, but the independent jurors wanted to avoid the danger of competitors borrowing ideas. According to juror C it is possible to understand and pick details with a second, which in his opinion obscures the idea of a true competition (2013).

Junnila was asked to analyze a dozen of entries selected as first class entries (Aalto University 2013b, p. 18ff). He provided a written report which he presented to the jury and answered related questions, but didn't attend the jury's evaluation meeting (Junnila 2013). The procedure was repeated in the second phase. According to Junnila all the first class entries met requirements regarding optimal orientation of the building mass and the windows, and included some kind of solar panels (Ibid.). He found only a few, in the total mass of 189 proposals that showed real competence regarding solar or energy systems. In the interview he also pointed out that it is difficult to select materials without proper knowledge of how they are produced. He took brick as an example of how wrong a simplified conclusion regarding its general sustainability can be, or that it is not enough to use such simple rules of thumb in the jury's evaluation, but that in this case there was no possibility to evaluate such matters due to the lack of information (Ibid.).

The jury was divided between two proposals, at the two final jury meetings, between entry 125 "4927700 Leap" and entry 131 "VÄRE" (Chair 2013; Juror E), the latter being finally selected as the winner. These proposals are very different regarding their architecture and the debate is said to have been very intense in the final jury meetings, described as an excellent example of professional dialogue about architecture (Chair 2013, Juror A 2013). The major distinction is that entry 125 has a very clear-cut architecture whereas entry 131 is a collection of modules. One juror explains it: Entry 125 would do very well as published in a magazine but entry 131 has much more to offer on site, though it will not be very photogenic (Juror A 2013). Entry 125 is a compact body described as "An extremely thoroughly studied and worked-out project" and "The entry is a very strong one, especially for its urban touch, the qualities of its interior spaces, and its overall feasibility" (Aalto University 2013b, p. 179). A definite disadvantage is, however, "In places, it would be difficult for some users to enjoy direct natural light or to see or sense the landscaped surroundings owing to the depth of the building" (Ibid., p. 182). According to the Chair most jurors saw the advantages of entry 125, but in the end entry 131 was selected, after voting (Ibid., p. 202). Still, one SAFA-juror wanted his disagreement noted in the protocol (Chair 2013).

Figure 1. Entry 131 "VÄRE" plan.

Figure 2. Entry 125 “4927700 Leap” illustration with Aalto main building in the background.

Sustainability is addressed in the competition protocol, phase 1, with the title environmental solutions and starting with wind as “a major challenge”, stating that “creating a reasonable microclimate and pleasant conditions in outside areas” was “a high priority” “, and the need to have any energy or sustainability solution “firmly integrated with the general architectural principles” (2013b, p. 16). Most of the comments are about need for further studies and analysis. These comments are not touched on in the (general) evaluation of phase 2 (Ibid., p. 164ff).

Sustainability

It is very difficult to define or describe what would be the relevant sustainability criteria to check in a competition assessment. It was also an initial idea of this research project to try to find out, from the empirical material of the Campus 2015, how the sustainability criteria are defined or expressed. The problem is not only that there is an immense number of topics that can count as sustainability criteria, but the weight of each criteria can also vary depending on what are the goals. Basically I think it is possible to claim that sustainability preferably should include a wide variety of issues, such as life cycle costs, CO₂-emissions, social sustainability, preserving nature, indoor climate, energy and material efficiency, to mention a few. Looking at publications about architecture and sustainability you soon realize that they are mostly presenting examples of built solutions, as some kind of inspirational material including pictures of the architecture and basic descriptions of sustainable principles applied in the project. I have selected one publication of this type is “Sustainable Architecture and Urbanism” by Gauzin-Müller (2002), which also holds a more comprehensive explanations about what criteria or trends he has detected and that has been put into practice.

There is one level of political action split on governmental or public approaches. There are different approaches to sustainability based on private initiatives, too. It is often about trying to create architecture that is so to say “more sustainable” than the formal requirements. The initiator can be commercial companies, private communities or individuals. Here we sometimes also meet the tradition of utopian architecture. On a different level we find approaches spread on value principles such as high-tech and low-tech, but also setting the core standards in humanism and social and democratic environmentalism or on commercial branding by means of certified labels (Gauzin-Müller 2002, 16f). We also find that some of these issues tend to be manifested in the architectural language. Forster + Partners is, I think, a well-known representative of high-tech architecture. According to their web-site they combine “advances in technology with sensitivity to culture and location” (forsterandpartners.com, 2013). Gauzin-Müller (2002, p. 16) claims that Paolo Soleri is the most notable exponent of the low-tech, with his Arcosanti village. According

to their web-site they, as an “urban laboratory”, “pursue lean alternatives to urban sprawl” (Cosanti Foundation 2013). Low-tech often includes the use of the materials wood, clay and turf roofs in an European context. Thus the tendency towards low-tech also tends to show in the architecture, which can be seen as standing in contrast to futuristic high-tech sustainable architecture, but also in relation to sustainable architecture approaches with conventional architecture and materials (Fuchs 2012).

Many ideas that have started as political movements are today part of legislation. In Finland the demand for sustainable development was added 1990 (*Lag om ändring av byggnadslagen* 1990, section 1). 1985 new regulations regarding preservation of old buildings were added (*Lag om ändring av byggnadslagen* 1985, section 34), and 1994 new rules for the assessment of environmental impact (*Lag om förfarande vid miljökonsekvensbedömning* 1994) were added, to mention a few Finnish examples. Currently we are seeing a series of legislative initiatives in all Europe regarding energy efficiency (European Commission 2011). One earlier private counterpart to this development is of course the German Passivhouse initiative. Currently there are also a number of semi-private initiatives aiming at providing certificates according to given standards for sustainable buildings, for example BREEM and Green Building.

German methodology for sustainability in competitions

I have compiled some ideas and conclusions about sustainability issues in competitions based on an analysis of German sources, together with the Swiss SNARC-project established as a recommendation by the Schweizerischer Ingenieur- und Architekten-Verein (SIA) for sustainability in public constructions in Switzerland (SIA 2004). I have assumed that these rather new recommendations are currently among the most elaborate approaches. The Swiss SNARC recommendation is from 2004 (SIA 2004), and the German federal SNAP-Recommendations is from 2013 (Fuchs, Hartmann, Heinrich, Wagner & Zeumer 2013). The German recommendations are based on a dissertation by Matthias Fuchs (2012). Fuchs has studied the existing tools and methods within the German competition system, analyzed and selected the most important benchmarks of sustainability, and developed a system of evaluation criteria including recommendations (Fuchs 2012, p. 22f; Fuchs et al. 2013b). He has also tested the methods in one case study. Basically one should notice that these are only recommendations (SNAP is, however, compulsory for federal projects in Germany (2012, p. 14)) and that the systematic must be applied with flexibility, adapting it to the situation and the goals of each competition, specifying what are intended sustainability goals and, of course, an optimization of time spent on preparations and evaluations (Fuchs 2012, p. 154ff). Fuchs concludes that a concept design phase, as the competitions are, must provide a comprehensive picture of the sustainability criteria but they must also remain transparent and simple, and must not promote a

“Spezialistentum”, i.e. avoid shifting the judgmental power to external experts (Ibid., p. 155f). It is preferable that at least one of the jurors has an extensive knowledge of sustainability issues (Ibid., p. 148). Fuchs recommends a traditional presentation of the evaluation criteria: design, functionality, comfort, health, economy, as well as resources and energy (Ibid., p. 136). The basic evaluation is done in an initial evaluation process based on checklists, potentially by means of software-based checklists, conducted by experts. The checklist and the selection of criteria should be based on the goals of the competition and the client.

Fuchs uses a diagram to describe the multitude of sustainability issues (according to some German public recommendations) and their tendency to overlap. The idea is that within this diagram the emphasis can be shifted according to client goals, depending on how detailed it should be (Fuchs 2012, p. 12 and 21). The basic differentiation of sustainability is based on three sustainable aspects; economical, ecological and social dimensions (Fuchs 2012).

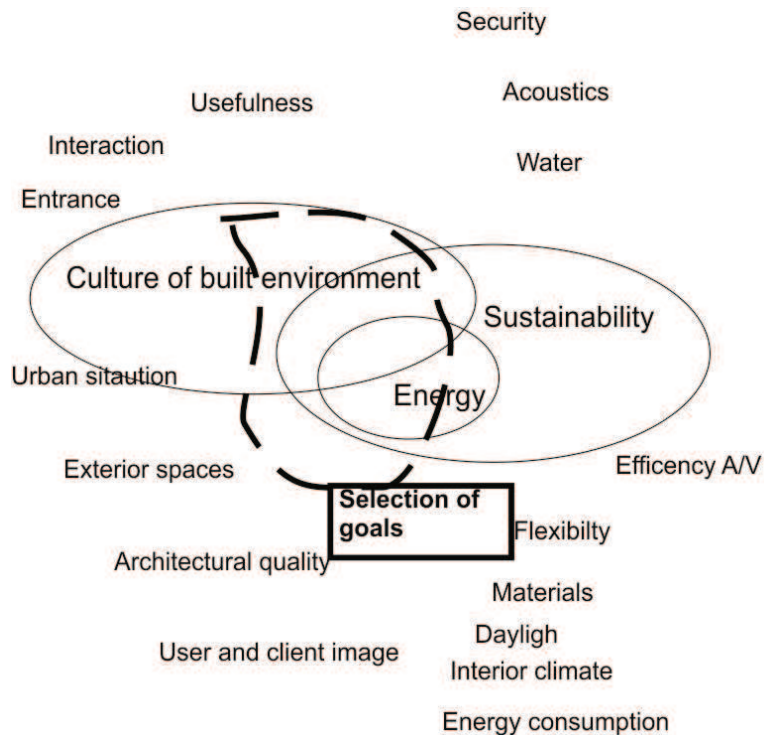


Figure 3. Distribution of sustainability values and selection of goals (simplified and translated from Fuchs (2012)).

Concept analysis

The quality statements of the six entries in the second phase have been classified in comparison to given program evaluation requirements, see Figure 4. The categories that generated most comments are highlighted in yellow as they seem to indicate some sort of differentiation and reason why it has been selected for Phase 2², i.e. entry 011 has most comments on organization and experiences, whereas entry 075 attracted comments on functionality and urban landscape and was seen to have developed well (2013b, p. 174f). It is important to notice that some of these statements might be negative, too. The most frequent quality statements are about architecture, the urban landscape, spatial organization, respect for the existing architecture and the new unique Aalto University identity. It seems that the development during phase 2 has been important to the jury (Juror C 2013), even though it is not so clearly mentioned in the Phase 2 Competition Programme. Client interest in the form of daylight, feasibility and flexibility are issues that the jury has seen as important to address in the evaluation report (Chair 2013). Entry number 176 is evaluated as being “among the most promising proposals” but “has lost most of its best qualities during Phase 2” and generated much less evaluative statements (Aalto University 2013b). There are also some unrelated general statements in the evaluations, which are noted as “excluded”. One typical is about professionalism of the architects, an issue also mentioned by one of the interviewees as a quality indicator that surfaced in the evaluation from time to time but was found to be outside the scope of the evaluation of the entries (Juror A 2013).

It is clear that the most refined articulations are devoted to architectural and organizational aspects, together with the urban landscape, and this emphasis seems appropriate. Similarly it seems correct to spend only one or two comments on such issues as metro connection, main entrance or feasibility. I also think it is too early or still possible to rearrange spatial solutions and selection of materials or organization of facades, and that it is important to put forward comments where improvement is needed. It is, however, surprising that sustainability, bicycle routes and health is hardly ever mentioned and when it is once commented upon, it is only a statement that it (solar panels) doesn't fit well with the surrounding architecture (Jury Report 2013, p. 196) and that in this case the comment is that the texts presenting sustainability and ecological issues “are of a rather general nature without being clearly communicated in the design itself” (Ibid., p. 197). According to the interviews and the organization of the evaluation

² There is a rather well established practice in Finland, though not documented, of selecting a variety of proposals showing the different ideas emerging from the competition as prize winning proposals. Hence the finalists are not necessarily the best (and quit similar) proposals but rather a display of different solutions that seems important to test in phase 2.

much of sustainability issues will inevitably be included only in the jury discussions, but it remains remarkable that there is hardly any mentioning of sustainable issues despite the very ambitious objective to “create the world’s best sustainable university campus” (Competition Programme 2012, p.6).

Nr	Evaluations	sum	011	075	125	131	135	176
1	Functionality	6	1	5				
2	Architecture	29	2	3	7	5	7	5
3	Spatial	11	3	2	3	2		1
4	Organisation	23	6	1	7	4	2	3
5	Respecting existing Aalto	17	7	1	4	2	3	
6	Experiences	14	6	4	2	1	1	
7	Respecting the program	4	2		1	1		
8	Urban landscape	22	1	7	2	1	5	6
9	Greenery	3	1		1		1	
10	Study environment	5		1	1	2	1	
11	Sustainable	1					1	
12	Development in phase 2	22	1	7	1	2	9	2
13	Scale & proportions	6			2	3		1
14	Spatial program	6		4		2		
15	Interaction	8	3	1	1	3		
16	Extension potential	3	1	1	1			
17	Pedestrian and bicycle	1			1			
18	Flexiblility	10	1	2	2	3	2	
19	Efficient & feasible	10	2	2	3	1	2	
20	Technically advanced	1					1	
21	Healthy	0						
22	Daylight	10		2	4	1	3	
23	Materiality	4		2				2
24	Location southwest	1					1	
25	Contact to metro	6	2	1	1	1		1

26	Clear main entrance	4	1		2	1		
27	Creation of central square	6	1	2	1		1	1
29	Unique Aalto identity	21	4	3	7	5	2	
Ex	Excluded	7	1		2			4
	Sum	261	46	51	56	40	42	26

Figure 4. Concept analysis of phase 2 evaluation reports

This concept analysis concentrates on the protocol, more than a normal protocol would allow, assuming that it is normally only based on the writing of the SAFA-jurors. It was the intention to provide every proposal with a comment in phase 1, but due to lack of time and the large amount of proposals the commentary is very brief (Juror B). On the other hand this was a protocol based on thorough checking (Chair 2013; Juror D 2013; Juror E 2013) and thus it seems reasonable to think that it displays the evaluation of the jury. Interesting enough is the system with parallel protocols; the protocols of the meetings and the jury report, which is a kind of appendix to the protocols of the final jury meetings.

Stakeholders

I have come to the conclusion that it is important to analyze the different positions of the jurors because there is a danger that I as architect and researcher cannot distance myself from an affirmative reading of architectural dogmas (Lipstadt 2010, 2009). Lipstadt proposes, with reference to Bourdieu, a perspective of seeing the situation as a board game (Ibid.). Looking at the jury as a board game, it poses an assumption that different jurors hold different and more or less cards and trumps valid in the playing of the game providing a shift of the reading, thus expanding the case study from the pure descriptive study of the case and its discursive expressions to a sort of power analysis. And, it is clear to most of us that in such a situation there is an obvious imbalance in power regarding the right to judge architecture, for example between a student of architecture and a professor of architecture, regardless of the statement that this was a very egalitarian jury process (Juror A 2013, Juror C 2013). If there is no difference there is little need for professors and education. There is a definitely a value of the client in allowing all voices to be heard, creating a legitimacy for the project.

The independent SAFA jurors, together with the two professors of architecture have, due to their role and position, very much judgmental power compared to the rest of the jury members. This is supported by the words of Juror B, claiming that their task is to *manage* the evaluation process (2013) and Juror E and the Chair who stated that they see them as representing

architectural competence (Juror E 2013). According to the Bourdieuian theory of cultural fields it is necessary to believe in the idea, the *illusio*, of this cultural practice regardless whether you are an architect or a representative of the property management or the administration (Bourdieu 1996, p. 166ff; Lipstadt 2009; Östman 2005, p. 124ff). There is a majority of professionals in the jury (Aalto University 2013b, p. 7) and as it is a building for the School of Arts, Design and Architecture the users are represented by designers or architects, too (Aalto University 2012, p. 6f; Chair 2013). All in all there are only four or five of the 14 jurors that do not have a close professional relation to architectural design. Furthermore, the professionals of traffic and sustainability are external specialists (Ibid.), with no voting rights, indicating that their profession is not a core profession in this competition. The wording of the SAFA Competition Rules regarding the composition of the jury panel goes as follows (2008): “At least 1/3 of the judges *must* be professionals in a relevant field”. It seems that sustainability is thus not accepted as a relevant professional field in this competition. This is a matter that Fuchs addresses in his dissertation. He wants the sustainability to be a core issue in all evaluation phases (2012, p. 134), a claim that is repeated in the recent recommendations by the German federal Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban Development (Fuchs et al. 2013). It is not necessary, according to this recommendation, that the specialist of sustainability take a central position but the issue as such must be given a prominence alongside the issues about the urban development, architecture, economy and functionality (Ibid.).

Lipstadt clearly warns against the danger of a complicity of architect researchers with the architect jurors, and an acceptance of the professional dialogue of the competition as a given correct understanding of the situation (2010). We must recognize the objective relations. This means that it is nothing wrong with a strong emphasis on architecture, but it is my task to point out that there is a discrepancy between program and end result that probably is related to the power distribution in the evaluation process. Seeing the competition as a cultural field and the jury as a set of positions, there is an obvious relation between economic powers and cultural powers in juries, between the representatives of the client and the independent jurors, but in this case also a clear location of the competence of sustainability outside the jury, leaving the final judgment to the jurors. This competition and its evaluation are ending in an ultimate debate between two architectural positions, which must be interpreted as a notion of the truly architectural nature of this competition. It is however obvious that economic interests, such as functionality and daylight play an important role here, indicating a dependence on other values than the art for art's sake values of architecture.

Conclusions

I find it agreeable to see architectural competitions as limited to the concept design phase (*luonnosvaihe* in Finnish) and thus leaving a great part of sustainability issues out of scope. Materials, energy, HVAC-solutions and method of construction can only be potentially indicated and it is difficult to evaluate their impact on the sustainability in the concept design phase. The German recommendations estimate that only 1/5 of the indicators of sustainability can be determined accurately on the basis of the content of the competition proposals and their illustrations and documents (Linz 2013; Fuchs et al. 2013). The proposals are too sketchy to allow for a closer scrutiny. This is also the case in the Campus 2015 competition (Junnila 2013; Juror D, 2013). Thus it seems important not to put all too much expectations into these issues in architectural competitions in general. I also find a holistic evaluation without detailed checklists or schemas acceptable, relaying mainly on the competence of the jurors. Still, several jurors confirmed that they found the input by the sustainability expert helpful (Juror A 2013; Juror C 2013). It is, however, the neglect of sustainability issues in the report that I find questionable. The client (both the University and the Aalto University Properties) wanted an open process, and as a central public body in the Finnish society it should aim at transparency, and it is a way of creating legitimacy and acceptance for the project (Juror E 2013) (there was no debate at all afterward, which according to Juror E can be seen as an indication of a an acceptance of the judgment (and the jurors) despite the split in the jury). On the other hand it is, according to juror B, the task of the independent SAFA-jurors to manage the evaluation process and to write the evaluations (Juror B 2013). In this case it was checked by several members of the jury (Chair 2013), indicating that the report was thoroughly written. If the client said it wants “potential to create the world’s best sustainable university campus” (Aalto University 2012. p. 6) I think it would be necessary to address this issue in the competition report consequently regarding at least the final six proposals.

It is not necessarily a lack of analysis here, but without reporting it is very difficult to know, and with the very brief comment regarding sustainability in the jury’s recommendation for further development (compared to the detailed recommendations regarding “Building Planning”, e.g. asking for a wider staircase from the market place) (Aalto University 2013b, p. 205) it leaves us easily to believe sustainability is of little interest, or even that the jury hasn’t enough competence to provide suitable guidelines for further development. It is, however, important that sustainability is made operational, and I think a first step in this case should have been that the program had put forward some operational guidelines about sustainability issues and their presentation. It can, however, be seen as a contradiction to ask for an articulation of judgment if the judgment process is only a ranking process – a tendency I found in another case study (Östman 2012) and partly also addressed in Rönn (2009). Still, I think it is important to have a

consequent articulation of the judgment as a means to present the reasoning to both the professional field and the broader public.

A second consideration is whether architectural competitions are suited to address and promote innovation regarding sustainability. Competitions are often marketed as tools for development, and in the SAFA history of competitions they claim that competitions have “made new ways of thinking possible”, as well as promoted “the birth of new perspectives on architecture” (SAFA 2009). This case with a very architecturally delicate site and with a jury including several high rank architects and professors it seems inevitable that architectural issues will attract an overwhelming attention. Competitions and especially the jury work is often seen as a learning experience promoting a better understanding of the situation, its problems and solutions (Rönn 2009, Östman 2012), and in this case several jurors underlined the power of the architectural dialogue during the final jury sessions, promoting the shared understanding of each entry’s distinct qualities. The Finnish Association of Architects puts an emphasis on the writing of the competition program, seeing it as the client’s tool towards the competitors (SAFA 2009b), indicating that the client must prepare well; in order to get what he wants. I think there could be some potential to develop the architectural competitions to better address sustainability issues, by means of testing different approaches, though it seems that there are already some unsuccessful results from good intentions with elaborate expert evaluations on sustainability issues (Fuchs et al., p. 215).

My conclusion from this case would be that the jury constituted a competent and heterogeneous team of professionals in the field of architecture, cultural heritage, urban planning and design, economy and user interests (Aalto University 2013b, Juror D, 2013). Traffic, cost calculation and sustainability seem to have been issues that were investigated outside the jury meetings and the results only presented to the jury. It seems to have been an open and productive communicative jury process allowing the voices of all jurors to be heard. It seems that there were about five architect jurors taking actively part in the analyses and discussions representing the stakeholders of architecture and constituting a de facto majority. The board game is played with the trumps of professional competence, with the architects accepted as professionals regarding architecture, functionality and urban design, whereas the representatives of the client play the cards of economy, usability and the client brand. The advantage of inviting proposals and competent jurors is that the client will get a well-studied and tested solution, with professionals articulating the advantages of selected solutions, and a wider acceptance of the changes in the urban fabric as there has been authoritative jurors analyzing the solution. It has been a common issue in Finland to discuss the potential danger of clients using the competition as an instrument for rising building rights. This was also a central issue here and a crucial outcome of the competition was certainly the conclusion that it is possible to erect a 50.000 m² university

building at the heart of the red brick campus designed by Alvar Aalto. From a perspective of power distribution it seems necessary to also include a certain amount of sustainability competence and judging powers into the core of the jury, if the ambitions are to substantially promote sustainability. According to Fuchs this must be supported by a demand for interdisciplinary design teams including experts on sustainability and later included in the team that will continue with the design after the competition (2012, p 153).

It is possible that architectural competitions act as promoters of innovation and development, but I would assume that the major sustainability development tests will take place in pilot projects where the demand for architectural quality is not so high. In this competition they made a clear statement that sustainability solutions must be integrated into the architecture (Aalto University 2013b). That will leave more space for experiments with different technical solutions. It is possible to think of architectural competitions with an emphasis on sustainability, but they will primarily be competitions for architects about architecture. It is foremost a specific form of procurement of high-rank architect's services, reaching its legitimacy through the competition (and simultaneously acting as an engine within the professional field of architects defining what is new good architecture and at the same time producing some kind of branding of top-level architects). The major potential of architect competitions is found in their capacity to produce a unique artistic solution to a specific (and demanding situation).

I think this explorative case study shows that it is not easy to combine the search for a unique architecture with a strong promotion of sustainability issues, and that is important how these issues are made operational. The analysis shows that it is important to focus on the whole competition process, starting from client interests and goals consequently proceeding to the systematic articulation of judgments. I also see the danger Fuchs addresses. You can probably only reach a "Schein"-truthfulness by means of complicated checklists (Fuchs et al. 2013, p. 215). It seems that the vague objectives didn't support an evaluation of sustainability issues. It could have been improved with requirements for energy modeling and calculations, which would also give an indication of the sustainability competence of the architects (Junnila 2013). Junnila, based on his previous experiences, claims that it is possible to address sustainability issues in competitions but they should have a different format, oriented towards innovation. He sees the usefulness of a competition truly oriented towards sustainability in the replicability of the results. In this case, with its strong orientation towards a unique architecture in a unique situation architecture will inevitably be the dominating issue (Ibid.).

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Competitions of Distraction or Hope?

Public Responsibility, Social Advocacy, and the Dismantling of Architectural Priorities in the Open Ideas Competition

Philip D. Plowright

Competitions of Distraction or Hope?

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Introduction:

The paper addresses the cost and issues around the open idea competition in architecture through an understanding of disciplinary syntax and priorities. Through using case studies of successful competition submittals, including access to the design decision-making process, competition entries are discussed as having other issues than the widely noted efficiency and cost critiques. On a disciplinary level, there is an absence of architectural concerns in the projects and the outcomes only *look* like architecture. That is, there is a clear misalignment between competition outcomes and architectural priorities. Following this line of enquiry, the research connects the architectural idea competition as a form of marketing to a legacy of social advocacy and activism. However, this form of advocacy might be limited and ineffective on a cultural level when considering the voice it replaces.

Research method:

Qualitative Sampling, Reflective Analysis, Case Study Research, Cross Case-study Pattern Search

Preliminary Results:

The paper is professionally based. Preliminary results show the lack of architectural priorities and syntax application (circulation, context massing, environmental effects, structure) through considering major idea competition proposals using an unified framework theory of design process. This was collaborated through reflective and critique-based interviews with the young designers involved in competition process. The question was raised of what is replacing architectural content in these major publicity events.

Statement in relation to theme:

The research, abstract and resultant paper addresses theme statement 4 "Why do clients and architects participate in competitions? Contributing to the long lasting debate about impact and legacies of competitions." and the question "How can the structure and procedures contribute to client/architect interactions, and how do they push them apart?" It does this by discussing the contest as a conflict between architecture's ideas of public responsibility and developing the internal syntax of the discipline. The idea competition can be seen as problematic in syntax terms but also positive as it provides a forum that separates designers from clients, replacing *client* with *constituency*. Ultimately, the question becomes that while the aspirations might be positive, is the current format one that is sustainable or even ultimately effective?

Keywords:

architecture, open ideas competition, disciplinary syntax, advocacy, social hope

Competitions of Distraction or Hope?

Public Responsibility, Social Advocacy, and the Dismantling of Architectural Priorities in the Open Ideas Competition

Design competitions are a staple in architecture. Their presence as part of the discipline can be traced back as far as the documented history of architecture – at least two and a half thousand years (Kreiner 2010, Lipstadt 1989). From Athen's Acropolis, Rome's Spanish Stairs or the dome of Florence's Cathedral, the competition has been at the heart of architectural culture and project delivery methods. In architectural education, the competition has played a seminal role as far back as the 17th century formation of the French *Prix de Rome* (as a contest of elimination) and Beaux-Arts education of the 19th and early 20th centuries (Cret 1941). And where the competition has existed, so controversy has followed. Currently, there is a growing concern in North American and British architectural communities, protesting against the competition as a form of schematic design delivery. The critique is raised by professional architects and centres around issues of ethics, wastefulness and negative economic impact due to the expense firms and designers incur to pursue such work (Slessor 2013, Kreiner 2010). The current dialogue has reached professional consciousness through the broadcasting of one architect to another in social media. The general tone is a plea for architects to abandon the competition form due to its vampiric intentions on the profession (Basulto 2010, Brown 2010, Leavitt 2010).

Most of the concerns, complaints and protests centre around the open, limited or invited project competition – those competitions that theoretically end in an awarded project. Documentation regarding this style of competition stresses that there should only three objectives to an architectural competition: “1) To select a design and an architect; 2) To select an architect; and 3) To provide awards for design ideas and/or research” (RAIC 2013). The American Institute of Architects (AIA), Royal Architectural Institute of Canada (RAIC), and Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), as professional architectural bodies, have been involved in addressing competitions since their formation. Early twentieth century records in popular media and professional journals confirm that the same concerns regarding competitions found today have been addressed since the formation of professional societies, namely the wastefulness of competitions (“The Competition for the Indiana Centennial Building “ 1913, Medary Jr. 1913,). The issue was one of ethics expressed as business concerns, using the analogy of medical and legal professionals giving away core products. Herbert Foltz, as the former Chair of the Indiana Sub-Committee on Competitions, made statements in 1912 of which are echoed in the arguments today (Leavitt, 2010). Foltz was quoted as saying, in regards to the Indiana Centennial Building controversy, “that the Commission was expected to obtain, from as many architects as possible, as much information and as many ideas as possible without cost, and without any assurance that the architect furnishing the best design, or the most helpful suggestions, would be employed; . . . In the medical profession, the patient does not call in a half-dozen physicians to diagnose his case, and employ him whose diagnosis best suits, nor does the client with a legal case obtain briefs from a number of lawyers in competition, and select the one who submits the brief best suited to his case” (Journal of the American Institute of Architects 1913, 105). The focus is the fees that should be exchanged for time, professional knowledge, “special training and varied experience” (Journal of the American Institute of Architects 1913, 106). In North America, this type of work is currently becoming known as “speculative” or “spec” work. Non-profit activist groups, such as *No!Spec* and *SpecWatch*, have started to develop a social media network dedicated to educating the public, clients and designers to concerns around this style of work in the hopes of eliminating it as a form of service.

Many times the professional organisations of architects, such as the RIBA, have been accused of perpetuating an exploitive system (Ichioka 2103). Jeremy Till, the head of Central St Martins and past Dean of Architecture and the Built Environment at University of Westminster, was quoted recently as saying, “the professional body is allowing architects to prostrate themselves on the altar of potential fame. Architects do this willingly, particularly now when they are in a state of economic desperation... I do wonder why the profession allows itself to be degraded in this manner” (Hopkirk 2013). More than this, Till notes that the project competition focuses on the building “as static object ... It privileges a whole set of architectural values that are counter to what might make really great architecture” (Hopkirk 2013). This comment invoking 'architectural values' necessarily opens up the need for a discussion of architectural priorities and syntax.

Many of the disciplinary issues can be more clearly identified in the open ideas competition rather than the open or invited project competition. While built on the same structure, the open ideas competition makes no claims to awarding commission for a built project but instead stresses prestige and exposure as its end goal (objective #3 from the RAIC guidelines noted above). The economic and ethical concerns might be mitigated somewhat but it does raise issues of whom ultimately benefits, what desires are leveraged into a business model, what are the hidden costs, and what are the effects on disciplinary content.

This paper will attempt to explore some of these questions, particularly the ones of content and desires. It will do so by communicating the previous results of case study research, reflective interviews, and cross case-study pattern search examining the process, priorities and results of 87 entries in 14 open ideas competitions between 2007 and 2011. The case-studies had an award success rate of 16% (second place to finalist). All the competitions were international, professionally-focused competitions without awarded design contracts. They offered, instead, dissemination of the winning designers, nominal cash prizes, and 'bragging rights'. The qualitative research was part of a formal educational structure in which the institutional knowledge of the previous competition experience was applied back to modify approaches for the following year. In addition, reflective analysis was applied to two professional competitions, one a two-phase open competition while the second was a two-phase invited competition.

What was found, beyond the standard complaints of wastefulness of time, resources, lack of publicity, and insular architect-to-architect marketing, was other issues with open ideas competitions. When examining the outcomes (graphics & text) of the competition entries along with dialogues that occurred through the design process, there are disciplinary issues present. The structure and delivery format of competition stressed visual novelty and currency of fashion at the expense of architectural syntax, nuances of spatial refinement and priorities of bodily experience. The mindset of the designers, as well as the outcome format, suppressed or replaced the priorities of rich architectural space. In fact, what was often developed and presented as a competition deliverable only *looked* like architecture but contained none of the internal concerns of the domain of architecture (Figure 1). One could say it was part of a larger trend that claims the increasing aestheticization of architecture (Leach 1997) or an aspect of populism in design (Lefavre 1972/2005).

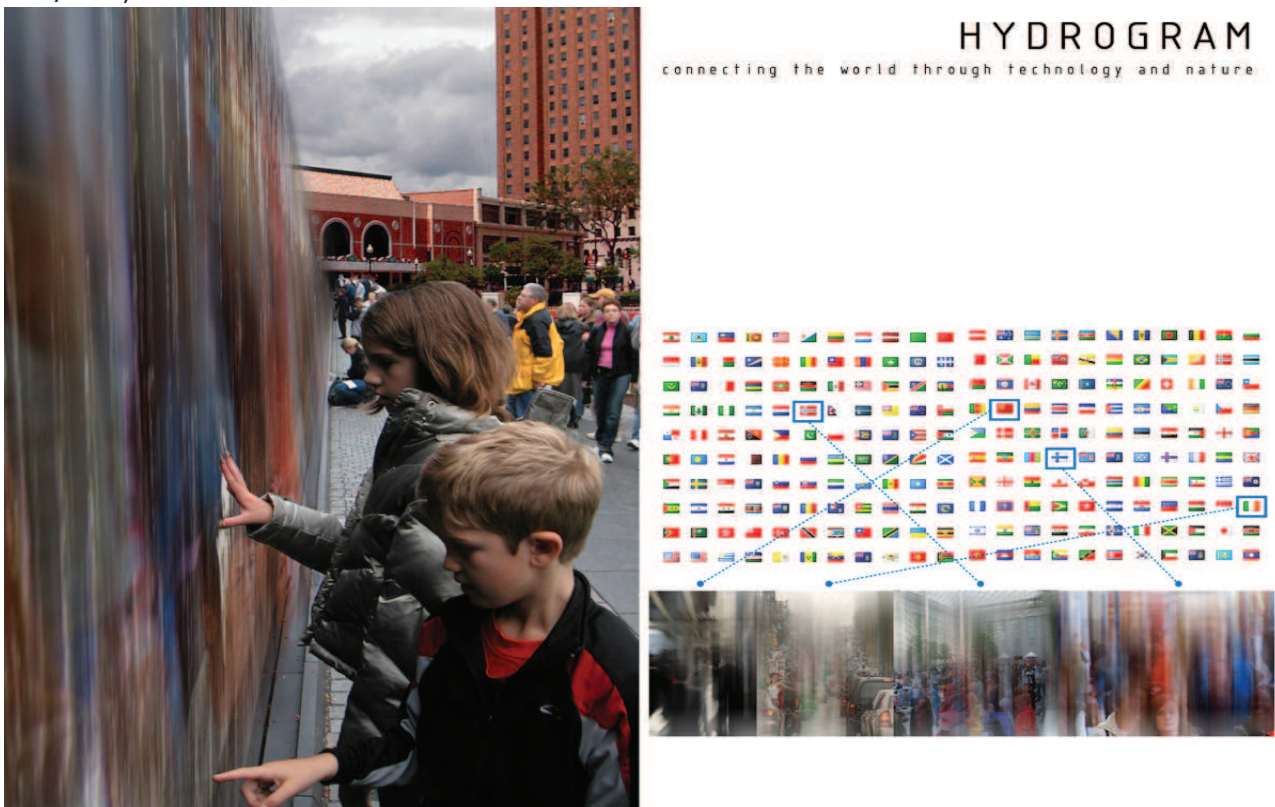


Figure 1: *Hydrogram* (2008) finalist by Vince Daniele and Philip Plowright (advisor) – for the Line of Site competition, a

British-based competition supported by Google, ACO Technologies and Building Design Magazine. (Source: author)

Disciplinary Content and Priorities

When Till referenced a “whole sets of architectural values that are counter to what might make really great architecture”, what was he really critiquing? It seems problematic that architecture has a values within it that undermines what it is – a paradox of content, one might say, as architecture can not contradict architecture. The statement, however, does revolve around the use of “sets of values” as known criteria found within the discipline of architecture. As a discipline, architecture has a particular set of values as responsibilities which mark a domain of knowledge, making it identifiable *as* architecture and not as something else. All disciplines necessarily have a domain of knowledge, something that is considered owned by that discipline and contains its priorities and expertise. A working definition of a discipline comes from Michel Foucault. He considered a discipline as “. . . defined by a domain of objects, a set of methods, a corpus of propositions considered to be true, a play of rules and definitions, of techniques and instruments: all this constitutes a sort of anonymous system at the disposal of anyone who wants to or is able to use it . . .” (Foucault 1971, 59). A discipline exists by defining boundaries and setting rules so they can be accessed by its members with consistency. This is made possible by syntax and tools (Plowright 2014).

