

ARCHITECTURE AND REAL ESTATE: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Anna Andrzejewski

Kristin M. Barry

Isabel Concheiro Guisan

Susannah Cramer-Greenbaum

Desmond Fitz-Gibbon

Ewan Harrison

Laurence Heindryckx

Thomas Hill

Jesse Honsa

Adam Jasper

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Conor Lucey

Jasper Ludewig

Andrew Murray

Edoardo Piccoli

Ellen Rowley

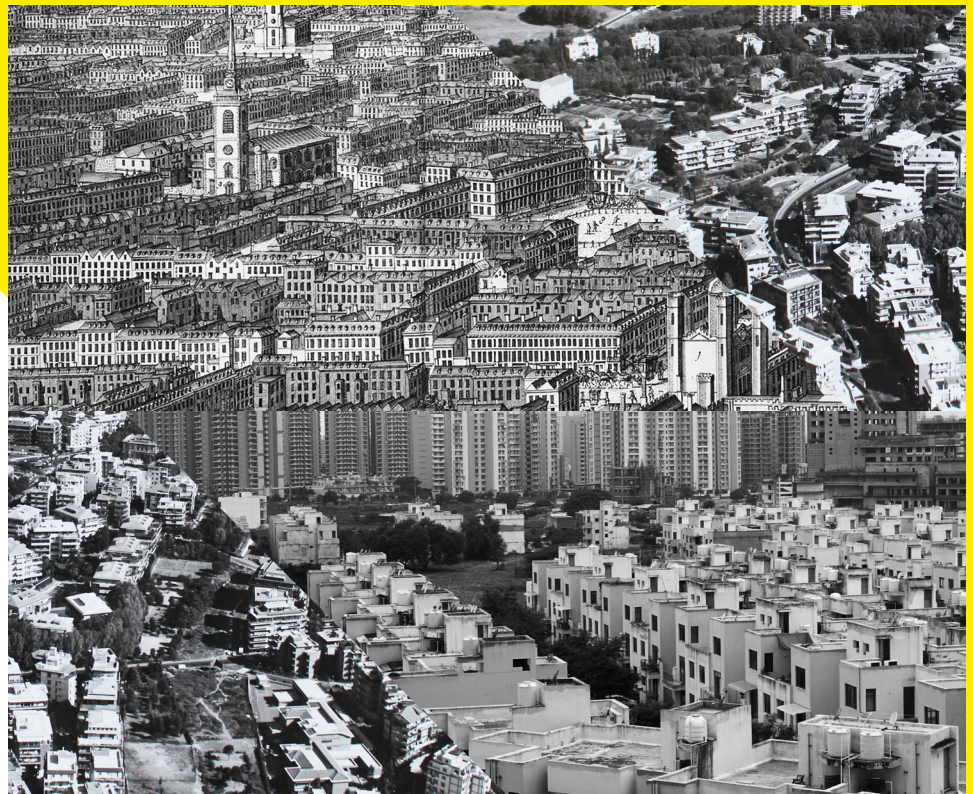
Sarah M. Schlachetzki

Chelsea Spencer

Sara Stevens

Amy Thomas

Alexia Yates



10 - 11 June 2022

*Room RZ F 21
ETH Building RZ / IFW
Clausiusstrasse 59
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ETH zürich

gta

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Today, we still think of urban transformation as a process led by planners and architects. And while it is undeniable that these two professions have made a major contribution to the global process of urbanisation in the modern era, it is difficult to claim that our cities are the results of their efforts alone. Many other actors have been (and still are) involved in their continuous making and re-making. Arguably the most significant of these actors are real estate developers. Think of Georgian London, post-war Rome, or contemporary Delhi: all cities whose extraordinary growth was not led by grand plans or architectural visions, but by the logic of the real estate development and construction industries.

The relative unimportance of authorship in the general economy of real estate development partially explains the lack of literature devoted to the latter in our discipline. Instead, it is imperative that we, as architectural historians, start considering real estate development as a key site for architectural and urban production. The conference "Architecture and Real Estate: Historical Perspectives" proposes to discuss the processes and products of real estate development by foregrounding them as objects of architectural and urban history.

The event is jointly organised and supported by the Chair Maarten Delbeke and the Chair Laurent Stalder at the Institute for the History and Theory of Architecture (gta), ETH Zurich, and the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF).

Conference programme

Friday 10 June

08:45–09:00

Welcome and introductions

09:00–12:00 Panel 1

The European City

Chair: Maarten Delbeke (ETH Zurich)

Edoardo Piccoli

Sacred Real Estate in the Eighteenth-Century City: Issues of Legitimacy

Desmond Fitz-Gibbon

Cultural Economy and the Marketization of Real Estate in Modern Britain

Alexia Yates

Bubbles, Scams, Busts: On Reading Financialized Real Estate

Laurence Heindryckx

Developing the European Metropolis of the 20th Century: Amelinckx and Etrimo in Post-war Belgium

12:00–14:00

Lunch break

Restaurant Culmann

14:00–17:00 Panel 2

Corporate Citadels

Chair: Laurent Stalder (ETH Zurich)

Sarah M. Schlachetzki

“Fourteen Hundred Meters of Most Modern Office Block Façades”: Heinrich Mendelssohn. Developer, Investor, Networker

Amy Thomas

“Too Feeble and Senile for the Job”: The Many Faces of the City of London Corporation

Tommy Hill

Architecture, Building Innovation, and Real Estate Finance in the 1980s Office Development Boom

Sara Stevens

Mediating Capital: Developers of Speculative Office Towers

17:00–17:30

Coffee break

17:30–18:30 Roundtable 1

Switzerland today

Chair: André Bideau (ETH Zurich, Accademia di Architettura di Mendrisio)

Adam Jasper

The Hourglass, the Ballot Box, and the Facade: Cultural Participation as Strategy in the Development of Swisscom Tower Berne

Susannah Cramer-Greenbaum

Modifying to Commodify: How Financial Intent Shapes Urban Housing in Zurich

Isabel Concheiro Guisan

Negotiating with Capital: Architects and Investors in Contemporary French-speaking Switzerland

18:30–20:00

Apéro

Restaurant Chiffon

Saturday 11 June

09:00–12:00 Panel 3

Anglo-Suburbia

Chair: Emma Jones (University of Hong Kong)

Maren Koehler, Jasper Ludewig

Banking on Housing: Credit Foncier Loans and the State Savings Bank of Victoria, 1890–1936

Andrew Murray

The Buckeridge Group of Companies and the Making of Perth

Anna Andrzejewski

Building the Dream: How South Florida (USA) Became a Retirement Destination After World War II

Ellen Rowley

Planned Giving: The Role of Catholic Priest + Parishioner in the Building of Suburban Dublin, Ireland, 1965-80

12:00–13:30

Lunch break

Restaurant Commihalle

13:30–17:00 Panel 4

The Business of Building

Chair: Sarah Nichols (EPFL)

Conor Lucey

Real Estate and Print Culture in Georgian Britain and Ireland

Chelsea Spencer

Confidence Men: The Credibility of Contractors in the Nineteenth-Century United States

