High-rise living in the middle-class suburb: a geography of tactics and strategies

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Abstract

Within new configurations of the 'Great Australian Dream', high-rise living in Australian cities has become not only an acceptable housing configuration for the middle classes but also a desirable one. Enquiring deeply into the tactics and strategies that building inhabitants use to live vertically in the city, this thesis explores the ways in which the design, inhabitation, and maintenance of middle-class high-rise developments are negotiated in Melbourne inner-suburbs. It explores dwellers' agency in the negotiation of design choices and co-production of high-rise spaces, using mixed qualitative methods combining walking tours and semi-directed interviews. Drawing on the new geography of architecture and on a relational approach to housing and home, the research engages with a theory of practice acknowledging tactical and strategic actions in the city. It argues that dwellers reshape the socio-material configurations and spatial relations of apartment living set by designers, developers and housing technologists. Explicitly recognising of the role of social class in high-rise living, the research suggests that apartment developments are highly contested sites where intended lifestyles and aspirations are negotiated by varied institutions and actors, through a distinctive set of temporal and spatial actions. It finds that competing actors all work towards the co-production of high-rise living spaces and cultures. However, the thesis also shows that housing relations in the practice of middle-class apartment living outline an uneven and changing distribution of power between those who develop strategies and those who craft tactics. More broadly, this research opens up a deeper understanding of how this new kind of vertical city reflects and transforms configurations of status, power and identity in the Australian suburb.

Declaration

This is to certify that:

i) the thesis comprises only my original work towards the degree of PhD,

ii) due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used,

iii) the thesis is fewer than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies and appendices.

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Table of Content

Abstract 2
Declaration 3
Acknowledgements 4
Table of Content 5
List of Tables 7
List of Figures 7
List of Appendices 9

Chapter 1. Introduction: a new kind of vertical city 10
1.1 A social question: a high-rise way of life? 10
1.2 Research aims and questions 13
1.3 Research context: the Melbourne high-rise economy 14
1.4 Structure of thesis 16
Chapter 2. Tactics, class and space 19
2.1 Introduction 19
2.2 Social and cultural geographies of high-rise living 20
2.3 Suburban spaces and the middle classes 29
2.4 Tactics and strategies as acting micropolitics 33
2.5 Conclusion 40
Chapter 3. High-rise homes revisited: a qualitative analysis 41
3.1 Introduction 41
3.2 Epistemological context: relational approaches to high-rise living 42
3.3 Methodology: revealing tactics and strategies 46
3.4 Data collection process 50
3.5 Ethics and positionality 64
3.6 Analysis and organisation of thesis 68
3.7 Perspectives 71
Chapter 4. Perspectives on two suburban developments 73
4.1 Introduction 73
4.2 The lost battle for Melbourne's inner-city suburbs 73
4.3 The City of Yarra's activism and the rise of apartment living 75
4.4 Acacia Place 80
4.5 Yorkshire Brewery Apartments 82
Chapter 5. Producing middle-class high-rise living, transforming suburbs 86
5.1 Introduction 86
5.2 Tactics and strategies of landscape transformation 88
5.3 High-rise dwellers' multi-territorial strategies 98
5.4 Operationalising geographical imaginaries of hotels 104
5.5 High-rise grounds: a contested interface with the inner-suburb 109

5.6 Perspectives 114

Chapter 6. Negotiating power in high-rise living 116

6.1 Introduction 116
6.2 High-rise governance: privatisation, property and power 119
6.3 Navigating organisational frameworks 123
6.4 Housing tenures and conflicting tactics and strategies 130
6.5 The power of maintenance and technology 138
6.6 Panic in the building: managing fear and security 148
6.7 Opening friendships, preserving anonymity 156
6.8 Perspectives 161

Chapter 7. Making middle-class homes in high-rise apartments 162

7.1 Introduction 162
7.2 Class and home-making in apartment geographies 164
7.3 Social composition and household strategies 166
7.4 Room for improvement: making do with layouts 171
7.5 'A luxury feel': domestic possessions, tactics and taste 186
7.6 High-rise views as spatial capital 202
7.7 Perspectives 209

Chapter 8. Conclusion: the co-production of high-rise living 211

8.1 Introduction 211
8.2 Key results and discussion 212
8.3 Desired and disputed: high-rise developments in the Australian suburb 216

Bibliography 219
Appendices 239

List of Tables

Table 1.1: List of professional interviewees (Location: Melbourne) 52

Table 3.1: List of professional interviewees (Location: Melbourne) 44

Table 3.2: List of resident interviewees, CE stands for Continental European (Location: Melbourne) 58

Table 3.3: List of resident interviewees in The Nicholson, CE stands for Continental European (Location: Melbourne) 62

Table 4.1: Case-study buildings main characteristics 78

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: 'Old soul, new beginnings': real-estate advertisement for an apartment development on Johnston Street, Abbotsford, October 2017. Photo: L. Dorignon 11

Figure 1.2: Public housing estate on Colgan Street, Carlton, and real-estate advertisement for an apartment development on Johnston Street, Abbotsford, October 2017. Photo: L. Dorignon 15

Figures 3.1 and 3.2: View of Collingwood from a competitor's apartment building; and engineering gear on a construction site visit, December and October 2017. Photos: L. Dorignon 53

Figures 3.3 and 3.4: Waiting for a participant and preparing interviewing material, May 2018. Photos: L. Dorignon 60

Figures 3.5 and 3.6: Views of The Nicholson in Coburg from Nicholson St and Glengyle St, November 2017. Photos: L. Dorignon 62

Figure 3.7: Thesis results chapter roadmap: socio-spaces and high-rise living aspirations/attributes . 70

Figure 4.1: Collingwood and Abbotsford in Greater Melbourne. Map created by Chandra Jayasuria, 2018 79

Figures 4.3 and 4.4: Industrial, vacant land or green spaces around the two chosen developments, November 2018, Photos: L. Dorignon 80

Figure 4.5: Acacia Place in Abbotsford. Map created by Chandra Jayasuria, 2018 80

Figure 4.6: Acacia Place masterplan. Credit: adapted from rothelowman.com.au 81

Figure 4.7 and 4.8: The outside façade of Acacia Place from Victoria Street and the internal courtyard leading to the river, November 2018. Photos: L. Dorignon 82

Figure 4.9: The Yorkshire Brewery in Collingwood. Map created by Chandra Jayasuria, 2018 83

Figure 4.10: Yorkshire Brewery Apartments masterplan, January 2018. Photo: L. Dorignon 84

Figures 4.11 and 4.12: The historic Brewery tower of the Yorkshire Brewery from Mansard Lane and a perspective on the entire complex from the top of an apartment building on Peel St, November 2018, Photos: L. Dorignon 85

Figure 5.1: Chapter 5 in the thesis results chapter roadmap 86

Figures 5.2 and 5.3: The inner-suburban landscape in the City of Yarra, Victorian terraces houses frontages and a low-rise residential street, November 2017. Photos: L. Dorignon 87

Figures 5.4 and 5.5: Historical information in the courtyard of Yorkshire Brewery Apartments, artwork and bike stands share at the back, November 2017. Photo: L. Dorignon 91

Figure 5.6: View of Collingwood from a walking tour in the Yorkshire Brewery: public housing estates in the background, recently built residential high-rise buildings and converted warehouses in the foreground, January 2018. Photo: L. Dorignon 92

Figures 5.7 and 5.8: The river's "natural features"; a view of the Yarra bed from Collingwood and a family of tawny frogmouths near Acacia Place, November 2017. Photos: L. Dorignon 95

Figure 5.9: View of Acacia Place from the Dickinson Reserve in Kew, September 2017. Photos: L. Dorignon 97

Figures 5.10 and 5.11: Entrance to the Yorkshire Brewery through the heritage stable section of, February 2018. Photo: L. Dorignon 112

Figures 5.12 and 5.13: The "meander" through Acacia Place and social space of the café overlooking the river, October 2017. Photo: L. Dorignon 113

Figure 6.1: Chapter 6 in the thesis results chapter roadmap 116

Figures 6.2 and 6.3: Reminders of rules and regulations from the owners corporation in Yorkshire Brewery and Acacia Place, January and April 2018. Photos: L. Dorignon 124

Figure 6.4: A gardener cleans the pond in Acacia Place, October 2017. Photo: L. Dorignon.......... 139

Figures 6.5 and 6.6: Assembling the "jump lift" on the construction site of a residential high-rise tower, Melbourne CBD, October 2017. Photo: L. Dorignon 143

Figures 6.7 and 6.8: The elevator's cabins, mirrors, advertisement and panel control in Yorkshire Brewery, just after an interview, October 2017, Photos: L. Dorignon 144

Figure 6.9: On the front, an indigenous activist graffiti and women walking on the river cycle path. In the background, the stairs leading to Acacia Place, October 2017. Photo: L. Dorignon 151

Figures 6.10 and 6.11: Bicycles parks in, Acacia Place on the left, and Yorkshire Brewery on the centre and right. Storage cages in the centre. September 2017 and January 2018. Photos: L. Dorignon ... 152

Figures 6.12 and 6.13: On the other side of CCTV the screens and master plan of the Yorkshire Brewery apartments from the concierge lodge, January 2018. Photos: L. Dorignon 153

Figures 6.14 and 6.15: Haven's "residential-only" entrance and elevator control panel with camera and limited-access only system, May 2017. Photos: L. Dorignon 153

Figure 7.1: Chapter 7 in the thesis results chapter roadmap 162

Figures 7.2 and 7.3: Floorplans from the masterplan of Yorkshire Brewery, January 2018. Photos: L. Dorignon 173

Figure 7.4: Acceptable use of private external corridors outside heritage apartments of the Yorkshire Brewery tower, February 2018. Photo: L. Dorignon 175

Figures 7.5 and 7.6: Outside Robert and Jane's multi-level apartment in Acacia Place, November 2017. Photos: L. Dorignon 176

Figures 7.7: Additions made by Jon to his flat and hand-drawn by him at the time of the interview, May 2016 178

Figure 7.8: A children's "play space" made of artificial turf installed on one of the largest terraces of Eden in Acacia Place, November 2017. Photo: L. Dorignon 179

Figures 7.9 and 7.10: Advertisement material for Acacia Place interior, here with dark timber and grey fabric. Credit: rothelowman.com.au 180

Figure 7.12: Clotheslines or golf practicing pad? A consultation of residents was organised to decide on how this vacant terrace in Acacia Place should be utilised, November 2017, Photo: L. Dorignon 197

Figures 7.13 and 7.14: "The eight properties we have lived in and owned": inside Christine's apartment in Acacia Place, November 2017. Photos: L. Dorignon 198

Figure 7.15: Terrace, artificial hedges and river path from the third floor of Haven, May 2016. Photo: L. Dorignon 200

Figure 7.16: 'Une terrasse' by architect Henri Sauvage. Sources: Fonds Henri Sauvage, Paris 201

Figures 7.17 and 7.18: Panels and clear windows in the Yorkshire Brewery and 'vis-à-vis' between the buildings Sanctuary and Haven in Acacia Place. September-October 2017. Photo: L. Dorignon ... 204

Figure 7. 19: View from a balcony of Haven on private terraces and lower gardens, Acacia's communal pool and spa, the café, bike path and Yarra river in background., October 2017. Photo: L. Dorignon 205

Figure 7.20: "A prime location", view onto Haven's balconies and terraces from the Yarra river path, October 2017. Photo: L. Dorignon 209

Figure 8.1: Eden' rooftop after the rain and view of Melbourne city centre, October 2017. Photo: L. Dorignon 217

List of Appendices

Appendices 1: Example of advertisement material for the recruitment of resident participants 239

Appendices 2: Consent form for resident participants 240

Appendices 3: Plain language statement distributed to resident participants 241

Appendices 4: Consent form for housing professional participants 243

Appendices 5: Plain language statement distributed to housing professional participants 244

Appendices 6: Questionnaire used with resident participants 246

Appendices 7: Example of questionnaire used with housing professional participants 247

Chapter 1. Introduction: a new kind of vertical city

1.1 A social question: a high-rise way of life?

The starting point for this thesis is the contemporary shift in housing structures towards high-rise living in urban Australia. In 2016 the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) released a story entitled 'Apartment Living' (ABS 2017) alongside the Census of Population and Housing. The ABS reported several trends in housing structures, including a historical growth in apartment living identified primarily as an urban phenomenon within Australia's major capital cities: "More Australians than ever are taking up apartment living, whether out of preference, convenience, or for other reasons." (2017). Apartments are associated with high-rise living, indeed Census confirmed the "rising prevalence of apartments in four or more story blocks" (ABS 2017), which in the Australian planning regulation defines a high-rise unit. High-rise living has been sporadic in Australian suburban development, particularly among middle-class families where the dominant aspirational model of housing and lifestyle has been one of living in separate, 'standalone' houses. In the idealised and patriotic model of the "quarter-acre block" (Hall 2010), the backyard garden was seen as a space indispensable to families raising young children and aspiring to the 'Great Australian Dream'. Until recently, high-rise living was predominantly associated with public housing and the working class in Australian urbanism.

In the midst of significant transformations in the governance of cities coupled with the financialisation of housing processes, changing social trends and household trajectories in Australia have had an impact on urban landscapes, ways of living and aspirations. While apartment living has already been fairly established for middle-class young single professionals or so-called DINKs ('Double Income No Kids') in Sydney and Melbourne's inner-suburbs, high-rise living is in the process of becoming a desired way of living in its own right. Rather than an 'acceptable' compromise (Nematollahi, Tiwari, and Hedgecock 2016) in which a house and garden are traded for an urban location, apartment living is now marketed as an aspirational lifestyle and looked-for opportunity within suburban change (Figure 1.1). In other words, high-rise living in Australian cities has become not only an acceptable housing configuration for part of the middle classes but also a desirable one. This thesis demonstrates that this aspiration is desired and contested at the same time and explores how this influences the production of socio-spatial relations in the inner-suburb.

Figure 1.1: 'Old soul, new beginnings': real-estate advertisement for an apartment development on Johnston Street, Abbotsford, October 2017. Photo: L. Dorignon

The thesis sits at the intersection of two important phenomena in the contemporary development of housing in urban spaces. The first is the 'vertical city', a global evolution of contemporary cities towards the vertical expansion of the built form (Appert 2016), which is increasingly analysed as "performative and constitutive of shifting social relations under capitalism" (Nethercote 2018, 3). This literature stems from Weizman's critique of the horizontal paradigm in geopolitics (2007) and consequent debate around the shift of representational paradigm in urban studies, from a "flat" two-dimensional representation of urban space to a fully volumetric and three-dimensional consideration (Harris 2015). This has been responded to in various ways, including through a critical discussion in political geography of the increasing role that vertical technologies hold in the military control of space (Elden 2013; Graham and Hewitt 2013). These responses have however mostly overlooked how the vertical city is lived from within. At the intersection of cultural, social and urban geography, this thesis is pushing further the conceptualisation of verticality, offering innovative and critical perspectives on issues of power and class in relation to high-rise living.

The second phenomenon is the continuing process of suburban development, change and diversification. The type of 'suburbanism' this gives rise to (Burton and Gill 2015) as well as the question of the social homogeneity of the suburbs has been intensely debated (Charmes 2007) in

the context of territorial reconfigurations, population growth and political change. This thesis captures these two phenomena as they get entangled: the growth of high-rise living in Melbourne is occurring in the inner to outer suburbs (Nethercote 2019), which raises significant social and political questions in the Australian context. Associated with particular practices and expectations around privacy, safety and amenities (Figure 1.1), high-rise developments as well as other fast-developing forms of housing schemes such as Master Planned Estates (Dowling and McGuirk 2005; McGuirk and Dowling 2007) have been understood as participating in the "new geographies of suburban segregation" (Gleeson 2002, 229) and in the creation of "exclusionary residential" enclaves within the older suburban fabric (Gleeson 2002, 229). The national debate around policies supporting "urban consolidation" (Troy 1997, 2012) has created a highly contested ground for the development of high-rise living in the Australian suburbs. Within this context, the argument that unfolds through this thesis is that the study of spatial and temporal reconfigurations in and around these spaces provides a window into this aspirational shift and into how social relations are established under this new living paradigm.

High-rises are playing a crucial role in people's daily practices in urban spaces (Drozdz, Appert, and Harris 2018), especially for those who inhabit tall buildings. Yet the social and spatial conditions of living inside these new homes remain insufficiently explored, with few accounts of the relationships between middle-class practices and high-rise living. Commentators primarily focus on macro-scale analysis in the study of vertical urbanisation, exploring localisation patterns of high-rise buildings or giving accounts of densification policies. Challenging discourses on renewed forms of high-rise living has, therefore, become an increasingly urgent agenda for urban research. This thesis contributes to this agenda by developing a micro-scale analysis of social practices within and around apartment developments of suburbs. This thesis is driven by the investigation of what these relations reveal about the processes of housing and home-making in the context of middle-class high-rise buildings, and how they are transforming and being transformed by Australian suburban trajectories.

The thesis focuses on the role of middle-class dwellers in reshaping the social and spatial relations of two suburban high-rise developments in Melbourne called Acacia Place and Yorkshire Brewery Apartments. It addresses a gap in the literature that overlooks the parts of society that are inhabiting and making a home in these developments. Beyond global financial changes and national

metropolitan densification policies, the movement towards building higher-density developments is changing the way people inhabit, appropriate and relate to the city. The thesis therefore focuses on the actions, framed as tactics and strategies (Certeau 1984), that take part in a relational production of middle-class high-rise spaces. Under a relational understanding of housing, places such as home are seen as being profoundly influenced by the actions and meaning people place on them (Massey 1991). This approach involves a consideration of space as a constellation of trajectories and actions – impacting and impacted by the social realm – rather than a surface upon which activities are laid out. This thesis builds understanding of how high-rise spaces are informed by social relations, and what spatial outcomes result from everyday interactions with high-rise living. It particularly revolves around the relationships of power that emerge through these interactions. It finds that in the context where competing actors all work towards the co-production of what high-rise living constitutes today, tactics and strategies both reflects and give rise to an uneven and changing distribution of power between those who develop strategies and those who craft tactics.

1.2 Research aims and questions

Enquiring deeply into the tactics and strategies that building inhabitants use to live vertically in the city, this thesis explores the ways in which the design, inhabitation, and maintenance of middle-class high-rise developments are negotiated in Melbourne inner-suburbs. The aim of the thesis is threefold: it seeks to identify the changes in middle-class housing aspirations and to understand to what extent the middle classes are embracing high-rise living in the Australian suburb, and the circumstances of such shifts; it examines the social practices specific to middle-class apartment living in the Australian suburb; and it analyses the ways residents subvert the spatial configurations established by architects and developers.

The following question guides this thesis:

Through what tactics and strategies do residents and developers negotiate and produce high-rise living in middle-class inner-suburbs?

1.3 Research context: the Melbourne high-rise economy

To answer this question and respond to the broader aim of the thesis, this research turns to Melbourne for its empirical investigation. Verticalisation has an impact on cities' inherited housing structures, particularly when municipalities support the maximisation strategies of landowners. This is particularly the case in inner-suburban Melbourne, where high-rise living has become a visible phenomenon that has increased in symbolic signification and economic importance.

Renewed forms of high-rise buildings are particularly contentious in Melbourne. Narratives surrounding high-rise living are undergoing substantial change (Costello 2005) alongside the rapid increase of apartment dwellers. The proportion of high-rise dwellers in the State of Victoria has historically been much lower than in New South Wales, which accounted for nearly half of Australia's occupied apartments in 2016 (ABS 2017). In 1981, only 24 percent of residents of high-rise units in Australia resided in Victoria, compared to 64 percent in New South Wales (ABS 1981). Yet this geography is dramatically shifting, reflecting the growth of apartment living at a national level: the proportion of occupied high-rise apartments increased in Australia from 19 per cent in 1991 to 38 per cent in 2016 and in 2016, and there was one apartment occupied for every five houses, up from one in seven in 1991 (ABS 2017). While in Melbourne, residential high-rise forms have long been linked to public housing estates (Figure 1.2) and modernist architecture (Fincher and Wiesel 2012), construction and real-estate groups are now reinvesting in them. These actors seek to meet international demand for financial investments in private apartments, particularly in the Central Business District (CBD), while also responding to the injunctions of a globalised architecture through the standardisation of physical forms (Sklair 2005). With the increased interplay between land and financial productivity (Harvey 2006), many governments are organising urban renewal programs in partnership with private actors, which include high-rise buildings. The verticalisation of Melbourne is therefore both an expression of the financialisation logics of commercial – and more recently residential – real estate, and a political answer to the imperatives of sustained population growth (McGuirk and Argent 2011; Cook, Davison, and Crabtree 2016). In Melbourne however, the development of higher-density forms of housing does not only occur in the hyper-centre of the metropolitan area. Patterns of densification are also observable in the suburbs, where there are a rising number of applications and constructions for high-rise apartment buildings (Nethercote 2019).

Figure 1.2: Public housing estate on Colgan Street, Carlton, and real-estate advertisement for an apartment development on Johnston Street, Abbotsford, October 2017. Photo: L. Dorignon

The creation of such places, distinct from the similarly high-rise inner-city housing commission buildings, as well as from the super-tall skyscrapers of the CBD, calls for investigation. While modifying suburban landscapes and morphologies by their size, height or street-level accessibility features, they can offer an economically viable alternative to a population confronted by a lack of affordable housing (Crabtree 2016). The Victorian State government is using population projections to pursue its planning agenda with contested results in terms of social and economic affordability (Tomlinson 2012). Alongside this, renewed narratives on urban living in Melbourne and particularly in the suburbs – since the 1995 metropolitan plan *Living Suburbs* (Victoria State Government 1995; Whitzman, Gleeson, and Sheko 2014) – are emerging in the public sphere. These take the form of public consultations, forums and discussions organised by the different levels of government, which are being revisited by a new generation of developers. Their intention, much aligned with increasingly popular notions of governance (Hamel and Keil 2015), is to transcend public and professional silos to create a dialogue with potential buyers on their intended ways of living. Renewed sets of discourses on high-density living are thus emerging that entangle

high-rise living – representing the future of urban development – and suburban areas – symbolising part of the Australian identity (Figure 1.2). This change is particularly contentious in affluent suburbs of Melbourne where apartment buildings have for the most part been physically absent from these locations (Lewis 1999) and the repertoire of arguments established by developers tailored for the Australian inner-suburb market. Collectively, these practices are influencing a nuanced typology of high-rise buildings in Melbourne intended to be aspired to and lived in by the middle classes.

1.4 Structure of thesis

I have organised the thesis into eight chapters. Following this introduction, **Chapter 2** reviews the literature informing this research and the theoretical framework for its conceptual grounding. It starts with an overview of the geographical literature on high-rise living which pays increased attention to the domestic and embodied qualities of high-rise homes through a socio-material approach to architecture. This chapter observes that the literature on high-rise living focuses almost exclusively on dwellers of high-rise buildings that are economically disadvantaged or extremely affluent. In response to these shortcomings, I draw attention to the significance of middle-class presence and inhabitancy in high-rise spaces and show how and why middle-class housing trajectories and practices intersect with an important contemporary restructuring of urban territories. The chapter finishes by arguing that the framework of tactics and strategies can offer valuable insights into a geography of high-rise living seen as produced relationally by a highly diverse group of dwellers.

Chapter 3 continues to unfold how tactics and strategies have informed the empirical investigation of this thesis. The epistemological context for this research is a relational understanding of high-rise living, which also serves as a conceptual foundation for the framework of tactics and strategies. A relational understanding of tactics and strategies emphasises that high-rise living is socially produced through practices entangled with aspirations, values, desires, and compromise, that are not in any way intrinsic to high-rise spaces. The chapter describes the rationale for choosing the case-studies and the qualitative methods that I employ. It presents the process of recruiting interviewees, which was challenged by restrained access to high-rise dwellers, and the composition of the group of participants. I explain how combining walking tours and at-home interviews with participants enabled me to observe and document tactical and strategic

practices of high-rise living. I also use this chapter to reflect on the ethical issues raised by conducting fieldwork in people's homes, a place commonly envisaged as both private and safe. Finally, I discuss how my own background, geographic and social, may have influenced data collection and interpretation as an analyst.

Chapter 4 focuses on contextualising the two case-study developments that were chosen for this research. It places them in the context of a battle for the Melbourne inner-city suburbs and more specifically in the City of Yarra political activism against the rise of apartments. The chapter also offers some architectural details on these high-rise buildings and contrasts them with other projects that feature more prominently in high-rise living literature. In anticipation of the empirical threads developed later in the thesis, the chapter explores the typologies of dwellers that are characteristic of the city of Yarra's high-rise market, focusing on the importance of three middle-class profiles (Randolph and Tice 2013).

The results chapters successively deploy three scales of analysis – the neighbourhood, the building, and the home – to understand what tactics and strategies reveal of the everyday micro-politics of high-rise living. **Chapter 5** looks at how the production of middle-class high-rise living is connected to a transformation of suburban spaces. I reveal how property development practices take shape in response to complex relationships with Council, group dynamics, and developer ambitions. I also demonstrate how aspirations, roles and status informing middle-class high-rise living are co-produced in the suburb and the city at large. In particular, I reveal how a multi-territoriality specific to the upper-middle-class influences the way high-rise living is operationalised, facilitating a renegotiation of the conception of high-rise buildings as hotels and places of leisure in the suburbs.

Middle-class apartment developments also provide a new site to examine changing practices of housing governance. **Chapter 6** analyses the relationships of power that emerge from maintaining and managing the building, and how sharing communal spaces and amenities gives rise to conflicting tactics and strategies. It shows that the inner social life of a building occurs through relationships of control that come into disagreement due to differing conceptions and priorities, particularly around technology, safety and privacy. The chapter discusses widespread understanding of housing practices through tenures and shows how tenure affects residents' ability

to resort to tactics or strategies, and how other factors – such as dwellers social background and previous housing experiences – play out in the negotiation of communal living in high-rise buildings.

In **Chapter 7**, I explore how middle-class identities are reshaped in the apartment home. I demonstrate that the tactics and strategies intended to appropriate high-rise homes reflect significant disparities in the high-rise social composition and middle-class status. This chapter engages with literature on home-making and class to show what materialities and relations are produced to achieve a sense of middle-class home in the suburban apartment. The chapter discusses, beyond common aspirations and mechanisms, the way of individualising one's own space in the high-rise, through objects and practices.

Chapter 8 weaves these threads together. It synthesises and discusses the key findings of this thesis, which provides insights into a new kind of 'vertical city'. Through the lenses of tactics and strategies, I revisit narratives on suburban high-rise living as a desired and disputed middle-class housing aspiration and discuss why the question of the co-production matters for our understanding of housing processes.

Chapter 2. Tactics, class and space

2.1 Introduction

As established in the introductory chapter, this thesis is concerned with the negotiation of middle-class high-rise living through everyday tactics and strategies. Tactics and strategies designate actions with an intent, actions that also have transformative outcomes. Social scientists and geographers have used this framework to reveal the hidden power relations that operate at a micro-scale across different urban contexts. The idea of *tactical* and *strategical* modes of action was developed by philosopher and historian Michel de Certeau in the 1970s (1984), challenging a top-down vision of society by highlighting the counter-hegemonic responses to social and/or spatial instructions. In de Certeau's theory and structural vision of society, "space is an emergent dimension realised by the actions of individuals" (Lussault and Stock 2010, 14). This emphasises the differentiated ways of doing that can coexist within a group, and the potential processes of competition and cooperation that can emerge from it. Middle-class high-rise living is a relevant context in which to investigate tactics and strategies. Firstly, high-rises are an emerging form of middle-class housing in Melbourne, which gives rise to the creation of new knowledge, skills and know-how in order to inhabit these spaces. Secondly, the great diversity of the residents coexisting in one single building leads to a multiplicity of situations in which individuals with various backgrounds negotiate their everyday lives and interests. Middle-class high-rise buildings, given their density and the lifestyle associated with them, offer an important site to explore the negotiation of housing aspirations and how this affects the changing suburb.

In this chapter, I review three bodies of work that informed my research question. First, in **Section 2.2** I examine the literature on high-rise living in geography and underline how high-rise living has been seen as producing negative social outcomes in the city, at both the collective level – through processes of relegation, exclusion or fragmentation – and at the individual level, such as health and psychological damage or isolation. This literature has focused on socio-economic disadvantage yet had not been explicitly framed in terms of class while exploring the role of social groups in shaping high-rise living spaces and cultures. Therefore, in **Section 2.3,** the second body of work I review is concerned with the geographies of the middle classes, where I underline the significance of place and housing aspirations. In **Section 2.4**, the third body of work I review is the

framework of tactics and strategies as practices of negotiation, which reveal conflicting or cohesive sets of relations and interactions in housing. These bodies of literature illuminate the question of middle-class high-rise living and shape a detailed understanding of the micro-politics of suburban change.

2.2 Social and cultural geographies of high-rise living

The geographical literature on high-rise living serves as a starting point to look at the negotiation practices of the middle-class in high-rise developments. The thesis is located in a long-standing debate about whether high-rise buildings should be planned, who inhabits them and the kinds of city they produce. Since their appearance in cities, high-rise buildings have generated prolific literature around their effects on everyday life and social outcomes in the city. This section underlines the overall negative effects of high-rise living established in the literature and the critiques towards the outcomes of social housing estates and high-rise developments in urban spaces around the world. The section then reviews the consideration of everyday high-rise living through a psycho-social approach attending to the health and environmental living conditions of families in residential high-rises and providing a perspective on the domestic qualities and material cultures of high-rise buildings. The thesis wishes to contribute to these bodies of work by bringing attention to the middle classes and demonstrating how people live in suburban high-rise developments.

2.2.1 The contested geographies of social housing estates

High-rise living was first studied in the context of 19th Western European urbanisms, particularly in Paris with the major modernisations brought to the French capital by public administrator Georges-Eugène Haussmann (Marchand 1993; Hazan 2019). Geographer David Harvey has analysed the change implemented to the city as a result of the Hausmann administration, in particular housing demolitions and the creation of large avenues composed of buildings of six to eight storeys, which effectively redefined the city's social composition through an increase of rent and internal segregation of class between buildings of the *bourgeoisie* and the working class (2003). However, a diversity of profiles prevailed in many buildings, with "new forms of encounters" facilitated by the blurring of public and private spaces (Fincher and Wiesel 2012). Highlighting how apartment homes for the English middle-class were conceived in parallel as secluded and private spaces, Sharon Marcus has contrasted "the domesticity of Parisian urbanism and the

urbanism of London's domesticity" (1999, 2). In her study based on the apartment house, she reconsidered the boundaries of private and public spaces in the city by highlighting the connections between interiors and their (sub)urban surroundings. The question of the social diversity offered by apartment buildings in Paris continues to be sparked by geographical research on the changes of residential composition under the effect of gentrification (Clerval 2016).

The majority of the literature on high-rise living in Europe and Australia has focused on the problems associated with high-rise public housing estates, and the challenges encountered by their residents. Post-WWII witnessed a surge in the construction of high-rise buildings, especially in the wake of socialist states under the form of modernist social housing estates intended to be homes to the working class. These estates have been objects of numerous investigations as they have been identified as "sites of disorder" (Morris 2012) due to the association of these estates with disadvantage and marginalisation. Because researchers have focused on the most impoverished housing estates, high-rise living was often represented in the literature as a failure and associated with wider processes of relegation, exclusion and criminal activity in the city (Merlin 2010). The causes for this failure – architectural or social – have been vehemently debated between social scientists. Some identified design malfunctions such as stairwells and internal corridors have supposedly resulted in the erosion of a "defensible space" (Newman 1973), where residents are not able to protect or defend their spaces if those spaces are designed so that everyday surveillance occurs, which ultimately leads to crime (Coleman 1985). Against this approach, others have emphasised the socio-political processes at work in the stigmatisation of high-rise residents, such as impoverishment and racialisation (Spicker 1987). The architectural and ideological groundings for these estates in Le Corbusier's visions have also been challenged in relation to the historical development of "machine aesthetics" (Castillo 2013) and more recently critiqued for their normative and dominating conceptions of bodies in space (Jarcy and Perelman 2018).

There is a long-standing debate in social geography over the effects of social mix in social housing estates, including high-rise estates, and whether social distance can be overcome by spatial proximity. In 1970, sociologists Chamboredon and Lemaire (1970) explored high-rise buildings social interactions and class coexistence in French *grands ensembles*. They defended the idea that social housing residential composition was a revealing sample of wider – potentially conflicting – social dynamics, as opposed to considering it as mere arbitrariness. They found that the socio-

economic demographics leading to the residential composition of social housing estates did not only alter sociabilities but also created social diversification and ruptures in class solidarities. Since then, work on geographical scholarship on public housing estates has increasingly focused on developing a more nuanced understanding of these housing structures, partly to prevent reproducing the narrative of a "high-rise failure", and partly to explore the residents' attachments to these places and to challenge preconceived views on living experiences and struggles. The publication of *Tower Block* (1994) by Glendinning and Muthesius reopened this field of investigation with a policy review and analysis of social housing estates in the UK throughout the 60s and 70s. More recently, Kearns et al. (2011) have examined the outcomes of living in deprived high-rise buildings in Glasgow. Acknowledging the rise of competing representations of high-rise living in the UK, they found that in the context of urban regeneration, challenges were greater in high-rise buildings than in other dwelling types. They also insisted on the significant differences that coexist between residents, leading to various coping mechanisms towards anti-social behaviours and lack of control amongst tenants. Similarly, Yuen and Yeh (2011) have tackled the question of high-rise living in Asian cities, discussing occupants' appreciation and anxieties in a context where high-rise living is predominant (Yuen 2005).

Multiple approaches are currently mobilised in social geography to understand and nuance high-rise "failures", yet this scholarship concentrates on only a small number of estates, particularly in the UK, for instance the Red Road high-rise estate in Glasgow demolished between 2012 and 2015. The question of the replacement and demolition of social housing estates in the context of urban regeneration has enthused new and diverse directions of research at the intersection of social and cultural geographies. The question of displaced households' housing trajectories (Lelévrier 2007, 2010) has raised the issue of how social housing estates dwellers' identities are shaped by differentiated experiences, from active residential mobilities to enforced ones mobilities (Bacqué et al. 2010). Recent approaches in cultural geography have brought forward the material and symbolic dimension of high-rise estates in the analysis of policymaking. This scholarship particularly derives from the new geographies of architecture (Lees 2001) to unravel the complex interactions and assemblages participating in high-rise "unmaking" (Baxter and Brickell 2014). One example of this application to social housing estates unmaking is Arrigoitia's study of the Puerto Rican estate Las Gladiolas (2014). Using lifts and stairs as high-rise housing technologies, he analyses the way these

objects play a significant role in of constructing memories of personal and communal life and how residents in the midst of eviction negotiate the emotional hardship throughout these memories.

In France, the approaches surrounding urban demolition, led by Veschambre (2008), focus on the politics of heritage and conflicts around the cultural and historical legacy of high-rise estates. More than the experiences associated with high-rise living, this literature focuses on conflicting "expert" and "popular" representations and the impacts these have on government policy and urban restructuration (Lelévrier and Noyé 2012). In particular, Kaddour's research (2013) examines how the promotion of *grands ensembles* as heritage in Saint Etienne has had positive effects such as the reduction of stigma, and negative ones such as the erasure of poor and immigrants tenants' histories. Kaddour's findings on class and representations, in conflict around the Tour Plein-Ciel (2015, 2017), are shared by others. In particular, Thoburn (2018) has recently developed a critique of "class architecture" in the context of the Robin Hood Garden estate in London while McCall and Mooney focus on Glasgow to explore the politicised process of demolition and the classed nature of urban policy and of housing provision (2018). Thoburn argues that gentrification is attenuating the working-class dimension in the cultural celebration of concrete modernism whilst the attachments of its working-class residents are ignored, and concludes: "a truly Brutalist approach to the estate 'as found' today necessitates that one grasps the social in terms of class" (Thoburn 2018, 630). Moving further beyond the design and social divide, Jacobs et al. (2007) have used the concepts of Science and Technology Studies to open the "black boxes" of high-rise buildings. In Australia, more-than-human approaches have been applied to shift the focus in urban political geography, exploring the possibilities of more-than-human assemblages to understand the issue of displacement in two cases of resistance to the privatisation of social housing in Sydney (Cook 2018).

There is a growing body of literature reassessing everyday practices in and around high-rise buildings, particularly with the development of relational and socio-material approaches of high-rises as homes, but few focus specifically on middle-class vertical developments. These approaches are renewing the links between class, architecture and everyday practices, yet they focus mostly on representations rather than on class relations in practice and how they are actually negotiated between different classes. As demonstrated, these approaches also focus on the conflicting representations associated with social housing estates and on the extreme cases of displacement and demolition.

2.2.2 Urban verticalities and class

The study of urban verticalities in relation to economic wealth and the re-emergence of high-rise forms of living after the "failures" of social housing estates has paid attention to the broader impact of social segregation. Complementing these understandings of high-rise living in the context of socio-economic disadvantage, some have pointed to the processes of spatial fragmentation reflected in the development of high-rise buildings and elevated gated communities for the upper-class across the globe. Graham's findings on vertical urban mobility reveal "broader processes of three-dimensional social segregation and secession within and between cities which privilege the mobilities of the privileged" (2018). Yet this body of work focuses on the politics of visuality rather than explicitly framing these practices in terms of class. I also depart from this literature by considering the role of middle-class attributes, cultures and trajectories in the production of high-rise living. For instance, this thesis tackles the question of how 'ordinary' vertical technologies – such as lifts or car-stackers – contribute to the production of urban verticalities by exploring how experiences in middle-class residential high-rises can bring up routinised disputes over the control of these technologies.

Drawing on Weizman's ideas, some geographers have pursued a critique of vertical elite segregation in the "splintering" city (Graham and Marvin 2001; Graham 2004) and turned to the imaginaries (Hewitt and Graham 2014) and material cultures associated with it (Graham 2014). However, within this literature, few papers consider the practices and relations formed by dwellers within and around these domestic spaces. O'Neill and Fogarty-Valenzuela's research on Guatemala City's vertical growth (2013) assesses the everyday consequences of the politics of verticality. They frame vertical segregation as "yet one more strategy employed by elites to abandon public space" (2013, 378) and conclude with the "volatility of verticality" (2013, 384) and fragility of its success in Guatemala City. The study interprets representations of modernity in relation to the transformation of urban space following the construction of office towers and condominiums and stays relatively distant from a consideration of everyday practices of inhabitancy by the middle-classes and of the way it is negotiated by other social groups.

The findings by Graham on "luxified skies" (2015) illustrate also how social inequalities have been analysed in the vertical turn where the return of residential high-rise is framed either as

"privatisation of the inheritance of social housing" or "re-engineer[ing] through speculative real estate and financial bubbles as spaces for neo-liberal elites" (2015, 628). Similar conclusions have been drawn by Hirayama in Tokyo when considering the role of financialisation in the rise of "luxury living" in the city centre (2017) and subsequent devaluation of property in the suburbs. This follows Costello's paper on the changing representations and discourses on high-rise living in Melbourne (2005). These evolutions and return of high-rise living, especially for the wealthy is a "discursively arranged as a mechanism to ensure social and spatial stability" (Costello 2005, 60). It suggests the need for research on the commodification, marketing, and branding of upper-class high-rise living in various urban spaces. In particular, developers discourses in the promotion of inner-city high-rises have been analysed for their role in creating normalising narratives around gender and safety (Fincher 2004; Kern 2010), ethnicity (Fincher and Costello 2005) or leisure (Fullagar et al. 2013). In Toronto where "condo-ism" is restructuring the city centre (Rosen and Walks 2015; Garfunkel 2017), Rosen has conducted research on developers sets of spatial preferences (2017). In my research, I draw on this body of work to frame developers' discourses as tactics and strategies and investigate how they play out in the daily practices of high-rise spaces. I also extend Fincher's findings in Melbourne (2004) on the binary articulated by developers' discourses between a suburban home and the high-rise "lifestyle" by considering suburban high-rises. In particular, I investigate how the gendered distribution of domestic workload amongst emerging profiles of high-rise residents (e.g. forty-something renter, downsizers) is practiced daily in the apartment home and the high-rise shared spaces adapted beyond developers' representations and expectations.

Alongside this interest in geographical research for developers' changing discourses on high-rise living, there is an interest in the practices of inhabitancy that are developed in these new spaces. This is complemented by increasing attention to more banal, quotidian and undervalued consequences of high-rise living, as suggested by a 2014 paper by Harker on the "ordinary topologies" in Ramallah. Harker critiques the fact that "emerging work on verticality tends to render verticality politically suspect". Harris (2015) also responded to Graham and Hewitt's work by criticising the overbearing importance given to Weizman's ideas in their connection of power and height. For Harris, there is a necessity to investigate more diverse vertical urbanisms "that are not necessarily a fall-out from warfare doctrines and military technoscience (such as those connected with Google Earth), or explicitly part of processes of splintering (such as vertical gated

communities), or shaped by the targeting and surveillance tactics of state and security forces (e.g. through drones and police helicopters)" (2015, 603). This call was responded to by Nethercote and Horne (2016) in a study of "ordinary vertical urbanisms" and high-rise family living in Melbourne high-rises that takes up the task of exploring intersections between high-rise living topologies and urban intensification topographies. For Nethercote and Horne, "high-rise living is subject to repeated socio-material (re)negotiations and (re)assemblage", which impact practices of inhabitation, socialisation, and consumption (2016, 14). In effect, what this emerging work identifies is the qualification of high-rise spaces as homes.

The literature above highlights the multiple social and cultural geographies of high-rise living which have been recently transformed by the emergence of relational considerations. The idea of "ordinary topologies" (Harker 2014) points towards the consideration of high-rise domestic spaces as they are inhabited by various individuals and social groups. By considering the high-rise as home (Baxter 2017), a relational perspective is opened up that takes into account the socio-material arrangements in effect in domestic and common spaces. This also includes an explicit recognition of the role of social class in high-rise living. It is also clear that high-rise living hides an array of practices and relations that topographical approaches do not capture. However, this does not mean that relationships of power, conflict or struggle are absent from more politically stable high-rise environments. Living in a middle-class high-rise building involves interactions between diverse people of various backgrounds which can lead to significant conflicts around the negotiation of aspirations and expectations.

2.2.3 Towards high-rise homes: relations, materials and emotions

A recent shift in the literature is considering high-rise buildings as homes (Fincher and Wiesel 2012) and moving geographical enquiries towards the complex practices and relations shaping social life within. Central in this perspective is the consideration of dwellers' interactions with the sets of materialities, atmospheres, and objects constituting high-rise domestic spaces. With the field of housing studies reinvigorated by the reconceptualisation of housing as relational (K. Jacobs and Malpas 2013), buildings, architectural places and homes are investigated as process or "event" (J. M. Jacobs, Cairns, and Strebel 2012) in order to better entangle the networks, relationships and temporalities at stake in the production of such spaces. Material and immaterial practices of home-

making and unmaking (Baxter and Brickell 2014) are increasingly explored in the context of high-density and high-rise living. Despite the fact that high-rises are imagined and built as homogeneous architectural artefacts, the relations happening inside and around these "big things" (J. M. Jacobs 2006) have been found to be highly diverse across space and time. The ontological nature of the high-rise is redefined in this perspective: as Jane M. Jacobs et al. write, "in this incessant shuffling of heterogeneous relations, what the high-rise is can never be contained simply within its concrete form" (J. M. Jacobs, Cairns, and Strebel 2012, 128).

This constructivist approach to high-rise homes also challenges previous literature in public health on the impact of living in high-rise structures on health that tended to frame architecture mostly in terms of constraints and amenities. For instance, Williams emphasised the consequences of living in height for the development of children's social skills and independence (1991). This reflects a wider finding from this literature that identified early on mothers and children as the most disadvantaged groups amongst high-rise dwellers in terms of well-being. While this finding has been widely discussed in the literature particularly in Asian cities (Karsten 2015), research on the interactions between families and the high-rise home have moved away from an architecturally deterministic perspective and the responses developed by high-rise residents highlighted to emphasise the nuanced and multiple socio-material relations that produce high-rise living. Appold and Yuen (2007) have recently reassessed the effects of apartment living on families occupying large flats in Singapore and find that the "direct effect of apartment living on families is minimal" (2007, 569). Different conclusions have been drawn by Scanlon (2015) looking at middle-income families in private renting. Cultural geographers are increasingly attending to the emotions that are constitutive of housing moments, such as those underpinning financial investment (Gillon and Gibson 2018). Under this line of work, Kerr et al. (2018) have explored the bodily, emotional and material relations entwined in apartment living through the experience of families with issues of space contingency and noise.

The discussion about the social and cultural production of high-rise homes is currently framed by the renewed geographies of architecture (Lees 2001). These seek to emphasise the emotional and affective (Kraftl 2010b; Kraftl and Adey 2008) connections as well as the "disjuncture" (Kraftl 2010a) between the buildings' narratives, experiences, and people. Kraft and Adey underline that "the capacity of a building to [...] create meaningful effects— constantly emerges through ongoing,

dynamic encounters between buildings; their constituent elements; and spaces, inhabitants, visitors, design, ergonomics, workers, planners, cleaners, technicians, materials, performances, events, emotions, affects, and more" (2008, p. 214). In particular, Lees and Baxter have unfolded the sequences leading to a "building event of fear" for a resident of a London council tower block in inner London to tease out the relations between affect and emotion in architectural geography. For J. M. Jacobs, these studies rely on "activating the voice of the user / occupant, in a revision of standard traditions of post-occupancy evaluation in architecture and housing studies" (2006, 2) while critically assessing the relationship between materialities and users.

A growing body of work on high-rise homes investigates the potential of these spaces to shape domestic cultures. This turn towards domestic practices in high-rise living offers a view onto the tensions between architects and developer's visions and dwellers' aspirations and compromise, and choices that residents make regarding interior design, homemaking routines and care in the household. Writing about high-rise modernity, De Vos reveals the interactions between design narratives and the living practice of a modernist Belgian high-rise called the Kiel Estate. She underlines the role of "conscious" design processes in the production of apartment homes, as well as the "dynamic processes of social identity formation" in which taste, cultural capital, and domesticity are keys (De Vos 2010, 154). However, this investigation of high-rise cultures is dominated by the study of modernist estates (Hanley 2012), which also respond to a desire to include the temporalities – historical or those of an individual life-course - at play in the making of place. This is reflected in the conclusions of J. M. Jacobs and Cairns (2008) in their research on modernisation in Post-Independence Singapore; "the modern Singaporean interior was often a fantasy creation drawing both on past times and on other places" (2008, 592), as well as in Blunt's (2008) investigation of an 1880's settlement in New York City and how objects participated in the life of this "skyscraper-home".

This thesis builds on insights that have emerged from research focusing on relational high-rise living such as projects looking at the practices and domestic cultures shaped in high-rise apartments. The negotiation of home-making and social relations in a high-rise context, relational and socio-material, is gravitating around public housing. Ghosh (2014), for instance, has examined the vertical housing spaces in Toronto's inner suburbs by Bangladeshi immigrant households. She found that residents were able to transform and reconfigure these spaces into unique 'Bengali' neighbourhoods

through spatial and power practices. Similarly to other relational approaches to architecture, I recognise the emotional and socio-material qualities of high-rise buildings as home as well as the role of dwellers in transforming vertical settings. I turn towards the middle classes, an emergent social category of dwellers in Melbourne. I will examine as they are reworked by the agency and power of actors through tactics and strategies. As such, I refer to the developments as high-rise homes, and in analysing high-rise living practices I aim to grasp which micropolitics are at stake. Based on this work and in response to the theoretical foundations of the thesis in relational thinking, the following section puts forward a focus on middle-class housing trajectories and aspirations in suburban spaces.

2.3 Suburban spaces and the middle classes

This section reviews the directions in geography that have been recently taken to analyse the middle classes and the city. I give a brief outlook on the way the middle-class has been defined, then explore two main tensions: the changing housing aspirations of the middle classes in the city (a); and the verticalising middle-class suburb, particularly in Australia (b).

2.3.1 Where are the middle classes?

The middle-class has never been constituted as a unified group. Previous research showed that in the second half of the 20th century, middle-class groups in the Global North had undergone a solid expansion with a reduction of inequalities and improvement of life for the poor. Sociological and geographical research has been however revisiting the middle-class in relation to its place in the city. First, the middle-class has been increasingly redefined in the context of occupational groups in the economy, either as the "professional-managerial" class (Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich 1977) – particularly when focusing on the upper-middle class (Andreotti, Le Galès, and Moreno Fuentes 2015) – or the "service class" in Goldthorpe and his colleagues' theory of "status groups" (1980). The middle classes have also been analysed by Butler (1999) as "intermediaries" between marginalised social groups and the upper class in the context of gentrifying London.

Overall, sociological research tends to describe a breaking apart of the group and a fragmentation in the middle classes rather than an averaging out (Savage and Butler 1995). Increased polarisation within the middle-classes has been observed in Europe through the slowing

down of social mobility and as Butler (2007) proposes, "the middle classes can no longer simply be represented as "well off" but find themselves situated on a continuum stretching from absolute privilege to relative impoverishment". In order to identify and recognise the middle-classes in this thesis, I have followed a Bourdieusian approach to the middle-class as expressed in social and symbolic spaces (1998), while still being attentive to the economic dimension and implication of class (W. Atkinson 2015).

2.3.2 An Australian perspective on the middle classes' housing aspirations

The middle classes have received considerable attention mainly through work on gentrification across various cities. This field of research has been extensively debated (N. Smith and Hackworth 2002) through the analysis of the spatial dynamics resulting from middle-class households' housing trajectories and the consequences these have had for affordability and social inclusion (Lees 2012). In this line of work, how the built form is inhabited and transformed by the middle classes is occupying an increasing place. For instance, Hamnet and Whitelegg (2007) have explored a case of gentrification without displacement through an analysis of converted lofts in Clerkenwell, near the City of London, and focused on the shift in housing demand in inner-city areas and its branding through architectural distinction. In Paris, Chabrol (2011) has studied the successive, non-linear waves of commercial and residential specialisation in the Chateau-Rouge area, resulting in a social and spatial mosaic within buildings. This thesis seeks to advance this work by taking into account the relationships between the middle classes and the built form in the context of high-rise spaces and through an in-depth focus on everyday practices, which are often overlooked.

After Savage proposed to interpret new forms of communal attachment as mechanisms of "elective belonging" (2005), the middle classes are increasingly analysed in the current urban research literature for their "secessionist behaviours" in urban spaces (R. Atkinson 2006, 2008; Bacqué 2015), particularly through educational strategies and childcare networks (McDowell et al. 2006). As an essential factor in the transmission of middle-class cultural capital, education has been found a powerful motive in the housing trajectories and mobilities of middle-class households, as well as a decisive political factor (2007). With his commentary on housing and political changes in suburban France, Charmes (2007, 2009) has termed the "*clubbisation*" of towns and villages to describe the socio-spatial process leading to the creation of residential enclaves reserved to the

middle classes. Few studies have focused specifically on the social relations within the middle classes across urban spaces, mirroring the "poverty of urban research on the wealthy" observed by Pinçon-Charlot and Pinçon (2018). However, there is sustained attention to social mix and social reproduction in Paris and London (Bacqué 2015; Jackson and Butler 2015), and a growing interest to articulate this research from the perspective of the middle classes (Karsten, Lupi, and de Stigter-Speksnijder 2013; Bacqué, Charmes, and Vermeersch 2014). Under this perspective, the notion of strategy has been central to understand the various adaptations mechanisms of the middle-class in increasingly complex settlement practices and differentiated narratives (Butler and Robson 2003). These approaches have renewed our understanding of middle-class lifestyles in European cities as not only contested but also increasingly divided practices.