In a discipline, a syntax contains the objects, forces, priorities, thinking structures and habits which have been defined by that discipline. Syntax also contains the limits of *what* that discipline can address while the tools contain the limits of *how* content can be addressed. All conclusions of an architectural design process will, necessarily, be manifested in architectural syntax. Architectural syntax can be built from foundational operations of manipulating form, strongly influenced by the social context of space. The presence of the human body brings event, circulation, sequence, procession, presence, and occupation while environmental factors associate formal and social content with physical context by addressing adjacency, light, air and surface temperature, humidity, air movement, extension, biofilia, and field (as datum and context). All of these aspects have been historically associated with the architectural discipline and can be directly engaged by the tools of the discipline (Plowright 2014, 13-17).

Even self-proclaimed avant garde theorists and critics such as Patrik Schumacher (2011) and Jeffrey Kipnis (2013) accept and define the notion of architectural boundaries and internal versus external content. Kipnis, in particular, is extremely clear about disciplinary priorities even as he engages art, critical theory, philosophy, and pop culture in relation to architecture and architectural theory. Kipnis considers that buildings, as architecture, can speak in three different ways – either intellectually as a formal composition, socially as cultural representation, or phenomenologically as grounded sensation of place (Kipnis 2013, 57). All three of these positions, considered equally valid, rest on the relationship between social and formal factors – never simply one or the other but both. In addition, context and sequence as well as the human body and environmental qualities are present throughout the discussions. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art by Steven Holl is considered by Kipnis to speak with an phenomenological voice, while the San Francisco Federal Building by Morphosis addresses both intellectual and social voices. All critiques, however, return to fundamental factors of spatial occupation, circulation, containment and the housing of the body as architectural content.

So when considering architecture *as a discipline* that has particular responsibilities, it could be argued that Till included one too many words in his intentionally polemical statement. It isn't that architecture has values within it which weaken the ability to produce “great architecture”. It is that architecture shares aspects of its production with other disciplines, disciplines that hold different values and have different priorities. The difficulty is keeping the syntactical priorities of one discipline straight while using content that is shared between itself and other disciplines. To return to Till's concern with competitions, when the term 'architectural' is dropped from the first part of the sentence the statement could be rephrased as *competition entries that treat buildings as static objects privilege non-architectural values that masquerade as architectural concerns*. The critique that Till brings to bear on the competition is the consideration of architecture as a static object – either judged in terms of sculpture or as a piece of graphic design.

The Open Ideas Competition as Content Violation

The core of the content of this paper comes from participation in 87 entries of open ideas competitions over five years (2007-11). As part of the process of pursuing these entries, a concept-based framework approach was used as design method combined with content extracted by Reflective Analysis, Case Study Research, and Cross Case-study Pattern Search research methods. While all 87 entries contributed to initial data collection, the 14 placements from this group are considered as significant evidence of priorities associated with open ideas competitions due to their identification of being successful through peer-review. These placements were in open competitions sponsored by *2A* (second place), *Arquitectum* (third place, Honourable Mention), *eVolo* (Honourable Mention, Finalist), *d3* (Special Mention – Dystopian Future), *Zombie SafeHouse* (Honourable mentions - 4), *Line of Sight* (Honourable mention, Finalist), *DaTE* (Special Award – Energy) and *Design for the Children* (Finalist). While the topic of each competition was different, the final deliverables and context was the same – digital boards, no physical model, high profile events, large submission volume (100+) and concluding focus on publicity/media broadcasting (reputation). As such, an approach was developed through reflection that focused on cultural novelty, graphic presentation, and identification of jury priorities over context sensitivity, spatial analysis or spatial sequencing. In all cases, impact and visibility were chosen over architectural enrichment and subtlety.

Visualization over experience

We can elaborate on the concern of image use by quoting from Till's book *Architecture Depends*. A section of the book recreates a jury discussion at the conclusion of a design competition and can highlight some of the overarching issues. Till presents two schemes, one that is 'colorful and blobby and empty' which he labels *blob*, while the other is 'full of activity, where the architecture acts as a setting' labelled as *setting* (Till 2009, 124). The discussion revolves around differing support by the jurors for these two, with the following commentary:

“But I can't see the architecture,” says a critic of *setting*, “the drawings are so busy with people! What are they giving us? What would I tell my colleagues we have actually got?”

“But that, that . . . thing. It's just vacant form. Where's the content?” replies the critic of *blob*.

“A least I can see it. And what I see looks really exciting”

“But it is just eye candy. You are falling into the trap of being seduced by image. It is just another clever architect playing the commodity game.”

[...]

“They aren't just drawing people. Of course there is stuff there, it is just that it is background. Kind of modest,” says the second advocate for *setting*.

“Oh, that is so dull. So damn worthy. At least these guys are giving us something interesting and new. Something luscious, something soft.” (Till 2009, 125)

While it could be argued that *setting* is prioritizing the human experience (phenomenological) and *blob* is based around formal representation (intellectual), the real issue revolves around what disciplinary content is actually addressed by either submission, and what priorities do they hold. The challenge raised is the inherent ideology maintained by the vehicle used for transferring intention and its relationship to deep architectural values – the image. It is argued that the image, through the presentation boards, *represents* architecture rather than *being* architecture (Till 2009, 110). Or, to say it a different way, the graphic presentation creates a simulation of architecture which is then mentally reconstructed by an individual in order to interpret that simulation. This, however, leads to the second issue. The awarding of ideas competition placements, like all human endeavours, are not value neutral. A jury makes the award and jurors exist both in a cultural milieu and have their own agenda. The rapid format of first stage review privileges soliciting quick interest rather than deep study – with interest being the critical aspect of the board. In addition, the competition organizations also have expectations – generally revolving around community standing, exposure and/or notoriety rather than spatial quality. As Friederike Meye wrote in her article challenging the purpose and effect of the *Arquitectum* organization, “The recipe for the so-called academic competitions idea is always the same. The organizers are looking for a prominent place to connect

with the dreams, and a building contract that probably everyone would like to realize” (Meyer 2008). Anyone serious about playing the competition game understands these factors. However, the end result is one that suppresses architectural refinement for marketing impact.

The suppression of architectural values occurred in the first phase of the case-studies competition entries in the selection of a 'position'. A position or a concept was indispensable to the development of the work and a concept-based framework, one of the trilogy of possible underlying structures that architectural design uses (Plowright 2014), was always engaged in the case-studies to pursue open competition proposals. This was due to the nature of the Open Ideas competitions media restrictions (digital graphic file) as well as the judging processes – the focus for the project teams was to quickly communicate an “interesting” concept in the most evocative manner possible. The conceptual position was roughly based on the briefs of the competition or the focus of the institution behind the competition – for example, eVolo had to address height in some way, while D3 projects focused on systems and prototypes. However, once the competition frame had been considered, the direction of the project was chosen by cultural currency based on media interest. The selection process was determined by ability to visualize the concept in a manner aligned with the values of the competition and the potency of that expression.

In pre-2008 case-studies, results of highly visible and visually-based ideas competitions, such as *eVolo*, could award purely geometrical investigations as concept – architecture as sculpture with a tendency towards the parametric. However, in post-2008 ideas competitions, the focus has been more heavily focused on social and ethical content. The architectural competition, as seen through the sample group, acts as a conduit for a larger cultural conversations and isn't about architecture itself. However, evidence implies that the focus always was about novelty and interest rather than real responsibility or any socio-political realism.

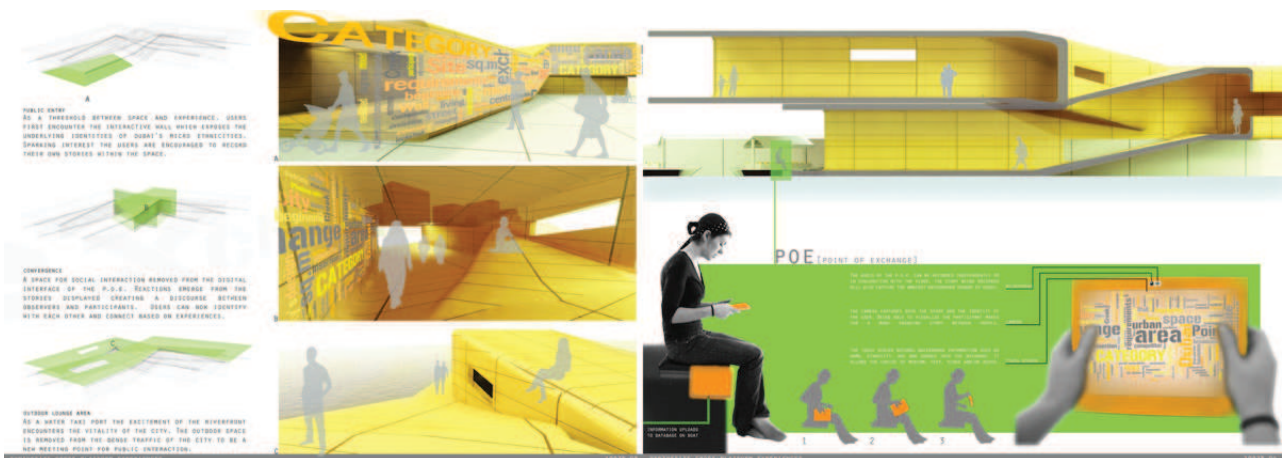


Figure 2: 2A's *Du(b)ailities: micro_ethnic_localities* (2009) second place project by Lisa Sauve, Adam Smith, and Philip Plowright (advisor) – two boards of a five board set. The project centred on the idea of social media and information broadcasting. (Source: author)

The *Du(b)ailities* project (2009) connected social media to place identification through an interactive wall and handheld devices (Figure 2). At the time that the project was completed smartphones were current but the Apple Ipad wouldn't be introduced for another year (this project was completed in January 2009 while the first Ipad was released on April 3, 2010). Social media was coming to the forefront as a cultural discussion and the evolution of technology made the entry point of the competition content as a factor in this discussion important. However, the 'architectural space' considered to support this concept is used only as a background to the larger conversation and was ultimately undeveloped, remaining a gesture. The Chichen Itza third place winning proposal introduced an 'infrastructure' of educational moments which progressed an visitor from apprentice to associate while engaging in a historical cultural site (Figure 3). While the competition proposal asked for a tourist lodge, this winning entry developed no core architectural content or qualities or even attempted to render architectural space. It ignored the program and architectural requirements as well. The discussions centred around intellectual human development and education, while the graphics obscured the content purposefully to elicit interest while remaining esoteric. The closest the project came to engaging architecture was to infer spatial placement of elements through a

circulation arrangement. Meye's critique of the entry was correct when she wrote that the "choice of work by Philip Plowright and Steven Nielsen in third place [...] provided pretty graphics of vertical lines and pictograms, while the theoretical approach does not even demand to be understood." (Meye 2008). Fortunately, it did not need to be accessible to win as it was intriguing, provocative and had what Till would call "virtuosity of [...] technique." (Till 2009, 111) – as in, it *looked* good. But as Till also notes, it also "fails to represent the fullness of the conditions it is addressing, but this failure is disguised" (Till 2009, 111).

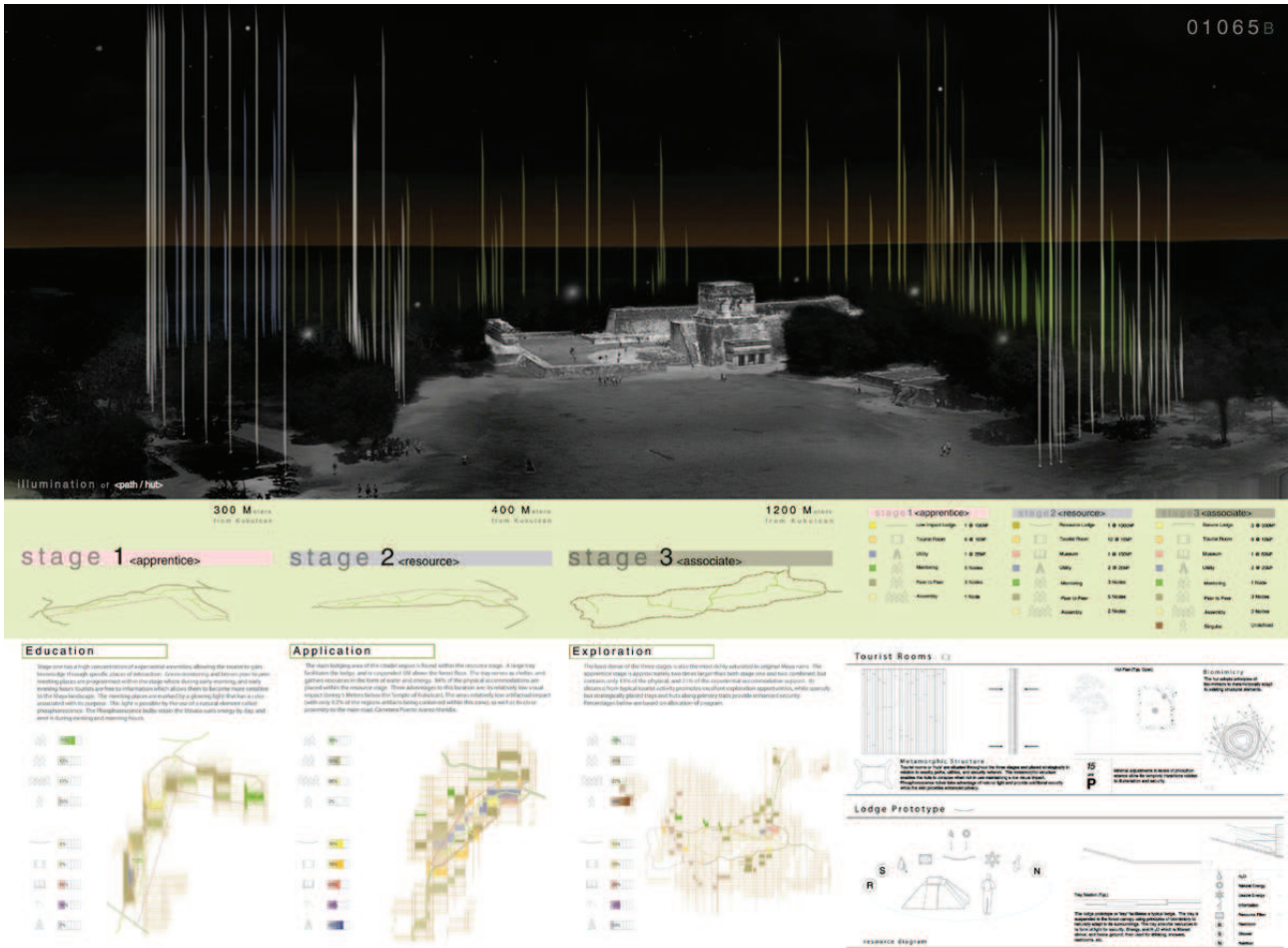


Figure 3: Architectum's Chichen Itza Competition (2008) third place project by Steven Nielsen and Philip Plowright (advisor) – first board of a two board set. The project addressed the experience of an historic site as the growth of sensitivity by the visitor. (Source: author)

The other placements and entries followed the same selection process for concept. Two major themes were engaged for source material. Either the social was stressed through activist positions or technological utopian ideas engaged as belief statements. Examples of the first are the Chichen Itza project, Occupy Skyscraper (Figure 4), the eVolo Honourable Mention from 2011 (Figure 7) and the d3 Natural Systems Special Mention (Figure 10). Other projects in the case-study group engaged topics such as landfills as cultural symbols, movable or adjustable buildings reacting to social changes or efficiencies, high density forms through changing social relationships, slums, low-income housing and homelessness. The technological utopian projects regularly engage energy, climate change, food production, pollution, recycling, fresh water and waste – all current issues as underlying positions. The concepts that were generated as starting points for the competition entries, however, needed to move past the general position to a particular proposal. That proposal would be based on media currency (interest) and used shallow surface knowledge of the topic.



Figure 4: Occupy Skyscraper - eVolo (2012) *Honourable Mention* by Ying Xiao, Shengchen Yang and Philip Plowright (advisor) – composite of two boards. The project picked up on the Occupy movement that started in September of that year, the board was submitted three months later in January (Source: Author)

Cultural Currency

The idea of cultural currency was a primary concern for the designers based on past project pattern search, in the case of multi-year competition programmes, and analysis of language use in competition briefs. In this way, it isn't enough just to produce a project on renewable energy production, for example. While a project produced in the early 2000s could tackle solar as alternative energy source, by 2006 the timeliness of this idea has passed in public interest. This is a common occurrence – either an idea has saturated the “market” so completely that its novelty has worn off, or it was a short-lived fascination replaced new content. After solar energy needed to be abandoned as a competition topic, other aspects of the same general utopian position where highlighted in mass media and cultural interest. These included wind energy, hydrogen and biomass (grasses, algae, etc). However, post-2010, we find very few of these projects submitted or placing in ideas competitions as their currency had also passed. Now more unusual forms of renewable energy need to be taken on or even a shock position that challenges conventional expectations in order to elicit interest. These may not even be based on honest beliefs but as a strategy for competition placement. The Coal.3 project for eVolo 2013, is an example of this (Figure 5). When discussing the project,

the designers did not believe that coal was a viable energy source, yet they pursued the entry for its challenge to expectations and the ability to translate the ideas into dramatic graphics. Even in ideas competitions that seem to have no relationship to technological utopian ideals, we find the topic of energy reoccurring as a social priority (Figure 6). Zombies as a power source combined with “old school” technology such as steam generation is unique approach to both the competition brief (safety) and human needs (power/food) – and successfully placed as an honourable mention in both the professional juror and the public vote.

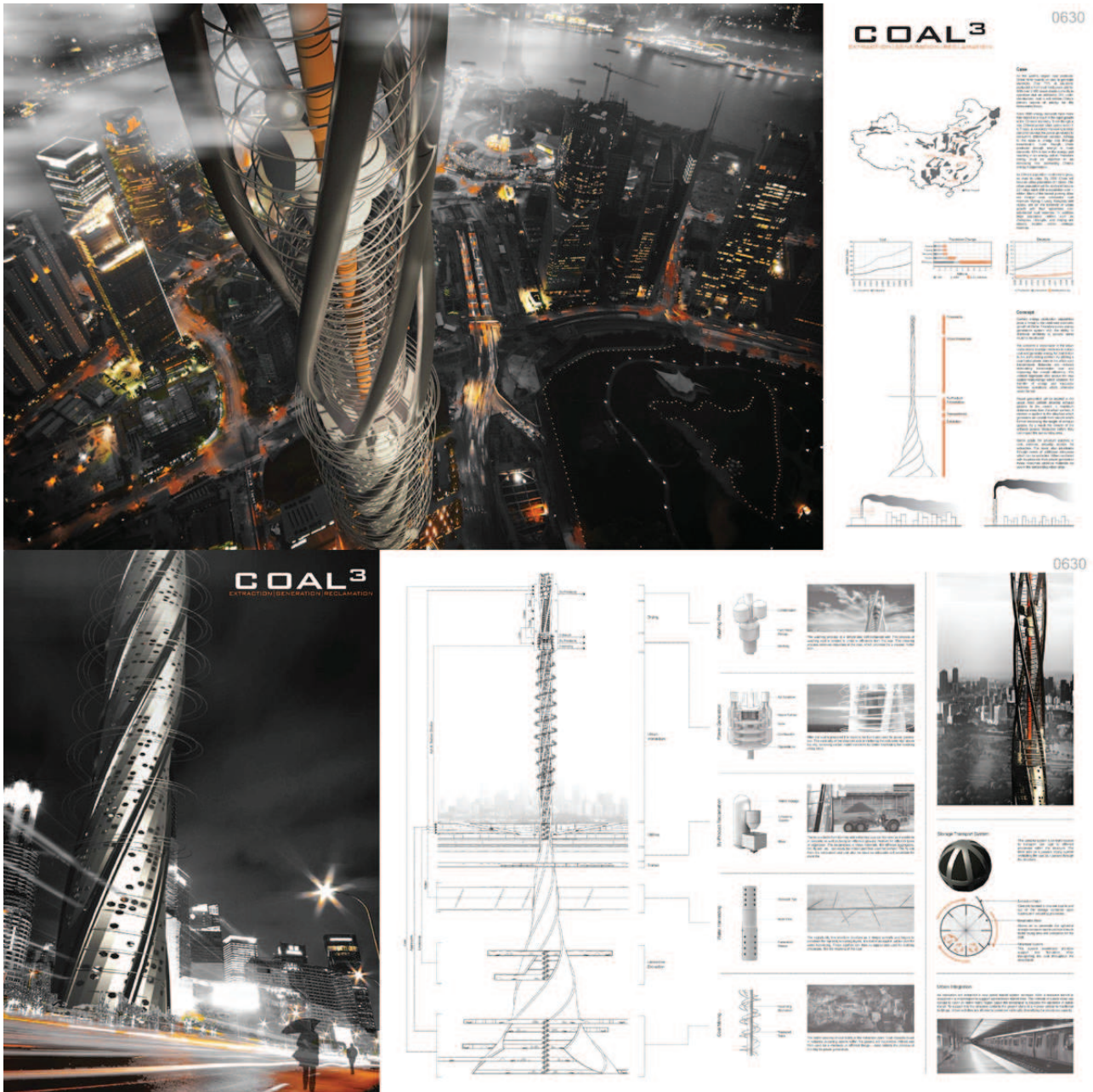
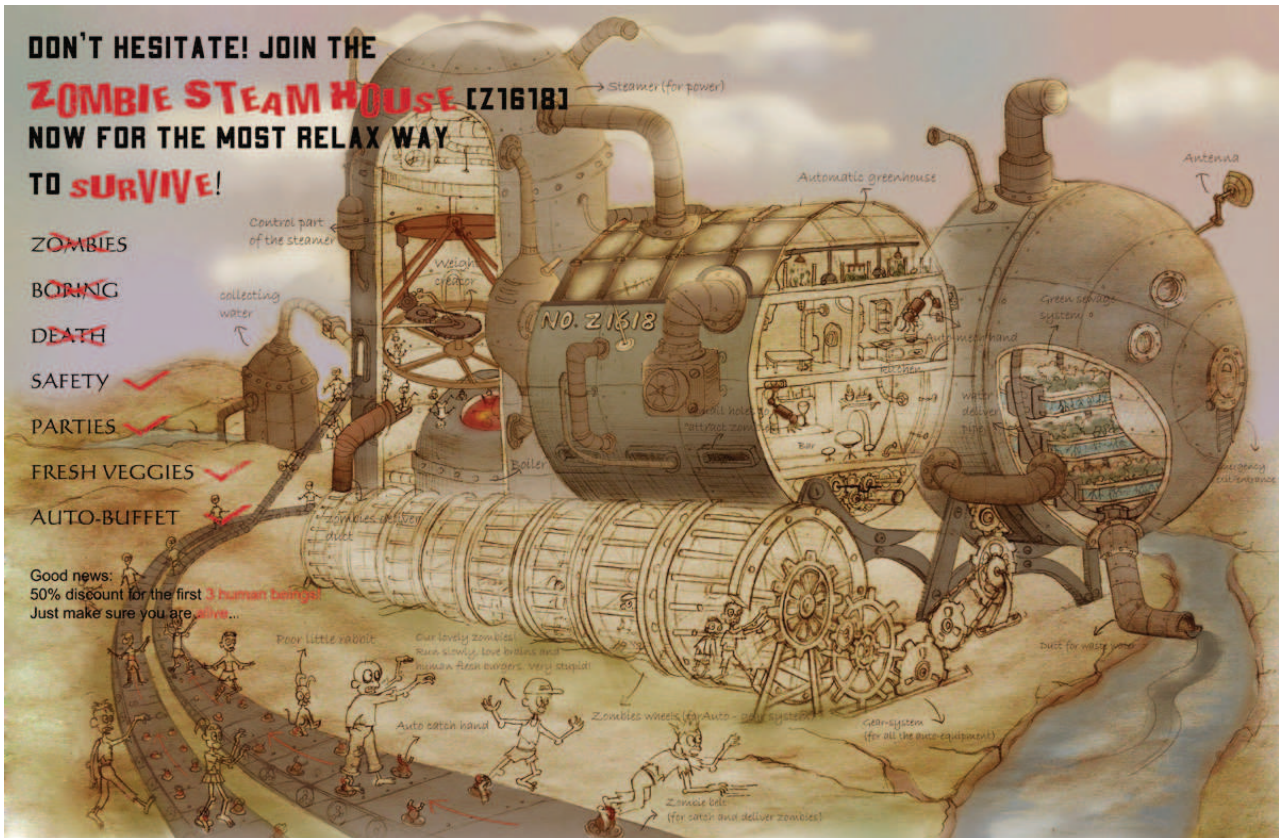


Figure 5: eVolo (2013) no placement by Nicholas Cressman, Steven Romkema, Tanner Thaler and Philip Plowright (advisor) – composite of two boards. The project challenged the idea of renewable energy by proposing an integrated coal extraction, processing, and waste use facility combined with energy generation as a skyscraper (Source: Author)

A concerning issue for all the submitted and placed projects in the case-study group has to do with depth of knowledge – both architectural and other. When engaging in the design process, very little time was spent by the designer understanding spatial components, program, human movement, qualities of space, environmental effects or other core aspects of architectural knowledge. In addition, while many of the architectural concerns were replaced by content from other disciplines (social/technological), these were only researched enough to produce a surface level understanding that could be manipulated in terms of formal objects. In following the designers and the choices they made, no full or considered review, literature

search, and expert discussion was engaged and the only aspects of the proposal position used where those that proved to be interesting in order to produce a 'visionary' presentation of its effect. For example, while the eVolo finalist project (Figure 8) took on bioengineering as a prop for the technical basis for formal articulation, the designer had no deep understanding of the topic beyond basic internet research and submitted a proposal that was impossible to physically realise at the current state of technological development. However, the concept of bioengineered buildings became the theme for the boards and then a visual case. The organic was picked up as a representational theme to ensure coherence with the



conceptual position and some general scientific elements were included help make the proposal believable.

Figure 6: Zombie Safehouse (2011) honourable mention by Tianyi Gu and Philip Plowright (advisor). Zombies power a human refuge rendered in “steampunk” graphic style (Source: author).

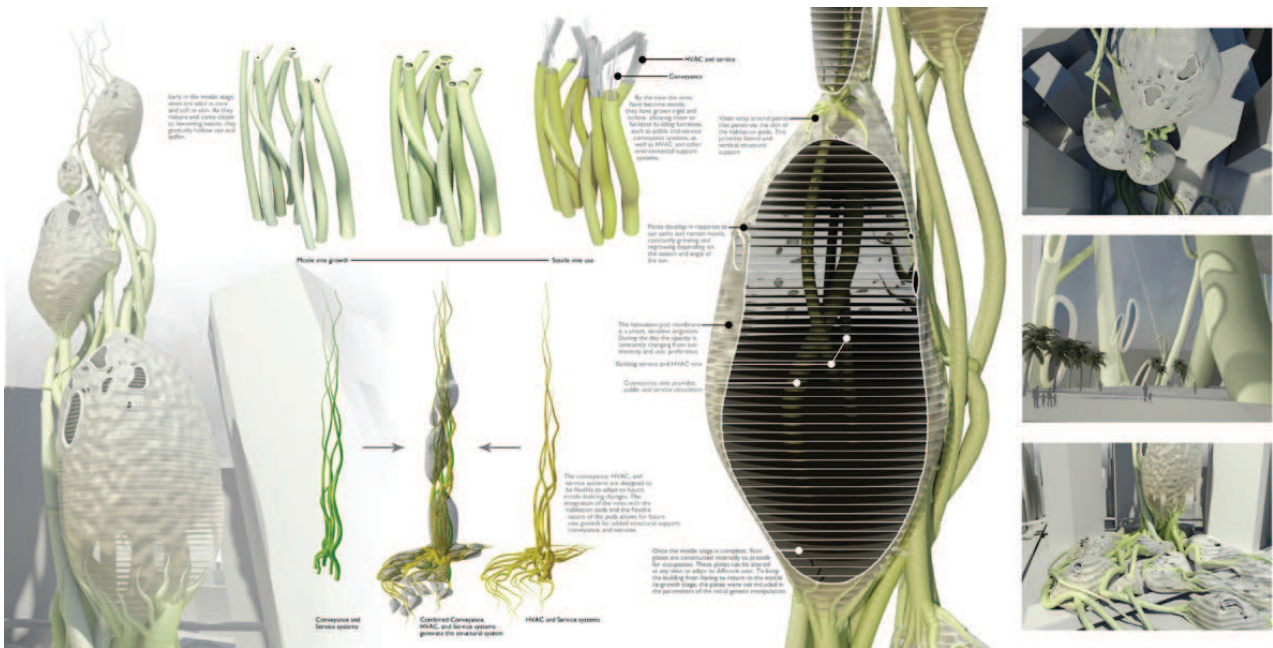


Figure 7: eVolo (2009) finalist by Aaron Olko and Philip Plowright (advisor) – second of two boards. The project developed a grown skyscraper using DNA manipulation and cell growth as a primary position. (Source: author)

Marketing over Architectural Priorities

The ignoring of architectural priorities or engaging cultural vision is not a new occurrence or strategy – in either idea-based or professional project-based competitions. Looking to competitions that awarded building contracts, the same strategies are often used to the same effect as are present in the ideas competition case-studies. Jorn Utzon, when preparing the design for the Sydney Opera House competition, did not visit the site, ignored the directions of the brief and didn't engage any engineering advice (Yaneva, 2013). However, he won the commission for the project – why? Because he produced something that the public hadn't seen before, something that resonated with the *aspirations* beyond the pragmatics of the brief. It was only after the completion of the competition did Utzon need to engage architecture. Daniel Libeskind's original proposal for the Royal Ontario Museum's addition (2002), nicknamed the Crystal, was five napkin sketches and a later model showing a glass structure, devoid of structure, environmental mitigation or interior qualities (Figure 9). It won the competition based on a "series of huge transparent forms that appear to be growing out of the museum's historic east and west wings" (Hume 2002). The initial imagining of the project has only a superficial formal relationship to the final built project, and contains none of the ephemeral and transcendent qualities suggested by the graphic or model presentation (Figure 10). The project is also never experienced in the way it was presented to the public – the comprehensive bird's eye view found in magazines is not the experience of a visitor on Bloor Street in Toronto. The reasons for the changes between proposal and construction documentation were based on concerns over light, humidity and the fact that the proposal structural glass form could not be actually constructed – architectural priorities. Thom Mayne of Morphosis makes it clear that what his office produced for a competition was not the same as producing a 'real' architectural project. During a lecture on his work, Mayne brushed off a design as being a 'competition design' defined as a proposal which was based in marketing processes (advertising, promotion & sales) that allowed a client to see a vision but was not yet a real project (Lawrence Tech, April 18, 2013). He clearly acknowledged that the priorities of the competition were gestural and fairly shallow – based on more selling an image than producing critical work. For Mayne, architecture beings after the competition has been won.

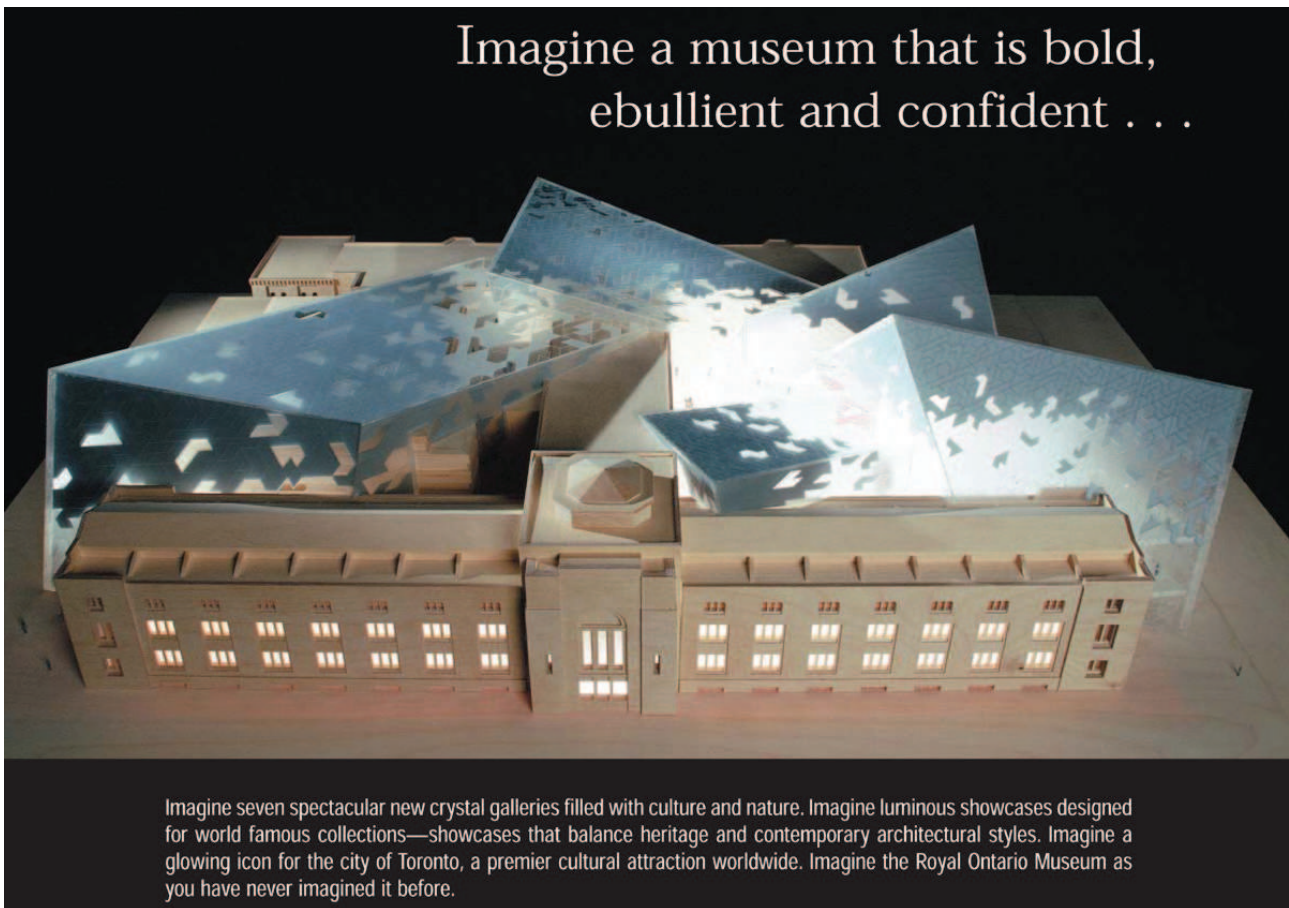


Figure 8: The model for the proposed addition to the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada by Daniel Libeskind (source: ROM Annual Report 2002)

When considering the outcomes of idea competitions based on framework and syntax theories of architectural process (Plowright 2014), competition outcomes do not align with architectural priorities. Instead, they are based in marketing, fashion and graphic design supporting sculptural novelty, social innovation or cultural critique. Visionary projects are not only encouraged but required, a tendency also found historically in the disciplinary tradition of the Beaux-Arts and epitomized by the 18th century work of Boullée and Ledoux. Some contemporary competitions, such as *eVolo*, are described by the participants in the case-studies as 'science fiction'. They engage issue-based ideas that have cultural currency, usually social or technological utopianism, and operate by extrapolating known aspects of society to potential outcomes. The issue remains, however, that the structure of the competitions reinforces those outcomes as visual rather than relational or experiential – which then privileges the image over architectural qualities (Till, 2009, Leach 1997).