Jesse Honsa

The Building Firm Builds Labour: John Laing & Son's Creation of Skill, Technique and Productivity

Kristin Barry

Patterning Nostalgia: The US Kit House Movement, and the Construction Conundrum

Ewan Harrison

Taylor Woodrow Will Emigrate: A Contractor-Developer Navigates the Ends of Empire in West Africa

17:00–17:30

Coffee break

17:30–18:30 Roundtable 2

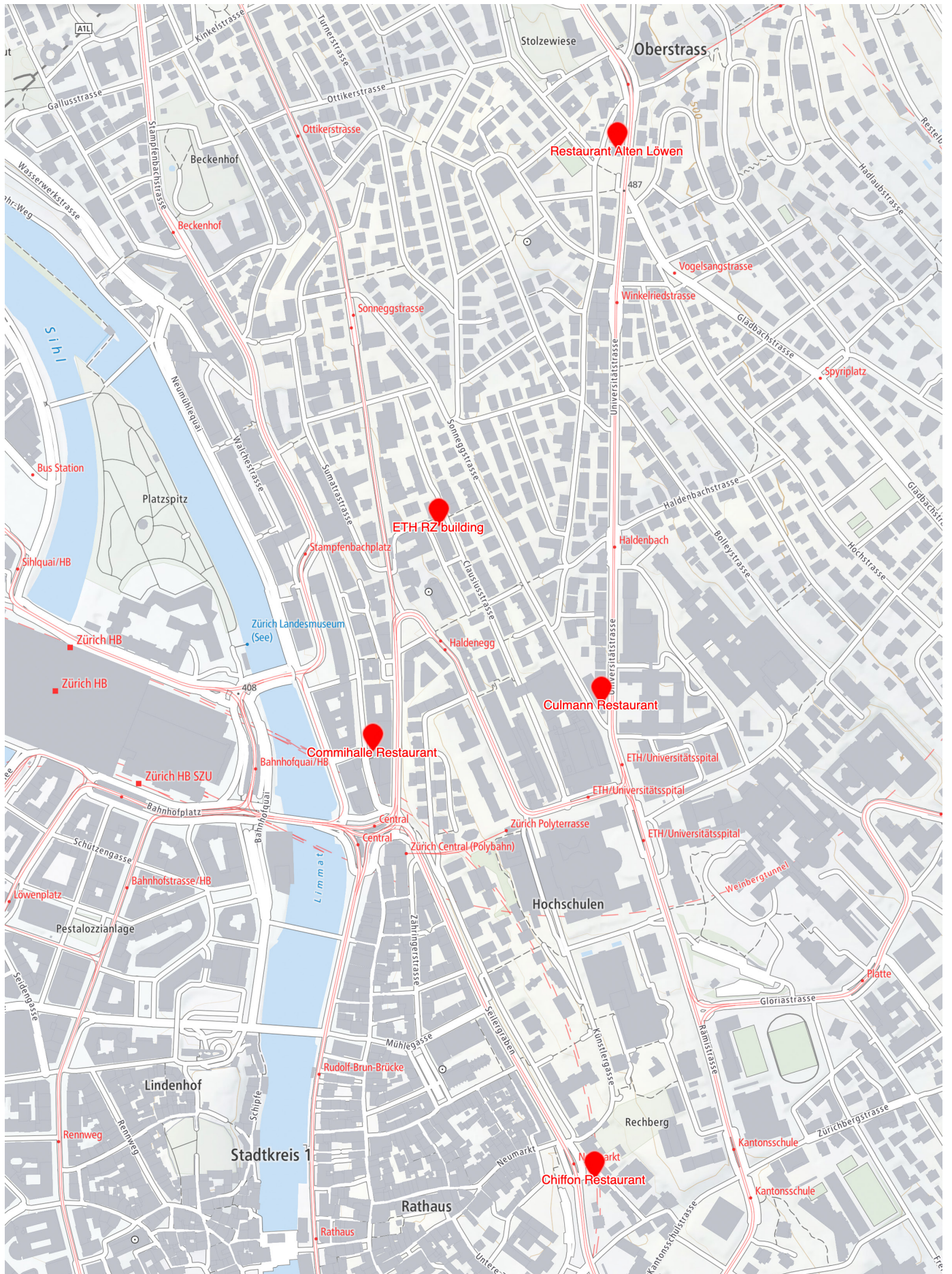
Research methods

Chair: Gregorio Astengo (ETH Zurich), Davide Spina (ETH Zurich)

19:30

Conference dinner

Restaurant zum Alten Löwen



Conference Venue

ETH RZ Building
(Clausiusstrasse 59, 8092 Zürich)

Restaurant Alten Löwen
(Universitätstrasse 111, 8006)

Restaurant Culmann
(Culmannstrasse 1, 8006 Zürich)

Restaurant Commihalle
(Stampfenbachstrasse 8, 8001 Zürich)

Restaurant Chiffon
(Hirschengraben 36, 8001 Zürich)

Sacred Real Estate in the Eighteenth Century City: Issues of Legitimacy

Edoardo Piccoli
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Edoardo Piccoli graduated in Architecture at the Politecnico di Torino and received a PhD in the History of Architecture and Town-Planning from the same institution. He has also received a D.E.A. in *Civilisation de la Renaissance* from the Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de la Renaissance, Université de Tours. Since 2015, he has been an associate professor at the Politecnico di Torino, where he is also a member of the scientific committee of the PhD Programme in Architectural History and Design (*Architettura. Storia e Progetto*). In addition, he is a co-founder and board member of the Construction History Group Polito-DAD (2020). Edoardo's research focuses mainly on 18th century architecture with a specific interest in French and Italian architecture and construction history. His work on Guarino Guarini, Bernardo Antonio Vittone, and baroque vault construction has appeared in several edited volumes. Since 2015, he has been involved in historical research for heritage sites and restoration projects, such as the Cavallerizza in Turin, the military Citadel in Alessandria, and Palazzo Carignano.

The relevance of real estate developments managed by religious orders in the medieval and early modern European city is a well-known fact. This paper focuses on the issues in legitimacy that arose in a period when regulars were subject to increased control both from the State and from the urban communities and institutions. We will identify strategies, actions and processes that allowed Orders to legitimately act as real estate agents in the eighteenth-century city. Legitimacy was first of all procedural: a convent that wanted to build had to navigate administrative and jurisdictional procedures, frequently involving authorisations from other entities, such as the Roman *Congregazione dei vescovi e dei regolari* and their "host" State. Other legitimacy issues regarded the use of money originally allotted for other purposes. Yet, ownership itself, and the increased wealth provided by real estate income, were also subject to forms of legitimation: how did religious Orders, supposedly removed from worldly matters, justify their position as rentiers? And more importantly, how could a convent be authorised to go into massive debt to build a rental house? Some answers will be sought in the declared or perceived connections between homes and religious rites: masses, prayers, and charity. Just as real estate urban investments became a sign of the growing autonomy of finance, convents and church institutions remained institutionally bound to justify their urban investments and the profits that came with them in ways that were specific to the regulars' mission of salvation. The paper will use an inductive approach by analysing select contracts and case studies.