In the Australian geographical literature on the middle classes, there has been a recent focus on social reproduction and distinction in the analysis of housing aspirations. This focus particularly stems from the recent transformation undergone by the 'Great Australian Dream' ideal, which had been the traditional benchmark for middle-class housing aspirations (Gleeson 2006, 2008; Cox, Graus, and Meyer 2011). In the context where social and cultural geographers in Australia are more and more attending to how this ideal is being restructured, an important part of the recent literature is focusing on master planned estates configurations (Cheshire 2017; McGuirk and Dowling 2011; Gillon 2017; P. Smith 2018). This context repositions housing aspirations in the specific context of a changing middle-class and underscores the role of symbolic status in housing and location preferences. In particular, Nethercote has examined the "immaterial inheritance", for instance under the form of expertise on housing procedures, developed by middle-class families (2018a) using a Bourdieusian perspective on dispositions towards mortgage debt and in-family socialisation. She underlines both the "cultural forms of middle-class heterogeneity in the housing field" (2018a, 2) and the "trajectories of cultural capitals over time" (2018b, 14), two conclusions that I draw on in this thesis. Turning to the Australian "elite suburb", Wiesel (2018) has analysed the ways in which encounters and social relations are mediated by practices of distinction, foregrounding the spatial role played by suburbs in the dual process of facilitating high distinction networks while "securing social distance from the networks of those who are less powerful" (2018, 19). These bodies of work bring forward the social and cultural practices of the middle and upper classes in the Australian suburb have informed the theoretical grounding of the thesis.

In a recent publication on residential mobilities out of Paris, Vermeesh, Launay and Charmes (2019) call for research on the middle-class that establishes links between the processes previously evoked, namely gentrification, suburbanisation and the dualisation of cities. This research intends to complement this literature by analysing the social and cultural practices of the middle-class with an Australian perspective on high-rise living.

2.3.3 The verticalising middle-class suburb

In Australia, the middle-classes housing practices have long been portrayed in relation to the "Australian Dream" which refers to a widespread patriotic model of low-rise property ownership in a suburban context (Hall 2010). In the midst of population growth and the evolution of homeownership in Australian cities, middle class practices and relations to housing are currently being rediscussed. Suburban spaces have been identified as a significant place for the study of middle-class housing preferences and opening avenues for exploring political and social change (Gleeson 2002). The growth of apartment developments in the Australian suburb is raising new discussions on how high-rise living is likely to affect middle-class practices and perceptions, particularly around housing aspirations.

The geographies of high-rise living have been found to play out in several ways in the middle-class suburb. First, Charmes and Keil (2015) have located densification as a dimension of post-suburbanisation in the French and Canadian context and underlined the "diversity of suburban densification regimes" (Charmes and Keil 2015, 581) using factors such as population type, overarching politics or morphological change. In France, densification is still perceived as a threat to an idealised suburban order – despite considerable effort by residents and experts to "rehabilitate rather than demonise these high-rise suburbs" (Charmes and Keil 2015, 593) – while in Canada, "high-rise neighbourhoods" are common in the periphery of cities. This line of work particularly attends to the large-scale effects of densification and the political and institutional negotiations used by middle-class residents to safeguard residential spaces (Woodcock et al. 2011; Charmes and Rousseau 2014). Second, high-rise living and the appearance of large-scale apartment developments have been interpreted as one of the manifestations of gentrification. In Melbourne, Wulff and Lobo (2009) have interrogated the social impact new gentrifiers have had on the built fabric of "revitalised" suburbs and asked which household forms have emerged in the process. They

developed a particular focus on emerging high and mid-rise apartment buildings and considered households as “active agents of gentrification” (Wulff and Lobo 2009, 329). Using a more economic perspective, August and Walks (2018) have also attended to the role of middle-class actors as “financialised landlords” in the process of suburban restructuration in Toronto. They analyse the various strategies used by firms to purchase old apartment towers intended to replace poorer renters with higher-income tenants.

This literature stays relatively silent on the everyday actions taken by the middle-classes as they enact or are subjected to the verticalised suburb. Drawing on this work on the politics of verticalising suburbs, this thesis is shaped by a focus on middle-class practices and everyday life. This includes, for instance, the question of how previous housing preferences are replaced with new narratives around high-rise living and individual housing trajectories reframed, and how verticality is reimagined as part of a suburban lifestyle. These practices of high-rise living in the middle-class suburbs are explored in the thesis through the theoretical framework of tactics and strategies.

2.4 Tactics and strategies as acting micropolitics

So far, this chapter has established the importance of evaluating high-rise living in the context of the middle-class suburb, and the need to pay more sustained attention to the diversity within the middle classes and to the everyday practices surrounding apartment living and “ordinary” verticality. In considering how to examine the role played by middle-class actors in shaping high-rise living, the chapter has also established the value of a theoretical perspective that attends to the materialities and relational qualities of high-rise homes and reveals the micropolitics entangled in everyday urban life. This places this thesis in the broader disciplinary framework of social and cultural geography. This section addresses the theoretical framework that makes visible daily practices and gives meaning to ‘taken-for-granted’ actions. This section articulates how identifying modes of operation as tactics and strategies allows a critical and in-depth perspective on middle-class high-rise living that acknowledges the complex nature of housing practices and trajectories.

The section reviews existing geographical work that uses the framework of tactics and strategies. It begins with a short survey of the original framing of these concepts by de Certeau (1984) which then leads to the various directions in which this framework has been taken across urban research.

Applications remain sparse outside the branch of 'tactical urbanism' however there is a current increase in the utilisation of tactics and strategies as a tool of social and cultural gegraphy, particularly around housing questions. De Certeau's framework and its contemporary interpretations offer nuanced perspectives and conceptual tools to the study of middle-class high-rise inhabitancy, despite some limitations that this section addresses.

2.4.1 Origins of framework

Tactics and strategies were theorised by de Certeau (1984) to understand the living and housing practices of French urban dwellers in the 1970s. Challenging Lefebvrian ideas of domination (2003) and Foucauldian ideas of power (1977), de Certeau underlines the creative, subversive and transgressive aspects of everyday actions. By doing so he shows "how the individual is 'programmed', to fulfil a certain number of actions, but is nevertheless able to develop counter-hegemonic tactics" (Lussault and Stock 2010, 12). At the heart of this "network of an anti-discipline" (Certeau, 1984, p. xv) lies the distinction between *strategies* – representing established or institutionalised forms of power – and *tactics* – forming resistance. While tactics designate impromptu and reactive actions, strategies describe the elaboration of long-term and overall aims. The framework also conjures up the common use of both words which hold a strong military connotation and refer to the art of war and to its teaching. How this thesis tackles the role of the middle-class in suburban change acknowledges this "battling" dimension.

At the heart of the framework lie two main tensions. First, tactics and strategies are thoroughly dualistic in its relationship with space and time: "the two ways of acting can be distinguished according to whether they bet on place or on time" (Certeau, 1984, 39). Strategies are framed as actions which rely on place to "produce, tabulate and impose" (1984, 30) and "privilege spatial relationships" (1984, 38), while tactics are seen as actions that "use, manipulate or divert" (1984, 30) – and which in turn rely on "a clever utilisation of time" (1984, 39). Second, tactics and strategies are based on a distinction between the "weak" and the "strong". These two tensions are articulated by de Certeau through the operationalisation of power, where the weak resort to tactics and the strong to strategies. The tensions together reveal the "political dimension to everyday practices" (1984, xvii).

There has been extensive debate over the interpretation of this framework, particularly in contemporary times where class structures and power relations have undergone significant changes. The most popular reading of the framework emphasises the creative, subversive and transgressive aspects of everyday actions. For Mitchell, it constitutes “more a theology than a theory” with “redemptive populism as a programme” (2007, 91). Offering a differing vantage point, Buchanan rejects this interpretation as a frivolous theory of small victories. Instead, he apprehends the framework “as an organising model for understanding society” (2000, 86). In this understanding, the usefulness of tactics and strategies lies in the emphasis on the “timing of various cultural activities” (2000, 88) and in how the relationship between authority and power are reworked: “de Certeau argues that they should be viewed as supplementary: where one was the other shall be” (Buchanan, 2000, 94). This discussion is also found in geographical scholarship where the framework of tactics and strategies has been used in contrasted ways, underpinning various understanding of power and social relations.

2.4.2 From tactical urbanism to the geography of tactics and strategies

Tactics and strategies became prominent in the social sciences notably in urban studies under the frame termed “tactical urbanism” which moves away from de Certeau’s grounding theory. Tactical urbanism, a small but growing field, focuses indeed on tactics and somewhat disengages from the notion of strategy. Within this scholarship, urban scholars, activists, urban design consultants, and architects are examining mechanisms of resistance in urban spaces where strategies are broadly framed as the formalised and legal regulations and tactics the spontaneous and opportunistic responses developed by individuals to renegotiate the built environment (Lydon and Garcia 2015). Delimitation of tactics within this field typically involves the micro or local scale, a focus on informal urban systems or organisations (Berglund 2018), and the idea that marginalised or disempowered individuals in the context of neo-liberal governance are regaining power over their territorial appropriation of the city. In tactical urbanism, the temporal distinction emphasised by de Certeau is subsumed in the notion of tactics only, as tactical urbanism is framed as a virtuous phenomenon that creates long-term change through short-term action under the guiding principle of “low risk with high rewards” (Lydon and Garcia 2015). In other words, tactical urbanism essentially operates as a stronger assertion than place-making and has been questioned for being overly reliant on the “romanticising of informal practices in the city” (Kamel 2014, 120).

From here, tactical urbanism has been taken in disparate directions, which has led some to highlight the framework's "malleability" (Creagh 2019). Under a design perspective, tactical urbanism has designated short-term, material and spontaneous 'interventions' aimed at improving the urban environment. Petrescu and her colleagues have developed the idea of "acting urban" (2007) through architectural activism and come forth with an understanding of tactics as "transgressive practices" through their creation of the Atelier d'Architecture Autogérée in Paris (2013). Their approach involves a reflexive outlook on their roles as academics and activists in order to tactically transgress their role and create opportunities for change in the interstices of the city. Others have underlined the drawbacks of tactical urbanism as an application that lacks clarity around its conceptual delimitations and political demarcation, inspired by socially progressive and anarchist ideas yet involving a hybrid mix of neo-liberal economies and utilisations (Webb 2018).

Scholars in planning and urban design have attempted to conceptually remediate to this gap. For instance, Webb (2018) has developed a critique of tactical urbanism based on a materialist 'praxis' and drawing on actor-network theory. This allowed him to conduct a relational exploration of identities in the context of service networks and local urban interventions in England. In a similar attempt to conceptualise tactical urbanism, Silva (2016) has explored the relationship between tactical urbanism and complexity theory in the North American context, moving away from a sole focus on action to rethink tactical urbanism as a process at the intersection of design and implementation. A common feature of these theorisations, however, is to supplement tactical urbanism with an additional set of theories. With the increased politicisation of tactical urbanism operations, the literature opens up the need to rethink this framework by challenging the bottom-up nature of urbanism actions and the implications of tactical actions in the city.

More recent applications in political and social geography, independent from tactical urbanism, have guided this thesis's understanding of tactics and strategies. These applications are arguing for a more nuanced understanding of the framework and offer more empirical investigations of how tactics and strategies can effectively be recognised in practices and politics. This involves a use of the framework that is less binary, exploring how tactics and strategies circulate between actors rather than seeing them as predetermined in static roles. In this line of thought, Lussault and Stock (2010) have conceptually redefined the 'tactical' as a broader "pragmatics of space", which redistributes the power of using both tactics and strategies across actors. This sits in a wider

discussion in the literature on the differences power makes to space (Allen 2003). For instance, Chong (2014) has studied how Chinese taxi drivers negotiate their marginality through tactics, something that confers them with power despite a challenging socio-economic situation. Similarly, Roberts has investigated the tactics of migrants (2019) to negotiate risk and uncertainty and manipulate the material and institutional circumstances of temporary migration programs to extend their residency. There is also a move in the literature from assigning tactics to economically or socially marginalised groups to investigate how socially well-positioned individuals or powerful institutions take recourse to tactical actions (Few 2002; Mosselson 2018). In the field of political economy, Davies and Blanco have for instance identified a "repertoire of neoliberal strategies and tactics" (2017, 1532) in the various techniques adopted in response to austerity regimes in six cities of Spain and the UK.

There is too little geographical research that addresses tactics and strategies together. With the goal of differentiating spatial and temporal arrangements in high-rise living, as it will be developed in the next section, this thesis has particularly drawn on recent uses of tactics and strategies as a twofold framework. I have particularly turned to three recent publications in urban geography that envisage tactics and strategies as a productive way to rethink spatial and social actions. First, Swanlund & Schuurman (2018) have conducted a survey of geosurveillance techniques, referring to tactics as "immediate, short-term techniques for evading, challenging, frustrating or otherwise disrupting the operation of geosurveillance" (2018, 2–3) and strategies as "the long-term, large-scale struggle against the power that enacts geosurveillance" (2018, 3). Developing a distinctive typology of tactics and strategies, one of their conclusions is that tactics and strategies have the potential to produce change in concert with one another, which departs from a vision of tactics and strategies as diverging and rival forms of power.

Second, Wiesel and Freestone (2019) have employed tactics and strategies in their investigation of queuing organisation and practices in Sydney airports where individuals develop tactics in the negotiation of the waiting line and its management strategies. In their analysis that also draws on social order, tactics and strategies open up to a set of social relations as well as to an array of emotions, such as boredom, hostility, trust, anxiety or rage. Wiesel and Freestone (2019) suggest that queueing reflects wider processes of commodification and authoritarianism, which tactics and strategies help make visible. Third, Boterman (2012) has combined the framework of tactics and

strategies with Bourdieu's theories of capitals (1984) to analyse middle-class behaviours in the context of various housing markets. Middle-class households resort to both tactics and strategies to acquire a home, depending on what form of capital has informed their practices. Boterman distinguishes between tactics and strategies according to the actions' intentions, a process "sometimes strategical, in the sense of reflexive decision-making, and sometimes tactical in the sense that one has to intuitively reacts to constraints imposed by the market and institutional conditions" (2012, 325). In other words, whether an action can be seen as tactical and strategical depends on the dynamic established by individuals' capital and the wider context. This framing of tactics and strategies as ultimately producing outcomes contributes to deconstructing "coincidence" in the narratives of participants.

While the contexts for these three applications vary, they share a relatively straightforward application of de Certeau's framework while extending the analytical potential of tactics and strategies. This allows me to reformulate the main tensions between tactics and strategies articulated within contemporary geographical literature: tactics tend to be associated with places (and time) and strategies with spatiality; tactical actions have been registered as having short-term outcomes and strategies long-term ones; tactics result from instinctive, uncoordinated and spontaneous behaviours and strategies from deliberate, synchronised and calculated intentions. In the next section, I draw on this conclusion to detail the potential and limitations of tactics and strategies, and the way they are understood in this thesis.

2.4.3 The potential and limitations of tactics and strategies

In this thesis, time, space and agency are seen as essential components of tactics and strategies. I suggest that the analytical framework provided by the concepts of tactics and strategies fits relational thinking by highlighting the micro-politics deployed in everyday actions. Understood under a relational understanding of space (Massey 2005; Allen 2006), tactics and strategies have the potential to expose often hidden practices as they are developed using the "cracks" opened by power (Certeau 1984, 37). So how can the framework of tactics and strategies change the way we think and speak about high-rise living? Tactics and strategies provide a lens to consider social relations that are performed differently than imagined and prescribed, without normative assumptions such as the necessity to foster conviviality through encounters. In this thesis, tactics and strategies form the

basis of negotiating practices in high-rise living, with their nature, intent, and implications – emotional, social, cultural, political – part of a relational understanding of housing. Analogous ideas have been developed with for instance the concept of "bricolage" used to understand the successive phases involved in the production of collaborative housing in Finland (Laine et al. 2018), but the analysis remains on the institutional level. Tactics and strategies reveal how these micro-practices shape housing experiences while acknowledging how architectural places are embodied and practiced (Kraftl and Adey 2008; J. M. Jacobs, Cairns, and Strebel 2012).

I initially hypothesised that developers and designers of high-rise living spaces are producing strategies while residents are confined to tactics. Instead, the establishment of spatial relations around and within apartment developments was framed as strategies, and the micro-practices of residents based on temporal opportunities as tactics. Tactics and strategies have also been conceptualised in relation to power, suggesting that competing actors all work towards the co-production of what high-rise living constitutes today. However, the relationships outline an uneven and changing distribution of power between those who develop strategies and those who craft tactics. Further, the context of middle-class high-rise living means that actors presumably hold resources to navigate complex power relationships. This remark links back to the progressive, if not utopian, virtues of tactical urbanism as operational only in the context of marginalised social groups. A reworking of the tactics and strategies framework opens up interpretations for a relational understanding of high-rise living where power can be characterised by its "unmarked presence" (Allen 2006, 445), as discussed in Chapter 6.

The limitations of the framework are discussed in the literature around the question of how and when to interpret actions as tactics or strategies, an issue identified by de Certeau himself: "the methods practiced by the everyday art of war never present themselves in such a clear form" (1984, 39). Perramond summarises this issue discussing the value of tactics and strategies in political ecology research: "an event observed in the field may be an immediate, single action. Is it a tactic? […] Events like single 'tactics are single occurrences. What matters is not the one-time event, but rather, the accumulation or sequence of events, or daily tactics, into something more tangible or explicable" (2007, 501–2015). The methodology chapter discusses the difficulties encountered in the field when enquiring participants about their everyday activities with their potential tactical or strategical qualities. With the goal of understanding how high-rise living is practiced in the middle-

class suburb, this thesis differentiates between spatial and temporal arrangements of tactics and strategies. Chapter 3 also addresses the question of how a typology of tactics and strategies was established and how I interpreted data using this framework.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have drawn on three bodies of work to examine how the middle classes negotiate high-rise living in suburban spaces. In the first part of the literature review, I have argued for the value of looking at everyday practices as part of the consideration of high-rise living, and of considering residential high-rise places as relational homes. I have highlighted that much of the focus has been on social disadvantage; and in relation to the middle- and upper- classes, there is limited explicit recognition, let alone theorisation, of social class in high-rise. I have also identified a shortcoming in the kinds of architectural typologies that attract scholarly attention, which is that newly built, middle-class, high-rise developments are rarely studied. In a second part, this chapter has acknowledged the importance of renewing our understanding of suburban spaces in relation to the changing housing trajectories and preferences of the middle classes. I argued that, although the literature is abundant on gentrification and densification as expressions of suburban change, little is known about the everyday actions and aspirations that inform and result from these wider dynamics. Therefore, I have shown in the third part of the chapter why tactics and strategies are a productive framework to critically envisage, analyse and interpret middle-classes practices and relations emerging from high-rise living. Through a spatially and temporally differentiated account of the decisional power of actors in the everyday production of vertical growth, tactics and strategies reveal all the nuances in the symbolic, social and inter-cultural negotiations at stake in high-rise living. The next chapter turns to the methodology was created to respond to these literature review outcomes. The distinction between tactics and strategies helps frame the production of new forms of high-rise living as neither prescribed in a top-down manner, nor initiated from the bottom-up; rather, 'co-produced' both ways, in a contested process by actors unevenly resourced.

Chapter 3. High-rise homes revisited: a qualitative analysis

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology that suited the aims of the thesis. I consider how high-rise experiences are constructed through tactics and strategies. Focusing on the high-rise experiences of the middle-class, I look for tactical and/or strategic actions that reveal how the changing conditions of high-rise living are negotiated. The methods contrast two middle-class apartment developments in two inner suburbs of Melbourne, Acacia Place and the Yorkshire Brewery, to test how relationality is formed in and around them. This illuminates the transformative role of high-rise living in Australian suburban change, which has been mostly overlooked. The case-study methodology selected for this research intends to fill this gap by exploring what social mechanisms and spatial dynamics are in the making with the growth of high-rise living. Swinging the gaze from contexts of deprivation to the new high-rise realities of middle-class residents underlines the different ways in which high-rise cultures are constructed and high-rise practices informed by class. This brings our attention to how middle-class high-rise living informs suburban change.

The first half of the chapter explains how this tension informed the case-study rationale. I detail in **Section 3.2** how following a relational approach to high-rise living invited the framework of tactics and strategies. I explore everyday verticality as coproduced and practiced. I also discuss the balance between the normative dimension of social class with the consideration of individual trajectories, identified alongside the research as a conflicting but productive tension. The second half of the chapter describes the way qualitative data was collected with the participants. I start by explaining in **Section 3.3** the methodology behind the creation of thematic questionnaires and interview types specific to professionals and dwellers; and the methods used to recruit high-rise dwellers. I signal the commonalities and disparities between the participants' backgrounds, then detail the reasons behind implementing a mobile methodology with residents and show its limits and benefits. I reflect on the opportunities and 'chance' openings afforded alongside the research process and discuss some unsuccessful attempts to collect data, particularly using visual methodologies. I examine how that led to methodological deadlocks while also modifying the focus of the study.

This opens a discussion in **Section 3.4** of my own social position within the research process, and how a self-reflexive reflection always accompanied my observations and activities in the field. I discuss the complexities of being an "invited observer" (Pinçon and Pinçon-Charlot 2005), conducting the interviews in the participants' homes and taking up the task of a necessary bonding while keeping a distance from the participants. **Section 3.5** focuses on the ways the data was analysed and the thesis organised. It unfolds the various stages of transcribing, coding and extracting relevant evidence that then contributed to inform the thesis findings. I describe how a tripartite framework helped organise the results chapters and stress its heuristic virtues. The final section of the chapter draws some limitations and steps back to give some perspectives on the methods that informed the research and the way it was conducted. **Section 3.6** discusses the thesis' conceptual grounding. In particular, the affirmative nature of the framework used for the analytical interpretation is discussed in relation to some residents' reluctance to think of their daily routines as tactics or strategies.

3.2 Epistemological context: relational approaches to high-rise living

3.2.1 High-rise buildings as event and relations

Residential high-rises have long constituted a laboratory for urban research methodologies. The geographical methods used in the literature to study high-rise living are multiple. In the last ten years, there has been a surge of innovative approaches and novel methodologies to emphasise and explore the multiple and changing qualities of high-rise buildings as homes, inaugurated by McNeill's call to develop a skyscrapers geography (2005). Jacobs et al. (2007) have studied the high-rise building of Red Road in Glasgow as a performative event using actor-network theory. From this perspective, these authors have reframed the "methodological repertoire" of geography and architecture, emphasising the agencies involved in architectural work and establishing the relational effects of building materiality (J. M. Jacobs, Cairns, and Strebel 2012). The conceptualisation of inhabiting high-rise buildings as performance has since then been replicated for the study of high-rise views (J. M. Jacobs, Cairns, and Strebel 2011) or feelings (Gillian Rose, Degen, and Basdas 2010).

More-than-representational epistemologies have also been developed to examine "in-building geographies" (Kraftl and Adey 2008; Kraftl 2010). More recently, the links between high-rise

housing and home have been particularly investigated through materiality (Blunt 2008) with the consideration of objects as relational material entities (J. M. Jacobs and Smith 2008; K. Jacobs and Malpas 2013; Lieto 2017). While not always tackling the vertical dimension of these places, these approaches emphasise the everyday or 'ordinary' (Harker 2014) dimension of high-rise buildings. By exploring the events, practices, and relations that make or unmake these homes (Baxter and Brickell 2014), these methodologies outline home as a process that shapes belonging, meaning, identity and memory (De Vos 2010). The research design for this study is informed by these bodies of work.

From these approaches, I particularly follow Baxter's (2017) notion of 'verticality as practice', which seeks to recast verticality as a social construct rather than a pre-given "before action takes place" (2017, 335). Alongside Harris's (2015) critique of early vertical urbanisms (Graham and Hewitt 2013; Elden 2013), perceived as socially polarised and neglecting more 'banal' aspects of high-rise buildings, Baxter takes up the task of revealing the intimate aspects of verticality as it is experienced and practiced by the residents of the Aylesbury Estate in London. He uses mixed-methods including oral history interviews, home tours and auto-photography with people living or working in the estate, seeking to establish the relationship between verticality and home. His findings are twofold, revealing the embodiment of verticality and also the co-construction of "vertical meanings, feelings, memories, behaviours, relationships and material culture" (Baxter 2017, 350) that involve more-than-human components. While focusing on micro-practices and routine adaptations to a high-rise environment, particularly to height, Baxter's work distances itself from phenomenological approaches to the experience of urban place (Bader and Peri Bader 2016) by accounting for the social context of urban marginality and how it is coped with by dwellers. Baxter calls for further documentation of the "complexities of vertical practices across urban and non-urban spaces" and how these practices also impact homes themselves. I respond to this call with an exploration of vertical homes in suburban Australian spaces and how high-rise homes are coproduced through unique arrangements.

3.2.2 Materialities and mobile methods

Relational research has discussed the role of qualitative methods through which to operationalise the study of power as it is deployed by actors in housing, and recently by dwellers in their homes

(Carey 2017). In particular, some have stressed the efficacy of qualitative interviews and observational data for identifying tactics of negotiations over space (Few 2002). J.M Jacobs, Cairns, and Strebel have furthered investigations of high-rise buildings and argued that a temporary "flattening" of the field allows "to better access the building in action or as socio-technical event" (2012, 129). What they mean by that is that how people speak about high-rise buildings does not encompass people's relations with it. Rather, we should also consider what people *do* with high-rise buildings. While they acknowledge the effectiveness of interviews in the research of post-occupancy housing, they identify several limitations including mediation of the material and technological housing logics by users, in particular dwellers (J. M. Jacobs, Cairns, and Strebel 2012, 130). To remediate these issues, they suggest walking tours have the capacity of letting these relations emerge. Flattening the high-rise also means that high-rise production does not only depend on dwellers but also on other users, such as cleaners, building managers, night guards, gardeners, etc. In this thesis, I have kept a focus on dweller's "mediation" of housing materiality and technology while trying to avoid "position[ing] the resident as the primary and privileged human in the picture of a housing event" (J. M. Jacobs, Cairns, and Strebel 2012, 130). From this methodological thinking on the Red Road Estate, I have retained the flattening of the high-rise for the inclusive way in which it allows us to think about high-rise production, and for its methodological application through the building and home tours.

In my research, I have thus drawn upon a palette of qualitative methods. The primary sources come from qualitative data that I collected with around 43 participants, including both residents of high-rise buildings and professionals involved in their management. Semi-structured interviews, site visits and walking tours with participants (De Leon and Cohen 2005) were used to collect narrated evidence of tactics and strategies. Observation was used but never unaccompanied as I was not allowed to enter either development without the supervision of a resident. Participant observation occurred twice when I was invited to attend several social gatherings in both developments (Johnson, Avenarius, and Weatherford 2006). The questions used during the interviews are reproduced in Appendices alongside the consent forms and plain language statements sent to participants ahead of the interview meeting. Consent forms gave participants the opportunity to agree or object to having the interview recorded. Participants were more interested in being sent the outcomes of the research rather than the transcripts of their interview, which was offered to them (Dunn 2016). Aside from photography, I did not employ visual methods although

they were envisaged at first (see 3.4.4). The photographs reproduced in the thesis were mostly taken by me, either using the camera of my phone during an interview or using a reflex camera on autonomous visits in the neighbourhood. These images are aimed at rendering the atmosphere of these developments and at eliciting representations of the practices and interactions described in the interviews.

The semi-directed interview canvas provided me with a highly flexible structure in which to apprehend individuals' relations with high-rise living. The loose protocol around which the meetings were organised also allowed for chance encounters to happen during the tours and for unpredicted matters to emerge spontaneously in the conversation, and for this reason, it fitted my theoretical framework well. My interest for both dwellers' and housing professionals' perspectives, initially thought of as divergent and binary, revealed a much more nuanced set of complementary, intertwined and interdependent relations between actors.

3.2.3 The co-production of everyday verticality

In order to contribute to relational scholarship on high-rise living, I considered the practice of high-rise living as co-produced through interactions between residents and other immediate stakeholders of the development. The research method starting point was, therefore, to deconstruct the high-rise, and rather than see it as an entity, explore how it is constituted by various places, moments and interactions. This is relevant to understand how change is enacted and the socio-material relations in and around the high-rise transformed over time. To do so, I defined high-rise living production as the way high-rise spaces are created and used through social, political and material activities, with the actors of this production forming a 'milieu' of situated, heterogeneous elements and social and spatial entanglements (Campbell 2019). In particular, I draw on Harris's attention to the labour and industry forces, particularly those of engineering, involved in the production of urban spaces that go beyond the construction of urban infrastructures (Harris 2018). As an alternative perspective on informality in the context of elevated construction in Mumbai, Harris proposes to consider "the actors, technologies, techniques and visions involved in urban engineering" which all-together establish "urban formality" (2018, 296). In my work, I particularly tackle Harris's call (2015) to develop a "polyvocal methodology" which explores "how vertical buildings are actively produced, consumed and reproduced not only by architects, planners and

other professional groups, but residents, occupants, amateur enthusiasts and other people below or above" (2015, 609), and which renews and challenges de Certeau's distinction between high - seeing and understanding - and low – doing and feeling in the context of high-rise spaces.

While focused on a different urban context, my research methodology used this approach to frame high-rise construction and delineate its role in the production of high-rise spaces and temporalities. For instance, I considered the role of lift engineers in designing elevators for residential high-rises, both working to influence and respond to dwellers' behaviours and practices. Similarly, I interviewed housing stakeholders such as developers, real estate agents and building managers involved in the production and maintenance of high-rise buildings to show the role they played in the inhabitancy and maintenance of high-rises, and how this role is negotiated by dwellers. Studying the interactions of high-rise living as co-production allowed me not only to foreground the diversity of discourses and actions amongst stakeholders and dwellers but also to consider the tactics and strategies put in place in response.

3.3 Methodology: revealing tactics and strategies

3.3.1 Micro-manoeuvres: recognising tactics and strategies

In order to supplement the commonly macro approach in looking at high-rise living, my methodology aims at detecting the tactics and strategies individuals and groups deploy to negotiate living in a high-rise building. The methods used were designed to reveal the hidden practices that come with middle-class high-rise living, by documenting the changing preferences, desired status and relationships of power associated with this form of housing. Rather than fossilise housing practices under predefined labels according to activity types or particular demographics, rendering the tensions and contradictions of everyday life was crucial in the process of data collection. As established in Chapter 2, the framework of tactics and strategies brings forwards the tensions and interactions between what is temporary and enduring, spontaneous and calculated, spatial and temporal. These micro-manoeuvres and their social significance correspond to the micro-politics that comes with co-producing high-rise living. Conducting the data collection with tactics and strategies in mind, I was then able to keep the character and the tone of the conversation such as to render the veracity of intentions in the analysis.

This thesis's analytical contribution consists of framing various actions, processes, and dynamics as tactics or strategies, an attempt at rendering the meaning and significance dwellers and stakeholders attach to their experiences. In order to do so, I will particularly consider the spatial and temporal basis of these actions. By spatial, I refer to the mode(s) in which space is implicated in the organisation and conduct of everyday practices. Strategies will be recognised as actions that use space as a medium and an outcome (Lefebvre 1974). By temporal, I refer to the mode(s) in which time is implicated in the organisation and conduct of everyday practices. Tactics will be identified as actions that use time as a medium and an outcome. Of course, any given action involves both spatial and temporal dimensions as it takes place simultaneously in time and space. However, what this distinction emphasises is the particular interrelationships between space and time (Edensor 2010).

Thinking high-rise living as tactical or strategic has three primary conceptual implications. Firstly, this perspective emphasises the temporalities at stake in the production of high-rise buildings while paying attention to the idea of provisionality. Tactics are understood as emerging from the provisional nature of interactions and processes and defined as calculated actions built on unique temporal arrangements. Secondly, tactics in everyday high-rise spaces consist of transformations. They involve physical subversions (of places, design, objects, trajectories) – "tactical devices" (Petrescu and Petcou 2013, 63) – or virtual transgressions (of laws, regulation, roles, boundaries). Tactics have therefore to be analysed in so far as they hold a transformative function: "the circumstances which the precise instant of an intervention transforms into a favourable situation, the rapidity of the movement that changes the organisation of a space" (Certeau, 1984, p. 38). Thirdly, the framework invites for the household to be analysed through differentiated cadences and interactions, "the relations among successive moments in an action, the possible intersections of durations and heterogenous rhythms" (Certeau, 1984, p. 38). While some discuss the "adaptive practices" or "coping strategies" in housing – particularly in the context of environmental and climate change (Ellisa 2016; Sherriff et al. 2019) – tactics and strategies allow us to differentiate spatially and temporally between individuals' ways of responding and stress the existence of competition and cooperation between actors.

3.3.2 Interpreting individual trajectories within social class theory

Rendering the veracity of experiences as well as the coherence of trajectories quickly appeared as conflicting with the concepts of tactics and strategies interpreted as practice theory. Practice theory "decentres the individual in favour of an abstract entity 'practice' that emerges, changes or declines either as a product of varied external factors or through its own logic" (Goodchild et al. 2019, 5). In that regard, I had to move away from practice theory in my analysis to stay attuned to the biographical elements of participants, as well as to their socio-economic background. The thesis adopts a way of thinking about social class that draws on a Bourdieusian approach: "There are no rigid boundaries of definite criteria of membership, and there is no assumption of solidarity, collectivism or belonging, to some particular 'group' with a name beyond the general sense of similarity and difference." (W. Atkinson 2015, 71).

However, there was also a tension between individual experiences and the normative theories of social class which tends to flatten individuality. This pertained to how I designed the study and interpreted the data. In particular, I gave as much context as possible on individuals' background to provide the reader with some information the participants' trajectory and personality. The vignettes, particularly used in Chapter 7, describe the participant situation in more detail, explain the context in which a tactic or strategy was developed. They offer short 'portraits' of various middle-class backgrounds which also allows reducing the risks of overinterpreting and generalising conclusions in the analysis of practices described by a single participant.

3.3.3 Rationale for case-study selection

The research was designed to understand the role of middle-class attributes and practices in co-producing high-rise living. In order to collect empirical evidence of tactics and strategies around the spaces of high-rise living, the research incorporated a selection of several case-studies in Melbourne. It adopted an in-depth perspective on a small number of developments in order to provide a thick description of tactics and strategies and their connection. In the last ten years, most research projects on the social conditions of high-rise living have focused on a single building or housing project (J. M. Jacobs, Cairns, and Strebel 2007; Blunt 2008; Appert 2011; McNeill and McNamara 2012; Arrigoitia 2014; Baxter 2017; Kaddour 2017). However, the socio-economic

profile of these buildings often reflects research agendas focused on socioeconomic disadvantage and on the material effects of public housing policies on dwellers' everyday life. In-depth qualitative methods and in-building geographies have seldom been applied to case-studies of economic advantage and wealth.

I selected two high-rise developments meeting a series of criteria. On the one hand I was interested in varied design models, which attract distinctive dwellers and shape the experience of high-rise living differently. On the other hand, I was interested in the various ways in which high-rise buildings are internally governed in terms of their managing entities, body corporate and communal areas. High-rise buildings with different types of governance structure, tenure profile and internal management was an important aspect of the research to explore how power relations can be performed differently from one development to another. The grounding of the buildings in the same local municipality provided a stable political and territorial context while the similar price ranges gave a relatively coherent socio-economic background for the case study analysis.

With these aims, I established three selection criteria. First, the buildings had to be of relatively recent construction, with a completion date post 2010 in order to represent one particular moment in high-rise construction as opposed to multiple timeframes. The case-studies were also selected for their location, in an inner-city or middle suburb of north-eastern Melbourne, a historically affluent sector of the metropolitan area. The choice of the Inner East, as this area is known locally, was motivated by my aim to create a deeper understanding of high-rise production in suburban spaces rather than in the CBD and Docklands where it has been already investigated (Nethercote and Horne 2016; Shaw 2013). Finally, the case-studies were understood to be apartment developments comprising each around 300 apartments and over 8 floors. Considering that these developments are densely populated, it was assumed that there would be a high number of dwellers to reach for recruitment, that socio-economic profiles and cultural backgrounds would be varied due to the diversity of apartments in these large complexes, and that there is potential for a high level of interactions, relationships and activities in these spaces.

The location criteria had further consequences for the research design. It meant that the scale of the developments would make them pioneer regarding their suburban location and low-rise surroundings. Their urban form had to be distinctive compared to nearby buildings in order to

capture radical shifts in styles of living, aesthetics choices and everyday routines. The size and socio-economic profile of the development criteria had further advantages for the study. The scale and price range of the developments (Chapter 4) also meant that many common spaces, amenities and services are proposed in these buildings, creating more opportunities, spaces and moments for tactics and strategies to be conceived and performed.

Even if there are commonalities and differences between the two case-studies, the aim of the research was not to establish a comparison between the case-studies. The way the data was collected, presented and analysed in the findings of this research reflects these differences but there has been no intention to draw comparisons between the two developments as architectural projects. Rather, the two case-studies were chosen to complement each other from a social and territorial perspective. They were also chosen to create the basis of an in-depth study while maintaining a large pool of profiles and activities around which to develop an analysis.

It was established early in the research design that the methods would not include case studies of low-rise housing, but rather that the dwellers' housing trajectories would be used to establish comparisons in their lives between high- and low-rise housing. This was to insist on the social responses made by households in shifting from a low-rise to a high-rise dwelling. It also allowed me to foreground the importance of life-course trajectories in housing and underlined the temporalities involved in dwellers' relations with high-rise living. However, this approach was limiting as it excluded a more direct understanding of suburban change from the perspective of low-rise housing actors, for instance from immediate neighbours who might be impacted in different ways by the developments. Nevertheless, the tactics low-rise dwellers might develop in response to densification are yet present in the thesis, as most participants had experiences living nearby in low-rise types of dwelling and had developed opinions and imagined plans before the developments were built (see Chapter 5). Initially, a third development was selected but I encountered too many difficulties reaching participants to examine it in the thesis (see 3.4.4).

3.4 Data collection process

The data I have used comes predominantly from primary sources collected between 2016 and 2018. The secondary sources that were used include developer pamphlets and online advertisement relating to the design and marketing of the two high-rise buildings. These sources offer evidence

regarding the intended use of high-rise spaces, both common and private, towards particular practices and styles of living as imagined and projected by designers, architects, interior designers, developers and real-estate professionals (Fullagar et al. 2013). However, they offer little indication of the strategies put in place behind closed doors or of the tactics developed in practice and have therefore been limited to providing contextual information. Interpretations of advertising material and visions associated with promotional campaigns or marketing visuals are nevertheless analysed in the thesis if they were discussed during the interviews. Two types of interviews were designed following the methodology of semi-directed interviews. Two questionnaires were established, one for professional housing actors, the other for residents.

3.4.1 Site visits and interviews with housing actors

I started data collection with site visits and interviews with housing actors. Interviewing housing actors responded to the goal of exposing how high-rise living is negotiated and co-produced as on-going process. Professionals were identified through projects or institutional websites and contacted directly via email. I conducted 15 interviews detailed in Table 3.1. Because of my interest in the multiple facets of high-rise production, I arranged to interview actors working in the planning, development, design, marketing, construction, sales and maintenance of high-rise buildings. Various organisational scales were encountered, from micro structures (one individual) to multinationals. 'Boutique' companies are understood as small companies employing fewer than 25 people and operating in one industrial sector (Hall 2007). The general aim of interviews also varied, with interviews designed to provide the research with background or metropolitan-scale context. Two expert interviews in the financial service industry were for instance conducted to help familiarising myself with technical procedures such as finance, project management, property evaluation, etc. Half of the remaining interviews concerned the case-study directly or were run with local competitors of the case-studies. All participants and company names have been removed to maximise anonymity. However, it was understood that they may be identifiable given the small size of the high-rise industry in Melbourne and revealed identity of projects. The name of both case-studies was kept as the large-scale of the projects and their unique characteristics or location made them easily recognisable.

	Sector	Organisation scale	Aim of interview	Year interview
1	Planning	State government	Context	2016
2	Real-estate development	Boutique	Case-study	2016
3	Property evaluation	National	Context	2016
4	Real-estate development	Boutique	Case-study	2017
5	Architecture	State government	Context	2017
6	Real-estate development	Local	Case-study	2017
7	Planning	Local government	Context	2017
8	Engineering	Multinational	Context	2017
9	Property management	Local	Case-study	2018
10	Building management	Micro	Case-study	2018
11	Planning	Local government	Case-study	2018
12	Banking	Multinational	Context	2018
13	Real-estate development	Boutique	Case-study	2018
14	Architecture	National	Case-study	2018
15	Landscape architecture	National	Case-study	2018

Table 3.1: List of professional interviewees (Location: Melbourne)

Interviews were held in the participant's office or a nearby café and lasted between 24 minutes and 90 minutes. Interviews at their offices were generally longer as they took place in a meeting room without disturbances or travel time for the participant. However, conversations at a café were more informal and relaxed and gave an opportunity for participants to move away from the official narrative. Three interviews were accompanied by a site visit including a high-rise construction site visit in Melbourne CBD (Figures 3.1 and 3.2), a competitor building and apartment tour and a visit of one of the case-study buildings. I distinguish between site visits with housing professionals, and walking tours with dwellers as the context and content involved different interviewing techniques. In the former case, the visits were unplanned and initiated by the participant at the end of the interview. They were however included in the analysis as the conversations were recorded and

they were framed by the themes of the preceding interview. Fieldnotes of the conversation and visit were reported immediately afterwards (Magolda 2000; J. Anderson 2004), when possible, to avoid the loss of general impressions or unexpected observations. Site visits provided me with additional information on working techniques and relations, know-hows, bodily movements and other sensory elements such as sounds and atmospheres (Duffy, Waitt, and Harada 2016). These were relevant in the context of analysing micro-politics in which details matter.

Figures 3.1 and 3.2: View of Collingwood from a competitor's apartment building; and engineering gear on a construction site visit, December and October 2017. Photos: L. Dorignon

The interviews were semi-directed and revolved around three main themes: their role and vision in the project and their qualitative assessment of high-rise living in suburban Melbourne. Interviews with competitors such as with a boutique real-estate development firm in an apartment building near one of the case-studies provided an external perspective on the case-studies. They also opened other avenues of investigation, such as the negotiation of short-stay rental platforms, a transforming practice for the high-rise housing economy (Chapter 6) or the evolution of taste towards materials used in the middle-class apartment home (Chapter 7). Conducted over the period of three years, the interviews with housing actors also provided me with a temporal framework from which to detect evolutions in the market and consumers' practices. These professional interviews were at times challenging because of the firm's interests that participants had to preserve and because some participants seemed worried that the research project would display a negative assessment of their project. However, all participants were interested in the project and curious to hear about dwellers' experiences, which underlines the lack of post-occupancy studies of middle-class high-rise apartments in Melbourne.

3.4.2 Restricted access and recruitment difficulties

Middle-class high-rise developments are particularly hard to enter physically and socially. Enthused by London's rapid high-rise growth (Appert and Montes 2015), the radical method of urban exploration has been developed and conceptualised by Garrett to appropriate contested skyscrapers in the city and enact politicised vertical geographies (B. Garrett 2013; B. L. Garrett 2010; Dunthorne et al. 2014). Apart from these material break-throughs, work on the vertical elite city (Graham 2018) rarely includes fieldwork inside high-rise buildings of the middle- and upper-classes and is confined to analysis of real-estate materials, developer's discourses and glossy projections of what these apartment homes look like (Graham 2015). This difficulty to reach middle-class participants also echoes the methodological challenges evoked by Pinçon and Pinçon-Charlot (2005) during the process of interviewing the French *bourgeoisie*, navigating an "impossible research object" as potentially "manipulated subjects" (2005, 77). Inhabiting highly protected spaces (R. Atkinson and Blandy 2016; R. Atkinson and Flint 2004), upper middle-class dwellers are also equipped with a cultural and social capital (Wiesel 2018) that gives them flexibility and freedom to avoid unwanted questions and situations: "the high bourgeoisie always know how to keep their place and put you in yours, in most cases with exquisite politeness" (Pinçon-Charlot and Pinçon 2018, 117). Getting access, not only physically to the high-rises but also socially to the middle-class high-rise circles (see 5.c) was therefore of utmost importance while planning the recruitment and interviewing techniques.

In both Acacia Place and Yorkshire Brewery, I launched data collection through a pilot interview with a resident from my extended professional and personal network. I gauged that there would not be any biases in selecting the place of residence of an acquaintance as our fairly remote relationship had not affected their housing trajectories and everyday experiences of the building. Since both high-rise buildings are particularly tricky to access with their multiple safekeeping technologies, this technique allowed me to visit the complexes as a guest without trespassing. I was able then to verify the building fitted the criteria described previously before engaging in the recruitment phase. Additionally, the questions were stabilised and adjusted.

Recruiting participants living in the building case-studies for walking tours and interviews was challenging. It became increasingly easy with the help of building managers whom I later

discovered hold a central position in the governance and daily administration of both case-study buildings (Chapter 5 Section 3.b). I met with 28 residents in total through three waves of interviews. I started out the recruitment process by placing flyers in the letter boxes of Haven in Acacia Place, inviting residents to fill out a quick online survey and to register for an interview. Responses to the online survey were too minimal to be used in the analysis, but I obtained three interviews with residents. During one interview, I was introduced to three other neighbours at the end of the walking tour. This started to reveal the importance of both social networks and physical proximity in the high-rise relationships. It also pointed towards the function of trust and co-optation systems in exclusive upper middle-class circles (Wiesel 2018; Pinçon-Charlot and Pinçon 2018).

In Yorkshire Brewery Apartments, I was able to reach the building manager by email and didn't proceed to any flyer drop. Using the relative quiet of the new year period as a convincing reason for an interview, I met the building manager for a rather unexpectedly long interview of 2 hours. The meeting took place as a sit-down interview at a nearby café followed by a comprehensive site visit of the high-rise building, including vacant apartments and technical rooms. I met the building manager again on several other instances as the body corporate had allowed me to place flyers in the elevators and carparks of the complex. Inside locked and authorised communication panels, my recruitment advertisement for interviews was visibly endorsed by the building manager, which seemed to have been decisive in getting responses from participants.

The last wave of interviews occurred in Acacia Place, and the role of the building manager in granting me interviews was equally essential then. I was able to attend a social event happening on a Friday night. An informational flyer was posted on the bar and I attempted to "mingle" with residents with the double of purpose of observing and booking additional interviews. Navigating this event as an "invited observer" (Pinçon and Pinçon-Charlot 2005) turned out to be a challenging but productive experience. The lobby was crowded and the atmosphere high-spirited and animated. Residents were very involved in their conversation which made the breaking into social groups awkward and arduous. Inopportunely, I had decided to be identifiable as a researcher and wore my university lanyard neck strap in case residents wanted to locate me after having seen the flyer. This symbolic accessory, reminding the group of residents of my outsider status there on a scientific visit, created suspicion and distance. The observation was also made physically tiring by the difficulty to move around between small groups, the loudness of the room and my inhibition

to consume the food catered by and for the residents. Attending this event was however fruitful in giving me a wider image of the residents' profile in this particular building, in revealing the relationships they entertain and providing me with eight more interviews.

Regrettably, in both case studies I was neither given access to the online portal, nor invited to join the residents' Facebook group for publication of recruitment material or virtual participant observation. While I requested access to the former, I did not ask for the latter as this would have constituted a breach of residents' privacy and a *faux-pas* amongst individuals observing fairly strict and protective behaviours regarding their social activities.

3.4.3 Participants' backgrounds

There were no sampling criteria in the recruitment of participants other than the place of residence (one of the two case-studies). Overall, the sample of participants was socially homogeneous as buildings had been selected as middle-class housing. Housing occupancy, for most participants, involved substantial expenditure. However, disparities appeared when considering some of the socioeconomic variables established by Randolph and Tice and these are valuable for examining high-rise buildings submarkets (2013). Tenure status (e.g owned outright, purchased with a mortgage, privately rented), property size and professional activity) varied significantly from one floor to the next, or one part of the development to another. This illustrates a "spatial discontinuity" distinctive of high-density buildings, "where blocks of apartments on a single site are likely to contain a number of different housing submarkets within the same building (Randolph and Tice 2013, 2265). Overall, the range of socio-economic profiles in the sample went from middle-class to upper-middle-class households. A few participants seem to belong to the upper-class, even though boundaries between the middle-class and the upper-class are changing and dynamic.

Table 3.2 presents the reader with an overview of participants with minimal personal information (e.g financial and professional) to protect their anonymity and privacy. For similar reasons, names of all participants have been replaced with pseudonyms. It was nonetheless mentioned at the start of each interview that residents might be recognisable by insiders of each development given the connections between dwellers and the presence of identifiers in the quotes

from interviews. The building completion date meant that all interviewees have experienced living in their building for less than 4 years, with some having moved in two months prior to the interview. Information about ancestry was derived from interviews extracts of participants' and their parents' countries of birth. Household size excludes pets as well as temporary visitors, such as adult children living at their parent's place for a few months.

The general characteristics were as follows. Fifteen participants were male and thirteen female. The sample included eleven participants aged less than 39 years old, eight between 40 and 59 years old and nine over sixty. Participants were predominantly active professionals and highly educated, some of them holding senior managerial positions in strategic sectors such as in health, research and engineering. Half of the participants had occupations as professionals at a junior or medium-level in the design, communication and consultancy industry or in health and education. One participant was currently a machine operator, two were personal services workers and two were administrative workers. Six participants had retired from managerial positions. Twenty-six participants held a university degree, one a college diploma, and one a high-school diploma. Most participants had Australian or Anglo ancestry, two continental Europeans and one Asian. Households were mostly constituted by couples or people living on their own, two households were nuclear families, with only one with children below ten.

	Pseudonym	Age group	Ancestry	Gender	Tenure	Apartment type	Household size	Year interview
1	Ellen	30-34	Anglo	F	owns	1 bed	2 ppl	2016
2	Jon	30-34	Australian	M	owns	1 bed	2 ppl	2016
3	Robert	60-64	Australian	M	owns	4 bed	3 ppl	2017
4	Jane	60-64	Australian	F	owns	4 bed	3 ppl	2017
5	Leah	50-54	Australian	F	owns	3 bed	2 ppl	2017
6	Alex	40-44	Australian	M	rents	2 bed	2 ppl	2017
7	Christine	65-69	Australian	F	owns	3 bed	2 ppl	2017
8	Steven	50-54	Australian	M	owns	1 bed	1 ppl	2017
9	Emma	25-29	CE	F	rents	1 bed	2 ppl	2018
10	Phoebe	35-39	Australian	F	rents	2 bed	2 ppl	2018
11	Arthur	35-39	Australian	M	owns	2 bed	1 ppl	2018
12	Adele	55-59	Australian	F	owns	2 bed	2 ppl	2018
13	Dan	55-59	Australian	M	owns	2 bed	2 ppl	2018
14	Allan	40-44	Anglo	M	owns	2 bed	3 ppl	2018
15	Max	30-34	CE	M	rents	1 bed	1 ppl	2018
16	Barbara	25-29	Australian	F	rents	2 bed	2 ppl	2018
17	Ewan	30-34	Australian	M	rents	1 bed	1 ppl	2018
18	David	30-34	Australian	M	owns	1 bed	1 ppl	2018
19	Michael	65-69	Australian	M	owns	2 bed	2 ppl	2018
20	Philip	50-54	Australian	M	owns	2 bed	2 ppl	2018
21	Katherine	50-54	Australian	F	owns	2 bed	2 ppl	2018
22	Rose	65-69	Anglo	F	owns	2 bed	2 ppl	2018
23	Tim	65-69	Anglo	M	owns	2 bed	2 ppl	2018
24	Eric	60-64	Australian	M	owns	2 bed	2 ppl	2018
25	Susan	60-64	Australian	F	owns	1 bed	2 ppl	2018
26	Walter	65-69	Australian	M	owns	2 bed	1 ppl	2018
27	Riya	30-34	Asian	F	rents	2 bed	1 ppl	2018
28	Julie	25-29	Australian	F	rents	studio	1 ppl	2018

Table 3.2: List of resident interviewees, CE stands for Continental European (Location: Melbourne)

This sample suited the aims of the research design but was not representative of all middle-class high-rise dwellers that live beyond the Inner-East. In particular, it did not include the diversity of ancestry and socio-economics that can be found in high-rise buildings of the CBD, which are especially homes to many international students in Melbourne (Fincher and Shaw 2009; Fincher 2011) as in other places (Garmendia, Coronado, and Ureña 2011). It also did not represent the growing number of middle-class families in Australia inhabiting high-rise flats with small children (Nethercote and Horne 2016; Andrews, Warner, and Robson 2018; Kerr, Gibson, and Klocker 2018). Instead the project contrasts the experiences of high-rise living for people of relatively similar social status that had an aspiration to move in to a newly built development and make a home in a suburban apartment.