Figure 9: The Crystal as completed project, Toronto, Canada (source: Tony Hisgett/CC BY 2.0)

Icons and representation

None of the projects shown above, as well as the rest of the placement group, developed any architectural content beyond what was visible. The stress was on representation and aligning the qualities of the presentation boards to the conceptual position. Circulation, interior qualities, realistic material expression or use, and individual experience were completely ignored in all the case-study projects. Design gestures only needed to look right and the overall impression of effect dictated decision-making, stressing the object as an image. The priority of image raises the question of the role of the icon and iconic work in architecture.

While icon used to mean a unique representational form that was generated by repetition and copying, the iconic in contemporary architecture has come to be “defined in terms of fame and special symbolic/aesthetic significance as applied to buildings, spaces and in some cases architects themselves.” (Sklair 2010). The expression of the icon is non-architectural, rather it celebrates “corporate economic performance” (Aureli 2011). Architecture has long had a role in defining cultural identity through monuments, landmarks and iconic elements, these playing an important part in the conceptual composition of cities and inhabitants. The historic examples of competition project, such as the Acropolis, the Spanish Stairs or the Duomo, are all iconic aspects of their representative urban spaces and even stand in as symbols for their cities. This is a considered one role for architecture and the “architectural icon is imbued with special meaning that is symbolic for a culture and/or a time, and that this special meaning has an aesthetic component in that it is a worthy and/or beautiful way to represent what is being represented. It is this unique combination of fame, symbolism and aesthetic quality that creates the icon” (Sklair 2011, 180). While image is a strong component to iconicity, as iconic work operates through representation rather than experience, there *is* an aspect of experience to these works. Although as Sklair points out, the experience might be more than the representation, it also might be less (Sklair 2011, 181).

In the case of the competition case-studies, however, there was a tendency away from the iconic as much as there was a suspension of the architectural object. While some project proposals from ideas competitions implied the architectural monument through form-making, many were too formally diffused to even be

considered 'object' let alone 'building'. These projects pursued *statement* rather than *icon* and those project that suspended pursuit of the architectural object for information organisation made the goal of iconicity impossible. This is different to the professional project-award competition, such as those of Morphosis or Libeskind, which use the icon to create difference through sculptural effect but still have a responsibility to *build* if successful. In the ideas competitions, the proposal representation acted as a social statement or judgement, sometimes suggesting a prototype for culture and other times a polemical statement. A case in point was the d3 Special Mention, *Anti-Urban Net* project (Figure 10). The project proposed a large interlocking field to cover vast areas of Detroit neighbourhoods and slowly return the territory back to landscape. There was no intention to create a realistic or building proposal but instead the goal was to make a political statement towards shrinking cities. It would be impossible, in both scale and field approach, to consider this work iconic in any traditional sense. However, it is also challenging to align the proposal with sculptural, architectural or even urban qualities. It is a representation that infers spatial occupation but does not prove that occupation. As iconic architecture has been identified with visual interpretation along with cultural mythologization, this is not present in the work. We might argued that globalization and media penetration has transferred the priorities of iconic building from a experience to a broadcast campaign.



Figure 10: Anti-Urban Net - d3 Natural Systems (2012) Special Mention – Dystopian Future by Jian Xu, Tianyi Gu and Philip Plowright (advisor). Detroit, USA is covered in a field structure that allows the decaying urban fabric to return gracefully back to pastoral landscape as a political statement (Source: author).

What needs to be remembered is that at the core of iconic architecture is the connection to an institution or institutions (Grombrich 1972, Aureli 2011, Sklair 2011). The majority of the ideas competition proposals resisted institutional alignment and outright symbolism, although they shared the representational quality of iconic architecture. The ideas competition entries were image-focused representational proposals, and the representation was a vehicle to illustrate a position, either social or technological content that used physical gesture as a primary holder of that content. It is probably more correct to say that the work was visionary and prototypical of future development – making it aspirational rather than sculptural. This was influenced by the social agenda of many of the designers but presented in a format that is driven by commodification.

Advocacy and Social Hope

The questions raised by syntax and priorities might be addressed by examining the conceptual framing around competitions – asking what is the value of the idea competition and should there be a clearer representation of that value? Ethical concerns are raised in the relationship between the participants,

competition organizers and the use of outcomes. These concerns, as noted in current critiques of the project-award model, are present for the ideas competition as well. While there isn't as significant an investment of resources with the expectation of some significant return in the idea competition, such as a building design contract, there is still the application of time and energy for some exchange value. In recent decades, the open idea competition structure has taken the form of a business model. *D3*, *Arquitectum* and *eVolo* are professional organisations that run competitions as an income source, gaining capital from entry fees, publications and advertising. The designer is participating by providing free resources to this model but with little understanding of the overall mechanism of funding. While most who engage this style of competition use it as exploration and exposure, there is little recognition of the cost. As one commentator on the architectural idea competition notes, "remember: it's not the failure that will kill you. It's the hope" (Basulto 2010). If the idea competition is understood as an exchange of resources, the architectural designer needs to ask what is the return on investment (ROI)?

The major return that many of the designers in the case-studies, and various discussion groups, note is the ability to design in an organised structure while the client or owner aspect is suspended as an active participant in the process. In a word, *freedom* while still engaging with a *peer group* for status. This is also the major difference between the idea competition and professional project-award competition. While guided by a brief, the designer in the idea competition is theoretically left to design without political consequences. It seems that, as one socially concerned architect wrote, "Architects are apparently shy to speak out against almost anything that might come back to effect a project in the future— a restaurant around the corner from the stadium, a dream house or corporate campus for a CEO that might also be a big baseball booster. So it seems that a likely cadre of professionals that might have great insight into what is appropriate or not, remain silent [...]" (Motherjones 2007). As a virtual project, the idea competition is considered a forum which allows for those statements of belief or ethics to be presented to the general public or peer group without affecting economic outcomes. They are also not constrained by the notion of service and responsibility to contracted outcomes (i.e. a building).

However, the question is whether the *client* is really absent or whether the concept of client is simply broadened beyond a person or group who are engaging the service of the architect (either with or without a fee). While it might be argued that client in the case of open idea competitions could be considered the organising agency or even critic group, the designers in the case-studies didn't see an equivalency between the traditional idea of client and these more inaccessible and non-direct groups. The suspension of rendering professional services opened architectural design to engaging social and cultural concerns, an aspect that is already a strong vector in the ethics of architectural practice, on a broader basis. In most of the case-studies, the notion of *client* was replaced with either *constituency* or *public responsibility* aligning the purpose of the design representation with notions of advocacy and activism. The same shift of priorities can be found in professional offices that use the format of the idea competition as part of their professional structure, such as Toronto's *Lateral Office* or New York's *Interboro*. Mason White of *Lateral Office* believes that the speculative work their office is pursuing, themed around issues of the Canada Arctic, is a way to formulate a discussion that is absent or underprivileged (White 2011). He clearly defines this discussion as *not architecture*, but uses architectural strategies and graphic representation as a way to bring awareness to socio-cultural issues that are normatively non-visual. Georgeen Theodore of *Interboro* also applies the idea competition model and the removal of the client to instead create "a constituency by rendering visible a (yet to be identified) public's practices, naming the community, and helping it organize. Advocacy shouldn't always be about helping an existing constituency obtain its stated goals, but about producing or assembling a public out of the infinity of practices that exist in the city." (Theodore 2009).

Seen in this way, it could be argued that the value of the idea competition is not financial, professional or even architectural but *cultural*. The value is, in fact, about social hope (Rorty 1999). Idea competitions leverage participant interest in order to generate submittals – something important if your funding model is based on how many people register to work for free – while offering a platform for public discussion. As such, these competitions target areas of concern within the collective cultural mind. They "often focus on urgent social and cultural issues [such as] disaster recovery, homeless housing, urban renewal, city planning, or environmental consciousness." (Brown 2010). Even a generic yearly competition like *eVolo*, one that is

based on envisioning “the future of building high” (eVolo 2012), award projects that take a social stance based on the current cultural priorities – that are beyond the architectural capacity to respond with internal syntax. In recent years, winners have addressed prison reform, renewable energy, third world recycling, food production and global warming. While the competition can be considered as an experimentation (Lipstadt 1989) and an investment in the exploration of new ideas (Kreiner 2010), those ideas are well beyond the domain of architecture. Architectural gestures become the vehicle for social advocacy and activist voices. This might be considered a continuation of the social agenda of architecture with the evidence of ethics found in 19th century British socialism and picked up in the 1960s activist movements. However, it is a pale cousin to this legacy. The architectural designer, in this case, is acting as a social activist but in the most passive of capacities.

There is a connection between this form of social activism and the new populist position. This is opposed to the “‘traditional’ populist tendencies in architecture” that empowers the collective, instead referring “to the strategies of mobilising or orchestrating people. It has to do with the process by which architects themselves communicate with their clients and the public. It addresses the term populism in its causal context – namely, the way in which persons or special interest groups attempt to curry favour with the public.” (Shamiyeh 2005, 26-7). Echoing the attitude of architectural designers such as Lateral Office, this form of populism is used to “to bring about key changes in the course of a construction project without a great deal of effort and with practically no risk” using rhetorical devices and mass media (Shamiyeh 2005, 27). Architectural graphic techniques have the ability to bridge divides – they can spatially manifest societal positions through imagery, making that position alluring, enticing and, most of all, visible. However, it is explicitly *not* architecture though it is a service that architecture can provide. The architectural ideas competition outcomes are then a form of marketing with a social agenda rather than evidence of architecture.

While the social discussion seems positive on the surface, it is an ineffective way to engender social change, protest or activism. The biggest issue is that the realm in which the discussion or advocacy occurs *is not public*. Often it is commercial and it is always curated, monitored, filtered and even censored. As the outcomes of the idea competitions are connected to the agency that sponsors the event as well as the jury selection, there is a bias towards satisfying that agency's own needs and public appearance. For example, during the “Redesigning Detroit: A New Vision for an Iconic Site” ideas competition that recently concluded, Amy Nicole Swift submitted a proposal to intentionally provoke a larger discussion about competitions as a commercial strategy and the loss of authenticity in the urban fabric (Figure 11). The competition was promoted by Opportunity Detroit and financially supported by Rock Ventures LLC, a family of companies that include Quicken Loans. The group is focused on revitalizing Detroit through profit and non-profit ventures. Both the Rock Ventures group and Opportunity Detroit were founded and run by Dan Gilbert, a local billionaire who is also a majority owner the Cleveland Cavaliers and several other sports franchises. The scope for the competition was “to imagine the possibilities for one of downtown Detroit’s long-vacant, most significant pieces of real estate: the site of the old Hudson’s Department Store.” (Opportunity Detroit 2013).

Swift's entry was a satirical take on the intentions of the organisers who claimed to wish for public input through the competition process. While, on the surface, the idea of a public debate surrounding the continued attempts to revitalize Detroit seemed like a positive idea, Swift was challenging the issues of a depoliticized community, single source urban development with one group of companies buying up most of downtown real estate, the competition as a publicity show rather than an authentic process, the ineffectiveness of architects to engage in the development process, and political decisions over the past decade that removed landmark and historical buildings weakening the overall fabric of the city. She referenced the lack of architectural priorities and content in successful idea-based proposals and the ethics of ceding intellectual property rights without recompense (Figure 12). Swift used an intentionally sophomoric context of art patrons viewing an image of dog faeces on pavement whilst discussing the context of the idea competition, the development process and community debate. The text included on the board satires Dan Gilbert's own open letter to the city of Cleveland, issued in 2010, when basketball star LeBron James announced he was leaving the Cavaliers through what was considered by the franchise and

public as an inappropriate format and venue.



Figure 11: *Redesigning Detroit: A New Vision for an Iconic Site* entry by Amy Nicole Swift (Courtesy of Amy Nicole Swift).

Ironically, as the entry's intended voice was to challenge the notion of public input, it was censored and removed from display by the organisers. Regardless to the intellectual or design merits of the entry, it never entered the 'public' discussion as this didn't meet the objectives of the competition's priorities. In order to attempt to continue public debate around the issues of idea competitions, Detroit development and architectural values, Swift contacted local media outlets. Not a single media source would publish either the story of the banned entry or the larger discussions around urban development and architectural design services. As Swift noted in a forum post, "Media circuits in Detroit are pretty pro-Gilbert, or at least steer clear of ruffling his camp's feathers. No editor or columnist will touch this with a 10-foot pole, not even the snarkiest of the bunch" (Swift 2013). Ultimately, the events around the removal of voice illustrates the loss of public space not only in our urban landscapes but also in our media landscapes. The promise of the idea competition as a public forum for discussion, disagreement and dialogue extends only as far as the priorities of the organisation that controls the space of display and award. As such, it is difficult to support the open idea competition as a site for advocacy and activism.

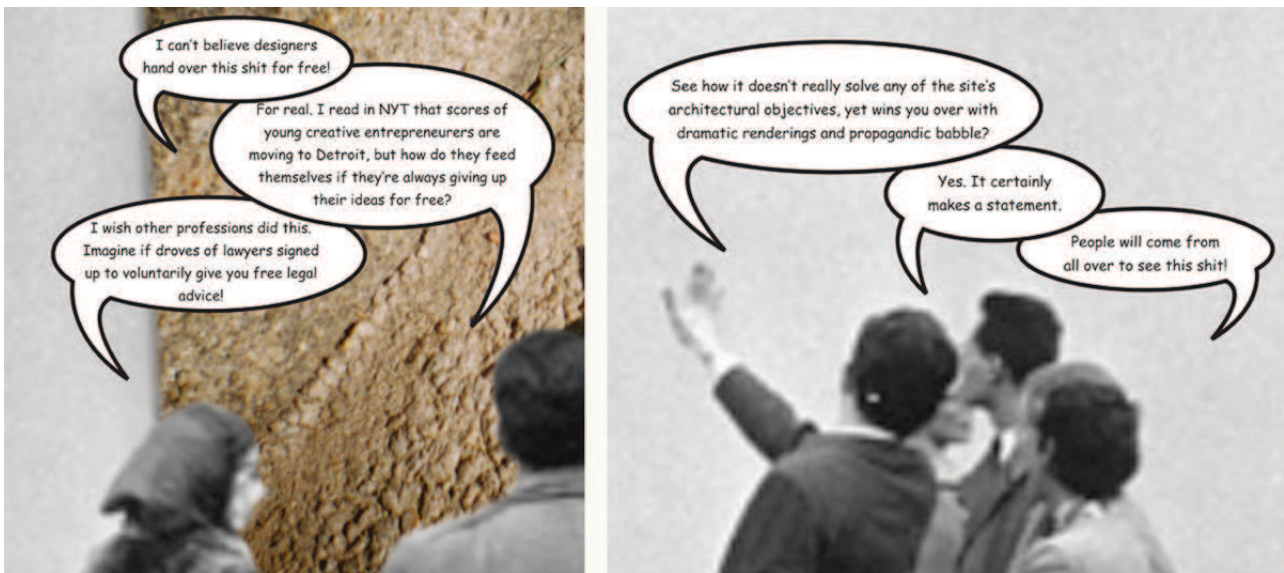


Figure 12: Details of *Redesigning Detroit: A New Vision for an Iconic Site* entry critiquing the process and format of idea competitions and development in Detroit (Courtesy of Amy Nicole Swift).

Conclusion

Some practitioners such as Farshid Moussavi, late of Foreign Office Architects and now at Harvard University, advocate for transparency in the competitions process (Slessor, 2013). The idea is that more visibility, conceptual as well as critical, will encourage a discourse in architecture. However, transparency will not address the core issues that the structure of the idea competition is ultimately not focused on architecture. They are competitions of special effects that privilege the image – a beauty contest of slick surfaces. In the competition case studies, projects that placed in major idea competitions from design organisations such as *eVolo*, *D3*, *Arquitectum* and *2A*, contained little to no development of program, circulation, structure or other spatial-technical aspects of architectural knowledge. The research that was completed focused on adapting current trends and 'hot' cultural interests to a means of formal visualisation. Little to no time was spent on architectural exploration focused on the quality or refinement of space. However, the competition brief was analysed, the jurors researched for their aesthetic preferences as well as personal biases in form-making, and where possible past competitions final projects were studied for trends in topics, layout, colour schemes and content level. The guiding principle was to design to the boards, make it sexy, alluring, and interesting, but invest no time in the development of quality architectural space or be concerned with core architectural issues of circulation, structure or occupation. There was little work developed beyond what would be visible on the competition boards or media and many of the final proposals could not even be realistically inhabited. Across every case study of competition work, architectural ideas of spatial and experiential quality were sacrificed for graphic composition and visual interest.

A change in the format and recognition of disciplinary syntax in open idea competitions is occurring presently. This is the expansion of field of involvement and the inclusion of multi-modal responses. Both changes require involved disciplines to be clearer about domain knowledge even when the competition is identified as 'belonging' to architecture. *Warming Huts*, the yearly Canadian design-build competition, requires the design team to include an architect and an artist with clear definition of the role of each through examples of projects and publications. The competition is judged on how well art and architectural priorities are presented within a single project. *Blank Space* recently issued a Fairy Tale competition that is "open to architects, engineers, designers, illustrators, students and creatives worldwide." (Blank Space 2013) The outcomes are clearly defined as being concerned with reintroducing a socially critical voice of architectural concerns but through narrative and illustration. The organisation presents its concerns as purposefully interdisciplinary so to "uncover the true power of architecture by creating new opportunities for design to engage the public" (Blank Space 2013) while the image is co-opted as a mechanism of narrative. Other organisations issuing idea competitions are supporting multi-modal formats of deliverables

while stressing disciplinary content. Landscape Urbanism's journal *Scenario* have released their fifth competition, this one addressing the urban forest. The mode of submission is open to many different formats including "critical essays, provocations, and design projects that explore the topic of building the urban forest." (Carlisle 2013). Another journal/magazine sponsored idea competition, *SOILED – No.5 – Cloudscrapers*, also broadens the modality of submission while addressing territory usually held by *eVolo*. *SOILED* is clearly socially concerned, and concerned its role to "investigates latent issues in the built environment and the politics of space. The stories we tell about architecture are messy" (*SOILED* 2013). While being clearly concerned with architectural content, the competition organisers invited the submission of "narratives, manifestos, critical essays, infographics, diagrams, mappings, photographs, comics, speculations, and ephemera, among other salient media, in responses to the instigation" (*SOILED* 2013). The purpose, from the organiser's point of view, is to extend the architectural dialogue beyond the community of the discipline to engage the larger public.

Still while the trends seem positive, there is still the issue that idea competition exists in a private sphere masquerading as public and the format and judging patterns reinforce superficiality and novelty. It is at the whim of the ethics and intentions of the organisation group that submitted work is represented as part of a larger dialogue. Debate and public discussion/disagreement is allowed only should it align with the intentions or goals of the competition sponsor. Transparency does become important as the open idea competition seems to be already acting as a defacto site for social engagement for socio-spatial designers. Ultimately the issues that should be raised are around the clarity to disciplinary knowledge, the cost of image-based presentation on architectural quality and the effectiveness of the format for activism and social engagement.

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Choice and the American Architecture Competition

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"Nothing is more difficult, and therefore more precious, than to be able to decide."

Napoleon Bonaparte

An architecture competition is a process. It is a complex process that requires an interdependent, multivalent series of linear and lateral decisions that culminate in one final decision. Most often, a final choice reached by consensus amongst an appointed committee. ¹

How are these decisions arrived at and why? Who makes these choices? Who makes the decisions about who will make the decisions?

The investigation and analysis of choice is currently a popular topic in the U.S. Fascinating academic studies crossing multiple disciplines - mathematics, social science, behavioral science, economics and psychology - have examined how and why Americans make the decisions that they do at all scales: from choosing which type of chocolate to eat, which medical treatment to undergo to which individual life insurance plan to purchase. ²

I am not an expert in the formal study of choice. I am a practitioner in the field of architecture competitions and have therefore approached this contribution to the 5th International Conference on Competitions as a thought piece. This essay is intended as a reflection on how the construct of the American architecture competition, understood as a complex, multi-layered process might benefit from an understanding of the insights of contemporary scholarly research on how people make choices.

My focus on American architecture competitions is deliberate. Place is central to the way in which choice and decision-making can be understood. Architecture competitions do not exist in cultural or societal vacuums. The country within which an architecture competition takes place, be it a public or private venture, informs the rules, regulations, procedures, protocols, process, input and outcome of that competition. In fact, the act of making a decision, almost any decision, large or small, important or irrelevant is influenced by the cultural background and cultural context of the chooser. ³

The advantages and disadvantages of running architecture competitions has been a subject of discourse since the alleged first architecture contest for the Acropolis at Athens. The very nature of a competitive selection process, especially one for something as important as a building provokes a difference of opinions. While this paper does not address the arguments for or against architecture competitions, a speedy zip through the history of the American architecture competition reveals the evolution of the process has been driven in part by Americans waxing and waning enthusiasm for architecture, in part by the tendentious conversation surrounding the construct and in part by our cultural attitudes surrounding choice.

“Understand that the right to choose your own path is a sacred privilege. Use it. Dwell in possibility.”

Oprah Winfrey

For Americans, individual freedom of choice is considered a basic right that is written into the Declaration of Independence, our Constitution and The Bill of Rights. Freedom of choice is a part of our daily lives from early childhood on. Independence is a core American value. When faced with decisions, as individualists, Americans tend to privilege “I” over “we”. Collectivists, raised with a cultural emphasis on family, community or nation approach choice in the polar opposite fashion and tend to honor “we” over “I.”

Sheena Iyengar, Professor of Business at Columbia Business School, in her book “The Art of Choosing” explores how different cultures perceive choice and the desire for choice.⁴ Iyengar cites the work of social psychologist Geert Hofstede to support the belief that Americans are fiercely individualistic. Hofstede collected data from over 70 countries through IBM employees around the world establishing an expansive system for ranking a country’s level of individualism. According to this 1980 study, which has been periodically updated, the United States is indeed the most individualistic country in the world.⁵

A telling experiment conducted by Iyengar that demonstrates this cultural difference in the desire for choice, compared 100 American and Japanese college students studying in Kyoto who were asked to list all the areas of their lives where they liked having choice on the front of a piece of paper and those aspects of life which they would prefer to be told what to do rather than have to make their own choice on the back of the same paper.

“The front sides of the Americans’ pages were often completely filled with answers such as “my job,” “where I live,” and “who I vote for.” In fact, many people’s lists were so long that they were forced to squeeze answers into the margins of the page. In contrast, the backs, without exception, were either completely blank or contained only a single item, most commonly “when I die” or “when my loved ones die.” The Americans, in other words, expressed a nearly limitless desire for choice in every dimension of their lives. The Japanese showed a very different pattern of results, with not a single one wishing to have choice all or nearly all of the time. Comparing responses between the two, Americans desired personal choice in four times as many domains of life as did the Japanese.” (Iyengar, 2010)⁶

From the founding of America in 1776, the history and development of architecture competitions in the U.S. has been directly affected by our individualistic ideology and cultural attitudes towards freedom of choice. The second official architecture competition in America set the stage.⁷ Launched in 1792 at the request of Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, the broad terms of this national competition promised to: “award \$500 and a city lot to whoever produced the “most approved plan” for the U.S. Capitol Building.” (Landau, 1994) Seventeen plans were submitted but none were awarded the commission. Long after the competition deadline had passed, the competition organizers, three government Commissioners, appointed by President George Washington reviewed plans authored by William Thornton. Thornton was a known quantity as the winner of America’s first recorded architecture competition, held in Philadelphia three years prior (1789) by the Philadelphia Library Company.⁸

Thornton won the commission for the U.S. Capitol, construction began in 1793 but in 1803, Benjamin Henry Latrobe, considered the first professional architect and engineer to work in America took over, tweaking the design and overseeing the buildings construction.⁹

The birth of the American architecture competition is discussed in depth in Sarah Bradford Landau's essay, *Coming to Terms: Architecture Competitions in America and the Emerging Profession, 1789 to 1922*. Landau credits these first two architecture competitions as promoting an appreciation of design and architecture in the U.S. and remarks on how American ideology, here the notion of freedom of speech attributed to the development of competition practices.

"Lacking firm evidence, we can only surmise that Jefferson associated the competition procedure with the democratic ideals of the new Republic....By the same token, the constitutionally guaranteed right of free speech surely encouraged criticism of the process from its outset. Latrobe believed it "defeated its own end" by attracting only the worst element and keeping out "regularly educated" professionals "who understand their business too well not to know that a picture is not a design..." (Landau, 1994) ¹⁰

Before and during America's Civil War, architecture competitions proliferated despite dissolute rules and regulations. Often the buildings that resulted were of unsanctioned mixed authorship. All too frequently a winner would be selected for their conceptual design, given the commission and then be asked to blend elements from the less fortunate entries into the final edifice.¹¹

Following the Civil War "standards of fair practice" were instituted when in 1867 the American Institute of Architects, (the professional organization for licensed architects in the United States -founded in 1857 and hereto referred to as the AIA), issued guidelines for architecture competitions that included recommendations on what sort of program and site information should be provided to participants and what should be considered a sufficient time frame for submission preparation. The AIA also advocated for compensation for design work done in the course of the competition. A version of these recommendations was ratified by the AIA as Competition Code in 1900. ¹² Not much variation in competition process or competition administration occurred throughout the 20th century in the U.S. and I make no attempt to discuss the evolution of the practice here.¹³

Over the last one hundred years, several prominent regional architecture competitions have received local celebrity, yet very few competitions have infiltrated our national consciousness - entering into typical household conversations across the nation and across socioeconomic divides. Architecture in the U.S. has historically been perceived as an elitist affair and it is the rare building that captures the American public's attention.

One of the best known American architecture competitions was held in 1922, when the publishers of The Chicago Tribune, Robert R. McCormick and Joseph Patterson held an open and invited contest seeking; "the worlds most beautiful office building." The Tribune staged an enormous marketing effort around the competition in order to demonstrate its dedication to "public education and enlightenment." This publicity resulted in worldwide attention and the winning scheme, designed by Raymond Hood and John Mead Howells is now a beloved icon.¹⁴

The two relatively recent American architecture competitions that captured the nations (and the world's) full attention were not for buildings but for memorials: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial, recognizing those that lost their lives serving in the U.S. military during the Vietnam War, and The World Trade Center Site Memorial that "remembers and honors all loss of life on September 11, 2001 and February 26, 1993."¹⁵

It stands to reason that these competitions received so much attention as the program of a Memorial addresses emotional issues centered around patriotism, nationalism, bravery, grief and mourning. It is also no surprise that both competitions were surrounded by highly

publicized controversy and differing opinions about the “appropriateness” of the winning designs.

The 1981 competition for the Vietnam Veterans Memorial was a national contest open to any U.S. citizen, 18 years of age or older. A one-stage competition, the winning scheme, designed by Maya Lin, a 21-year old architecture student at the time, was chosen over 1,400 entries. At the time of the competition, Lin’s winning design, a monolithic black granite wall inscribed with the names of over 58,200 fallen soldiers, divided the nation in a bitter battle over its meaning and suitability. Prominently sited between the Lincoln and Washington monuments on the National Mall in Washington D.C., the abstract memorial kicked off America’s culture wars of the 1980’s. This is now difficult to imagine, as today the Memorial is a national treasure, known as “the greatest memorial of modern times – the most beautiful, the most heart-wrenching, the most subtle, and the most powerful.”(Goldberger, 2012)¹⁶

Twenty-one years later, Maya Lin served as a juror for what was probably the most keenly observed architecture competition of all time, The World Trade Center Site Memorial Competition. In 2003, following closely upon the remarkably complex, politically loaded and emotionally charged architecture competition administered by The Lower Manhattan Development Corporation (LMDC) for a master plan for Ground Zero, was the international two-stage competition for the WTC Memorial. The largest response to an open architecture competition ever, 5, 201 submissions from 63 countries and 49 states were received. The winning design by Michael Arad and Peter Walker bears a wonderful relationship to Lin’s precedent setting Memorial.¹⁷

Today, in 2014, the U.S. does not have enforceable regulations for architecture competitions. This is due in part to the Federal Trade Commission’s concern that regulation of design competitions would cause a “restraint of trade.”¹⁸ Professional guidelines for competition organization and execution do exist. With no legal standing and framed as recommendations, *The Handbook of Architectural Design Competitions*, first published in 1988 was comprehensively revised in 2010. This rewrite was deemed necessary due to the various different “models and structural systems” (AIA, 2010) for architecture competitions that have cropped up in the last ten years.¹⁹

The Handbook Preface states: “While not wholly outdated, that document (*previous edition*) needed to be revised in view of the proliferation of the new varieties of competition types and because competitions have become more visible and common.” (AIA, 2010)²⁰

The Handbook identifies nine competition formats:²¹

- One And Two Stage Competitions
- Developer/ Architect Competitions
- Design/Build Competitions
- RFQ Competition
- Interviews With Design Concepts
- International Union Of Architects (UIA) Competition
- Hypothetical
- Competition Limited To Students

These formats may be combined with three categories of eligibility: open, limited and invited.²²

Alternative formats exist such as “hybrid” competitions that hark back to competitions of the early 20th century, combining an invited shortlist with an open call. A relatively recent example was held in upstate New York in 2009, titled *From the Ground Up: Innovative Green Homes*. Run by Syracuse University School of Architecture, the two-stage competition sought designs for inexpensive, sustainable and small single-family homes through an open

call for three teams to compete with four pre-selected firms. ²³

Multiple site competitions are increasing in popularity, such as the *National Mall Design Competition* held in Washington D.C., September 2011 through May 2012. Sponsored by the Trust for the National Mall, this was a three-stage competition to select a design team(s) to redesign three different sites included within the National Mall Plan. The competition format as described on the Trust for the National Mall website states: “The process includes (1) portfolio evaluations to select up to eight potential lead designers for each site, (2) team interviews to select up to five potential design teams for each site, and (3) a design competition to select a design for each site.” ²⁴

Rebuild by Design: Hurricane Sandy Regional Planning and Design Competition launched June 2013 by the Hurricane Sandy Rebuilding Task Force is a multiple-stage, multiple-site, multiple-aspiration competition.

“The goal of the competition is two-fold: to promote innovation by developing regionally-scalable but locally contextual solutions that increase resilience in the region, and to implement selected proposals with both public and private funding dedicated to the effort....Design Solutions are expected to range in scope and scale – from large-scale urban and multi-functional green infrastructure, to small-scale distributed flood protection measures and resilient residential structures, for example. The competition process will also strengthen our understanding of regional interdependencies, fostering coordination and resilience both at the local level and across the United States.” ²⁵

The competition, eligible to teams that include a minimum of professionals in at least three of the following disciplines: infrastructure engineering, landscape design, urban design, architecture, land-use planning, industrial design, community engagement and communications design, *Rebuild by Design* is a four-stage competition that includes a comprehensive, commissioned planning phase and community/partner engagement.

In addition to the independent competitions described above, the General Services Administration (GSA), a federal agency and America’s biggest landlord and developer runs its own architect selection/procurement program. Known as the *Design Excellence Program*, the format follows a Request For Qualifications followed by a design concept competition. ²⁶ Recently, The U.S. Bureau of Overseas Buildings and Operations (OBO) instituted a similar Design Excellence Program under the auspices of Secretary of State Hilary Clinton. These programs have influenced other civic procurement methodologies. Most notably, the City of New York Design + Construction Excellence instituted in 2006 under the leadership of Mayor Michael Bloomberg’s administration centers on “Quality-Based Selection” of architects through an RFQ process that selects a pool of firms to be considered for a diverse array of projects.

The goals and objectives of an architecture competition are different from the goals of a building project. There may be a myriad number of layered, sometimes conflicting goals, objectives and agendas for running an architecture competition.

In her book *Deciding About Design Quality; Value Judgements And Decision Making In The Selection Of Architects By Public Clients Under European Tendering Regulations* Professor Leentje Volker points out:

“The selection of an architect is merely one of the several purposes of design competitions. Competitions can have educational purposes, (e.g. educating students, challenging ‘conventional wisdom’), political reasons (e.g. enlarging support, marketing a project,

running architecture politics, coordinating different fields of interests), cultural aims, (e.g. creating a dialogue on design, contributing to the cultural dimension of the built environment, expanding the boundaries of design), and economical reasons (e.g. increasing competition, gaining insight in competences or assuring quality through jury assessment). “ (Volker, 2010)²⁷

Why run an architecture competition at all? What is the client motivation or incentive for sponsoring a competition? What will be the added value?

In the course of my research for this paper, I frequently came across discussion of what is considered a seminal breakthrough in the analysis of choice, an experiment known as the “Jam Study” conducted by psychologists Sheena Iyengar and Mark Lepper.²⁸ In short, the experiment compared two sets of shoppers in a high-end supermarket who were invited to receive a \$1 coupon off any gourmet jam in the store if they took a taste of jam samples that were laid out on display. The first set of shoppers were given a choice of twenty-four different jams to sample, while the second set of shoppers were given a choice of only six jam varieties to taste-test. While the larger display of jam attracted more testers, the researchers were surprised to learn that those who had been offered twenty-four choices were one-tenth less likely to purchase any jam as those who had been offered six sample choices.