Cultural Economy and the Marketization of Real Estate in Modern Britain

Desmond Fitz-Gibbon
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Invited speaker

Desmond Fitz-Gibbon is an associate professor of European history at Mount Holyoke College (MA USA), whose research centers on the cultural history of real estate and economic life in nineteenth-century Britain. His first book, *Marketable Values: Inventing the Property Market in Modern Britain* (Chicago, 2018), explores the various ways in which a market for real estate was assembled and mobilized as a new idea and field of practice from the mid-eighteenth to nineteenth century. It was not the buying and selling of land that was new in this period, but, rather, the meaning that was ascribed to such exchange and the institutional arrangements that configured property as a commodity. His work draws on and contributes to histories of capitalism and the historical dimensions of economic performativity and economization. He is currently completing a chapter on the nineteenth-century marketplace for a multi-volume cultural history of business (Routledge) and continues to work on the meaning and practice of economic markets in modern society.

The story of real estate markets and the built environment has often been taken to be rather self-evident and unidirectional. At some early threshold in the past—the date varies depending on definition and scale—land became commodified and the engine of the real estate market chugged into operation. Urban form followed upon the incentives of the market and the efforts of policy makers, planners, architects, and developers to shape and mold this unrelenting force of supply and demand. My own work has drawn on the theory and methods of cultural economy and marketization to envision a history of the real estate market that is more contingent, material, and distributed across forms of agency and institutional setting. The capacity to envision the property market as a distinct and coherent field has a particular history in Britain that begins in the late-eighteenth century and culminates in the early-twentieth century. By the First World War, it had become normal to speak of the property market as a regularized flow of transactions that could be measured, evaluated, and debated. One could argue that the emergence of this way of thinking and acting—which saw parallel developments in other international settings—coincided with the development of a new kind of built environment: the liberally governed (in the social, not political sense), industrial city. After WWI, the practices that had defined the marketization of property evolved in support of a new regime of property ownership and suburban residential development. More recent scholarship has further explored the linkages between built space and the cultural politics of social democracy and late-twentieth century neoliberalism. One question that emerges from this work, and that will be explored in this presentation, is how a contingent history of real estate marketization might map onto and inform this periodization of British political, cultural, and urban/material formation.

Bubbles, Scams, Busts: On Reading Financialized Real Estate

Alexia Yates
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Invited speaker

Alexia Yates is a Senior Lecturer in Modern History at the University of Manchester. She is a historian of economic life, focusing on urban political economy, business history, and the history of popular finance in modern Europe. She has recently been awarded the Philip Leverhulme Prize in History, and her most recent book is *Real Estate and Global Urban History*, part of the 'Elements in Global Urban History' series with Cambridge University Press. Her first book, *Selling Paris: Property and Commercial Culture in the Fin-de-siècle Capital*, appeared with Harvard University Press in 2015 and won the Wallace K. Ferguson Prize for the best book in non-Canadian history from the Canadian Historical Association in 2016. She holds a PhD from the University of Chicago and previously held postdoctoral fellowships the Center for History and Economics at Harvard University and at the Centre for Research in Arts, Social Sciences, and Humanities at Cambridge.

In 1881, months before its collapse, an upstart bank secretly directed by a fraudulent financier opened a luxurious new headquarters on the fringes of Paris's financial district. This was in the midst of one of the century's most dramatic real estate and financial booms; when it came to an end in 1882, France entered into the global depression that marked the final decades of the nineteenth century. This paper reads this building for what it reveals about both the nature of the enterprise it hosted – a massive and corrupt banking scheme –and, more broadly, the economic imaginaries and temporalities instantiated in this financial crisis. It argues both a general point about the significance of real estate as an object of historical analysis and the approaches necessary to establish its eventful histories, and a specific point about the way finance and built space articulated in a particular moment of economic crisis.

Developing the European Metropolis of the 20th Century: Amelinckx and Etrimo in Post-War Belgium

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Laurence Heindryckx is a doctoral candidate and assistant at Ghent University, where she teaches undergraduate and postgraduate courses within the Engineering-Architecture programme and the Master's in Urbanism and Spatial Planning. Laurence's own Master's thesis at Ghent explored the evolution of the road network in Belgian Congo and won the prize of 'Best Master's Dissertation in Architectural Sciences of 2016.' Since then, Laurence has partaken in several research projects in Belgium. She was an urban designer at the Research Laboratory for Urbanism at Ghent and researched the overlapping professional roles of architects and building engineers in interwar Belgium at the Université Libre de Bruxelles. Her doctoral research at Ghent examines twentieth-century housing development in Belgium through the analysis of real estate developers Amelinckx N.V. (François Amelinckx) and Etrimo (Jean-Florian Collin).

This paper sheds light on the commodification of the European city in the 20th century by focussing on the post-war activities of two major developers in post-war Belgium: Etrimo (Jean-Florian Collin) and Amelinckx N.V. (François Amelinckx). Together, these private developers constructed over 70,000 apartments in the metropolitan agglomerations of Belgium between 1924 and 1985, pioneering in the field of mass housing development both in the country and Europe. Using a production perspective, this paper looks at the built work by these developers both as a combination of the 'space' that was given to them and the 'space' that they claimed. In so doing, the paper analyses the creative ways in which these 'champions of commodified housing' seized the latent potential of each development and turned it into a built commodity. Both Etrimo and Amelinckx were successful at 'a game of their creation' and constantly looked for ways to create a housing supply that could be produced indefinitely, independent from the fluctuations of demand. Their strategies were largely successful until the late 1960s, when shifting socio-economic and institutional conditions, the declining desirability of the apartment typology, and the sinking availability of private capital led to the transformation of ownership patterns in the country. In response to this change, in the 1970s and 80s these developers cleverly steered their activities from the production of apartments to their maintenance, lease, management, renovation and insurance. This paper analyses the ways in which these two Belgian developers (re) calibrated the boundary between private and public responsibility in for-profit housing and thus carved a new space for themselves within the mechanisms of the Belgian welfare state. As such, the paper foregrounds the role of private developers in the expansion of the European city during the post-war period and their continued agency in managing it in the contemporary era.

“Fourteen Hundred Meters of Most Modern Office Block Façades” – Heinrich Mendelssohn. Developer, Investor, Networker

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Sarah M. Schlachetzki studied Art History, Sociology, and French Literature in Trier, Tours and Leipzig. She holds a PhD from the University of Zurich (2011). Currently, she is a junior faculty member at the University of Bern, within the Department of Architectural History and Preservation of Monuments, Institute for Art History. Her work has been supported by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the Swiss National Science Foundation, and the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science. She was a Visiting Fellow at NYU (2015–16) and a Guest Researcher at Humboldt University, Berlin, on a grant by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (2019–20). In addition, she has had fellowships in Argentina, Japan, and Poland. Sarah's main research interests include the history of architectural modernism (Germany, Poland, Switzerland) and modern architecture in East and Central Europe, specifically in Prussia and Poland.