3.4.4 Walking tours and semi-structured interviews with residents

The interviews were loosely organised around a seated conversation – at the participant's home (Figure 3.3), a communal space or a nearby café – and a walking tour of the home and development. Participants were able to choose at which day and time the interview would take place (Figure 3.4), details which were arranged predominantly by email or phone calls, sometimes through calendar requests. Three main themes were brought up during the conversation: the reasons and circumstances for moving into a high-rise, their social life within and outside the building, and their domestic practices. Following the dual nature of tactics and strategies, I asked questions in two ways. To reveal strategies, I asked broad questions that invited the participant to share aspirations or biographical elements. To reveal tactics, I invited residents to narrate impulsive, one-off interactions by asking about anecdotes in this way "describe your last encounter with…". Additionally, I was interested in finding out about dweller's actions, which I observed during the tour. For instance, doings involving objects – locking the door, making coffee, activating lights – helped "captur[ing] something of the socio-technical interaction in the home and equally, the interaction between acting and narrating the home" (J. M. Jacobs, Cairns, and Strebel 2012, 131).

Figures 3.3 and 3.4: Waiting for a participant and preparing interviewing material, May 2018. Photos: L. Dorignon

I used mobile methodology, increasingly used in qualitative research (DeLyser and Sui 2013; Pierce and Lawhon 2015; Evans and Jones 2011) to facilitate conversations based on dwellers' very own techniques and tactics around the building to provoke reflexes when encountering objects, places, views or people. Research on walking methodologies has shown that walking helps individuals reminiscing place-related memories or feelings (J. Anderson 2004). Using walking tours also allowed me to overcome normative scientific barriers of the researcher "collecting" data from a participant (Hay 2016). By letting participants decide on the itinerary of the tour, they were given back agency in the interview process (Kusenbach 2003). Tours were also planned to take place immediately after the interview, in order to build on the trust relationship that had been built over the conversation (J. M. Jacobs, Cairns, and Strebel 2012). As mentioned previously, walking tours were also an opportunity to visit otherwise inaccessible places in the high-rise, and to observe the ways dwellers were cooperating with security systems or eluding them (see Chapter 6). The length of interviews with apartment dwellers varied between 30 minutes and 2 hours, depending on participants' available time that day, and whether they used the interview as a social meet-up or eschewed the walking tour. Short interviews typically took place in a communal space and were followed by a short walk to a site – most commonly a view or back towards the courtyard. Because most interviews took place in the summer season – between November and March in Australia – some participants preferred not to step out of their cool, air-conditioned apartment to walk in the hot temperature, which also meant the interview process was incomplete. Long interviews started

with a coffee in the building development's café or elsewhere and were followed by a complete tour of the home and of the building communal spaces.

Whether or not I was invited up to a participant's apartment depended on reasons that are difficult for me to establish without making assumptions about my interviewees. It could have been conjunctural, for instance because their apartment was messy that day, and they did not want it seen disorderly, or structural, because they were nervous about finding themselves *tête-à-tête* with a stranger in their homes (Section 3.5). However, I did note that the more spacious apartments were, the more inclined residents were to perform the home tour, an observation I further draw on in Chapter 6. On the recruitment flyer, the tour was advertised as "optional" so as to not preclude shy, secretive, busy individuals or residents with any other constraint or condition from participating in the research project. Some participants seem to take pleasure in conducting the tour, looking visibly at ease with walking around in the building with a researcher holding a recorder, interacting naturally with the building and exchanging pleasantries with neighbours. On several occasions, participants walked us beyond the limits of the development towards the suburban streets in order to comment on their practices of shopping, working or exercising. When asked to initiate the tour, a few participants showed discreet signs of hesitation, if not slight impatience. I would thus make the aim of the tour more specific by asking for instance "take me to your favourite place in the building", which shortened the tour and conveniently brought us near an exit door.

3.4.4 Opportunities and deadlocks

This section revisits two opportunities that became deadlocks due to data collection difficulties: the inclusion of a third case-study project and the use of visual methodologies. An additional case-study was initially identified in The Nicholson in Coburg (Figure 3.5). It fitted the high-density and suburban location criteria (Figure 3.6), aside from being located in City of Moreland, further away from the CBD in the Northern suburbs. Designed as a mixed-income high-density and sustainable project, this mixed-used building was chosen because it offered a perspective on affordable housing and on the lower segment of the middle classes. Located in front of a mosque, the development was home to many Muslim families and a great diversity of ancestry, reflected in the small sample of interviewees below.

Figures 3.5 and 3.6: Views of The Nicholson in Coburg from Nicholson St and Glengyle St, November 2017. Photos: L. Dorignon

Four participants were recruited and interviewed, and their general characteristics presented below. Two participants were renting affordable dwellings, one was renting privately, and one was an owner-occupier. Obtaining a very low-success rate with interviews – both with dwellers and housing actors, The Nicholson was put aside as a supplementary perspective only. The absence of manager on site also made it more difficult for me to enter the building, distribute recruitment material and organise interviews.

	Pseudonym	Age group	Ancestry	Gender	Tenure	Apartment type	Household size	Year interview
1	Georg	35-39	CE	M	rents	1 bed	2 ppl	2017
2	James	30-34	Australian	M	owns	2 bed	1 ppl	2017
3	Amir	20-24	Asian	M	rents	studio	1 ppl	2017
4	Paul	60-64	Anglo	M	rents	studio	1 ppl	2017

Table 3.3: List of resident interviewees in The Nicholson, CE stands for Continental European (Location: Melbourne)

These interviews were useful to frame and contrast the experiences of more affluent dwellers in the City of Yarra with in-building feelings of less well-off middle-class individuals, however they were not transcribed nor analysed and are therefore not used in the thesis. The removal of this case-study had further consequences on the research project, narrowing the sample of participants to a more affluent fraction of the middle-class and restraining my analysis to one local municipality.

I initially intended to use visual methods and the collection of photographs from participants was approved in my ethics application. Mixed, innovative and visual methods are increasingly encouraged in the geographical study of materialities (Bennett 2010; B. L. Garrett 2011; Gillian Rose 2016) and particularly in the exploration of high-rise spaces (J. M. Jacobs, Cairns, and Strebel 2012) for "they might create a compellingly and suggestive visualisation of the 'impersonal affects' of high-rise interiors" (2012, 158). Methods including different forms of diaries have also been scrutinised by qualitative research as being well-suited to studies on everyday life (Latham 2016). Diaries assist participants in noticing and recalling activities, events or interactions that might be forgotten during an interview due to their perceived banal, mundane or repetitive status. Following the principles of visual methodologies and diaries, the photographs that I intended to collect were meant to capture the respondents' "flow of social practice" (Latham 2016) with non-verbal representations of high-rise homes. This method was also seen as having the power to capture movements, actions and the "doings" (Latham and McCormack 2009) of the high-rise at moments beyond the time of interview, during which residents might feel less contrived by the semi-directed conversation. Asking participants to take a photo of their apartments was finally perceived as a less intrusive way to collect visual representations of homes.

Yet the inconveniences associated with getting this time-consuming activity into respondents' diaries, perhaps discouraging potential participants (Latham 2016), appeared significant in the process. After the first ten interviews, I distributed instructions to participants on how to proceed with taking photos – of their home, building and suburb – and sending them back to me. Only one participant proceeded which made me reconsider adding this additional commitment to the interview and tour. Having multiple methods also turned out to have uncertain outcomes, causing me to scatter my initial recruitment efforts in multiple and disjointed ways while losing some of the participants' energy and ease in the process. Following this methodological deadlock, I decided to change my recruitment material (see second version in Appendices), fast-tracking participants to the walking interview and skipping the online survey and photo-diary. The potential richness of the interview methodology was prioritised, and the lack of photo-diary compensated by the detailed comments, stories and reminiscences brought up at the walking tour. Photographs of apartments were rarely taken, for practical and ethical reasons. Conducting the interviews alone, I found that it was difficult to be taking photographs while also recording the tour, taking observations, notes and asking questions in a relatively smooth manner. From an ethical perspective,

it felt intrusive to be taking photos of homes. The one-off nature of my interviews meant that I had no previous occasions to be known by participants. Additionally, my recruitment flyer did not indicate that photographs would be taken nor that visual methods were a necessary part of the research purposes. When appropriate, I took photos during the walking tour and at the participant's home, but exclusively of outside spaces and views out of the building. These photographs, beyond their illustrative purpose, express "something [...] representational about the verticality of the high-rise home" (Baxter 2017, 339).

3.5 Ethics and positionality

This section tackles the ethical questions that arise before and during fieldwork, particularly around the domestic setting of the interviews and fairly personal nature of conversations on home-making practices.

I draw inspiration from two main bodies of work. First, I use critical self-reflexivity, a tool developed by feminist research (G. Rose 1997), to describe and interpret my position, reactions towards and interactions with participants. Emotional manifestations are "qualified intensity that is personal" (Lobo 2010, 100) and differ from affect which has been conceptualised as a "sensory perspective of the social world", in other words an impersonal and physical response that arises autonomously (Lobo 2010, 100). I describe my feelings of being in a participant's home using the framework of emotions (Pile 2010; B. Anderson 2016), evoking the tensions between bonding and establishing boundaries, both necessary to an ethical unfolding of the interview. I also explain the reasons behind unexpectedly favourable conditions created by my outsider position as an international student in the field, but also the challenges that arise from it regarding the politics of knowledge (G. Rose 1997; J. Anderson 2004). Secondly, I draw on Pinçon and Pinçon-Charlot's long-standing experience of developing sociological investigation methods in upper-class milieus (1998, 2005, 2010) to dissect how my interactions with participants was influenced by my ambiguous class position as a middle-class young woman with working-class heritage.

3.5.1 In the participants' home: bonding and boundaries

Domestic spaces are intimately tied to a sense of self and unfold intimate and personal relationships, even if these relations are influenced beyond the household (Blunt and Dowling

2006). It was an important step of the process to observe participants' spatial practices and relations with the materiality of home, as I anticipated findings to be articulated around daily life and identity formation in a high-rise apartment (Chapter 6). Safety issues around the domestic setting of the interviews arose during the project ethics application, as homes can also hide confronting realities and expressions of violence, both physical and emotional (Warrington 2001; Brickell 2012). I was also under the impression that some participants seemed anxious about the idea of inviting me at their place to do the interview, perhaps because of the potential "fears and discomfort around sexuality" in the researcher-informant relationship (Clair 2016, 25). To ensure my safety and participants well-being, specific measures were adopted. Home-tours being optional, residents had the freedom to participate to the interviews in a communal space rather than at home. When it seemed necessary, I also used the walking tour of the building as an adjustment phase during which participants had the opportunity to familiarise themselves with me – and vice-versa – before deciding to perform the home-tour. To ensure my personal safety as I was conducting interviews alone, I communicated information about my meeting to a friend in an electronic message only to be opened in case of emergency. Knowing the building manager was another benefit here, as I developed the habit of letting him know when I was in the building conducting interviews.

Asking about everyday tactics and strategies, formulated in the interviews as "ways to get by" or "tricks to adapt", required a certain level of familiarity between participants and myself. To establish this closeness, an appropriate presentation of my research was important to limit the obstacles to a relaxed narrative, liberated as much as possible from the constrained setting of the interview (Pinçon and Pinçon-Charlot 2005). The way the project was presented turned out to be crucial to establish trust and clarify my intentions without revealing the research objectives in detail. Many participants, including housing actors, asked me early on whether the research was "pro or against high-density living". Because I sensed that my response would influence our interaction and the way they would answer my questions, I made sure to give a brief introduction on the context of my research.

Conducting the interviews, I became aware that this process of connecting with my participants was balanced by interpersonal boundaries. For instance, the interview questionnaire did not include direct questions about income, which could have altered both trust and comfort with interviewees. I predicted that this could have had repercussions on other responses by directly bringing

participants' attention to their economic position in the social realm. Additionally, my cultural background meant that I considered direct questions about income inappropriate, as they are perceived within French middle-class social circles and etiquette (see Section 3.5). Other boundaries included questions around emotions at home, such as the feeling of loneliness. Interested to find out whether my participants, among which 30% lived alone, experienced loneliness living in high-density, I discovered that many participants responded reluctantly to this question. This underlines the risks of reproducing potentially painful emotions (B. Anderson 2016) and to frame what can be perceived as a normative enquiry (Franklin 2009).

3.5.2 Being an international student in the field

Being an outsider in a group of research subjects is habitually seen as a disadvantage for a researcher. Feminist research has indeed criticised the politics of knowledge production and the social-political distances between the researcher and "researched". As a result, the identification of situated knowledge and positionality have been viewed by feminist geographers as requiring an acknowledgment of one's own partiality (McDowell 1992). At the same time, Rose (1997) recognises the contradictions of a "transparent reflexivity" (G. Rose 1997), as it formulates differences as distances in a "landscape of power" (1997, 312) still controlled by the researcher. A "full immersion" (Moss 1995) has also proven unsustainable because of the impossible task of supressing any differences between researchers and participants. These contradictions and difficulties were relevant, reflecting on my fieldwork as an outsider to my participants in two main ways: I did not conduct autoethnography in the buildings and live as a resident, and I am not a permanent resident of Australia. During my interviews, I identified that the politics of knowledge production were most at stake in my background as an international student, and particularly as a French citizen.

This was particularly visible in my interviews with housing actors, which assumed a position of knowledge on a topic they thought they knew less about than me, e.g the French housing context. My background was often brought up in the interviews – mostly as an ice-breaker and conversation starter – and referred about throughout the interview. As I found myself to be the "interrogated interrogator" (Pinçon and Pinçon-Charlot 2005, 42), I realised that my position as an outsider had created favourable interviewing conditions. Even though having an accent in Melbourne is not a

rarity, my background generated interest and empathy, and also contributed to place participants –housing actors and dwellers – in the dominant position of knowledge holder. During my encounters with other foreigners, whether from Europe, Asia or North America, being an international was also an advantage as it visibly allowed my participants to feel more at ease and to relate with me. Coming from France perhaps also alleviated some people's concerns that I might be 'against' high density, a shared concern with developers and described in the last section. Additionally, talking to participants born elsewhere allowed me to shift perspectives to consider transnational experiences of high-rise homes (Chapter 5).

Revealing my background was useful in the interviews to obtain more information because of the perception participants formed of me as unexperienced and naïve regarding social phenomena in Melbourne. Questions such as "what do you consider an appealing suburb in Melbourne", or "do you think that people in Australia are used to apartment living" appeared as more spontaneous, more genuine and less suspicious than if I had been born and raised in Melbourne. At the same time, they reversed the usual politics of knowledge production in which the researcher is assumed to hold more power than the participant. Interviewing a highly qualified segment of the middle-class, and at times individuals belonging to the upper class, the reversal also played out regarding my social background.

3.5.3 Social background and impact on research

Interviewing middle-class individuals and thinking about class and space made me reflect on my own position as a middle-class individual. As Pinçon-Charlot and Pinçon remind us, "few sociologists are ready to risk engaging in field situations in which the asymmetry in social position between researcher and subject places them at a disadvantage, […] never at ease with tackling a social world they do not know or one that––since it is where they started from––they realise is now socially above them" (Pinçon-Charlot and Pinçon 2018, 117). During the interview at least, my middle-class belonging was evident for participants through my wearing of particular clothes, my way and use of language and rules of conduct – although these codes, such as asking whether one should take their shoes off before stepping in someone's home, vary between French and Australian middle-classes.

Nevertheless, interacting with individuals with higher income or identified as “apartment élite” (Randolph and Tice 2013, 2668) brought up the ambiguities of my own class identity. A second-generation middle-class individual, I directly benefitted from my parent’s social mobility, from growing up in working-class families firmly rooted in the *banlieues rouges* of Paris – bastions of the communist party in rapidly gentrifying cities (Bacqué, Charmes, and Vermeersch 2014) - to becoming middle-class individuals grappling with the price of changing class (Eribon 2013). This double class heritage visibly carried in my habitus and feeling, through feelings of rejection and solidarity (Lane 2012), both enriched and complicated my investigation. To resolve this tension, I distanced myself from analytically reproducing typically French class structures and focused on the specificities of the Australian middle classes with their own codes, material culture and everyday practices.

3.6 Analysis and organisation of thesis

3.6.1 Discourse analysis

For discourse analysis purposes, interviews were fully transcribed. Using qualitative data analysis software NVivo, I coded interviews according to the recurrent themes that had emerged during data collection. At first, these themes were relatively general, such as “maintenance”, “social status” or “verticality”. Coding the interviews also informed a deeper understanding of the participants’ tactics and strategies. These appeared in the data under various forms, particularly when individuals shared views and perspectives but responded to it in different ways. For instance, feeling isolated in high-rise development was commonly shared amongst participants, but the reasons for feeling isolated as well as the techniques to transform this situation – or not – were diverse. The second layer of coding helped me design the analytical framework of the thesis described in the next section (Figure 3.7)

In the analysis of the data, I established connections in the housing trajectories of residents and within their biographical elements. This helped to contextualise their actions but also establish some distances between how they represent their own stories and what their situation actually is. This does not presuppose the existence of an objective reality, but rather underlines the importance of a middle-class habitus in the way housing situations and aspirations are envisaged, as pointed out by Vermeersch, Launay and Charmes (2019). The necessary contextualisation of high-rise living

practices within wider dynamics, concerns, and territories also raised the issue of selecting and extracting quotes from interview transcripts. In the thesis, quotes are analysed in regard to the biographical context of participants and within the context of what topic was discussed in the interview to avoid the dangers of over-interpretation.

3.6.2 Thesis analytical framework

The organisation of the empirical chapters responds to two logics. The first logic is socio-spatial. In talking to the participants, the importance of place became quickly evident. Respondents found it easiest to evoke their relationships with places, how they would get from one to another, and what sorts of interactions would form in each of them. It was then legitimate to think of a structure that incarnated the spatial trajectories of participants, as well as the differences between representations and practices as they were lived outside of the building. People spend a lot of their days outside of their home, yet their housing situation influences how they live in the city and within it. Additionally, the choice of high-rise living is always connected to the suburban space that surrounds it. Then, the distinction between communal, shared spaces of the building and private, domestic spaces was quite apparent. The chapters move progressively from outside the building, the more 'public' spaces surrounding high-rise living, to the more private sphere; the domestic space. The territories and scope of the chapters therefore vary, yet each chapter keeps an emphasis on the micro-practices deployed by dwellers. The chapters have also been thought for the reader as a form of a walk towards private spaces of high-rise building, following the call by Donald McNeil to "stop worrying about the façades and the silhouettes, cross the lobby and step into the elevator" (McNeill 2005, 49).

Figure 3.7 represents the thesis results chapter roadmap. From left to right are high-rise living attributes that have been identified in the empirical data. They consist of spaces, aspirations, objects or social arrangements that are specific to living in a high-rise development such as the ones described in Chapter 4. The three empirical chapters analyse the ways in which these attributes are produced by developers and reworked – or not , appropriated, challenged or contested by dwellers. The framework of tactics and strategies allows us to be attuned to the sets of actions and practices that co-produce, re-purpose and ultimately transform these high-rise living attributes and

aspirations. For the reader's convenience, this roadmap will be repeated at the start of results chapters 5, 6 and 7 highlighting which high-rise aspirations will be considered.

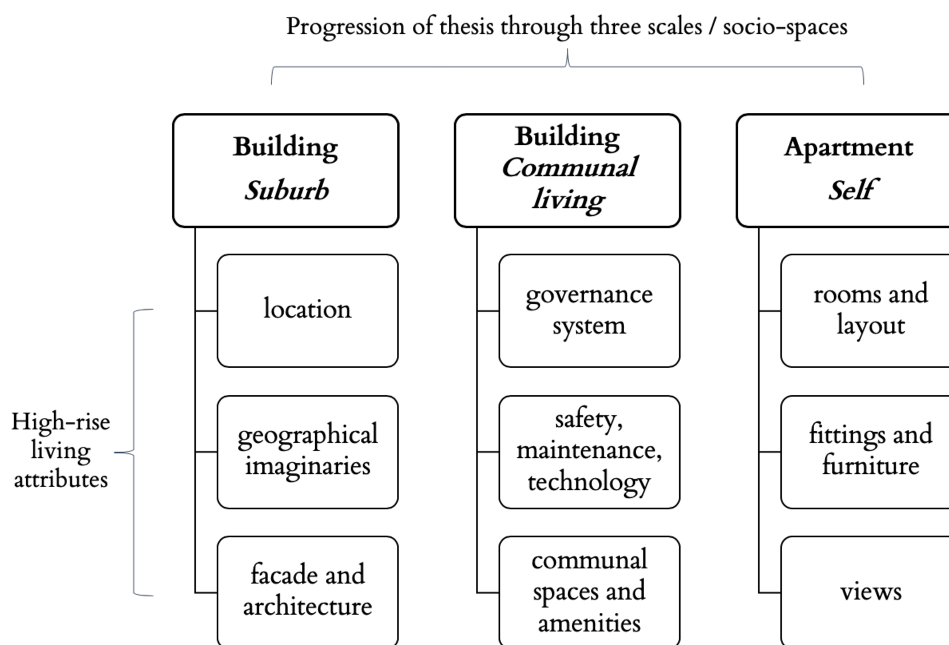


Figure 3.7: Thesis results chapter roadmap: socio-spaces and high-rise living aspirations/attributes

The second logic is thematic. In analysing the data, the issues of status, power, and identity stood out. At the heart of the thesis stands Chapter 6 which gives a specific analysis of power relationships, identified in the literature review as a key dimension of tactical and strategic interplay, through the issue of governing and sharing high-rise developments. Chapter 5 points to the way high-rise living reshapes middle-class status through an analysis of people's perception and practices of their 'place' in the suburb and wider city. It also provides the reader with an early analysis of the reasons behind developing and moving into a high-rise development, and what this means for changing middle-class housing aspirations in Melbourne. Chapter 7 on the apartment derives from the analysis of power relationships. Gaining power in the high-rise building is not the ultimate goal of dwellers. Once the moments of communal life, shared experience, and chance encounters are over, the dwellers find themselves secluded in their homes. The high-rise opens in another way, towards itself with the view. There, residents stage and arrange their belongings, memories, and desires. The high-rise home both contains and fuels these affective and emotional geographies.

The themes of course overlap. There are questions of power in the way high-rise residents deploy their spatial capital outside of the building into the city; the same way that power relations

can emerge inside the home between people of the same household. Similarly, status emerges from the ownership of particular symbolic objects or amenities in the home, or from specific arrangements, such as having a separate laundry room, a view, or employing a helper at home. Identity is linked to the daily work done in order to maintain one's own status and power situation or challenge someone's else.

3.7 Perspectives

This chapter has opened up new questions around the thesis's guiding framework of tactics and strategies and necessary nuances around its very affirmative reading of everyday actions. While conducting the interviews with this theoretical framework in mind, I found that very few participants were comfortable with the idea of having developed intentions when asked explicitly about the "tactics", "strategies", or "tricks" that they had come to invent. This can be explained partly because actually asking a participant about his/her tactics does not reflect the impulsive, unconscious aspect of the tactical as it has been theorised by de Certeau (1984). Another explanation could be that being in a place considered as home and familiar, many of the practices appeared to participants as part of their routine, and therefore could also be interpreted as habitual. In other words, while tactics have often been theorised as temporary and impulsive, the data collection process points towards 'habitual tactics', with an understanding of habit as the "very process through which we gain sense, understanding and awareness" (Dewsbury and Bissell 2015, 26).

However, many of the practices that were described or performed in front of me involved a strong degree of intentionality. Interviews with city-builders, e.g the planners, developers, designers, builders, and contractors, made apparent the strategies at stake in the production of high-rise buildings through a strong degree of intentionality. Regarding tactics, the "ruses" operated in the "cracks" of high-rise living also show determination and intention. This could have been because of my presence and the context of the interview, which invited dwellers to comment on their actions and explain the reasons behind an itinerary, how they felt about one particular place or the way they perform a particular task. On the other hand, contrary to what was expected or imagined by the researcher, the tactics had little to do with the way residents effectively subverted the "rules" of the building. They were rather grappling with how people had chosen their apartment, what they had envisaged and dreamt about, how they were now making a home and

enacting their taste and personalities in the building and wider neighbourhood. The framework also assumes that many social practices have a certain degree of tactics and strategies in them. In the thesis, I have allowed these nuances to appear in order to prevent an exaggeration of the significance of tactics and strategies in dwellers' relation to everyday life. The thesis thus attempts to render, and explain, the tactical and strategic that failed, for instance when dwellers could not achieve their goals, social or other, despite their efforts and intentions.

Chapter 4. Perspectives on two suburban developments

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on contextualising the case study buildings. I present in **Section 4.2** the planning context for the growth of apartment living in Melbourne. In anticipation of the findings of the next chapters, I set out some of the tensions that are arising from the battle to preserve a low-rise environment that was mostly lost by local politicians, activists, and residents in the inner-suburbs. Particularly well-positioned in this battle, the City of Yarra reflects these tensions, which is why the two buildings that were selected as case-studies for this thesis are located in this part of Melbourne. **Section 4.3** gives some details on the contemporary socio-political context in the City of Yarra, where the growth of apartment living is significant and raises various issues, particularly around the type of households that are emerging from high-rise buildings inhabitancy. The following **Sections 4.4** and **4.5** sketch out the key characteristics of the two case-study buildings, respectively Acacia Place in Abbotsford and Yorkshire Brewery in Collingwood. The sections also locate these buildings and their residents within the various housing sub-markets for high-rise living in Melbourne.

4.2 The lost battle for Melbourne's inner-city suburbs

In Melbourne's suburban municipalities, housing needs and population projections since the early 2000s have reopened discussions around the densification and consolidation of inner- suburbs (Newman, Annandale, and Duxbury 1984). In the 2000s and particularly in the following decade, the rise of apartment development applications has raised significant concerns about, amongst other things, the architectural integrity of the Australian suburb and its social composition. Building morphologies (height, volume and visibility), functions (mixed-use or residential) and occupancy (owner- or tenant-occupiers) have been hotly contested by activists and residents in a long tradition of debates on suburban character preservation (Howe, Nichols, and Davison 2014). In this attempt to regulate the growth and construction of medium and high-density building typologies, planning regulations and zoning at a State and local government level have endeavoured to confine high-rise developments to identified urban renewal zones, often mixed-used and commercial precincts.

In 2009, the report Transforming Australian Cities (2009) led by Rob Adams, City of Melbourne's Director of City Design, with the Victorian Department of Transport and the City of Melbourne, acknowledged a rising demand for housing supply in the context of a "new Urban Revolution" (2009, 4). While the report was a holistic and mostly strategic plan for the future planning of the Melbourne metropolitan area, it recognised the necessity to move forward from the Australian suburban block dream ("Dreams are important but ultimately need to be supportable if they are not to lead to economic, social and environmental disaster", p.7). Yet several principles to manage and contain high-density developments in "key development areas" or "urban corridors" of suburbs were established. These principles included mixed-use, connectivity to main roads, high quality public realm and local character, as well as height limitations: "It is arguable that no new building needs to be higher than 6-8 storeys to achieve high density compact cities for the future." (2009, 12). The remainder of suburban spaces, coined "Existing Suburban Areas or Areas of Stability" were seen as a zone to "be further protected against invasion by higher density housing" (2009, 16) with the ultimate goal to "become the 'green lungs' of the city" (2009, 13).

However representative of ongoing debates and perhaps also the standpoints of many in local councils around the CBD, *Transforming Australian Cities* seems to have had limited consequences for the way planning application currently are processed in inner-suburbs, and the battle to preserve the existing suburban areas is partially lost (Buxton and Tieman 2005). This is partly due to the nature of the Victorian planning legislation and the overbearing power of the Victorian Civil and Administrative Tribunal (VCAT) in the arbitration process (Bunker and Searle 2007). In the State of Victoria, VCAT is a tribunal which decides civil and administrative legal cases, and which is frequently hearing high-rise development disputes. It is also incontestably due to an expanding demand for this housing stock (Randolph and Tice 2013). Chapter 5 will demonstrate how the emergence of tactical development practices also contributes to challenging the reticence of local councils to build in preserved zones.

At a local level, the City of Yarra 2018 *Housing Strategy* similarly accentuates the importance of future apartment development sites on "strategic redevelopment sites" (2018), while confirming the growth of apartment developments in the municipality particularly in the 2010s. Approvals for apartments over 4 stories have doubled from the period 2006-2010 and 2011-2015, increasing from

2,394 to 4,904. 46% of the population of Yarra now lives in a flat, with one the average number of occupants per dwellings.

Additionally, this thesis is situated in the context of a shift towards thinking about how high-rise developments can potentially be valuable to the rest of the municipality as public realms. In the densifying inner-suburbs, the battle seems to have moved from the question of whether there should be high-rise developments, or even from where they should be built, to how they will impact the suburb and what they will bring to the neighbourhood. In the most affluent inner-suburbs of Melbourne, the battle on 'whether' and 'where' is still ongoing (Wiesel 2019). In 2018, the City of Yarra is drafting a 'Development Contribution Scheme', aimed at financially binding developers to participating in the costs of social infrastructure, as disclosed by one City of Yarra councillor:

> "The issue will be the separation between buildings and the kinds of level of amenities. We have a developer contribution scheme where developers are obliged to provide a proportion of the value of the development in open space, and they have to either provided that in land or cash, they almost always provide it in cash. Collingwood is an area short of open space, we requested in land in Collingwood every time, and every time they refuse. It was refused by the Yorkshire Brewery." (Planning, Local government, 2018)

> "We are in the process of developing another developer's contribution scheme where we are going to require developments to make a social infrastructure contribution. That would be another planning scheme amendment and we have set aside funds too because we know that developers will fight that very hard in a planning panel legally." (Planning, Local government, 2018)

These quotes show the political and planning conflicts that are mounting with the construction of high-rise developments, particularly in the question of public benefits, amenities. This shift reveals the recognition from the City of Yarra Council that developers should have a role in positively shaping the neighbourhood, and ultimately contributing financially to these transformations.

4.3 The City of Yarra's activism and the rise of apartment living

The density of the Inner East has increased with gentrification dynamics affecting the area since the 1970s (Luckins 2009) and generating housing development on fill-in and past industrial sites. There is a long-standing tradition in the inner city of Melbourne, as in other Australian cities, to oppose large-scale development projects considered 'inappropriate', by alliances of university

students and staff, long-term residents and city workers (Howe, Nichols, and Davison 2014). The support for these medium or high-rise developments by residents is recent and contentious, often understood as new "privatopias" (Gleeson 2002) by the municipality and yet endorsed by Victorian planning regulations favourable to densification and large-scale developments, as discussed in Chapter 1.

The City of Yarra is a fast-growing municipality of Melbourne with nearly 90 000 residents (ABS, 2016 Census). A wealthy area of the Inner East, its median age is relatively young with a high representation of residents aged between 25 and 39-year-old (39.8%) compared to the rest of Victoria (21.8%) (ABS, 2016 Census). The middle-class to upper-middle-class profile of the municipality is illustrated by data on employment. Occupation is at 42.8% represented by professionals (23.3% in Victoria) and the level of Bachelor's Degree and above as highest educational attainment culminates at 48.2% (24.3% in Victoria). Weekly incomes are also high in the City of Yarra compared to the rest of the state, with median incomes for individuals around $1000 ($644 in Victoria). As a comparison, these figures are all higher than in the City of Stonnington, reputed as one of the most elite areas of Melbourne (Wiesel 2018). Data on ancestry in the City of Yarra reflect the Victorian trends with a majority of English, Australian and Irish ethnic backgrounds that account for half of the population.

The dwelling types in the City of Yarra indicate a rapid increase in apartment living, but also in lone individual households. Census figures describe 45.9% of total dwellings as apartments, compared to 11.6% in the rest of Victoria. In Collingwood and Abbotsford (Statistical Area Level 2), the representation of apartments is even higher, with respectively 59.6% and 67.8%. According to the City of Yarra housing strategy, the high proportion of apartment buildings started in the 1950s and 1960s, through the construction of towering public housing estates, and continued in the early 2000s following a "return to the inner-city" and metropolitan consolidation policies (City of Yarra 2018). Approvals for apartment developments over 4 storeys, the only working definition for high-rises in the Victorian planning provision, have doubled in Yarra from the 2006-2010 to the 2011-2015 period. The disputes over the quality of this new apartment stock were caused a change of policy modelled after NSW SEPP 65 (State Environmental Planning Policy - Design Quality of Residential Apartment Development) and published in 2016 by the Planning Department of Victoria (Department of Environment Land Water and Planning) as the *Better*

Apartments: Draft Design Standards (Victoria State Government 2016). In Yarra, intensive residential developments in Yarra such as Acacia Place have been located near activity centres and former industrial areas, as "larger sites tend to be easier to develop and provide a greater level of design flexibility" (City of Yarra 2018, 47).

Residential compositions in Yarra reflect a social trend of living alone or as a couple without children, with these two types being the dominant household composition in 2016 but also the most likely groups to live in apartments (City of Yarra 2018, 36). Almost half of dwellings in Yarra were apartments in 2016 (46% compared to 11% in Victoria) 64% of which are 2- and 3-bedroom apartments. Randolph and Tice (2013) have identified five profiles for apartment dwellers in the Sydney and Melbourne sub-markets, the latter being dominated by students and a cohort of older-aged residents including retirees. Three of these apartment dweller profiles are represented in the participants group described in Chapter 3 as well as throughout the results (Chapters 5, 6 and 7). These profiles are the 'economically engaged' ('single and dual incomes, no kids'), the retirees (or 'empty-nesters') and the 'apartment élite', characterised by a higher income than the two other groups and particularly concentrated in Yarra. Collingwood and Abbotsford witnessed a housing capital growth of respectively 26% and 19% in 2017, with Abbotsford one of "the highest performing housing markets in Melbourne" and "higher quality developments and larger apartments attracting a growing population of downsizers" (City of Yarra 2018, 44). Overall for units, the median price and rent for Abbotsford and Collingwood is far superior to the metropolitan median: $1,265,000 for a 3-bedroom apartment in Abbotsford ($765,000 in Metro. Melbourne), $875 weekly rent in Collingwood for the same size ($521 in Metro Melbourne) (2019 REIV numbers).

The data collected in the two case-studies for this project complements Randolph and Tice's typology of apartment composition on the metropolitan scales by an in-depth and qualitative analysis of some of these residents' profiles. The empirical data collection focused primarily on two high-rise developments, Acacia Place in Abbotsford and the Yorkshire Brewery Apartments in Collingwood (Table 4.1). These apartment complexes have some commonalities: both are located in the Inner East, within the municipality of Yarra (Statistical Area Level 3, ABS) and were completed in 2015. The other main commonality across these two projects is the socio-economic profile of their residents. The two developments can indeed be characterised as upmarket

developments and were marketed to a moderately affluent to very wealthy clientele and are located in a submarket experiencing substantial price growth for units, particularly Abbotsford (7.2% quarterly price change in 2018, 2019 REIV numbers).

The style of architecture is branded as modern, both architectural firms in charge of the design described the quality apartment as “luxurious” on their website. They differ architecturally as one of them was the redevelopment of an industrial heritage-listed site and the other an entirely newly built construction. However, there are also significant variations between the projects and the social and tenure statuses of their occupants.

Name	Acacia Place	Yorkshire Brewery Apartments
Year of completion	2015 (3 stage mixed-use residential development)	2015 (1 stage mixed-use residential development)
Location	Abbotsford, City of Yarra	Collingwood, City of Yarra
Estimated value by architect	$412 million	$90 million
Floors	12	17
Number of flats	567	350
Communal spaces, services & amenities (at the time of data collection)	Pool and sauna, lobby bars, communal rooftops, dining room, rooftop spa, rooftop vegetable garden, fitness centre, rooftop cinema, offices, cafés, carparks	Gym, rooftop terrace, communal BBQ, dining room, library, car share, café (closed), business centre (to be opened), deli (to be opened)

Table 4.1: Case-study buildings main characteristics.

The two developments reflect fairly different conceptualisations of middle-class apartment living in Melbourne, revealing the importance of geographical imaginaries and life stages in the outcomes of the project. The differences between the developments are relevant because they have influenced living aspirations, expectations around a particular lifestyle and shaped everyday practices in and around apartments. The geographical proximity of the buildings also allowed participants to draw comparison between the two developments and situate their housing preferences within a broader context, while apartments in the two case-study have similar price range (from around AUD$400,000 for a one bedroom apartment to around AUD$1,000,000 for spacious 2 bedroom apartment in 2019, depending on the size views, orientation, heritage components, number of car spaces, fittings etc.).

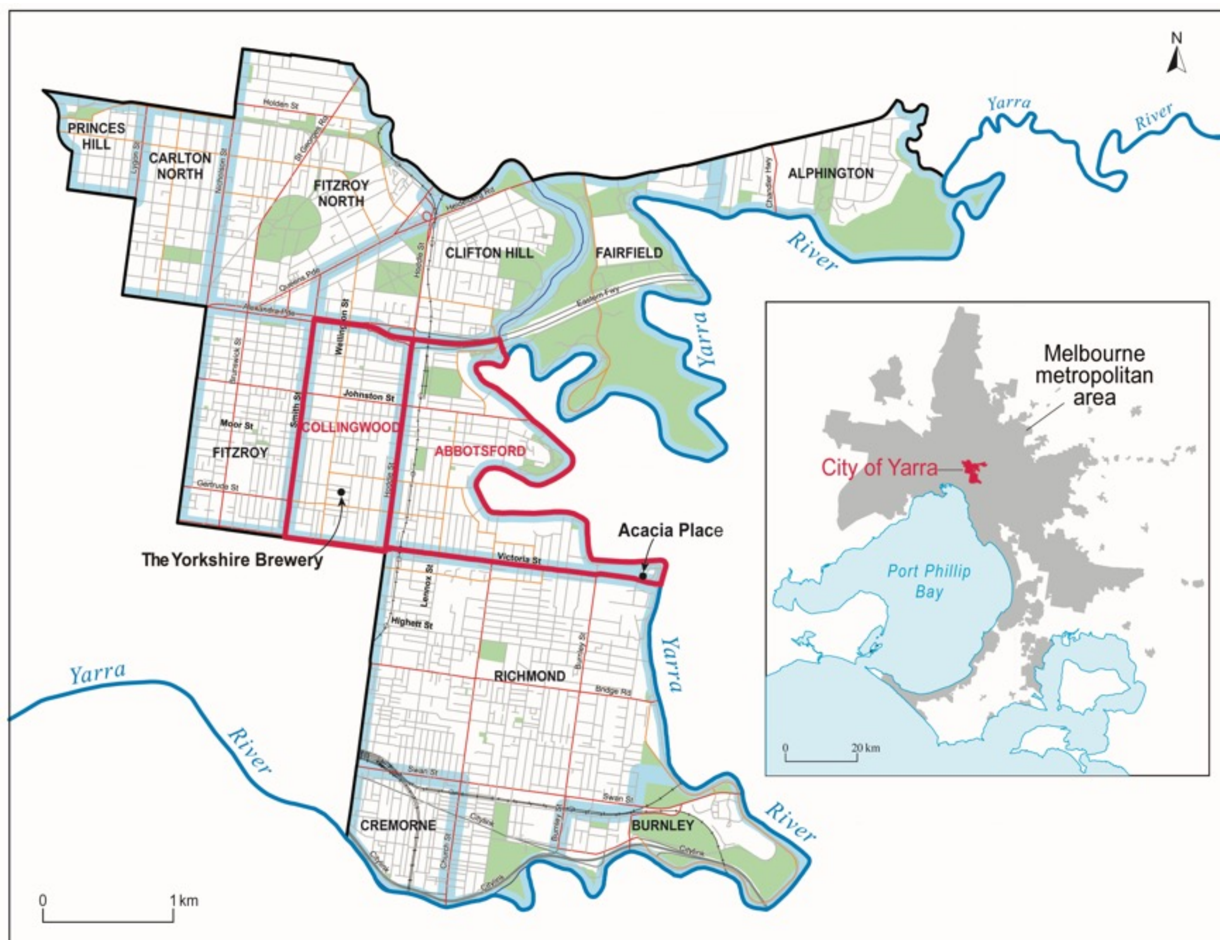


Figure 4.1: Collingwood and Abbotsford in Greater Melbourne. Map created by Chandra Jayasuria, 2018

I observed many connections – professional or personal – between participants of each case-study during data collection which accentuate further the relevance of a relational approach. The social relations within this local high-rise living network were multiple although quite homogenous with a high number of housing professionals (architects, designers etc.) both living and working in the high-rise living milieu.

Figures 4.3 and 4.4: Industrial, vacant land or green spaces around the two chosen developments, November 2018, Photos: L. Dorignon

4.4 Acacia Place

Acacia Place was one of the first high-density developments in its area, subsequently receiving significant media attention in the construction and architectural industry. Acacia Place is located on the right bank of the Yarra river, at the very south-east of the suburb at the border with Richmond and Hawthorn (Figure 4.5).

Figure 4.5: Acacia Place in Abbotsford. Map created by Chandra Jayasuria, 2018

The development is composed of three residential buildings built through successive stages and named Eden, Haven and Sanctuary (Figure 4.6). These buildings surround a plaza open to the public with a single path and staircases that lead to cafés, retail spaces and to the river (Figure 4.8).

The development is well-known in the housing sector of Melbourne and regarded by many as one of the better designed riverside developments in this part of the city. It received several awards from the housing industry, including from the Urban Development Institute of Australia and Melbourne Design Awards in 2016. Branded as an "apartment village" (Landscape architecture website), Acacia Place benefits from a close interface between the busy commercial precinct of Victoria Gardens and a leafy bend of the river in a highly desirable suburb of the Inner East. It includes a privately-owned public space which is intended to invite visitors to the complex and market the development as inclusive, a factor that may have contributed to its planning approval by local government. Several initiatives such as the reduction of car use and the filtering of storm water has earned the development a few sustainability awards as well while contributing to its reputation as a well-thought-out, concerted and high-quality development.

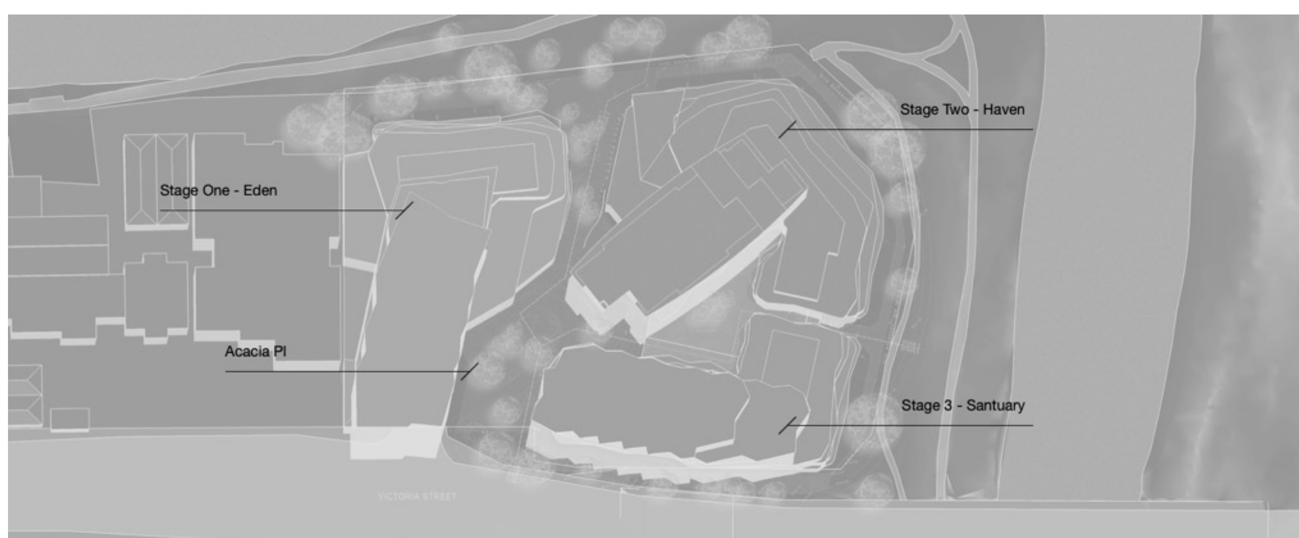


Figure 4.6: Acacia Place masterplan. Credit: adapted from rothelowman.com.au

Acacia Place was built as an enclave that was designed to be lived in. The socialising and convivial aspect in high-density housing was prominent. The use of public transportation from this development is relatively low despite the addition of a tram stop on the opposite side of the avenue following the construction of the complex. With its extensive range of amenities and facilities, Acacia Place was conceived as a communal version of opulent living. The architectural style matches this ambition, combining nature-like and mineral materials such as timber and stones with wavy curves and lots of greenery. The height and volume are distributed progressively through a terrace structure on the river side, a little more abruptly on the Victoria St side of the development (Figure 4.7). A leisurely atmosphere is achieved through a narrow pedestrian-only path and the

presence of benches alongside it (Figure 4.8). The central plaza is decorated with artworks, small signs guide the visitor within the complex and there are many bike parks at various locations of the complex.

Acacia Place is inhabited by a wealthy population, although dwelling composition varies greatly between the three buildings. From a pilot-interview with two residents of Haven outlining the social composition of Acacia Place, I decided to target Haven and Eden during the recruitment phase. While the retirees and "apartment élite" (Randolph and Tice 2013) seem to have favoured Haven for its location nested at the back of the development and aspect protected from street noises, the "economically engaged" appear to have moved into Eden. Less represented within the participants, the "achieving education" (or students) profile (Randolph and Tice 2013) seem to occupy Sanctuary for it contains more studio and one-bedroom apartments. No participants of Sanctuary were interviewed. This constitutes a limitation as this would have offered another perspective from a less affluent and younger category of dwellers within the complex, giving an opportunity to reflect on the tactics and strategies they may have formed.

Figure 4.7 and 4.8: The outside façade of Acacia Place from Victoria Street and the internal courtyard leading to the river, November 2018. Photos: L. Dorignon

4.5 Yorkshire Brewery Apartments

Yorkshire Brewery Apartments – also shortened to Yorkshire Brewery – was redeveloped around the landmark of the Brew Tower from the Victorian Period (1851-1901) in the Southern section of Collingwood. It was developed in a previously manufacturing area still characterised

today by mix-use blocks and the remnants of trade and small-sized, local industrial activities. The Yorkshire Brewery is indeed located on a narrow site tucked between saw-tooth roofed sheds and commercially used buildings (Figure 4.10) and is positioned near Langdridge Street and busy Victoria Street (Figure 4.9).

Figure 4.9: The Yorkshire Brewery in Collingwood. Map created by Chandra Jayasuria, 2018

The former site included a brew tower, a cellar building, silos and stables, homes to the trade horses used for the crafting of the beer. This industrial history has structured the organisation of the site as the six sections of the development (Figure 4.10) were named after these former functions: the Yorkshire, the Stables, the Silos, the Mill, the Cellars and the Brew Tower. This last edifice which gives the development much of its character is six storeys high, made of polychromatic brick and surmounted by a French Second Empire style slated mansard roof (Victorian Heritage Database). Museum-like signs and objects narrate to residents and guests the history of the site throughout the courtyard (see Chapter 5), while several artworks made of neon signs decorate and illuminate the entrance of the redevelopment.

The Yorkshire Brewery was a politically and financially ambitious project because of the refurbishment of mostly derelict and abandoned buildings at the time of its inception. Architecturally, it was a relatively novel project because of its scale, density and combination of heritage and newly built façade in the typology of apartments. It now comprises 338 apartments described as a variety of individually crafted and unique dwellings from one to three bedrooms, even though the most inventive and original designs are condensed in the heritage parts and most costly sections of the development. Apartments are complemented by several townhouses on the ground floor.

Figure 4.10: Yorkshire Brewery Apartments masterplan, January 2018. Photo: L. Dorignon

With its laneways mimicking a small industrial neighbourhood with brown and cream bricks (Figure 4.11), The Yorkshire Brewery was thought of as a precinct that is easily crossed to venture out onto the suburb. The use of public transportation is high from this development which seeks to represent an urbanised, connected version of apartment living. The Yorkshire Brewery was meant to host vibrant retail spaces in its interior courtyard in order to facilitate social interactions yet none of these facilities was in place during the phase of data collection. It has some communal

spaces, although their features and actual use are much more limited than those in Acacia Place which reinforces dwellers' ventures out of the development.

Figures 4.11 and 4.12: The historic Brewery tower of the Yorkshire Brewery from Mansard Lane and a perspective on the entire complex from the top of an apartment building on Peel St, November 2018, Photos: L. Dorignon

The building is close to the CBD and benefits from a heritage outlook, a rarity for an apartment complex in Melbourne that has attracted a distinctive population of middle-class dwellers intrigued by the aesthetics of the site and longing for the entertainment and amenities of a bustling suburb. There is a great diversity of apartments within this project and the height of the building relative to its surroundings makes it an unusual and novel project in Collingwood (Figure 4.12). The residential composition shows a group of relatively affluent residents, mainly in their thirties and living without children (the "economically engaged, single and dual incomes, no kids' described by Randolph and Tice (2013) as well as retired couples seeking inner-city life - the "residentially retired"), and some "apartment élite" profiles (Randolph and Tice 2013).

Chapter 5. Producing middle-class high-rise living, transforming suburbs

5.1 Introduction

This chapter considers high-rise developments in relation to their suburban environment (Figure 5.1). I analyse the tactics and strategies developed through the production and inhabitation of high-rise buildings in the specific context of the inner-suburb. I contrast developers' visions of high-rise living in the inner-suburb with the way dwellers effectively perceive, relate to and attach meaning to the suburb as they move into the development. By investigating high-rise dwellers' practices in the particular inner-suburb setting of the case-studies, I discuss how high-rise living transforms suburban social spaces. I envisage the tactics and strategies that reveal and enact the changing aspirations towards middle-class high-rise living. To do so, this chapter is articulated around three high-rise living attributes: locational preferences, geographical imaginaries, and façade-architecture. Because Yorkshire Brewery and Acacia Place were recently built developments at the time of data collection, I particularly focus on the practices that surround moving into the development. I explore the significance of locational preferences when it comes to living in a high-rise building and analyse how high-rise dwellers envision their suburban belonging.

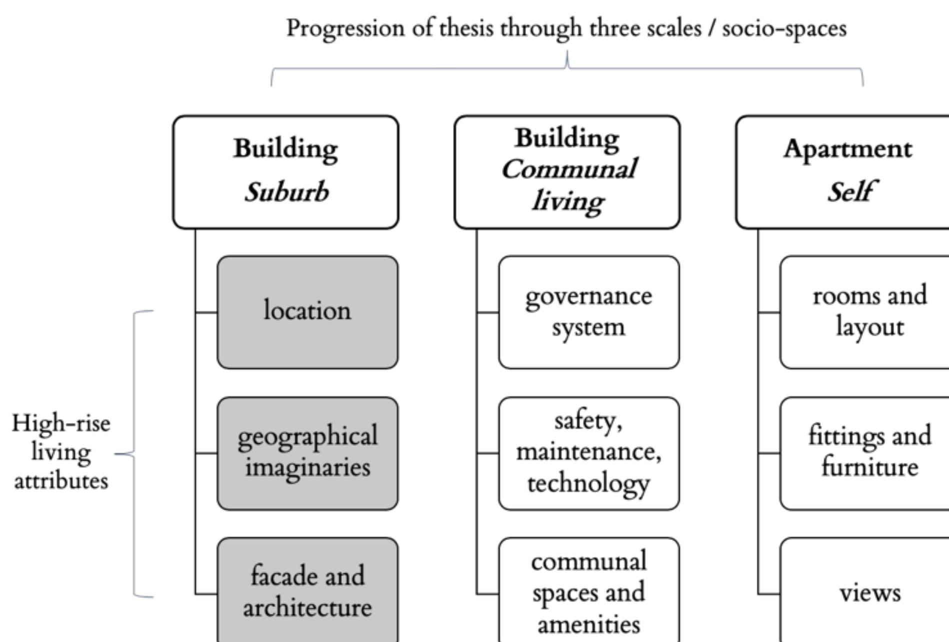


Figure 5.1: Chapter 5 in the thesis results chapter roadmap.