The ramifications of this study and subsequent work have established that more options do not always guarantee a better outcome. The understanding that offering fewer, clearer choices will result in more chances of a purchase has led to dramatic changes to the way many industries now do business. The notion of less is more is an important one but what is equally elucidating about the “Jam Study” is how it establishes the clear power of the experiment’s curators to influence the buyer.

These curators are described as “choice architects,” by Richard Thaler and Cass Sunstein in their hugely influential bestseller, “*Nudge: Improving Decisions about Health, Wealth, and Happiness.*” Choice architects are defined as the persons with “the responsibility for organizing the context in which people make decisions.” Choice architects create choice architecture - the space within which outcomes can be influenced by the way in which possibilities and choices are presented.²⁹

For instance, the order in which we encounter options has the power to affect how and what we choose. “We tend to better remember the first and last options in a group, so rather than focus on the merits of each alternative, we may be influenced primarily by the position in which it appeared.” (Iyengar, 2010)³⁰

Frequently choice architects are not visible or even tangible to those for whom they have structured a decision-making process. The design of voting ballots may bias which candidates get the most votes, map design has the power to steer us towards a particular direction or travel route and menu design can manipulate us into choosing the more expensive items on offer at a restaurant.

The food industry and its stakeholders in particular spend enormous resources on studying how environments can be designed to influence people’s choices. In America’s fight against obesity, much research has been done on how to get children in a lunchroom to choose healthier options, salads and fruit over potato chips and cake. Some interior design solutions that have been remarkably successful seem quite obvious, such as relocating vending machines with unhealthy snacks away from the cafeteria or manipulating cafeteria traffic patterns in order to force students to move past a salad bar or fruit stand to get to the cash wrap.³¹

People have their own inherent, internal systems for making decisions. These decision-making capabilities are aligned with individual biases, habits, experience and the complexity

of the choice. "People adopt different strategies for making choices depending on the size and complexity of the available options."³²

The frequency that one is faced with making particular decisions affects the decision-making process as does the reaction or response once the decision has been made. These two tenets go hand in hand as the more often a particular type of decision has to be made; the more opportunity there is to gather feedback. Our understanding of the features or elements of complex options directly affects the quantity of choice that we can handle. People have the ability to hone in on specific elements of an option, thereby creating a grouping of options that exhibit that particular element. This allows the elimination of the options lacking that characteristic.

Iyengar posits that complex choices require expertise, whether acquired personally or sought from outside counsel. Deep knowledge of a particular topic allows options to be simplified, prioritized and categorized.³³ Think of the different ways a car can be perceived depending on a person's level of knowledge – in broad terms as "a car," "a sports car," or in specific detail as a "Ferrari Enzo with a V12 engine." (Iyengar, 2010) "Developing expertise in a given domain is one remedy for coping with a multitude of choice. Expertise enables people to understand options on a more granular level, as the sum of their characteristics rather than as distinct and indivisible items." (Iyengar, 2010)³⁴

Expertise allows for interpretation of options according to their attributes, which then translates into the capability to recognize patterns, classify categories and therefore grapple intelligently with a wider set of options. If expertise can be applied to a set of choices, the number of options can be reduced to a manageable size. (Iyengar, 2010)³⁵

The obvious question that follows this line of investigation is how do people make the best possible choice in an area they have no expertise? Iyengar advises taking advantage of those with the expertise. Thaler and Sunstein take this a step further and advocate for the creation of "choice architecture" that will assist people in making better choices about their lives – the thesis of their book *Nudge*.³⁶

The framework and process of the architecture competition is a choice architecture. There is of course the added caveat that the choice architecture must be equitable, objective and transparent. Kristian Kreiner, Professor at Copenhagen Business School, proposes that the architecture competition be understood as a social technology.

"It is a technology for picking a winner in a competition for primacy. The fact that we need a carefully designed 'technology' for accomplishing this task is an indication of its complexity. Not only must the technology ensure that there is something attractive to choose between; it must also ensure that the choice of the winner is legitimate and that the 'transaction costs' in terms of time and effort are not prohibitively high." (Kreiner, 2010)³⁷

Architecture competitions are decipherable as a social technology. They are a social technology that utilizes a choice architecture. The more complex the competition, the more the choice architecture must be explicit. The choice architecture of an architecture competition is different from the choice architecture required to design a building. This is a critical distinction.

In the broadest possible sense, four major elements make a building: site, program, design, resources. Two of these four ingredients, site and program, are usually established in an American architecture competition, but not always. Competition sponsors (clients) may sometimes be looking for fresh program ideas, other clients might have a notion of the building program but an as yet to be determined site. A budget may also be provided in a competition brief, again not always. But the main element that is always absent, intentionally left out, is the buildings design – the architect's act of invention.

The framework for the choice architecture driving a building's design must be embedded in a competition brief as part of the architecture competition process, but the decisions to be made throughout an architecture competition do not mirror those to be confronted in a typical client/architect design process.

Coming full circle, the initial task of a competition's choice architect in the U.S. begins with advising a sponsor (client) whether or not running a competition is desirable or advisable. In the States this is then followed by a decision about the format, structure, eligibility guidelines, timeline and content of the competition.

"We make our decisions, and then our decisions turn around and make us."

F.W. Boreham

Why run an architecture competition at all? What is the client's incentive? An incentive, as defined by the Oxford Dictionary is "a thing that motivates or encourages someone to do something." In the study of economics, remunerative incentives, which involve financial reward, are the incentives most closely examined but there are many different kinds of incentive structures that impel people to make decisions in one direction or another. Conflicting incentives are called incentive conflicts and many choice architecture systems contain incentive conflicts.³⁸ In order to properly understand a client's incentives, Thaler and Sunstein suggest considering the four following questions when analyzing a particular choice architecture:

"Who uses? Who chooses? Who pays? Who profits?" (Thaler and Sunstein, 2009)³⁹

All pertinent queries, essential to the development of an architecture competition, particularly in light of the vast diversity of structures and formats available in the U S and the many, often conflicting incentives for running a competition.

Adding to the amalgamated aspirations of an architecture competition is the conceptual nature of the materials from which decisions must be made. Two dimensional drawings, three-dimensional renderings, physical models, digital animations while rich illustrations of future physicality are in fact only notations, visual narratives of an imaginary final product. Choices must be made without experiencing the actual physical environment.

This raises many issues about potential realities. What role do promise and possibility play in such instances, when the future product is not experiential? Multiple narratives of who we are, who we think we might be and who we will become are buried in the choices made during an architecture competition.

How do the goals and aspirations of the competition sponsor affect the decision-making process throughout the competition process? One can look at this at a macro-scale, the competition as a holistic subject, but through the journey of writing this essay, it seems that another avenue of analysis would be to look at the incremental stages that a competition process follows.

For instance, what latent role might semantics play in decision-making throughout an American architecture competition?

It is a long-standing tradition that entries in American architecture competitions, particularly those involving public space include project titles. Purely anecdotally, I have included the project titles from The World Trade Center Site Memorial Competition. Impossible and inadvisable to draw any conclusions after the fact, the argument can certainly be made that

the cogency of a winning project title, such as *Reflecting Absence* is in keeping with the eloquence of a winning architectural design.

Winner:	<i>Reflecting Absence</i>	Finalists:	<i>Dual Memory</i>
			<i>Garden of Lights</i>
			<i>Inversion of Light</i>
			<i>Lower Waters</i>
			<i>Passages of Light: Memorial Cloud</i>
			<i>Suspending Memory</i>
			<i>Votives in Suspension</i>

How important are words, titles and names to decision-making? Choice theorists have been looking at this question for some time now and it seems that names are quite potent. The (date) study, "A Rose by Any Other Name: Would it Smell as Sweet"⁴⁰ disproving Shakespeare, looked at "whether presenting an odor with a positive, neutral, or negative name would influence how people perceive it. (Rosovsky, 2010)"⁴¹ Fifteen different odors ranging from unpleasant to neutral to pleasant were presented to subjects with positive, negative or neutral names such as "carrot juice, a numeral or "moldy vegetables." No matter what the smell really was, if it was presented to the study subjects with a positive name it automatically was rated as more pleasant than when it was sniffed under the guises of a negative name. Heart rates went up when smelling a positively titled smell and people took notably more sniffs.

Obviously using olfactory skills as part of design analysis is not something jurors are typically asked to do when judging an architecture competition. I have referenced the rose name study here to illustrate the hidden context of choice, demonstrated by the power of titles. Social scientists, advertisers and marketers have been studying names for decades and apparently names really do matter.

This is evidenced by another seminal study by Iyengar, done at Columbia University that offered twenty undergraduates free manicures. The all female participants were given a choice of two almost identical pink nail lacquers. Half of the volunteers were told the names of the polish: Adore-A-Ball and Ballet Slippers while the other half were simply shown the polish bottles labeled A and B.

Seven out of ten women chose Ballet Slippers over Adore-A-Ball when choosing with knowledge of the polish names. Out of the ten remaining women, six preferred bottle A (Adore-A-Ball), two chose bottle B (Ballet Slippers) and the remaining participants were stumped, perceiving the two color choices as the same.

"The colors were practically indistinguishable, and yet, especially when they were given names, there was a difference. These women, more of whom chose the color Ballet Slippers when its name was visible, also unanimously preferred the name Ballet Slippers to the name Adore-A-Ball. This is unlikely to be mere coincidence. Rather, it seems that the name somehow made the color look better, or at least created a feeling of difference. Our choices are based as much on the identities they express as their possible outcomes." (Iyengar, 2010)⁴²

Do the titles of submissions in an architecture competition affect juror choices? What incentive drives the selection of one competition structure selected over another? These two questions represent opposite scales of investigation – the macro and micro and are the tip of the iceberg in potential areas for further study.

While I have raised more questions than offered answers here, it is apparent that whether looking at the big picture of architecture competitions through the lens of decision-making theory or exploring one snapshot that dissects an incremental decision made at a critical

juncture of the competition process, every step of an architecture competition represents an abundantly loaded moment of choice,

The application of current decision-making theory to the construct of an architecture competition is analogous to the peeling of an onion – an onion of infinite proportions. There is layer upon layer upon layer of relevance ripe with complexities of time, place, personality, politics and culture.

ENDNOTES

¹ Architecture competition is defined here as a formal contest that requires the prescriptive representation of a design concept envisioned for a specific project to compete with a group of other independently authored submissions that have followed the same guidelines and to be selected by a collective body typically known as a Jury.

² For a concise overview of the history of decision-making theory, see Volker, L., *Deciding About Design Quality: Value Judgments and Decision Making in the Selection of Architects by Public Clients Under European Tendering Regulations*, Leiden, Sidestone Press, 2010, Chapter 3, 41- 68

³ Culture and decision-making are mirrors of one another. “The effects of culture go beyond individuals own perceptions of choice and their desire to choose. They shape the way people actually choose (when they do choose), which in turn impacts society as a whole.” For a fascinating discussion of this see Iyengar, S. *The Art of Choosing*, Twelve, New York and Boston, 2010, Chapter 2, 59

⁴ Iyengar, S. *The Art of Choosing*, Twelve, New York and Boston, 2010

⁵ Hofstede, G. *Culture’s Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values*, Sage Publications (1980) Hofstede’s findings put the United States as the most individualistic country, this system rated Ecuador as the most collectivist country. Iyengar, 2010, Chapter Two, 34-35

⁶ Iyengar, 2010, Chapter Two, 46-47

⁷ *History of the U.S. Capitol* at www.aoc.gov/history-us-capitol-building

⁸ Landau, S. B. “Coming to Terms: Architecture Competitions in America and the Emerging Profession, 1789 to 1922” and Latrobe, Benjamin H, “A Private Letter to the Individual Members of Congress on the Subject of the Public Buildings of the United States at Washington” Lipstadt, H. *The Experimental Tradition: Essays on Competitions in Architecture*, Princeton Architectural Press, 1994, 55

⁹ *Architect of the Capitol* at www.aoc.gov/architect-of-the-capitol/benjamin-henry-latrobe

¹⁰ Landau, 1994, 53

¹¹ Landau, 1994, 57-58

¹² Landau, 1994, 53

¹³ There are two wonderful essays, appearing back-to-back that outline the history of the American architecture competition in great detail by Lipstadt, H. “*In the Shadow of the Tower*” and “*Transforming the Tradition: American Architectural Competitions, 1960 to the Present*”, in Lipstadt, H. *The Experimental Tradition: Essays on Competitions in Architecture*, Princeton Architectural Press, 1994, 79-114

¹⁴ Landau, 1994, 71 The quote “the world’s most beautiful building” is also referred to by architecture critic Blair Kamin in his piece titled “Tribune Tower Competition”, *Chicago Tribune*, June, 2013

¹⁵ www.wtcsitememorial.org/about

¹⁶ Goldberger, P. “Reflected Grief”, *Vanity Fair*, April 2012. It is interesting to note that in an effort to appease those who felt Lin’s design was too abstract, a realistic bronze statue of three unformed American soldiers by sculptor Frederick Hart was placed near the Memorial Wall in 1984.

¹⁷ Wolfson, E. “The “Black Gash of Shame”: Revisiting the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Controversy”, *Art21* www.art21.org/texts/the-culture-wars-redux/essay-the-black-gash-of-shame-revisiting-the-vietnam-veterans-memorial-

¹⁸ Collyer, 2004, 244

¹⁹ American Institute of Architects, *Handbook of Architectural Design Competitions*, American Institute of Architects (Washington D.C.), 2010, 4

²⁰ AIA, 2010, 29-31

²¹ These nine different competition types can be described as below. One-stage and the two-stage competition are counted as two separate formats.

One and Two Stage Competitions

One-stage juried competitions select a winning design following upon one sequential design phase and one required submission. Two-stage juried competitions select a winning design after two culling phases: an initial submission leads to the selection of finalists who are requested and typically compensated to do further work. A winner is selected based upon their second submission.

Developer/Architect Competitions

An architect is required to team up with a developer in order to participate in the competition. These types of competitions are usually formatted as one or two stage competitions as outlined above. Submissions typically include a financial component addressing proposed land values and speculative development costs that are not included in design only competitions.

Design/Build Competitions

An architect is required to team up with a contractor in order to participate in the competition. These types of competitions are usually formatted as one or two stage competitions as outlined above. Submissions include a financial component addressing the streamlining of construction costs in greater detail than are typically included in pure design competitions.

RFQ Competition

This is a qualifications-based process to select an architect not a design. An architect is chosen on the basis of prior work and frequently an interview rather than the solicitation of a project specific design.

Interviews with Design Concepts

This format is a combination of a qualifications-based selection process that then leads to a one or two stage design competition.

International Union of Architects (UIA) competition

Follows the UIA guidelines as listed on www.uia-architectes.org/en

Hypothetical

This is a competitive process that solicits design concepts for a speculative project.

Competition Limited to Students

²² Here are definitions of the three major competition eligibility categories:

Open

This is a competition that casts as broad a net as possible, may or may not include students, interns or other design professionals. Prerequisites and required accreditations are up to the competition sponsor.

Limited

Restrictions on who can enter such a competition vary but typically revolve around geographical location, level of experience, office size or familiarity with a particular building typology.

Invited

For an architect to be included in such a competition they need to be formally asked to participate by the competition sponsor.

²³ soa.syr.edu/events/2008/greenhomes/index.php

“*From the Ground Up* is a two-stage competition. Up to three teams will be selected to compete through this open call, joining four pre-selected teams.”

²⁴ design.nationalmall.org/design-competition

²⁵ www.rebuildbydesign.org/

²⁶ Collyer, 2004, 244 More information can also be found at www.gsa.gov

²⁷ Volker, L., *Deciding About Design Quality: Value Judgments and Decision Making in the Selection of Architects by Public Clients Under European Tendering Regulations*, Leiden, Sidestone Press, 2010, Chapter 4, 79,

²⁸ Iyengar, 2010, Chapter Six, 177-179

²⁹ Thaler Richard H. and Sunstein Cass R., *Nudge: Improving Decisions about Health, Wealth, and Happiness.* Penguin Books, 200

³⁰ Iyengar, 2010, Chapter Four, 121 Iyengar points out some of the real ramifications of this observation: “This is why items displayed at either end of a store shelf sell more than those in the middle, and it’s also the reason an interviewer might unwittingly pay more attention to the first and last candidates in a job interview.”

³¹ Thaler Richard H. and Sunstein Cass R., *Nudge: Improving Decisions about Health, Wealth, and Happiness.* Penguin Books, 2009, 1-4

³² Thaler Richard H. and Sunstein Cass R., *Nudge: Improving Decisions about Health, Wealth, and Happiness.* Penguin Books, 2009, 85

³³ Iyengar, 2010, Chapter Six, 192 “When we learn, through study and practice, to simplify, prioritize, and categorize elements and to recognize patterns, we are able to create order in seeming chaos.”

³⁴ Iyengar, 2010, Chapter Six, 191-192

³⁵ Iyengar, 2010, Chapter Six, 193 “As we can see from the nature of expertise, when talking about choice it’s important to make a distinction between the number of options available and the number actually faced by the chooser.”

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³⁷ Kreiner, Kristian, “Designing Architectural Competitions: Balancing Multiple Matters of Concern”, *Conditions*, Independent Scandinavian Magazine on Architecture and Urbanism, 2010

³⁸ Thaler and Sunstein, 2009, Chapter Five, 100 give the current U.S. health care system (pre-Obama Care) as an example of a system rife with incentive conflicts. “The patient receives the health care services that are chosen by his physician and paid for by the insurance company, with everyone from equipment managers to drug companies to malpractice lawyers taking a piece of the action. Those with different prices have different incentives, and the results may not be ideal for either patients or doctors.”

³⁹ Thaler and Sunstein, 2009, Chapter Five, 99

⁴⁰ Djordjevic, J. “A Rose by Any Other Name: Would it Smell as Sweet” *J Neurophysio* 99: 386-393, 2008. The Shakespeare reference is from *Romeo + Juliet* (II, ii, 1-2)

“What’s in a name?
That which we call a rose
By any other name would smell as sweet?”

⁴¹ Rosokvsky, I. “Was Shakespeare Wrong? – Would a Rose by Any Other Name Smell as Sweet?”, *Psychology Today*, 2010

⁴² Iyengar, 2010, Chapter Five, 140-142

SESSION 4B

IDENTITY

Constructing Identity – The Competition for the Dipoli Student Union Building in 1961-62

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Constructing identity – the competition for the Dipoli Student Union Building in 1961-62

Introduction

Dipoli, the student centre of the Helsinki University of Technology Student Union (TKY), designed by Reima Pietilä and Raili Paatelainen (since 1963 Pietilä) and completed in 1966, was one of the most experimental and controversial buildings in Finland in the 1960s. At the time, the majority of the Finnish architects had a very pragmatic approach, and they were suspicious of all kinds of theorising and formal experiments. Pietilä's design methodology, on the other hand, was a combination of intuitive expression, morphological and topological analyses, linguistics and ambivalent symbolism, which annoyed many of his colleagues. He wrote that Dipoli was a revolt against the Bauhaus-based standard architecture, which had ended up on a far too safe middle way in the late 1950s.ⁱ Pietilä's ideas got warmer reception abroad: he had an extensive international contact network, and his projects were widely published in the international architectural magazines.

TKY turned out to be an ideal client for Pietilä: the technology students were more than willing to support experimental architecture, and they had resources to carry out the project. However, the project was complicated by the fact that both the architects and the client had little experience in implementing such a large and complex building. In this paper I am trying to clarify what was the student community's impact on the Dipoli project. The competition program was tailored for the specific needs of TKY, and it was almost impossible to design a well functioning building using conventional typologies. Pietilä's and Paatelainen's aim was to design a building, in which the technology students could identify with. Therefore, they wanted that Dipoli would have a radically different character

than the rational university buildings. This did not fully agree to the visions of the University and the campus planner, Alvar Aalto, which complicated the competition process to some extent. After the competition the feed back of the student community modified the project significantly. The main sources of this paper are the archives of the Finnish Museum of Architecture and the Aalto University Student Union and Pietilä's descriptions of the design process.

The Student Union

TKY was a very exceptional organization to built such a complex public building as Dipoli. In Finland student unions have had a well-established legal and economical position since the 19th century. Each union must have a Representative Council, which is elected in free elections held every second year, and a Board for the daily administration. All undergraduate students are automatically union members and obliged to pay an annual membership fee, which guarantees regular incomes for the unions. The oldest organizations, such as TKY, have gathered substantial fortunes over the decades. Thus, young student activists may decide on major investments, for example, to construct spectacular buildings. Since the mid 19th century the student unions have built a unique series of club houses, and Dipoli can be considered as a culmination of that series. The alumni of the student unions have also tried to influence the decion-making either as official advisors or behind the scenes. For example, the TKY Representative Council did not dare to make a contract with Pietilä and Paatelainen before the Finance Committee, composed of alumni, had evaluated the feasibility of the project.ⁱⁱ

TKY had built an own club house, called Poli, in the Helsinki city centre at the turn of the century. The muscular stone building, designed by Karl Lindahl and Walter Thomé in the National Romantic style, evoked both admiration and disapproval – just like Dipoli 60 years later.ⁱⁱⁱ Poli was a major effort for the Student Union, and it inspired successive generations of technology students to increasingly ambitious building projects, such as Dipoli. Poli's castle-like architecture gradually became a vital part of the identity of the student community. Therefore, Pietilä and Paatelainen wanted to recreate that atmosphere in Dipoli to help the student traditions settle down in Otaniemi.^{iv}

Reima Pietilä and Raili Paatelainen

Also the architects, Reima Pietilä and Raili Paatelainen, had little experience in designing large public buildings. They had founded a joint practice only a few months earlier, and Dipoli was the first project, which they designed together from the very beginning.^v At that time they did not have any employees: first ones were hired in end of 1962 when they were commissioned to design three major buildings: the Kaleva Church, Dipoli and the Suvikumpu Housing.^{vi}

Reima Pietilä (1923-93) graduated from the Helsinki University of Technology (TKK) in 1953. Therefore, Dipoli must have been a fascinating project for him, although he had not been particularly active in TKY while studying. After the graduation, Pietilä joined the Finnish CIAM group, called PTAH, which was virtually the only arena for theoretical architectural discussion in Finland. At the same time it was a kind of counter force to the dominance of Alvar Aalto. The members of the group shared an interest in the formal aspects of architecture, such as harmonious proportions and modularity. In 1958 the group members founded a multilingual theoretical magazine *Le Carré Bleu* to attend the international discussion. It was published in Helsinki until 1961 and thereafter in Paris.^{vii} As a member of the PTAH Pietilä also participated in the CIAM activities: in 1954 he took part in a summer school organised by the Italian group in Venice and two years later in the 10th congress in Dubrovnik. After the dissolution of the CIAM he kept in touch with the members of the Team Ten, but did not attend their meetings until the 1970s.^{viii}

Pietilä's first independent project was the Finnish Pavilion at the Brussels World's Fair in 1958. The modular wooden building was based on the architectural ideas of the PTAH group, and it received a plenty of positive attention in the international architectural magazines. However, Pietilä soon began to feel that the means of the modular orthogonal architecture were too restricted. In 1959 he won the competition for the Kaleva Church in Tampere with a highly experimental design, which consisted of concave wall units of different sizes, creating an impression of a concrete cathedral. Bold sculptural designs were quite popular in Finland at that time, particularly in the church competitions. Pietilä was, however, unique in combining an intuitive expression with systematic morphological analysis.

After winning the competition for the Kaleva Church Pietilä set up a joint practice with architect Raili Paatelainen (1926-). She had graduated from the TKK in 1956 and worked in several architectural offices in Finland and in the UK. The couple was married in 1963 and worked in close cooperation until Reima Pietilä's death in 1993.

The Otaniemi project

Dipoli was is essential part of the Otaniemi campus, the largest university campus in Finland. TKK's buildings in the Helsinki city center were severely damaged in air raids in 1944, and four years later the Finnish Government decided to move TKK and the Technical Research Centre of Finland (VTT) to Otaniemi, about 10 km from the city centre. Alvar Aalto won the town planning competition held in 1949. His project was based on the Anglo-American campus model, but he also took into account the agricultural landscape of Otaniemi. The buildings were placed either along the edged of open fields or in the middle of wooded hills. Two old alleys were also integrated into the design. In the middle of the campus Aalto designed a large festival field, which was delimited by the main buildings of TKK and VTT, a library and a small shopping centre. A wooded hill on the eastern side of the festival field was reserved for the Student Union Building. Aalto drafted a U-shaped asymmetrical building, whose courtyard opened towards the TKK Main Building. A field on the south of the hill was reserved for parking.^{ix} Aalto had specified already in his competition entry that red brick should be the dominant material in Otaniemi. In the TKK Main Building and the Main Library it was complemented by marble claddings, granite plinths, wooden windows, doors and grilles and copper roofs and flashings. Pietilä and Paatelainen used slightly simpler and rougher material palette in Dipoli: copper, concrete, granite and wood.

The technology students were very excited about the campus project from the very beginning, and TKY began to relocate its activities to Otaniemi. The first dormitories and a temporary restaurant, both designed by Heikki Sirén, and a sports hall, designed by Aalto, were completed for the 1952 Olympic Games. The success these projects gave TKY courage to carry out even more ambitious projects, of which Dipoli was by far the largest. Aalto was quite upset when he heard that TKY had hired Sirén to design the Student Village. Later, the relationship warmed, and he designed several buildings for the Student

Union.^x He even agreed to be a jury member in the Dipoli competition, which was highly unusual.

The first laboratories for VTT were completed in the mid-1950s, but the construction of the university buildings progressed much slower: in the early 1960s only a handful of buildings had been completed. Aalto's office had made a first set of drawings for the TKK Main Building in 1955, but the construction began only in 1961. He designed also the shopping centre, which was built south of the Dipoli site in 1961.^{xi}

Drafting a program

In analysing Dipoli critics and historians have usually focused on contextualism, spatial structure and metaphors and ignored its functionality. However, its exceptional architecture would not have made any sense without an exceptionally complex program. The competition proved that it was almost impossible to design a well-functioning building using conventional typologies. Pietilä and Paatelainen, on the other hand, did not care about standard types. Therefore they were able to develop a highly effective layout, which minimised internal distances, decentralised entrances and made it easy to combine and separate rooms if necessary. Over the years Dipoli has proved to be a highly flexible building, which has been possible to use in the most varied ways.

The so-called Dipoli Committee drafted the original program in early 1960. The scheme was could be described as an ideal model for a student union building: It would consist of a large number of rooms of different sizes and natures: banquet halls, a student restaurant, a first-class restaurant, a beer-cellar, an auditorium, foyers, club rooms of various sizes, offices, staff apartments and various secondary spaces. It was also important that would be easy to combine facilities and to use them simultaneously without disturbing each other. The Committee estimated that the surface area of the building should be about 8000 m². Thus, it was about four times larger than Poli and significantly larger than any similar building in Scandinavia.^{xii} The Finance Committee, which consisted of TKY alumni, was asked to evaluate the Committee's report. It considered that the scheme was too ambitious and urged to reduce it.^{xiii} A new committee drew up a slightly reduced program, which was used in the competition announced in January 1961.^{xiv}

The programming was delayed also by the Swedish-speaking student association Teknologföreningen (TF), which considered whether it would participate in the Dipoli project or build an own club house. For historical reasons, the Swedish-speaking students were afraid of losing their autonomous status within the Student Union, and an own building was one way to protect it. Until the late 19th century the Polytechnical Institute, the predecessor of the University of Technology, had been an entirely Swedish-speaking institution. At the turn of the century it became bilingual, and soon the overwhelming majority of the students spoke Finnish. This was followed by a fierce power struggle between the Finnish and Swedish speaking students, which crippled the Student Union's activities for many decades. The relationship became to warm up only in the late 1930s, when TKY built a separate wing for TF in the courtyard of Poli.^{xv}

The Dipoli Committee hoped that the coexistence would continue also in the new Student Union Building and reserved a separate wing for TF.^{xvi} However, in September 1960 the TF Board, encouraged by the industrialist Wilhelm Wahlforss, decided to acquire a piece of land about 500 m from the Dipoli site for its own building. The TKY Board objected two separate buildings, as it feared the fragmentation of the student community and difficulties in raising funds for both projects.^{xvii} Fortunately, the controversy was resolved quickly: TF agreed to change its plot to an another piece of land on the northern side of Dipoli, which facilitated the co-operation but reduced the size of the Dipoli site by about half. Fundraising for the projects was also organised in collaboration.^{xviii} The competition for the TF building was held soon after the Dipoli competition had been resolved in 1962. To create a harmonious entity TF even invited Pietilä to the jury. The first prize was awarded to the architect Kurt Moberg. His bold concrete building, called Urdsgjallar, was completed almost simultaneously with Dipoli.^{xix}

Integration or differentiation

It is a little surprising that the competition program does not mention anything about the architectural character. The program, however, explicitly stated that the Student Union Building should be a harmonious pair to the TKK Main Building. The jury seems to have appreciated it already as a masterpiece, which feels little strange – at the time Aalto's office was still working on the final plans. As the Student Union Building was located on a higher ground, the jury stated that it should not be higher than two stories. It also

recommended, that competitors would use the same facade materials, which would be used in the Main Building, i.e. brick and copper.^{xx}

Most of the award-winning architects respected the jury's recommendations and submitted more or less Aaltoesque designs. Pietilä and Paatelainen, on the other hand, were not willing to follow Aalto's guidelines uncritically. In their opinion, the Student Union Building should have a distinct architectural character, so that the students could feel it as their own building. Thus, they tried to find a balance between integration and differentiation. The building was divided into two volumes: a low rectangular volume, which contained offices, club rooms and other everyday activities, linked the building to Aalto's buildings by following their scale and geometry. The banquet hall, restaurants, meeting rooms and foyers were situated in a higher and geometrically much more complex volume. In the first elevation sketches Pietilä colored the rectangular volume in red, indicating that it would have brick facades.^{xxi} Later he decided, however, to clad the entire building with copper, perhaps to hide the building in the surrounding forest. Copper was also widely used in Otaniemi, so there was no need to justify its use. Nevertheless, Dipoli's copper strips have a dark brown colour, which give it quite different character than Aalto's buildings.

In fact, Dipoli could be interpreted as Pietilä's dialogue with Aalto's architecture – or a substitute for a genuine dialogue, in which Aalto was not willing to participate. The Finnish architects of Aalto's generation shared an highly pragmatic way of thinking, and they were suspicious of all kinds of theorising and formal experiments. Pietilä challenged them with his theoretical articles, experimental projects and provocative comments. Nevertheless, many architectural features of Dipoli can be traced back to Aalto's projects of the late 1950s: the confrontation between the rectangular and free form geometries to the Wolfsburg Cultural Centre (1958-62), undulating concrete vaults to the Vuoksenniska Church (1955-58) and sculptural volumes to the Essen Opera House (1959), to name only a few. Pietilä, however, tried to make Aalto's themes even more expressive by exaggerating them. Abroad Pietilä even pretended to be Aalto's successor.^{xxii}

A cavemen's dwelling

Pietilä and Paatelainen intended that Dipoli's interiors would to act as a counterweight for the rational and anonymous university buildings. The result was a highly complex and

disorienting spatial structure, which consisted of interlocking halls and foyers, meandering corridors and numerous nooks of various sizes. The architects assumed that a technology student, who used the building every day, would learn quickly to find the different routes through it. For a guest, who arrived to Dipoli for the first time, the experience could be highly confusing. Pietilä wrote that "a guest perhaps feels himself as an outsider, because he has already been brainwashed to adapt to the commercially programmed, anonymous and universal design. The Student Union Building is a nook for a closed group, which, however, has to sell to keep up. The house has not been designed to be so terribly smoothly polite, like an actual full-time congress centre would be. The 'Technology Student Passage' on the ground floor is a passage for a technology student, in which a guest is only a visitor."^{xxiii}

Earlier I already mentioned that the National Romantic architecture of Poli had become a vital part of the identity of the technology student community. Pietilä and Paatelainen tried to recreate its medieval atmosphere in Dipoli, so that the student traditions could be relocated there. They developed modern interpretations for its architectural features: vaults, nooks and rough stone walls. The competition program did not encourage to such traditionalism in any way. Nevertheless, Pietilä wanted to study, whether such a thorny issue as tradition could be worked with modern means. Therefore, he smuggled the idea of tradition transplantation to the modern hygienic Dipoli project through his competition entry.^{xxiv}

Pietilä and Paatelainen often used humorous and ambivalent competition pseudonyms, such as 'Be Gentler, Mountain Zone Meridian', 'Strips of Birch in a Dug-Out' or 'Snow Speaks on the Mountains'. Their pseudonym in the Dipoli competition was 'Wedding March of the Cavemen', which referred to the cavernous look of the main halls and foyers. Thus, the technology students compared with cave men, which might have been interpreted as an insult – it also reminds of Adolf Loos's and Le Corbusier's argument that engineers were modern primitives.^{xxv} The technology students, however, did not take the metaphor too seriously, and it soon became an essential component of the project's brand. Dipoli's architecture also inspired new traditions – just like Poli had done. For example, a secret society called Luolamiehet (Cavemen) was founded in 1962.^{xxvi} The same theme was used in the naming of the premises – for example, the first-class restaurant was initially called Luolamies (Caveman).

Naturalism

The construction of the Student Village and fundraising for it were an enormous efforts for the TKY. One might even say that the Otaniemi project transformed the identity of the whole technology student community: suddenly, urban technocrats had to become modern pioneers. The first dormitories were built in the middle of an almost pristine forest, and public transport and commercial spaces were inadequate for a long time. It created a peculiar student culture, which was often criticised for its insularity.^{xxvii} Pietilä and Paatelainen knew the situation pretty well, since both had live in Otaniemi in the 1950s.^{xxviii} Dipoli could be interpreted as a monument for that heroic pioneer period. Pietilä wrote that "Dipoli must not be seen as a pervading, evened-out totality, a civilised urban architecture. A person who has a fixed image in his mind of a grid of street corridors easily feels lost and becomes ill in Dipoli. If one understands that the interior of Dipoli is like a rocky spruce forest that surrounds it, one can easily cope in the building."^{xxix}

Pietilä's and Paatelainen's fundamental idea was that Dipoli would be an extension of the natural landscape. For example, the undulating roof reflects the forms of the bed rock of the site, and the framework of the large glass walls follow the rhythm of the surrounding trees. Massive rock formations at the foot of the building and in the foyers implant the building firmly in the ground. Instead of a solid facade Dipoli has a layered transition zone, consisting of broad cantilevered eaves, balconies, undulating glass-walls, window sills and deep entrance recesses, which dissolve the border between the building and the surrounding nature.^{xxx} Dipoli was situated almost in the centre of the wedge-shaped plot to leave a relatively wide unbuilt zone around it. Pietilä and Paatelainen even imagined that only narrow paths would have meandered between the trees to the various entrances.