Heinrich Mendelssohn signed his correspondence with Berlin's authorities in the early 1950s as „the proud builder of the NEW BERLIN 1921–1932.“ And rightly so: Mendelssohn was one of the prominent agents behind Berlin's architectural modernisation in the 1920s. The debate on how to shape the urban identity of republican Berlin was not one left to architects only, although it played out visually and most spectacularly in their journals. It also unfolded behind the scenes among politicians of every party, and it was shaped — if not driven — by investors like Mendelssohn. As a Jew, he left Germany in 1933. Bitter and often futile were his attempts for property restitution after 1945.

Mendelssohn had been the “ideological centre,” and driving force behind Berlin's first and famous high-rise competition for a lot at Friedrichstrasse station from 1921 onwards. In the second half of the twenties, Mendelssohn financed the Capitol am Zoo (designed by Hans Poelzig, 1925–26), the Europahaus in Kreuzberg (1926–30) and the Deutschlandhaus and Amerika Haus (1929–30) at Reichskanzlerplatz in West Berlin. In the city, Neues Bauen was essentially investors' architecture.

Mendelssohn's efforts in developing the Reichskanzlerplatz, with his office buildings and spaces of amusement, were part of his plans to establish Charlottenburg as a new commercial centre. As such, they stood in dialogue with the Alexanderplatz scheme and its supporters: a group of businessmen and investors involved with the City Committee (founded in 1926).

This paper will shed light on Mendelssohn as a protagonist of Weimar-era Berlin, up to his attempts to help salvage the country's economy after its collapse in 1930. It will show a complex persona within the great financial promises of the 1920s: a businessman, urban planner, and proud citizen of the “World City.”

'Too Feeble and Senile for the Job': The Many Faces of the City of London

Amy Thomas
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Invited speaker

Amy Thomas is an Assistant Professor of architectural history in the Department of Architecture at Delft University of Technology (TU Delft). Her teaching and research centres on the relationship between political economy and the built environment with a particular interest on the architecture of work and organisations, and the interactions between users, architects, investors and developers. Her forthcoming book with MIT Press focuses on the post-war development of the City of London (London's financial district). In 2020 Amy was awarded a Veni grant from the Dutch Research Council (NWO) for a three-year project entitled *Her Office: A Historical Analysis of the Role of Gender in The Design of Corporate Buildings and Interiors, 1950-Present*, which traces the connections between workplace inequality and design. In addition to her research and teaching, Amy is an advocate for equality, diversity and inclusion in architectural education. She served on the management team of the cross-faculty Delft Design for Values Institute 2018-2020, and is currently co-editing a book on the theme of values and pedagogy. Amy has a PhD in the History of Architecture from the Bartlett School of Architecture, University College London (UCL). She held the position of Harper-Schmidt Postdoctoral Fellow in the Department of Art History at the University of Chicago 2015-2017.

As the municipality and planning controller of one of the world's leading financial centres, today the City of London Corporation operates as both the guardian and facilitator of global financial services. In this so-called 'Square Mile' of London, architecture, urban design and infrastructure do not simply service the finance industry, but are intrinsically embedded within its processes thanks to property ownership structures, the real estate market, and the inclusion of company representatives on the planning committee. Using its unique political autonomy from the British state (thanks to historical rights and privileges gained due to its establishment before British parliament), the City Corporation has thus become a powerful custodian of one of the most significant areas of real estate in the world, not to mention one of the most important heritage sites in Britain.

But this partnership was not always so harmonious. During the post-war period, the Corporation came under fire from both sides of the political spectrum, from the progressive London County Council, and from the business community, for its perceived ineptitude as a planning organisation as well as a municipality, or as one high ranking treasury official put it, for being 'feeble and senile for the job'. Within the context of Britain's dwindling exports, slow economic growth, state-led building programmes in London, and a developer-led building boom, the Corporation was accused of stunting Britain's progress in the global economy through its real estate decisions and planning approach.

Through an analysis of the Corporation's Public Relations archives, this paper looks at the changing character of the City

of London Corporation throughout the post-war period, which culminated in its wholesale transformation with the imminent promise of deregulation in the mid-1980s. I argue that the shifting relationships between the Corporation and the state, the finance industry and the real estate industry were indicative of the intertwining of these three facets in British political life towards the end of the twentieth century.

Architecture, Building Innovation, and Real Estate Finance in the 1980s Office Development Boom

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Thomas Shay Hill is an economic geographer, computer scientist, and historian of urban development. Tommy's research focuses on the historical dynamics of urban development in the United States, with an emphasis on the role of economic models, data analysis, and forecasting in shaping development patterns. He is currently at work on a book project on the basis of his doctoral dissertation, *Land, Capital, Information: Statistics and Economic Models in the Formation of the American Built Environment, 1900-2020*. Tommy has a particular interest in development booms and their relationship to innovations in building technology, real estate finance, and architectural practice. Tommy's dissertation research has been supported by the Harvard Joint Center for Housing Studies, the Canadian Centre for Architecture, the Richard Rogers Fellowship, and the Harvard Mellon Urban Initiative. Tommy received his PhD in Urban Planning from Harvard University in 2022. Tommy holds a Master's of Science in Computational Science and Engineering from Harvard's John A. Paulson School of Engineering and Applied Sciences and a Bachelors of Arts in Urban Studies from Columbia University. Tommy's writing has been published in the *Journal of Urban History*, *Environmental Research Letters*, the Routledge anthology *Architecture and the Smart City*, and the Urban History Association's blog *Metropole*.

The global office development boom of the 1980s was the world's first international property bubble. The collapse of world property markets at the end of the decade sparked a global financial crisis rivaling the Great Depression of the 1930s. In this paper, I trace the nexus of simultaneous innovations across the worlds of architecture, building engineering, and real estate finance which served to make large urban office complexes uniquely desirable as outlets for international capital in the 1980s. As I show, architects and building engineers were integral in drawing new sources of capital into real estate in spite of limited demand for new office space by corporate tenants.

Cesar Pelli's World Financial Center in New York City epitomizes each of these coterminous transformations: designed as the headquarters of the financial services firms Merrill Lynch and American Express, the complex was equipped with the very latest in digital communications technologies; the project's engineer Flack & Kurtz pioneered new energy-saving and passive cooling techniques in order to manage the expense of the complex's immense energy needs; while the developer, Olympia & York, secured financing for the project through the world's first commercial mortgage-backed security. The World Financial Center became a poster child of the new generation of high-tech urban office buildings designed for the decade's major growth industry, financial services. As I argue, the aesthetic novelty and technical inventiveness of this project and its peers were primarily marketing ploys, meant to draw tenants away from existing space and to induce conservative financial actors to invest in speculative new development. The sheer abundance of new speculative office space by the end of the decade rendered the World Financial Center a near-failure and condemned its developer to bankruptcy.