The previous chapters have established that there is an emerging market in Melbourne inner-suburbs for middle-class apartment housing. Yet the location of high-rise buildings in these locations remains unconventional, as representations of the ideal suburban home are still strongly attached to the model of a standalone house in the quarter-acre block. High-rise developments in the inner-suburbs are still being developed in reference to their inner-suburban surroundings: this chapter explores what tactics and strategies are used by developers to produce a style of housing that reflects Australian suburban living but that also breaks away with a low-rise model (Figures 5.2 and 5.3). Dwellers, depending on their social position, develop distinct responses to these imaginaries, using tactics and strategies to negotiate their belonging to the building. The idea of social reproduction can be envisaged in relation to the framework of tactics and strategies, as its definition has been expanded by McGuirk and Dowling in the context of Master Planned Estates to "a set of material practices deeply related to the everyday living spaces of the city, the management of collective provision and consumption, and related *strategies* [emphasis added] and struggles"; 2011, 2612) This chapter will therefore particularly ask what strategies are developed by dwellers as a mean to achieve middle-class social reproduction while moving into an inner-suburban high-rise development. Further, this chapter addresses the questions of how the various social group(s) inhabiting the case-studies interact with their local surroundings; whether and how status is formed through the process of moving into and living within a high-rise. I argue that developers have forged the idea that living in a high-rise enables a particular spatial experience of the suburb – through the association of high-rise life and hotel life – and that dwellers accept and adapt this socio-spatial position through various tactics and strategies.

Figures 5.2 and 5.3: The inner-suburban landscape in the City of Yarra, Victorian terraces houses frontages and a low-rise residential street, November 2017. Photos: L. Dorignon

The chapter is designed as follows. **Section 5.2** unfolds the tactics and strategies in the technical and architectural production of high-rise developments, arguing that landscape transformations are coproduced by practices that are both tactical (developers and dwellers seizing planning and construction opportunities) and strategic (local authorities coordinating the vertical growth of the middle-class suburb). **Section 5.3** focuses on the place of high-rise living in dwellers' deployment of multiple territorialities, where apartment living in the inner-suburb becomes a symbol of an upper-middle-class status and a means to social reproduction. In **Section 5.4**, I explore how the geographical imaginary of the hotel is activated by developers and architects in order to normalise smaller living units in a suburban location, and how these configurations are negotiated by dwellers through their daily practices. The courtyards of the two high-rise developments are considered in **Section 5.5** as being used both to showcase high-rise living and to serve as an interface with the suburb. Yet, high-rise developments' courtyards are contested spaces in which such narratives and practices tend to conflict. **Section 5.6** offers some critical perspectives on the chapter's key findings.

5.2 Tactics and strategies of landscape transformation

In this section I argue that landscape transformations are coproduced by practices of property development that are both tactical – capturing planning and construction opportunities, and strategic – coordinating the vertical growth of the middle-class suburb. Landscape control has been investigated as part of an emergent discussion in the literature on city skylines. Skylines have been broadly framed as symbolic instruments in the expression of political power and economic prosperity, "transposing the local geopolitical order into a three-dimensional space" (Appert and Montes 2015). How urban landscapes are shaped by vertical growth has therefore been explored through a political approach in geography, particularly in London where the future urban form of the city centre has been intensely debated since the start of the 2000s (McNeill 2002; Appert 2011).

Central in the analysis of European skylines is the question of heritage (Drozdz, Appert, and Harris 2017) and how it has been used by various stakeholders, including by heritage experts and conservation groups and lobbies, to regulate high-rise urbanisms. In Melbourne, the skyline transformation following the growth of apartment living is raising scholarly attention, particularly in the planning and political context of the 2010s where developers have been seen as having "ample latitude to plough the skyline for profits without regard for public interests" (Nethercote 2018, 3).

This section of the thesis addresses the questions of height, heritage and aesthetics, however beyond the particular context of the CBD skyline (Drozdz and Appert 2012), rather in Australian inner-suburb high-rise. It also offers a nuanced analysis of the role of developers in these transformations through the framework of tactics and strategies, further examining the micro-politics attached to producing middle-class high-rise living in a suburban context historically dominated by low-rise, individual housing. Beyond debates surrounding high-rise development in metropolitan planning, here I analyse the micro-politics that have led to landscape transformation and the response formulated by local stakeholders. I found that landscape transformations in the middle-class suburb were highly disputed, following the battle for the inner-city described in Chapter 4, inviting developers to develop particular tactics and strategies to attract a middle-class market.

As part of my interviews with housing professionals and experts, I have identified two practices used by developers to negotiate the landscape transformation in the inner-suburb induced by the construction of a high-rise building. The first is the use of heritage protection to push back height limits and the second is the development of context specific high-rise designs tailored to match imagined expectations and desires in the middle-class suburb. I show how these practices articulate tactics and strategies from developers but also how other stakeholders, such as local councillors and dwellers, challenge or endorse these transformations.

5.2.1 Collingwood: heights and heritage protection

Heritage protection is habitually analysed in the literature as a restriction on high-rise development (Tavernor 2007; Appert 2016). The Yorkshire Brewery case articulates a divergent story, where a high-rise development has permitted the restoration of abandoned heritage protected built form. It demonstrates how the framework of tactics and strategies, focused on practices, can help move beyond an essentialised view of 'heritage'. During the planning application phase for the redevelopment of the brownfield site of the Yorkshire Brewery, the developer successfully 'bargained' its way up with the Yarra Council. The height of the main tower, seventeen floors, was negotiated by developers with councillors and planners. The opportunity of balancing the preservation of the derelict heritage brew tower against an increased tower height was used, as inferred by the developer:

> "[We] saw an opportunity to transform Collingwood, and in particular the Yorkshire Brewery back to its former glory [...] Extensive restoration of the heritage aspects [...] and furthermore the entire dilapidated site provided [us] with an avenue to pursue a height level slightly taller than the height limit within the area." (Real-estate development, Local, 2017)

The quote shows the tactical nature of the transaction, which the developer obtains as part of a momentary opportunity allowed by the specific location, typology of the site and disparity in the contemporary distribution of planning decisional authorities in the State of Victoria. It also reveals the significance of this tactic in terms of creating market value and attracting a middle-class market concerned with the heritage attribute of sites and their wider historical trajectory in the suburb, as expressed through the historical material and black and white photographs displayed throughout the courtyard (Figure 5.4 and 5.5). The financial opportunity derived from the elevation of the development height but also the advertising discourse around the renewal of Collingwood "back to its former glory" was anticipated to attract an upper-middle class market in the development. The tactic was achieved using the economic argument, as recalled by one architect involved in the Yorkshire Brewery project:

> "[The developer] provided full feasibility studies showing that they needed that amount of yield in order to pay for the restoration of the heritage components. There was a bit of an offset and understanding that if they didn't approve that, the building was just going to decay and going to disrepair." (Architecture, National, 2018)

> "There was a planning permit on the site for a residential scheme. It was only 10 levels. We have pushed up to 17." (Architecture, National, 2018)

These quotes also expose the political and cultural significance of this trade-off, where the transformation of the suburban landscape towards vertical growth is a necessary condition for the material conservation of heritage features.

Figures 5.4 and 5.5: Historical information in the courtyard of Yorkshire Brewery Apartments, artwork and bike stands share at the back, November 2017. Photo: L. Dorignon

This negotiation process and push of the height limitation boundary can be read as a tactic, considering the temporal elements at stake in the trade-off of space and volume. However, this manoeuvre can also be interpreted as strategic, with the preservation of heritage just as 'spatial' as it is 'temporal'. When asked about the technique employed to convince the local council, the architect recollects a meticulous use of time in favourable circumstances involving "a lot of lobbying" and "hard work" (Architecture, National, 2018) through regular meetings and conversation with the City of Yarra. However, my interview with the City of Yarra showed contrasted views on the benefits of this transaction. The local municipality views on this negotiation reveal the disappointments associated with allowing this height, which has been understood as having created a precedent in the area for taller residential developments:

> "I don't understand the economics of development […] You could restore that brew tower and have maybe minor developments and you didn't need that scale to make it work […] I think it's inappropriate." (Planning, Local government, 2018)

The quote, in contrast with the developer's and architect's vision of the transaction, tells of the tense disagreement surrounding the transformation of Collingwood and the diverging tactics and strategies developed by actors. However, this tactic proved to be somehow successful in seducing middle-class dwellers, regardless of whether they live in the heritage section of the development, with the middle-class penchant towards heritage features in housing (Pinçon and Pinçon-Charlot 2007) established in several interviews. This was particularly underlined by Barbara, when asked about the aspect of the development:

> "I really like the juxtaposition between the two, the modern building and the old heritage buildings. I really like that they preserved the original tower and all the history. I think that that is really important, and they need to be doing that more. A lot of people, especially in the CBD, don't really care about doing that. (Barbara, 25-29, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

In Barbara's perspective, the presence of the heritage tower balances out the "modern" buildings – through a spatial "juxtaposition" of temporalities – and signals the inner-suburban characteristic of the development and the position of difference conferred by it. Yet amongst dwellers of the Yorkshire Brewery, having moved into a high-rise development does not mean being necessarily seduced by other high-rise buildings in the immediate surrounding, as revealed by Max when asked to comment on the design of a recently built apartment development across the road (Figure 5.6):

> "The design is terrible. I think it's too tall, they obviously didn't get a permit to go higher, so you can see how they had to put that indent part inside. […] I just don't think it really fits nicely in the neighbourhood." (Max, 30-34, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

This also highlights a time in which high-rise architecture becomes quickly out-dated, made obsolete by other typologies and styles of design. However, the quote also expresses the need for owners to justify their choice, where "fitting" aesthetically in the suburb is seen as a decisive feature of high-rise living.

Figure 5.6: View of Collingwood from a walking tour in the Yorkshire Brewery: public housing estates in the background, recently built residential high-rise buildings and converted warehouses in the foreground, January 2018. Photo: L. Dorignon

A 'last-arrived syndrome' was identified by Charmes (2009, 204) in his analysis of French residential 'clubbisation' of small suburban villages, a discourse typical of urban dwellers who had moved to suburban areas while also wishing that they were the last to do so. This syndrome partly explains the French suburban context where recently-arrived dwellers entrust local councils to "preserve (even increase) the value of the social environment" and the collective amenities they were seeking to find and for which they moved (Charmes 2009, 204). Interviews with high-rise dwellers of the Yorkshire Brewery showed a slightly different strategic view of population growth and its impact on public amenities. The 'last-arrived syndrome' was perceptible among several owners. When asked about the construction of several other residential high-rises in the street of the Yorkshire Brewery and wider area, David expressed his incredulity and anxiety:

> "There are apartment buildings going up in nearly every suburb, which is concerning. I'm sort of wondering, where's everyone coming from?" (David, 30-34, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

Facing the vertical transformation of Melbourne inner-suburbs, one particular owner, Katherine, acknowledged her own role in the process and the 'hypocrisy' of wanting to be the last high-rise dweller arrived:

> "It almost seems too much, but then you feel like a hypocrite if you say that because we're living in one. I'm very mindful of that, you can't complain just because you were in here first […] I can understand why there was a lot of complaint with this one with 17 floors. […] It just does seem like there's going to be an awful lot in a very close area. They probably did make a mistake there." (Katherine, 50-54, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

This perspective from an older, more affluent and an even more educated individual than the rest of participants shows an acknowledgement of one's own tactics and strategies. This reflexive ability is analysed as being a mark of upper-class participants who are able to navigate questions and recognise their social position in what Pinçon and Pinçon-Charlot have called the "upper-class lucidity" (2005, 94). Yet it also points to the expectation that the local council has the responsibility to control the vertical growth of the area. The interviews confirmed that the insertion of this new housing stock in the urban fabric is a source of anxiety and frictions between the municipality planners, councillors and activists on the one hand, and the developers on the other hand. The ownership and access to city views were at stake in many interviews (see Chapter 7), which emphasises the specificity of high-rise dwellers as opposed individual houses dwellers. The idea that developers compete to gain temporary ownership of views was expressed by a building manager

while offering some observation about the rapid verticalisation of the adjacent street and how developers should make use of a vacant lot:

> "That little red building is going to go up twelve storeys, [then] there is a fourteen-storey building across the road, that blue building now is going to go up, and there is another big one going up down there, so all these views to the city are going to be gone. He needs to hurry up and sell this to someone otherwise he is going to have no view to sell. He is going to lose them!" (Professional interview, 2018)

Many participants mentioned their regular visits on real-estate websites and for some the close following of construction and development of the buildings surrounding theirs. This uneasiness about the proliferation of high-rise buildings is quantitative but also qualitative as revealed previously through the judgement of aesthetics made by Max. Additionally, it is worth pointing out that it is not always the design and morphology of the buildings that is the source of anxiety, but rather the types of residents that will become occupants, as well as the sort of daily practices that these developments will induce. The apprehension of large-scale residential buildings revolves also by extension, around the population that will come to inhabit these spaces. The enrolment of these new households in local civic engagement and political life brings forward representations of high-rise dwellers as disengaged and "inward-looking" (Planning, Local government, 2018). At an individual level, this anxiety over the growth of apartment developments and the change of living aspirations can be shared by the high-rise dwellers themselves, such as Arthur who reflected on the effects of apartment growth on the live music amenities in the inner-city:

> "I think the encroachment all of the flats, I mean I am part of the problem obviously […]. I wonder how many of these venues, especially in these old industrial areas […], how long they will last, because I don't think the demographics of the people who live in these buildings are that open to this kind of spaces" (Arthur, 35-39, owner, 2018)

The Collingwood case-study involved several tactics and strategies regarding landscape transformation. In the context of a competitive apartment housing market, the developer made a tactical transaction with the local council, using the opportunity of the heritage redevelopment in order to maximise the commercial success of the project in two ways: through the height and size of the development, and through the creation of upmarket apartments in the historical sections of the brewery. Meanwhile, long-term spatial strategies are developed by residents regarding the vertical transformation of the suburb, with the expectation that local politics will monitor these changes.

5.2.2 Abbotsford: volume and riverbanks protection

The presence of the Yarra river as well as of luxuriant native vegetation around the site of Acacia Place influenced the production of the development towards a typically Australian and suburban "apartment village" (Landscape architecture, National, 2018) facing the river (Figure 5.7). The transformation of this undeveloped area into a residential zone initiated a set of tactics and strategies that crystallised the highly tense aspirations of developers, politicians and residents around the use of this space prior to the construction. The planning application for Acacia Place had been avidly contested by some members of the Yarra Council for the project's potential environmental degradation of the river's biosphere (Figure 5.8) and features of the site:

> "Previously […] you could see the river and all the vegetation, so you had the vista of the river, just psychologically to know where natural features are is really important." (Planning, Local government, 2018)

The contestation however had surfaced particularly from local residents' groups and environmental activists through 1200 objections to the proposal, amongst which sixty per cent came from residents directly located opposite the site in the City of Boroondara (Cooke 2010). The councilor I interviewed had voted "passionately" against the Acacia Place planning application, regretting that this iconic site hadn't been saved from this design the same way that years before in the 1990s, they had joined forces to preclude the redevelopment of the nearby Abbotsford Convent into a private residential high-rise development.

Figures 5.7 and 5.8: The river's "natural features"; a view of the Yarra bed from Collingwood and a family of tawny frogmouths near Acacia Place, November 2017. Photos: L. Dorignon

Acacia Place's planning application contained the promise of better access to the river, guaranteed through a path directly leading to the river where older office buildings were impeding the access between Victoria St and the Yarra river. This vision however created some frictions between council and architects' spatial strategies. Architects' and developers' strategies were to create access to the river as part of the development's amenities in order to offer a specifically suburban high-rise development to potential buyers and distinguish the project from others:

> "Even though it is a massive development with a lot of people, big buildings, we wanted to make it feel like it was more part of the river environment, so you can walk around there and you can hear the birds and see the trees. It has got quite a nice feel to it that some of the other urban apartment developments don't have." (Landscape architecture, National, 2018)

This business-related vision was somewhat compromised by the local council who saw in this strategy a threat to the environmental protection of the site, potentially affecting the vegetation, which reflects differing priorities. The benefits of a riverside environment, with the conflicting tactics that come with its enjoyment, were also discussed regarding Acacia Place dwellers:

> "We have had some issues with the early residents cutting down trees around the river to improve their views." (Planning, Local government, 2018)

This paradoxical 'reduction' of nature to guarantee one's perspective on it contributes to the creation of a suburban atmosphere in the high-rise apartment (Chapter 7). There were however disparities between residents of Acacia Place in their views of the attributes that create the ideal suburban high-rise environment. For Eric (60-64, owner, Acacia Place, 2018), flying visitors from the Australian bush (Figure 5.8), "the Kookaburras and the Lorikeets that turn up" on his ground floor terrace, matter more than his view on the river, which is mostly obtruded by the vegetation. The proximity to the river is also appreciated by Acacia Place dwellers as a pathway away from the busy road of Victoria St:

> "Instead of walking along Victoria St I will go down and I will walk around the river and then cut through the back streets because it's just so peaceful, and green and you hear lots of birds." (Walter, 65-69, owner, Acacia Place, 2018)

According to a member of Yarra council, Acacia Place's "appalling" design mostly affects the perspective from the nearby suburb of Kew, on the other side of the river (Figure 5.9):

> "From Kew, the other side of the river, it's like right in your face because you are elevated on top of the river bank; you are not down on the river valley. […] It's huge. It's very visually dominant." (Planning, Local government, 2018)

Figure 5.9: View of Acacia Place from the Dickinson Reserve in Kew, September 2017. Photo: L. Dorignon

One particularly radical tactic was captured during an interview with the Yarra Council, as I was enquiring about the atmosphere created by the residential complex in the surroundings:

> "A lot of these people complained, they objected to the proposal. But a lot of the people living there now have come from Kew, so they sold their properties that were going to be looking at it and bought there. The applicants had to keep coming back to us for amendments for their planning permits because people were buying two or three apartments on the ground and putting them together, increasing the size of their deck, and creating a family home like what they had in Kew. And a lot of people there have come from those inner-east affluent suburbs, and they are now looking back at that fairly undeveloped affluent inner-east with the comfort and security of a modern, new townhouse, and they are quite different." (Planning, Local government, 2018)

The tactic described above consists, for affluent middle-class residents of Kew confronted to the construction of a large-scale development, in overcoming the visual overbearing by moving in the development itself. I have identified three components in this tactical move: first, the contestation of the development through objections to the planning application; second, the purchase of properties in the development; and, third, a planning application for floorplans amendments and the conversion of several apartments on the lower floors into a facsimile suburban home. This series of actions can be framed as tactical as they rely on the opportunity of planning to defy a spatial

configuration experienced as confrontational. Conversely, how residents of Kew, on the other side of the river, consider the high-rise development also perplexes some dwellers of Acacia Place. While showing me her view onto the river Leah pondered:

> "It's very leafy over there, it's a very green suburb in Kew, it's not overwhelmingly. I have got no idea what it's like over there looking into these apartments. I have never done that." (Leah, 50-54, owner, Acacia Place, 2017)

This tactic illustrates some of the socio-spatial effects of the battle that has been lost against high-density and apartment developments (Chapter 4). It also shows the ways high-rise living comes to be lived in through reconfigured spaces, and the various temporalities within the planning and housing processes that produce these new homes. What this tactic also reveals are the changes currently occurring within middle-class living aspirations, while highlighting the more subtle framing of NIMBY practices (Not In My Backyard) where the temporality of actions are as important as their spatiality. In this example, the resistance to high-rise is also very temporal. Finally, this tactic highlights the various ways through which suburban housing aspirations are achieved by high-rise dwellers.

The analysis in this section points to a hierarchy of tactics and strategies: the suburb and its planning are a spatial 'strategy' of the Yarra Council, within which developers use temporal tactics to insert high-rise buildings; then the buildings themselves become spatial 'strategies' of the developers, within which residents use temporal tactics to create their homes.

5.3 High-rise dwellers' multi-territorial strategies

This section argues that apartment living in the inner-suburb is used as a symbol of upper-middle-class status and a means to social reproduction. Research has established that residential practices are essential in the way individuals position themselves in the social structure through processes of identification and belonging to places. However, the concept of belonging has been criticised for overlooking the spatial processes through which control or symbolic power are claimed and for ignoring the differences in people's relationships to place (Benson and Jackson 2013). In my analysis of Acacia Place and the Yorkshire Brewery, I found that high-rise dwellers were striving to articulate versatile belonging and multiple territorialities through their residential practices, which conferred on them a particular status in the suburb and wider city. This was

achieved through various strategies including multi-ownership, housing arrangements and the performance of belonging through a cosmopolitan habitus (Pinçon and Pinçon-Charlot 2007). To analyse this, I draw on Benson and Jackson's (2013) sociological analysis of how middle-class residents in two neighbourhoods of London perform their attachment to place. I extend this aim by focusing on the 'doing' of place not through the concept of place-making used by Benson and Jackson but through the framework of tactics and strategies. I discuss whether, in the context of Australian high-rise living, suburbs are "shaped not only through imaginings, but also through practice and the ongoing processes through which class and place intersect" (Benson and Jackson 2013, 794).

I envisage two spatial strategies developed by high-rise dwellers which inform an upper-middle-class status. The first is the establishment of a multi-territoriality in residential spaces, the second is the creation of a cosmopolitan habitus (Pinçon and Pinçon-Charlot 2007).

5.4.1 Suburban belonging and multi-territoriality

There was a tension in the way high-rise dwellers related to place between a desire to perform suburban belonging and the organisation of multi-territoriality. A few participants, generally younger dwellers, declared that they had selected the developments for their location, where they benefit from the convenience of proximity and amenities of nightlife, especially in the case of Collingwood. Many participants had intentionally stayed in the same suburb but moved into a high-rise as a way to enhance their quality of living, or because they were looking for a better sense of safety (see Chapter 6). This goes against the idea that apartment living is a compromise and foregrounds the desirability of high-rise living as 'the next step' in some middle-class individuals' residential trajectories. This attractiveness was associated, particularly by young men in their thirties, with the suburb's entertaining venues and amenities: for instance, David underlined the popularity of the suburb which places his home at the centre of social outings and meet-ups while Max invoked his European origins to explain his locational preferences:

> "It's nice to know that people actually do want to come here, because there are desirable places here that people want to visit." (David, 30-34, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

> "Maybe European background as well, when you go further out, it feels there is not much to do, and it would kill me." (Max, 30-34, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

This strong identification with particular inner-suburban lifestyles signals strong territorial attachments in the context of Melbourne where the river acts as a strong social and cultural marker between suburban identities, as a developer recalled:

> "It's very difficult to get someone from South of the river to come North of the river. The people who are looking at our projects are all in the one area." (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2018)

A few participants, generally older with access to more extensive financial resources, however, appeared to be holding onto a strong sense of belonging in the suburb from which they had moved. In both developments, participants expressed a strong connection with their previous suburbs which materialised in regular visits and the perpetuation of previously established social networks. A 'safety' strategy developed by an upper-middle-class household consisted of multi-ownership practices, which allowed spatial control over their social position and trajectory in the city:

> "We've still kept the house so I guess that's always a thought too that we may end up back there at some point." (Katherine, 50-54, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

This quote reveals both a desire from this participant to 'test' apartment living and a hesitation to renounce previous attachments in the outer suburban area of Melbourne. This strategic establishment of multiple attachment points is not always successful, as demonstrated by the 'return' of some residents of Acacia Place back to their previous place of residence. A participant, Steven, had just let me in the building and we were riding the lift to his apartment. The lift was covered with the kind of anti-shock blanket that is used to protect machinery, and a woman was already in the lift. Steven and the neighbour exchanged a few words about her moving out, and I later then asked if he knew why and where she was moving out:

> "Most of her friends still live over in Toorak and that's where her social life is. Her children all live over there as well, and even though it's not that far, she just felt that she wanted to move back there." (Steven, 50-54, owner, Acacia Place, 2018)

This was confirmed later in the conversation:

> "The people that moved in here are all empty nesters [...] so they moved into a place where they were away from the communities that they had been used to being in" (Steven, 50-54, owner, Acacia Place, 2018)

This quote reveals the contradictions in high-rise dwellers' aspirations, and the limitations inherent in their residential strategies: while some dwellers may have gained in status by acquiring a property in a desirable and recognisable development closer to the city centre, in some cases this risks losing access to one's social network. This also suggests the limits of upper-middle-class social reproduction in high-rise living, where the great diversity of residents and physical distance from established social circles require new forms of performing social class identities.

Finally, I found that high-rise dwellers can also maintain and increase their existing social status through organising multi-territoriality in their residential attachments (Pinçon and Pinçon-Charlot 2007). The wealthiest participants did not conceive their attachment to the suburb they were living in, but rather explained their use of capital to navigate different living alternatives and arrangements. In particular, multiple home-ownership – of property on the Victorian coast in the case of Leah, an upper-class resident of Acacia Place – does not just signal financial status but also the tactical ability to devote particular places to particular moments of her weekly routine. Leah lives in the penthouse during the week, drives to the coast on the weekend, and travels abroad for holidays a few times a year:

> "On the weekend we go down to the Mornington Peninsula, and we have a very different arrangement there: we have got a large house on the peninsula, which has also got magnificent views. But this is my home during the week, and to the extent that we are here in the weekend." (Leah, 50-54, owner, Acacia Place, 2017)

The high-rise apartment is not conceived as a unique home, but rather as a luxurious, thrilling and additional dot in the network of places to call home. This also emphasises the desire to segment very clearly the different housing arrangements that are associated with work on one hand and leisure on the other. One commonality in Leah's narrative is the significance of a view as the sign of both home and connection to place (see Chapter 7). This investment in multiple properties falls in line with the idea developed by Benson and Jackson that class is not "projected onto place in a unilateral manner" (2013, 806), but rather that places are constituted through practices that shape the class identities of people. While this section discussed the material arrangements that come from some dwellers' multi-territorial strategies, the following section explores the symbolic ways through which multi-territoriality is expressed.

5.4.3 Cosmopolitan habitus and multi-territoriality

Central to the multi-territorial strategies of dwellers and developers were the connections between high-rise living – and by extension, the two case-study developments – to other cities and neighbourhoods around the world. One of the outcomes of living in a high-rise was indeed found by dwellers to be the middle-class status that comes with having a 'cosmopolitan' way of life, where cosmopolitanism designates the familiarity with which dwellers establish connections and references with uses and practices characteristic of other cities in the world. The idea that high-rise living is cosmopolitan, and therefore linked to imagined or real experiences of perceived sophistication and knowledge of cultural diversity, produces positive outcomes for dwellers and developers. It provides a high-status representation of apartment living which is atypical in Melbourne. It is also worth noting that this cosmopolitan reference in dwellers' and developers' tactics and strategies is not only symbolic but corresponds to concrete knowledge about living in an apartment building, such as skills regarding communal living or building governance (see Chapter 6).

I found that a cosmopolitan high-rise habitus was shaped both by dwellers' housing trajectories and by developers and architects' narratives to rationalise the growth of high-rise living in Melbourne's inner-suburbs, as stated by one of the Yorkshire Brewery's architect:

> "It's to do with people becoming a little bit more worldly maybe and understanding how other places live." (Architecture, National, 2018)

Here, high-rise living is presented not as a local phenomenon but placed in the context of a supposedly global housing norm, while inferring that knowing apartment living is like knowing the world. For participants Leah and Rose, the cosmopolitan nature of high-rise living result from their perception of other residents' various backgrounds in the complex:

> "It is a fact that these apartments are quite cosmopolitan. There are people from different countries and there is a huge range of different ages in the apartments." (Leah, 50-54, owner, Acacia Place, 2017)

> "[The other residents] were probably born in Melbourne or went to Melbourne University, worked overseas for a good chunk of their lives, very often travelling quite a lot, and then came back here. But many of them come from Melbourne originally, but are very cosmopolitan in their outlook." (Rose, 65-69, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

These perspectives present two different visions of cosmopolitanism: for Leah, it is understood as diversity, where the cosmopolitanism is a result of high-rise dwellers' international backgrounds. Alternatively, for Rose, the cosmopolitan habitus can be acquired through a university education followed by prolonged professional experiences in other countries and expressed through distinctive codes and developed habits, whether in cuisine, clothes, language, etc.

For most participants, the cosmopolitan habitus also makes high-rise living desirable insofar as the building prompts memories of housing arrangements they have encountered elsewhere and/or imaginaries of celebrated global cities such as New York, Hong Kong or London. In the Yorkshire Brewery, the historicity and heritage parts of the building constitute not only a financial asset for the developer and owners, but also create familiarity for a sub-market of dwellers with international trajectories or ancestry. This was particularly the case for Rose, a British-born dweller of the Yorkshire Brewery who had never lived in Melbourne before:

> "Because in London lately when we go there we stay in a mixed-use area, which was very similar to [Collingwood] in some ways, it was the trade jam factories, it being British, and this development has been basically, built by the British, and the same sort of age… obviously London is much older but the development is similar. We felt vaguely at home wandering around this area." (Rose, 65-69, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

Rose's invoking of the development and of the suburb in relation to Bermondsey, a sought-after neighbourhood in a central borough of London, reflects her desire to 'feel at home' in Melbourne and also participates in the reproduction of a cosmopolitan habitus and a middle-class status. It also shows how material architecture is linked to spatial strategies. Similarly, Phoebe's narrative is intertwined with her impressions from the time she studied in the East Village in New York:

> "I have lived in NYC, in Manhattan […]. I found Collingwood to be very similar in sort of atmosphere." (Phoebe, 35-39, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

This production of a cosmopolitan habitus reveals the intertwining of high-rise living aspirations with versatile representations of place and diversity infused by memories and housing trajectories archetypal of educated and ultra-mobile middle-class positions. This aspiration to belong in and inhabit a 'cosmopolitan' building is reflected in developers' strategies around the hotel imaginary, with the promise that living in a hotel-like development will transform buyers into well-travelled and cosmopolitan individuals, living with like-minded people.

5.4 Operationalising geographical imaginaries of hotels

In this section I discuss the geographical imaginary of 'high-rise as 'hotel' that emerged in the interviews. This imaginary is relevant in the context of this chapter on the relationships between suburban environments and high-rise living, since it mirrors and transforms high-rise dwellers' practices in the suburb. Considered as 'hotels', high-rise buildings involve indeed a different set of relationships and practices with their suburban environment, where residents can benefit from the neighbourhood both as residents and as 'travellers'. There are material and functional similarities between high-rise buildings and large-scale hotels: their scale, dense population and equipment in services and amenities. The operationalisation of the hotel imaginary also reflects a growing market of buyers identified by developers consisting of middle-class retirees pursuing an active social life and a well-appointed housing environment, especially in Acacia Place which has been designed much like a holiday club.

This section also responds to the previous one in detailing how dwellers' cosmopolitan habitus in the inner-suburb is operationalised by developers through material architecture and spatial configurations, before the high-rise hotel comes to be renegotiated by dwellers. With Acacia Place and the Yorkshire Brewery, I argue that the hotel as a geographical imaginary is used both as a strategy – as an attribute that mirrors positively the hotel guests – and as tactics – as a combination of socio-spatial skills designed to use the hotel configuration to one's own advantage. I first highlight how the vision of a residential high-rise is put forward differently by developers describing living in a high-rise building and contrast these strategies with the tactical responses articulated by apartment dwellers.

5.5.1 The spatial production of the high-rise as hotel

Recent sociological literature on "grand hotels" has focused on the labour at work to make these places function (McDowell, Batnitzky, and Dyer 2007). In his study of class identity in Malaysian hospitality (2015), Olmedo reminds us of the illusion of seamlessness that is embedded in the 'grand hotel' imagining:

> "grand hotels are often associated with the lifestyle of an elite freed from everyday economic constraints, with the nineteenth century, a time when both the aristocracy and the industrial upper-middle-class enjoyed exceptional lives in grand architecture. And yet, the "grand hotel" is also a workplace characterised by a specific work organisation." (Olmedo 2015, 1)

While some geographers seem to have somehow put global and highly standardised hotel institutions in the categories of "non-places" (Augé 2008), others are highlighting the complex stories of commerce and sociality entangled by hotels (McNeill and McNamara 2012).

I found several strategies used by developers to replicate the model of a luxurious hotel and discuss the reasons for these narratives. Developers assemble particular socio-spatial configurations in order to establish a link between a hotel and a high-rise building: luxurious fittings, detachment and distance from responsibilities, chores and maintenance, anonymity and privacy. The presence of a building manager – or concierge – in a dedicated lobby adds to the illusion (see Chapter 6). In one of the case-studies, the building is referred to (and managed as) a hotel due to the recruitment of a manager with significant experience in the hotel industry:

> "What I do with the hotels which are 200 rooms hotel, it's basically the same, but instead of dealing with the guests, and managers and stakeholders, I am dealing with owners." (Professional interview, 2018)

Drawing on these imaginaries of these singular places, developers and architects bring forward references to hotel-like designs and organisations with the aim of reinforcing a positive geographical imaginary of high-rise living, where the developments offer the same lifestyle as living in a hotel. This is also perhaps to dissipate the close connection between the volume of apartment developments and the same feature of high-density public housing estates and invoke instead the upmarket attributes of these developments (amenities, fittings, services, etc.):

> "The developer wanted to make it a bit like a resort or a hotel. There is the concierge on the ground level and all of the facilities like the gym and the swimming pool. A lot of apartment developments have that sort of facilities, but I think this is a little step up." (Landscape architecture, National, 2017)

In the production of high-rise living in Melbourne inner-suburbs, the framing of apartment buildings as hotels blurs the functions associated with these "sociotechnical isolates", as Olmedo coins them, in promoting long-term housing situations in what is usually a temporary setting. This blurring of the building functions, between a hotel and a residential building, partly acts to

legitimise small units and transfers some domestic practices, particularly those of entertaining and socialising, outside onto the suburb. Using the imaginary of the hotel can be considered a spatial strategy that allows developers and dwellers to normalise the small size of units in exchange for living in a large building:

> "We sort of thought that this size in this location that there were enough places for people to meet and mingle in the immediate vicinity rather than needing to have it onsite" (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2018)

Promoting a style of living like a hotel stay turns the experience of the high-rise outwards, towards the experience of the surroundings and city. This corresponds to the strategy of developers to entice dwellers to a "lock and leave" lifestyle, which relies on dwellers' regular trips abroad to reduce some of the traditional features of home:

> "It's less labour intensive in regard to gardens and stuff. […] They can take more time off and they can travel. They want kind of a lock up and leave situation […] which doesn't require them to come back and the grass is overgrown, and the weeds are growing." (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2018)

This aspiration was confirmed in several interviews with middle-age residents such as Leah:

> "The house that had lived in before was a big Victorian house with a swimming pool and a garden that needed a gardener otherwise it looked shocking, it had to be attended to. I found it all very painful. We were constantly having to have people come in and do stuff." (Leah, 50-54, owner, Acacia Place, 2017)

This quote reveals the desire among upper-middle-class dwellers to transform their housing configuration and status, from managing the maintenance of the house to delegating it to a wider governing structure. It also highlights the specific tensions around the maintenance of a garden, which crystallises the desire for certain dwellers to move away from the traditional Australian model of the individual house and backyard partly in the name of privacy, which might seem paradoxical with the collective aspect of high-rise living.

McNeill underlines the contradictory expectations linked with hotels as places "pulled between sustaining a 'timeless' haven for clientele, as well as having to respond to newer competitors with stylistic and technical innovation" (2012, 150). This was confirmed in the interviews with architects and developers who expressed the pressure to meet with always escalating standards and expectations of the market in terms of amenities such as recreational spaces:

> "When we were starting that project, the inclusion of residential communal spaces was quite new. Now, it's a given and it's a must, it has to always be hotel-standard extents and amenities." (Architecture, National, 2017)

Boutique developers' strategies also reflect this trend towards offering traditional hotel services that will outdo competitors' offers – such as cleaning services or welcome gifts – in apartment developments which deploy hospitality packages in their services:

> "It's sort of a pseudo hotel then because you've got a concierge, you've got a point of contact in the building, you've got a bar downstairs that is sort of yours as part of your stay. It's just that we don't offer a hotel." (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2018)

Hotels as places where people reside temporarily have been analysed as creating problematic situations for developers since they "endow people with a sense of ownership" (McNeill and McNamara 2012, 150). The quote above shows that this developer wishes to yield a sense of ownership and familiarity through the use of the bar as a way to attract customers. However, this sense of ownership should be moderate and temporary, "*sort o*f yours". This underlines the tactical aspect to this developer firm's marketing technique, which relies on a momentary appropriation of the high-rise building as part of the experience of living in it, and which is meant to further blur the traditional distinction between middle-class individual main place of residence and their leisurely, touristy and out of the ordinary counterparts. This seems to go against the idea of hotel buildings' "paradoxical essence", "both enabling intense, time-poor interaction as well as allowing spaces for relaxation and repose, exemplars of the 'malleability' of urban space" (McNeill and McNamara 2012, 150). Indeed, this strategic and tactical blurring of functions in the production of high-rise living in Melbourne's inner-suburbs challenges the temporal and spatial distinction between everyday life and travel by normalising the experience of the city as a tourist.

5.5.2 Tactical reinterpretations of hotel configurations

Whilst the hotel imaginaries appear in all the architect's and developers' discourses in the case studies, I have found that this reference can be both enacted and contested by residents. The aspiration to conceive high-rise living as hotel living can't be always be traced back to the dwellers' aspirations. In particular, many participants from the Yorkshire Brewery described the developments in negative terms as having a 'hotel feel', evoking the rhythm of the building flow. Tactical reinterpretations of hotel configurations reveal how the geographical imaginary of high-

rise living as hotel are challenged, reworked and contested. These tactics also indicate the individual differences through which social preferences are constructed around high-rise living in the inner-suburb.

The spatial organisation created by both developments can feel like a maze to the residents, and result in creating a sense of dizziness, particularly for guests. In both developments, the corridors are fairly long, offering a succession of doors, with sometimes a window at the end of the alley, sometimes not. The absence of daylight and the similarity between different levels can easily create confusion. Living in the high-rise therefore requires a particular spatial expertise that only comes from experience:

> "Initially, people get a little bit lost and confused, but it's a bit like living in a hotel where once you do it, you sort of get the hang of it." (Alex, 40-44, renter, Acacia Place, 2017)

Overall, the comparison with a hotel is perceived by most participants as an undesirable attribute, although it was seen by some as a positive and distinctive sign of status, according to developers' strategies. The fact that the building resembles a hotel allows greater connection with the outside world, and the apartments are perceived by their occupants like a *pied-à-terre*. A sense of pride also derives from inhabiting such a luxurious and spacious ensemble, even though the actual home may be quite small:

> "I think it's unique. People come in and they're like: 'this looks like a hotel!'. I feel like it's really comfortable. My apartment specifically is quite small [...] that's why I get out a lot." (Julie, 25-29, renter, Acacia Place, 2018)

This shows a situation where the "lock and leave" lifestyle play out differently. In Julie's case, the outings are daily and imposed by her spatial perception of her apartment, yet these constraints are balanced out by the aesthetic aspect of the building's façade which influences, positively or not, the perception of Julie's guests towards her housing situation. The experience of a well-maintained facade has for some positive social benefits, that adds to the social status of living in a hotel-like building and counterbalances the volume of the development.

I could observe clear gender divergences between the appreciation of certain hotel like features, such as the maintenance of the building under the authority of a manager (Chapter 6). For Phoebe,

benefiting from the presence of a manager both furthers her identification of Yorkshire Brewery with a New York building and contributes to shaping her cosmopolitan habitus:

> "I like having a manager on site, that's a huge thing. In places like New York it's common to have a concierge, whereas here it's more like the exception, only really posh places do, and actually having someone on site is really helpful." (Phoebe, 35-39, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

In Leah's quote below, the presence of a concierge signals a transformation in the framing of residents as "customers" of the housing industry:

> "I really like the fact that there is a concierge too, because they all do things for you […] They are really customer friendly." (Leah, 50-54, owner, Acacia Place, 2017)

Both quotes reveal the significance for these two women of being able to assign chores or of being assisted in resolving day-to-day problems. For men, the presence of the concierge in a lobby also calls forth the same cosmopolitan and north-American imaginaries – although for Max it does not reflect the social status of the residents – but constitutes an impediment of privacy:

> "I spent some time in the US and in New York it's actually a concierge, any sort of building, not better buildings, but they have someone in the lobby, it's almost standard there, hopefully it won't become standard here. If I had someone greeting me every time that I walk in, I wouldn't like that, I would definitely try to avoid that." (Max, 30-34, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

Representations of status and urban belonging in relation to the hotel imaginary vary greatly, illustrated for instance by the differentiated values placed on the role of the building manager. This might be a distinctively Australian approach to high-rise. For many Australians, both residents and developers and architects, having only lived in suburban detached houses, their only past experience of high-rise living could have been through staying in a hotel or working in office buildings, which has shaped their imaginaries of the high-rise.

5.5 High-rise grounds: a contested interface with the inner-suburb

In this last section, I analyse the courtyards of the case-study buildings as an interface between the residential development and the suburb. I contrast the aspirations of architects with the objections of local councillors. Dwellers' practices and tactics highlight the ambiguities of the narratives around the role high-rise grounds should play, either as a convivial passage for dwellers

or as a public interface between the residential high-rise building and the suburb. I also show various contesting techniques developed by dwellers in response to a perceived formality of design.

5.6.1 Envisioning high-rise interfaces

In both high-rise developments, the ground level courtyards and gardens were designed according to two main principles: to facilitate communication between the building and the rest of the neighbourhood ("create a linkage through the site", "trading off and giving back to surrounding residents", Architecture, National, 2018) and to stimulate convivial social interactions between high-rise residents (Figures 5.12 and 5.13). This partly responded to planning imperatives and increasing requirements for developers in Melbourne to open up the space taken by dense developments through improvements or provision of open space. The interviews revealed indeed the significant negotiations that took place between the developers and the Yarra Council to establish a common vision for the high-rise grounds. By advocating a 'no-gate' design, the Yarra Council sought greater openness of the high-rise complexes with their suburban environment, as revealed by one of the architects of Yorkshire Brewery:

> "It's not gated, so it's not closed off at night for that inner courtyard. It was probably about trading off, giving back to surrounding residents as well." (Architecture, National, 2018)

In Acacia Place, the floor plans guarantee pedestrian access for all, to the river and Yorkshire Brewery was modelled after a small and busy precinct by preserving narrow streets and passages coming from the main avenue towards the complex. Both visions for the ground level courtyards were to offer the psychological and physical comfort of outdoor spaces to the residents who have opted for apartment living. In the case of Yorkshire Brewery, these outcomes are highly contested by residents and also by the Yarra Council:

> "It has produced a cold, dark, windy environment in there that's almost always in the shade. It's not a community space. […] Never see anyone sitting there, they are always moving through. It's just not a pleasant place." (Planning, Local government, 2018)

Opening the high-rise grounds to public use is a strategy that has also had some conflictual outcomes, particularly around street parking spaces which are limited in Collingwood:

> "They had all sort of frizzles about logistics there and the interaction between public and private land […] These are inevitable kinds of conflicts, but we have not seen them before really." (Local government, 2018)

These planning and political 'frizzles' suggest the conflicting principles in the design of high-rise grounds, and the conflicting forces at play in the desire to control the interface between private residential spaces and public land. This was also reflected in another developer strategy:

> "The restaurant here was more to control the aesthetic and the entrance to a building, to make sure that you don't have a Snap Printing [printing company, author's note]. […] They have bright yellow and blue logos all at the front […] We don't want one at the bottom of our building because aesthetically it's not… It doesn't actually improve the liveability to function with the residents." (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2018)

This spatial strategy involves keeping a strict control of the use and aesthetics of the apartment building ground floor as a way of guaranteeing both "function" and "liveability" for apartment dwellers, but also the upmarket aesthetics of the building and consequently its financial value.

5.6.2 Practicing courtyards

Developers' visions to create convivial high-rise grounds while preserving private ownership and aesthetics comes to be challenged by dwellers' everyday practice and experience of the courtyards, in Yorkshire Brewery in particular. The promise of conviviality was a significant part of the branding strategy for both high-rise developments and the courtyards were central to this promise, indented to be used as major social spaces within the developments. Both advertisement and promotional materials from the developers presented a vibrant and bustling image of these internal courtyards, with people walking, seating and engaging in various social activities. In one of the developments, the opening of a deli was planned to recreate the atmosphere of a European-like plaza. Most participants underlined the lack of atmosphere and conviviality in the courtyard, describing it as "just cold" or "impersonal" (Max, 30-34, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018) or underlining the lack of a charming essence:

> "The way they designed that kind of plaza again it's signed for efficiency and it's not charming. […] It's not designed for a community." (Emma, 25-29, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2017)

The absence of the deli in Yorkshire Brewery was also frequently pointed out by the participants who felt betrayed by the promise of a vibrant ground level precinct:

> "That's a bit naughty for those of us who thought that they would be a bit more life in the centre: there isn't." (Rose, 65-69, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

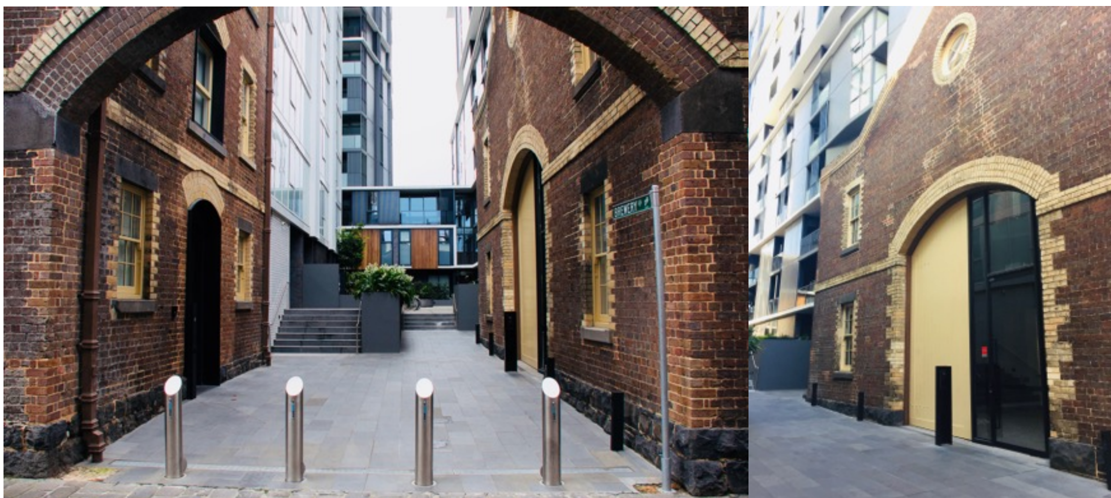
The limited possibility of activities in the courtyard was also brought up by residents. Two participants pointed out the benches placed in the courtyard during the walking part of the interview, emphasising their confusion towards the functionality of the courtyard:

> "There are some benches outside… but you wouldn't really be like 'you know what I feel like reading I am going to go sit on that bench outside' (Emma, 25-29, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

> "Who would come and just sit there?" (David, 30-34, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018).

Symbolising the failure of the courtyard to act as a public space where individuals may encounter each other and engage in activities as simple as sitting on a bench, dwellers' refusal to comply with the strategic planning of these courtyards as sites of interactions can be understood as a tactic. Participants presented a desire to elude the space as well as the strategies imposed to encourage spending time there. Ultimately, the individuality of one's own entrance to the domestic space seems to have won over the idea of a collective one, as illustrated by Rose and other participants' tactical preference using the part of the courtyard leading directly to the section of the Yorkshire Brewery they live in (Figures 5.10 and 5.11):

> "It's quite nice having our own entrance. I really like that because you have got this feeling of a smaller building, it's sort of only six flats." (Rose, 65-69, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)



Figures 5.10 and 5.11: Entrance to the Yorkshire Brewery through the heritage stable section of, February 2018. Photo: L. Dorignon

In Acacia Place, the courtyard was depicted by its designer as subtly enabling meeting opportunities (Figures 5.12 and 5.13), while anticipating possible avoidance tactics by dwellers:

> "Rather than having a large space where people can walk past each other without making eye-contact, we have made it so that you have to meander through and it narrows down in sections so that people do come across each other, so it's sort of no avoiding, no ignoring them!" (Landscape architecture, National, 2018)

Figures 5.12 and 5.13: The "meander" through Acacia Place and social space of the café overlooking the river, October 2017. Photo: L. Dorignon

The possibilities of socialisation afforded by this walk become limited after the first months spent in the development, as Alex pointed out:

> "I don't go around the building that much, unless it's to visit or there is something on. I am not really the wanderer around." (Alex, 40-44, renter, Acacia Place, 2017)

While Alex recognises that very few change meeting occurs during the day, it is his character ("I suppose it's in my personality, I just always say hello", 40-44, renter, Acacia Place, 2017) more than the essence of high-rise living or the courtyard's design that makes it difficult for him to avoid casual greetings, even with neighbours he would prefer to avoid ("You can't just ignore people", Alex, 40-44, renter, Acacia Place, 2017). This socio-spatial configuration is not seen as entirely positive by the residents of both case-study. For Alex, it conjures up the compulsory sociabilities of living in a village:

> "You just either avoid, or small talk. You have to accommodate the fact that you are going to run into people. […] I think that's a small-town thing as well" (Alex, 40-44, renter, Acacia Place, 2017)

The discussions about the courtyards exposed the most striking contrast between the strategies of the developers and the tactics of the residents – that the tactic performed was a refusal to even engage with the space. Avoiding what is meant to be at the centre of high-rise interactions reveals residents' resentment towards a strategy they considered incompatible with their lifestyles and preferences. Despite the designers' desire to produce conviviality, the omnipresence of rules and the rigidity of the design in order to keep the public façade of the high-rise tidy and well-maintained prevails over the capacity felt by residents to forge what they would consider an authentic sense of conviviality. The interviews exposed the difficulty for developers and designers to negotiate the function and aesthetics of the high-rise grounds, both as interface with the suburb and as primary entrance to residents' homes. It also crystallises the planning and political tensions surrounding the transformation of the streetscape in Melbourne inner-suburbs, and the challenges raised by the conflicting strategies of developers and councils, privatisation and aesthetic control on one side, creation of public amenities on the other.

This section envisaged the courtyard of a high-rise as a highly contested interface and a symbol of challenges between the residential development and the suburb. I contrasted the aspirations of developers with the grievances of local councillors. Dwellers' practices and tactics highlight the ambiguities of these narratives while showing various resisting techniques to the formality of the design.

5.6 Perspectives

This chapter analysed how high-rise living is produced and negotiated in relation to its inner-suburban environment. It contrasted the aspirations of developers and architects, the aspirations formed by various middle-class groups in the process of moving in the development, and the aspirations of council.

The chapter presented several important findings. Firstly, the way these developments came to be built in these suburban locations is as much the result of a historical battle between local planners and developers, as the product of tactical and strategic manoeuvres from developers such as opportunistic trade-offs of height for heritage preservation. However, the legacies of time give value to the building site and can create some conflict around what the best use for this space is. Secondly, tactics and strategies reveal that middle-class dwellers rarely conceive their belonging at

the scale of the suburb only. Rather, high-rise living is produced as a housing solution that connects its dwellers to a multiplicity of places, whether to surroundings place, the wider metropolitan area or global cities. Thirdly, high-rise living aspirations entangle multiple geographical imaginaries, of high-rise buildings and of city life. These imaginaries play a role in the design and conceptual elaboration of the projects, and they later are conveyed in the marketing strategies and sale techniques of developers and real-estate agents. These imaginaries, such as the one of the hotel that may also come from North-American models where private apartments can be part of high-rise hotels, do not disappear after the settlement of the development: they are appropriated and enacted by dwellers. Fourthly, the facade and courtyard of high-rise developments play an important role in demonstrating the status of high-rise living, in so far as they create a rupture with the surrounds.

Dwellers produce particular arrangements which work towards the achievement of higher social statuses. Status comes not only from the spatial and physical relations that derive from buildings' particular location and design within the suburb, but also from a set of various representations associated with high-rise living. For many dwellers, moving into a high-rise but staying in the suburbs holds great significance: it means having the power and financial means to stay close while rising above. Living in a high-rise therefore means a position of difference as well as spatial distinction: knowing how to embrace apartment life, building on previous international experience and on a cosmopolitan habitus to shape one's expectations, social interactions and territorial behaviours in the suburb. The next chapter turns to asking how these aspirations are negotiated in the common spaces and governance of the two developments.

Chapter 6. Negotiating power in high-rise living

6.1 Introduction

The second socio-space to examine is the buildings' common space – it will be examined in relation to its design and the people who inhabit it (Figure 6.1). This chapter thus explores the tactics and strategies developed by residents and housing professionals in the process of governing, maintaining and sharing high-rise buildings' amenities. The chapter focuses on the following attributes of high-rise living: the building governance structure, the communal spaces and amenities and the high-rise building technologies. It considers the way they are being challenged and negotiated by actors in the pursuit of establishing common and/or competing priorities. The aim of this chapter within the thesis is to analyse the residential practices taking place in the common areas of a building and to understand their significance in the micro-politics of suburban change.