In reality, the idea to dissolve the border between the building and the surrounding nature was difficult to archive. The unbuilt zone around the Dipoli was too narrow to give the impression of a building in the middle of a pristine forest. Later, it has become a well-maintained lawn with single trees and wide asphalted walkways, and it requires considerable efforts to visualise the original idea.

Deadlock

The competition results were published in August 1961. The jury had eight members, of whom six were appointed by the TKY: Jaakko Rahola, Rector of TKK, engineers Antero Salmenkivi and Kalevi Korhonen, architects Clas-Olof Lindqvist and Esko K. Mäkelä and technology student Harri Hintikka. The Finnish Association of Architects was represented by Academician Alvar Aalto and architect Olli Penttilä. The jury noted that the task was exceptionally difficult and that none of the 28 entries met all the requirements. Thus, it decided to share two second prizes: one for Pietilä and Paatelainen and the other for Osmo Lappo's team.^{xxxii}

Lappo (b. 1927) had studied at the TKK at the same time as Pietilä and Paatelainen and was among the most successful young Finnish architect. He is best known for highly rationalist projects, such as military buildings, swimming halls, schools and office buildings. Also the competition entry for Dipoli had a very rational layout, but due to the complex program, small site and Aalto's urban vision he ended up using a non-rectangular geometry and single-sloped roofs.^{xxxiii} The building would certainly have fit well in Otaniemi. However, it does not have any architectural features, which would indicate that it is a student union building, not a university building, a school or a course centre.

The jury's report was written in a very compact form, so the evaluation criteria remain rather vague. The only issues, which were discussed extensively, were the placement of the building and its relationship to the TKK Main Building – most likely they were matters of key importance to Aalto. Aesthetic features were commented in only a few words or phrases, so it is extremely difficult to define, what kind of architectural expression the jury considered appropriate. Pietilä's and Paatelainen's project was praised for adapting to the environment and internal arrangements. The specific nature of the building was emphasised in unique and interesting way, but it also included an unnecessary highlighting and mannerisms.^{xxxiii}

A second attempt

Immediately after the results had been released the TKY Board appointed a special committee to investigate the possibilities to continue the project. It recommended that the commission should be given to one of the award-winning architects, rather than organising

a new competition or a second stage between the prize winners. Since all award-winning designs had a potential to become a well-functioning buildings, the decisive factor should be that the project reflects the identity and traditions of the technology student community. In this respect, Pietilä's and Paatelainen's design was unbeatable. The project had also received great deal of support among the students.^{xxxiv} In October 1961 the Representative Council decided that Pietilä and Paatelainen would be asked to elaborate their project, taking into account the comments of the jury and a revised program.^{xxxv} The Finance Committee refused to give an opinion, because the competition entry were too sketchy to make a reliable cost estimate.^{xxxvi}

Pietilä and Paatelainen completed a new set of floor plans in January.^{xxxvii} In February the jury unexpectedly interfered the process and proposed that both Pietilä-Paatelainen and Lappo would be asked to study the placement of the building. Lappo is under the impression that the initiative came from Aalto, indicating that he was not that impressed by Pietilä's and Paatelainen's design.^{xxxviii} The TKY Board wanted to maintain good relations with Aalto and the University and declared a second stage.^{xxxix} Lappo was not so eager to continue the process, since TKY had clearly preferred Pietilä's project. Nevertheless, he agreed to participate in the competition.^{xl} During the second stage Pietilä and Paatelainen redesigned the whole building, and thereafter only minor changes were made to the basic layout.^{xli}

Having studied both elaborated designs the jury decided to recommend that Pietilä's and Paatelainen's project would be chosen as a basis for the further design. The decision was justified by the functionality of its internal arrangements and by the fact that the pavilion-like building fit naturally in the campus milieu. The jury, however, severely criticised the mannerist, unrealistic and formalist features of the project.^{xlii} These contradictory remarks indicate that the jury members were divided on the project's value. The TKY representatives were probably under pressure to respect the will of the student community and give the commission to Pietilä and Paatelainen. The critical comments, on the other hand, most likely reflect Aalto's doubts on their experimental architecture. Nevertheless, he did not oppose the project so much that he would have wanted to record a dissenting opinion in the minutes. Later Pietilä recalled that after the competition Aalto had asked him, why he had not covered the entire building with a free-form roof, and not just half of it. Pietilä explained that he wanted to give the space serving rational functions rational forms

and that serving irrational functions irrational forms. “In that case I think you have made a compromise”, was Aalto’s reply.^{xliii}

Immediately after the jury had made its decision the TKY Board commissioned a detailed cost estimate for Pietilä’s and Paatelainen’s project. After examining it also the Finance Committee agreed with the jury’s recommendation, and in April the TKY Representative Council chose Pietilä and Paatelainen as Dipoli’s architects. The Council stated, that their design met the diverse functional requirements required by the program, as well as the expectations that the engineering students had set for the general nature of Dipoli.^{xliiv}

Implementing an experiment

TKY’s initial timetable for Dipoli was extremely ambitious: it should be completed simultaneously with the TKK Main Building in 1963.^{xliv} However, the prolonged competition stage made it impossible to archive the objective. Pietilä’s and Paatelainen’s inexperience in designing large public buildings and difficulties in reconciling project schedules also postponed the construction several times. In the spring of 1962 they were finally commissioned to design the Kaleva Church, which had to be done almost simultaneously with Dipoli. At the end of the 1962 they won the invited competition for the Suvikumpu Housing and were immediately commissioned to design the large block of flats. Therefore, the couple had to built a medium-sized practice almost from the scratch. They hired several young architects and architectural students, but for a long time they had great difficulties in organising the office efficiently.^{xlvi}

Dipoli’s complex geometry and Pietilä’s desire to design specific details also complicated the design process. The couple had to ask constantly to postpone the agreed schedules, which deteriorated the relationship with TKY. Nevertheless, they were willing to modify their designs radically, if it was needed to meet the building or fire regulations, to integrate the structural and HVAC systems or to reduce costs. The excavation work was began only in the fall of 1963 and the construction in January 1965. Dipoli was inaugurated in the fall of 1966.

A controversial monument

During the five-year design and construction process of Dipoli Finnish architecture changed dramatically. In the early 1960s bold sculptural designs were quite successful in the competitions. For example, just before the Dipoli competition Timo Penttilä and Kari Virta had won the competition for the Helsinki City Theatre, and Timo and Tuomo Suomalainen received the first prize in the competition for the Temppeliaukio Church. Probably the organic architecture of these three projects did not please everybody, but they did not arouse public criticism either.

In the mid 1960s a strict modular trend, the so-called Finnish Constructivism, began to dominate competitions, publications and education at the architecture schools – one of the strongholds of Constructivism was the TKK Department of Architecture, which was situated only 100 m from Dipoli. At the same time, the construction industry and the authorities required higher level of standardisation, prefabrication and flexible universal layouts. As a result, the experimental free-form architecture was more and more marginalized. For many years, the Pietiläs had great difficulties in attracting new clients.

In the anti-elitist atmosphere of the late 1960s three buildings: Dipoli, the Temppeliaukio Church and Aalto's Finlandia Hall, became symbols for eccentric and wasteful elite architecture.^{xlvii} Nevertheless, many foreign critics, such as Christian Norberg-Schulz, admired Dipoli,^{xlviii} and it was widely published in the international magazines. Paradoxically, the fierce disputes also ensured that for almost half a century Dipoli has been one of the key monuments of the Finnish Modernism – as far as I know, not a single history has been written without mentioning it.

The technology students moved to Dipoli filled with enthusiasm, and for several years the building was full of activity. However, it soon became clear that the functional concept had outdated during the prolonged design and construction process. It was designed for the patriotic and unpolitical technology students of the late 1950s, but the highly politicised student community of the late 1960s and 1970s had quite different needs. The building also proved to be oversized for TKY's financial resources. Thus, many rooms were never used in such a way as Pietilä and Paatelainen had designed. For example, the Technology Student Museum was immediately converted to game rooms, the first-class restaurant became a striptease club, and the main foyer was filled with souvenir stalls. From the very beginning Dipoli was designed so that it could also be used as a

conference center to increase revenue. Gradually, congresses and exhibitions replaced much of the student activity. During the recession of the early 1990s TKY had to rent Dipoli for the University and move to less expensive facilities.^{xlix} In December 2013 the Student Union finally sold the building for the Aalto University to get rid of the unproductive property. Nevertheless, the flexibility of the layout has enabled quite dramatic functional changes without destroying the original spatial structure.

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A Toolbox for Iconic Architecture

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A TOOLBOX FOR ICONIC ARCHITECTURE

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ABSTRACT

The study explores how creation of *iconic architecture* can be *intentionally* facilitated using the *toolbox* inherent in the *competition system*.

The study defines *iconicity* as a *status* a building may gain through intentional process of *iconification* with participation of the client providing prerequisites, the architect shaping iconic features, the users assigning symbolic values and driving recognition and finally the public acknowledging and celebrating the icon. It is argued that iconicity is never absolute, its *span* being limited by *temporal* and *social aspects* that may expand or contract the *span of iconicity*, confirming or revoking a building's status as architectural icon. When employed in the process, competitions provide structure and tools for the first half of iconification work, thus laying the foundation for iconicity. Proficient management of these tools is fundamental for successful iconification.

The study contemplates meaning and role of iconic architecture as an inspiring cultural and temporal landmark of the future as it is envisioned today. Attempts are made to construct a framework for further study of iconicity for theorists and provide an iconification toolbox for practitioners.

This paper is based on inductive modeling of iconification process based on a case study of Uppsala Concert and Congress Hall (Sweden). Cross---disciplinary theoretical considerations draw on writings of Charles Jencks, Hélène Lipstadt, Magnus Rönn, Pierre Bourdieu, Emile Durkheim and other authors.

Keywords

Iconic architecture, iconification, span of iconicity, architectural competition, toolbox

A few words on research topic, method and background

I am not an architect. With all its drawbacks, there is one advantage – I may not be accused of Bourdieu's *aesthetic disposition* in the field of architecture. H  l  ne Lipstadt (2007:16) contrasting icons with canons, suggests that "disdain for iconic buildings is inculcated in architectural education along with (...) a respect for canonic buildings". She builds her argument on French anthropologist and philosopher Pierre Bourdieu's (2010[1984]) theory of *cultural capital* and maintains that architect profession of *aesthetic disposition* abhor the "obviousness [which is] the least common denominator of iconicity in architecture". I doubt the universality of the statement – there would hardly be any iconic buildings if each and every architect would abhor them. But I am ready to agree that as a layman I am much more excited by easily accessible architectural icons than ordinary---looking deeply coded canons. Thus I have chosen iconic architecture as a topic for the investigative essay (Pipinis, 2013) that this paper is based upon. My work took off with simple explorative question of *how architectural icons come into being through architectural competitions*, which eventually grew into a theoretical framework of iconification and recommendations on how competitions can be purposefully employed to render iconic outcomes.

This direction of focus was fuelled by Lipstadt's (2007:13) argument that iconic works just "happen", as opposed to canons that are being "made". My study challenges her view. I propose that iconic architecture is created intentionally and that competition is a handy tool to that end, but as any tool it needs to be skilfully used in order to achieve desirable results. To support that proposition I would like to present a model of *iconification*, inductively built on a case study of Uppsala Concert and Congress Hall (Uppsala Konsert & Kongress, UKK) and close reading of texts on architectural quality, architectural competition and iconic architecture by Lipstadt, Jencks, R  nn et al. My experiences in design of business processes as well as studies of anthropology and philosophy of aesthetics have also informed my approach to the task. However, as a product of induction derived from a single case study, the outcome presented does not aspire to absolute truth, but rather suggests a methodological framework for discussion and further elaboration. The "toolbox" rendered by the model is apt for empirical testing and development.

Defining iconicity and its driving forces

So what is the iconic architecture? I know the type of buildings I had in mind when launching my study – Sydney Opera House, Guggenheim in Bilbao, Harpa in Reykjavik, Selfridges in Birmingham. Initially I referred to them as cool buildings, landmark buildings, signature buildings, each term highlighting certain common characteristic, but also simplifying their essence far too much --- until I came across Charles Jencks "The Iconic Building" (2005), which sealed the deal. Ancient Greek word *eik  n* means "likeness, image, portrait". Within semiotics the word has kept this meaning describing

“a sign that carries resemblance to its referent”¹. In vernacular² it covers much wider range of meanings – a legend, a role model, a superstar, the best example of something, an important and enduring symbol, an object of great attention and devotion, a religious painting, a pictogram in computer interface. Connotations with visual pictures, artistry, popular culture, scalability of computer icons, physical manifestations of the immaterial, sacred objects but also with iconoclasm, controversy and cultural contextuality provide richer and more fair reflection of the nature of the architecture at the center for this study. The buildings I perceive as iconic tend to have a distinct silhouette that could be reduced to the size of computer icon without losing its resemblance, they tend to stir feelings being admired and hated not unlike the religious icons, they make covers of the magazines along with the pop idols and Nobel laureates as outstanding examples of contemporary culture and science. I will return to the meaning and role of iconic architecture towards the end of this paper. For now it would suffice to describe it as distinctively innovative architecture carrying engaging symbolic meanings and attracting attention as a destination in itself.

Although often associated with the contemporary, iconic architecture is not a new phenomenon. Jencks (2005) traces its origins to the old custom of highlighting power and importance within and among the societies through impressive constructions – be it local churches and town halls, royal palaces or ancient wonders of the world.

Contemporary icons like The Eiffel Tower or The Gherkin in London merely continue that tradition. To impress the world one needs to create something new, which implies breaking the rules of the “normal”. Aesthetic disposition – that could also be viewed as investment in ability to discern and appreciate the finest points of the tradition – could certainly stand in a way for innovation, but does not have to. In order to break the norm, one needs to know it. And for iconic outcome, one needs to break it with style and sensibility. So at least for some architects their aesthetic disposition should serve not as conservative shackles, but rather as a springboard for innovation.

Jencks attributes contemporary interest for iconic architecture to two driving forces – *the economic interest inspired by Bilbao effect*³ and *the crisis of the monument*. According to him, the void left by weakened ideological movements that previously caused people to build monuments to deities, great ideas or leaders is being filled with iconic buildings as monuments for those who have power today – the economic power. Typically that would be corporations and institutions willing to manifest their authority and importance through fancy headquarters or public facilities reflecting their identity, values and image as well as the budget. Iconic architecture is thus informed not only

¹ Encyclopaedia Britannica, <http://www.britannica.com> as per December 4, 2013.

² Although often academically disrespected, I find Wiktionary, Urban Dictionary and Free Dictionary to be

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meanings, <http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/icon>; <http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=icon>;

<http://www.thefreedictionary.com/icon>

³ The story of the iconic Guggenheim Museum Bilbao changing economy of Spanish Bilbao is narrated and analysed in many sources, among them in Jencks (2005).

with the architect's experience, taste and creativity, but also with the client's values, visions and financial abilities.

Span of iconicity: temporal and social aspects

Anticipated lifetime of significant buildings is more likely centuries than decades. Ideologies, positions of power as well as fashions, tastes and norms will change many times over that period, changing also the context in which iconicity is defined. Whatever image or vision the iconic building is to signify, in order to last, it should employ connotative rather than denotative modes of expression. It should provide cues and excite beholder's imagination, but spell out nothing directly. It should break with the past just as much as with the present, as in Oscar Wilde's words "it's only the modern that ever becomes old---fashioned". Jencks calls it "enigmatic signifier" quality of the building – something that enables it to be re---interpreted as the time goes by, maintaining its relevance even when the meanings are changing.

Interestingly, this line of reasoning indicates *temporal aspect of the icon*. Eternal relevance may be assumed as client's as well as architect's ideal, but if it is dependent on continuous successful re---interpretation, at some point in time it may fail and building may lose its iconicity. If iconicity is dependent on its deviation from the norm as well as on successful interpretation by the publics, it may not be absolute or universal just as no norms or interpretations are ever absolute or universal, always being context---related social constructs.

The temporal aspect notwithstanding, it is most improbable that any building on Earth would ever be known by every single human being on the planet. And even buildings known by many are likely to be regarded differently by different people. A provincial town hall may appear iconic to the citizens who never leaves the town, but quite ordinary in the eyes of those who have seen a dozen of town halls. This indicates presence of the *social aspect* to iconicity describing the circle of individuals acknowledging the building as iconic. The social span may be more or less heterogeneous – same building may be considered iconic in different circles and for different reasons. It could be a local community appreciating the building for its distinct style in the neighbourhood, European community of art lovers appreciating it as the most innovative gallery building in Europe or international architect community considering it as the most exquisite example of certain type of architecture. The latter would even close Lipstadt's gap between icon and canon – the most canonic building could be seen as architectural icon with the social span of conservative architects.

Iconification

If we agree that iconicity has dynamic temporal and social aspects, it would make sense to consider *iconicity* not as a permanent physical feature of the building, but rather as a

status that can be gained, maintained, lost and re---gained within various constituencies over time.

I do not believe that icon can just “happen” – if iconic building is by definition distinct, the architect must have been aware that he or she was breaking some norms when drawing it. The architect’s boldness must be requested or at least accepted by the client; otherwise the design would never leave the paper. And even the most spectacular building erected cannot become famous by itself – its fame (or its wide social span) is a social construct. People must notice it, show it to others and discuss it. Whether it’s a random beholder posting a picture of it on the Instagram, a reviewer publishing an article in the culture pages of the daily or a PR company featuring the building in a campaign at it’s owner’s or user’s request – all those are forms of intentional promotion that potentially widens the social span of iconicity. Even a silent acknowledgment of a building as an icon by any individual experiencing it in real life or through media involves an active internal assessment, which consequently can be revisited for any number of reasons. Making of an icon appears to be an active *process* and henceforth I will refer to it as a *process of iconification*⁴.

Iconification --- the process in which a building obtains and maintains its status as an icon – involves a number of stakeholders, among which the most prominent are the client, the architect, the user and the beholder. In the competition context, jury enters the process as an additional player that through its constitution, interpretation of client’s vision and assessment of incoming submissions may exercise significant influence on the outcome. The process of iconification may be halted or derailed by any participating player at any step and is not complete until the beholder – or the relevant social span of the public – has acknowledged the building as iconic. Thus, intention on behalf of the client or the architect is not a guarantee for successful iconification. Lipstadt’s view on icons as simply “happening” must be based on this fact. However, I maintain that the public *is intentionally influenced* in its decision and occasional failure or success of the intention is not the same as unintentional random happening. One of the main aims of this paper is to explore what purposeful techniques may be employed in competition context by the client to increase the chances of successful iconification.

Case selection

Workings of iconification revealed themselves to me through the case study. I was browsing⁵ through the Swedish competitions held in accordance with Swedish Association of Architects’ (SAA) standard narrowing down the search to competitions for new construction of culture buildings held in the course of the last 10 years. My intention was to find a newly build icon candidate in my vicinity and explore how it came about, paying special attention to any signs of its intended iconicity and factors

⁴ I find such process---based view of iconicity fully consistent with Cold’s (1989:39) description of architectural quality as originating from interaction and thus not static.

⁵ Swedish Association of Architects homepage <http://www.arkitekt.se>

that may have promoted or inhibited iconic outcome. I assumed that clients for culture buildings are especially likely to be interested in iconic outcomes since they ought to be befitting culture houses' general aim to attract visitors and might also be inspired by the *Bilbao effect*. The time limit was based on assumption that relevant information on recent competitions should be easier accessible than on the older ones.

Out of 4 projects that fit the criteria (6 competitions for new culture buildings were held since 2000 in accordance with SAA standard, but 2 of the winning proposals were never erected), Uppsala Concert and Congress Hall (Uppsala Konsert & Kongress, UKK) drew my attention with its distinct façade, geographical proximity and multiple awards confirming its iconic potential. To make a full disclosure, roughly a year prior to this study, following a friend with even stronger interest in iconic architecture, I had made a special trip to Uppsala in order to see and photograph UKK. Internet search showed also a vast array of material available, including pre---history of the competition as well as evaluation of the actual building after its first few years in operation.

Brief overview of the case

Uppsala is the 4th largest Swedish city with population of 200,000 located some 70 km north of the capital. 40,000 students study in the colleges located here, among them – in the oldest university in Scandinavia, Uppsala University. City has a rich cultural life, but has been lacking a befitting concert venue.

In February 2002 City of Uppsala announced a competition with the task to “design a building of high architectural quality offering best thinkable facilities for concerts and other musical events as well as for congresses and conferences” also described as “a character building for the new Uppsala”. The task was complicated by necessity to take stance on preservation (with or without incorporation into the new building) or demolition of the existing buildings on site, considered to be of significant cultural historical value, but in poor condition at the time. The competition program laid out in 20 pages did not offer an exhaustive list of criteria, but rather open---ended descriptions of client’s visions and issues of particular concern. While submissions were welcome in Swedish and English, competition materials were only available in Swedish.

The jury consisted of 7 politicians reflecting the power balance in the City Council, 2 senior city officials and 2 architects delegated by Swedish Association Of Architects. The prize pot amounted to SEK 1,000,000.

135 submissions were received. The jury was unable to reach a unanimous vote and eventually selected proposal by Henning Larsen Tegneste A/S (Denmark) as a winner with 2 politicians endorsing a runner---up instead.

The project itself was controversial, its origins dating as far back as to 1910, with several failed realization attempts over the time. Controversy surrounded the project in the City Council and in the public debate before, during and after the competition of 2002 as well. Social democrats and their allies maintained the power in the City Council from

announcement of the competition until initiation of the building project and thus were able to realize Henning Larsens design with some amendments⁶.

UKK was opened to the public in 2007. Initial critical public opinion has changed over time with approval ratings picking up from 37% to 57% during 2006---2009 (Karlsson, Zere 2011). The building has received several architectural awards and even more nominations – Gold Medal at Bienal Miami+Beach in 2007, Stora Samhällsbyggpriset in 2008 (“Great Community Builder’s Prize”), and nomination for Sweden’s most prestigious architectural prize Kasper Salinpriset 2007 to mention a few.

Communication of iconic aspirations by the client

It is the client who shapes and enables the process by formulating the problem to be solved and/or goals to be achieved, sets the rules of the game, provides resources and creates stimuli as well as selection mechanism for other players to join in. These decisions inevitably influence the outcome of the process and therefore should be made with greatest care even if there is some room for later amendments, as we will see. For the purpose of this particular study I will focus inquiry on the aspects of architectural process that are most central to iconification in the context of architectural competition.

City of Uppsala did not mention iconicity even once in its competition program (Tävlingsprogrammet, 2002), but visionary descriptions of “a character building for the future---oriented Uppsala”, “a character building of significant importance”, “a building powerful enough to bridge the historical borders in the city fabric” as well as readiness to demolish valuable historical buildings for it indicated quite clearly that something of iconic proportions was being envisioned. But if Uppsala wanted an icon, why didn’t they spell it out? Direct request for iconic building might easier catch an eye of an architect interested in drawing one (and keep away the ones who find it unworthy endeavor), especially when neither city’s, client’s nor object’s names are directly associated with potentially iconic ambitions (as names like Guggenheim or objects like opera house for a major capital city might be). However, terminology of iconicity is not clearly established and may also carry controversial connotations of “celebrity architecture”, “pop culture” or a drastic contrast to its environment, making it more difficult to agree upon by the client’s decision making body⁷. Further research into the subject establishing clear terminology might facilitate more efficient client – architect communication and iconic expectation management.

⁶ It is interesting to note that political jurors were voting on the project in the City Council along with their respective party line, thus some of the jurors who were voting in favour of the winning project in the competition voted against it being realized in the City Council. This suggests that contrary to popular expectation, jury representing wide political spectrum is not a guarantee for realization of controversial projects in case of change of power, its actual role boiling down to mediation of the tastes.

⁷ In the light of Lipstadts earlier presented argument, it might also be interesting to investigate how architects would interpret and relate to explicit iconicity criteria in the program – would it have the right effect in attracting respectively scaring off candidates and informing their proposals or not.

Since competition program did not provide exhaustive list of criteria, but rather communicated through visionary descriptions and points of concern, I found it useful to attempt a textual analysis of these descriptions trying to assess the client's priorities and iconicity's place in their hierarchy. As a tool for this analysis I used Rönn's (2010) categories of quality criteria. Through attribution of each program statement resembling a criterion/an instruction to one of these categories and counting them, the following picture appeared (all categorized statements are quoted in Pipinis, 2013):

Ensemble (entirety/wholeness) and concept [EC]:	9	(3 iconicity related)
Context and environment [CE]:	5	
Effectiveness and functionality [EF]:	10	
Entrance solution [ES]:	7	
Economy and technical solutions [ET]:	1	
Development potential [DP]:	0	

Table 1: Categorisation of criterion---like statements in the competition programme

Iconicity was thus present in 3 out of 32 criterion---like statements of the competition program, all of them in concept category. Unsurprisingly, functionality and concept was among most elaborated categories, while a bit more surprisingly economical and developmental aspects were hardly touched at all⁸. This analytical method will be further elaborated in the study of how jury was applying the criteria in selection of the winner.

The client has decided to adopt the SAA competition standard and was initially recommended by SAA a two step open competition format, suggesting that destiny of the existing valuable buildings on site should be decided in the first step, allowing the jury to focus on the building itself in the second step (Offer, 2001). SAA motivated choice of open competition with traditionally wide media coverage of such competitions and claimed that attractiveness of the task itself would pose virtually no risk of getting ignored by established architects. SAA anticipated most submissions to come from Sweden and also some from other Nordic countries, in total amounting to at least 100---150. If non---Nordic architects were to be attracted, SAA recommended to employ Swedish and English as official languages.

The City of Uppsala, after further discussions, settled for an open one step competition accepting submissions in Swedish and English, but providing competition materials only in Swedish. Acceptance of established standard, choice of open competition and openness for submissions in English indicates that client was interested in publicity and attention from a wider circle of established architects, which may also indicate interest in iconic outcome. However, it is odd that competition materials were not provided in

⁸ In this context it is interesting to mention that eventually the winning design had to be reworked to fit the economic limits, which arguably may have affected iconicity of the outcome.

English when welcoming of submissions in English clearly signals interest to attract non---Nordic architects.

The turnout was within the prediction of SAA: 134 submissions (plus one that missed the deadline and was not considered) out of which 80 (59%) were Swedish, 26 (19%) other Nordic and 29 (22%) from 8 other countries including one non---European, from Argentina. The effect of language barrier is impossible to assess without further research, but it is worth mentioning that some of the participating non---Nordic companies had Swedish names among their representatives. Therefore we do not know how many companies without Swedish connection that successfully negotiated the threshold, just as we don't know how many did not even try because of it.

Composition of the jury is another important message from the client. UKK jury consisted of 11 jurors and was chaired by the head of the city government. 6 jurors (plus the chair) represented all major political parties in the City Council. 2 senior city officials, architects by profession, were also aboard. Finally, in accordance with the standard, SAA delegated 2 independent architects – one Swedish, with previous experience of concert hall design, and one foreign, from a highly reputed firm with several iconic projects in its portfolio. Full political rainbow headed by city's most powerful politician and city executives in charge clearly signifies seriousness of the client and importance of the project. Four architects covering local, national and international perspectives as well as specific experience in both concert halls and iconic architecture signifies ability to evaluate the submissions on a very professional level. Such a jury clearly sends a message that submissions will be taken seriously, adding to the competition prestige as well as realistic chance of construction of the winning design.

Even if the main prize for the winner is the assignment itself – along with the honors – the prize pot sends also a certain message about the credibility and attractiveness of the client and competition. City of Uppsala followed recommendation by SAA when announcing a prize pot of SEK 1,000,000 (some EUR 120,000), whereas first prize would not be below SEK 300,000 and smallest prize will not go under SEK 50,000.

To sum it up, through the choice of competition's standard and form, language, criteria, jury and the prize pot, City of Uppsala communicated a message consistent with a desire to erect an iconic building⁹. More explicit iconic aspirations among the criteria as well as availability of competition program in English might have strengthened the message further¹⁰. Composition of the jury from communication point of view was impeccable.

⁹ Interviews with the decision makers could shed more light on the discussions preceding the formulation of competition program and whether iconic outcome was actually desired and if it was consensual, but it is not essential for the task at hand, which is to identify the levers available to the client contemplating construction of an icon.

¹⁰ Promotion of the competition itself by other means than selection and fine---tuning of its parameters falls outside of the scope of this essay, but there certainly are a number of marketing and PR techniques available for the clients interested in attracting more attention to the competition from the architects and the public.

Identification of iconic potential by the jury

Let's see how the jury was applying those rather open-ended criteria and how it contributed to the iconicity of the outcome. For that purpose I chose to apply same type of textual analysis on the jury's evaluating comments (Juryutlåtande, 2002) to the best submissions as I earlier used for analysis of the criteria themselves, only here I also kept track of which of the jury's statements that were related to the criteria-like statements in the competition program and which were not, thus highlighting additional criteria introduced by the jury itself. This approach does not reveal the dynamics or causality in the jury's work that interviews with the jurors or participating observation might do, but considering simplicity of the method it rendered fairly interesting results that in a larger study could help to formulate relevant hypothesis and questions for follow-up interviews. In this study for the purpose of inductive model construction, I am more helped by "whats" that this method highlights than "whys" which it does not.

The table below provides the summary of this analysis. First column lists the competition program along with the best submissions selected by the jury (1-4 places and unranked honorary mentions marked by "H"). The title row indicates the quality evaluation categories from Rönn (2010) divided into positive and negative comments, with addition of J-column for criteria added by the jury on its own; SUM-column summing up total number of positive or negative comments; *-column for iconicity-related statements among the SUM; and Tot-column summing up positive and negative SUM-columns.

Competition program	Positive comments									Negative comments									Tot						
	EC	CE	EF	ES	ET	DP	J	SUM	*	EC	CE	EF	ES	ET	DP	J	SUM	*							
1 Uppsala Kristallen	9	4	10	7	1	0																			
2 MONO	10	6	8	3			1	8	36	6															35
3 Röda Mattan	4	4	3					1	12	3															7
4 Ytor av ljus	4	5	3	2					14	2															13
H i flöde	3	1		1				2	7	1															2
H MAY		3	1	1				1	6																2
H Basfiol & flöjt	2	1	2					2	7																3
H rymd	3	1	2	2				3	11																9
H NUAGES	1	2	1	1				1	6																1
H 23005	3			1				3	7																5
H NYMÅNE	1	3	1						5																4
H HEARTBEAT	1							1	1																0
H HEARTBEAT		1		1				1	3																0
Total	32	27	21	12	0	1	22		12																-2

Table 2: Categorisation of appraising statements among the jury comments to its selected proposals

Jury's motivation is its primary tool to justify its verdict in the eyes of interested parties including the public, so it is not surprising that most comments were made about the winning submission and its runner-ups. Considering the jury's inability to reach a unanimous decision, it also makes sense that first runner-up has received relatively many critical comments, as supporters of the winner most likely have had to argue a lot why no 2 was only second best.

Curiously, the only column with values in exactly same order as the final ranking of the best submissions is the iconicity column. Categorization method used is unavoidably subjective and superficial, thus no scientific conclusions may be based on this outcome. However, it helps to identify possible tendencies that may be used for formulation of hypothesis to be verified by other methods. In this particular case, the outcome is consistent with suggestion that the jury was looking for iconic design. Overall largest number of positive comments in concept category and of negative comments in functionality column suggests that jury relied on appeal of the concepts for selection of the most interesting solutions while using functional shortcomings to narrow down the list, which seems to be a reasonable approach. Since iconicity is a conceptual matter, it also makes sense that iconic design draws attention of the jury, but then is assessed on its functional merits.

If jury would be averse to iconic architecture, iconic criteria would be more likely to appear in the negative half of the table for design being too bold or creating too dramatic contrast to surrounding environment etc. In our case two negative iconicity points are the opposite, submissions were criticised for insufficient iconicity. "May" was described as "too quiet and powerless", "Röda mattan" "might be perceived as too dated". Positive iconicity points were awarded to comments like "monumental", "simple cubistic sculptural form", "unique character claiming its place along with other landmarks" etc.

Notably, some iconicity-related comments were in the J-column as well, thus iconicity was being promoted by the jury on its own, without explicit support in the competition program. It was also only jury that highlighted and evaluated building's potential as attraction for tourists and other visitors, when competition program was exclusively about services to city's inhabitants. It was only jury that discussed "news value and artistic quality" or approvingly referred to Centre Pompidou or fashion design as sources of inspiration for some submissions. Jury paid also attention to the light, views and usage of materials that were not mentioned in the competition program.

Without access to actual discussions that were taking place among the jurors, it is impossible to know which juror contributed what to the discussion, criteria and evaluation. Previous competition research indicates that jury often chooses to re-interpret the criteria based on the submissions received. My textual analysis confirms that this was the case also in UKK competition. I would argue that presence of client's top decision makers in the jury must be important factor to allow such *modus operandi*. At the same time it may be expected that independent jury members, especially if they

have relevant background as they did in UKK case, may also come with relevant additional experiences and perspectives that were not available when preparing the program. Scruton (2007:126) notes that “most users of a building are not clients of the architect; they are passers by, the residents, the neighbours: those whose horizon is invaded and whose sense of home is affected by this new intrusion”. Public sector projects offer rare objection to Scruton – all the users of the buildings mentioned by him are the members of the public, which in this case also is the client, represented by its elected politicians. Wide political spectrum represented in the jury hopefully also represents wide spectrum of aesthetic disposition or the lack of it, which should also help to select the winner whose expression reverberates with wider circles of the public, increasing social span of iconicity.

The competition system provides thus a special mechanism to close the gap between Bourdieun taste for freedom and taste for necessity¹¹ and to widen the span of iconicity of its outcome – the jury. This mechanism needs though to be appropriately tuned in order to be efficient.

Realization of iconic potential by the architect and the builder

Four months after the jury’s decision, in October 2002, City Council decided to start planning for construction of the winning proposal and incorporated a company for that purpose. An intense public debate followed the decision – representatives for local academia and business endorsed the project, while a number of other stakeholders opposed it fiercely. Advantages of the world-class venue for music and conventions were weighted against the loss of historic buildings in the area, other priorities in public spending, questionable economic feasibility of the project, insufficient involvement of the citizens in decision-making, but also against the extravagance of the building design itself. All in all, the buzz was not dissimilar to one surrounding erection of the Eiffel Tower in Paris. The project was at the center of public attention, engaging and stirring feelings. It was not an ordinary building from the very outset.

Eventually, with 49 votes against 32, City Council approved the construction in the spring of 2004. According to Bengtsson (2012), decision was contested in court only two weeks later, however unsuccessfully. Same source indicates that the project was revised in order to secure City Council’s approval – for example, number of seats was decreased from 1,350 to 1,150 and titanium surface coating was substituted with less expensive aluminum.