Mediating Capital: Developers of Speculative Office Towers

Sara Stevens
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Invited speaker

Sara Stevens is an architectural and urban historian. Her interests include the history and theory of architecture and urban design, urban history, economic theory, and the history of infrastructure. Her research focuses on the relationship between architecture and capital, looking at American real estate developers of the twentieth century and exploring the cultural economy of architectural practice, risk, and expertise. Before coming to UBC, Sara has taught in the schools of architecture at Rice, Columbia, Princeton, and Yale. In 2012/13 and 2013/14, she was Andrew W. Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow in the Humanities Research Center at Rice University. Previously, she taught in Columbia's graduate urban design program for three years. Sara's writing has been published in journals such as *Thresholds*, *Pidgin*, *Constructs*, and the *Journal of Architectural Education*. Her book, *Developing Expertise: Architecture and Real Estate in Metropolitan America* (Yale University Press, 2016), studies real estate development in twentieth-century American cities. Questions about the contemporary built world also spark Sara's research. One such project, "Systems of Retail: The Bigger Box", studied contemporary big-box architectural formats of the suburban landscape and the underlying networks of business and finance that produced them. The Graham Foundation, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Social Science Research Council, and the Fellowship of Woodrow Wilson Scholars have supported Sara's research.

Developers of speculative office towers always produce for an imagined client. In the case of London's massive Canary Wharf development of the 1980s, described by David Harvey as a landing strip for global capital, the projections for who the tenants would be and what they would need from their physical space had, in some sense, little to do with the postmodern icons and urban form that were built. This paper will argue that financialization rewrote the terms of architectural practice and the production of buildings more generally by studying the planning for speculative office towers and their developers' interests in those projects. Reported in the press as an "Americanization" of construction management and architectural design, Canary Wharf's creation (and its media image) emphasized particular conditions of typical speculative office tower building. Concurrent and prerequisite to Canary Wharf's creation, the deregulation of financial markets provided a foil for the "actually existing neoliberalism" of building industries, as seen in the shift in the architecture and planning practices of Canary Wharf.

The Swisscom Tower: A Short Play in Three Scenes, With No Heroes and No Villains

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Adam Jasper is a post-doctoral researcher at the Chair of Philip Ursprung, Institute for the History and Theory of Architecture (gta), and editor of the journal *gta Papers*. He is a regular contributor to *Artforum* and *Cabinet*.

The Swisscom research tower in Berne, long abandoned, has played an ambiguous role in the imagination of the city. As the icon of a flagship, technology driven organization, it was a source of pride, but in the years in which it was abandoned, its physical inaccessibility shifted meaning. The tower became a vertical wasteland, internal foreign territory in a city of embassies. The problem it posed developers was essentially one of scale — what to do with a structure so big, in a city defined by low rise development? — and one of zoning — how to persuade city authorities that the building, previously part of a light industrial park, was suitable for integration in the civic fabric as residential housing? The developers, realizing that their problem was symbolic as much as physical, sought to renovate the reputation of the building with a series of cultural events, from operas to raves. While functioning as a Maecenas in exchange for good will is not a new strategy for developers, the campaign for the reimagining of the Swisscom tower was both unusually high stakes and unusually risky for Berne. Here, we follow this campaign, and ask what it reveals of the agency of the developer, the curator, the politician, the artist, and the activist, all of whom play their canonical roles in a small historico-economic drama over the fate of the city.

Modifying to Commodify: How Financial Intent Shapes Urban Housing in Zurich

Susannah Cramer-Greenbaum
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Susannah Cramer-Greenbaum is a PhD Candidate at ETH Zurich's Institute for Architecture and Technology (ITA). Her research studies the impacts of new housing construction on neighborhood change in the Zurich agglomeration. She is also a licensed architect with experience leading large-scale urban redevelopment projects in the US and has an undergraduate degree in architectural history.

Zurich's apartment vacancy rate is low, well below what is considered healthy for residential mobility. For the past two decades, the city has attempted to ameliorate this condition by incentivizing and supporting the wide-spread construction of new housing. Zurich's ambitious, government-driven push to build more apartments offers a unique opportunity to study the impact of different housing development models on the design and production of urban life.

This research compares three housing projects built in Zurich from 2009-2012: Maaghof City West in Escher-Wyss, K.I.S.S. in Altstetten, and Im Forster in Fluntern. By researching the funding, ownership, and development models, interviewing the architects, conducting site observations, and analyzing the residential data trends for each new project and its neighborhood, I create a multi-faceted comparative analysis of how different development models impact the siting and design of new housing, the residents the new housing attracts, and the development's impact on the surrounding neighborhood. The developers in all three cases intended primarily to gain a significant return on their investment and increase the value of the land through the construction of new housing. The financial intent manifests differently in each case study: a public-private partnership to develop underutilized land to increase housing stock in Escher-Wyss; creating new demand for an undesirable location to support a pension fund in Altstetten, and building on a privileged site to preserve private wealth in Fluntern. The financial intent of each case is clearly reflected in the design of all three cases; in the types of units built to attract specific future tenants, in the choice of siting and building orientation, and in the clear attitude towards public and private space demonstrated by the choice of materials, massing, and façade articulation. In all three cases architects produced high-level design, subservient to the financial aims of the developers.

Negotiating with Capital: Architects and Investors in Contemporary French-Speaking Switzerland

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Isabel Concheiro is an architect, editor and researcher who graduated from the ETSAB (Barcelona) in 2002. In 2005, she started her practice, *Concheiro de Montard architectes*, focusing on residential projects. She was a scientific collaborator at the UIC Barcelona, ETH Zurich and EPFL from 2006 to 2014. Currently, she is deputy director and senior lecturer at the school of architecture of HEIA Fribourg and a member of its research institute, *Transform*. Since 2016, she has been editor of *TRANSFER Global Architectural Platform* and a regular collaborator of the Swiss magazine *Tracés*. Her research examines the relationship between architecture and real estate and has been presented at international institutions like the Bauhaus Dessau and Arc-en-rêve.

Because of its quantitative relevance and embeddedness within larger economic and social processes, real estate development is a key driver of urban expansion, especially in the area of housing. The industry's profit-seeking logic underpins the design of both 'anonymous' and 'signature' buildings, yet this simple fact rarely features in the accounts of architectural historians and critics. This is all the more striking, considering that architects grapple with this problem every day—and often, their success depends on how successfully they do it.

In recent decades, growth in the financialisation of housing worldwide has spurred forms of urban development and architectural typologies geared towards the generation of short-term returns. However, the Swiss real estate sector has not followed this speculative trend because of the presence, in this country, of several protective measures. And so, Swiss real estate developers have been mainly devoting their energies to long-term investment schemes, especially in French-speaking Switzerland, because of its low rates of cooperative housing. This contribution examines how architects from Romandy negotiate the imperatives of the real estate industry and strive for 'quality' despite mounting pressure to deliver profitable assets. To do so, the paper will present student work from the 'Architecture and Real Estate' course that I run at HEIA Fribourg.

Banking on Housing: Credit Foncier Loans and The State Savings Bank of Victoria, 1890–1936

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Maren Koehler is a researcher and an Academic Fellow in Architecture at the University of Sydney. Her research is interested in the intersections between architecture and processes of financialisation and the extraction of natural resources. She held postdoctoral appointments as a Virtual Fellow at the Canadian Centre for Architecture in Montréal (CCA) and a fellow at the interdisciplinary research project “Architectures of Order” at the Goethe University Frankfurt and the Technical University of Darmstadt, associated with the Max Planck Institute for Legal History and Legal Theory and the Deutsches Architekturmuseum.