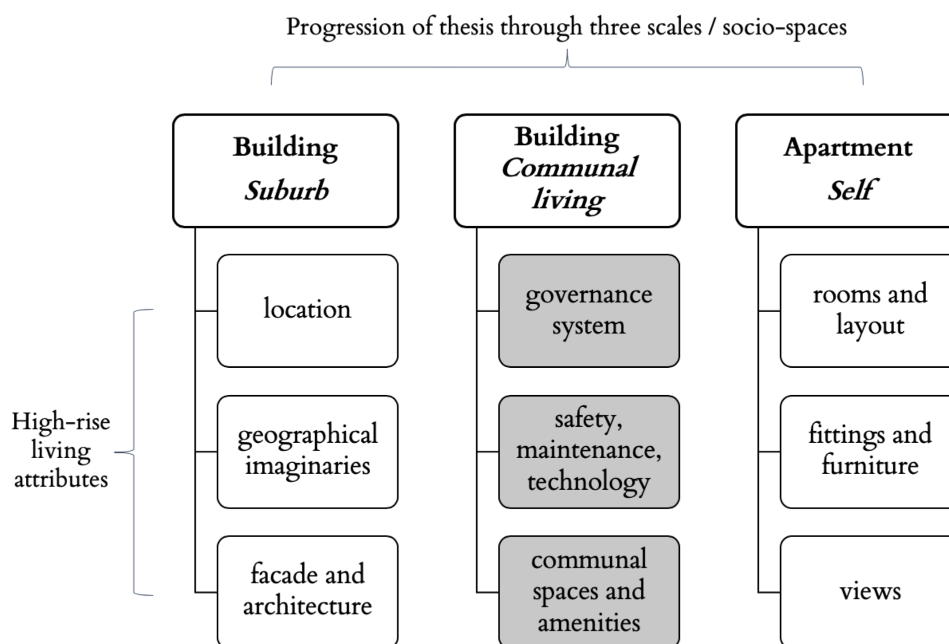


Figure 6.1: Chapter 6 in the thesis results chapter roadmap.

By their scale and density, high-rise buildings necessitate complex political assemblages to organise the management of apartments and regulate everyday life within. They are an important setting in Australia for exploring power relationships because of their unique legal structures and complex governance arrangements (Easthope and Randolph 2009) and also because of the great

variety of apartment typologies they offer. Individuals and families of different backgrounds and financial means share the property or tenancy of the building, but also have to solve daily issues in these large multi-unit structures. The management of high-rise buildings constitutes a highly controlled and regulated environment in which decisions are made and influenced by the power dynamics between developers, managers, owners and tenants. In the case-studies, the building spaces are conceived by developers and designed by architects, landscape architects and place-making consultants who sometimes need to adapt initial aspirations and ideas. However, in the case-studies the developer's role continues beyond the delivery of the building. While architects and designers rarely visit the building once it is lived in, the developer presence is material (through the actual occupancy of one of the apartments by a building manager) and immaterial (through the conception of the owners corporation rules). The presence of the developer is mediated through the figure of the building manager, who works intermediately between residents and the developer to see the building rules applied. The power dynamics as we will see very much rely on the temporalities of the building construction and on how strong and unified is the assembled body corporate. It is also worth noting that in Australia, apartments have traditionally been built under a 'build to sell' model, where developers aspire to sell off all their stakes in the building and disengage as soon as it is complete.

Additionally, living in a high-rise building is often a financially advantageous solution for individuals or families of the middle-class wishing to enjoy amenities such as swimming-pools and gyms which are more difficult to afford in a single-family household. These living aspirations become more affordable once collectively owned under a strata title ownership. The continued growth of apartment buildings in Melbourne, and popularity among home-buyers and investors for these recently built vertical developments (Nethercote 2019), requires research attention to understand how people navigate the new experiences of living and maintaining a complex collectively. Private apartment buildings entail a certain level of involvement and cooperation from dwellers in order to generate positive outcomes, which housing scholars are starting to consider through the lenses of cultural and ethnic diversity (Liu et al. 2018). Parallelly, there is a need to address how communal life in these buildings shapes power relations between individuals and structures under the perspective of class.

In response to this, this chapter has two aims. The first aim is to understand how power is negotiated spatially and socially by different actors through the communal aspects of apartment living. Through an analysis of the negotiated interactions between the residents and the governing bodies (body corporates, strata titles, developers, building managers), and between the residents themselves, I argue that the processes of governance, maintenance and social relations are intimately connected in apartment living. When apartment living takes place in a high-rise development such as in the case-studies, specificities such as the height, volume, density and number of common spaces play a role in these processes. For instance, I show how the regulation and maintenance of the car-stacker involves much negotiation between residents and skilful techniques to keep the space orderly. I highlight how these interactions are dominated by key relationships and figures, such as the one of building manager, that are central in balancing out and moderating the social dynamics around the apartment homes. In this chapter the micro-politics of suburban change concern the practice of communal living by a highly heterogeneous middle-class. Under different tenure statuses, financial situations, generations and socio-cultural backgrounds, living together in high-rise buildings brings out the plurality of the middle-class. The chapter is also attentive to the organisational cultures of labour processes in the management industry, as they have been explored in hotels (McDowell, Batnitzky, and Dyer 2007; Batnitzky, McDowell, and Dyer 2008) and the everyday relations around site maintenance and building care (Strebel 2011). The purpose of this consideration of power is to disassemble the production of everyday high-rise living and transformation of suburban spaces.

The second aim, through an analysis of mostly hidden housing processes, is to tease out the collective uses of tactics. I examine the explicit and tacit agreements that bring out mutual forms of learning and competition both between dwellers and between residents and building management, that arise from everyday life in high-rise common spaces. What this chapter reveals through the exploration of the tactics and strategies that go on inside the building are the specificities of high-rise living in a model of collective housing and multi-owned property. Inside a high-rise building, everyday encounters and social relationships can hide differing and sometimes incompatible positions on a building's governance. Tactics and strategies as hidden relational housing practices reveal that some behaviours inside the high-rise building spaces are more about control than they are about conviviality. All of this contributes to one of the chapter's main implications; it reveals

further the "shaky foundations" of viewing daily life primarily through categories of housing tenures (Hulse 2008), while also exploring emerging forms of household tenure.

The chapter is structured as follows. **Section 6.2** reviews how apartment governance has been researched in the recent geographical literature, focusing on the links between housing and governance structures in the context of mid- and high-rise buildings in Australia, specifically. In **Section 6.3**, I describe the specifics of the organisational frameworks in the two case-studies, framing the governance structures as sets of rules intended to govern behaviours. This sets up the following section, which analyses the techniques employed by stakeholders in adapting to or circumventing these rules. In **Section 6.4**, I investigate the significance of tenure statuses for tactics and strategies before considering in **Section 6.5** five the role of technology such as lifts and car stacking systems as technical instruments of power used both by residents and housing actors to regulate the maintenance of the building. In **Section 6.6**, I envisage and contrast the manifestation of fear with the desire for safety amongst residents, managers and developers and look in **Section 6.7** at the social relationships between the residents of the building, and the way they are cautiously sustained. Preserving anonymity and privacy is of upmost concern amongst residents, even while they express their shared disillusion around the actual conviviality of the building. The chapter concludes in **Section 6.8** by discussing the meaning of tactics and strategies in relational terms and their connection through power and communal living in housing processes.

6.2 High-rise governance: privatisation, property and power

6.2.1 The privatisation of housing development

Housing governance refers to the social, political and economic governing structures, networks and actors operating and regulating housing processes at various scales (Mc Guirk and Argent 2011; Clapham and Kintrea 2000). An important part of the recent literature on urban governance focuses on the impact governance changes have had on social housing regulation and inhabitancy (Cronberg 1986), while considering the redistribution of roles and capabilities in public housing between the state and the market economy (Blessing 2012). However, in the past ten years and following the 2008 worldwide financial and housing market crisis, changes in private investments towards renewed housing typologies such as apartment developments have had important repercussions for the housing sector. This has shaped a renewed interest in the literature in the

impact of financial flows on governance models and their evolution (Guironnet, Attuyer, and Halbert 2016). Housing governance is currently being researched in its relationship to the structural, institutional and individual processes of financialisation (K. Jacobs and Manzi 2019) while recent local policies providing hybrid economic frameworks are assessed for their repercussions on housing affordability (Branco and Alves 2018). In this context, it is helpful to discuss recent geographical work on high-rise governance through the lenses of the process of privatisation, the various organisational models that characterise property in high-rise living and the different forms of power that governance articulates or challenges. This is beneficial to understand in which governance context tactics and strategies intervene, and what is at stake for actors in the coproduction of high-rise living.

In many urban municipalities worldwide, the last decades have witnessed an increased transfer of governance and housing proficiency towards private structures, cooperative associations and individuals. This is particularly the case for infill and apartment developments in the context of densification and urban consolidation policies, but also for Master Planned Estates (MPE) in suburban Australia (Cheshire, Walters, and Wickes 2010). This evolution of housing forms and governing bodies has had consequences for the distribution of roles and responsibilities among actors in housing development. This has been considered by many as a negative outcome of urban renewal in the neo-liberal city, creating displacement (Cook, Davison, and Crabtree 2016), forced relocations (Lelevrier 2013) or demolitions (Arrigoitia 2014). In some cases, the transformations in housing production involve the transfer of decision-making powers and design capacities to future residents or the emergence of "networked governing practices" in property-led regeneration initiatives (Mc Guirk 2000).

The investigation of housing governance is linked to resident participation and empowerment. The changing typologies of housing are not only financial and political, but also legal. In Australia, there is an increasing complexity of legal frameworks regarding home-ownership in multi-owned developments, apartment buildings or condominiums (Easthope and Randolph 2009; Easthope et al. 2014). The Australian regime of strata title influences the ways in which property is regulated, space shared and issues such as contract termination arbitrated (Troy et al. 2017), creating complex configurations of property and giving rise to conflictual relations (Reid et al. 2017). In the context of privatisation of urban governance, such increasing complexity also affects individuals and the

"social contract" binding residents of the same development. Moving away from MPEs and social housing estates, more recent research focuses on strata-titled apartment buildings and the way self-governance is performed by dwellers facing issues of noise and pet ownership (Power 2015).

6.2.2 Assembling power relations and networks

The changing role of governance structures has effects on the way residential buildings are administered and maintained, which in turns impacts actors' roles and relationships in and around residential spaces. Power can take many forms in the context of housing and can have many social, spatial and political expressions. Some of the most hierarchical power relations involve tenants and landlords (Chisholm, Howden-Chapman, and Fougere 2018). In this thesis I consider power relationally as "any powerful arrangement that hangs together as an assorted heterogeneous mix of power and authority" (Allen 2011, 155), constructed through relationships and interactions (2011, 155). In this literature attentive to assemblages and actor networks (McCann 2011; McFarlane and Anderson 2011; Anderson and McFarlane 2011), the changes in housing governance have been researched through dwellers' participation in the building maintenance but also for their position within power relations. This chapter does not use actor networks but instead tactics and strategies to look into the way individuals mobilise various resources, e.g spatial or temporal, in the governance of private apartment buildings. Practices of social reproduction through private neighbourhood governance have been explored in the context of MPEs (McGuirk and Dowling 2011), but not in recent apartment developments. The social relationships established as well as the impending power dynamics in housing communities also need to be further explored in relation not only to governance structures but materialities, technologies and maintenance. Other frames of power have explored social control and residents' co-action in Eastern-Europe (Mandič and Filipovič Hrast 2018). Additionally, power dynamics associated with class relations are not well known beyond the role of managers (Puustinen and Viitanen 2015) in the management of multi-owned apartment buildings. The way middle-class professionals actually develop "exit strategies" from local political participation in urban spaces (Andreotti, Le Galès, and Moreno Fuentes 2015) has been discussed but there is a need for an exploration of power relations between middle-class households at the building scale.

6.2.2 Researching high-rise governance

One of the main attributes of high-rise living is its internal governance system. Contrary to living in a standalone house, there are multiple regulations and principles in place to keep the building functioning. Much of the literature regarding the management and social relations within high-rise buildings has focused on public housing estates and is rich and diverse, particularly from a social perspective. Housing researchers have recently led investigations such as the intersection of tenants behaviours (Flint 2004, 2002) with class identity (Forrest and Wu 2014) and the social benefits of mixed-incomes developments (Joseph and Chaskin 2010; Roberts 2007; E. Graham et al. 2009; Ruming 2013; Atkinson and Kintrea 2000). The way common spaces are being shared and negotiated daily in such developments has been tackled by sociologists (Gourcy and Rakoto-Raharimanana 2008), but much less significantly by geographers. Recently, private apartment and high-rise buildings are being progressively considered. From a relational perspective, high-rise housing governance has been framed as “technocratic systems” and “determining forces” to characterise the aspects of the socio-technical logics of high-rise and “supertall dwellings” (J. M. Jacobs, Cairns, and Strebel 2007, 609).

The study of high-rise governance is also intertwined with legal geographies. With the rise of more complex legal configurations and financial montages, condominiums solutions are being further investigated as major urban transformations (Lippert and Steckle 2014; Rosen and Walks 2015). This has been the case particularly in Canada and France (Charmes and Keil 2015) and in the context of suburban governance (Hamel and Keil 2015; Keil 2013). Research on condominium governance in Canada includes the transformation of private property (Garfunkel 2017) and the governance of individuals and perceptions of fear and insecurity (Kern 2010). Few analyses are positioned from the builder’s perspective, which interrogates the corporate structures from the production viewpoint (Rosen 2017). In Australia, the specificity of strata-titled apartment development has been well-researched (Easthope et al. 2014) as well as governance mechanisms and challenges for apartment living at a metropolitan scale in Sydney (Easthope and Randolph 2009). In light of the continued growth of apartment buildings in Melbourne and elsewhere, experiences of governing and maintaining high-rise developments are crucial additions to current and future studies of densification.

This chapter adds to this literature by investigating in detail the various techniques deployed by developers, dwellers and managers to negotiate power in middle-class developments. It mostly adopts the perspective of residents, although the attention on temporalities opened by the concept of tactics allows to consider the interactions in the response of high-rise living stakeholders.

6.3 Navigating organisational frameworks

This section details the organisational frameworks of the two case-studies. I describe the regulations and relationships that play a role in the governance of residential spaces, principally the common ones. I give some comment on the way governance is articulated in both case-studies, and how it is perceived by dwellers. I also reflect on how the building management structures impacted my research methodology. In both developments, I found both material and immaterial forms of governance. Immaterial forms of governance include the regulatory frameworks of strata titles or online portals. These also have a materiality – signed contracts, web infrastructure, etc., such as embodied governing practices - body corporate meetings, note posting. In both buildings, governance and maintenance were fundamental to the infrastructure of high-rise living, giving rise to their respective practices and rituals, often negotiated through tactics and strategies.

6.3.1 Rules and regulations

Both Acacia Place and the Yorkshire Brewery operate under strata titles. That is, individuals own lots, up to the 'skin' of the apartments' external walls and townhouses for the Yorkshire Brewery) and ownership of the remainder of the buildings (lobbies, hallways, common spaces, etc.) is shared. Under the Australian system of strata title, the developments are managed by a private strata company to which the owners pay fees. Both developments are also equipped with a body corporate, also called owners corporation (OC), represented by committees and delimited by the Owners Corporation Act of Victoria Act No. 69. This legislation outlines the legal powers of the OC regarding services and property, and states its duty to "act in good faith" (Owners Corporations Act 2006), as well as to levy fees, maintain the building, meet regularly, hire managers or keep records. In the case of Acacia Place, the organisational framework of body corporate is particularly complex, due to the size of the complex. Each of the three buildings has its own body corporate, while the common parts (pool, gym etc.) are administrated with a single shared body corporate.

In both case-studies the developer remained involved in the management of the building by running the body corporate for a period of time, or by regularly attending the OC meetings. The developer can also retain some power in the building administration indirectly, as owner of one or several units, as a resident, or as the holder of the car park. It was also the developers who recruited both building managers, which gave rise to strong and cohesive links between these individuals. This involvement of the developers, post-delivery of the buildings, can be considered a strategic effort to keep financial and regulatory power over the management. Both developments are administered through a set of regulations contained in the "OC rules" and available online and in printed versions. These legal organisational frameworks form the foundation of the high-rise building 'rules of civility' and, because of their institutional nature, can be understood as a form of strategic power. However, it is the way written agreements of ownership and governance, or OC rules, are composed, used, and altered that give rise to tactical and strategic actions. This set of regulations concerns administration and maintenance duties, as well as other matters, and can be regularly modified. Excerpts from the owners corporation rules were observed during data collection throughout the common areas of the building, in the gym, elevator (Figure 6.2) or near the swimming-pool (Figure 6.3).

Figures 6.2 and 6.3: Reminders of rules and regulations from the owners corporation in Yorkshire Brewery and Acacia Place, January and April 2018. Photos: L. Dorignon

Legally and spatially defined, these regulations circumscribe everyday life to benefit the common interest, protect the materiality of the building from rapid decay and damaging behaviours. These rules are constantly debated by the dwellers, informally or at OC meetings, and are subject to

change. Their moral grounding, as well as the nature and function of the high-rise building governing system, was brought up by residence owner Steven when asked about existing disputes about the common spaces:

> "The pool is a bit of an issue: even though it's nice to look at, it gets noisy. I don't like that, I don't think many people do. In summer time, in school holidays, there is a lot of noise which they are trying to control but it's difficult because you can't be a police state." (Steven, 50-54, owner, Acacia Place, 2017)

This consideration of rules in communal living is shared by many other residents, for instance Max: "They put some rules and I try to think about it from their perspectives, like if everyone parks at the same time, the street is locked." (Max, 30-34, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018). This consideration by dwellers of the regulatory governance of the building seems to serve as a basis for tactical manoeuvres, as I will later develop.

Data collected in the two buildings revealed some of the ways in which these governance frameworks are the context of unspoken rivalries for authority, control or power. These rivalries between actors to achieve what they consider the most adequate form of governance in the high-rise are neither petty nor inconsequential: they concern, for instance, the fairness of the financial handling of a particularly costly building or the safety of hundreds of dwellers and visitors. They are, in this regard, a practice of politics on the micro-scale of a residential building. The role and presence of the developer in the building was brought up often by dwellers during the interviews, particularly by owners who were also involved in the governance of the development through the body corporate:

> "If we start to agitate to get anything done, as the developer, he is trying to stop it, because he doesn't want to spend any more money. That is a problem." (Rose, 60-64, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

Some residents, often highly skilled and educated individuals in their fifties or sixties, came to join the body corporate in order to solve issues that come up repeatedly, as revealed by a resident: "That was one of the reasons why I went onto the body corporate, because I thought I can either grizzle and groan about it or get on to the body corporate and do something about it" (Katherine, 50-54, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018). In both developments, discussions with the owners highlighted a desire to compete with the developers for the control of the body corporate. The

owners feel competent and determined to gain control, as noted by Steven in Acacia Place: "most of the people that have moved into the building, are sort of more the medium to upper end of the socio-economic divide so they probably have strong ideas about how things need to happen" (Steven, 50-54, owner, Acacia Place, 2017).

Overall, I found in both developments a growing awareness that there is a need for more unity and more representation in order to counter-balance the power of the developer, often itself allied with the builder: "We need to meet more frequently. […] There is not enough continuity" (Michael, 60-64, owner, 2018). This competition was also manifest in Yorkshire Brewery and brought up by two members of the body corporate, who both showed confidence in their ability to successfully implement change and to acquire the power to act. The lack of action undertaken by developers in the promised creation of a business centre and a delicatessen in the building was underlined by a resident, Michael:

> "That hasn't happened yet. The developers drag the chain. I'm on the body corporate committee by the way, so I've got some understanding of what's happening. […] I've been advocating. I'm pretty strong on it in terms of body corporate." (Michael, 60-64, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

This is true for the creation of advertised amenities as mentioned above, but even more so for issues of safety compliance – the maintenance of car-stackers – and financial administration – the renegotiation of energy contracts which is handled by the strata company. A common feature between the two high-rise buildings was the intensity of the discontent regarding the quality of its financial management and tidiness of bookkeeping. Katherine, on the body corporate, told me about what she considered to be a deficient management of the building by the strata company. She evoked a lack of organisation, of transparency and a contract management leaving "a lot to be desired". She described the pressure on the body corporate to act on terminating contracts, as well as the length of the contract established initially with the strata company:

> "We raised it with [the developer] and said that […] the invoices that everybody receives are never right. […] We'd be advised on an email saying this contract's expiring tomorrow and we have to make a decision on it. That's not normal business practice. […] The chair of the body corporate who's with [the developer], he tried to relinquish the chair position and give it to somebody else, and we said you can't do that." (Katherine, 50-54, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

The perceived lack of usefulness of the strata company appeared in another interview which emphasises the sense of control felt by the owners and the trust placed in the on-site governance of the building as opposed to its remote management:

> "The strata company… […] I almost don't really know why we use them. Most of the time trying not to do anything!" (Rose, 60-64, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

Delegating the management of 'the common good' creates the disappointment of most owners of both developments who participated in the study. This can perhaps be explained by owners' high expectations, involving a high quality of life in the building for minimal costs, while the strata company prioritise financial profitability.

In the other case-study, the "discontent around timeliness, around accounts not being prepared properly, about slow reactions to things" led to the resignation of the strata manager, following a formal acknowledgement of poor performance. This allowed a tactical cooperation between the owners in order to get control over the recruitment of the next OC manager: "there has been *a lot of work* going […] to put together a tender document and to work out how we'll engage another owners corporation manager, whether we'll go out broadly to market or by invitation." (Walter, 65-69, owner, Acacia Place, 2018).

This criticism towards the overbearing control of the developer in the day-to-day financial and organisational management of the development is not confined to the dwellers. In a competitor's company, a smaller and self-called 'boutique' development firm, the body corporate model is endorsed but recuperated as an opportunity to develop and gain more control of the way the building is administrated. The main arguments proposed by both the developer and the real-estate manager were the empowerment of the residents, which is portrayed as the desire to give good service and deliver quality outcomes:

> "We actually went to set up our own owners corp' business because we couldn't really find an owners corporation business that wanted to do the same things that we wanted to do, which is be able to sort of foster community and be able to be adaptive and have the kinds of services that a collective group of like-minded people would want to have. […] A building of more owner occupiers would probably have more influence on when to keep the corridors cleaner or allowing them to be able to put furniture outside their front door." (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2017)

Additionally, the temporalities of the contract were described by the real-estate manager of the boutique firm as part of a "locked down" strategy used by many developers to make a profit out of the management of the building:

> "The owners actually aren't benefiting from [the contract] because the developer sells it to the building managing company. For the next 10 years all the owners have this one company looking after them because the developer wanted to make a little slice out of it. That's generally what happens. The management, the building manager - it's all up for sale. [...] They lock them into 10-year terms, they can't get out of them, they have to go to court to fire them." (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2018)

The interview revealed differing positions towards how to envisage and sell the governance of the building, using 'supply and demand' and 'freedom to compete' type economic arguments. It also revealed the impact the scale of the property has on the ability to give decision-making power to the residents. In this interview, a building much smaller than the two main case-studies was discussed:

> "We don't do anything. Full arm's length. If the cleaner's not doing a good job, speak to the owner's cooperative managers, give them a few warnings, if they don't pick up their game get a new cleaner. If someone says I've got a better cleaning company [...] fantastic, take over. It's that freedom. It's their building, it's not ours." Real-estate development, Boutique, 2018)

6.3.2 Relationships and events

The governance and management of case-study developments is structured through a set of formal (official) and informal relationships; as well as punctuated by events to handle the buildings' affairs. At the centre of the governance relationships stands the building manager. In the conduct of data collection in both case-studies, I discovered that I could only access information once my research process had been overseen and corroborated by the manager (see Chapter 3). Conversations with the manager were therefore a crucial step in the methodological process: first to physically enter the building, second to disseminate research flyers and place them lawfully in the elevator or elsewhere, and third to obtain information about the management of the building.

The manager was also an essential figure throughout the interview, and most participants were concerned about potential impacts on their relationship with the building manager. I became aware of the bias created by the fact that most participants knew I had been in contact with the manager to be able to interview them, and that I had been discussing the same issues with him previously.

There was a mixture of curiosity towards what he had said, but also fear that what they could say would be made known to the management of the building. All of the participants showed admiration and respect for the manager, recognising the difficulty to "deal" with both real estate agents and developers, while handling "really tedious stuff." (David, 30-34, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018). One of the building managers defined his situation as "the middle man", a busy role that nonetheless provides him with a position of independence: "Here I work for myself, I am the middle person between the two, the owners and the body corporate." (Building management, Micro, 2018).

The relationships between the manager, the developer and the strata company are mostly informal unless they take place in the context of an OC meeting, or 'town hall' meeting. Attending these meetings is considered a privilege of sorts by some, since only home-owners are able to come and vote. These large-scale discussions, held in the meeting rooms of the building, were rendered to me by a local councillor who emphasised the lack of interest and engagement from the dwellers. Some have termed the middle-class tendency to evade political engagement "exit strategy", which has particularly been observed at the local scale (Andreotti, Le Galès, and Moreno Fuentes 2014). According to the councillor, the municipality of Yarra had been willing to discuss what additional services, beyond waste collection for instance, high-rise dwellers would need from the council "in a constraint environment":

> "That was pretty stony silent, it was really one of the most unresponsive audience I have ever had. I was warned by the body corporate people and the resident group folks that they can get very fiery and that they would have my back, and I thought what does that mean? I wasn't really attacked but apparently it can get quite aggressive. [...] It was disappointing actually, it was a very flat kind of feeling and they were much more interested in things like how to handle deliveries." (Planning, Local government, 2018)

This quote shows the oppositional forces at stake during the owners corporation meetings and the divergent priorities between individuals and groups: the councillor is interested in discussing civic participation and contribution to municipal amenities while the residents are dealing with day-to-day issues. It also shows the differing temporalities for actors: short-term and momentary for the residents, long-term and durable for the council. The body corporate appears to be in the middle, trying to preserve cordiality between the council and the residents in order to preserve their interests in the medium-term.

Another form of 'exit strategy' was brought up by the building manager, who shared his regret concerning the lack of commitment from dwellers to the way the building works, even when it comes to their own interests:

> "We give people information in a booklet when they move in: settlement collection, what you get, vehicle access, bike access, carpark, all the utilities, it's an embedded network, we give all the information, people still don't bloody get it! OC rules, all our rules that people have to comply to. […] I think people these days, no one reads." (Planning, Local government, 2018)

These "exit strategies" must however be nuanced by individual testimonies from dwellers who demonstrated a high level of interest and care for the governance of the high-rise. It seems also that tenants, contrary to the general perception that they have a lesser sense of responsibility than owners should be nuanced by individual testimonies from my data collection: "we got a welcome pack with everything you need to know, all the manuals. […] I think that it works really well." (Barbara, 25-29, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018). Renters who participated in the study were overall highly concerned with the governance of the high-rise buildings – which is most likely why they also accepted to be interviewed by me, and confirms the turn in the literature towards recognising "the identification of the responsible (and responsive) tenant as a central organising mechanism in new processes of housing governance" (Flint 2004, 893).

6.4 Housing tenures and conflicting tactics and strategies

In common law jurisdictions, 'tenure' refers in housing laws and policy to the distinction between owner-occupation and renting (Hunter and Blandy 2012). Those categories are further divided: ownership into outright and mortgage ownership, and single dwellings and multiowned developments; renting into tenancies contracted by a private landlord or by a public organisation, State or otherwise. These different statuses infer various rights and obligations. Housing tenure statutes have occupied a central place in the analysis of dwellers' trajectories and behaviours (Bate 2018). There is currently emergent reconsideration in housing scholarship of the significance of tenures in the socio-economic and cultural production of households (Hulse 2008). Housing scholars and geographers yet still focus on housing tenures with new approaches and methodologies.

Historically, highly uneven tenure categories have been socially and politically constructed in Australia. Home-ownership is increasingly considered as a process that impacts everyday life socio-

cultural production and materialities, particularly in Australia, a society of home-owners. Relational approaches on the process of acquiring a property highlight the dilemmas and uncertainties against "the fixities of domestic ideals" (Gillon 2017a, 17). In parallel to home-ownership, researchers have renewed narratives on tenancy and its impact on everyday life, especially in the UK and in France, where there is a high proportion of renters and less pressure on young families to invest in a home, but also in Australia (Mee et al. 2014).

This section raises the question of whether and how in the emerging context of high-rise living existing tenure categories are being reproduced and/or challenged, and conversely, how these tenure relations are producing high-rise living. In the context of a highly pressured rental market, as emphasised by a real-estate agents in charge of many of the Yorkshire Brewery's leases: "the rents in the building have been astronomical" (Property management, Local, 2018), this section tackles the role of housing tenures in the coproduction of high-rise living and the ways in which tenure is played out in the negotiation of communal spaces and production of rental trajectories. It adopts a relational approach to consider not only the connections between tenure and the production of daily life, but also the impact of various tenure statuses for the ability and/or willingness of actors to resort to tactics and strategies. It also looks at the specificities of tenures statuses in the context of the verticalising suburb and the substantial economic market for short-stay rental platforms – and dwellers – opened by high-rise living.

6.4.1 Responsibility vs the power of knowledge

In this thesis, developments were characterised by ownership, outright and mortgage, and private tenancies. There is also a high proportion of owner-occupiers which unlocks intricate and conflicting tactics and strategies in the practice of high-rise governance and communal living. This was reflected in the participants group: 20 of them were home-owners and owners-occupiers, and 8 were renting. An increase of the proportion of owners living in their property since the delivery of the building was noted by the management of the development. Both developments are characterised by a certain variety of tenure situations due to the differences in apartment sizes and costs but mostly to the fluctuation and brevity of tenancy contracts.

The interviews conducted showed that tenure statuses continue to influence residents' daily perceptions of their neighbours in terms of material responsibility and financial stability. Residents' accounts emphasised how tenure statuses within the building impact negotiations, both temporary and enduring, of the material and social conditions of high-rise living. The impact of housing tenures on home-making practices will be considered in Chapter 7. For instance, there was a clear perception emerging from the data that tenants are less responsible than owners, under the assumption that paying OC fees gives a higher sense of financial costs and material reality involved in the management of a building. There was a direct correlations in home-owner participants representations between care and a significant financial engagement towards the communal amenities of the building, inferred by OC fees. Age was also an important factor in the level of responsibility that dwellers may have developed, as emphasised by one manager: "Owners are more responsible, but young people and tenants, no responsibility." (Building Management, Micro, 2018). However, the figure of the "responsible tenant" (Flint 2004) emerged in some of the interviews with tenants as a sense of awareness and attention to others supposedly more developed in renters than owners, as shown by Alex's comments on noise in outside spaces: "I am more aware of noise, like if you are out in the sun in the balcony, control your voice level and language." (Alex, 40-44, renter, Acacia Place, 2017). This reflects the realities of tenants' engagement which takes the form of a bond and a tenancy contract, and which they are at greater risk of losing if someone complains about their behaviour. There are hence different kinds and 'motivations' for responsibility. For homeowners, it arises from a sense of ownership, i.e. responsibility as authority; for renters, it arises from a sense of insecurity, i.e. responsibility as compliance.

In both case studies, each tenure was associated with a particular set of tactics and strategies. For tenants, being selected for a lease especially seemed to bring up particular tactics in order to win the contract. Alex described to me the pugnacity he and his partner had to deploy to gain the lease, but also the financial efforts they were ready to make to call Acacia Place home:

> "We were willing to battle for it basically, because there was so much competition. We offered three months in advance rent, and everything to secure it basically. We wanted to make ourselves look more appealing, you're just a sheet of paper when you are renting…" (Alex, 40-44, renter, Acacia Place, 2017)

Yet this tactic is only necessary for the context of competition and urgency created by investors, landlords and real estate agents, a tactical move that requires a swift response form candidates.

Renters may be tactical in the competition with other renters, but in fact they are all being played by the tactics of the real estate agents, on behalf of investors.

Alex's tactic of seduction, employed on the spot at the moment of the visit, also renders the necessity for aspiring tenants to differentiate themselves from the other applicants. In the context of housing market restructuring and the reconsideration of housing tenure as the main lenses through which to analyse the social dynamics within and around residential spaces, Hulse, Morris and Pawson have reframed private renting "as a "constructive coping" strategy" (2018, 1). They underline the importance of location, as seen in Chapter 5, and lifestyle for the achievement of private renters' priorities rather than solely housing tenure statuses, which is also established by my results in Acacia Place.

Some strategic practices from renters challenge and nuance common assumptions and narratives on home-ownership and tenancy. In the case-studies, power derived from the experience of renting and the capacity to adapt and cope with disturbances in such a dense environment. Alex had been renting for twenty years in the neighbourhood when he moved to Acacia Place. He evoked the shortcomings that comes with moving into a large complex equipped with many facilities and a large proportion of renters. According to him, home-owners of the largest apartments fail to recognise and withstand these shortcoming:

> "A luxury lifestyle, that's the big thing. [...] These people are living in 4-bedroom apartments, 5-bedroom apartments, and they are like a home, but then you got the high turnover of renters [who] don't respect the common areas and throw things off balconies [...] which is annoying, there is no denying that." (Alex, 40-44, renter, Acacia Place, 2017)

While this quote suggests a situation where renters are failing to meet a common 'agreement' and disturbing other residents, it also shows the gap experienced by some owners between their aspirations and their lived experiences. This point speaks back to the context of the 'Australian Dream', which has been constructed in relation to expectations of privacy and stability. The configuration of the detached suburban house allowed this model to operate however these aspirations can become a burden in the context of high-rise living where they can be complex to put in place. Renters are to some extent less burdened by these expectations, even if they are disadvantaged in other ways, financial or political, since they are not represented in building meetings.

Everyday practices disclosed complex manoeuvres for the realisation of social, financial or micro-political goals or aspirations. I found that particular forms of power derived from differences in housing tenures and also influenced the way individuals and groups were producing a negotiated form of high-rise living. For example, the difference in tenure statuses for Alex played in the capacity to 'adapt' to the proximity with other people set by high-rise architecture (see Section 6.7):

> "That's the difference between being an owner and a renter. With these 60 + semi-retired group, they have lived in their cocoon, beautiful homes and mansions, and they are coming to a 6-inch divider wall between where they live. Some of them haven't adjusted, I don't think that's what they expected." (Alex, 40-44, renter, Acacia Place, 2017)

This interview with Alex, as well as with other renters from the Yorkshire Brewery, demonstrated the power and resources that come from knowing what to "expect" with high-rise living, and the ability to cope better with various everyday disturbances, ultimately allowing renters to better adjust to the social and material environment of the building. In Melbourne, renters are disadvantaged relative to owners when it comes to security, contract negotiation and voice in the owners corporation. Yet in the everyday life of a high-rise building they have a certain degree of advantage due to an 'adaptability' less restricted by expectations, as well as perhaps some power in numbers.

6.4.2 A tactical war on short-stay rental

In recent years, urban spaces have been affected by the development of digital real-estate technologies through new techniques of accommodation rent (Shaw 2018). The economy of short-stay renters became one of the most frequent issues brought up during the interviews about governing both developments. Short-stay rental has been recently researched on a macro-scale for its impact on property rights for owners (Gurran, Searle, and Phibbs 2018) or at the scale of the neighbourhood to find out how short-stay tourism rentals may affect housing affordability for long-term renters (Yrigoy 2018). Recent analysis also includes a consideration of the intimate and caring yet socially taxing ties in housing, including in short-stay professional renting (Nethercote 2018). Here I consider the impact of short-stay rental practices on a micro-level and for its consequences on everyday practices of inhabitancy at the building scale.

The emerging housing tenure category formed by short-stay rental challenges the binary distinction between ownership and tenancy. Overall, participants who were renting were developing similar arguments around care and responsibility to the owner's discourses on tenants in the building. Barbara had only lived in Yorkshire Brewery for two months when I interviewed her: "Everyone's very respectful. Then you can tell when they are Airbnb guests because they play loud music and they're really annoying" (Barbara, 25-29, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018). Both owners and renters shared the disapproval of short-stay renting in both developments, as noted by Walter during an OC meeting: "people feel aggrieved about others having apartments that are Airbnb'ed" (Walter, 65-69, owner, 2017). This acknowledged disapproval of dwellers on short-term rental was nuanced by either a position of acceptance or pragmatism from some dwellers, such as Alex and Steven:

> "You might see some people walking around that look a bit lost, families or couples or something, and they are excited to go to the pool, where if you live here, everyone knows where to go. It's not a bother to me." (Alex, 40-44, renter, Acacia Place, 2017)

> "I mean I love Airbnb, I think it's good, but there are certain places where it works and others where it doesn't…" (Steven, 50-54, owner, Acacia Place, 2017)

These quotes represent short-stay visitors as a highly visible and recognisable group of individuals yet momentarily only characterised by their role and function as outside of the high-rise. As short-stay visitors they are indeed present yet considered as outsiders, similarly to how the category of tourists has been constructed and criticised (Pitte 2003; Lazzarotti 2002; Uriely 2005). The interviews also revealed a recurrent typology of short stay-renters, either "lost" tourists – "wandering around […] with a suitcase" (Barbara, 25-29, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018) – or turbulent, destructive visitors. One limitation to my research design was the absence of short-stay renters among the participants and individuals who were – professionally or not – renting their property on a digital rental platform. This would have allowed a fuller representation of discourses and practices surrounding short-stay accommodation in both high-rise developments.

In what follows, I frame the action of leasing one's property (whether owner or rented) on a short-stay rental platform as a strategy from dwellers who choose to use space in order to maximise their financial gain on the short and long term. The specific design of high-rise buildings, namely height, architectural novelty and amenities, seemed to be one of the main reasons that pushed

owners and tenants to rent their property. There is a perception that short stay accommodation is located in the higher levels of the high-rise, where views are best and common spaces are relatively accessible in both developments. However, the actual location, proportion and frequency of flats rented for short-stays within the complex remain mostly unknown by residents. Similar observations of this strategy have been made by Rose, who also feared a potential degeneration of the building:

> "The other thing about living in a high-rise is with the advent of more and more tenancies and shared rooms. No matter how hard you try and control it, you've got more people using the facilities. Now it's not bad in here, but I could see how it could be really awful… Airbnb's, short stays." (Rose, 60-64, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

In these developments where accessing ownership and tenancy is equally difficult, there was a strong rejection of "free-riders" residents (Olson 1971) particularly coming from owners and dwellers in their 60s. The interview with Rose also hid the fear that hypothetical deviancies would go unpunished. What emerged from the data collected was that short-stay renting is causing a wide variety of emotions and reactions from the body corporate and the building managers, and some tactical counter-reactions from developers.

First, I found short-stay accommodation to be regarded by the body corporate and managers largely as an "out of control" phenomenon, which strikes as a contrast with the strong desire of control that comes with the governance of these developments. There was therefore a sense of disempowerment associated with the absence of regulations to manage the apparent ubiquity of short-stay accommodation:

> "I don't think you can control it." (Michael, 65-69, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

> "You have no real control over it […] You can control it up to a certain point; but make sure you look at the history" (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2018)

> "You can't actually make rules to stop short stay accommodation because they're not enforceable." (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2018)

The use of the term « enforceable » implies that the rules are useless and lacking any executive power. It also shows a certain resignation and fatalism towards this phenomenon.

Second, the interference and value of short-stay accommodation solutions raised major anxieties for managers around building care. Although it was tolerated by the body corporates, renting an apartment on the short-stay rental market was largely frowned-upon by the management of both case-studies. In terms of financial value, they were seen as a negative outcome for the owner corporation's finances considering both the high use and misuse of common space they allegedly induce, as revealed in an interview with a manager: "the problem we've got is Airbnb. [...] People come and think it's a party place" (Building management, Micro, 2018). Here, the notion of responsibility discussed previously is transferred onto the owners and a form of pressure applied, as shown by one of the manager's responses to potential disturbances caused by short-stay guests: "if someone calls me at 2 o'clock in the morning for your apartment, I am going to call you and wake *you* up." (Building management, Micro, 2018). This could be classified as a deterrence strategy: in the absence of rules: individual pressure takes over as a means of action.

Third, responses from the developers could be identified as tactical and strategic as they involved both "a sense of the opportunities afforded by a particular occasion" (Certeau 1984, 37) and a long-term vision on the organisation of space. I found the occasion to be the surge of short-stay rental in these desirable suburbs of Melbourne, and the opportunities afforded a future financial gain and way of regaining a momentarily lost control. In response to these practices and the new temporalities and materialities of short-stay residency, developers created tactical responses through building governance to avoid the alleged misfortunes, damages and "horror stories" (Property management, Local, 2018) of some short-stay renting. In the Yorkshire Brewery, apartments were left unsold in the building as an amenity for dwellers to have guests but also to try and counter a prospective demand for this that would be recuperated by digital platforms. This allows developers to regain some strategic control over who is renting these flats, as it is working as a buddy system where you have to be an owner or a tenant to rent the flat: "It's only for family and friends, it's not for party. We are pretty strict." (Building management, Micro, 2018). In other words, this response can be seen as tactical – it captures a momentarily financial opportunity, and strategic in the sense that is a spatial response – it creates space for more controlled short-term rentals.

Going further in accepting the role of the digital rental platforms in the global tourism economy, my interviews revealed a second tactical response by a boutique developer who not only

incorporated short-stay rental into the owners coporation' rules but also created a branch within its firm exclusively devoted to the management of properties leased as short-stay rentals:

> "If we went on a holiday to Tokyo or New York or something this is exactly the kind of building and apartment and area that I'd want to be Airbnb, exactly… We couldn't really be hypocritical and oppose that sort of thing. We thought there had to be a better answer and a way to control it..." (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2017)

While not generating a subsequent financial gain, this tactic allows the developers to regain power in the decisional and procedural process of short-stay rental by checking the short-rental history of aspiring renters on the platform, by handling the arrival of guests in the property and by overseeing the digital image of the development online. This tactic is also about transforming short-stay rental into an opportunity to advertise products and apartment living better:

> "It also gives [the firm] an advantage that, if we're selling a building, we can say to people, 'if you don't think apartment living's quite for you why don't you go and stay in one of our apartments for the weekend and see how you like it'." (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2017)

Going further, this development tactic reveals that there are indeed possibilities – coercive or discouraging – to push away inopportune and troublesome practices as well as ways to "make do" without eliminating the threat. This leads to the question of maintenance in high-rise living, and inevitably, to the role that technology plays in it.

6.5 The power of maintenance and technology

Maintaining the high-rise development is an expectation of residents and the main role of the building manager, as underlined by a real-estate agent I interviewed: "You need to have a building manager who is going to be following up on everyone, otherwise the building starts looking shabby." (Property management, Local, 2018). It's also a necessary condition to keep the imaginaries of a luxurious hotel working (see Chapter 5). Overall, my data points to the importance of materiality and aesthetics (see Figure 6.4) in both buildings which confers a great burden, but also power, on those with maintenance roles (Strebel 2011). Because of the high-rise complex engineering and the strictness of its rules, technology is also an important point of negotiation between actors in the building. This section unfolds with the analysis of two highly frequented and shared spaces within the high-rise building: the underground spaces (e.g basement) and the lifts. I will detail what sets of tactics and strategies, successful or not, were articulated when walking

through these spaces with the participants, and what they revealed about the negotiation of power inside the high-rise.

Figure 6.4: A gardener cleans the pond in Acacia Place, October 2017. Photo: L. Dorignon

6.5.1 Underground spaces: theatres of operation

In many respects, underground basements have been conceived as 'non-places' (Augé 2008) within the two high-rise developments. Deprived of daylight or ornament, they constitute places of transit for the residents or their occasional visitors and host undesirable yet crucial operational places (S. Graham 2016) within the complex: carparks, waste and recycling areas, technical and safety rooms, storage cages. They conform to the idea that subterranean spaces expose both "the functioning and derelict backstage machinery of globalised urban life – the dank conduits and caves established over centuries for moving data, water, people, energy and waste – that tend to remain hidden in the interstices and backgrounds of the city" (Graham, 2016, p. 362).

The strategic vision for these basements is therefore to operate as a practical backstage space for the residents as part of the apartment lifestyle package. In the wealthy neighbourhoods of some cities like London, where land pressure is higher than in Melbourne, underground spaces below large private housing sites are increasingly used to maximise land and create opportunities to display wealth (Atkinson et al., 2017). In Melbourne, in contrast, these underground basements mostly attend to the control of flows and mobilities associated with getting in and out of the developments.

However, with one carpark working as a stacker and one as a parking area available to the residents' visitors, these underground spaces have emerged in interviews as frontstages in the theatre of both buildings, sites of significant territorial conflicts. The main reason for these conflicts is linked to the storage of valuable objects, namely cars and bikes, within the carpark and storing facilities and to the level of security that protects them from regular acts of thievery. Many residents complained about the permeability of the basement, as well as the design and engineering faults in the way one can exit the carpark. Another source of tension in one of the developments is the insufficient amount of bike storage, while most storing cages nearby remain empty as they haven't been purchased by the residents: "You see people's car. Never move, flat battery, dirty. They ride their bikes!" (Building management, Micro, 2018).

A common tactic developed by the residents in one of the developments is to use the basement as a shortcut to access other parts of the buildings. In order to gain time, some residents choose to walk through the carpark and use its spatial properties (absence of partitions, walls and doors) to skip some of the control systems placed at each doorway on ground level and access closely located elevators.

The basement carpark can also serve as a space for negotiation between residents. One interviewee revealed how the car stacker system is regularly used to affirm ownership and determination over one's own car spot. The double stacker, a mechanical car parking solution that allows cars to park on top of each other via a moving platform system, is calibrated for each individual car according to its volume and weight. This participant revealed some of the corrective tactics used by another resident to ensure these rules were enforced:

> "Whatever you do make sure you don't park your car in the wrong spot because everyone has their own parking spot allocated and you may not be able to get your car out and it will require the good will of the people parked around you to move their cars and that may not happen. Someone refused to move their car for a week just to teach someone a lesson." (Phoebe, 35-39, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

This conjures up a statement from a building manager noted previously in which they were threatening residents to wake their landlords up in the case of disorder. This is an example of another 'corrective tactic'– both tactics quite aggressive in order to enforce order in the high-rise, in the absence of more formal regulations on these issues.

The basement of the high-rise complexes, even though it does not appear in the advertisement material and is not yet the sign of "an architectural marker of the transnational elite" (Batty 2018), also emerged in the interviews as being part of the home. Not only because some residents store an important amount of their belongings in their storage cages, but because there they can also develop a sense of ownership and status. One participant designated the bicycle room as one of her favourite places in the complex, which can be explained by the fact that she had 'gained' one of the better hanging hooks:

> "Because it's actually kind of hard to put that bike that high, for a woman I imagine, you know the lower bike hooks are actually highly prized." (Phoebe, 35-39, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

Finally, waste collection in the basement was also an eminently political and controversial topic, especially in regard to food waste, a trial initiative that the City of Yarra was introducing at the time of my data collection:

> "We're trialling a sample of houses in Abbotsford, and a sample of apartments. Free, and we have chosen Acacia Place as the trial for the apartments. […] Early figures are that the take up rate at Acacia Place is about half that of homes. They are just not doing it. […] We suspect it's because they have to make the effort to physically go down to the basement and drop off the food waste." (Planning, Local government, 2018)

Individual preferences and housing trajectories turned up to be a crucial determinant in the agency or passivity in responding to this initiative. An account of the trial by Walter reveals the meaningfulness of waste separation for him, and the sense of satisfaction deriving from using composting bins:

> "I like to recycle things […] In Surrey Hills we had composting bins so we could put food scraps in that. There is nothing like that here and I never felt comfortable putting food just in the general waste, I was really pleased to see that coming." (Walter, 65-69, owner, Acacia Place, 2018)

The "effortless" aspect of apartment living as well as the absence of obligations that is expected to come with it was emphasised by two residents of different towers in Yorkshire Brewery, Emma and David, when asked about inconveniencies and advantages of high-rise living:

> "If I need to take down the trash, I have to take it all the way down to the basement, it's not like in the US where they have those shoots where you kind of walk in, dump your stuff and walk back to your apartment." (Emma, 25-29, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2017)

> "It's good to have a lot of things taken care of. With your body corp' fees, you don't really have to worry about maintenance, it gets fixed." (David, 30-34, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

This highlights a tension between a 'sustainable' lifestyle, which the council tries to promote via various strategical or tactical initiatives, and an 'effortless' living concept, which the developers try to achieve via various spatial-design strategies. Residents are then able to choose which of the two lifestyles to actualise, which is a tactical choice.

6.5.2 Vertical technologies: elevators

Elevators have been, since their invention, emblems of high-rise buildings, given that they are a condition upon which their very existence depends. Their function is to "displace human activity and effort, opening up a range of other types of encounters and modes of mobility" (Thain 2009, 52). "The quintessential modern urban movement" (Thain, 2009, p. 52), elevators can also be dramatic catalysers for high-rise urbanism issues as they are responsible for getting people in and out of the dense building. In the two Melbourne developments, the up-to-date condition of elevators made them reliable engines of mobility, as well as strategic mechanisms for control over residents' movement and access within the building. These are smart technologies equipped with a limited-access system in both buildings. This reduces dwellers' mobility choices as one can only access one's own floor as well as the communal areas such as the basement, rooftop and ground level. However, residents invented a set of tactics to overcome these strategic constraints. For example, since the fire stairs are kept unlocked in compliance with safety regulations, residents use the stairwells whenever they want to visit a neighbour, explore a different floor or keep physically active.

Critical research by Harris focused on the exclusionary practices of the global economic elite formalised by the construction of elevated types of structures, particularly in South America and India (Harris 2018). Lees and Baxter (2011) have looked at the lift as the crystalliser of fear in public housing estates. Recent work by Graham (2014) and Cairns and Jacobs (2012) have established new agendas of analysing the roles of elevators throughout high-rise living. These agendas are respectively bringing the lift into discussions in the literature about mobility, establishing its cultural significance and its users' differentiated experiences, and looking at it through the Science and Technology Studies (STS) lens as a socio-technical process in high-rise making. My findings from

the Melbourne case-studies reflect these two agendas. The tactics and strategies surrounding the elevator space and time involve the use and "misuse" of increasingly smart technologies, the transaction of sociabilities notably through pets, resistance and inventiveness and mechanisms of social control through observation. Through these various uses of the lift, different conflicts around the production of middle-class apartment living emerge. These findings also call for a critical discussion around the notion of power and how it is distributed between tactics and strategies.

Firstly, the interview with an elevator contractor group in Melbourne underlined the contrasting views that technologists and residents held about elevators. The elevator is seen by the technologists as a complex and fragile assemblage of technologies (Figures 6.5 and 6.6) while on the other hand, it is used a service tool for quick mobility:

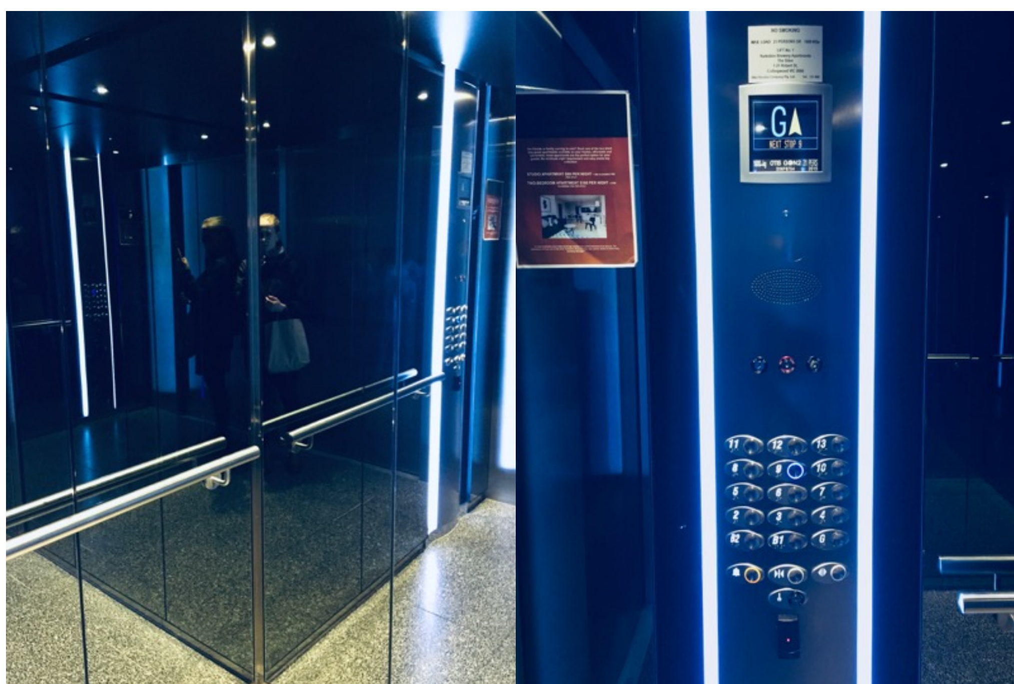
> "Lifts of course are not just lifts on their own: security car-reader, fire services, mechanical services, sprinkler services… There are other feeds that come into the lift [than the user]. Of course, people look at the lift it's always a bland lift." (Engineering, Multinational, 2017)

Figures 6.5 and 6.6: Assembling the "jump lift" on the construction site of a residential high-rise tower, Melbourne CBD, October 2017. Photo: L. Dorignon.