The corner stone was laid in April 2005 and the building was opened in September 2007. According to the Final Report (Slutrappport, 2008), construction cost was MSEK 580. Wording of the report is somewhat confusing admitting some budget overruns due

¹¹ Conceptualised by Bourdieu (2010 [1984]), *taste for necessity* refers to tendency of unprivileged classes to perceive their lack of options as their own free choice, while *taste for freedom* refers to holders of *aesthetic disposition*, the refined taste for less obvious finer points developed by the privileged classes just because they have the means and freedom to do so.

to project changes as well as changes in the market prices in the course of the construction, while also claiming certain cost savings for construction and future exploitation (e.g. due to changed air conditioning system) as well as improved future revenue potential (e.g. from additional conference facilities). The report maintains that overall budget was kept and gives no indication that iconic ambitions might have been sacrificed in the course of the project; to the contrary, “construction of a monumental building with special designs” was offered as explanation for “price---wise negative effect on the project”.

Illustrations below show the design that won the competition and the building that was actually erected for reader’s own assessment of iconicity in each case and effect of the construction phase to iconification process.



Image 1: The Uppsala Crystal as presented in the winning proposal to the jury.

Source: <http://www.arkitekt.se/s7576/f1174>



Image 2: Uppsala Concert & Congress Hall today from the same side as Image 1.

Photo: Justas Pipinis.

Promotion of iconicity by the users

How did the users of the building carry on iconification? Interestingly, on my earlier visit to Uppsala, I had completely missed the building despite it being just a few blocks away from the train station. Nothing in the city prompted me to look for it either – nothing in the postcards, nothing on the billboards or anywhere else in the public space. So I was in for surprise when my architecture---savvy friend some time later suggested to visit Uppsala to see the UKK.

While working on the essay I visited Uppsala again. This time I could catch a glimpse of UKK's façade when going uphill from the train station (the view that might have been blocked by other ongoing construction at the time of my previous visit), discreetly peeking out from behind of other buildings when looking from one of the city's main streets, but clearly rising above the city's skyline when watching from the top of the hill where the Uppsala Castle is located. While dominant in its immediate vicinity, for a major landmark I found it still a rather low---key one. More surprisingly, the building was not making much fuzz about itself on the Internet either – none of UKK's own, Uppsala City's, Destination Uppsala's (Uppsala Tourist Board) or UKK's architect's homepages featured the building upfront. If you purposefully look for it, you will eventually find it, but it won't jump out at you by itself as Eiffel Tower, Sydney Opera or Globe Arena will – either as a photograph, a logotype, a pictogram etc.



Images 3---5: UKK in relation to the old Uppsala train station building; a glimpse of UKK from one of the major streets; Uppsala Cathedral – one of the main “classic” landmarks of Uppsala.

Photo: Justas Pipinis.



Image 6: UKK as seen from the top of the hill where Uppsala Castle, another landmark of Uppsala, is located. Photo: Justas Pipinis.

I called the CEO of UKK to find about his relation to the building and what I perceived to be its unexpectedly low---key presence in the city space. CEO Magnus Bäckström assured me that the building was the main reason why he accepted the position and moved to Uppsala; it happened when City Council decided to start planning for the construction of the winning proposal. While not having been engaged in the competition itself, Bäckström was instrumental in supervision of the construction of the building and in shaping its activities. At the same time he was very surprised that the building could be perceived as low---key. In CEO's view UKK was already well---established venue not only locally and nationally, but also internationally. The building itself was according to him always present in communication and marketing, it also was reflected in the logotype of the UKK. The logo was indeed derived from geometry of the building¹², but to a point of non---resemblance. According to CEO it was a conscious choice, as too obvious replication of the building's silhouette in the logo would not have fairly reflected high level of creativity of the activities taking place in there. Participation of the building in UKK's communication was explained in a similar manner – it was most in communication tonality and color scheme that its unique and bold architecture was reflected. I found the reasoning to be a striking example of aesthetic disposition where codes for the initiated are valued higher than easy access to the public.

¹² Development of the logo is presented on <http://www.stockholmdesignlab.se/en/projects/ukk/ukk--logotype/>



Image 7: A glimpse of UKK from one of the main squares of Uppsala, Stora Torget.
Photo: Justas Pipinis.

It is not my business to assess appropriateness of this approach, as it would require another type of study altogether. I can also sympathize with CEO's view that activities in the building should not be over---shadowed by the building itself. However, from iconification point of view, I do not see that the two need to be contrasted either, to the contrary – if the fame of the building would bring more visitors to its activities, it should be just as good as music lovers and congress delegates getting exposed to fine architecture; there should be plenty of synergy between the two. Subduing building's role in communication or wrapping it in codes could arguably increase iconicity span in certain circles, but likely at the cost of iconification among wider publics. My main argument here is that what users do with the building is also part of iconification. If strength of iconic power is to be measured, the wider the social span and the more relevant symbolism at any time that the building can be informed with, the more iconic it will be.

Recognition of the icon by the publics

How iconic The Concert & Congress Hall did Uppsala get? The final answer is with each and every beholder – and as long as iconification is ongoing it is never completely final, as it is a subject for continuous reassessment. A separate survey would be needed to try and quantify the span of its iconicity at any given time. Here I will merely discuss it

against the background of initial discussion of iconicity as well as some evaluations found in secondary sources.



Image 8: UKK from the square side.
Photo: Justas Pipinis.

Building's *silhouette* does have a pictogrammic quality – its geometric shape could be reduced to a pictogram maintaining recognition even if it might not be as distinct as Libeskind's Jewish Museum in Berlin or Herzog & de Meuron's Bird's Nest in Beijing.

The name under which this design was submitted to the competition – “The Uppsala Crystal” – suggests one meaning to its form – “a reference to non---organic nature of a crystal” in a building that in the twilight “turns itself into a crystal or a prism with multiple intersections” (Bengtsson, 2012). However, its design does not restrain imagination to a gem. During its construction, some locals called it a “nuclear reactor” referring to its bold industrial shape contrasting softer lines of historical surroundings (ibid). I associated its asymmetrically turned volumes with Rubik Cube, while vertically mirrored carve---outs anchors it in the ground as much as in the sky – earthly congresses and heavenly music, perhaps? In my view it passes for the Jenck's *enigmatic signifier*.



Images 9---10: UKK from the street side; UKK from the street leading to Vaksala square.
Photo: Justas Pipinis.

The building conveys a number of meanings – some of them relate to the silhouette of the building, others originate from activities taking place inside, yet another from interaction with its environment or the public debate preceding its construction. Associations with the concerts and congresses are obvious for musicians, concertgoers, congress organizers and others who are privy to the name and type of activities the building is dedicated for. But building is also symbolic for rejuvenation and invigoration of eastern parts of Uppsala. HUI Research Report (Karlsson & Zere, 2011) even titles one chapter “UKK – a symbol for the new Uppsala” claiming that “several of interlocutors in deep interviews have said that UKK has become a kind of symbol for the emerging new dynamic Uppsala”. It also states that public opinion has changed in favor of UKK over time – citizen’s approval rating increased from 37% in 2006 to 57% in 2009. Bengtsson (2012) claims that UKK “has the same dignity as other historical landmarks” like Uppsala Castle, Uppsala Cathedral and Carolina Rediviva (University Library from 1819). “UKK launched this construction boom and earlier opposition to this new style and new identity of the place is now part of the history” (ibid). It is thus reasonable to conclude that the building has rich symbolism characteristic of an icon.

Assessment of the span is more complicated. It is reasonable to assume that citizens of Uppsala are well aware of the building due to its fairly central location as well as to the

century old public debate that eventually produced it. Hotel occupancy rates over 7 years following opening of UKK have increased by 30%, which is roughly on the same level as for the whole of Sweden during the period, nothing like the 1,000% increase in Bilbao after opening of Guggenheim. However, the building has received 4 architectural awards (one of them international) and another 6 nominations for awards (three of them international).

To conclude I would say that “The Uppsala Crystal” qualifies as a local icon in Uppsala for the time being. Its iconicity span might also be wider as national and international awards and nominations, as well as good reputation among international musicians (as claimed by UKK CEO) prompt, but I have no sufficient data to confirm that. Then again, iconicity is a status that needs to be maintained and/or developed. The City of Uppsala, the jury, the architect and the builder have done their part; further iconification or its discontinuation is in the hands of users and beholders.

Why icons?

Why would iconic architecture matter? There is no evidence that Bilbao effect would have been replicated to the same extent by anybody else. Monumental commemoration of holders of economic power is hardly in the interest of any wider circle. Finally, if centuries of trial and error have rendered some recognized canonic norms of architecture – how could it make sense to break against them?

To answer that question I would like to invoke the religious connotations of the icon against the background of the works of French sociologist Émile Durkheim. Durkheim (1964[1915]) described religion as society worshiping itself. I suggest that the same principle is at work with iconic architecture. Its attraction comes from it being perceived and celebrated as physical manifestation of the pinnacle of contemporary scientific and creative mind. When admiring architectural icons society admires less the corporates and institutions that have built them, but more its own collective creative ability, its technological progress and assumed ability to form its future. Architectural icon is thus not only a geographical landmark, but also a temporal landmark showing the way to the future, breaking new grounds, embodying new ideals and new visions of the possible.

Iconic architecture is thus more status than a genre, a status that is kept as long as the icon means something relevant, as long as it is functional as a landmark for innovation, inspiration and the unusual. It may not be difficult to just break the rules; just as easy it should be to create disposable icons that quickly get disenchanting, ordinary and dated. The real challenge is to break the rules in a way that keeps inspiring and tantalizing senses of wide populations for decades and centuries, still feeling fresh and relevant, almost within the reach – as it stands there – but yet unattainable, as something that came back from the future just to let us know that its worth moving ahead. Local icons fill the same important function, only on a smaller scale, just as The Uppsala Crystal is showing the way to the “new dynamic Uppsal”.

Finally, the toolbox

Drawing on the critical decision moments having bearing on iconification in the case study, the following iconification toolbox may be assembled:

- For selection of the form of competition:
 - Do adopt established competition standard
 - Do consider open competition
 - Don't forget to include English among the official languages
- For composition of the jury:
 - Do include renowned foreign architect with iconic portfolio
 - Do include client's decision makers
 - Don't limit the jury to the holders of aesthetic disposition
- For competition program:
 - Do communicate your iconic ambitions explicitly
 - Do communicate your budget or other limitations
 - Don't forget to provide the program in English
- For design:
 - Do consider a pictogramic silhouette for the building
 - Do envision its shape as a timeless enigmatic signifier
 - Don't employ too denotative or dated symbolism
- For facilitation of iconification throughout the lifetime of the building:
 - Do promote the competition
 - Do promote the building suggesting relevant meanings
 - Don't inhibit the iconification by passivity or too deep coding

The competition covers only first steps of the iconification process – the client's conception of iconic vision in a brief and architect's endeavour to realize it by design mediated by the jury that is called to identify the iconic quality. The task itself as well as organisation of the competition and its terms and conditions have to be right in order to generate design proposals with the potential to become iconic buildings. While insufficient to guarantee successful iconification, these steps build the necessary foundation for the whole process.

The last and critical stages of iconification are, however, in the hands of the users and the public and here I agree with Lipstadt that the public is ultimately in control. However, clients, architects and users can influence perception of the public by design of the building and its symbolism, by means of PR & marketing, by accessibility and recognition management. The public will seldom – if ever – iconify a building that was not conceived as iconic by either its creators or its users. An icon cannot be inconspicuous – and buildings do not get conspicuous by chance. The competition system provides an excellent setting, motivation and inspiration to conception of embryos of iconic architecture.

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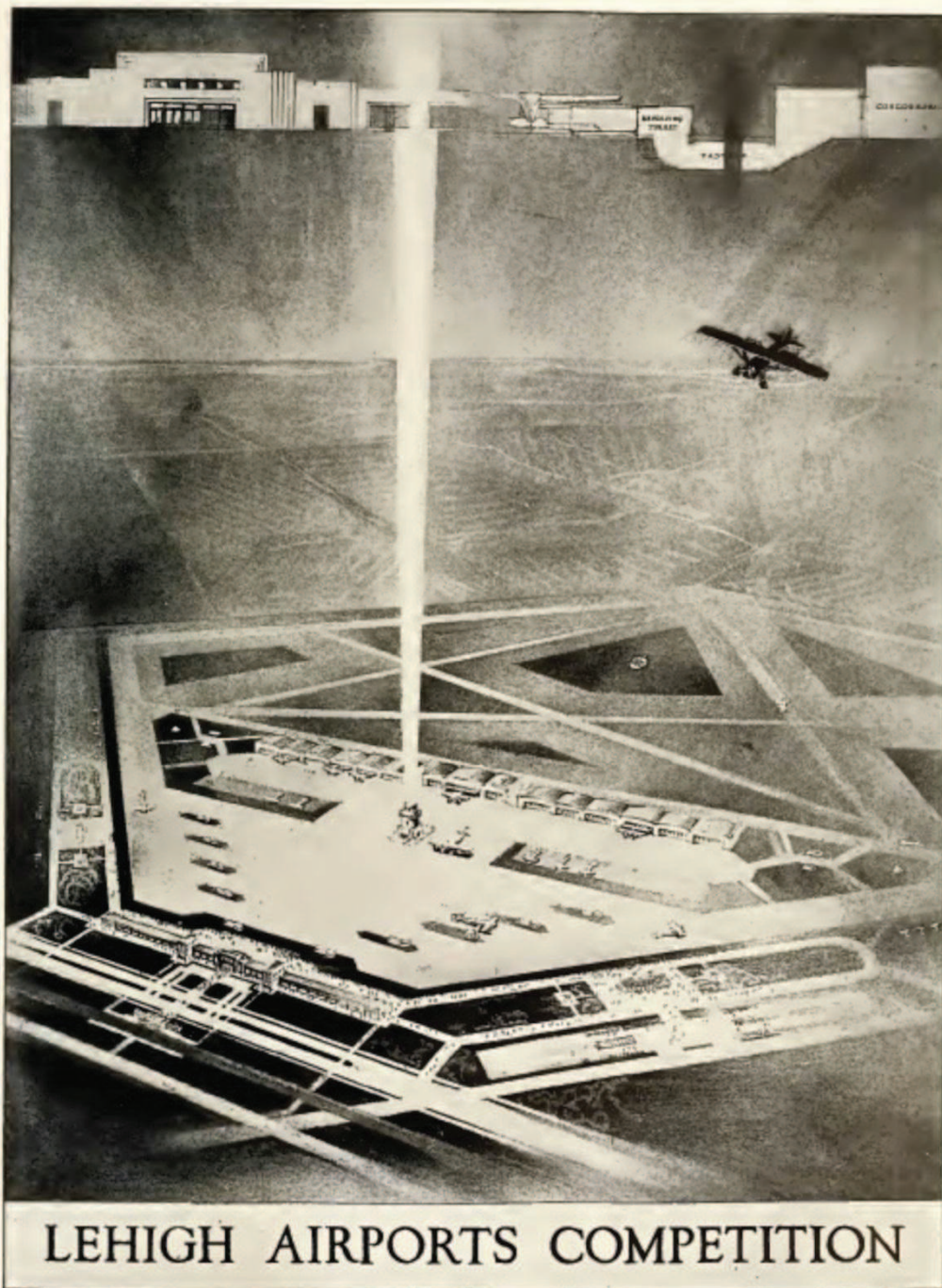
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Airports in Architectural Competitions 1920-40

Mats T. Beckman

Airports in Architectural Competitions 1920-40



Lehigh American Airport Competition 1929; Proposal by Howard Bordewich & William F. Koenig

A conference paper to the 5th International Conference on Competitions
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ACRONYMS and EXPLANATION of TERMS

CAA	Civil Aviation Administration
DDL, DNL, ABA, SAS	First national Danish, Norwegian and Swedish Airlines. Established 1918, 1919, and 1924. DDL, DNL and ABA founded Scandinavian Airlines System, SAS, in 1948.
KLM	Royal Dutch Airlines, established 1919
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects
WWI, WWII	Acronyms for the first World War 1914-1918 and the Second World War 1939-1945
FHS	Acronym for <i>Flyghamnsstyrelsen</i> , Municipal Board for Airports, Stockholm 1928-46, responsible for the planning and construction of Bromma Airport.
Aircraft	Synonyms are airplane or aeroplane. Aircraft most common today. Seaplane is the corresponding term used for aircraft constructed to operate from lakes or the sea. Flying boats is a term for multi-engined aircraft, constructed to take off and land on water.
Airfield, airport, aerodrome	<i>Airfield</i> is an open field possible to operate aircraft from. An <i>airport</i> consists of the airfield, the buildings and the technical equipment necessary for secure operations with aircraft. <i>Commercial airport</i> is used as an expression for an airport customized for regular commercial air travel. The term <i>Aerodrome</i> is a synonym for airport and was used until WWII, mostly in the UK.
Airport Building, Air Station	The buildings necessary for the operational functions of an airport, e.g. the Passenger Terminal, until the 1950s mostly referred to as the <i>Air Station</i> , which normally consisted of a station building with adjacent hangars. Other airport buildings are control tower, hangars for services and maintenance of aircraft, ramp, vehicle garages, fuel farm buildings and other kinds of service buildings. During the 1930s separate Restaurang Buildings and Airport Hotels also began appearing.
Apron	A paved area at the airport, where aircraft are parked, unloaded or loaded, refueled and serviced.
Runway	An area at an airport, reserved for aircrafts take-offs and landings. Dedicated runways were up to the 1930s often named <i>runway strips</i> . Originally they were parts of grassfields, up to 250 m wide and with a length up to 1000 m. At modern commercial airports runways are paved (asphalt or concrete), usually with a width of 45-60 m and with a length of up to 4000 m, depending on the airports altitude and the intended air traffic.
Taxi	A verb used for the ground movements of an aircraft. Taxiway is a paved road dedicated to aircrafts groundmovements.

ABSTRACT

Stockholm's first land airport opened in 1936 in Bromma, today a suburb 7 km west of Stockholm City Center. The final organization and design of the airport buildings was the result of an invited architectural competition. The airport is still operating and in 2012 it was Sweden's fourth airport in number of passengers. The air station building of 1936 and the first hangar are still in use as airport buildings and were declared national historic buildings in 2000.

In connection with a study¹ on the planning- and construction process of the Stockholm-Bromma Airport, which included the aforementioned architectural competition, a number of issues have arisen.

- Did there exist any internationally accepted recommendations or models for the design of airports and their buildings, that would have been possible and suitable to use for the programming and planning of the Bromma Airport?
- Did the solutions presented in the Bromma competition represent best practice or did they represent a new, innovative way of designing a civil airport for the future?
- Were architectural competitions appropriate methods to obtain the best solutions for the still uncertain future of aviation and airports?

To deepen the understanding of what was the background and role models for the solutions chosen for Bromma Airport, this paper describes different activities in Northern Europe and in the USA 1920-1940, to improve the state of knowledge in terms of airport design. Two talks about idea competitions for airports and some ordinary architectural competitions in Europe are reviewed. The paper also gives a detailed review of the Bromma Airport competition and concludes with a discussion about architectural competitions as a tool to develop expertise in airport planning.

INTRODUCTION

This paper is an interim report summarizing a deepening phase of an ongoing work about Swedish commercial airports from 1920 to 1950. It's based on archival studies, literature studies and knowledge gathered during my work 1990-2005 as an architect for the Swedish Civil Aviation Administration. The archival studies are carried out as reviews of three different archives, namely the Stockholm City archive, the archive of the Swedish Museum of Architecture² and the archives of the Swedish Aviation authorities.

My purpose with this paper is to highlight airport competitions and some exemplary airports from the actual period, to clarify how they eventually influenced the design of Bromma Airport and what recommendations or general models for commercial airports, that eventually were at hand. A part of the main study concerns the architectural qualities and styles that were preferred in the new airport building types that emerged. These matters are only briefly touched in this paper. My essay *The Architecture Competition for the*

¹ Mats T Beckman; *Att planera Bromma flygplats. Om arkitektinsatserna i den ursprungliga planeringen*. Arc°Plan-gruppen, KTH; ISBN 978-91-7501-684-9.

² Swedish Museum of Architecture was 2013 renamed *The Swedish Centre for Architecture and Design*.

Stockholm-Bromma Airport, 1934, constitutes a first interim report, which mainly was based on information gathered in the Stockholm City Archives.

To give a deepened insight into the details of one competition and as a back-drop to my discussion of the impact of competitions, my paper gives an account of the 1934 competition for the Bromma Airport. This part of the paper is based on a review of the competition brief, the submitted drawings and other materials found in the portfolios from the participating architects in the archives of the Swedish Museum of Architecture. The portfolios have been determined to contain the main part of the drawings and descriptions submitted to the arranging body. However, some known drawings from the competition that earlier have been published in different media, are missing from the archives. Another deficiency in the studied material is that some documents listed in the competition brief as annexes, are missing from the archives. The study has been supplemented with the architects written descriptions of their proposals and the verdict of the competition jury.

What sources and which influences affected the solutions for Bromma airport, presented in the competition? The assumption is that professional architects during the 1930s had access to and made themselves familiar with the kind of professional knowledge, necessary for the design of an airport, e.g. through pictorial and written information on airport planning and competitions for airports, in literature and in professional journals. My method has been to examine literature addressing airport design, a selection of journals from the period in question and the archived competition proposals, to find circumstantial of possible models and solutions which may have influenced the proposals for Bromma airport.

1 BACKGROUND

The two decades between WWI and WWII brought the establishment of civil aviation and a network of commercial airports serving regular air traffic, both in Europe and in the USA. The skills of aviators and the capacity and technical qualities of aircraft developed rapidly. People's confidence in air travel grew. The first air carrier companies were established around 1920. They took important roles in the development of aviation and its key infrastructure, the airport.

After WWI, the design and construction of airports for the anticipated expansion of air traffic in Europe became an urgent task. During the war a number of military airfields and aircraft factory airfields were built, mainly in Britain, France, Holland, Belgium and Germany. Some of these airfields were located in suitable proximity to towns and cities. After reconstruction, a number of those fields were adapted for civil air traffic.

According to the peace treaty after WWI, Germany was forbidden to possess an air force or develop any military aircraft. Given Germany's vast wartime experience in developing aircraft, airships and airports, they instead developed its civilian aviation industry³. This included the establishment of commercial airports and facilitating intercity air travel by aircraft and airship. Germany thus became one of the important nations in the development of commercial aviation between WWI and WWII.

³ Tamelander, M.; *Slaget om Västeuropa*; Pages 27-28.

WWI had led to a comprehensive technical development of aircraft. During the last years of the war the first multi-engine bombers were constructed. After the war some of these aircraft types were redesigned to serve as passenger aircraft, with capacity for 8-10 passengers. During the 1930s new generations of transport aircraft came into service, with even greater capacity. The most significant is probably the legendary Douglas DC-3, which meant a considerable step forward for air transport, in terms of capacity, speed and passenger comfort. In the end of the 1930s four-engined flying boats with further extended range began long-distance traffic from Europe to other continents.

An endeavor to establish new international airways grew stronger, but the construction of airports and connecting them in a network of sufficiently equipped airways, was an extensive, significant and costly task for any country. Even if there were no general agreements on who should take economic and managerial responsibility for the airports, municipalities and governmental bodies as well as private interests in many European countries took initiatives to locate, plan and construct them. The high rate of unemployment in the beginning of the 1930s also meant, that the preconditions for labour-intensive projects, like the construction of freeways and airports, were favourable.

The primary goal of many European countries was to achieve a national network of airports and connecting it to the emerging international network. The swift development of commercial aviation, the forming of new air carrier companies⁴, the scale of the airport construction task itself combined with the lack of well-founded knowledge about relevant airport designs and an economical uncertain time, seems to have slowed down the development. In many ways the planning situation for European airports in the end of the 1920s, seems to have been somewhat unsettled⁵.

2 GENERAL REQUIREMENTS FOR AIRPORTS

The first and simplest form of airfield standard was an obstacle-free flat circular grass-field with a maximum gradient of 1:100, a radius of at least 500 meters and enough carrying capacity for aircraft regularly using the field. This meant a sufficient size for aircraft to take off or land into any winddirection. Hangars were usually placed side by side, close to the perimeter of the field. When air stations were introduced they mostly were located close to the hangars. It became best practice to arrange a common apron for the station and the hangars. To mark the airport and to make it easier to detect from the air, it was common to mark the middle of the airfield with a white circle.

⁴ British AT&T was established 1916, Danish DDL, Norwegian DNL 1918, Dutch KLM 1919, German DLR 1917 and Swedish ABA 1924. John Zukowsky, Edit.; *Building for Air Travel*, page 32.

⁵ See W. Voigt; *From Hippodrome to Aerodrome, from the Air station to the Terminal*; page 27-65.



Pic 1: The Lindbergh Field, San Diego, Cal., USA, with it's marked 500m-radius circular field and an adjoining seaplane-harbour. Animated picture for a 1927 presentation.

Until the end of the 1920s this was the most common model for airports. Ultimately the surrounding terrain governed the form of the airfield. Based on this model and international practices, the Swedish CAA e.g. published it's first regulations "Provisions concerning approval and classification of airports for land aircraft" in 1932⁶, which was to become basic requirements for new airports in the country. However those regulations did not impose any requirements for the airport buildings, despite the fact that such requirements were needed. As air traffic grew the need for separate facilities for the passengers, dedicated paved runways and separate taxiways became apparent.

The first physical recommendations for the design of airports were published in USA in 1919⁷. A common requirement for localization was that the airport should be situated within a radius of 4-5 km from the business centre of a city served. Noise-disturbances were not yet considered a problem. The heavier aircraft became, the more it was realized that paved runways were necessary. In coastal cities the airfields preferably were positioned at shore locations, with an air station for land aircraft and boarding bridges for the sea-planes, to function as a so called amphibious air station.

Until the middle of the 1920s the limited number of passengers were mostly directed to simple waiting spaces, integrated into hangars. In the beginning of the 1920s, the art of designing and constructing hangars and giving them architecturally attractive facades towards the airfield became commonplace. But the growing number of passengers became increasingly important as an economic base for aviation. Security matters also affected the need to control the flows of passengers and cargo to and from the aircraft. The deve-

⁶ Meddelande från Luftfartsmyndigheten, nr 1 1932.

⁷ *Municipal Landing Fields for Air Service*, US Army Air Corps; see G. Szurovy; *The American Airport*, page 20-21.

lopment necessitated the erection of a separate air station buildings, complementing the hangars.



Pic 2: Aerial picture of the Königsberg land airport 1922, with the station building flanked by two hangars and with a common paved apron.

During the first half of the 1920s it was still common to locate passenger amenities in the hangars. The Swedish cities of Malmö and Gothenburg opened municipal airports for commercial air traffic in 1923. In both cases ticketing and waiting spaces for passengers were integrated into hangars⁸. From the middle of the 1920s, separate air station buildings became common at European airports. They were fairly diverse in their architectural styles. It is argued that the first purpose built air station opened 1921⁹ at the Königsberg Airport, East Prussia. It was located in one corner of a 800x800 m rectangular grassfield, with a concrete apron for the aircraft in front of the air station and standalone hangars on both sides.

Following the tentative steps taken in the 1920s, the 1930s became a century of extensive airport construction. Older airports were modernized and got their air stations. New airports to serve the emerging passenger traffic were planned and constructed. New navigational aids made it possible to fly in bad weather and at night. This development also influenced the general design of the air fields and the way aircraft docked to the air stations and moved around the field. The economy of aviation improved through the growing number of passengers. Paved runways became more common as aircraft got heavier and the interest for better operational security and passenger comfort grew. Through its central role in airport operations, the air station became a natural main building. The 1930s led to the design and construction of a number of notable European air stations¹⁰.

⁸ Beckman, Mats; *Flygplatsens Arkitektur*. Pages 126-128.

⁹ Zukowsky, John; ed; *Building for Air Travel; From the Hippodrome to the Aerodrome*; Essay by Wolfgang Voigt; pages 33-34;

¹⁰ Examples: Air station buildings at Leipzig-Halle Airport (1931) in Germany, London-Gatwick Airport (1936) and Ramsgate Airport in Britain (1937) and Paris-Le Bourget Airport (1938) in France.

Airport Modernism - a suitable costume for the new building types

During the period between the two world-wars, airport buildings were new and emerging building types. The first airport building type was the hangar, the utility building to protect and maintain aircraft. Originally they were named *sheds*, an expression still sometimes used. When air stations became more common they were supposed to meet the requirements of expanding air traffic, new aircraft types and its ascending significance as the airports main building. Which architectural qualities would be appropriate and what style would be fashionable? In Europe and the US they occurred as local interpretations derived from varying architectural, economic and technological prerequisites and conditions. The general development of architectural styles that took place in different countries of course was a significant impact on airport building design.

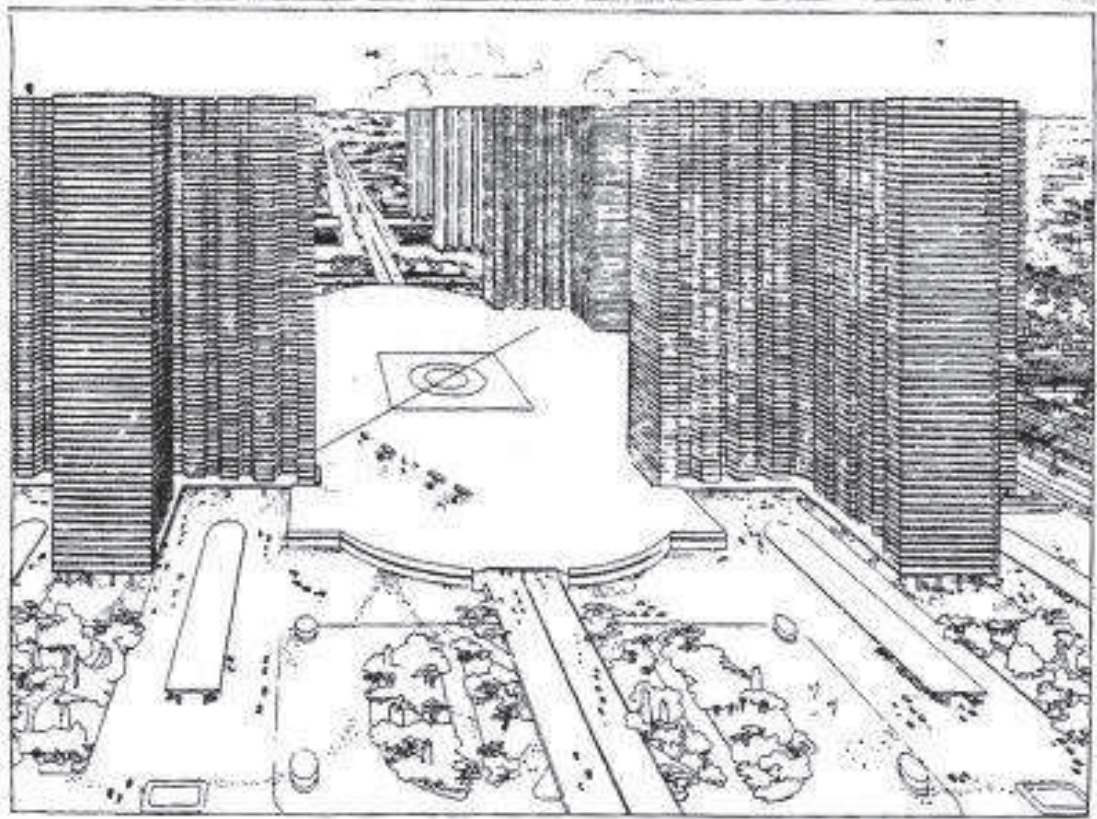
In Europe a modest neo-classicism dominated public buildings' architecture until the middle 1920s. It eventually had to give way to a modernistic architecture, which quickly came to dominate airport buildings and take advantage of the new construction technologies. Modernism became the most common idiom for airport buildings of the late 1920s and 1930s. Modernism varied in expression depending on where it occurred. Local and national architectural airport building styles were labeled modernism but also appeared under concepts such as Art Deco (USA, UK), Functionalism (Nordic Countries, Germany and in several other countries), Spanish Colonial Revival (California) and Adobe Revival (Arizona).

3 PROFICIENCY IN AIRPORT PLANNING

Architects and engineers engaged in airport planning during the 1920s seldom had previous educational or professional experience within this field. Aviation was still something of a strange phenomenon for those who were supposed to plan and construct for it. There were no fixed standards for airport buildings and the possibility of finding good enough models among already existing airports were limited. Up until the beginning of the 1920s civil engineers and military fortification officers often were those responsible for European and American airport planning, architecture and construction.

As aviation expanded, knowledge of and interest in the construction of airports grew among professionals. Architects were early to show interest in this area of work. One of the first examples was the French architect Donat-Alfred Agache, who in 1912 received third prize in the international urban planning competition for Canberra, the new federal capital of Australia. He was one of very few competitors, who presented an airport as an integrated part of the urban plan.

Examples of more or less successful models for new airports appeared frequently in connection with important public exhibitions. The French architect Le Corbusier presented *Ville Contemporaine*, an idea of a future city, at the World Exhibition in Paris 1925. One of its main features was a city-integrated airport, forming a square between four gigantic high-rise buildings, with an underground motorway junction, parking garage and a railway station below the airport.



Pic 3: Le Corbusier; *Ville Contemporaine* with the city-integrated airport.

In order to collect, develop and improve dissemination of necessary knowledge to secure good performance of modern airports, a number of activities were tried around 1930. The emerging aviation authorities in different countries, municipalities, professional organizations and individuals, air carrier companies and others implemented

- the forming of semi-official airport committees, e.g. in England and France
- professionally organized studytours to collect facts and impressions
- researchprojects to collect, process and evaluate information about airports
- architectural competitions for the development of airport master plans and buildings
- dissemination and publication of information about airports and their technical and functional requirements

When architects began getting commissions to design airports, the pattern books of contemporary urban planning and architectural classicism were of little help. Modernism as an architectural style and as a working method fitted the airport planners. As there were no established role models for airports, a reasonable solution demanded that the architect did his/hers own basic research on what was to be drawn. Together with the client, architects had to clarify which minimum requirements should be at hand, when processing the brief for an airport project.

There were a number of ways to learn about the design of modern airports and air stations. One type of source was printed information with reports from new airport planning and construction. The most common sources for European architects probably were presentations and discussions in domestic and international professional journals. Examples are the British *RIBA Journal*, *Architectural Review* or *the Architectural Associations Journal*, French *Architecture Aujourd'hui*, German *Der Baumeister* and Swedish *Byggmästaren* (the Master Builder), which published articles and presentations on airport de-

sign, architectural competitions on airports and descriptions of technical airport equipment.

In the second half of the 1920s a number of organized attempts to collect and systemize information on the structure and design of new airports were launched. A background for this was the functional failures of important national airports, like London-Croydon and Paris-le Bourget, which eventually resulted in initiatives to form committees to investigate the problems and to come up with recommendations for the future. Those committees were, among other things, initiators of architectural competitions for airports.