Jasper Ludewig is a lecturer in Architectural History and Theory at the University of Newcastle, Australia. His research is broadly concerned with the architectural history—and historiography—of colonial and organisational governance in both the British and German spheres. In 2021, Jasper was Fellow in the “Architectures of Order” LOEWE research cluster, co-hosted by the Goethe University Frankfurt, the Technical University of Darmstadt, the Max Planck Institute for Legal History and Legal Theory and the Deutsches Architekturmuseum. In 2017, he was Doctoral Fellow at the Canadian Centre for Architecture in Montréal (CCA). Jasper is Associate Editor at *Architectural Theory Review*.

Following the collapse of the Australian property boom in the 1880s, public trust in the volatile colonial land market—largely fuelled by overseas speculation—was exceptionally low. Colonial governments and financial institutions attempted to stabilise the economy in part by making ownership of property more accessible to the domestic population. In the colony of Victoria, this led to the introduction of a transformative financial instrument: the Credit Foncier loan. Credit Foncier loans are fixed-term loans secured against the value of land and backed by the government in which principal and interest are repaid on a regular basis. The State Savings Bank of Victoria (SSBV) established its first Credit Foncier scheme in the 1890s. Loans covered the cost of land, construction and connection to utilities, as well as one of the many designs preapproved by the bank under the scheme. These designs prescribed suitable materials, methods of construction, fixings and appliances. It was a requirement under the terms of the loan that dwellings be kept in good condition and that they were covered by one of the bank’s home insurance policies. By the 1920s, around 1,300 so-called “bank houses” were being constructed in Victoria annually and the SSBV had established a dedicated Building Department to “design and supervise the erection of low-cost housing” for the people of Victoria.

This paper explores the ways in which the Credit Foncier scheme effectively transformed a bank into a real estate developer. It examines how the architecture of the bank houses was designed to meet the commercial imperatives of the SSBV: by mitigating risk, acting as collateral, attracting insurance premiums and through the sale of architectural plans produced for

the scheme. At the same time, however, the paper examines how the terms of the Credit Foncier loan also established long-term financial security—in the form of private home ownership—for a population otherwise excluded from the property market.

The SSBV therefore blurred the lines between banking, private finance, insurance, social welfare, urban development and architectural design: it viewed houses as financialised assets while also facilitating homeownership for a henceforth financially indebted—and thereby “settled”—twentieth-century Victorian population.

Straight 8s: The Buckeridge Group of Companies and The Making of Perth

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Andrew Murray is a PhD candidate at the University of Melbourne. His work examines the role of the working holiday in the making of Western Australian architectural culture in the postwar period. He was awarded the 2020 SAHANZ David Saunders Founder's Grant and the 2021 Norman MacGeorge travelling scholarship. He has previously been the editor of *The Architect WA* and *The Weather Ring*, which featured in the touring 'ArchiZines' show. He is currently based in London where he is completing his thesis.

In 1958, in their third year of the architecture course at Perth Technical College, students Leonard Buckeridge and Judith Lyon married and shortly set up an architectural practice. Initially run as a typical practice that specialized in low-cost individual houses, the Buckeridges soon turned to developing. Utilising a model that encouraged clients and the practice to act as joint developers, the practice started by building a number of small apartment buildings around the inner-city suburbs of Perth. The most common of these models was known as the 'straight 8', a two-storey development with four flats on each level. Taking advantage of the outdated planning laws and the vast amounts of vacant land around the city, the practice would scour the maps for appropriate sites, which would be packaged up with an appropriate plan and presented to prospective investors. From these individual developments, Buckeridge expanded into the manufacturing of building materials, constructing vast warehouses producing bricks, cement and gypsum which would supply his developments, with plans to construct his own shipping port. This became the Buckeridge Group of Companies (BGC), and it created a closed loop of development that allowed BGC to control the entire home building process from design, to the manufacture and importing of materials, to construction. By the end of his life Buckeridge was individually worth almost two billion dollars and was the largest home builder in Australia. But despite their enormous impact on the built environment in Perth, and the unfathomably vast numbers of apartments the firm designed and developed, The Buckeridge group has never been the subject of scholarly attention. This paper then seeks to sketch out for the first time their innovative development approach and examine their role in the making of Perth, with a particular focus on the first and most influential model, the 'straight 8'.

Building the Dream: How South Florida (USA) Became a Retirement Destination after World War II

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Anna Andrzejewski is Professor of Art History/Bradshaw Knight Professor of Environmental Humanities at the University of Wisconsin-Madison (USA). She also directs the Center for Culture, History and Environment in the Nelson Institute for Environmental Studies. Anna is past co-editor of *Buildings & Landscapes: The Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum*. She has published widely in *Buildings & Landscapes*, *Arris*, and elsewhere. Her research interests focus on post World War II U.S. builders and developers. Anna is currently completing a book on the history of post World War II vacation and retirement communities in South Florida. In Spring of 2023, she will be at the Hagley Museum and Library (Delaware) with support of a National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) fellowship, which will help her complete this book.

This paper examines the rapid development of southern Florida (USA) into a retirement destination in the twenty years after World War II. To date the rise of massive retirement communities in this region has been studied through the lens of middle-class American consumers. Indeed, flush with pensions and extra income fueled by the postwar economic boom, middle-class retirees flocked to the southern half of the Florida peninsula to live out their lives in a tropical paradise. But this dream was only possible because of players on the *production* side of the equation: builders/developers such as the Mackle Company of Miami, the focus of this paper.

The Mackle Company grew from a small-scale building firm specializing in veterans homes to become the largest builder in the country in 1959. The Mackle brothers - Elliott, Frank, and Robert - took advantage of Florida's lax development laws, low property tax rate, and favorable conditions for mail-order out-of-state marketing to specialize in the development of large communities of single-family retirement houses, which they merchandised to middle-class retirees in the Midwestern and Northeastern USA. The Mackles also entered into a 50-50 partnership in 1954 with the Florida Canada Corporation, which specialized in manufacture of cement (the building block of Mackle retirement houses). All of this led the Mackles to develop more than a dozen residential communities by 1965, which also spurred other builders and developers to specialize in the "oldster" market.

Drawing on records in the private Mackle family archive, this paper reveals the pivotal role of the Mackle Company in making southern Florida into a retirement destination. In doing so it foregrounds how the "dream" of retirement in the sunbelt was impossible without the builders/developers who navigated legal restrictions and financial obstacles to construct the leisure landscape their clients desired.