It also made apparent a conflicting race between the technologists' strategies for having the elevator deliver a functioning service, and the residents' tactics to elude the restrictions these functions impose. The elevators' contractors are unmistakably well-aware and resentful of these tactics, which they denote as careless, self-interested "greed":

> "People are very clever when using lifts. They will soon learn to manipulate the system and it will spread like wildfire. As soon as somebody finds a little short cut, and there are shortcuts everywhere, they will all use it. And what that does is, in the end, [it] destroys the ability of that lift system to give you best operation. So, for their own greed, they destroy what's available or the probability of having better service, for their own greed. Also, they can hold doors, they can damage lifts... (Engineering, Multinational, 2017)

Secondly, various social activity takes place in the elevators of the two buildings. Elevators are small, confined, windowless and promiscuous spaces, generally only equipped with dimmed artificial lighting and mirrors (Figures 6.7 and 6.8).



Figures 6.7 and 6.8: The elevator's cabins, mirrors, advertisement and panel control in Yorkshire Brewery, just after an interview, October 2017, Photos: L. Dorignon

The interactions have often been described as short and slightly awkward, with one party showing little interest in the other person, or a general sense of anonymity keeping the elevator riders to themselves. In that sense, the interviews confirmed that "an impinging sociability is normally held in check through the distribution of bodies in space according to unspoken norms" (Thain, 2009, p. 53). While the elevators could constitute a productive place of encounters, it is often a place where residents reject the opportunity to talk to their immediate neighbours, as revealed by Philip:

> "No everyone seems to keep to themselves. I - personally I find that people use their mobile as a foil so as soon as - they'll be standing at the lift texting away, they'll text all the way into the lift, not make eye contact, and then text all the way out of the lift. It's as though any sort of casual speech is dissuaded." (Philip, 50-54, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

The elevator space can also be used momentarily by the residents to resist certain modes of authority or control regarding building rules that they find overbearing. The expression of this resistance can be creative and functions as indirect communication between dwellers. This was revealed by one resident who observed the proliferation of notes and posters following a reminder in the elevator on where to store domestic waste.

> "There would be a sign in the elevator being quite strict about something when you left the building and then you come back suddenly, they would be a meme of a laughing cat in a pink suit or something." (Emma, 25-29, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2017)

This quote shows how these notes placed in the lift were instrumental to resist top-down communication by the building manager and created a way to attenuate a potentially growing tension. The use of the humorous image of an animal disguised as a human mocks the seriousness of the notes while serving as a diverting message to the other lift users.

> "You can tell there are different groups [be]cause depending on the note, someone would have corrected the grammar mistake, and someone would have stuck a meme on it, and then someone else would have gripped it off because they find it annoying and offensive." (Emma, 25-29, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2017)

In this example, the lifts also act as sites of social differentiation. Various responses and reactions are materialised through corrections or additions to the initial note, representing the diversity of personalities and temperaments coexisting in the building. This tends to contradict the developer's strategy of depicting all residents as one homogenous community. Without actual contact, this tactic therefore produces better knowledge between the residents about their various age groups and preferred modes of communication. The elevator travel time also appears in the interviews as an essential moment to learn more about who lives around, and particularly, who lives below. While they do not necessarily lead to a conversation or relationship between the residents, these tactics of observation allow the residents to situate themselves within a large community of people:

> "I have observed a class stratification in operation. So of course, in the lift, people come in, and people who sort of seem to live below the fifth floors, seem to look a bit poorer. And that's a really harsh thing to say but it's just an observation." (Phoebe, 35-39, renter, Yorkshire Brewery 2018)

The waiting time is at the centre of the technologists' and the dwellers' preoccupations. In technical terms, it is the interval for lifts departing the ground floor. Because of the absence of Australian standards, lifts consultants set the rules, around thirty seconds at peak time in an office building, and sixty seconds in a residential one. Ideally for technologists, users shouldn't have to wait for a lift, but the lift should be waiting on them. However, this is difficult to achieve due to the 'misconduct' of dwellers. According to the lift technologists:

> "They complain, "lifts are too slow, lifts are too slow". And then you can show them, and it corrects a little bit, and then it starts again. I have been to many meetings like that." (Engineering, Multinational, 2017)

The travelling times reflects the rhythms of the building flow (Carr, Gibson, and Farbotko 2018), which the technologists are able to anticipate and program, but also reveals the social composition and function of the building:

> "We meet with the developers and the builders, and they will determine what type of building it is. And then we can help them with the categorisation of the lifts they need and the service." (Engineering, Multinational, 2017)

This travelling time is materialised through marks in the elevator that are also used as a tactic by real-estates agents to assess and evaluate the social composition of the building, particularly in terms of tenure statuses:

> "I go into other buildings and the lifts are dirty and there's heavily marked walls. You can just tell that there's not that many owner-occupiers living there and there's not that much care being taken." (Property management, Local, 2018)

The narrative around lifts being high-tech technologies is not new: "Connective elevators and stairs were part and parcel of that modernist narrative of transitionary upward mobility that would deliver slum dwellers from their poverty to the dignity of progress." (Arrigoitia 2014, 175). Data collection via smart technologies is a significant source of power for managers and beyond them, for corporations and the State that analyse and use this data (Iveson and Maalsen 2019). For instance, lifts in my case-studies were smart technologies allowing the management and recording of all traffic, as explained by a building manager: "wherever you swipe, it records time. I can search for a card, apartment number, or name." (Building management, Micro, 2018). However, sustained research in flow technology alongside the growth of apartment living sees more smart technologies

from office towers, such as fuzzy logic, appear in residential buildings. I will focus on two technologies, one old, one new: buttons, and the cloud.

Buttons, a highly symbolic piece of technology (Plotnick 2018), are in the centre of a conflicting race between the technologists' strategies for having the elevator deliver a functioning service, and the residents' tactics to elude the restrictions these functions impose. The application of a system called "fuzzy logic", or destination control, reflects this race. The technologists describe these tactics as "little tricks" (Engineering, Multinational, 2017). Dwellers may press the button quickly in order to prevent other people from getting into the lift with them, or press it a repeated number of time to simulate a large number of people and have a lift for themselves, exemplifying a tragedy of commons narrative (Carr, Gibson, and Farbotko 2018):

> "That is how you can fool destination control. And it slows the whole system down. If you think that everyone on every floor is doing that… When the lift comes down now instead of going straight past and finishing, it's stopping and stopping… And you are delayed by three minutes. But they think that they are getting it quicker, but they are not. Silly. Very silly." (Engineering, Multinational, 2017)

In response to these tactics, technologists are working on new technologies such as the cloud, in order to deliver better services while taking from dwellers the capacity of manipulating the lift. With the incorporation of artificial intelligence technologies in the lift's design, a virtual space opens up that enhances the service, reduces maintenance costs for technologists and corrects dwellers' misuses and tactics:

> "It goes into an algorithm that defines a behaviour actually. From the maintenance perspective, everything that's happening in the elevator is recorded as such (…) and the cloud analyses that and starts to think 'ok what's going to be the corrective action' for the next maintenance visits." (Engineering, Multinational, 2017)

The other consequence will be an all-automatic service, with the swipe ordering the lift, transmitting information to the elevator such as shopping lists and calendars, and the cabin displaying advertisements or reminders to the dweller during his/her travel time.

> "Just going to the lobby, the lift is already going down. You don't have to touch any button, the number of the floor you live in is already selected and it goes up. We are now providing global solutions with just one swipe; you just open everything until you arrive at your apartment door. That's when you start with that kind of messy behaviours, it complexifies everything." (Engineering, Multinational, 2017)

This quote reveals the effort undertaken by the technologists and engineers to go around the temporal tactics of the users and correct these behaviours by more advanced technologies relying on virtual spaces.

These tactics and strategies around the lift as a moment, a social space and an object reveal the contrasting aspirations held by dwellers and designers/engineers, as well as issues of technological control, social acceptability and mobilities within high-density housing. My findings on the lift, an architectural backbone of the two case-studies, also point to what is a major aspiration and distress point within the building: the achievement of security.

6.6 Panic in the building: managing fear and security

Mirroring the rise of anxiety in contemporary cities, geographical research on housing and home has been investigating the depth of fear related to the potential threats – lived or perceived - in increasingly fragmented urban societies. Researchers have looked at how anxieties around safety, loss and invasion (Atkinson 2006) are embodied by middle-classes' practices and trajectories (Bacqué 2015; Atkinson and Flint 2004) and how a demand for security may hide a "desire for prestige and social display" through ownership (Mosselson 2018). The variety of spatial responses to the privatisation of safety has been investigated, from the fortification of homes and elaboration of gated communities (Low 2008) to the "clubbisation" of villages in suburban France (Charmes 2009, 2011). Emotional geographies have also been drawn, analysing the upper middle-class "angst" (Wiesel 2019) around the defence of socio-economic resources and spaces (Pinçon and Pinçon-Charlot 2010; Pinçon-Charlot and Pinçon 2018). This literature on fear has also analysed the development of private security apparatuses in urban societies of the Global South such as in Johannesburg, where social realities of gentrification shape everyday policing practices (Mosselson 2018).

6.6.1 Assessing the risks outside

Amid these concerns, some high-rise and condominium structures have been framed as "domestic fortresses" in the recent literature (Atkinson and Blandy 2016) for the surveillance and safety technologies they can deploy. Acacia Place and Yorkshire Brewery have not been designed as highly secured enclaves destined to protect the residents from the potential dangers of urban life.

However, I found that security and safety were major concerns for the residents and the cause of daily labour for the managers. The perception that the high-rise is a safer environment than a stand-alone house was present, and for that reason security breaches seemed to be monitored very meticulously by dwellers. There was the idea that risk was there, further in the neighbourhood, because of the suburb's local history or socio-economic profile. Most dwellers did not see themselves as directly threatened, although one resident suggested that the wealth of the development was obvious and would necessarily attract both vandalism and theft. I found that two positions were dominant. On one hand, I observed the relativist and fatalist renter, currently in the workforce, who accepts that dangers are part of city life, as illustrated by Alex: "It doesn't matter where you live, whether you are in a house with a big fence around you, you are always susceptible to something." (Alex, 40-44, renter, Acacia Place, 2017). On the other hand, I identified the anxious owner, who is in most cases retired, and who sometimes owned luxurious objects stored in the high-rise basement and had previously owned a detached house in the suburbs. This category of residents, having invested in the development and often in their larger units, were also the most demanding and uncompromising about the security systems deployed in the complex, such as for instance, the gates that allowed visitors to access the underground parking in Acacia Place, or the locks on the bicycle storage room in Yorkshire Brewery.

However, my interviews also revealed that dwellers perceived high-rise living as bringing more safety into the suburb, and to some extent to a general improvement of the suburb. This was not necessarily perceived as a positive process by all, as some residents regretted the inevitability of suburban change and the loss of local history or character, particularly in the Collingwood case-studies. In Acacia Place, the vision of neighbourhood for some residents was relatively tainted by the accounts of plain-sight drug-dealing alongside Victoria St, in Richmond, that was mentioned by several participants as a concern for their safety. The political and demographic weight that high-rise dwellers may represent as a unified community, in front of the Council, seemed to allow them to feel empowered in order to develop a strategic influence on change:

> "[People in the building] are apprehensive of going down there for dinner sort of thing. […] we do get a lot of information through the Council that they are looking at changing that, and I think that's just out of demand from the demographics that's moving to the area. It has to change." (Alex, 40-44, renter, Acacia Place, 2017)

Some participants emphasised the sense of physical detachment from the street that verticality affords, and which offers a feeling of safety:

> "It's renowned for - there's a corner on Victoria Street that's renowned for drug dealing. It's a bit intimidating. There's a lot of people around there that it's a bit scary. I feel safe to be honest, but it's not pretty. [...] I feel like we're Richmond, if anything. I call it the Paris end of Abbotsford [laughs]. I really like it." (Julie, 25-29, renter, Acacia Place, 2018)

6.6.2 Danger in the high-rise: the temporalities of fear

Security is part of a strategic repertoire developed by developers' narratives, and that has been studied for its particularly gendered and contradictory discourses (Fincher 2004; Kern 2010). In the two case-studies a desire for surveillance and the presence of authority figures was driven by dwellers' fears and anxieties, surrounding theft of material belongings and personal safety. These apprehensions revealed the importance of temporalities in the lived experience of dwellers, for instance short temporalities such as day and night changes but also longer ones such as the socio-economic trajectory of the suburb. In both developments, the generalisation of security was noticeable, which led to a shared feeling of safety within the building:

> "There is never ever safety problems. [...] when I come in and I am here at night I don't have the door locked, because I figured no one on this floor is coming into it. You need a pass to get on to this floor." (Arthur, 35-39, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

Additionally, some participants, predominantly women, evoked the reassuring possibility of calling the manager in case of threat:

> "I feel very safe, very safe. During the day there are concierges in each of the three buildings, but at night there is one for the whole three buildings, so you know you can ring somebody." (Leah, 50-54, owner, Acacia Place, 2017)

This quote shows that security has been handed over to the high-rise managers rather than security government agents (Police force etc.). However, it was difficult to establish whether the residents felt safe regardless of the security systems, and how much these contributed to their feeling of safety in these privileged suburbs of Melbourne (Figure 6.9).

Figure 6.9: On the front, an indigenous activist graffiti and women walking on the river cycle path. In the background, the stairs leading to Acacia Place, October 2017. Photo: L. Dorignon

While the high-rise governance structure seemed to have undertaken the responsibility of keeping intruders out, the data also revealed an apprehension of finding oneself completely alone, as if trapped inside with the danger. There was a fear that the size of the developments coupled with the largely shared sense of anonymity between neighbours, particularly in Yorkshire Brewery, contributed to not distinguishing between intruders and dwellers. This led to a sense of uneasiness for the residents. The response developed was a strategic view of the idea of a "community", built around a duty of protection. The idea of a cooperation to "look out" for neighbours was brought up by several participants, with a differentiation between residents who felt protected by the group of residents at large, such as Philip and Riya, and those who felt the duty to protect, such as Alex:

> "We do like having a lot of people around because it just makes you feel safe" (Philip, 50-54, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

> "[…] here you have a community, so there are always people looking out. Also, my partner and I are very personable people, so we like to know our neighbours as well. We are not reclusive." (Alex, 40-44, renter, Acacia Place, 2017)

For Riya, the desire to position herself in a protecting group was explained in her own terms by her personal trajectory from Asia, a leitmotiv in her interview:

> "I like the community vibe that it has. I feel safe. Because I'm a single woman living firstly new to the country, living by myself, don't know much about the city, so I definitely feel safe not just because there's building management down, but also I can reach out to any of the neighbours here and I'm pretty sure they'll be more than happy to help." (Riya, 30-34, renter, Acacia Place, 2018)

The second most expressed fear linked to belongings and loss. Thefts of personal items were experienced as a major source of anxiety and distress, not only because of the financial value of stolen items – mostly luxurious bikes and cars – but also for the emotional value attached to objects:

> "One of my friends had a car stolen a few weeks ago. It's difficult… It's hard to regulate, and sometimes if you have too much regulation then your freedoms are sort of lost as well. You have got to weigh it up." (Steven, 50-54, owner, Acacia Place, 2018)

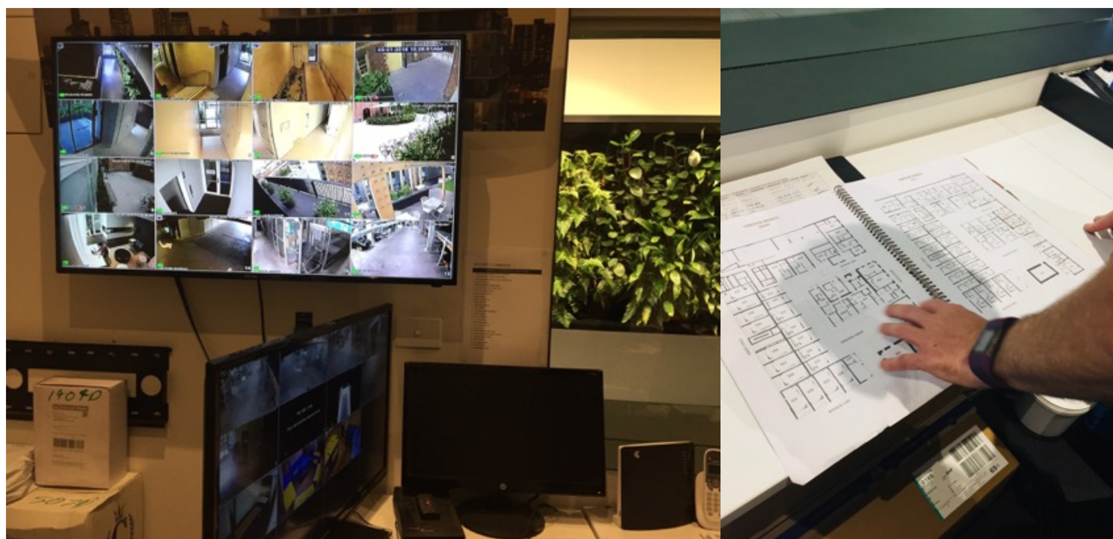
Steven's perspective emphasises the trauma caused by the loss of objects, as well as by the significant intrusion into the residential 'safe' space these acts of theft symbolise.

Figures 6.10 and 6.11: Bicycles parks in, Acacia Place on the left, and Yorkshire Brewery on the centre and right. Storage cages in the centre. September 2017 and January 2018. Photos: L. Dorignon

6.6.3 Doors, lights and cameras: the strategies for spatial security

Equipped with dozens of cameras, both developments combined surveillance with systems designed to control or limit access within the building. This technology contributed to seducing the investors and buyers as revealed by Alex:

> "This [apartment] came up and it had a lot more to offer. It had carpark, security, storage, swimming pool, gyms, everything for less money basically." (Alex, 40-44, renter, Acacia Place, 2017)



Figures 6.12 and 6.13: On the other side of CCTV the screens and master plan of the Yorkshire Brewery apartments from the concierge lodge, January 2018. Photos: L. Dorignon

However, the high-rise setting may turn out to be an unsatisfactory environment for some, because of the proximity to unchosen neighbours:

> "When these buildings are sold, they are sold very well with the lifestyle, and the security and the facilities, and then if you get someone that's living so close to you that's not who you expected, there is going to be disappointment." (Alex, 40-44, renter, Acacia Place, 2017)

In both case-studies, there is a limited-access system in place at the door (Figure 6.14) that restricts access to each building to residents of the complex through swipe entrance and camera calls for guests. A similar systems is operating in the elevators (Figure 6.15) which prevent lift passengers from access to floors unless they are residents of that floor or authorised guests.

Figures 6.14 and 6.15: Haven's "residential-only" entrance and elevator control panel with camera and limited-access only system, May 2017. Photos: L. Dorignon

These objects signalling security contribute to making residents feel safe, even though many pointed out the inconsistencies of the system, such as Max: "The swipe is a little bit annoying, but again, security. But it's a bit silly, because you can just walk the stairs." (Max, 30-34, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018). These devices not only concern access but also visibility, as shown by the implementation of lights in the POP (privately owned public space) in Acacia Place intended to deter unruly trespassers:

> "I guess people have come here from outside, or friends of people that live here, and realised it's fairly affluent, and they think of… a particular target. That might have been why it has been targeted for some vandalism. The lights are just to make sure you are going to be seen, and I am not sure there are security cameras down there, but there are security cameras in the other areas, like in the lifts and open spaces." (Steven, 50-54, owner, Acacia Place, 2017)

While theft in the mailing room was acknowledged by the manager to be a major issue in Yorkshire Brewery, the rhythms of door-to-door deliveries (food, consumer goods, etc.) and their intensity were frowned upon by a councillor of the City of Yarra about Acacia Place:

> "They were talking of expanding the hours on the desk because people get thousands of deliveries a week … I mean you can't get in without someone to let you in, […] and they just get things delivered, it's amazing!" (Planning, Local government, 2018)

This account both expresses bewilderment towards the consuming behaviours of the high-rise dwellers, while underlining the conflicting question of the building access. It also evokes discordant planning visions between developers and local councils: "it's no secret that inner city Melbourne elected councillors are young and green and anti-development." (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2017).

> "That is another issue with living with people, having food delivered all the time, you've got the safety thing of letting in strangers […] you let somebody in, they are in […] you can find the staircase and work your way down, so I really am concerned about it…" (Rose, 60-64, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

This section analysed the objects and practices responding to the emotions and fears described earlier and designed to keeping the high-rise closed to intruders. A tension emerged between dwellers' aspirations for a secure residential building and for other conveniences associated with high-rise living and urban life.

6.6.4 "Not a party place": a regulated festive life

This section looks at the rules aimed to structure the high-rise festive life, the "official" events organised by the body corporate and the difficulty for residents to bypass the security measures put in place. This leads to a highly regulated festive life and leaves little room for more tactical and spontaneous moments of conviviality. I argue that these tactical moments can happen within more 'strategic' events, drawing on Fincher and Iveson's (2008) discussion of conviviality. They underline the importance of structured and organised events or spaces which create opportunities for spontaneous conviviality to occur. In high-rise living, strategic spaces are in place for spontaneous events to happen, even if the spontaneous nature of meet-ups and get together can be compromised by both the rigidity of the rules and the expectations of 'order' from some residents:

> "That's the main problem: the location of the community area is the main issue. People complain about it all the time. It has gotten a lot better now, we have put a lot more rules, a lot stricter, we don't stand for any noise […] if they breach the rule, I cancel their access to the rooftop for punishment. […] We don't stand for any crap, it's people's home it's not a party place." (Building management, Micro, 2018)

Many of my interviews took place just after New Year's Eve, a festive date which was brought up frequently in the conversation. Even though there is a common space and rooftop with a city view, previous misconduct has led to coercive rules enforced towards dwellers and the shut-down of the communal space offering the view of the city at 10 o'clock on the 31st of December. This meant dwellers retreat individually to their apartments, if they have a view. The negotiation of rules and property to avoid potential material damage was seen as a main priority:

> "Between every year now we shut it down, so this new year, they thought I was gone, but I was up there at 10 o'clock and kicked everyone out and said get off the roof, closed, locked it all up. I said if you want to be at a firework, rent an apartment where you can see the firework, don't rent a cheap apartment facing this way when you want to look that way." (Building management, Micro, 2018)

There is also a set of dissuasion strategies, such as high bond prices for renting cooking facilities or dining rooms, as well as the compulsory presence of body guards in the two developments:

> "you need to have a security guard, or someone working as security, to physically escort people up the lift to bring them up here […] There's just too many hoops to jump through to actually use that facility […] too much hassle."

> "A friend of mine got married, and he and his partner wanted to have a reception here. But because of security guards or whatever… You can only book it for a morning to afternoon event, or an evening event, and I wanted to have it from 4 to 8, so I had to pay double, so paying 3000 dollars to rent the space. […] It didn't happen… […] It was disappointing…" (Steven, 50-54, 2017)

As a response, residents may for instance cook in their apartment and bring the food up rather than using the cooking facilities. This pushes the communal aspect of high-rise living back into domestic spaces.

This section showed how significant power is exercised by the body corporate and management in response to potential threats and desire of safety. This leads to residents' perception of common spaces that are difficult to turn into convivial places. The rules in the development are frequently perceived as inflexible, although it is unclear what proportion of residents are in support of these rules considering they wish to reduce potential disturbances such as noise levels. Neighbourly relationships can develop in this context, through forms of cooperation or competition.

6.7 Opening friendships, preserving anonymity

This section looks at the negotiation of social relations in the communal spaces of the high-rise buildings, and explores the different tactics and strategies shaping camaraderie or detachment (Pojani and Buka 2015). The two buildings were quite different in this respect. In the Yorkshire Brewery, most participants regretted the absence of a sociable atmosphere between the residents, described the building communal rooms as lonely and desolated, and almost all participants deplored the few interactions between residents. There was a low level of proximity and intimacy between the residents. In this complex, no initiative was mentioned by residents to foster a sense of conviviality or get to know your neighbours. Relationships between households were infrequent compared to Acacia Place, although in the sections of the development that were smaller – in particular the heritage part of the development – more participants evoked friendly relations, allegedly because the sections were socially more homogenous.

In Acacia Place, the relationships between residents were usually described as more convivial. The communication was established through the intranet of the buildings served mostly for maintenance requests and in Acacia Place, the reporting of minor incidents. Most residents knew their neighbours' names, however if chance encounters were experienced as positive by most residents, some participants were rejoiced over never encountering anyone. I first explore the tactics

and strategies of what I call 'living distant together' before turning to the potential of more-than-human encounters in the case-study buildings.

6.6.1 Living distant together

The absence or lack of social activities and relations in the case-study buildings provoked various tactics and strategies among participants. The participants described how they achieve or negotiate living distant together. The communal aspect was rarely invoked as the main reason to move in, although in some cases, especially in Acacia Place, it appears to be a positive outcome: "this building was able to give me that connection as well, that sense of community" (Steven, 50-54, owner, 2017). Half of the participants regretted the lack of interactions between dwellers, particularly in the Yorkshire Brewery as pointed out by David:

> "In terms of social interactions, I find they are minimal to almost non-existent. People here, once they get home from work, they sort of shut off and don't want to talk to other people. It's a strange sort of mindset. Is there a culture of not being sociable? (David, 30-34, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

This description of the development' social life can be contrasted by Barbara's explanation of these loose social relations: "everyone sticks to themselves, everyone's very respectful." (Barbara, 25-29, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018). The remaining half of the participants were indeed bothered by the imposition of a communal aspect and strategically behaved as though they were living in a standalone house, which may be facilitated by the location of their apartment on ground floor or their separate entrance to the complex (Chapter 5). This is the case of Barbara, who "just try to pretend that there's not many people around." (Barbara, 25-29, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018):

> "I wouldn't want to intrude on them. I feel everyone wants to be very private these days. Especially in these building because you are surrounded by people, I think as soon as you acknowledge how many people are actually around you it becomes a little bit stressful."

Similarly, to Barbara's anxiety over the density of residents in the development and strategy of 'keeping to herself', Rose strategically selected a property in Yorkshire Brewery which did not give her the experience of the high-rise:

> "What I liked about this one is that when you are over here, it doesn't feel like you are in such a big development. [...] Although upstairs you can see the tower behind us." (Rose, 60-64, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

This shows how dweller's strategies can compete with each other, ultimately showing individuals incompatible values and expectations. However, their membership to the high-rise development through body corporate fees or tenancy and the high-density of residents both created situations where intimacy and distance had to be negotiated (Killias 2018).

The most common ways of connecting in both high-rise developments appeared to rely on temporal characteristics through membership to a "cohort" or on spatial characteristics through membership to a floor level or building. The term cohort was used by residents of Acacia Place in relation to the year in which they had moved in. Because the development was built through three phases, some dwellers had lived there longer and seen as more "senior" in the development, regardless of their age:

> "I think the people that came in initially, some of them created quite a friendship group. And I noticed that at Sanctuary as well, that people were doing that in that first cohort. [...] They met through the drinks and they do things together, going to the footy etc." (Leah, 50-54, owner, Acacia Place, 2017)

There was a clear sense of pride emerging from having been a resident since the start, which derived from having practiced the site at its beginning, when socialisation wasn't as formalised because most of the common spaces were not constructed. The temporalities of the different construction stages replicate almost perfectly into the social layers of the development. The experience of having seen the building under construction has also created a strong link between certain dwellers who had to cope with the nuisances and uncertainties of construction (Gillon 2017b) which made them develop solidarity networks. Bonds were created in short moments of crisis: helping a neighbour out during an electricity shortage and storm. With this seniority comes certain tasks: the responsibility to include new residents, to make sure they know about the untold rules of the building, to insure they will feel comfortable to attend the building's social events. In Acacia Place, the composition of the development in three buildings was therefore taken on as a strong identity and bonding factor. Residents strongly identified with their buildings and recognised the social and cultural differences of other ones:

> "Someone said to me that one of the buildings was like a party building. This building is the normal people building. Then the building over there is like the older people living in it [laughs]." (Julie, 25-29, renter, Acacia Place 2018)

A resident met at one of the social gathering assessed her relationships with "her level" by the fact that doors are not locked so that neighbours can freely walk in each other's apartment. She told me that her floor was "the best floor", and later adding that "breaking into" her neighbour's apartment was as a sign of a proximity and closeness. Overall, strategic ways of living distantly, for distance denying high-density, came from dwellers who did not expect or wish to develop close connections with other dwellers in the development. Tactical ways of living together emerged from participants who had developed expectations to bond with other residents.

6.6.3 Furry encounters: more-than-human connections in high-rise buildings

Findings from my data link to Power's research on the association between "pet ownership and rental insecurity" and on restrictive Australian policies on pets as a real barrier to apartment living. According to Power, owners of apartments are more likely to ban pets than house owners (2017), however in my case-studies I have found Acacia Place and Yorkshire Brewery to be relatively pet-friendly developments. Both developments allowed pets, under the condition of their registration. In particular, there was a sense of pride about living in a development where there are lots of dogs. This may be due to the status it represents, as an indicator that there are many home-owners in the development. While Power has demonstrated how "agency of dogs was recognised as shaping family and home" (Power 2008), I also found that dogs were essential in allowing or maintaining sociabilities between residents of both case-studies.

Dogs were a crucial socialising factor in both high-rise buildings, even though both apartment developments had not been specifically designed for accommodating dogs and their owners, as confirmed by one of the landscape architects. One particularly introverted and private participant has admitted to consciously becoming a "dog person" in order to adapt to the omnipresence of dogs in the complex. Even though she still "refused to pat them", she admitted to having let the dogs lick her legs in the elevator to facilitate interactions with the neighbours (Leah, 50-54, owner, Acacia Place, 2017). One other resident also employed dogs as part of a ruse to engage a conversation with particular neighbours, however temporary the results of this interaction might be:

> "I mean occasionally we have got neighbours with dogs so you will be like 'oh that's a cute dog' and you know particularly big huskies… because I like huskies… and so I just kind of stare intently at the dog for ten minutes until the neighbour is like 'you can pet the dog… you want to pet the dog'. So that's the sort of conversation but I wouldn't say it's a very convivial building." (Emma, 25-29, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2017)

The connections allowed by dog ownership went beyond dwellers, as in this example from an interview with a real-estate agent who interrupted the conversation with me to point out at a dog outside the café we were sitting in:

> "That's Rupert there, have you met Rupert? […] That's the Great Dane living in a two-bedroom apartment in the Yorkshire Brewery […] I think after they bought the apartment Rupert came along." (Property development, Local, 2018)

Rupert's popularity and personality have become emblematic of the possibilities of apartment living, Great Danes being exceptionally tall dogs. Particular breeds of dogs also signal social status and wealth (Pinçon and Pinçon-Charlot 1993), as well as being the sign of a certain adaptability to small residential spaces in dense cities (Syme 2018). The presence of dogs is, like any other neighbour, highly negotiated within the apartment complex.

> "In a pressure environment, small dogs would probably be more annoying although they are more suitable for a small apartment. For other people, because it's a high pitch bark, that might be more of problem. The bigger dogs have a low woof…" (Rose, 60-64, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

Not every dog benefits from Rupert's popularity nor its approval by real-estate agents and managers, as revealed by this unlucky experience in Yorkshire Brewery which forced the tenant out of the development:

> "We had one tenant leave; the dog was a nuisance. And we said the dog goes or you go, so they both went!" (Building management, Micro, 2018)

The fact that companion-animals can foster interactions between residents and with strangers in the street, as well as a greater sense of conviviality, has been understood by smaller development firms, which are showing a humane approach through the praise of pet ownership:

> "Pet ownership is obviously encouraged […] living in an apartment shouldn't mean that you have to go without having a pet." (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2017)

6.8 Perspectives

Housing tenure status has long been recognised as a crucial factor in the distinction and roles of dwellers (Bate 2018) and continues to influence residents' daily perceptions in terms of material responsibility and financial stability. Residents' accounts revealed that tenure status continues to impact negotiations, both temporary and enduring, of the material and social conditions of high-rise living. Yet this chapter determined how, beyond housing tenures, differences such as housing trajectories, class belonging, gender or age influence the way individuals and groups are producing a negotiated form of high-rise living through their ability to employ different tactics and strategies. It also explored how residents and developers negotiate the interference and value of short-stay accommodation solutions, which raises anxieties and new discourse on building care, expressed collectively, outside individual homes.

I argued that the coproduction of communal spaces is articulating important power negotiations between actors as well as establishing eminently political or moral views on how to regulate the building. In particular, I examined the function and role of underground spaces (e.g. basements) as sites of tactics and strategies for the negotiation of mobilities and flows. I also interpret the lifts as socio-technical processes that crystallise contrasting views and practices between technologists and residents. The lifts are fundamental places and objects within the high-rise, which give rise to important moments in the trajectories of the residents, during which they build, assess and re-evaluate their neighbourly relationships and practice their ability to regulate the building's activities. This concerns chiefly the way building access is monitored and controlled. The empirical data showed both a great desire for safety, as well as considerable concern for intimacy and privacy, which are negotiated using a set of tactics and strategies around screens, cameras and noise levels. These objects are used in order to uncover particular tactics such as hiding, separating and making invisible certain practices within the building. The data also revealed the emergence of friendship groups and circles within the residents, mostly according to the date of arrival in the complex rather than by tenure status, which I designate as a "cohort effect". These circles are moving, and their perimeters are loose, although they are often considered quite strict and maintained with great care by the residents. Overall, there is a tendency to "live distantly" and use a series of tactics and strategies to negotiate the boundaries of home and public life within such large residential complexes.

Chapter 7. Making middle-class homes in high-rise apartments

7.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on a third high-rise socio-space: the apartments with the individuals who inhabit them (Figure 7.1). It examines the tactics and strategies composed by residents and housing professionals throughout the production and inhabitancy of high-rise homes. By analysing everyday domestic practices and 'at-home' lifestyle aspirations, I discuss the construction of diverse middle-class identities in high-rise apartments. I explore which tactics and strategies emerge in the domestic spaces of high-rise buildings, and what calling an apartment home means for Australian's housing aspirations and everyday life. Further, I investigate how apartment living affects middle-class individuals' ability and desire to remain middle-class, and how high-rise living produces spatial configurations of class. To do so, this chapter draws from the following high-rise living attributes: rooms and floorplans, fittings and furnishing, views. Momentary and everyday domestic tactics intersect with the long-term strategies deployed by actors in the pursuit of high-rise home-making. Meanings of these new middle-class housing practices are established for individual and households' trajectories, but also for wider processes in city life such as individualisation.

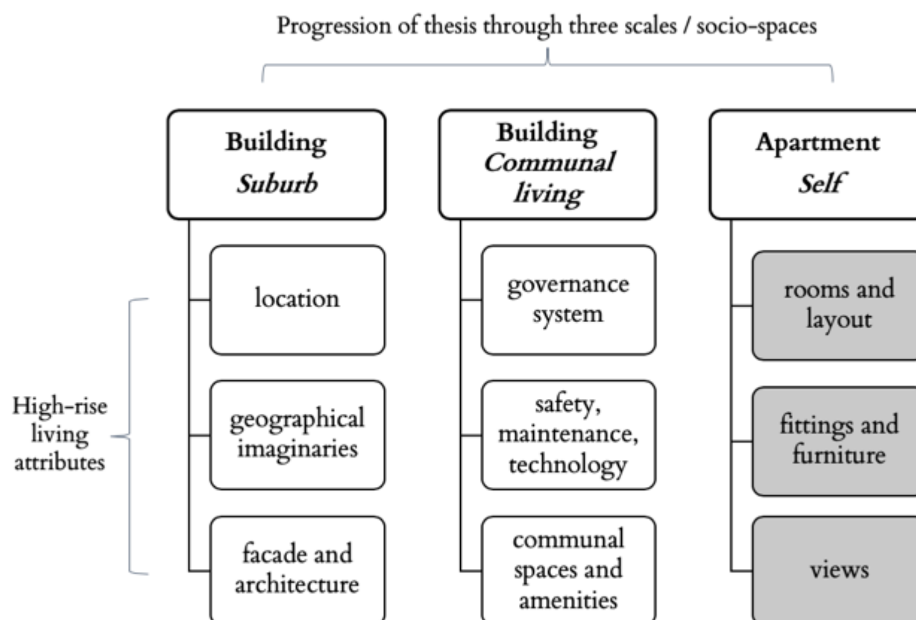


Figure 7.1: Chapter 7 in the thesis results chapter roadmap.

The most intimate and private places of high-rise buildings, apartments crystallise significant aspirations for moving in to a high-rise building. From artists' impressions of the apartments to real-estate descriptions and house inspections, moving in a high-rise building is fuelled by the production of domestic desires for middle-class dwellers. However, there are many complications and unexpected outcomes in settling and inhabiting a high-rise apartment, which brings out specific affective and emotional geographies. For instance, the finishing quality of the flats appeared to be recurrent sources of frustration and disappointment, causing dwellers to activate varying adjustments such as negotiating with the developer or shifting their long-term housing strategies. The apartment typology also meant a great variety of circumstances, housing arrangements, and personal trajectories which led to tremendously diverse households cohabiting next to each other.

In this chapter, I argue that high-rise apartments' spatial and material features – aesthetics, fittings, views, etc. – are being shaped by dwellers and developers as characteristics of a renewed Australian middle-class housing setting. For example, the various ways according to which the high-rise apartment is furnished and decorated denote a sense of class culture but are also formed by individuals' identity. The apartment home becomes a territory for tactics and strategies in revealing the ambivalent narratives and practices that surround internal intimacies and home-making. For instance, living in a new 'modern' apartment requires, for the aesthetics of spaciousness and minimalism to be maintained, to leave at the door one's possessions. In the case of a transnational apartment home (Walsh 2006), it confers a fundamental symbolic value to the way a particular piece of furniture is arranged in the apartment in order to recreate home in a highly standardised environment. The chapter discusses, beyond common aspirations and mechanisms, the way of individualising one's own space in the high-rise, through objects and practices. This furthers our understanding of the multiple and changing identities of the middle classes as well as helping to situate how middle-class high-rise living may have an impact on other social groups in suburban spaces.

Through everyday practices in the apartment, which middle-class identities are expressed? In fiction and the Australian zeitgeist, high-rise living is rarely associated with a sense of homeliness. This chapter investigates how it is made homely by individuals who live in it and describes how intimacy or togetherness is sought at home despite an environment constrained by height and volumes One of the chapter's findings is the often-ambivalent sense of being and belonging in the

high-rise. Tactics and strategies in the apartment home reveal indeed some tensions around how, and to what extent, a sense of home is achieved. For tenants, it means, for instance, negotiating a tension between making a home by leaving material traces on it (on the walls, through renovations, alterations, etc.) and maintaining the new and 'luxurious' aesthetics of the apartment to ensure full reimbursement of the bond. Finally, home is not only lived but imagined (Easthope 2004), with the process of creating the dwelling involving experiences and practices but also emotions and relationships (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Chollet 2015). The chapter reveals the strategies of dwellers that go beyond consuming the apartment as a commodity. Memory and nostalgia, everyday life imagined in the present as well as in future dreams and fears, are articulated around the apartment spaces, their objects, and relations.

The chapter is organised as follows. **Section 7.2** situates this chapter in the work already established on class and home-making in apartment geographies. **Section 7.3** describes the household categories that were encountered in the interviews as well as how social trajectories, class, and cultural differences were revealed during the walking tour of the apartments. In **Section 7.4**, I analyse the importance of layouts in the inhabitancy of high-rise apartments: the size, volume and spatial configurations of apartments give rise to various arrangements, uses, and meanings for dwellers. In **Section 7.5**, I turn to the cultural dimension of class through an analysis of the tactics of taste (Bourdieu 1979) that achieve a sense of home, or on the contrary challenge dwellers' process of home-making. It also investigates the performance of domesticity in the high-rise apartment and examines the distribution of domestic labour in the apartment home. In **Section 7.6**, I analyse the high-rise views as both a spatial and social practice and argue that they contribute to dwellers' 'spatial capital' (Lévy 2003). **Section 7.7** provides some perspectives on the chapter's key findings.

7.2 Class and home-making in apartment geographies

In this section, I detail how this chapter will contribute to "the under-explored cultural dimensions of class in on-going housing commodification" (Nethercote 2018, 3). Class has been closely associated with investigations on how individuals and households are able to position themselves in housing systems and access them. Under a Marxist approach, class has traditionally been used in housing studies in understanding the origin of socio-spatial inequalities, with some work notably in Australia on the differentiated experiences of accessing home-ownership for young people of working and middle-class background (Colic-Peisker and Johnson 2012). Within the

literature on housing and the middle-class, there is a particular focus on the process of acquiring a home and on the ways in which middle-class subjects either use their position or capital to reproduce class structures or are enticed into particular housing schemes through branding strategies (Ouwehand and Bosch 2016).

This thesis moves away from a Marxist understanding of class structures to envisage class relationally and draws on a Bourdieusian consideration of social groups across class. This chapter follows Allen's conception of class as a "specific mode of being towards housing […] as complex as the social, economic, cultural and symbolic worlds in which being is formed" (Allen 2011, 97). Attentive to the diversity of practices and situations that characterise middle-class dwellers in the two high-rise buildings, I adopt a relational approach of apartments that reveals the extreme diversity of situations and "places" in the social realm of the high-rise (Robertson 2013). In housing studies, the legacy of Bourdieu (1988) is manifest and includes a reworking of his conceptualisation of various forms of capital and 'field' (Boterman 2012) but also of the notion of 'hysteresis' applied to housing aspirations gaps (Crawford and McKee 2016). Inequalities and privilege are also examined through a consideration of "trajectories of cultural capitals over time (and their interaction with trajectories of economic capitals)" (Nethercote 2018, 3). Recent investigations of off-plan purchases in France (Andrew and Larceneux 2018) and Australia (Gillon and Gibson 2018) include the role of emotions and psychological satisfaction in the creation of "value" for investor-occupier subjects, beyond financial worth and assessment of utilitarian benefits.

In my research, I turn to the contrasting experiences beyond the framework of class relations by looking at the internal differences within a middle-class group, and by looking at the experiences that follow 'getting a home'. This chapter contributes to this body of work by examining the relations of middle-class subjects to housing further along the process of acquiring a home, and the role class identities, culture and trajectory play in the everyday inhabitancy of housing. In this way, this chapter extends Boterman's examination of the tactics and strategies middle-class dwellers employ to acquire a home (2012) by investigating these sets of skills not only in terms of home-acquisition but also other stages in the process of home-making. In this regard, this chapter extends the consideration of dwellers' skills to the materiality and emotional geography of home in order to examine what role taste (Anderson 2005) and 'housing literacy' (Nethercote 2018) effectively play in middle-class home-making.

In geographical research, combined analysis of class and apartment living revolves around three premises which are detailed in Chapter 2. First, following inaugural work in sociology and history on the construction of the bourgeois interior in Paris and London (Marcus 1999), researchers have focused on the interaction of social aspirations with architectural changes in the domestic space. The impact of gentrification on the socio-economic profile of buildings (Lepoutre 2010) as well on the physical transformation of apartments through restorations and extensions (Chabrol 2011) supplements this body of work. Second, the historical importance associated with the construction and sometimes demolition (Baxter and Brickell 2014) of housing estates in Europe has led to a rich and abundant literature on lived domestic spaces (De Vos 2010; Hanley 2012; Gilbert 2016b, 2016a), embodied practices of inhabitancy (Baxter 2017) and emotional landscapes (Lees and Baxter 2011) of public housing flats. However, these boundaries are not found to be permeable: social classes intersect in these analyses where transnational (Aboy 2012) and architectural models travel between social groups' imaginaries and values (Kaddour 2013; Thoburn 2018). Third, apartment housing solutions have been framed as commodities of a neo-liberal real-estate market (Nethercote 2019), where middle-class dwellers are to be seduced by lifestyle promises and become consumers of imaginaries, objects, places and aspirations (Clarke 2003; Fincher 2007). High-rise apartments in this literature are found to articulate highly identified place-related consumer cultures around the purchase of, for instance, a highly normalised 'liveability' (Fullagar et al. 2013).

The framework of tactics and strategies applied in this chapter on domestic practices affords the possibility to consider how dwellers may act as active recipients of these commodities, arbitrating about the quality, validity, and meaning of the housing product they are calling home. This chapter contributes to an understanding of middle-class household strategies and negotiation of time and space where the stakes – financial, social, symbolic – are high. Additionally, this chapter ventures into the unexplored domestic geographies of apartment living in Australia (Nethercote and Horne 2016), particularly for the middle-classes in recently built developments characterised by a mix of apartments.

7.3 Social composition and household strategies

Data collection took place in the context of a strong housing market in the City of Yarra (City of Yarra 2018) and a demand shift. While apartments were initially mostly intended for a foreign and/or student clientele, they have been increasingly directed at a wealthy middle-class having long

resided in the inner and middle ring of suburbs. These new apartment consumers are emerging on the market; not just as investors and tenants, but also as home-owners. This has been caused by population growth but also affordability, a cultural shift and policy change, including the *Better Apartment* guidelines (Victoria State Government 2016). The two developments' construction date also corresponded with the start of a period of growth of apartments' sizes and an increase in overall design and quality (Chapter 4). These economic trends in part reflect a middle-class desire to translate the suburban characteristics of previous homes – namely volume, outdoor amenities and location – in an apartment (see Chapter 4) and gesture to a form of social exclusivity as imposed by high housing prices. However, the two high-rise buildings that inform this thesis are both characterised by a heterogeneous social composition. Both apartment developments, particularly Acacia Place, were marketed to a wealthy fraction of the middle-class. Yet the social composition of apartments and financial montages that have allowed dwellers to make a home in these building have induced some socio-economic differences. This results in various spatial expressions of class culture, and various interpretation of high-rise living inside the apartments.

7.3.1 Same address, different social worlds

In both case-studies, participants' social backgrounds were varied and reflected great socio-economic diversity within the buildings. The interviews revealed the different social worlds that are deployed inside the apartments. Different categories of residents can be established based on various criteria. As previously analysed in Chapter 5, there is an evident distinction between tenants and owner-occupiers. Amongst my participants, 20 interviewees were owner-occupiers (including 5 couples) and 8 were tenants. Family connections between residents sometimes created a network of dwellers which materially extended ownership of the property and, symbolically, the boundaries of home in the development. There was for instance the case of a dweller (who did not participate in the study) whose daughter and son lived in different buildings of Acacia Place. However, this distinction does not reflect the diversity of housing conditions. Among the home-owners, two participants lived in a converted five-bedroom apartment, one in a three-bedroom. The majority of owners and tenants lived in one- or two-bedroom apartments, one participant was living in a studio apartment. There were also chronological distinctions to be made in the way home-owners had acquired their apartments. A first wave of owners had bought their property directly off the plan, which conferred them some freedom over which apartment they could choose from, a second

bought after the apartments were delivered, and a third fraction were initially tenants of their flat before either purchasing it or another one in the same complex. These different temporalities have direct consequences on the way residents felt at home. However, because the apartments were recently built and purchased, the temporalities of inhabitancy examined were relatively short and it wasn't possible to look at the social trajectory of the building in a meaningful way.

These differences between socio-cultural background and occupations were mirrored in the multiplicity of social trajectories, from becoming middle-class to having been brought up in an upper-middle-class milieu. These differences impacted the way participants inhabited the high-rise home and enacted tactics and strategies differently. It also modified their relationship and way of being with me as I was conducting the interviews, and particularly, the home tours.

7.3.2 A prevailing apartment story: downsizing

Home is fundamental is constituting an identity and sense of self. The domestic sphere appeared in the data collected as a crucial everyday place but also as a symbolic representation of individual life-course transitions. One of the most prevailing housing transitions encountered throughout the interviews was downsizing. Downsizing can be defined as a move from one property to a smaller one. However in the context of Australian high-rise living, 'downsizers' often refers to baby-boomer couples or singles who sell their house, generally in the middle or outer suburbs, after their children have left, to move in a new apartment in a development offering similar characteristics as a village retirement or a home, such as services, communal spaces and amenities. I frame downsizing as a strategy because for the participants encountered in the interviews, it was accomplished in order to profit financially from the benefits of a sale and gain particular social and locational advantages trough the inhabitancy of an apartment. Downsizing as a strategy of the wealthy upper-class also appeared in the interviews with real-estate professionals who described downsizers as a pioneer population in the opening of suburban apartment living in Melbourne:

> "Traditionally, first home buyers have established the inner-ring apartment market, and then downsizers started in the outer ring suburbs, so they have started in the Tooraks, and the Malverns, and now they are coming further in. Inner suburbs [...] now have apartment suited to people who are downsizing." (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2018)

The phenomenon of downsizing has been investigated in housing studies mostly through quantitative economic studies (Banks et al. 2012; Ong et al. 2015) or in relation to ageing and opportunities (Fiori, Graham, and Feng 2019), social disadvantage (Han and Kim 2017) and health (Byles et al. 2018). In this chapter I contribute to this emerging literature by exploring the lived experiences of downsizers in apartments, their individual motivations, lifestyle aspirations and material living conditions. The term 'downsizing' seems to refer to a particular demographic (people over sixty years) and social group (retirees). It also involves spatial opportunities, such as location and design, and compromises, such as greater proximity to neighbours. I now detail how the broad appellation of 'downsizers' hides various social realities and distinctive strategies within middle-class high-rise living.

Eric and Susan are in their 60s and used to be school teachers before they changed occupation and moved to the logistic and alternative medicine sectors. After having lived in three contiguous middle suburbs of the East, Mont Albert, Balwyn and Blackburn, Eric started talking to his wife about downsizing: "if we go to an apartment we should try before we buy" (60-64, owner, 2018). They had never lived in an apartment before. Eric and Susan moved in 2013 in the second floor of Eden, one of Acacia's buildings. Financial obligations prevented them from buying off the plan, even though they had looked into it after seeing the advertisement for the development in the paper, something that was quite different from how apartment living had been portrayed on television, they said. Three years later, they purchased a two-bedroom, two-bathroom apartment on the lower ground of Eden, which had been previously occupied by an elderly person. Their modern-style apartment is efficiently organised, and the second bedroom is used as an art and craft space by Susan. They were "sold" by the view of the Yarra river, a sight they enjoy on their little balcony as "chillout time". They have even installed a heater to be able to sit outside in winter, and some lights for night-time, which the building initially didn't have: "we spend two thirds of our time here, outside. I'd rather come from work, walk through the door and come out here and sit down" (Eric, 60-64, owner, 2018). For Eric and Susan, the downsize involved a significant decrease of their living space and involved a transition period to allow the move financially and psychologically. By moving in to a wealthy development in Abbotsford, they were able to raise their position and expand their social circles. The outcomes were largely positive even though it involved some compromises on the size of the property.