In England RIBA together with the Air Ministry set up an *Aerodromes Committee* in 1928, which included architects chosen by the Institute and an equal number of experts appointed by the Air Ministry, the Ministry of Health, the leading British airline operator Imperial Airways and aircraft manufacturers. The over all objective of the committee was to collect all possible information about existing or projected airports and to stimulate interest in and stressing the importance of aerodrome provision¹¹. Among other activities, the committee implemented research groups to systematically collect and organize facts about airport development, e.g. through implementation of research-studytours to US and European airports. Another background was about fifty municipalities in Britain seriously considering the construction of a municipal airport. The need of guidelines and ideas about airport design and construction was significant. The committee's first interim report, published 1931, was mainly concerned with the master plan problems of aerodromes.

From the late 1920s and onwards, an intensive period of construction of separate, purpose built air stations started at many European airports. To illustrate this the following table shows a selection of examples. It's important to underline that the table doesn't give a statistical account for all new air stations of the period. The table indicates, that it often took quite a number of years after inauguration of the airfield, until an appropriate air station was in place and that they quite often were subjects of competitions. From the Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel airport 1929 to the inauguration of the first purposebuilt air station at the Copenhagen Airport 1938, at least 6 out of 15 new air stations presented in the table were results of architectural competitions. Still, several of the air stations presented may also have been preceded by a competition.

¹¹ The RIBA Journal, 30 April 1932, page 501.

20 examples of European air stations* opened 1921-1936

Airport	Airport opened	Terminal* opened	Comments
Königsberg-Preussen	1921	1921	Closed after WWII. Demolished
Wien-Aspern	1912	1928	Airport closed 1977. Demol.
London-Croydon	1920	1928	Main London airport until -46
Brussel-Haren	1920	1929	Airport closed -52. Demolished
Leipzig-Halle	1927	1929	Demolished.
Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel	1909	1929	Arch. competition**
Berlin-Tempelhof	1923	1929	Arch. competition . Demol.
Amsterdam-Schiphol	1916	1929	Air station demolished
Stuttgart-Böblingen	1925	1930	Air station now hotel
München-Oberwiesenfeld	1909	1931	Arch. competition . Demol.
Madrid-Barajas	1928	1931	Term. changed to other use
London-Heston	1929	1932	Closed -47, replaced by LHR.
St Petersburg-Pulkovo	1932	1933	Now cargo terminal.
Warszawa-Okecie	1934	1934	Destroyed in WWII.
Budapest-Budaors	1930	1935	Circular air station plan
Paris-le Bourget	1919	1936	Arch. competition
London-Gatwick	1933	1936	'The Bee-Hive'/circular plan
Stockholm-Bromma	1936	1936	Arch. competition
Riga-Spilve	1915	1937	Term. destroyed WWII
Copenhagen-Kastrup	1925	1938	Arch. competition

* *Air Station* was the contemporary term for to days Air Terminal. The air station in this table refers to the first purpose built airport building for the control of the flows of passengers and air cargo to and from the aircraft.

** The comment **Arch. competition** indicates that the air station was the result of an architectural competition.

The development of international commercial aviation and its airports was important news around Europe and the US in the 1920s. This was reflected in newspapers, popular and professional journals, exhibitions and in academic discussions about aviation and its future. During this period architects and engineers must have had many impressions of contemporary aviation and been keen to contribute to its future. Unfortunately their efforts were hampered by the often difficult economic situation around 1930 and the lack of but a few practical guidelines and regulations for airport planning.

In an issue of RIBA Journal 1932¹² an illustrated report from the Aerodromes Committee was published. It is a broad and comprehensive presentation of contemporary airport design, from air field layout to design of air stations. The author, John Dower, gives a description of contemporary airport issues and different examples of good solutions, from Europe as well as from the US. Further he discusses the future of airport architecture and highlights several examples of new air stations as exemplary. It's probable that this report had a broad impact on European airport construction of the 1930s.

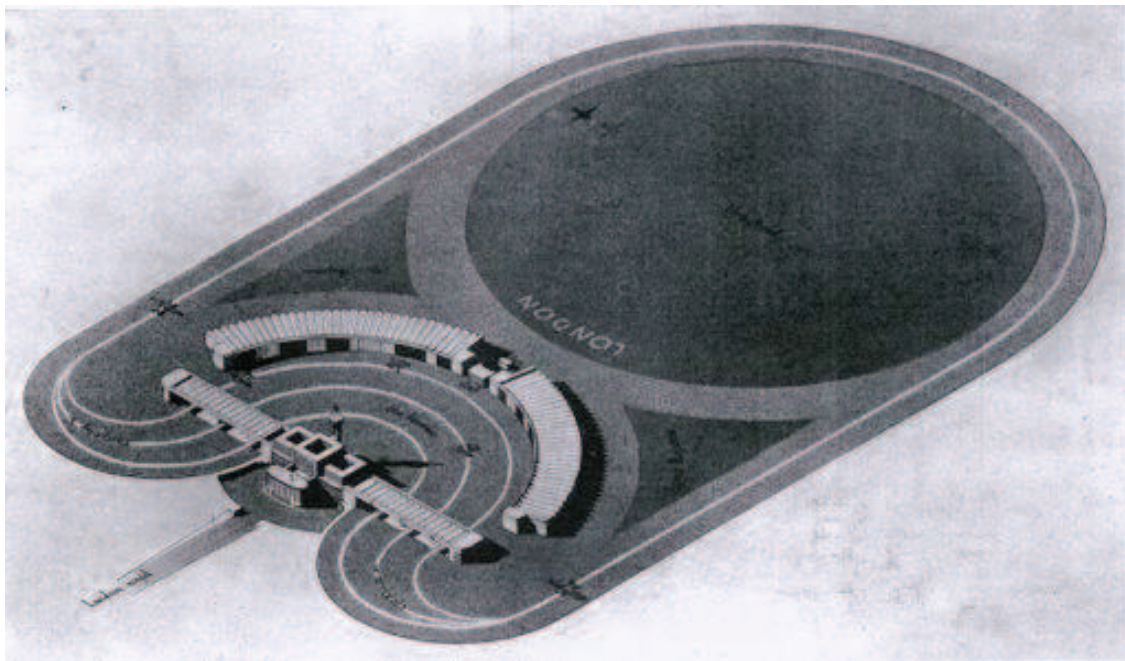
¹² Dower, John, secretary R.I.B.A Aerodromes Committee; *Aerodromes*; Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 30 April 1932;

4 ARCHITECTURAL COMPETITIONS FOR AIRPORTS

This chapter describes two idea competitions for airports conducted in Britain and the USA in the end of the 1920s. The overall objective of those competitions were to develop new models for the design of ideal airports for regular air traffic, including the localization and design of the buildings necessary. A final presentation of a selection of ordinary architectural competitions for airports and a couple of exemplary airports being results of competitions, summarizes the chapter.

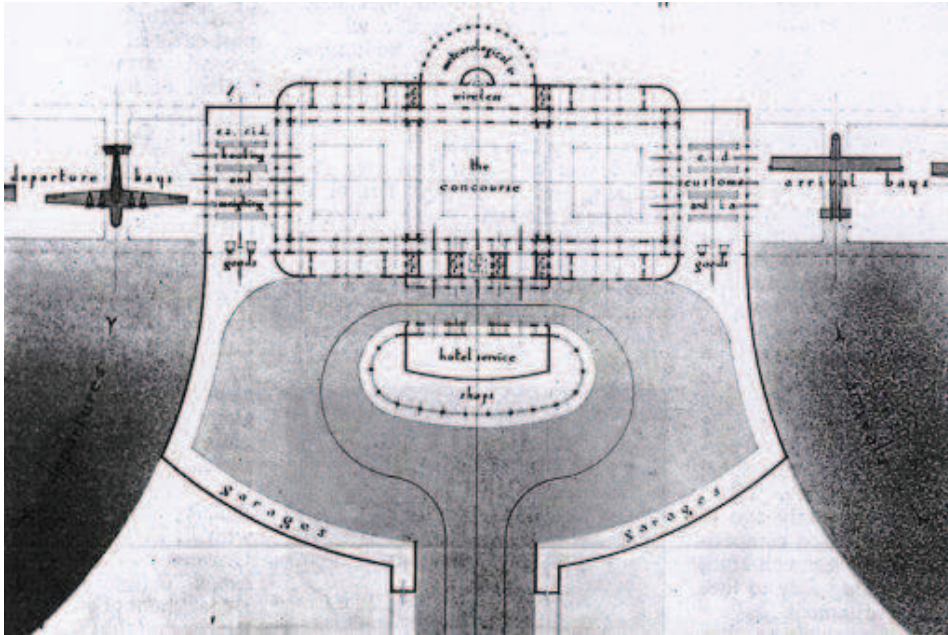
The RIBA Competition for Design of an Aerodrome¹³

Initiative for the competition was taken 1928 by RIBA *Aerodromes Committee*. At that time there were about fifty municipalities in Britain, seriously considering the construction of a municipal airport, so the need of guidelines and ideas about airport design and construction was significant. The concrete aim of the competition was the design of a future aerodrome for London, thought to be implemented 1943. Besides the direct aim, the competition functioned as one of RIBAs actions to promote architects as airport planners. Twentythree submissions were received. Three prizes were awarded, two of them as shared first prize.



Pic 4: Aerodrome for London 1943. First prize proposal by D.H. McMorrان. Taxi-ing aircraft follow the white lines. 3+3 protected stands for arriving respectively departing aircraft. A semi-circular row of hangars protects the boarding area from the air-field.

¹³ Journal of the RIBA 36, no 8 (Febr 23, 1929); Architect's Journal 69 (Jan 30, 1929). Documentation of the result of the competition.



Pic 5: *Aerodrome for London 1943, first prize by D.H. McMorran. Detail of the plan of the air station building. Illustrates the lay-out for the separation of arriving and departing aircraft. Passengers arrive (right) and depart (left) under covered stands for the aircraft, connected to the station-hall.*

The Lehigh American Airport Competition 1929-30

The Lehigh competition was triggered by new US aviation legislation, by a comprehensive national program for the construction of municipal airports and by the increased public interest in aviation created by Charles Lindbergh's solo flight across the Atlantic 1927. The competition was financed by Lehigh Portland Cement Company. The general purpose was to stimulate the construction of airports, to develop new ideas on how airports should be designed and to help establish new standards for airport construction. The invitation to compete was addressed to "Architects, engineers and city planners, preferably working in collaboration with representatives of the aeronautic industry, and those with practical flying experience". A Committee was appointed to work out the brief. A nine-member jury was chaired by an architect and consisted of well known members of different professional specialist categories¹⁴.

The competition brief was focused on a city integrated airport. The airports would ideally be able to fit in an average US city plan. A master plan and proposals for the different kind of buildings needed at a modern commercial airport, should be submitted. The site was determined as a field with the approximate dimensions 1070 x 1070 m, with the necessary open spaces around the field and with 30 m wide paved runways arranged so that aircraft could land or take off in a number of directions. The brief underlined the importance of the freest expression of new ideas and concepts.

257 entries to the competition were submitted. Four prizes and twelve honorable mentions were awarded. The jury summarizes that the collected results of the competition had given many future oriented new solutions to problems described in the brief.

Examples of proposed new solutions are

¹⁴ Black, A.; *American Airport Designs*; Documentation of the First National Contest for Designs of Modern Airports held in the United States.

- reserved taxiways to eliminate the need for runway taxi-ing,
- parallel runways reserved for either takeoff or landing,
- new principles for aircraft movements on the airfield,
- systems for boarding/deplaning of several aircraft at the same time,
- satellite air stations, e.g. with telescoping passageways to the aircraft,
- separation of departing and arriving passengers,
- new solutions for the passengers secure boarding,
- integration of commercial elements into the fabric of the stations building.

The examples mentioned are obvious and wellknown features of many of today's airports.

The result of the Lehigh competition was presented in a book published in New York 1930. The book is informative and presents the brief and all the prize-winning and honorary mentioned and a selection of other submissions. The book is searchable as an E-book via [www](http://www.archive.org/details/americanairportd00lehi)¹⁵.

The Lehigh competition is probably the most talked about of the airport competitions of the actual period. The extensive publication of the results contributed to its relative importance. Information about the competition was also spread in Europe. It's likely that the ideas included in the many proposals had impact on contemporary airport designs. In descriptions of new airports from the middle of the 1930s you can find references to various Lehigh competition proposals. Examples found are e.g. the air stations of Budapest-Budaors and London-Gatwick and in the submissions of the Stockholm-Bromma competition.

The cover page of this paper shows one of the non-rewarded proposals. On the following pages the first prize drawings are shown.

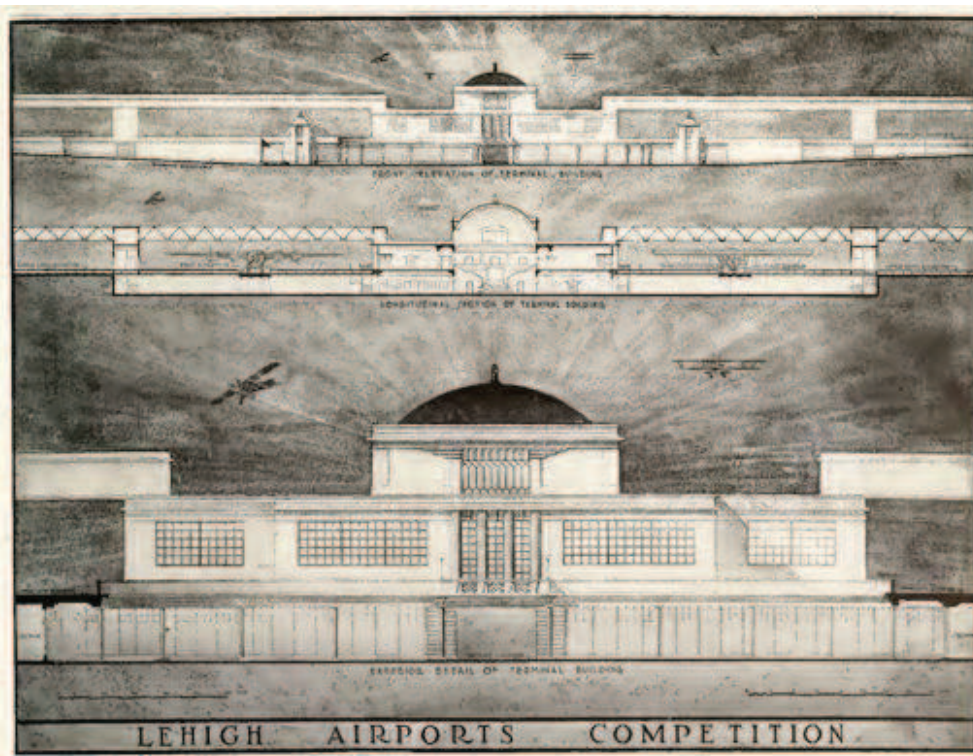
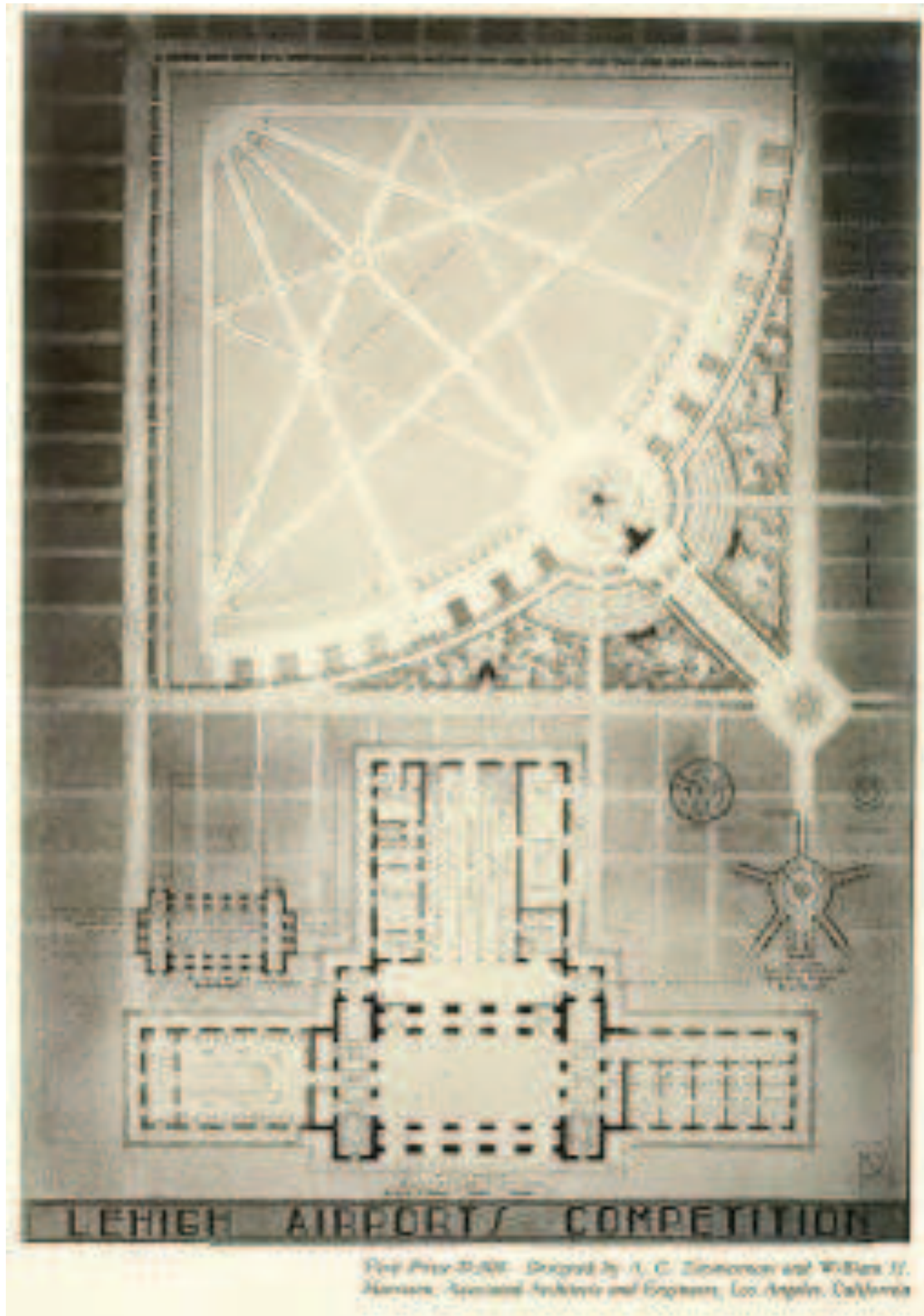
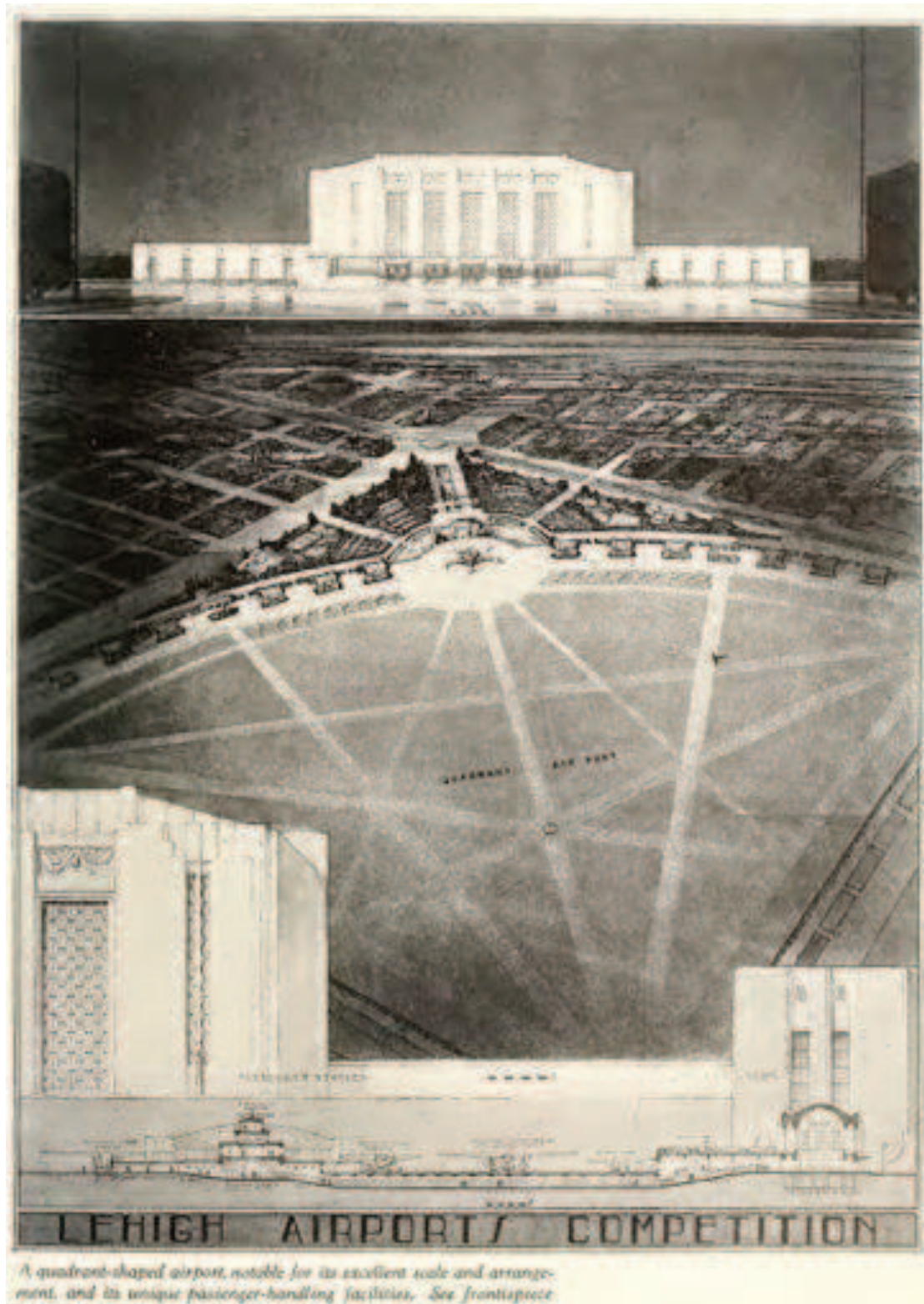


Fig 6: 3rd prize Lehigh competition. Proposal for an air station by O. Nansen and L. Squire, city planners. Note two-level solution, passenger walks underground to and from the aircraft. It's interesting to note similarities to the 1st prize proposal of the RIBA-competition.

¹⁵ E-version at www.archive.org/details/americanairportd00lehi (2013-04-10)



Pic 7: First prize proposal by A.C. Zimmerman and William H. Harrison. Master Plan and ground floor plan of the Air Station and floorplans of the satellite building for boarding on the apron.



Pic 8: First prize proposal by Zimmerman and Harrison. Entrance facade, axonometric perspective of the air field and section showing the main building and the underground walkway to the apron satellite. Note protected telescoping passageways for passengers, from the satellite to the aircraft.

A selection of Architectural Competitions for airports 1929-38

There also occurred a number of ordinary European architectural competitions for airports, focused on the design of construction projects. The table shows six such competitions, mentioned in the table at page 9. Since my study so far has been limited to the northern European countries and my review isn't comprehensive, it doesn't present a complete review of all possible European airport competitions from those years.

The table names the airports and the year of inauguration of the air stations that were the results of the particular competition¹⁶.

AIRPORT	YEAR	COMMENTS
Berlin-Tempelhof	1929	Competition 1926. Architects: Paul und Klaus Engler. Air station buildings of 1929 demolished 1945. Airport closed 2010.
Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel	1929	Competition 1926. Architects: F. Dyrssen & P. Averhoff. Airport still exists. Air station demolished.
München-Oberwiesenfeld	1931	Competition 1925. Architect: K.J. Mossner. Air station demolished. The former air field used for the 1972 Olympics.
Paris-le Bourget	1937	Competition 1935. Architect: Georges Labro. Air station building still exists, partly used as aviation museum.
Stockholm-Bromma	1936	Competition 1934. Architect: Paul Hedqvist. Air station building still exists but not used for terminal purposes.
Copenhagen-Kastrup	1938	Competition 1936. Architect: Wilhelm Lauritzen. Air station building of 1938 moved and rebuilt at a new location at the airport.

As examples of what was achieved by those competitions, I have selected Berlin and Hamburg. Their air stations came to mean a lot as good examples of foresight solutions, for instance for the planners of the Stockholm-Bromma airport. Both represents future oriented air stations and became stepping stones for the development of other air stations during the 1930s.

Berlin-Tempelhof Aerodrome 1923-29

The former military training field at Tempelhof in Berlin was deposited as the new *Zentrallufthafen* in 1920. It replaced the old Johannisthal airfield, that mainly had been used for air meets and as an airship base. A plan for a new aerodrome at Tempelhof was set up in the beginning of the 1920s. An architectural competition for the air station was organized 1926 and architects Paul and Klaus Engler received the first prize for a modernist air station proposal, designed for the growing air traffic. It was flanked by two large hangars and equipped with a station hall, restaurant and a large café terrace on the roof, an administrative department, hotel-rooms and a couple of separated courtyards for visitors/spectators in front of the station building. A covered walkway for passengers and a controltower was located in the buildings central axis towards the airfield.

¹⁶ The German competitions are described in *Der Baumeister* nr 25, 1927, and nr 28 1930.



Pic 9: The original Tempelhof field was slightly elliptic with a maximum dimension of 1200 m. The grassfield was surrounded by a paved taxi-way with adjoining start aprons in the field's periphery. Copy of part of a tourist map from the late 1920s.



Pic 10: The first Tempelhof air station. Arch. P. and K. Engler.

The architectural character of the Tempelhof station was determined by horizontal bands of brick or windows. It was the largest air station built in Europe so far, a compact building with a strong horizontal character. The plan was slightly bent with the curvature of the elliptical field. Two high radiomasts and a control tower were visual markings for the air station.

This first Tempelhof Air Station and the two hangars were used until 1945. The first Tempelhof airport was considered having one of the most modern air stations in Europe. Those responsible for the Stockholm-Bromma Airport e.g. visited Tempelhof several times to study the air station and the arrangements of the airfield. In 1935, architect Ernst Sagebiel was commissioned by the new Nazi government to draft a proposal for a new and even larger airport, which would better fit the planned city of Germania, the future capital of the Third Reich. The airfield was considerably enlarged and a new larger air station structure was designed in the northwestern part of the enlarged field¹⁷. The construction started 1936 but the gigantic facility wasn't finished until 1945. The first air station was in operation until then. The airport served for many years and was finally closed in 2010.

The Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel Aerodrome 1927-29

Another important example of new airport designs was the Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel air station, inaugurated 1929. The airfield had served as a station for regular airship routes since 1909. It had also been a hot spot for local airshows.

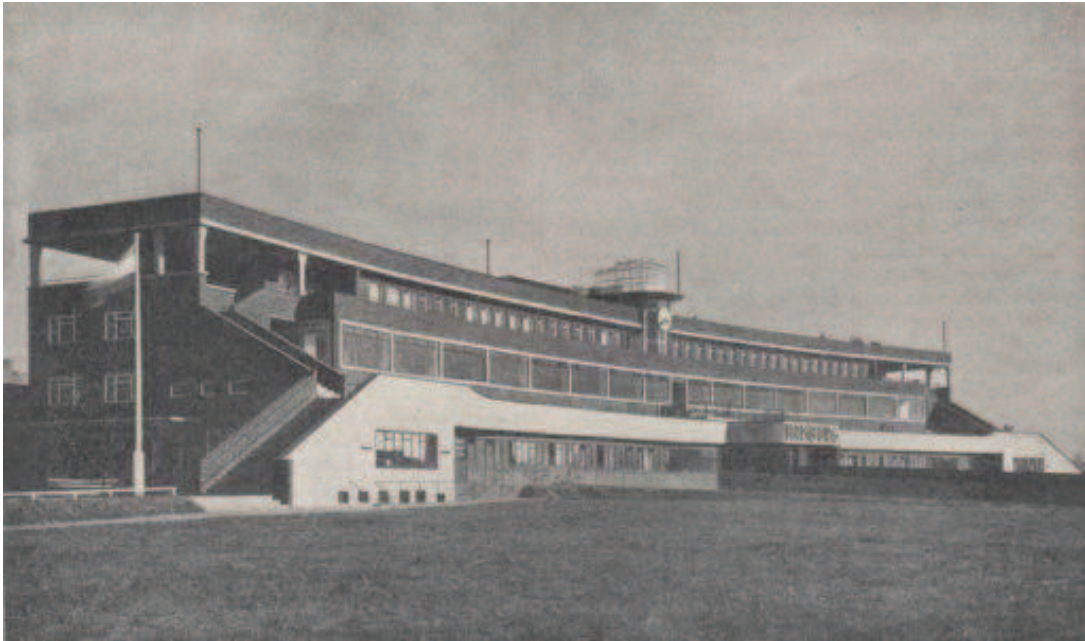
The new air station was the result of an architectural competition 1926. The field itself had all the characteristics of the classic 1920s airfield, with a free circular operational surface with a 500 m radius. A novelty was the arrangement of the air station buildings and its good connection with the local road network and a light rail station.

The architectural character of the building was largely determined by horizontal bands of brick with intervening bands of windows or terraces, a popular design concept of the modernistic German air stations from this period. It is flanked by two hangars and with a common apron in front of the three buildings. The station building is gently curved, parallel with the operational circle of the field, as for to embrace the activities of the field. At the airside of the station building a protected walkway for the passengers leads to the aircraft stands. On both sides of the walkway there are fenced grassfields accessible from the street, used for airshow spectators. The solution principles are relatively similar to those at Tempelhof, the two competitions taking place almost in parallel during the same year.

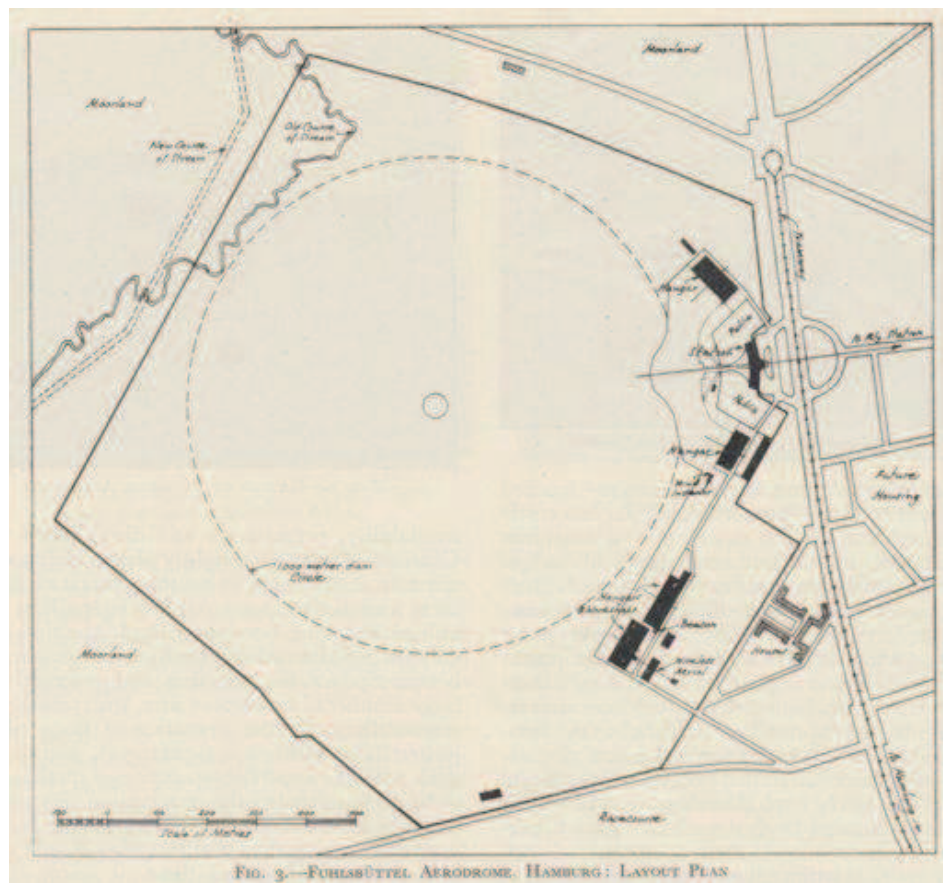
The fronts of the two hangars on both sides of the air station are positioned with a 40° angle to a line between the center of the station building and the midpoint of the field. The arrangement strengthens the embracing effect of the buildings. The air station itself also functions as a kind of architectural variant of the classic Grand Stand at a Hippodrome, with space for up to 4500 spectators on the roofs and terraces, with an open restaurant terrace towards the field and dedicated yards for spectators in front. The grouping of

¹⁷ Dittrich, E.; *Der Flughafen Tempelhof*, Lukas Verlag, Berlin 2006.

the three station buildings and their architecture is a notable piece of deliberate placemaking and geometrical elegance.



Pic 11: The Hamburg Air Station 1929, with its glazed control room top middle, restaurant-terrace and spectators stands towards the airfield. Architect: Dyrssen & Averhoff.



Pic 12: Hamburg Fuhlsbüttel Aerodrome map 1929. Architects: Dyrssen & Averhoff. Note the station building and its flanking hangars, the landside approach plaza with a light rail line and the two fenced spectator areas on both sides of the station building.