Planned Giving: The Role of Catholic Priest + Parishioner in the Building of Suburban Dublin, Ireland, 1965-80

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Ellen Rowley is Assistant Professor in Modern Irish Architecture at the School of Architecture, Planning + Environmental Policy, University College Dublin. She is an architectural and cultural historian, a teacher and a writer. Interested in architectural obsolescence, the intersection of social histories and buildings, and the place of the Catholic Church in Ireland's built environment, she has published extensively including *Housing, Architecture and the Edge Condition* (2019, Routledge, Taylor + Francis); and (co-editor), *Making Belfield. Space + Place at UCD* (2020, UCD Press); as well as *More Than Concrete Blocks*, volumes 1 and 2 (2016/9, Four Courts Press) which are socio-cultural histories of Dublin's buildings from 1900 to 1972. Volume 3 is currently under production. Before that she was co-editor of the landmark Yale series, *Art and Architecture of Ireland* (Volume 4, Architecture 1600 – 2000, YUP/RIA, 2014). Generally, this history is pioneering and so, she admits, there are mistakes. In 2017, Ellen was awarded Honorary Membership of the Royal Institute of Architects of Ireland, for services to Irish architecture. Being privileged with an education from Trinity College Dublin and Cambridge University, UK, Ellen is an advocate for access to university education and specifically, the need for widening participation in architectural education.

Through the 1960s and 1970s, Dublin's suburban periphery continued to expand. Reflecting the piecemeal planning policy of the local authority, in collaboration with the Irish Catholic hierarchy, housing colonies spread, seemingly unchecked over Irish green fields. As more two-storey pitched-roof houses appeared, Catholic schools would haltingly come, followed then by the large Catholic church. Sprawling while clawing to the ground, these determinedly low-rise environments were alleviated only by the monumental architectures of church and school. New suburb after newly-founded parish were developed and built. But in a country still marked by mass emigration and with high unemployment rates, struggling to shift from rural-agrarian to urban-industrial economic policies through the 1960s, who and what was ensuring such persistent development?

This paper explores the funding processes, and by extension the general mechanisms behind the making of these Catholic architectures and social infrastructures. Examining previously unseen archives of the Dublin Diocese around fundraising, the paper drills down beneath the architectural commissions of parish buildings to the unstudied 'Planned Giving' campaigns, from the late 1960s into the 1970s. It is to be argued that the initiation of formal donation programmes – in this case, planned giving campaigns guided by professional fundraising consultants from Britain – represented a rationalization of procurement processes by the Irish Catholic Church; in turn, mirroring and chiming with both national economic modernization strategies and the contemporary radicalization of the Catholic liturgy and church architecture, transnationally.

Taking two working-class parishes in north Dublin, Finglas West (1960s) and Donaghmede (1970s), and their projects to build

two modernist churches and several schools as its case studies, the paper implicates the parish priest as the leading agent in these architectural stories. Not only does the pragmatic priest become the key actor in this history of Irish suburban expansion but the parishioner, as donor, comes in from the margins as the central maker of the built environment.

Real Estate and Print Culture in Georgian Britain and Ireland

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Invited speaker

Conor Lucey is Assistant Professor in Architectural History in the School of Art History and Cultural Policy at University College Dublin, and a former President of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. He is an architectural and design historian with interests in a number of related fields, including urban domestic architecture of the eighteenth-century British Atlantic world; the contested relationship between architectural design and building production; neoclassicism and print culture; and the decorative interior in Europe, 1660-1830. Essays on these topics have appeared in the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, *The Burlington Magazine* and *Architectural History*, among other titles. His recent book, *Building Reputations: Architecture and the Artisan, 1750-1830* (Manchester University Press, 2018), was granted-aided by the Society of Architectural Historians (USA) and the National University of Ireland; in 2019, it was awarded the prestigious Alice Davis Hitchcock Medallion by the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain for its 'outstanding contribution to the study or knowledge of architectural history'. Current research projects include an investigation into the roles of women in the early modern construction industry, and a thematic essay on design as a profession and a trade in Enlightenment Europe for the pioneering Cultural Histories series published by Bloomsbury Academic.

The eighteenth-century has long been recognized as a significant period in the development of a sophisticated visual and text-based print culture that advanced throughout Europe and the English-speaking world: books, newspapers, periodicals and various categories of caricature, handbill and trade card, captured and represented a burgeoning public sphere. At the same time, the exponential growth of cities, including London, Dublin, Bristol and Edinburgh, posits house building (through capitalized speculative development) as the foremost architectural enterprise of the Georgian era.

With a special focus on the expansive Gardiner Estate in Dublin, this paper explores the relationship between real estate and print culture in the long eighteenth century, specifically the mechanism by which building projects were promoted and managed through a range of media, from property deeds and site maps to presentation drawings and newspaper advertisements. Particular consideration is given to how the discrete agencies of landowner and builder negotiated print media for specific needs and ends: while the owners and principals of estates (large freeholds that were typically, if not exclusively, the province of the aristocracy and gentry) used print to generate interest in new building developments, in the form of engraved site maps and elevations announcing individual plots 'to let' or 'for building', the artisan class of bricklayers, carpenters and related trades responsible for translating these paper projections into habitable spaces turned to the medium of property advertising, adopting the urbane language of auctioneers and luxury retailers in an effort to recoup their capital investment.

Confidence Men: The Credibility of Contractors in the Nineteenth-Century United States

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Chelsea Spencer is a PhD candidate in the History, Theory, and Criticism of Architecture program at MIT. Her dissertation, titled "The Contract, the Contractor, and the Capitalization of American Building, 1873–1929," traces the rise of general contracting in the United States. Her research more generally concerns the histories of information, economic life, and the built environment. Chelsea received an MDes in History and Philosophy of Design from the Harvard Graduate School of Design, where she cofounded the zine *Open Letters*, and a BA in art and architectural history from Emory University. Before beginning her studies at MIT, she was the managing editor of *Log*.

The modern US building industry is a product of the booms and busts of the late nineteenth century. During these tumultuous decades, success in the business of contracting was determined by access not just to supplies of lumber and labor but also, and arguably above all, to supplies of credit. Signing a building contract bound the contractor to substantial upfront outlays and a highly contingent payment schedule. Unlike earlier generations of master craftsmen, who could usually turn to family and friends for capital sufficient for their purposes, general contractors required much deeper sources of credit to sustain their businesses. Architectural historians have argued that the rise of the general contractor and the proliferation of the competitive bidding system dissolved networks of trust that had previously been the basis for awarding building contracts. This paper reveals a different view: though it was a business conducted among strangers over widening distances, general contracting was nevertheless conceived by its Gilded Age practitioners and observers in the United States as a fiduciary act, which thus had everything to do with trust (and trusts). But if the cultivation of confidence was no less critical to the capitalist builder than to the craft artisan, then the age of capital also saw the ideal of the "responsible builder" reconfigured through new mechanisms of judgment. Analyzing records prepared by the credit-reporting agency R. G. Dun & Company on individual builders and construction firms in the late nineteenth century (now held by Baker Library at Harvard University), I explore how US contractors' credibility was evaluated in terms that conflated personal character with corporate capitalization. The paper thus aims to shed light on how nineteenth-century morality shaped the financing of building production in the industrializing United States.

The Building Firm Builds Labour: John Laing & Son's Creation of Skill, Technique and Productivity

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Jesse Honsa is an architect and PhD candidate at KU Leuven. He has a global outlook, having practiced with OOZE Architects in Rotterdam, DB Mimarlik in Istanbul, Rutz Architekten and AGPS architecture in Zurich, and Aardvarchitecture in New York City. He holds degrees from The Berlage at TU Delft and the Rhode Island School of Design (RISD) in the United States. His current PhD project entitled "Economies of Scale: Housing Crises and the Architecture of Large-Scale Responses" is supervised by Martino Tattara and considers how the scale of organisations and projects can influence the living unit while addressing housing crises.