Another couple, both British citizens, Rose and Tim were downsizing from a house in Perth and had had previous apartment experiences from London and Hong-Kong: "we were downsizing anyway, but we didn't want to downsize too far, so we were trying to look for a bigger apartment" (Rose, 65-69, owner, 2018). They bought a 108 sq. meter apartment in the old brewery section of the Yorkshire Brewery development, with the "special factor of being inside heritage buildings rather than, just you know, investment" (Architecture, 2017). The apartment has two-bedrooms and two-bathrooms on two levels and a very spacious living area with "heritage brick walls and completely new build on the inside" (Rose, 65-69, owner, 2018). Rose and Tim work in specialised, highly-qualified tertiary sectors, respectively communication and civil engineering. They belong to a transnational, hyper-mobile fraction of the upper-middle-class. Tim plays cricket, one of the main reasons they moved from Western Australia to Victoria, and they both attend third-age university as they are semi-retired. The couple was able to buy off the plan on this highest level of that small part of the development, and as they bought first, "had the choice of all of them" (Tim, 65-69, owner, 2018). They evoked their capacity to "extrapolate what was going to happen", because of their occupational skills and construction expertise. Their downsizing strategy was very much a combination of their personal taste and locational aspirations (see Chapter 4), allowed by their economic and cultural capital.

Michael and his wife were renting a house in East Melbourne when they decided to buy a two-bedroom, two-bathroom, off the plan on one of the top floors of the Yorkshire Brewery. A downsize was not a simply a housing aspiration for the middle-age couple but was intertwined with professional constraints linked to the use of their previous home as a medical practice. They conceive the apartment as a place they work from since they drive most weekends to their second property in a touristy coastal town of regional Victoria. Michael described their downsize as a "permanent arrangement". However, their assessment of the flat's quality and atmosphere in the building has led Michael to consider another move into a development nearby under construction at the time of the interview. For Michael and his wife, downsizing was a consequence of life-work balance imperatives and the result of a multiplicity of locational factors.

These vignettes reveal the diversity of situations within middle-class and middle-age downsizing in suburban Melbourne. From life-course project to endured necessity, downsizing reveals the various temporalities and social positions from which dwellers are able to make decisions, activate

their personal preferences or envision their homes. These examples also highlight the multiplicity of middle-class trajectories that co-existed in the high-rise case-studies, and the cultural, socio-economic and conjunctural factors that contribute to shape how high-rise homes are inhabited. Finally, these downsizing stories prompt us of to think of the possibilities for middle-class dwellers to activate strategies, as well as the limitations they can face while considering housing options. The ability to deploy a spatial strategy coherent with one's aspirations ultimately depends on one's economic and social capital and has a direct impact on one's living outcomes and amenities. In the process of downsizing, social classes are to be found in the spatial distribution of dwellings. In one case, dwellers who have deployed an important mental and economic effort to be able to move into the desired high-rise are inhabiting the lower ground of the building, where the quotidian effort to adjust spatially and economically to a smaller and less luminous space is compensated by the reward of living in the carefully elected social space. In the other case, the upper class occupies the upper floors and historic, most financially profitable in the long term, sections of high-rises, with less compromise and a high level of choice involved.

7.4 Room for improvement: making do with layouts

Home renovations and Do-It-Yourself (DIY) have been analysed as practices associated with the rise of first home-ownership during the second half of the 20th century (Reimer and Leslie 2004). I found in my research on middle-class domestic spaces in high-rise buildings that there were few self-conducted renovations at home and almost non-existent DIY practices (Powell 2009), with the majority of repairs or redecorating conducted by contractors. This is due to several factors, both material – the apartments were sold new and fully equipped to recent environmental standards, so there is a lesser need to make alterations or 'green' renovations (Maller, Horne, and Dalton 2011) – and structural, since rental contracts do not allow tenants to make certain types of changes to the physical appearance of the flat. However, I discovered throughout the interviews that high-rise dwellers managed to express their personality, interests and desire to appropriate the flat's architectural characteristics (Fijalkow 2016). This was achieved through particular micro-practices and concerned, rather than chiefly decorative outcomes, with the use of the apartment's spaces and their partitions –rooms, corners, corridors and walls. I frame these arrangements as tactics as I found dwellers resort to time and opportune moments to negotiate these shortcomings and achieve a sense of home in the apartments.

In this section I first examine how the overall layout of the flat gave rise to perceived constraints and manoeuvres to overcome them. I then examine how the function and attribution of rooms is a central expression of dweller's creativity that replaces the possibility of "knocking down and rebuilding" (Wiesel, Freestone, and Randolph 2013) under the regulated economy of tenancy contracts. Third, I analyse the experience of living in a standardised typology of apartments and how developers are responding to an increasing demand for individualisation. The section ends with an exploration of the tension between the construction of privacy and a sensation of confinement shared by many residents of high-rise apartments.

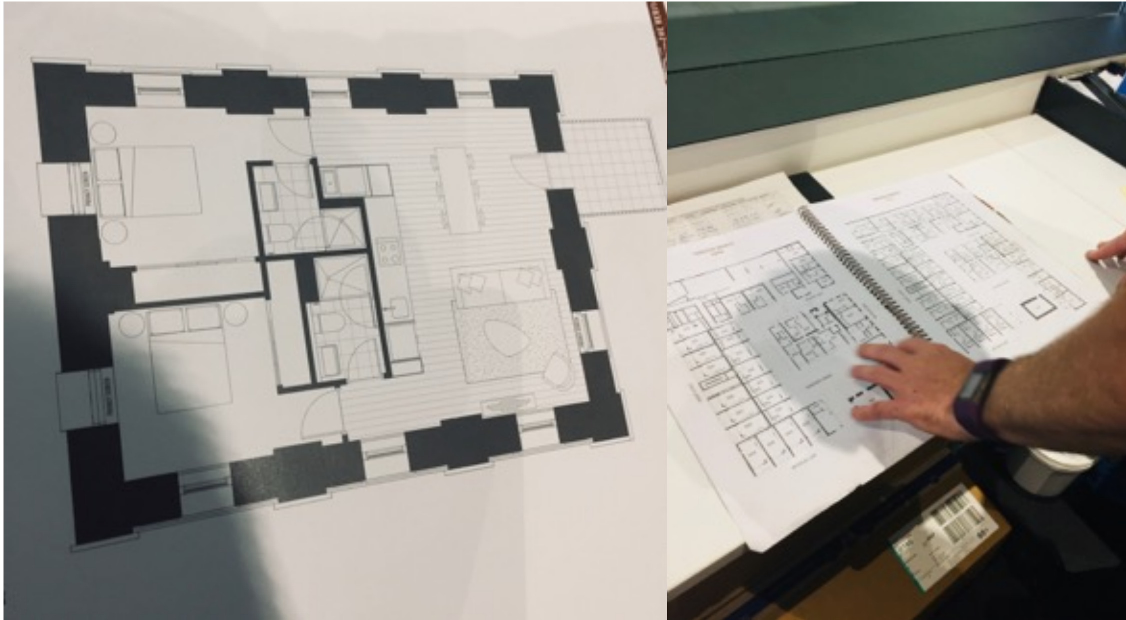
7.4.1 Overcoming layout constraints

The building floorplan (Figures 7.2 and 7.3) is crucial in the design of architects and developers as it conditions the number of flats that can be included in the high-rise. Floorplans also provoke a number of competing priorities for dwellers in apartment living, especially when surfaces are small (Gao et al. 2013). Whereas this is perceived as a difficulty by designers and developers, many residents expressed their incomprehension towards what they thought can be "really weird […] just built to maximise profit and just try to shove in as many as possibly you can" (Max, 30-34, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018) or as if "they were just trying to put as much building into the site that they could" (Steven, 50-54, owner, Acacia Place, 2017). However, the material and economic constraints experienced by designers are more complex, as described by one of the architects of the Yorkshire Brewery:

> "The internal space was very much about living spaces on corners or best views, but there was the pragmatics of trying to hit a certain mix to get the different price points in the project which would also mean it would sell." (Architecture, National, 2017)

This was also evoked by developers who raised the challenges of offering both appealing exterior design and coherent layout inside the high-rise apartments:

> "it's that happy medium of getting a great architectural outcome, but also having the internal design and the amenity not being compromised. […] It is sometimes difficult to get your perfect layout for every apartment." (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2018)



Figures 7.2 and 7.3: Floorplans from the masterplan of Yorkshire Brewery, January 2018. Photos: L. Dorignon

These architectural constraints are also affected by the changing regulations of apartment standards, which impose a minimal size per room in apartments. According to policy-makers, "room size ironically is actually more inflexible and provides less freedom to developers and designers than minimum apartment size does." (Architecture, State government, 2017). Economic literature on the ergonomics of daily life also points out the "strategies that create distinctive spatial challenges for those who inhabit new homes" (Hand, Shove, and Southerton 2007, 669), highlighting the reduction of functionality and flexibility in the new basic requirements of homes.

The layout of the apartment often prompted astonishment and necessitated acclimatisation:

> "Initially when I first saw it, it was like nowhere I had known, but once you map it out a little bit you sort of understand." (Alex, 40-44, renter, Acacia Place, 2017)

> "As you can see, the shape of the building is kind of interesting [laughs]" (Riya, 30-34, renter, Acacia Place, 2018)

> "It's a strange kind of a setting but I guess it works" (Arthur, 35-39, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

The first response to familiarise oneself to a layout can be a full appropriation, which allows the dweller to personalise their home and make it their own. Rather than compare to a standalone house, participants' point of reference is other apartments in the development, or even in other countries. This emotional and material process was often accompanied by a feeling of pride and

confidence that one's apartment is actually better designed than any other in the development: participants declared feeling "very lucky", having "the best" apartment, "one of the better ones", or referred to the "ease of [the apartment's] shape" to celebrate its internal organisation. This satisfaction and assurance that the apartment layout was well-designed and well-chosen can however be questioned by the reaction of visitors. Renting a two-bedroom flat in Acacia Place, Alex recounted the reaction of his landlords on their first visit:

> "Our owners that bought [the property], they are a Chinese couple, and it was an investment… She and her husband came for the first inspection. […] She came in and she was like "oh it's so small, it's so small!" Really…?" (Alex, 40-44, renter, Acacia Place, 2017)

This quote reveals the disappointment Alex felt when his appreciation of his home was challenged by the owners of the flat, and also contradicts the common view that foreign investors from Asia, "are culturally much more comfortable with living in small spaces" (Banking, Multinational, 2018).

Second, some residents used tactics to choose an apartment with a layout appropriate to their hopes. Max used both the novelty of the complex – it was essentially empty – and the fact that he was not pressured by time to find a place to his advantage. He tactically used the dual role of the developer, who was acting real-estate agent at the delivery of the complex, to visit around twenty properties before he settled for one.

> "When I moved in it was a brand-new building […] and because the developer was essentially rental agent here as well, I just asked them 'show me this one, show me this one'. I checked 10 apartments in the complex until I found this one […] On top of that, I checked 10 apartments in other buildings. I wasn't in a rush to move." (Max, 30-34, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

A third way to overcome an unsatisfactory layout can consist of adding or extending the property. While it is common for dwellers to add some furniture in front of their front door, it is only a temporary fix as it may be considered a trespass on common property and on fire regulations, and therefore admonished by the building management. The desire to use every section of one's apartment, even in their most constricted places (Figure 7.4), was shared among all social categories of dwellers, including dwellers living in the most spacious apartments of the development, as emphasised by one of the building managers:

> "That's their private balconies. That's the only outdoor space they've got. You are paying a million bucks…" (Building management, Micro, 2018)

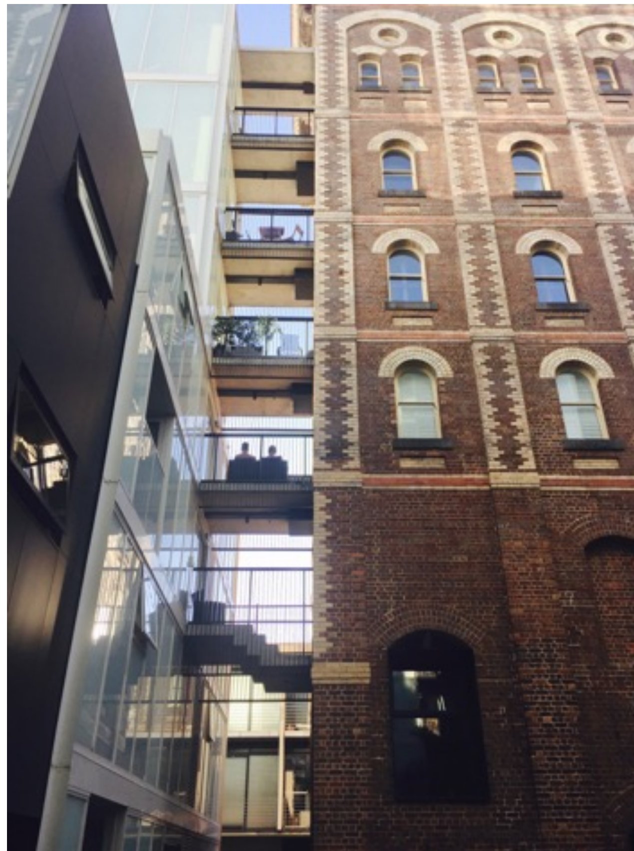


Figure 7.4: Acceptable use of private external corridors outside heritage apartments of the Yorkshire Brewery tower, February 2018. Photo: L. Dorignon

Extending one's home, in the context of apartment buildings, is limited by the material constraints of height and the legal requirements of Strata Title. However, I have found that residents of the ground floor can put in place spatial arrangements destined to recreate a suburban home in the high-rise (see Chapter 5). Acquiring several flats and combining them (Figures 7.5 and 7.6) can be interpreted as another tactic surrounding the extension of space that further illustrates the "context-specific arrangements related to the temporal and ideological structuring of domestic practices" (Hand, Shove, and Southerton 2007, 678), in the context of wealthy households in high-rise living.

Figures 7.5 and 7.6: Outside Robert and Jane's multi-level apartment in Acacia Place, November 2017. Photos: L. Dorignon

Combination of apartments also occurs at higher levels of high-rise buildings; a strategy developers do not seem to favour as it modifies the floorplans and design of the development:

> "one person on level 7 purchased two apartments, and they originally intended for the larger two bed to be for parents and to have a smaller one for their older children, and they did want to join them and have a doorway that they could shut off in between the two like a dual key, but we sort of convinced them that there's probably more upside in the long run to keeping them as two separate apartments, and they went along with that" (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2018)

This quote shows the differing visions middle-class families and developers hold on how apartment spaces should be utilised. It also shows the increasing interest families have for apartment living, even when children are older and, in this particular case, young adults. In this example, the negotiations that occur between buyers and developers at the moment of the sale materialise as a form of competition over the shaping of high-rise living, and over how apartments will actually be inhabited. Whereas in Robert and Jane's case, the tactical combination of apartments was successful, this example shows how developers' interests can win over dwellers' preferences.

7.4.2 *Tactical adaptations of rooms*

How the space was "used", "underused", or how a configuration "takes away some of the space" was recurrent in the interviews. This idea highlights an attention for functionality but also a financial concern that rent money or capital investment might not be well spent. Conversely, because of the perceived "compactness" of apartments, having additional rooms to store or hide the laundry is perceived as luxurious, and therefore sought after by the most affluent residents. Tactics of repurposing emerge in these standardised rooms. Many residents express their personality through the set-up of their apartment. They often go against what seems to have been the intended use of rooms, while being aware of it. In the choice of rooms, light is of utmost importance:

> "the larger room I use as my spare bedroom and study just because it has a little nook that is perfect to fit my desk [...] I have used the smaller room as my bedroom." (Arthur, 35-39, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

Above all, the everyday rhythms of domestic life guide dwellers in establishing priorities in the material arrangement of their home (Carr, Gibson, and Farbotko 2018), something that also depends on their personal preferences and habits. These routines can be linked to the amount of light such as for Arthur, heat or sound that individuals are expecting in particular rooms, or to specific social practices such as entertaining guests or not. Conversely, some residents experienced some limitations regarding the way rooms, kitchens in particular, were organised and distributed in the apartment, with very limited options to circumvent these designs which can evokes the traditional trade-offs of 'urban' lifestyles:

> "that kitchen is a bit small, and if I was going to invite people I'd like to cook – and I am a messy cook, so it needs space [...] Usually if I invite people over I wouldn't do like a formal dinner with just a friend, I would invite seven; eight, or ten, twelve people over, and do a potluck, and there is just not enough room here to do that, so that has been disappointing cause I would have liked to... So usually we go out." (Emma, 25-29, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2017)

Tactical adaptations of rooms are also made possible by technical skills directly related to housing. Interviewing Jon, who worked as an architect, I discovered how he had used his personal and professional skills to make some additions to the flat (Figure 7.7).

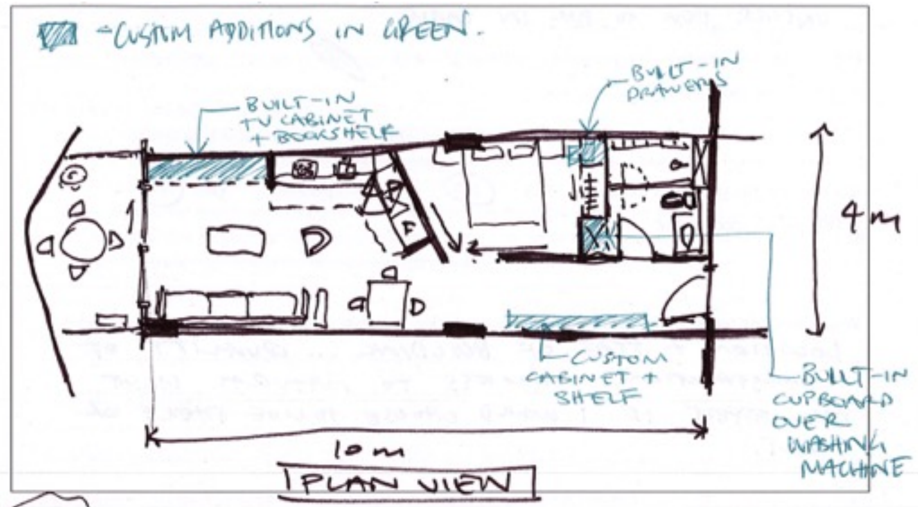


Figure 7.7: Additions made by Jon to his flat and hand-drawn by him at the time of the interview, May 2016.

I observed one of the most imaginative use of a study in Acacia Place, where Alex set up his at-home hair salon. He uses direct daylight to work with precision and give his customers an extra service, a view on the Yarra River, just in the reflection of the round mirror that faces the large window.

The "study" is often perceived as an awkwardly sized room, too small for a proper bedroom, and not quite spacious enough for a working office. It is also often placed in corridors, between rooms, and can give rise to unexpected uses or no use at all:

> "literally there's just a little corner there and they call it the half study [Laughs] Where are you going to put a table and chair? Nothing's going to fit there… Maybe a bookcase" (Riya, 30-34, renter, Acacia Place, 2018)

> "it has got a tiny little room that is euphemistically called the study, but I would never sit in there and do anything, so I just keep a light pack of work and printers there" (Walter, 65-69, owner, Acacia Place, 2018)

The use of rooms by high-rise dwellers I interviewed was very much linked to the development of personal well-being and self-care, as opposed to family life, which might have happened previously, in another type of dwelling. The apartments' rooms were seen as spaces of one's own, devoted to the individual inner life, as underlined by a developer's comment "some people want higher end, their own personal space, and within their own space really well-designed high quality" (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2018). For Leah, who lives with her husband in a spacious

three-bedroom apartment, the reduction in bedroom numbers creates a domestic space that is synonymous with a lifestyle exclusively as a couple:

> "That was another benefit of moving into an apartment: no children [laughs]. We moved from a family home into something that couldn't accommodate children. For me, that was actually a value." (Leah, 50-54, owner, Acacia Place, 2018)

This illustrates a perception that apartment living is only suited to house couples and single individuals rather than families (Andrews, Warner, and Robson 2018). It also confirms Fincher's findings on developers' narratives which perceive children as "burdensome" and underline the permanence of "the myth that the perfect lifestyle is to be lived without children or other dependants" (2004, 337).

However, this idea is sometimes seen by developer as restraining a potential market:

> "you [feel] almost guilty to raise children in Australia in apartments, people look down upon you if you couldn't give your kid grass" (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2016)

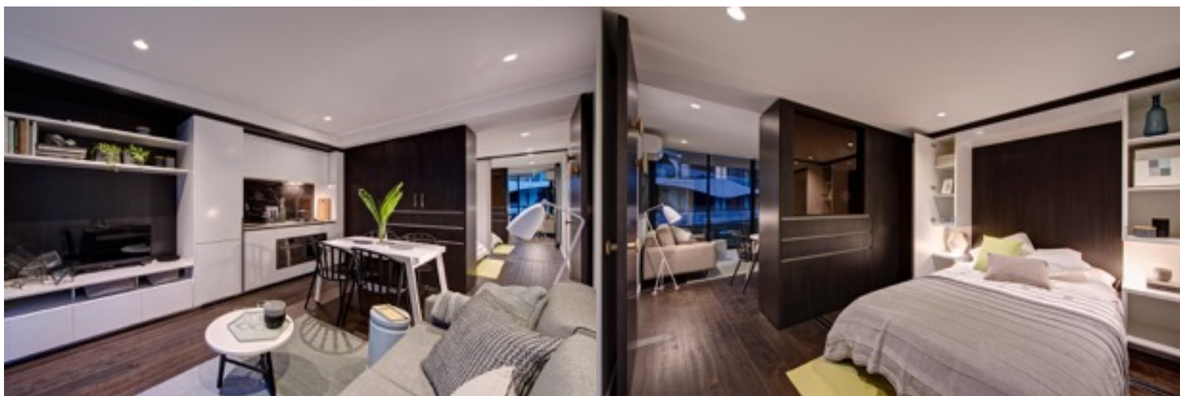
While "giving your kid grass" isn't possible in high-rise living, some families have made small alterations to create the illusion by asking landscape architects to design their terrace for children. This subtle repurposing of part of the outside space consisted for instance, in covering part of the terrace with artificial turf for children to use as a play space (Figure 7.8).

Figure 7.8: A children's "play space" made of artificial turf installed on one of the largest terraces of Eden in Acacia Place, November 2017. Photo: L. Dorignon

7.4.3 Individualising a standardised space

The literature in housing studies on consumer preferences has noted an increasing standardisation of architectural models and urban spaces in general (Zukin 1998), which has been explained by the transnational circulation of dominant aesthetic norms through the most prominent architectural firms (Sklair 2005). Yet, the literature also notes the enduring tendency for consumers and dwellers in particular to prefer customisation when possible, even though there is a "trade-off relationship between the value customers place on variety and the maximum price that can be asked for a customised housing proposition" (Hofman, Halman, and Ion 2006, 485). Even though customisation and "the potential of home" (Mackay and Perkins 2019) can also be achieved through DIY practices, I found these practices to be very limited in the high-rise apartments, despite the fact that similar apartments could be found on some floors. I show in this section how tenure distinctions between renters and owners revealed stark contrasts in the freedom afforded to dwellers to individualise, personalise and 'customise' domestic spaces, and what tactics were deployed in response.

A challenge encountered by tenants of the two case-studies was to achieve a sense of home without the possibility to change colours or materials in their living spaces (Figures 7.9 and 7.10). The constraints applied by the property market and by legislation applying to tenancy contracts on dwellers' capacity to alter and personalise their homes have been explored (Rosenberg 2011), but not in the specific context of newly built apartments.



Figures 7.9 and 7.10: Advertisement material for Acacia Place interior, here with dark timber and grey fabric. Sources: rothelowman.com.au

In my interviews, there was a perception held by all tenants that alterations were not financially worth it, either because the apartment was a "transient" solution or because major changes would be putting the rental bond at stake. I therefore observed a form of stillness in the material life of apartments, where a sense of home had to be achieved otherwise, for instance through the arrangement of significant objects for the dweller's personality or class identity (see Section 7.5). Asked about the length of his rental agreement, Alex evoked the shortcomings of a yearly contract on his ability to make desirable changes in his home:

> "You can't really personalize your own place. You can't make transformations, even putting hooks in the wall has to be passed by the real estate, so it has to be in writing that you want to put a hook in the wall and hang a picture. I wouldn't go around knocking out walls. […] We wanted to add paint to a wall, and if we had the option in the contract that it has to be back to normal when we left, that would be nice. Sometimes you feel a little bit uneasy about this situation." (Alex, 40-44, renter, Acacia Place, 2017)

In Alex's imaginary and decorative practices, there is a distinction between "knocking out walls" and adding paint, which corroborates what has been analysed by Cox in the context of home renovations in New-Zealand: "malleable building materials allowed such work and had positive connotations and produced feelings of homeliness in contrast to more robust 'permanent" materials'" (Cox 2016, 63). However, the control operated by the specific terms of the tenancy contract as well as the formality of the procedure takes away some of the positive connotations brought by elements of personalisation. Besides, achieving this feeling of home through personalisation would not only be limited to material work. The labour of making alterations also comes with micro-political manoeuvres, such as the ones described by Alex which underlines the importance of third-parties, namely real-estate agents (Young 2004), in the process of home-making:

> "You sort of have to build that relationship with the real estate from the start. A lot of people come in and they will get the application paper and that's it, where we like to sell ourselves a little bit." (Alex, 40-44, renter, Acacia Place, 2017)

This tactic reveals how the inspection times, described as an often busy, hectic and tricky event to navigate, can actually have long-term consequences if well "utilised" and seized by prospective tenants, such as Alex. One of the condition to be able to personalise an apartment therefore lies, first and foremost, in how personable dwellers can appear to the manager of the property. It also illustrates the trajectory of a 40-something middle-class renter, a relatively new or 'emergent' social

category in Australia. Implicitly, Alex seems to be aware of his experience relative to younger renters and the 'tactical' advantages this gives him.

For owners, renovations and alterations are not subject to the same constraints, even if major changes can still be negotiated with the developers, as evoked previously. First, my interviews revealed that there is a shared representation among all developers interviewed that owner occupiers are "more swayed towards individual design" (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2017) than tenants. In this context, developers are trying to capture what they have identified as a yearning for uniqueness by selling the possibility of personalising one's apartment. In my interviews with developers and architects, I have identified two slightly distinct ways of selling this 'uniqueness': first through external differences between typologies of apartments, second through internal differences between comparable apartments. These two marketing approaches can be used by the same firm and actors. The distinction between apartment typologies, and the fact that they are unique as opposed to "stacked" and replicated above one another, was in operation in Yorkshire Brewery, but principally for the heritage section of the development where each have different 'styles' and where the costliest apartments are found. Distinctions between apartments are also perceived as a sign of prestige by boutique developers as it required tailor-made intellectual labour, "because somebody's had to think about the layout of every single one of them." (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2018). However, the appreciation of unique styles is also shared amongst tenants, such as Julie, a resident of Eden in Acacia Place who appreciates the "unique design" of the building she lives in:

> "It's the shape of the building. Each apartment is quite different [...] and every level is different. It's not just a square or a rectangle building like a lot of them. Just little fixtures. Like the walls and the little fires." (Julie, 25-29, renter, Acacia Place, 2018)

For Julie, the uniqueness of each apartment is complemented by a high level of detail and design intricacies that architecturally elevate the building above others. The interviews also revealed that internal 'upgrades' within one apartment were offered by developers as a selling strategy. For instance, buyers were given the choices of fittings between various options (colour, material, etc.), often under the form of a classification going from the most basic options to the most high-priced ones. Another selling strategy consisted of offering various combinations of layout at the same price based on expected aspirations from various demographics. For instance, in the kitchen, offering an

option between a "wraparound kitchen", an open kitchen or a "gallery kitchen". A rival developer detailed the reasoning behind a similar strategy:

> "I can't have all apartments the same. I don't want people walking into someone else's apartment and it's going to be exactly the same [...] There's no individuality. When you go to sell it, what's the difference between this one and that one for desirability..." (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2018)

This is part of a more general approach of "buy once, buy well" where "apartments don't have to be a transient form of housing" (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2018). These strategic balance between cost-saving standardisation in the production of apartment homes and the effort to offer personalised options in the developers' narratives show the increasing importance placed on purchasing distinctive designs for owner-occupiers who buy off the plan. It also reflects the decrease of self-renovation possibilities and/or aspirations in the context of apartment living. The technical difficulty of renovating and transforming spaces is indeed much higher in the complex technological assemblages of apartment buildings. However, these findings also point to a social distribution of personalisation where tenants are left without the power and ability to make any changes to their home. In standardised and relatively "compact" apartments, this can lead to a daily choreography of getting in and out of home in order to feel at ease.

7.4.4 'Cabin-fever': managing in and out

Privacy can be seen not as seclusion from others, rather as the degree of control a person has on whether or not they interact with others. One of the most common tensions described in interviews was that between creating privacy and intimacy and feeling confined in one's own apartment. On one hand, many participants spoke of home in opposition to the outside world: a sealed environment, a "little bubble" (Emma, 30-34, renter, Yorkshire Brewer, 2017). Oppositions such as "open" or "closed in" were recurrent to describe the atmosphere within the high-rise home, with the capacity to close oneself into one's apartment closely related to positive feelings of home, and the sensation of the apartment being opened to the outside – for instance through the presence of wide windows near the bed – leading to discomfort and unease. However, this sought-after experience of seclusion can be also be experienced negatively, sometimes by the same individuals. After living near a train line for years, Alex told me about his first experiences of silence at night living in a ground floor apartment overlooking the river:

> "When we first moved here, we had the door closed and it was *so* quiet that we actually had to open the bedroom door, because we felt like we were underground. [laughs] A bizarre feeling! [laughs] We both sort of woke up just couldn't get to sleep because it was too quiet." (Alex, 40-44, renter, Acacia Place, 2017)

As a consequence of rooms often experienced as small, the majority of participants enact micro-changes or perform micro-practices to either endure the sensation of feeling "secluded" or change it when feeling trapped at home. Other accounts from apartment dwellers living in lower floors or benefitting from limited direct sunlight further revealed a concern of being isolated: "it's not a little cave that I keep to myself and don't allow anyone else in […] I like air coming to the house so I tend to have the windows open and that door open" (Arthur, 35-39, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018). These tactical reflexes can be explained by previous housing trajectories – a house in a busy location of Richmond in the case of Alex – but also by everyday habits. I now deploy three stories of young renters between 30 and 39 who negotiate the feelings of intimacy and containment differently. Intimacy and socialisation played out differently for owners, who were typically older in my sample with more established familial and social circles, which is why I only reflect on renters' experiences below.

Phoebe is an Australian born young researcher often working from home with her two cats. Before moving in an elevated level of the Yorkshire Brewery, she previously lived in a terrace house in Northcote, just north of Collingwood. Phoebe and her partner have bought another apartment off the plans whose construction is running late. They can actually see the future development from the window of their temporary rental in Yorkshire Brewery, and they are getting impatient. Moving from a terrace house, she instantly noticed the different of height between the high ceilings, "very ornate, beautiful of the Victorian era", and those, "functional", of the high-rise apartment. She appreciates that it is better "for heating and cooling" but also emphasises that "it does create a sense of being enclosed". Every so often, she gets "a bit of cabin-fever" and has to "go for a walk just to 'get out'" (Phoebe, 35-39, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018). She compares this feeling to "being stuck in economy" class, in an aircraft. Phoebe also feels guilty for her cats, as she and her partner could not afford a "big apartment with a courtyard". In this story, the building is experienced mostly through the apartment, and in the apartment through the living-room which is also the work space.

Max lives on his own, "the most expensive thing you can do", and was after good quality sound-proofing when he was looking on the market for an apartment to rent. Feeling "secluded" was highly valuable to the young software designer, as he doesn't "expect [his] neighbours to provide social interactions". Born in the Western Balkans, he was familiar with apartment living and had precise ideas around what would be acceptable for him in terms of apartment sizes and layouts:

> "What I don't consider very normal is a very narrow apartment where essentially that wall would be two meters distance. Imagine not having all that space; to me that's not really normal living, when you feel you are crammed and claustrophobic." (Max, 30-34, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

Max story reflects an aspiration that has been captured by developers, as well as the desire for quiet and insulation, a source of conflict in apartment living (Kerr, Gibson, and Klocker 2018): "you can whisk up to your apartment and you're secluded away. It's a well-insulated apartment, acoustically all your doors are shut, you've got a sanctuary away from that." (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2018). Well connected to friends living in the same neighbourhood who "constantly invite each other", Max is rarely alone in his flat.

Riya portrays herself as a "bold" young Indian woman, "new to the country" and living on her own in Acacia Place. Her position as a young professional from overseas working in the administration of the medical sector has made her reflect on her own social position within the development:

> "I am pretty unique that way [...] I don't think there are many Indians in this complex and if there are, they are usually with a partner or children." (Riya, 30-34, renter, Acacia Place, 2018)

Often working from home, her apartment that she qualifies as her "little sanctuary" holds a fundamental place in her life, as she considers herself an introvert. She prioritises being near a friend when she was looking for a place to live, and the increase of the rent has not changed her mind: "Most of my money's going on the rent at the moment because it's gone up but I feel safe and I feel comfortable. It's like my little nest when I come back home." (Riya, 30-34, renter, Acacia Place, 2018). However, Riya also considers that this confinement is "not very healthy". The boundary between her apartment and the high-rise building is a carefully negotiated limit between her own private moments and the necessary interactions with "familiar faces".

These three stories of young renters reveal how material configurations of high-rise apartments are negotiated and dealt with on a day-to-day basis. Phoebe's story emphasises the important changes of atmosphere induced by the volume of the apartment and its elevation resulting in feeling confined indoors, and how these impact her well-being and cause irritability. Getting back on the ground is presented as an escape to these episodes, while the next moves await. Max's experience shows a highly positive perception of seclusion, with sound a major condition to achieve the feeling of homeliness and strong social networks that make home a lively place or extend it to nearby places (next of kin's homes). Unlike Max's, Riya's story reveals the ambiguities and conflicting aspirations one might feel when building a home "outside of home" (Riya, 30-34, renter, Acacia Place, 2018). While safety and privacy are a priority, leading to shaping the apartment home as an island of intimacy within the building, encountering others and feeling the presence of others is perceived as a necessity for one's internal balance. These examples reveal what can be at stake in the negotiation of privacy, and how the fragile balance between the insulated, sheltered aspect of apartment living is achieved through regular outings and social outbreaks. This reflects how privacy may be framed as being about personal control over the environment, sitting in a tension between a desire for interaction and desire for seclusion. Both a sense of forced seclusion, and a sense of forced interaction and exposure, are equally detrimental to one's sense of control over their environment.

Layouts are an important material aspect of apartment homes. Tactics and strategies are articulated around them in order to overcome the constraints of unfamiliar floorplans or to adapt a room to one's taste. They reveal the importance of individualisation, as a personal aspiration and as a developer selling strategies, in the making of high-rise homes in the context of constrained renovation practices within. I now turn to the symbolic value of furniture and objects in the making of apartment homes, and what changes or constraints in middle-class aspirations and material cultures these objects embody.

7.5 'A luxury feel': domestic possessions, tactics and taste

This section contributes to previous accounts of identity construction within households (Reimer and Leslie 2004) and the broader fast-growing literature on material cultures of home-making (Blunt and Dowling 2006; J. M. Jacobs and Smith 2008) . It explores the specificities of middle-class consumption in apartment domestic spaces, and the relationship between domestic

possessions, tactics and taste. I argue that the cultural dimension of class can be understood through tactics, where individuals arrange objects or use possessions to display their social status and taste. The idea of taste has been conceptualised by Bourdieu as an inherited, interiorised and embodied cultural preference (Bourdieu 1984) yet in his theory objects are important because they allow us to differentiate ourselves. Recent relational analyses of material culture at home have challenged the intentionality of such approaches and insisted on the unaware subjectivities at the core of home-making (K. Jacobs and Malpas 2013). In particular, Clapham has discussed this issue using the concept of affordance forged by psychologist Gibson to characterise human perceptual interactions with the environment (1979), and articulating how the built structure of home can be considered as impacting human behaviour through its material form as well as its meaning (Clapham 2011). Going further in the critique of taste, Anderson (2005) wishes to nuance the making of judgement by attuning to "how different modalities of the more-than-rational are bound up with the making of value" (2005, 645).

Recognising intentions of meaning and purpose in individuals at-home material practices, I argue here that aesthetic preferences and the display of domestic goods are not simply innate but can also be the results of conscious choices and self-aware practices of judgements. I found that apartment dwellers often rely on temporal aspects of home-making – such as everyday rhythms, in relation to the passing of time or desire for a 'modern' style apartment understood as 'new' –that therefore belong to the tactical. Additionally, I analyse these micro-practices as active consumption, following De Certeau's understanding of consumption as characterised by "its ruses, its fragmentation (the result of the circumstances), [...] in short by its quasi-invisibility, since it shows itself not in its own products (where would it place them?) but in an art of using those imposed on it." (Certeau 1984, 31). I explore the ability of individuals to define their identity through their negotiation of aesthetics and display of 'things' around the apartment.

Apartments of the two case-studies articulate consumption cultures linked to well-defined aesthetics and taste designed for affluent consumers. However, home-making involves bringing in belongings, objects and possessions (Miller 2001) that might conflict with the aesthetics in the apartment. Through the process of inhabiting the high-rise apartment, dwellers transform the apartment according to their own taste, lifestyle aspirations and socio-economic background. Home tours and interviews have indeed revealed that high-rise apartments' aesthetics, such as those

portrayed in advertisements are transformed once lived in. Designers seemed to strategically design apartments such that their aesthetics are more or less open to personal re-interpretation through such tactics. Furnishing, decorating and house chores – such as cleaning or gardening – are shaped by imaginaries about apartment life, but also by social aspirations and class identities (Pellow 2015). For instance, I found the idea of comfort (Le Goff 1994; Shove 2003), a prevailing theme in the literature on home-making practices of the working and low-middle classes, was relatively secondary in participants' priorities as opposed to functionality, 'luxury' or quality. To explore these differences, I organise the section through four main themes. Firstly, I analyse the place of time in apartment dwellers' perceptions and use of materials to achieve a desired aesthetic. Secondly, I show how decorating and furnishing apartments are partly intended to signal a middle-class identity. Thirdly, I explore the emotional labour that goes with downsizing and the moral and social values placed on order and clutter throughout this process.

7.5.1 Fittings, materials and decay

Most interviews with dwellers revealed the importance placed on the quality of fittings, their materials and their value in achieving a 'luxurious feel' around the apartment (Architecture, 2017). In Australia, newly built apartments are often sold with furniture already installed such as kitchen and linen cupboards, cooking appliances and bathroom fittings. In my case-studies, dwellers navigated between following, challenging and transforming the glamourous and glossy image associated with the advertisement of upmarket high-rise living (Graham 2015). I explore two aesthetics: 'modern' and 'luxurious' and discuss how these are cared for and managed on a day-to-day basis.

While the Yorkshire Brewery comprises some apartments with heritage components, the majority of the dwellings of the case-studies were recently built and considered "just fairly modern" by residents (Walter, 65-69, owner, Acacia Place, 2018). 'Modern' can refers to the architectural style, but also to an expected quality of fittings and to the building date of construction:

> "We wanted modern fittings. That was a crucial thing for us. […] It didn't need to be modern as in 'brand new' but it needed to have been built in the past 5 years" (Emma, 25-29, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2017)

'Modern' is also often synonymous with 'new', which implies that the apartment has never had prior occupants and that participants were first to live inside it, something considered by some of positive value. Julie lives in a small studio in Acacia Place. She was the first dweller to occupy the space, and a feeling of excitement accompanied being the first dweller:

> "It hadn't been lived in. Not even the owner had lived in it. There was still foam in the dishwasher. It was brand new." (Julie, 25-29, renter, Acacia Place, 2018)

This association of clean – above under the form of soapy foam – with 'new' offers some contrast with analysis of home-making practices where tactics have been found to be designed by dwellers of countryside houses to recreate a feeling of old times, past 'character' and authenticity (Froud 2004). In Froud's analysis, tactics are made to invoke the "passage of time" through the physical qualities of the household. In the context of middle-class high-rise living, I have found that tactics were very much about inspiring novelty and newness. However, the experience of a quick decay of fittings – created by everyday living practices, e.g cooking, washing – often clashed with aesthetic aspirations of an ever 'new' appearance, creating disillusion and frustration. This also led dwellers to reconsider the temporalities linked with the inhabitancy of the household, for instance how long they had planned to live in the apartment. Emma and her husband knew when they moved in that this was only a "transient" phase, which meant they did not "invest in making [the place] friendly". They were still attentive to the fittings, according to the landlord's recommendations. Day-to-day use of the kitchen involves intense care of the materials, which generates delays and inconveniences for Emma:

> "They left us a note to instruct us how to care for the sink like there is a whole thing. But in the sink look at the white granite, it's fake stone of some kind, it marks insanely easily, you can't cook on it! Anything I leave on the counter, I always put something on it to protect it because it will scratch it..." (Emma, 25-30, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2017)

Here, rather than being Emma's desire and personal taste to keep the apartment forever 'new', it is her landlords' desire she is forced to comply with, and as such is also associated with maintaining the financial value of their investment. The idea of maintaining and taking care of materials, particularly those used in appliances, was also brought up by a developer who saw an opportunity to 'educate' dwellers about the trade-offs of aesthetics:

> "Stainless steel, people complained it scratches. But that's the nature of the product. So a bit more education about that before when people buy it, saying it will scratch but…it's the look and feel of the project." (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2018)

This shows the ambivalence between a desire to achieve a high standard of style, "what the interior designer recommends" (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2018), while reducing the amount of labour induced by the daily care of the product. There was a tension between the way buyers' expectations were considered by developers, sometimes "unwarranted" and "unreasonable" (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2018) and the way dwellers experienced rapid decay in their property. During the tour of their 2-bedroom apartment in Yorkshire Brewery, Philip and Katherine showed me with a mixture of pride, sarcasm and derision the "upmarket" finishes in the kitchen. The kitchen bench was made of marble and there were black tiles on the walls and floor. Philip mentioned that the kitchen isle was ridiculous compared to their previous "4-meter-long kitchen bench" in their suburban house (Philip, 50-54, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018). They were feeling anxiety and doubt about how the apartment, and the building in general, will age, and how that will be managed in the future:

> "My main annoyance is just the finishes. The painting for example is only a micron thick so you just touch it and it'll leave a mark because whatever they used to paint it is just not durable. […] This floor is nice, but it scratches quite easily." (Philippe, 50-54, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

"Marks" and "scratches", both inevitable consequences of occupation and activities around home were major concerns for residents, which led some dwellers to refrain from using particular objects around the home to protect and preserve them. This anxiety might be enhanced in apartment living – relative to detached houses – because the status of one's own apartment also depends more heavily on how well their neighbours maintain their apartments. Conversely, competition for status between neighbours of standalone houses tend to take place in the maintenance of gardens (Frileux 2010).

The idea of use – which shows the on-going passage of time – was often perceived in stark opposition with the one of luxury – which is characterised by what is both inessential and highly desirable. For instance, Leah told me about me about "having got that luxury" of two bathrooms, mostly because of the presence of a bathtub in one of them, that she doesn't use:

> "I like the idea that I could! I haven't used it yet. […] It gives you that sense of space, it's more luxurious." (Leah, 50-54, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2017)

This idea of superfluous, unnecessary appliances in the apartment was also associated with particular materials such as marble:

> "You'll never see us put 'luxury' in any of our things, it's not a term we want to use because we don't want to be luxurious, we don't want walls of marble. One, I think it's a waste of money, you can do something else in the apartment, which is more beneficial than this marble everywhere, and the aesthetic is not us." (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2018)

This shows the diverse values associated with materials in the design, selling and inhabitancy of apartments. A "luxurious" aesthetic, that has to be preserved by minimal use, can be rejected by some developers aiming at a younger target group of buyers, who choose another marketing strategy and prioritise durability, efficient spending, and a "raw" aesthetic while maintaining equivalent prices. This further illustrates the findings of Gregory (2019) on how luxury branding in housing can be entangled with wider narratives on urban change, for instance with the concept of 'authenticity' in the context of urban renewal in Detroit. He shows how these marketing strategies, seen as part of a process of neighbourhood gentrification, are reliant on the images of a "gritty" city and promote the idea that living in "New Detroit" participates in these urban renewal efforts (Gregory 2019). In Melbourne, similar perspectives can be drawn in relation to an emerging way of branding luxurious high-rise lifestyles in agreement with the ideas of sustainability and a more "ethical" way of living. In this perspective, the quote above represents an effort to move away from extravagant luxury, seen as a "waste", in order to promote the idea of an aesthetic that reconnects with Melbourne's industrial heritage.

7.5.2 Shrinking possessions: from clutter to order

Downsizing involves a form of home un-making (Baxter and Brickell 2014) to the extent individuals have to dispose of some of their possessions. This should however be nuanced by our previous description of downsizing as not necessarily reducing floor space. The desire to dispose may therefore have little to do with the size of the apartment. I found during my interviews with participants that shrinking possessions was a condition to create a middle-class aesthetic associated with apartment living, which relied on minimal ornament and well-ordered, tidy belongings. In many of the apartments visited, I was surprised by the relatively low quantity of furniture, and by the relatively sparse aspects of the room, such as it was described by Arthur: "It was very sparse and empty, I didn't have a lot of things to put in here." (35-39, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018). Many

residents had moved in the newly built development in the past 2 years, sometimes in the past month, and adding to that, there was visibly an effort to maintain the bare aspect of the apartment. I observed a desire to keep "things" to a minimum, to get rid of useless and unwanted pieces of furniture, as 'old' things that threaten the 'newness', to start with a clean state. This apparent minimalism hid subterranean and hidden expansion of storage: in the basement, the cages were filling with objects, appliances that were already included in the apartment, boxes of belongings, and sometimes the cages were not big enough to keep dwellers' previous old furniture and belongings.

The emotional labour that goes with the process of getting rid of possessions has been studied in the context of second-hand cultures (Gregson and Crewe 2003), but not for individuals or families moving into smaller dwellings, particularly apartments. Research on middle-class practices of ordering domestic possessions has emphasised the positive values of disorder and accumulation, showing how an "overall lack of space can be useful for home-making" through the way things are "thrown together" by various members of a household (Luzia 2011, 298) or how clutter of objects can progressively create intimate spaces and acquire familial value (Makovicky 2007). Contrary to these relatively positive experiences, I have found that the accumulation of "things" generated anxiety and negative feelings amongst apartment dwellers in Acacia and Yorkshire. I explore what tactics and strategies are used by dwellers to transform clutter into order, and the emotional and material constraints that accompany this process.

As examined previously, downsizing was a prevailing situation amongst participants of the study. Readjusting or adapting dwellers' possessions was frequently described as a necessary task that followed settling in, as emphasised by one of the building managers:

> "You should have seen the amount of stuff they brought. It couldn't fit! They had to send the truck away! I said where are you going to put it? They had no idea! […] A few people bought off the plan and when their furniture doesn't fit […] they just feel claustrophobic. Now they have stayed in actually, but they have had to change their furniture." (Building management, Micro, 2018)

This shows the psychological impact that having too much furniture, as well as the material and financial consequences, for instance purchasing new furniture, can have on apartment dwellers. Interviews have also shown that disposing of previous belongings involves some mental labour around news ways individuals and households will get used to owning less belongings:

> "You try to get through the concept of how much can you downsize? […] We've been gradually downsizing, but it's just how much more can I get rid of." (Susan, 60-64, owner, Acacia Place, 2017)

Like Susan's depiction of materially adjusting her furniture, for many participants this process extends much longer after the event of moving in. This is symbolised by the storage capacity of the apartment, which is therefore highly valued by apartment dwellers as a vital condition of their well-being and material arrangements in their dwelling.

Katherine and Philip had been living in Footscray when their daughter moved out of home. They thought of moving closer to the city and they quite liked East Melbourne, even though they confessed: "it wasn't about the address" (Philip, 50-54, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018). They finally "took the plunge" and bought off the plan a two-bedroom two-bathroom flat. During the home-tour, issues related to storage and how Katherine and Philip had utilised the space to its maximum capacity were recurrent themes brought up. Even though they have succeeded in fitting most of their belongings in, the old "period furniture" – "lots of wood, and it was big and heavy] its visual impact would have shrunk the place even more" – is being stored in a storage unit outside of the complex. In the following quote, Philip evoked the important changes of practices that occurred, as well as the various spatial and symbolic strategies they developed:

> "it's about half the size of our house and about a billionth of the storage capacity, so that's been the biggest change. We've become more minimalist now. […] If something comes in, something has to go out because there's just not physically the space to store everything. It changes your attitude quite strongly with respect to hoarding. […] My wife likes to call me a hoarder, but I like to look on myself as a collector." (Philip, 50-54, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

I have identified two strategies in Philip and Katherine's relation to possessions and the apartment space. First, I observed a symbolic revaluing of their material goods towards a sustainable lifestyle where living with less, following minimalism, is perceived positively as more efficient. Second, the couple also shifted their taste towards a different style of furniture that they see as more suited to apartment living. However, there are still important differences in the way the couple envisage their relationship with things, resulting in contrasting imaginaries of what material accumulation gestures towards. On one hand it is being perceived as a negative, unhelpful and unconscious habit ('hoarding'), while on the other hand it is seen by the main subject as a positive and qualitatively meaningful hobby ('collecting'). This last perception can also be understood as

part of the upper middle-class habitus, where having an art collection as a hobby is a sign of cultural capital (Gilbert 2016a).

Finally, I identified in the data a strategy by designers and dwellers to achieve an aesthetic of order in the apartment home. Hiding unwanted mess or objects, was seen as an "attractive design feature" (Leah, 50-54, owner, Acacia Place, 2017). Things that make domesticity apparent were often hidden away through the integration of appliances. Being able to hide the wheels of domestic chores also denoted a higher status, on top of underlining the spaciousness of a property comprising a laundry room for instance:

> "I don't do the laundry but I like the fact that it's a utility room, whereas in the other apartment we had it was described as a European laundry, so just behind the door. That was part of the smallness of it. We really like the fact that the room can be shut off." (Leah, 50-54, owner, Acacia Place, 2017)

This desire to hide and 'shut off' what symbolises quotidian domesticity, that sometimes links to bodily processes such as food consumption, can also be interpreted as a common desire to reduce the visibility and practice of domestic labour as part of renewed middle-class lifestyle aspirations. It also points to the long-held aspirations of the upper-middle-class to detach itself from what is considered manual, unrewarding housework activities.

7.5.3 Performing domestic labour in the apartment: class and gender

Accounts of everyday domesticity in the apartment revealed some tactical manoeuvres intended to facilitate home life in the apartment but also fulfil certain expectations of aesthetics, as seen above, and of lifestyle. How domestic labour is and should be performed was also traversed by self-reflexive representations of gender and how participants related to these. Feminist geographies have long tackled the question of 'taken-for-granted' domestic labour and mapped its distribution through time and space, challenging the gendered architecture of home. Central to sociologists' analysis of the practices, rhythms and spaces of home life are also the links between class and gender (Gilbert 2016a), as home and work are shaped by complex class subcultures (Kamp 2018) and power relations between the sexes (Clair and de Singly 2012).

Recent analyses of domestic practices and labour that traverse gender and class often underline the role of the kitchen as a highly symbolic place reflecting decisive practices of social space (Pellow

2015) and relations between household members (Cieraad 2002; Meah and Jackson 2013). In my research, I found that in the high-rise apartments of Acacia and Yorkshire the kitchen had lost its importance, both socially and spatially. Socially, kitchens did not appear to be a place of sociability nor conviviality since the consumption of food often took place outside the apartment. The preparation of food therefore was not a common and relevant home-making practice, apart from a few retired couples who contrasted their organised way of planning meals with their observation of a high volume of food delivered to the building. Spatially, all apartments were equipped with kitchens either opened to the living room or located in the apartment entrance way. While cooking food did not appear as a meaningful practice in apartment living, other forms of domestic labour – or their absence – were central in the interviews: cleaning and gardening. I use two stories below to show how class and gender intersect with apartment dwellers' ability to resort to tactics and strategies to manage domestic work.