5 THE ARCHITECTURAL COMPETITION 1934 FOR STOCKHOLM-BROMMA AIRPORT

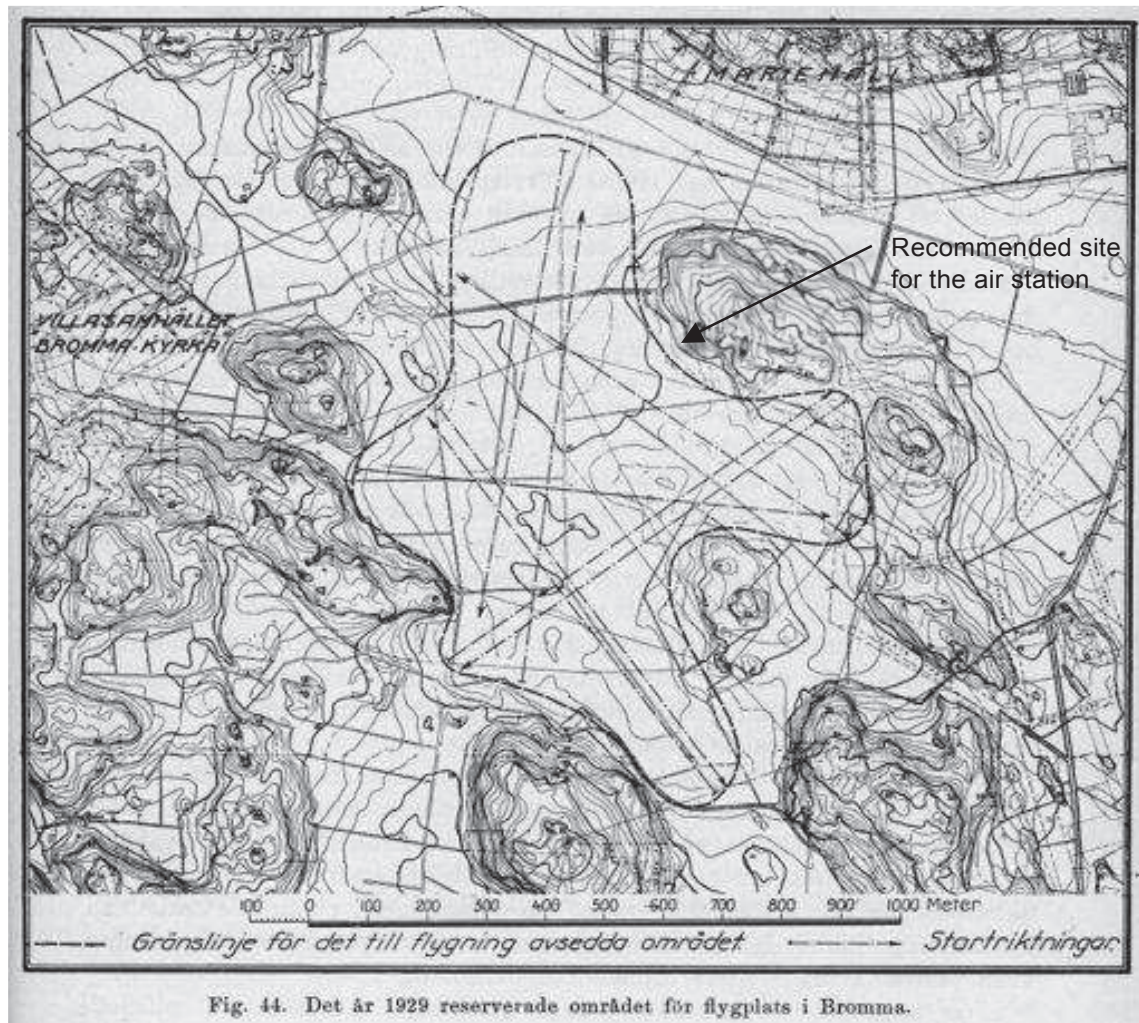
The lengthy process of establishing a first commercial airport in Stockholm was completed with the inauguration of Stockholm-Bromma Airport in May 1936. The rapid development of aviation was a challenge for those responsible for the planning of the new airport. It was desirable that it should keep the highest possible international standards. But which was the nature and details of such a standard? Consequently an important issue was what recommendations, knowledge and/or role models that should be chosen for the Bromma Airports design.

Initial planning¹⁸

A joint state-municipal investigation was launched in 1919 to find a suitable location for a land airport in Stockholm. The Skarpnäck fields, about 8 km south of the city center, were proposed 1921. Doubt arose with respect to the suitability of the field. A decision was eventually made to change the location to the Riksby fields in Bromma, about 7 km west of the city centre, the main reason being that the preconditions for visual orientation were better and the surroundings somewhat less hilly than those in Skarpnäck. In 1929, the City Council finally stated the location and reserved the Bromma field. The area covered 175 hectares.

A municipal board for the airports of the city was appointed 1928, Flyghamnsstyrelsen (FHS, my abbreviation), to be responsible for the city's forthcoming airport and with the immediate task to control the planning and construction. A search for suitable models for the airport was initiated. Wide-ranging consultations with airport managers, international specialists and airline companies were carried out. A planning group made study-tours to airports in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany and Denmark. A first, preliminary designprogram was formed. In 1933 a combined state-municipal *Airport Delegation* with two delegates from FHS and two from the Swedish CAA was appointed to finalize the planning of the new airport.

¹⁸ Beckman, Mats T.; *Att planera Bromma flygplats. Om arkitektinsatserna i den ursprungliga planeringen*; TRITAMARKMForskningspublikationer 2013:2. A more detailed description of the planning process is given in this essay.



Pic. 13: The Riksby fields in Bromma 1929. The first airport map with the operative borders and eight runway directions marked. The hilly surroundings and the crammed airport field are clearly visible.

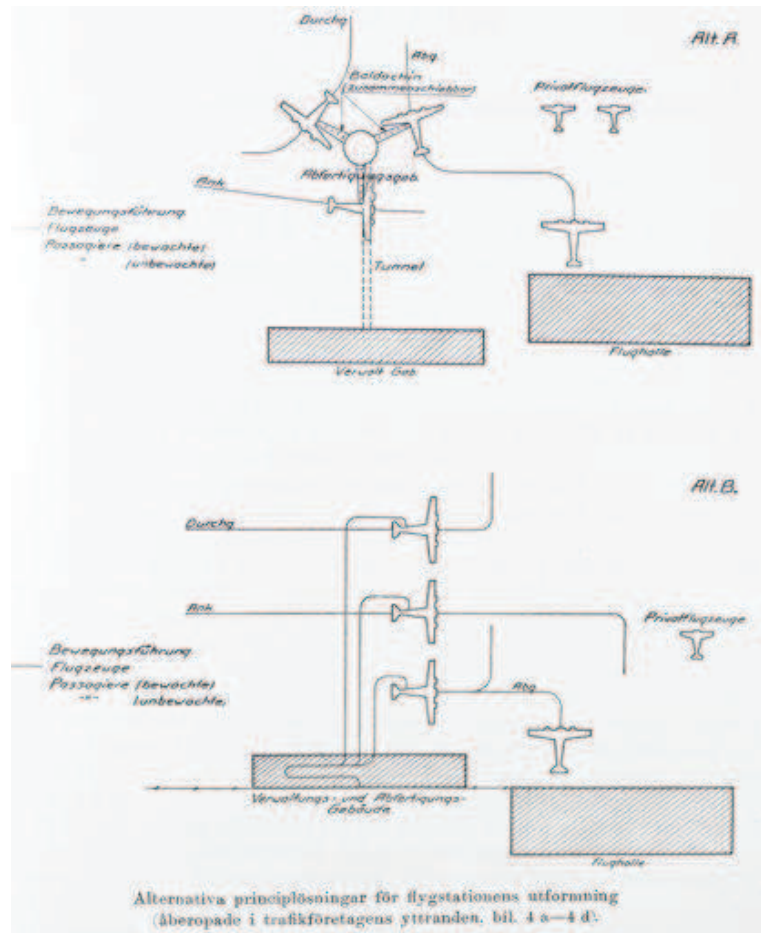
Competition brief

The Delegation chose to resolve the question of best solution for the Bromma air station through an *architectural competition*. The aim was to compile a master plan for the airport and to design the air station. The brief was substantially comparable to brief for a regular architectural competition. The Delegation wrote the brief, invited architects to compete, supervised the process, acted as a jury and delivered a final proposal to the prospective developer, the City of Stockholm.

In 1932, the Swedish CAA published "Provisions concerning approval and classification of airports for land aircraft"¹⁹, the first complete Swedish airport regulations. The new airport should reach the requirements of a Class I-airport by the regulations. The brief recommended a siting of the air station towards a hill in the north-eastern part of the airport area (see map pic 13). The detailed space-requirements for the needed buildings were outlined in the brief. The architects were supposed to submit a master plan of the airport, a detailed plan for the air station area and design proposals for the buildings.

¹⁹ Notification nr 1 from the Swedish Aviation Authority 1932, *Bestämmelser rörande godkännande och klassificering av flygplatser för lantflygplan*.

The master plan should also include two hangars, approach road system, car-parking spaces and proposed siting of eventual complimentary buildings. Proposed principles for parking of aircraft, adjacent to the station building, were specified in an annex to the brief.



Pic 14: Annex to the brief. Principles for the parking of aircraft in front of the air station and an adjoining hangar. A proposal for the Bromma Air Station, from the consultation of the DLH 1931.

Invited architects

Four well-known younger Swedish architects were invited to undertake the parallel investigations: Gunnar Asplund, Paul Hedqvist, Sigurd Lewerentz and Sven Markelius. They were all below 50 years of age and considered belonging to the Swedish architectural elite of the early 1930s. They were professionally successful, held different public positions and had own architectural practices. Asplund, Lewerentz and Markelius had been active as architects in the implementation of the renowned Stockholm Exhibition 1930, which eventually established modernist architecture in Sweden. The Delegations choice of architects suggests that the modernist model of analytical planning and its unaffected design idiom were considered to be in accord with the imagined modernity of the new airport.

Apart from Markelius²⁰, the architects had no experience of airports. The brief was, in addition, somewhat ambiguous. Many of the requirements were formulated as "shoulds".

²⁰ Sven Markelius 1927 made a studytour to airports in Paris, Amsterdam, Hamburg, Leipzig, Stuttgart, München, Berlin and Lübeck. Travelreport in the swedish magazine *Byggmästaren* 1928, nr 29.

The only fixed prerequisite was the airports operational plan, with the position and size of the runway strips and the approach road from the city. The tasks that the architects were supposed to tackle didn't have any given role models in earlier Swedish architectural practices. The time for the competition was short. The brief was presented March 13, 1934, and the submissions should be delivered May 15. The fee for carrying out the brief was set at 500 Swedish crowns per architect, a sum which today corresponds to 15,000 Swedish crowns, which can be claimed to be a meager fee for the work involved.

Seven alternative submissions

Sigurd Lewerentz submits three proposals accompanied by written descriptions. He locates his air station in the recommended north-eastern situation, but doesn't submit the required master plan. He states that he has gathered basic information for his proposals from professional literature and from individuals within an airline company. The text acknowledges that he had access to information on contemporary American airports and also refers to examples from the Copenhagen and from Berlin Airports.

Alternative A's concept is to locate the boarding part of the air station in a building very close to the hillside and connect it via a tunnel under the apron to a boarding pavilion, as illustrated in an annex to the brief. The two station buildings had car access either from the northern or the southern side. Two hangars are located north-west of the air station. This type of satellite solution occurs in several Lehigh-competition proposals.



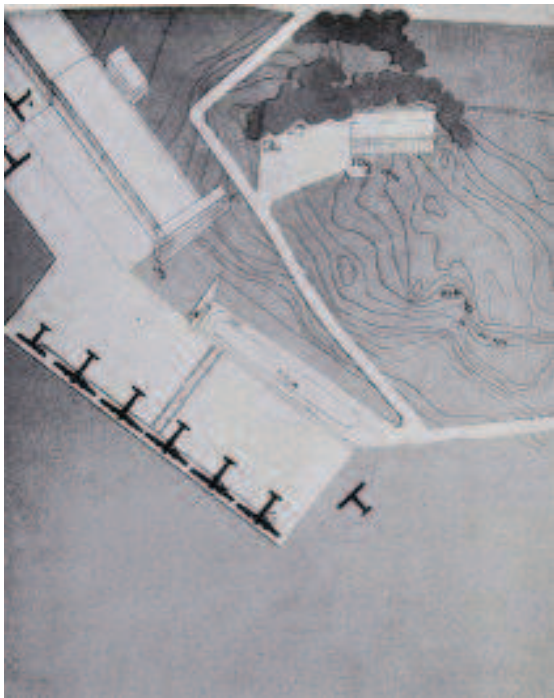
Pic 15: Sigurd Lewerentz *Alternative A*

Alternative B: The brief generally underlines the importance of protecting the passengers from the harsh weather. This solution is a covered loading hangar for the passenger handling. Two aircraft could be positioned in the hangar at the same time. Closable hangar doors kept bad weather out. This kind of "drive-through"-hangars occurs in the 2nd prize proposal of the Lehigh-competition.



Pic 16: Sigurd Lewerentz Alternative B

Alternative C: This proposal also focuses on the protected handling of passengers and a minimum of air field intrusion. All the handling facilities are located in an underground space, under the apron. The apron above accommodates six aircraft, parked beside six mechanically operable stairways leading up to each aircraft stand. An access road ends in a shaft in front of the underground handling hall.



Pic 17: Sigurd Lewerentz Alternative C

Lewerentz' three alternatives are interesting and interesting applications of many of the detailed requirements as set out in the brief. But, the applications are not presented in a master plan and many of the requested answers to the questions of the brief are missing. Different notes in his portfolio indicates that he took time to get acquainted with some results of architectural competitions for airports and with examples of appreciated air stations. Obviously,

his alternative A with its satellite pavilion is influenced by the proposal, annexed to the brief, alt. A. Alternative A is his likely primary solution.

Gunnar Asplund's written description is simple and easy to grasp and closely monitors the issues of the brief. He places the air station facilities adjacent to the hill in the recommended position. He gives a convincing account of the approach road in a loop around the hill and the arrangements for the car- and bustraffic to the station facility.

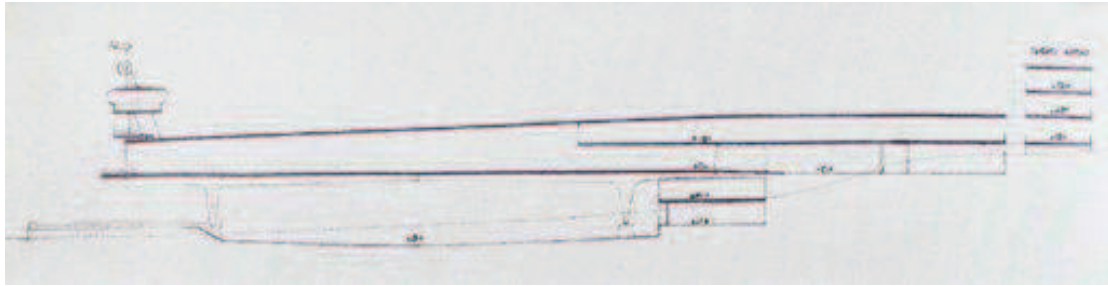
The air station is conceived as a concrete bridge with most of the handling facilities within the structure. Separate administration and restaurant buildings connects to the station's main entrance. Passengers arriving by car are protected by the overhanging upper floor of the bridge-structure, and walks through the main level of the covered bridge were check-in and other controls are located, having a splendid view over the airfield. The walk ends on apron-level at a refuge, from where aircraft may be boarded. The aircraft can taxi under the bridge's 50 m free span, free height 8 m, to three stands around the boarding platform. The station bridge ends with an operation control room on top of the tip of the bridge.



Pic 18: Gunnar Asplund; Master plan for Bromma Airport. Note: north to the left. Dark markings are roads, buildings or aprons.

In the studied archives, in books about Asplund and in a special review²¹ of air stations built in Europe during the same period, no role models to his proposal are mentioned. It's tempting to understand Asplund's proposal as a precursor to modern aircraft piers.

²¹ Mats T Beckman; *A review of 30 European Air Stations constructed between 1920-40*. Document not published yet.



Pic 19: Gunnar Asplund; Section of the air station structure.



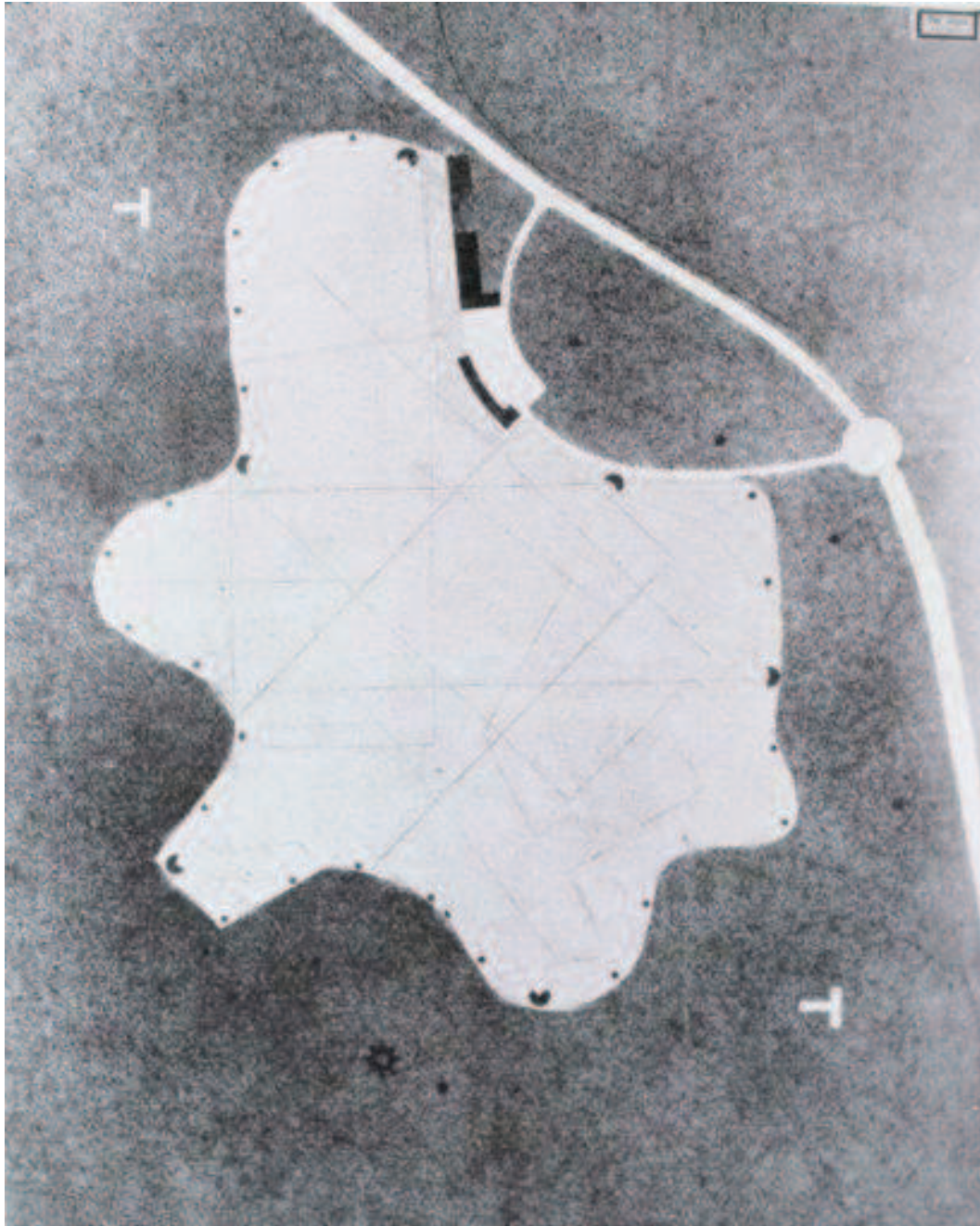
Pic 20: Gunnar Asplund: The air station bridge from the approach road

Paul Hedqvist's proposal is very barely presented and his own written description gives no further explanation of how the air station operations are supposed to work. The master plan drawing is very simplified but seems to be adapted to the requirements of the brief. There are no specifics about eventual role models or other sources of inspiration in his portfolio.

The submitted drawings are neatly and clearly drawn and contains requested proposals to the station building, in the three requested construction phases. Hedqvist's proposal is compressed, simple and has a very clear contemporary modernistic character.



Pic 21: Paul Hedqvist; Perspective drawing of the air station.



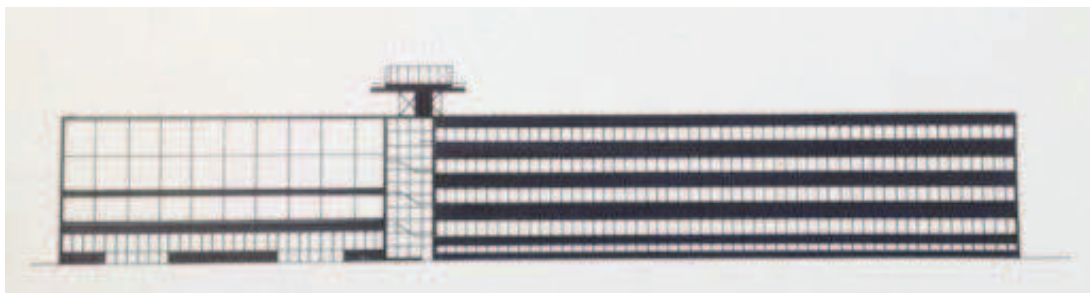
Pic 22: Paul Hedqvist; Proposed Matser Plan for Bromma Airport.

Sven Markelius' submission includes two different alternatives, both motivated in detail in the authors written descriptions.

In *alternative I* the air station facility is placed in the north-western part of the field. It connects to the public roads through a road-tunnel to an underground parking in front of the station building. The two hangars are placed parallel with the approach road tunnel. This location of the air station means that the distance from the city center increases with 1 km, in relation to the proposed location at the hill-side in north-eastern part of the field.



Pic 23: Sven Markelius; *Alternative 1*. Master plan for Bromma airport.



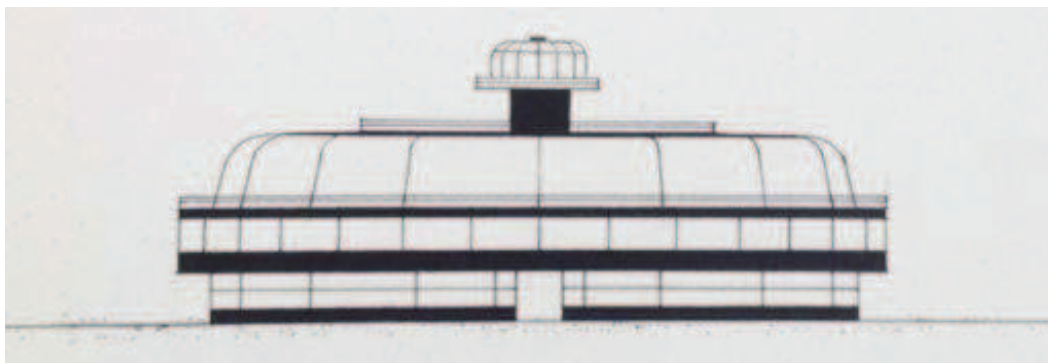
Pic 24: Sven Markelius; *Alternative 1*: Air station, facade towards south-east.

In *alternative II* a circular four-storey station building is located in the middle of the field, connected to the public road system with a road tunnel, that ends in an enlarged, partly open-air basement under the station building, with passenger entrance and cargo delivery, parking and a bus-stops. The aircraft park around the station building, which holds all the necessary functions under a control room on a fifth top floor. An apron

around the station building means, that the runway strips in the original airport plan must be moved and the airport area enlarged. The intended runways are separated for take-offs and landings. The two hangars are located on the western and eastern sides of the field respectively, forming an inconvenient partition in two hangar areas.



Pic 25: Sven Markelius; Proposed master plan for Bromma airport. **Alternative II**. Note the marking of separate runways for landings (red) and take off (blue).



Pic 26: Sven Markelius; Alternative II; Midfield Air Station for Bromma Airport.

The jury's assessment

The Airport Delegation acted as a jury and made the evaluation of the proposals. The jury work began in June 1934 and finished with a statement dated Oct 4th. As the brief did not stipulate anything about aesthetic matters and there was no architect in the jury, it focused its evaluation on aviaional aspects. Only Asplund and Hedqvist got any aesthetic credits.

The jury analyses and describes *Asplund's* proposal much more thoroughly than the others. Asplund is given credit for the beauty of his station building, the clever way that the structure takes advantage of the hill's slope and that the proposed air station fulfils most of the functional requirements. Ultimately, however, they stipulate that the proposal cannot be considered for execution, primarily due to the bridge being an obstacle for the free movement of aircraft. The proposal was put aside.

Both of *Markelius'* proposals were considered interesting and well worked out. However, as both alternatives required extensive changes of the airport layout they were unacceptable for the jury.

The jury dismisses *Lewerentz'* Alternative B and C without much comment, but finds Alternative A with a tunnel to a boarding pavillion on the apron, interesting. The jury made a cost-estimate of the tunnel and airline companies concerned were asked for their opinion. After positive answers from a majority of the companies, the proposal was recommended to be realized as a part of an air station solution.

Hedqvist's proposal is considered aesthetically attractive, developable and to have a practical master plan and a good, developable station building proposal. Reading the assessment, Hedqvist appears as "the winner".

The summarized result of the competition is, that *Hedqvist's* project is proposed to be carried out and supplemented with *Lewerentz' alternative A-tunnel*, to be built as a preparation for an eventual future pavillion at the apron in front of the station building. This decision is submitted to the airport owner, the City of Stockholm, together with a total cost estimate.

After the competition FHS consults with the CAA and decides to adjust the design program for the buildings. The developer finally decides to choose Hedqvist as architect for the new airport. But his original proposal for the station building was revised, the air stations size considerably reduced and a decision made to pave the runways.

Even at the airport's completion many realized that the place chosen was far from ideal for an airport. The development of aviation had gone so fast that already during 1937 it became necessary to plan prolonged runways and an enlarged station building.



Pic 27: Stockholm-Bromma Airport: Air Station area summer 1937. Architect: Paul Hedqvist.

Comments to the submissions

Stockholm-Bromma Airport opened in 1936 with the first purpose-built air station in Sweden. When WWII broke out in 1939, the main part of Europe's countries had a capital city airport equipped with a modern air station. With today's airport dimensions, most of them were small, simple and easily oriented buildings. Many of them were destroyed or severely damaged during the war, only a few exist today.

After reviewing the proposals for Bromma Airport, one can conclude that the four architects had managed to acquire the elementary skills necessary to cope with the competition task. They all should have had access to documentation about modern airports and their buildings and used with their basic professionalism. A difficulty for them seems to have been that they didn't get time enough to complete the brief with any systematic study of contemporary airport knowledge.

Lewerentz seem to have been working so intense with his three proposals that he simply did not get the time to finalize one proposal and illustrate it in the required master plan. The lack of plan drawings of the station buildings and presentation perspectives makes it hard to assess his proposals.

Markelius motivates his two proposals skillfully and convincingly. His proposals are fully feasible but has significant disadvantages on the basis of the program conditions. Both proposals require significant changes in the approved layout of the air field. The proposals are interesting and well worked but a bit complicatedly conceived and should have meant difficulties to finalize the airport according to plan. Around 1930 Markelius had active contacts with American colleagues and should have known about the Lehigh Competition and acquired information from it. E.g. his alternative II-proposal with a round mid-field air station, occurs in different forms in several proposals from that competition.

Asplund took a strong and clear grip on the matters outlined in the brief and presented a well worked solution for an air station, which took into account most of the requests formulated. His proposal is well adapted to the preconditions of the place itself, the proximity of a steep hill. It was a new and untried way to secure the passenger flows through the necessary control procedures. Disadvantages were that the solution didn't provide sufficient flexibility.

Asplund's structure for the passenger's way to and from the aircraft is architecturally powerful and expresses its traffic engineering purposes. If Asplund's proposal had materialized, Bromma would have constructed a unique contemporary airport building. The so-

lution is a fine example of an architectural work, characterized by skilful management of the requirements and of good adaption to conditions on site.

Hedqvist's proposal can be described as thoughtful and sober, with a good adaption of most of the brief's fundamental requirements. It is a simple and buildable solution in a functionalist spirit. The intended runway system works well with the station building, hangars and apron. The station building is given a slightly curved plan figure that follows the curvature of the hills edge against the field. The disposition of the requested spaces are about the same as in many new air stations published in contemporary professional magazines. It is easy to accept that the jury felt comfortable with his proposal.

Comments to the jury's conclusions

To put the assessments of the jury into more perspective comments and evaluations of the proposals overall character are added. The comments are based on my previous acquaintance with Bromma airport, the image material available in the archives, literature and professional journals and the brief's requirements. Given these conditions an evaluation table and a SWAT chart were compiled. The aim is to give a more graspable presentation of the proposals. Since Lewerentz and Markelius each submitted several, I have chosen to assess Lewerentz' alternative A and Markelius alternative I as their main proposals.

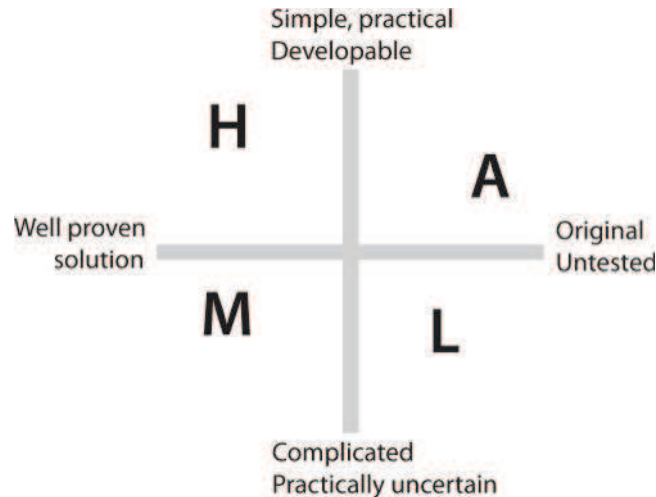
A direct interpretation of the text of the jury's final assessment, could well have resulted in Asplund declared the winner. Facing the uncertainties of the mid 1930s, they chose Hedqvist's proposal as a safer card and from practical reasons. Hedqvist's solution is an example of *best practice* of the 1930s.

The figures in the following chart represents my evaluation of six selected areas of qualifications. I have scored them on a scale from 1-5, where 1 = poor and 5 = very good.

L = Lewerentz; A = Asplund; M = Markelius; H = Hedqvist;

Quality	L	A	M	H	Comment
Adaption to the site's conditions.	2	5	4	4	
Compliance with program requirements	2	4	3	5	Lewerentz' proposals difficult to assess because of incomplete reporting.
Originality, Innovation	4	5	3	2	
Construction Technology and -Economy	2	3	4	5	Lewerentz' proposals difficult to assess.
Expandability, Flexibility	2	1	3	5	
Architectonic expression in relation to the purpose	2	5	3	3	
Sum	14	23	20	24	

My summarized assessments of the proposals have been interposed into two scales: *simple-complicated* and *untested-well proven*. With the requirements of the brief as a basis, the SWAT-table positions show my overall interpretation of the average qualities of the four proposals.



Answers to the initial questions

My purpose is to try to clarify what influences and role models which may have been important for the solutions proposed in the 1934 architectural competition for Stockholm-Bromma airport. In the previous text I have made some remarks on the actual situation of aviation between the two world-wars, how firm knowledge of airport planning was lacking, how architectural competitions became a way to improve knowledge and how the Bromma competition was carried through. Three questions were initially presented:

1. Did there exist any internationally accepted recommendations or role models for the design of commercial airports and their buildings during the actual period?

From the end of the 1920s national recommendations or standards for the design of airfields existed or were in preparation in many European countries, but there was still uncertainty about the use of these recommendations.

A common model for a modern air station during the 1930s is a station building in close grouping with a couple of hangars, interconnected with a common apron towards the field, the ensemble forming the Air Station Area. Based on printed sources it can be concluded that a frequent model for the station building itself, exposed through several professional magazines, was a two-level building with an expedition hall in the center. The building was topped with a glazed control room, had a landside entrance to the hall, where the control procedures occurred, and an exit to the aircraft at the apron. The winning proposal in the Bromma competition is an example of such an air station, but with an asymmetric composition.

2. Did the submitted proposals for the Bromma Airport buildings represent best practice or did they represent a new, innovative way of designing a civil airport for the future?

Hedqvist's winning proposal and the built air station definitely represents best practice, as it could be defined in the early years of the 1930s. Markelius' two solutions also represents practice, but in a more complex manner. Lewerentz' proposals are experimental and unfinished and Asplund's is original.

3. Were architectural competitions an appropriate method to obtain acceptable solutions for an uncertain future of aviation and airports?

Architectural competitions in general can be defined as idea competitions. Viewed in retrospect, most competitions described in this paper has a strong sense of idea competitions, although some were focused on solving construction projects. It's my belief that the airport competitions in a fundamental way contributed to the development of airports, which were critical for the development of aviation. The competitions resulted in solutions to a variety of problems that originated in the first-generation airports. New radical ideas to integrate airports into urban environments were presented. Architectural competitions was a learning process for all engaged in airport construction, not at least the architects.

CONCLUSION

My work is about the historical development of aviation and how it has affected airport construction and airport architecture. The Delft conference 2014 is headed *Conditions for Architect-Client Interactions*. The clients of early airport construction were of a mixed origin. During the actual period they often were local politicians in cooperation with representatives for air carrier companies or aircraft manufacturers and sometimes also representatives for local military authorities. Often the State was a partial financier of airport projects and, through it's aviation authority, also directly involved in the implementation.

It's interesting to note that the people preparing the airport competition briefs and the juries of the RIBA Competition and the Lehigh Competition consists of both architects and engineers as well as specialists from all fields of aviation. There seem to have been a serious wish to get the guidelines for the competitions as well as the results well entrenched by those who would become dependent on the results.

Such a mixed responsible body was partly the result of aviation being such a new phenomenon. Sometimes the complex situation ended with disagreement on how to proceed. In such a situation an architectural competition also could function as an instrument to solve conflicts within a client-group or to publicly test different solutions. When the airport was completed and regular air traffic began, the most common solution was that the municipality took operational responsibility, for example through a newly established airport company.

Architectural competitions for airports were accepted as a progressive instrument to achieve a foundation for best practice in airport construction during the 1920s and 1930s. Another motif was that the air station building had become as architecturally important, as the new central railway stations once were. There seem to have been a broad consensus that the Air Station building should be given a dignified architectural expression.

Competitions brought professional competence to a new area of expertise, *Airport Construction*. The results of architectural competitions for airports formed a basis for standardization and contributed to an expansion of general knowledge of airport design among several professions and among the public.

Despite comprehensive Swedish airport construction during the period 1950-1975, only a few architectural competitions for airports were conducted. My experience is that airport managers and owners distrusts today's architects in a way that I think was alien to the airport clients of the 1930s. Airport planning seems no longer perceived as an elemen-

tary task for architects. Today brand new airports are rarely constructed in Europe, but existing airports are subject to constant changes. In Sweden architects are mostly hired only for the design of terminal buildings, not as master planners of airports.



PICTURE CREDITS

Pictures are either scanned images of original from archives or scanned from printed pictures in journals or literature.

Picture nr	Subject(s)	Source
1	Lindbergh field, San Diego	www.allposters.com
2	Königsberg land airport	<i>Building for air travel</i> ; page 33
3	Le Corbusier; Ville Contemporaine	www.newworldeconomics.com
4, 5	Aerodrome for London 1943.	Journal of the RIBA, Febr 1929.
6, 7, 8	Proposals Lehigh airport Competition	www.archive.org/details/americanairport
9, 13, 14, 22	Map and competition brief materials and master plan proposal by P. Hedqvist	Stockholm City Archives
10, 12	First air stations at Berlin-Tempelhof and Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel	Journal of the RIBA, 30 April 1932
11	First Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel Air Station	Der Baumeister 28, 1930
15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 23, 27	Proposals for Bromma airport by S. Lewerentz, G. Asplund, P. Hedqvist and S. Markelius	Archives of the Swedish Architecture Museum, Stockholm

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