Ever since the days of Ruskin and Morris, there has been a tendency to romanticise the independent, male "craftsman", while bemoaning the "deskilling" effects of large-scale construction. But this ignores how labour is itself constructed—skills, tools and general productivity are not given by nature, but are defined by variable industrial relations. This paper considers how large-scale construction has contributed to redefinitions of labour, through an investigation into the British builder John Laing & Son in the early- and mid- twentieth century. It makes use of the firm's exhaustive photographic archive, alongside other resources, to retrace building practices. During the first World War, the small company greatly expanded its workforce to construct a munitions factory and township. But building a town from scratch meant building an industry from scratch: mobilising, housing and caring for thousands of workers on a remote site. Laing developed managerial skills which it put to use in large contracts for social housing estates across the country in the 1920s. In an era of constant strikes, scientific management was a way out of the stalemate between labour and capital: Laing supported shorter hours and higher wages, recognising that these could pay for themselves through higher output. The firm invested in technical innovations such as concrete that redefined the need for particular skills. And it branched out into speculative development to maintain its large workforce, leveraging economies of scale to build houses that even its own workers could afford to buy. In this emerging Fordist building economy, builders and inhabitants were increasingly the same figure, and of central concern. But by the 1960s, Laing—like

many other firms—increasingly subcontracted work to other firms and self-employed workers, leading to poor management. This was another redefinition of labour, aimed not at reinstating the independent craftsman, but rather making the worker more precarious. While the “all-trades” contractor had put the worker at the centre of concern, the latter “management contractor” placed the worker to the sidelines.

Patterning Nostalgia: The US Kit House Movement, and the Construction Conundrum

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Kristin Barry is an Associate Professor of Architecture specializing in architecture history/theory, heritage, and design, with emphases in the US National Cemetery System, History and Interpretation of War, and Archaeology. She is currently writing two books, the first connecting architecture and war throughout history, and the second a history of architecture and rhetoric following the Industrial Revolution. Kristin's additional scholarship focuses on the interpretation and public understanding of world historic and heritage sites and events, and the role of architecture in heritage management and planning. She has published numerous journal articles and chapters on the reconstruction of rock art sites; monumental sculpture and its relationship to politics and tourism; people-moving techniques; architectural collections and questionable context; and Medieval construction methods.

Following World War II, young American soldiers returning home sought a new existence, rooted in a nostalgic impression of life before war. The expansion of the United State highway system in the late 1940s, and early 1950s promoted this urban exodus, additionally encouraged by pattern home companies, which marketed inexpensive plans and kits to veterans.

American home pattern catalogues proliferated in the early and mid-20th century, promoting the lifestyle of private home ownership achievable through hard work and inexpensive materials. Companies such as Sears Roebuck and National Homes Corporation advertised picturesque scenes that relied directly on pre-war impressions of the American home, with cultural features such as chimneys, gables, and porches that would bring recognizable comfort to men recovering from the trauma of war.

With the proliferation of these prefabricated home kits, however, came resistance from the construction and real estate industries, who were suddenly cut out of the biggest housing boom in American History. By providing design and materials, the kit house movement eliminated the need for architects, real estate agents, and construction workers. Only by relying on nostalgic forms were real estate professionals and construction companies able to regain their influence over American post-war residential architecture.

'Taylor Woodrow Will Emigrate:' A Contractor-Developer Navigates the Ends of Empire in West Africa

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Ewan Harrison is an architectural historian with an interest in architectures for business, and the business of architecture, in 20th century Britain and Africa. He is currently a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Liverpool, working on a collaborative Leverhulme Trust funded project examining mercantile architecture in Anglophone West Africa: in particular the architecture of Unilever's subsidiary, the United Africa Company. He is also currently working on a monograph examining the work of the leading British commercial architect Richard Seifert, due to be published by MIT Press in 2023. He has previously worked as a curator for the RIBA Collections, and as a heritage consultant in private practice.

'The Soviet Union intend to hold an exhibition in Accra and wish us to carry out the erection, etc. We have submitted an agreement on a target-cost basis and are now awaiting approval from Moscow.'
Board Meeting of Taylor Woodrow Ghana, 16 April, 1962.

Recent scholarship has charted the ways in which contractors from the socialist world and non-aligned states sought both work and international legitimacy in decolonising West Africa. Yet, the presence of British owned contractors in the same region remains under-explored. Based on the unusual survival of the construction company's board minutes, memoranda and director's correspondence in the Unilever Archive, this paper offers an account of the business practices of a British contractor at the ends of empire in West Africa.

Taylor Woodrow established itself in British West Africa in the 1940s, taking advantage of the Colonial Development and Welfare policies of the late imperial state to secure profitable commissions across the region. Independence brought changes, as the privileged relationships Taylor Woodrow enjoyed with colonial regimes gave way to greater competition from both state-owned and foreign-backed contractors newly arrived in West Africa. Building on Olgu Kalu's insight that decolonisation followed different timetables for different actors, this paper unpicks the business strategies that Taylor Woodrow developed in response to these changing circumstances. Through public-private partnerships and business relationships with emergent political elites, through the capitalisation of infrastructural and construction projects via long-term loans, and, perhaps most surprisingly, through making overtures to competitors from the socialist world, Taylor Woodrow maintained its position in the West Africa, and, crucially, its ability to funnel profits from the region back to London, well beyond the formal end of British rule.

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Gregorio Astengo is a Postdoctoral Researcher at the Institute for the History and Theory of Architecture, ETH Zurich. He graduated from Turin's Polytechnic in 2012 and has been practicing as an architect in Italy between 2012 and 2014. In 2014 he completed a Postgraduate Certificate in Advanced Architectural Research at the Bartlett School of Architecture, UCL, and in 2019 he completed his PhD from the Bartlett, funded by the London Arts and Humanities Partnership. Gregorio was teaching assistant at UCL and Queen Mary (University of London), adjunct professor at Syracuse University London, lecturer at the New College of the Humanities, and is currently adjunct professor at IE University. His research was published in journals such as *Oase*, *gta Papers*, *Architectural Histories* and *RA. Revista de Arquitectura*.

Davide Spina is a Postdoctoral Researcher at the Institute for the History and Theory of Architecture, ETH Zurich, where he also completed his doctorate (with Distinction—ETH Medal). Previously, he studied architectural history at The Bartlett, UCL. Davide was a Fellow at the Swiss Institutes in Rome (2018–19) and Milan (2021–22). Currently, he is an SNF Researcher at ZHAW (2021–24). Davide coordinates *DocTalks*, an international online platform for early-stage researchers in architectural history and theory (www.doctalks.net). He regularly presents at international conferences, such as SAH and the EAHN, and his writing has appeared in the *AA Files*, *Log*, and *gta Papers*. His forthcoming book with MIT Press examines the post-war activities of the Italian real estate developer and contractor SGI.