Leah and her husband had been living in a large apartment in Toorak when they moved into a 3-bedroom apartment in the Sanctuary building of Acacia Place. The apartment, according to Leah, was too small, "tightly configured" (50-54, owner, Acacia Place, 2017) and they were after a home with a Northern exposition and more space. When an apartment became available on the top floor of Haven, designated as the "owner-occupier" building by other residents, they bought it and moved from one building to the next in the same development, "the goldilocks solution, the 'just right' solution" as described by Leah. Leah works as a senior consultant in the education sector, which explained in her eyes the appeal of apartment living: "the containment of an apartment means that it's much easier to manage and I am a career person, so I don't do housework." (Leah, 50-54, owner, Acacia Place, 2017). During the home tour with Leah I noticed the importance of the territoriality she had established in her own home, regarding which spaces and habits she shares with her husband. She carefully pointed to which bathroom she chose, as well which bedroom she turned into her study while her husband's study does not have a view on the river: Leah knows "how to negotiate [her] position". Leah and her husband employ a female housekeeper, and she declared not using the laundry room or kitchen herself: "I don't cook, [Leah's husband] does all the cooking. I am not very domestic [laughs]!" (Leah, 50-54, owner, Acacia Place, 2017). This illustrates how upper-middle-class women are often 'liberated' from housework which is transferred to working-class women. She depicted her husband's cooking habits, outside on the balcony: "my husband loves doing the barbecue. So he is out here with his glass of wine, doing the

barbecue" (Leah, 50-54, owner, 2017), which is an archetypally Australian depiction of masculinity and domestic 'labour'. Regarding gardening, these activities also fall to Leah's husband, as she told me: "my husband likes to potter around with these things. I am not interested." (Leah, 50-54, owner, Acacia Place, 2017) even though she recognises the aesthetical pleasure of having a garden in sight: "I like to look at gardens, but I am not interested in maintaining gardens" (Leah, 50-54, owner, Acacia Place, 2017).

Forty-something Alex is renting in the same building of Acacia Place as Leah and works as a hairdresser from home, as previously noted. He shares a two-bedroom apartment with his partner who is absent most of the day. Like Leah, Alex has installed clear rules regarding the separation of his work and home life. Even though both these realms happen in the apartment, Alex tells me he does not "find it difficult at all to switch on" when it comes to getting to work and receive his clients. This relies on a strict organisation of his daily rhythms, as well as social boundaries in the building as he categorically refuses to let his neighbours become clients. Alex recognises the burden of domestic labour such as cleaning and washing, activities which have been shaped by gendered representations of housework that Alex playfully juggles with:

> "There is always something to do when you are at home, you find you do more of the washing, it's really boring and mundane – I feel like a 1960s housewife sometimes – but I actually really enjoy that." (Alex, 40-44, renter, Acacia Place, 2017)

Because Alex's apartment is not equipped with an independent laundry room and since residents are not allowed by the building's rules to hang their laundry on the balconies, Alex had to find alternative methods to dry his laundry. He and his partner would like to use an unemployed terrace of the complex to hang their laundry, a new use for this vacant space (Figure 7.12) even if he anticipates that this will not be a popular idea among residents (Leah envisions a "golf practicing arrangement" in this space). Instead, Alex expressed his wish to simply unfollow these "restraints on how things look", considered unbalanced as washing is a "day to day thing" that would require a dedicated facility:

> "Not that anyone was going to put on the railings, but it would be nice to be able to… We sneak it out there sometimes. […] We do put our laundry on our balcony, but we wouldn't leave it out there, we would sort of be here with it basically, sounds like we babysit it. [laughs]" (Alex, 40-44, renter, Acacia Place, 2017)

The daily management of washing laundry is therefore handled by Alex at rigorously timed moments of the day. The reference to 'babysitting' the laundry, beyond the participant' wit, indicates the level of attention that he feels is required from them to preserve the appearance of stillness of the façade. It also slows the small compromises individuals are willing to make in order to keep good relationships with their neighbours.

Figure 7.12: Clotheslines or golf practicing pad? A consultation of residents was organised to decide on how this vacant terrace in Acacia Place should be utilised, November 2017. Photo: L. Dorignon

In the first example from an upper-middle-class owner, the distribution of domestic labour depends on the territorialities established by the protagonist and her husband. Leah balances her busy work life with low-effort home life (Jarvis 1999) and spaces and activities in the apartment are clearly allocated between her and her husband. In that regard, Leah's relationship to domestic labour is highly strategic as it relies on an on-going administration of space. In the second example from a less affluent middle-class tenant, domestic work is distributed temporally between the couple and relies on a distinction between work and home times, which happens at the same place. Alex's relationship to domestic labour is, by contrast, tactical as it depends on the poaching of opportune moments and places to occur. These two stories illustrate the different abilities to employ tactics

and strategies by dwellers, and their impact on the way individuals are able to balance their work and home life. It also revealed sustained attention to tidy interiors and clean environments as a way of achieving comfort in the apartment home (Shove 2003).

7.5.4 'Suburbanising' the apartment decor

Like in any other home, home-making in an apartment derives from immaterial aspects such as memories, emotions and sensory affect (Cieraad 2010). In the homes that I visited, decorative items were often relatively sparse, with priority given to highly symbolic and meaningful objects that seemed to encapsulate the essence of home. Plants were however omnipresent, whether inside the apartment, on the balcony or in dwellers' un-materialised projects. Caring for plants are part of the practices developed to create a suburban feeling of home within the apartment, such as the reminiscence of suburban trajectories through hand-drawn images of previous homes hung in the main bedroom (Figures 7.13 and 7.14). This could perhaps also be a symbol of status, by showing that moving to an apartment was a choice rather than an imposition and therefore recognised by others as 'elective belonging' (Savage, Bagnall, and Longhurst 2005).

The ways plants are co-inhabiting dwellings with dwellers has been framed as a way of domesticating nature (Kaika 2004) and as part of a discussion on more-than-human temporalities at home (Power 2009). I frame the tactics connected to plants in apartments as an elicitation of the Australian suburb and 'backyard' nature (Head and Muir 2006, 2007) but also of its neighbouring sociability.

Figures 7.13 and 7.14: "The eight properties we have lived in and owned": inside Christine's apartment in Acacia Place, November 2017. Photos: L. Dorignon

In both case-studies, I found that plants were often brought inside of home and taken care of by dwellers as a way to contrast with the perceived "sterile" and "synthetic" environment of high-rise buildings (Barbara, 25-29, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018). For Arthur in the Yorkshire Brewery, the presence of plants in apartments even contributes to enliven the domestic space:

> "Plants everywhere… […] that became a thing to populate the place with plants as well… It was pretty sterile before. And I haven't put anything up on the walls yet. […] The plants are, I guess, the feature of the room." (Arthur, 35-39, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

Arthur is seeing plants are re-humanising, re-enchanting the high-rise apartment. Because of their life cycles and rhythms, plants bring inside the home the daily and seasonal cyclicity of time, which can be lost when apartments are lacking natural light. I observed similar relations with Susan, in Acacia Place, when she recounted losing her suburban garden to an apartment: "we still have our plants" (60-64, owner, Acacia Place, 2018). However, this lost relationship with a suburban nature is sometimes not recovered by residents, such as Barbara, who lives on the ground floor of Yorkshire Brewery and who had experiences living in large rural properties of Northern New South Wales and Victoria:

> "That has shaped how I think about home and how I want to feel and have my own home. I want space and I want nature and I don't like the suburbs at all. […] Not being able to go out into a garden or a natural setting is really different for me and it makes me feel a bit weird sometimes." (Barbara, 25-29, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

This shows the rejection of a suburban nature by some dwellers, and how populating the apartment with plants does not replace the experience of "nature" perceived as more spacious and authentic. In Acacia Place, participants however felt that easy access to the Yarra river was some compensation for less private gardening space.

Neighbouring in vertical settings brought up distinct practices, using verticality as an advantage and spatial device for proximity, while also being perceived as a shortcoming of apartment living (see Chapter 6). The practice of gardening was for instance used as a neighbouring tactic from one balcony to another (Figure 7.15). This points to the specificity of high-rise living as the vertical settings of apartments and density of the development played a role in the interactions between residents, such as between Steven and his neighbour:

"She waves to me when she is at her garden, so I have been over there for a drink, she has been over here for dinner, and it's an endearing aspect of the way it was designed." (Steven, 50-54, owner, Acacia Place, 2018)

Figure 7.15: Terrace, artificial hedges and river path from the third floor of Haven, May 2016. Photo: L. Dorignon

However, these practices can be compared to those of horizontal gardens, where the negotiation of privacy, intimacy and socialisation is allowed by gardening practices. In the French context, this is enacted through the regulated and highly controlled size of trees or bush hedges that separate gardens, and that allow neighbours to create more or less physical distance while also creating moments of socialisation when rising above the hedge to trim it, and observe from the height of the stepladder (Frileux 2010). While apartments in Acacia Place are not separated by green hedges but artificial ones, similar tactics could be observed between neighbours, allowed by the terrace architecture model (Figure 7.16). Additionally, I also found that gardens were considered an intimate part of home, which led some residents to reject the idea of having a garden on a terraced balcony, which inevitably involves the gaze of neighbours: "It doesn't appeal to me at all. I can't imagine having everyone watching me when I am in my garden." (Leah, 50-54, owner, Acacia Place, 2017).

Figure 7.16: « Une terrasse » by architect Henri Sauvage. Credit: Fonds Henri Sauvage, Paris.

Alex, who lives just above a garden well attended to, takes advantage of the sight to spend more time outside:

> "We have won the lottery there because it's always a lovely garden and so we get the benefit of that too. I mean everyone is… We sit out here, we have dinner outside, we are constantly out here. It's nice, we like plants!" (Alex, 40-44, renter, Acacia Place, 2018)

Finally, differentiation of exposition induced by the various levels of apartments allowed apartment dwellers to exchange and make arrangements with their neighbours regarding plant caring.

> "That fern sitting on the fence, that staghorn is actually ours, but when we are upstairs, we thought, oh geez, she looks after her garden. So we went down and actually knocked on her door and said we've got this big staghorn that we can't really keep upstairs, but it would look beautiful in your garden, can you look after it for us? - No worries." (Eric, 60-64, owner, Acacia Place, 2018)

This last quote shows how plants can also contribute to re-humanising relationships between neighbours. This series of practices reveal some of the relationships apartment dwellers have with plants, gardening and a 'suburban' nature. If the ideal of the backyard has been lost, the idea of suburban nature is negotiated differently between people depending on their priorities, whether maintaining privacy, making a place less sterile or socialising. Middle-class aspirations for a garden find themselves replaced by the view of the suburban landscape dwellers might access from the high-rise home.

7.6 High-rise views as spatial capital

In this section, I analyse the view as both a spatial and social practice. I draw on the notion of 'spatial capital' developed by Lévy (2003) and on 'verticality as a practice' by Baxter (2017) to show how the view is not a given but is a socially constructed practice. While Baxter revealed how vertical practices are intertwined with home, I found that practices of the view were tangled with suburban identities and belongings. Through the lens of tactics and strategies, I follow Baxter's approach to explore the view as a "performative act" and "embodied and multi-sensory experience" (Baxter 2017, 345). I argue that, inside middle-class apartments, the views were used by dwellers as spatial capital through different spatial configurations.

The notion of 'spatial capital' was defined by Lévy as the resources accumulated by an actor that allows them to take advantage – depending on their strategy – of the use of society's spatial dimension (2003, 147). This recognises the capacity and power for individuals to act on particular strategies and using both a set of capitals, such as places, territories or networks (Cailly 2004, 2007), and skills, such as experiences in these spaces (Lévy 2003, 148). In my research, I found that the tactics and strategies designed to enhance, hide or practice the view provided dwellers with specific socio-spatial resources that can be understood as spatial capital. This notion is useful to frame the different ways in which the view is perceived, apprehended, organised by individuals in their homes. It is also helpful in revealing how the view is used differently by dwellers to either relate, distance themselves or comprehend the urban landscape. Finally, it discloses the resources – economic, material and social – that the view constitutes as an attribute of middle-class high-rise living.

Two main ideas organise this section. First, I underline the role of windows in apartments, describe the socio-material arrangements regarding the view from them and what the view means for dweller's priorities and daily rhythms. I show how seeing and being seen are occasionally avoided, and privacy managed through bodily tactics and social control. This reveals a hierarchy within apartments between desirable views out, onto the city or the suburbs, and undesirable views into other parts of the development. Secondly, I examine a range of different strategies that incorporate the view into apartment living. Views, such as those associated with the suburban landscape, contribute to give advantages to high-rise dwellers and help establish a middle-class spatial capital.

7.6.1 *Staging the view*

High-rise views are fundamental in the design and sale of high-rise home, but they also play a fundamental part in the everyday inhabitancy and rhythms inside the high-rise home. Recognised as one of the main expressions of high-rise living (J. M. Jacobs, Cairns, and Strebel 2011), views inside homes are made possible and are materialised by windows. I examine the practices of windows as "verticalised material culture" (Baxter 2017, 346) and the tactics and strategies around these objects.

The presence of windows in dwellings have historically signalled wealth and socio-economic advantage because of the amount of light they allow but also for the cost of engineering they used to require. In Melbourne, there are climatic and environmental conditions that necessitate regulations around heat transfers and energy loss which create impediments for the design of large windows and views. In evoking windows with participants, I also found that issues surrounding managing the significant amount of brightness and heat received were repeatedly brought up. This has led developers to invent design and marketing strategies to balance out in dwellings the need for smaller windows with minimal heat transfer with some large window offering a "nicer outlook":

> "We've shrunk the windows in the bedrooms because generally you're not in there - you're there for sleeping or you're waking up, you're making your bed, you're getting changed. You're not there looking at the views as such. But then we can then increase the window sizes in the living areas where you spend most of your time, or you're sitting on the couch you'll be able to look out or your dining table." (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2018)

This developer perspective reveals how residents' daily rhythms and priorities have been incorporated in balancing the costs and regulations on windows. The quote reflects an important spatialisation of the view, which is crucial in certain parts of the apartment, e.g the living room, and not in another where it can constitute a breach of privacy and bring an excessive amount of light and heat. This also underlines the importance of the view as a socialisation factor and reveals its aesthetical function. The quote finally distinguishes between the moments, temporary or mostly unperceived (e.g sleep) where a view is considered unnecessary and those where it will be used as a socialising device (e.g resting, dining in).

This was confirmed in my interviews with a majority of residents who often used the view as a socialising device inside the home or had produced material arrangements to enhance the visibility

of the view inside their homes. Riya, for instance, recounted how the television furniture had been placed against the wall opposite the main window of her living-room, which faces the city skyline:

> "It didn't make sense as to why when you have a view that great, someone would put the TV on this side. […] You're not getting to see that expensive view outside. […] I just moved my furniture around because I would feel depressed when I'd come home and turn around and face the wall. I wanted space, I wanted windows and then I was facing the wall." (Riya, 30-34, renter, Acacia Place, 2018)

This arrangement of Riya's window reveals to the usefulness of the view experienced by some dwellers living on their own to overcome isolation. Her notion of 'expensive view' also underlines awareness of the economic value of the view, and the necessity to take advantage of it, especially when there are financial sacrifices involved to remain an occupant of the building.

There were some instances where the view was lost in order to preserve privacy. Viewing into a common area of the building or into a neighbour's apartment, a relatively common feature of both developments, was always experienced negatively by participants and led some dwellers to "cover the view" in order to protect their intimacy. These arrangements were designed almost entirely for the night-time, when artificial lighting from elsewhere is a disturbance or exceedingly revealing of one's domestic life (Figures 7.17 and 7.18).

Figure 7.17 and 7.18: Panels and clear windows in the Yorkshire Brewery and 'vis-à-vis' between the buildings Sanctuary and Haven in Acacia Place. September-October 2017. Photo: L. Dorignon

In that regard, not being seen was also seen as a form of spatial capital, as it allows more freedom and reduced the anxiety over the social control exerted by neighbours, as pointed out by David ("you're always a little bit conscious of privacy", 30-34, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018), Alex ("I would dislike the way you face other balconies, cause your privacy is jeopardised", 40-44, renter, Acacia Place, 2017) and Riya:

> "It's beautiful in the mornings although the blinds are usually down because people can see. I would love to sleep without the blinds down to let the sun kind of wake me up but... [...] again I wouldn't use that pool only because there are so many apartments looking at the pool and I don't want my neighbours watching me swim." (Riya, 30-34, renter, Acacia Place, 2018)

This shows the reflexivity induced by the view, as well as the complex aspirations materialised in dwellers' arrangements: benefitting from a view and from amenities but prioritising one's intimacy and covering the windows at all time, or simply avoiding the gaze of others on one's body (Figure 19). All this again points to the importance of 'control' – being able to control views both in and out. This highlights a key difference between low-income and high-income high-rise occupancy – the latter can have more control over the same features such as windows.

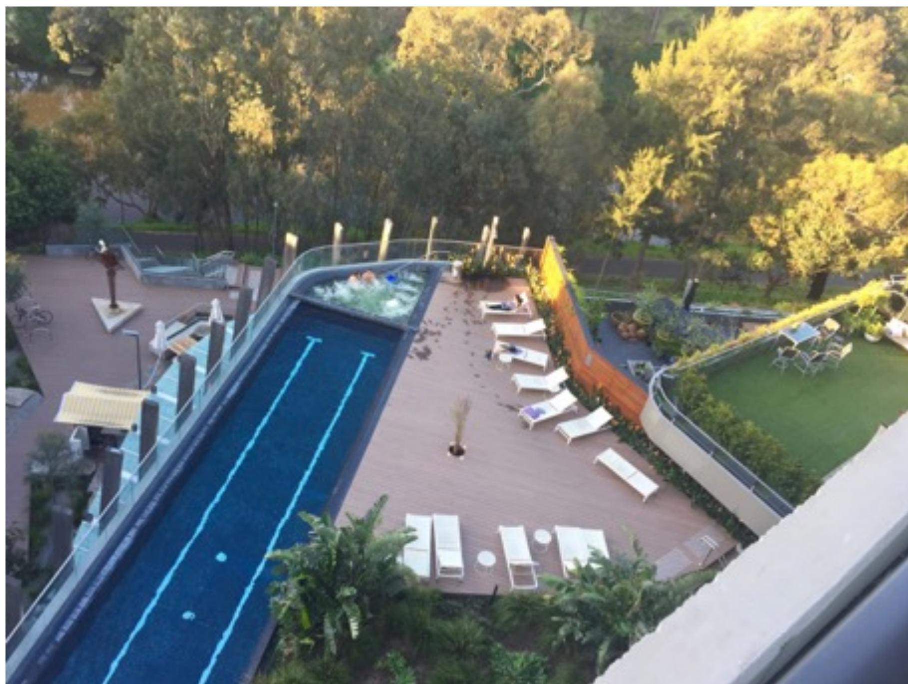


Figure 7.19: View from a balcony of Haven on private terraces and lower gardens, Acacia's communal pool and spa, the café, bike path and Yarra river in background., October 2017. Photo: L. Dorignon

7.6.2 Views as spatial capital of the middle-class

In this section I argue that views of the urban and suburban landscape contribute to give various advantages to high-rise dwellers and help establish a middle-class spatial capital. Views are positioned economically by real-estate actors and dwellers according to their symbolic value and openness of perspective. The view allows a comprehension and appropriation of the surrounding suburb, while permitting a form of dissociation through the elevation of the dwelling. Finally, views give residents the ability to stop and notice the passing of time, the weather and to comprehend the temporalities of the city around them. These strategies around the view, either designed to reinforce a feeling of home as a refuge or as a point of embarkation in the city, are analysed as spatial capital.

The view was a predominant strategy in participants' choice of dwelling, and a significant marketing tool for developers, as emphasised by one of the architects "everyone always focuses on the city view" and a resident, Philip who declared that they "wanted a view within their price range" and "that's all [he] cared about." (50-54, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018). The design of the two case-studies revealed the importance that had been placed on the views the aspect of the building would confer on apartments, while planning constraints also applied to preserve significant view lines such as those of the heritage brew tower in the Yorkshire Brewery. Flats benefitting from clear views and setting up an urban – with the CBD skyline – or suburban landscape were sold and leased as having an additional value by real-estate agents, even though there is a gradation between what is considered a "really fantastic view from the top floors" and a "nice view" from the lower floors (Real-estate development, Boutique, 2018). In Acacia Place, the view offered on the river side of the development to the Yarra valley is also considered a major benefit, leading some residents to cut down the trees around the river in order to "improve their views" (Planning, Local government, 2018). Views were often pointed out by residents as the factor which "sold" them the apartment (Eric & Susan, 60-64, owners, Acacia Place, 2018):

> "I thought it was small, but the view just took us. We walked in here and my partner just said, we are not leaving." (Alex, 40-44, renter, Acacia Place, 2017)

When looking onto the neighbourhood, the view also allows a comprehension and appropriation of the surrounding suburb, while permitting a form of dissociation through the

elevation of the dwelling. The ubiquity of the view reveals the several scales that high-rise homes unfold, from domestic to urban (Blunt and Sheringham 2018) and global (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Blunt and Varley 2004). This contributes to a geographical consideration of the view that "moves beyond the domestic dwelling to incorporate the wider neighbourhood and city" (Blunt and Sheringham 2018, 3). The different landscapes described in the interviews reveal the various relationships that middle-class dwellers have with the suburb. For instance, Phoebe stressed the importance of having a view of the eastern suburbs of Melbourne as it gives "a great sense of distance" and acts as a "psychological trick" (Phoebe, 35-39, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018). She evokes the view out onto Collingwood, "not really pretty cause it's Melbourne" but "making the most of what you have got" (Phoebe, 35-39, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018). Looking down onto the neighbourhood creates a sense of being at home in the city, even if the view includes places considered as undesirable, which then become familiar by the practice of lurking:

> "Sometimes things are not so nice, from my bedroom I have a direct view over a brothel. […] The red light is on, so it's open… I sometimes watch people come and go." (Phoebe, 35-39, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

This awareness can however become habitual, and the view onto the neighbourhood merge completely into the domestic and familiar landscape of home. This idea was brought up by Michael, who recognised often looking at the view but also "getting a bit blasé":

> "after a while it becomes normal. But if you didn't have it, you would complain." (Michael, 65-69, owner, Yorkshire Brewery, 2018)

The atmosphere described by residents revealed a distinct attentiveness to the passing of time and the transformation of weather and natural elements, such as clouds and "their forms, their movements, their textures" (Phoebe, 50-54, renter, Yorkshire Brewery, 2017). Another way to analyse these practices could be that learning these nuances – of the clouds and weather, of urban temporalities viewed from the window – becomes a skill (or embodied capital) that allows residents to appropriate the view as their own capital. Alex emphasised his appreciation of seeing the landscape because it is changing, something he attributes directly to apartment living:

> "And then comes seasonal changes, autumn is beautiful, trees change, the mornings are different, the fog comes in, the smells are different. You really get a sense of the season I suppose here more than a house." (Alex, 40-44, renter, Acacia Place, 2017)

The view is not a permanent feature of the flat, which is maybe where its value derives from. It is a hybrid, transformative and always-changing experience, often characterised as "calming" (Leah, 35-39, owner, Acacia Place, 2018). A meaningful aspect of its value lies in how it changes, how it brings up new elements, how it indicates the times that pass. The view from the window connects the apartment to the surrounding suburbs, but also to a much larger scale, to the wider city. Because of the size of the windows, the height and volume given by some windows positioned at angles, the views offer intense representations of time-change. Many participants emphasised their ability to predict the weather through their window, without having to leave their home. These representations can be daily, with the alternation of day and night, but also seasonal, the change of seasons and light, as well as meteorological with episodes of storms or calm sky allowing the hot-air balloons to travel from within the Yarra Valley, or yearly, with the presence of fireworks in the sky. An acquired skill to observe and interpret provokes a strong identification, where outside elements are made homely, for instance when Leah declared: "We also have hot air balloons come down the Yarra Valley" (Leah, 35-39, owner, Acacia Place, 2018). This aligns with Wiesel's (2018) recent analysis of how upper-class residents of wealthy and 'elite' suburbs in Melbourne wish to appropriate the capital objectified in such a place, and develop a range of appropriation practices to make this capital their own.

This spatial awareness, and perhaps 'appropriation', of landscape changes around home is also accompanied by a mutual connection to the social sphere of living in the suburbs, which is considered an active and leisurely place to be:

> "it's pretty much a prime location to watch the world, everyone can see us!" (Alex, 40-44, renter, 2017)

Because of the view from the balcony, allowing one to be seen, the apartment home becomes a position of advantage or social capital. This allows dwellers to be both in and slightly above the rest of the suburb: we "are right on the river, you feel right in the middle of the trees" while also accessing the social entertainment of the popular river path (Figure 7.20):

> "I love having a view of water, I love the fact that it stops development being in front of you. I suppose it's more about being able to have space, because that was lacking in our house [...] you wouldn't see the outside world unless you made an effort to go out to it. Whereas here, I know that I can sit out there in my own privacy and have a view." (Alex, 40-44, renter, Acacia Place, 2017)

The spatial capital is here a locational strategy with a control over a stable view, as opposed to a perspective subjected to uncontrolled and undesirable changes (more development, see Chapter 5). It also lies in the effortless ability to feel connected to the world, without physical distance nor movement.

Figure 7.20: "A prime location", view onto Haven's balconies and terraces from the Yarra river path, October 2017. Photo: L. Dorignon

These various strategies contribute to middle-class dwellers' spatial capital through their view. These strategies almost always involve a particular connection to the suburb, whether it summons positive emotional states or more ambivalent reactions to the activities happening outside. The apartment home extends out to allow the natural elements to come in or prevents it when social life and private space require some physical boundaries. The notion of spatial capital underlines the use of the view as a way to better comprehend and belong to the surrounding suburb, but also as a dissociation device that can be closed off when necessary.

7.7 Perspectives

This chapter emphasised the socio-economic diversity of households that coexist in the same building, suggesting the different social worlds that are deployed inside each apartment. I isolated downsizing as a recurrent strategy in the data. The analysis of dwellers' relationships to floorplans, surfaces, volumes and layouts revealed their desire for agency, personalisation and individualisation in the making of apartment homes. Tactics around the apartment geography also revealed how

certain individuals successfully expressed their identity through the process of home-making, while some failed at making the high-rise home.

I analysed the 'things' that made apartments homely and how they are co-produced by developers and dwellers: objects, materials, appliances, fittings, furniture, decoration, etc. I established how the objects brought in – or left out – of the apartment home constitute an emotional labour that shape the routine of high-rise dwellers, particularly in the case of 'downsizers'. While home-renovating and decorating are often influenced by tenure statuses, dwellers sometimes find it challenging to achieve a sense of homeliness in the high-rise apartment. On the other end of the wealth spectrum, I analysed the aspiration for aesthetics and the tactics invented to create luxury inside the apartment home and the presence of 'signal' items, such as a bathtub in the bathroom. Through the specific tasks required by apartment living, I also discussed how gender intersects with class and produces differentiated tactics and strategies.

High-rise views are fundamental in the design and sale of high-rise homes, but they also play a fundamental part in the everyday inhabitancy and rhythms inside the high-rise home. Because a hierarchy of views prevails, where the view into other apartments is certainly less valued than a view out on the suburb, different practices emerged to envisage the view differently. I framed the construction of the view as "spatial capital" (Lévy 2003) and analysed the tactics and strategies associated with creating, enhancing or hiding the view. These revealed deeper meanings about the interactions between the middle-class dwellers, home and the space around them.

Chapter 8. Conclusion: the co-production of high-rise living

8.1 Introduction

The thesis began with the observation that while middle-class high-rise living is growing in Melbourne and is being passionately debated in the public sphere, daily life in it remains too rarely investigated by scholars. The project focused on two recent high-rise developments located in two inner-suburbs of Melbourne and the design of which includes a range of common areas, amenities and services. Using a set of qualitative methodologies combining semi-directed interviews and walking tours, the thesis identified and analysed the tactics and strategies developed by residents and developers in the production of high-rise spaces and relations. In outlining a detailed geography of tactics and strategies, I aimed at challenging common narratives on high-rise living to understand the social relationships within. The epistemological angle of relationality captured the interaction between, not just residents, but also other immediate stakeholders of the development, non-humans, objects, memories, and materialities. This theoretical base supplemented a too often macro-scale perspective on high-rise living by examining individuals' tactics and strategies in resolving problems or achieving objectives in their daily routines. Tactics and strategies were found to enrich a relational consideration of housing through the articulation of theoretical and empirical agendas which allow to precisely identify, distinguish and discuss socio-spatial practices.

Framing everyday actions as tactics and strategies also allowed the analysis to underline the meaning individuals attach to the experience of living in a high-rise. Attentive to the diversity of trajectories that characterise middle-class dwellers in the two high-rise buildings, I adopted a relational approach of apartments that revealed and distinguished between modes of action in the social realm of the high-rise. I emphasised the different practices by which actors negotiate high-rise living through two main ways, first through a distinction between temporal and spatial modes of action, and second through an understanding of how power and class play out in the verticalising suburb. In doing so, I have argued that high-rise living is produced through the practices of dwellers and developers but that this uneven co-production leads to competing aspirations, expectations, and outcomes.

This chapter aims at connecting the key findings of this thesis and at answering the research question raised in Chapter 1. In **Section 8.2**, I highlight and discuss the principal results of this study across the two case-study buildings and reflect on the empirical and theoretical contributions of tactics and strategies to relational research on high-rise living. The chapter then turns to revisit common narratives on Australian high-rise living in **Section 8.3** through the concepts and lessons drawn from this thesis. I reformulate what kind of vertical city is emerging in the Australian inner-suburb, where dwellers and developers co-produce middle-class apartment living and where high-rise living is both desired and contested. I end this chapter by discussing why the question of the co-production matters both for our understanding of high-rise living and the literature on relationality and housing.

8.2 Key results and discussion

This section answers the research question raised in Chapter 1: *through what tactics and strategies do residents and developers negotiate and produce high-rise living in middle-class inner-suburbs*? The main concern of this thesis has been to articulate a tactical and strategical understanding of high-rise living. It identified some common practices shared by apartment dwellers or developers and suggested that tactics – opportunistic, based on time and short-term – as well as strategies – planned, based on space and long-term – are used to produce and negotiate high-rise living, involving various forms of competition, cooperation, and compromise. After presenting the chapters' key findings, this section discusses how beneficial it has proven to distinguish between tactical and strategic modes of actions in a relational understanding of high-rise living.

8.2.1 Summary of key results

In Chapter 5, the thesis explored the tactics and strategies of developers and dwellers that surround the vertical transformation of the middle-class suburb. In the production of high-rise developments, I found that developers were often tactical, using unique and timely opportunities in order to adapt their projects to a market of middle-class individuals whose housing imaginaries are both shaped by an Australian suburban ideal and by their cosmopolitan habitus. I explored the marketing and architectural narratives developed around how inner-suburban buildings are given a middle-class status in the city, as well as the daily tactics put in place by dwellers to achieve and embody this status. Facing the transformation of inner-suburban spaces, affluent owners are able to

develop tactical and strategic actions to preserve their interests and negotiate the outcomes of vertical growth. The chapter also establishes the specificity of some upper-middle-class dwellers' strategies, which rely on multi-territorial practices and the performance of class through suburban belonging and multi-ownership. Through discourses on the temporality and aesthetics of hotel living, the two developments are represented and portrayed to invite Australian middle-class desires for the status associated with high-rise living. This strategy is mostly challenged by the tenants' tactics, which reshape the imaginary of hotels and ambient qualities of courtyards. In this chapter, the political instances were found to play a strategic role, attempting at regulating both developers' and dwellers' tactics and strategies in the production of high-rise spaces in the suburb.

Chapter 6 showed that relationships in high-rise living are strongly shaped by the practices of governing and maintaining the buildings' communal spaces. Many of the dwellers' tactics and strategies in the two case-study buildings aim at negotiating the transition from a stand-alone house to an apartment building, and from an individual to a communal way of living insofar as amenities are shared and the responsibility of maintaining of the building distributed amongst a great number of stakeholders. Alliances between actors emerged in the establishment of authority and control in the developments, which shows that tactics and strategies are being played out on different levels. Owners tend to gradually compete against developers for the strategic control of the body corporate and of the building rules, while tenants, overall freed from expectations and showing more ability to adjust, develop tactical power to achieve their preferred social and spatial arrangements. The reconfigurations of the traditional tenure statuses hierarchy with the disruption of short-stay renters also contribute to positioning tenants in cooperation with owners, even though these networks are mostly configured by pre-existing friendships based on shared values around communal living. Corrective tactics occurring in the high-rise collective spaces revealed the tensions surrounding the use and maintenance of building technologies, while all actors converged towards the elaboration of security and surveillance strategies. These tensions, however, have positive outcomes for residents' social relations, as the thesis found that the experience of forging tactics and strategies to resolve various issues reinforced ties between dwellers regardless of their tenure status, despite a tendency to live distantly and maintain strict boundaries in both developments.

In Chapter 7, the thesis contrasted the different tactics and strategies used by developers and residents in the making of the high-rise apartment and discussed the meaning of those in relation

to middle-class identities and aspirations. In this chapter, the thesis revealed that domestic practices in the high-rise apartment are fragmented and informed as much by the multiplicity of middle-class tastes as by dwellers' individual housing trajectories and strategies such as downsizing. I also explored the material aspect of tactical improvements in the home, finding on the one hand that tenants' aspirations for alterations were difficult to fulfil under the regulated economy of tenancy contracts, and on the other hand that owners are able to employ tactical extensions that were reducing developers' control of the built form. Tenants' tactics expose the formality of procedures regarding acquiring tenancy and later in maintaining one's property, increased by the specific material configurations of high-rise apartments. In the two case-studies, home-making practices are influenced by residents' lifestyle aspirations and individual preferences but are also shaped by various socio-economic backgrounds. Keeping decorations and furniture at a minimum, masking the traces of domestic labour and 'suburbanising' the atmosphere of the high-rise apartment with plants were analysed as the tactical reproduction of a middle-class taste. The chapter also identified the view as a predominant strategy in developers' and dwellers' consideration of high-rise homes. By offering a distinct position in the suburb, one of control and comprehension, the view acts as a spatial indicator of social distinction. The chapter ultimately shows that high-rise dwellers' use of tactics and strategies also depends on how individuals relate and belong to the wider city, and what representations, values and expectations people bring into the high-rise home.

Tactics and strategies may be revealing the fragmentation of apartment lifestyles, and further the fragmentation of the middle classes with their varying degrees of social and cultural capital in the experience of suburban high-rise buildings in Melbourne. This was illustrated by dwellers varying abilities to navigate the organisational frameworks of building governance, by their distinct financial capacities to make a home in a standardised apartment or by their contrasted weight in changing building rules. This was also shown through differences in the way high-rise dwellers were socialising in and around both high-rise developments, and the expectations they had regarding the promise of new friendships through living in a high-rise.

8.2.2 Discussion: powerful tactics?

While I have outlined tactical and strategic ways of shaping high-rise living, there is considerable diversity in the way that housing is linked to social and spatial practices. The

identification and analysis of tactics and strategies in two different developments and suburbs have focused on the relations of power and class that traverse housing and home-making practices. Tactics and strategies were discussed in relation to dwellers' differences in social background, tenure status, age or housing trajectory: these differences form the basis of uneven access to power and action in the two case-study buildings.

Tactics and strategies, outside of the dwelling as much as inside it, revealed the different ways in which power was activated by dwellers and their capacity to enact change. Overall, the thesis has interpreted tactics and strategies as circulating between actors, moving beyond consideration of strategies as the 'art of the powerful' – those who organise and anticipate – and of tactics as the 'art of the weak' – those who subvert and react. Dwellers were found to adopt strategic visions for themselves and their futures, while developers' actions have been understood as tactical manoeuvres. Tactics – as everyday practices of home-making – can be understood as more than resistance to developers' strategies; and strategies can be understood as more than top-down disciplining of dwellers. For example, at times strategies involve the institutionalisation of dwellers' practices.

This thesis outlines an uneven and changing distribution of power between those who develop strategies and those who craft tactics. In that regard, tactics and strategies help to define the middle class through individuals' responses to norms or rules. Throughout the thesis, the dwellers' tactics and strategies, regardless of individuals' housing tenure, are operated by slight appropriation, diversion or reinterpretation, without confrontation or direct opposition. In the instance where dwellers' tactics and strategies were against those of developers, politicians and other building managers, it was found that dwellers did not decide to take on radical action to oppose the situation. When dwellers' tactics and strategies were aligned with those of professionals, that was often because narratives and rules were in accordance with dwellers' middle-class codes and habitus. The apparent acceptance of developers' rules by middle-class dwellers, particularly tenants, could also be explained by the fact that they had no interest in circumventing these situations or rules, which were not overly restrictive. Rather than resist, many preferred to adapt depending on their sensibility or personal history.

Furthermore, the thesis showed that power derives from the outcomes gained through both tactical and strategic modes of action. This is confirmed by three findings. Firstly, the concept of

strategies overly amplifies the role of developers in shaping dwellers' daily life, a 'force-relationship' (Certeau, 1984) that dwellers actually escape from relatively easily. Secondly, in the context where residents belong to a resourceful middle-class, urban dwellers were found to successfully and effortlessly navigate complex social, economic and power relationships based on their substantial economic, social and cultural capital, which did not derive solely from their housing arrangement in a high-rise. Thirdly, the thesis found the interactions beyond tactics and strategies relevant - what tactics to counteract the strategies – but also the competitive forms of tactical or strategic actions – for instance what strategies to counteract the strategies. This reflects the importance of competition and cooperation that is at the heart of high-rise living co-production, but also the relational significance and impact of the tactics and strategies formed by dwellers and developers.

These competing practices that shape high-rise living, between spatial and temporal modes of actions, or between various ways of formulating and enacting (or not) intentions, reflected emerging ways of living in the Australian inner-suburb. Tactics and strategies as relational housing practices crystallise some important changes in the way housing is envisaged in the inner-suburb.

8.3 Desired and disputed: high-rise developments in the Australian suburb

This section revisits the common narrative on high-rise living in the Australian suburb through a tactical and strategic framing. It also responds to the thesis' aims to identify the changing aspirations of the middle classes towards high-rise living and the circumstances of such shifts, and to examine the social practices specific to middle-class apartment living in the Australian suburb.

For most participants, living in a high-rise was not the result of a trade-off in housing preferences but a transition into a highly desired and positive living experience epitomising the future of housing in Australia, symbolically placing individuals in the role of pioneers of suburban change, which opens up promising future research directions on the links between high-rise living and gentrification. The co-production of high-rise living through tactics and strategies, is used by the middle classes to manage suburban change and ensure social reproduction. The battle that is led by the middle-class in the suburbs is not just about the urban form: it is about negotiating the terms of a changing Australian dream, and how it will affect the middle-classes' capacity to belong and appropriate the city. It also reveals how middle-class dwellers are drawing on their capital to make it work for them once the planning battle has been lost.

High-rise living has mostly been depicted in the literature as an 'acceptable' compromise, the common narrative is to trade-off the size of a house and garden for a more central, urban and exciting location (Cook, Taylor, and Hurley 2013; Nematollahi, Tiwari, and Hedgecock 2016). This thesis demonstrates that high-rise living is shifting from being seen as a compromise to a desired way of living, a lifestyle that includes extensive amenities without the chores of maintenance, as part of a middle-class experience of the inner-suburb (Figure 8.1). High-rise living differs greatly from individual house arrangements, not only because it is a collective housing situation, but because of the on-going spatial and temporal arrangements that it necessitates. Although the thesis methodology did not adopt a comparative approach between the two case-study buildings, tactics and strategies helped to distinguish the different ways in which high-rise living is enacted and negotiated. While the co-production of high-rise living in both developments reflected new housing aspirations of retirees, middle-age tenants and the upper-middle-class for a collective lifestyle, it also showed the challenges raised by sometimes contradictory expectations. Desired and contested at the same time, residential high-rises in the commodification of vertical housing in Melbourne's inner-suburbs challenges previous understanding suburban societies.

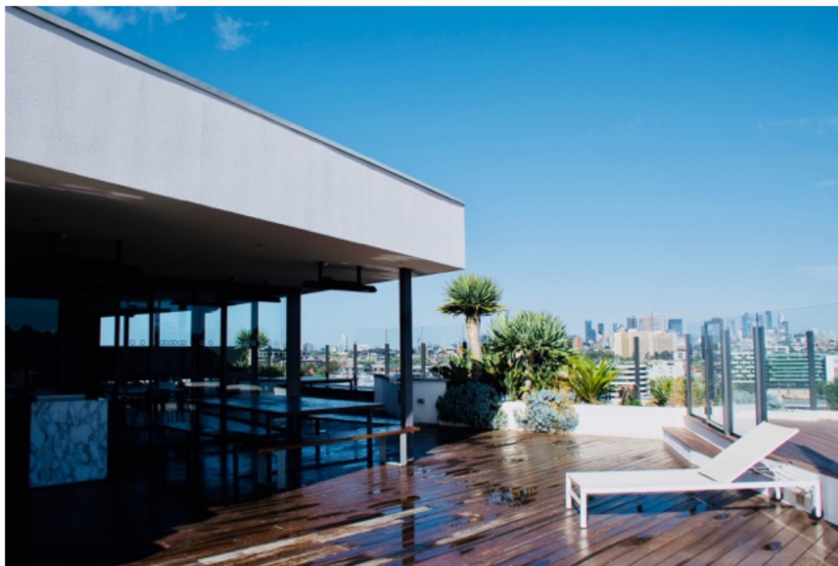


Figure 8.1: Eden' rooftop after the rain and view of Melbourne city centre, October 2017. Photo: L. Dorignon

What will the question of co-production change to further investigations of high-rise living, and what do an uneven access to tactics and strategies bring to a conversation on the future of the 'Great Australian Dream'? Urban studies in Australian often take binary positions for or against densification. This thesis has shown that the lenses of co-production, through tactics and strategies,

can break this binary. First, the co-production angle shows that the very same actors can be at one time against high-rise living and at a later time living in a high-rise, which a temporal approach to tactics was very beneficial in uncovering. Tactics and strategies therefore highlight the malleability of individuals' positions in regard to densification, and the terms on which they are willing to negotiate the vertical suburb. Secondly, this binary is based on a very static understanding of what high-rise buildings, homes and lifestyles are. Yet this thesis has shown how dynamic the 'high-rise' is as a housing form, and how it keeps changing and evolving as a result of those tactics and strategies. This help us understand how the 'Great (middle-class) Australian Dream' is not only reshaped by the mutual interactions between dwellers and developers but also by the enactment of dwellers' social aspirations through high-rise living.

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Appendices

Appendices 1: Example of advertisement material for the recruitment of resident participants

Appendices 2: Consent form for resident participants

Consent form

School of Geography - Faculty of Science
PhD project: *Tactics and temporalities of high-rise living: the production of inclusivity in suburban Melbourne*
Researcher: Ms Louise Dorignon (l.dorignon@student.unimelb.edu.au)
HREC Number: 1749302.1

1. I consent to participate in this project, the details of which have been explained to me, and I have been provided with a written plain language statement to keep.
2. I understand that the purpose of this research is to investigate the impact of new apartment buildings on people's daily life in Melbourne's suburbs.
3. I understand that my participation in this project is for research purposes only.
4. I acknowledge that the possible effects of participating in this research project have been explained to my satisfaction.
5. In this project, I will be required to a) give the researcher a tour of my home and building in which I will introduce to the researcher my daily routines and perceptions b) engage in a conversation about meaningful places in my building and neighbourhood.
6. I understand that my interviews may be audio-recorded.
7. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from this project anytime without explanation or prejudice and to withdraw any unprocessed data that I have provided.
8. I understand that the data from this research will be stored at the University of Melbourne.
9. I have been informed that the confidentiality of the information I provide will be safeguarded subject to any legal requirements; my data will be password protected and accessible only by the named researchers.
10. I understand that after I sign and return this consent form, it will be retained by the researcher.

Name: ______________________________ Date: ________________

Signature:

Appendices 3: Plain language statement distributed to resident participants

Plain Language Statement

School of Geography - Faculty of Science
PhD project: *Tactics and temporalities of high-rise living: the production of inclusivity in suburban Melbourne*
Researcher: Ms Louise Dorignon (l.dorignon@student.unimelb.edu.au)
HREC Number: 1749302.1

Thank you for your time and interest! Your participation in this interview is essential to this research project. The following few pages will provide you with further information about the project, so that you can decide if you would like to take part in this research. Please read this information carefully. You may ask questions about anything you don't understand or want to know more about. Your participation is voluntary. If you begin participating, you can also stop at any time.

What is this research about?
This research explores daily life in suburban apartments. It seeks to understand the effects of living in a recently-constructed, high-rise apartment building, on people's social life in Melbourne's suburbs. The project's overall goal is to identify the ways in which contemporary high-rise living is perceived, designed, inhabited, and even subverted by its inhabitants and the people involved in its production. In particular, it seeks to analyse people's responses to living together in a high-density environment, how they interact with each other, how they use the common spaces and facilities, and how they relate to the place, emotionally and spatially. Ultimately, the research investigates who is shaping contemporary Australian high-rise culture(s), and how.

What will I be asked to do?
Should you agree to participate, you will give the researcher a tour of your home and building (approx. 15 min long) in which you will discuss your daily routine, and engage in conversation (approx. 30 min long) about the meaningful places in your building and neighbourhood.

NB: Both tour and conversation will be audio-recorded. Audio-recordings will be not be made available to other participants. You may nominate one household member to conduct the tour and give the in-depth interview, but everyone is invited to do a tour and an interview, including teenagers aged 15 years and older (this has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of The University of Melbourne).

What are the possible benefits?
Little is known about what it is to live in high-density. In participating in this research, you will help increase knowledge about people's actual lifestyles in apartments. This will be beneficial to better design apartments and buildings in the future, adapt the residential offer to the needs of people and give an accurate image of suburban apartment living in Melbourne.

What are the possible risks?

There are very few risks associated with this research. No physical exploration within the building will be asked for, and the research will happen according to the specific fire and safety regulations of your building.

Do I have to take part?

No. Participation is completely voluntary. You can quit at any time, or have the information you provide withdrawn from the project.

Will I hear about the results of this project?

The results of this project will be disseminated through several academic publications that will be made available to you electronically.

What will happen to information about me?

Confidentiality will be respected throughout the project, and your identity protected. Your name will not be used in any written or oral dissemination of the research.

Where can I get further information?

If you would like more information about the project, please contact the researchers; Ms Louise Dorignon (l.dorignon@student.unimelb.edu.au), the responsible researcher Prof. Ruth Fincher (r.fincher@unimelb.edu.au) or visit the project's website at suburbanhighrises.wordpress.com.

Who can I contact if I have any concerns about the project?

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of The University of Melbourne. If you have any concerns or complaints about the conduct of this research project, which you do not wish to discuss with the research team, you should contact the Manager, Human Research Ethics, Research Ethics and Integrity, University of Melbourne, VIC 3010. Tel: +61 3 8344 2073 or Email: HumanEthics-complaints@unimelb.edu.au. All complaints will be treated confidentially. In any correspondence please provide the name of the research team or the name or ethics ID number of the research project.

Appendices 4: Consent form for housing professional participants

Consent form

School of Geography - Faculty of Science
PhD project: *Tactics and temporalities of high-rise living: the production of inclusivity in suburban Melbourne*
Researcher: Ms Louise Dorignon (l.dorignon@student.unimelb.edu.au)
HREC Number: 1749302.1

11. I consent to participate in this project, the details of which have been explained to me, and I have been provided with a written plain language statement to keep.
12. I understand that the purpose of this research is to investigate the impact of new apartment buildings on people's daily life in Melbourne's suburbs.
13. I understand that my participation in this project is for research purposes only.
14. I acknowledge that the possible effects of participating in this research project have been explained to my satisfaction.
15. In this project, I will be required to engage in a conversation about my professional practice and the ways in which I perceive and/or design high-density living.
16. I understand that my interviews may be audio-recorded.
17. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from this project anytime without explanation or prejudice and to withdraw any unprocessed data that I have provided.
18. I understand that the data from this research will be stored at the University of Melbourne.
19. I have been informed that the confidentiality of the information I provide will be safeguarded subject to any legal requirements; my data will be password protected and accessible only by the named researchers.
20. I understand that after I sign and return this consent form, it will be retained by the researcher.

Name: ______________________________ Date: ______________

Signature:

Appendices 5: Plain language statement distributed to housing professional participants

Plain Language Statement

School of Geography - Faculty of Science
PhD project: *Tactics and temporalities of high-rise living: the production of inclusivity in suburban Melbourne*
Researcher: Ms Louise Dorignon (l.dorignon@student.unimelb.edu.au)
HREC Number: 1749302.1

Thank you for your time and interest! Your participation in this interview is essential to this research project. The following few pages will provide you with further information about the project, so that you can decide if you would like to take part in this research. Please read this information carefully. You may ask questions about anything you don't understand or want to know more about. Your participation is voluntary. If you begin participating, you can also stop at any time.

What is this research about?
This research explores daily life in suburban apartments. It seeks to understand the effects of living in a recently-constructed, high-rise apartment building, on people's social life in Melbourne's suburbs. The project's overall goal is to identify the ways in which contemporary high-rise living is perceived, designed, inhabited, and even subverted by its inhabitants and the people involved in its production. In particular, it seeks to analyse people's responses to living together in a high-density environment, how they interact with each other, how they use the common spaces and facilities, and how they relate to the place, emotionally and spatially. Ultimately, the research investigates who is shaping contemporary Australian high-rise culture(s), and how.

What will I be asked to do?
Should you agree to participate, you will be asked to engage in a conversation (approx. 40 min long) on the ways in which you perceive and/or design high-rise and apartment living.
NB: The conversation will be audio-recorded.

What are the possible benefits?
Little is known about what it is to live in contemporary high-rises. In participating in this research, you will help increase knowledge about people's actual lifestyles in apartments. This will be beneficial to better design apartments and buildings in the future, adapt the residential offer to the needs of people and give an accurate image of suburban apartment living in Melbourne.

What are the possible risks?
There are very few risks associated with this research. No trespassing within the high-rises will be asked for, and the research will happen according to the specific fire and safety regulations of your building.

Do I have to take part?

No. Participation is completely voluntary. You can quit at any time, or have the information you provide withdrawn from the project.

Will I hear about the results of this project?

The results of this project will be disseminated through several academic publications that will be made available to you electronically.

What will happen to information about me?

Confidentiality will be respected throughout the project, and your identity protected. Your name will not be used in any written or oral dissemination of the research.

Where can I get further information?

If you would like more information about the project, please contact the researchers; Ms Louise Dorignon (l.dorignon@student.unimelb.edu.au), the responsible researcher Prof. Ruth Fincher (r.fincher@unimelb.edu.au) or visit the project's website at suburbanhighrises.wordpress.com.

Who can I contact if I have any concerns about the project?

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Appendices 6: Questionnaire used with resident participants

*Can you tell me the story of how you came to move in this building? (e.g *why*?)

*How did you hear about it?

*Are you owning or renting this apartment?

*Do you remember the day you moved in? (if applicable)

*Is it your first time living in an apartment? (if applicable)
- Is no, where was it? What was it like? Is this a similar or different experience?

*Can you describe your apartment for me? (if applicable, work for home or other)

*What do you think of the design of the building?

*What are the things you learned about this building by living in it?

*How do you use the common areas of the building?

*How would you describe the atmosphere between residents of this building?

*How frequently would you say you encounter your neighbor, and how does it occur?

*How close are you of your neighbor? Are there neighbors that you particularly like, why and how do you manage to get together? Conversely, are there neighbors you prefer avoiding, why and how do you manage to avoid them?

*Do you feel similar or different to the rest of the people living here? In which ways?

*How do you socialise with relatives, and where? (if applicable, do you think this is going to change?)

*Can you describe the neighborhood?

*What is your relationship with the oustide/outdoor, e.g if the view?

*Does your experience of the building varies night?

*Has your impression of the building changed since you moved in and how?

*Tour (different options)
- show me your favorite place in the building (if not a lot of time left)
- can you show me your daily route and your habits in the complex?
- can you give me a tour of your building, indicating where you encounter other people?

Appendices 7: Example of questionnaire used with housing professional participants

*Describe your role, and the current projects you are working on. (+ number of years they have been working on high-density living?)

*What are your main intentions when shaping new high-density apartment buildings?

*Do you think high-rise living had evolved/changed over the years in Melbourne, and how?

*Can you talk about the effects effects of living in a recently-constructed high-rise apartment building in the suburbs?

*How do you perceive the relationship between the inside of a residential high-rise and it outside (e.g the city)?

*What would you say are, or should be, the most social spaces inside a high-rise building?

*What are, according to you, the challenges around the design and implementation of common spaces or shared facilities in high-density buildings?

*Do you think there is or will be any unintended/unexpected uses of high-rise spaces by residents?

*If you have worked on [name of case-study development]:

- How did you envisage the design of the building in relation to the social connections it can foster?
- What sort of atmosphere did you intend to create with this project?
- Who do you think is living in these apartments?
- Did you have any feeback from the users on how they have been appropriating the space?

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Author/s:
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