High-Rises and Urban Design: The Reasons for Unsuccessful Placemaking with Residential High-Rises in England

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Abstract—High-rises and placemaking is an understudied combination which receives more and more interest with the proliferation of this typology in many British cities. The reason for studying three major cities in England: London, Birmingham and Manchester, is to learn from the latest advances in urban design in well-developed and prominent urban environment. The analysis of several high-rise sites reveals the weaknesses in urban design of contemporary British cities and presents an opportunity to study from the implemented examples. Therefore, the purpose of this research is to analyze design approaches towards creating a sustainable and varied urban environment when high-rises are involved. The research questions raised by the study are: what is the quality of high-rises and their surroundings; what facilities and features are deployed in the research area; what is the role of the high-rise buildings in the placemaking process; what urban design principles are applicable in this context. The methodology utilizes observation of the researched area by structured questions, developed by the author to evaluate the outdoor qualities of the high-rise surroundings. In this context, the paper argues that the quality of the public realm around the high-rises is quite low, missing basic but vital elements such as plazas, public art, and seating, along with landscaping and pocket parks. There is lack of coherence, the rhythm of the streets is often disrupted, and even though the high-rises are very aesthetically appealing, they fail to create a sense of place on their own. The implications of the study are that future planning can take into consideration the critique in this article and provide more opportunities for urban design interventions around high-rise buildings in the British cities.

Keywords—High-rises, placemaking, urban design, townscape.

I.Introduction

A.The Research Background

HIGH-RISES are a viable building typology with specific benefits for the sense of place, the space legibility and the positive users experience, however, research on tall buildings and urban design, particularly addressing the significance of high-rise building for placemaking is insufficient [1].

Three cities in England have been selected as a basis for this research: Manchester, Birmingham, and London. They all are characterized by moderate building heights interrupted by bold new high-rise developments. The cities offer challenging and provocative high-rise buildings, a fruitful source for further analysis. However, the research of the high-rises surroundings shows that in most cases, their environment is futile and uninteresting and the principles of successful urban design have not been followed.

Urban design major aim is providing better human experience into the built environment by active placemaking, and high-rises have a significant potential for the process this is why this study area needs more in-depth research. On a first place, visual attractiveness is the feature often mentioned as a quality of the urban environment that positively affects quality of life and residents' satisfaction with an area. It also enhances the residents' feelings of attachment and belonging to a place [2]. Therefore, it is the first feature that will be examined by this study. Additional imperative of the explored good urban design include is the design response enhancing the character of the place. The people must be involved in the active use of the place. There also must be attention to peoples' emotional needs and aspirations. It is also vital to provide users with multiple experiences. Evoking delight and satisfaction in the end users is equally important. The created place must be also interesting. The configuration of built forms and related space to be studied leads to analysis from a cityscape point of view. Cityscape (townscape) refers to giving visual organization and coherence to the jumble of buildings, streets, and spaces that create the urban environment [3]. The analysis will review six qualities of the successful places: identity, safe and pleasant, ease of movement, a sense of welcome, adaptability, and good of resources. Other important characteristics are availability of public spaces and 'permeability' of urban form through the design of street patterns and the connectivity of streets with surrounding networks. Its importance is explained by the fact that connected and permeable networks promote walking and cycling, and make navigation through places less problematic and in this context the significance of the highrises is stressed by their intrinsic preservation of urban land available thus for public usages. This is of course dictated by the structure of the streetscape and the urban fabric.

Other important aspects of the high-rise impact are the tower articulation, the design of the tower base and the coherence with human scale. Architects promote tower bases that are in harmony with the street facades and correspond to human scale [4]. Human scale is particularly important in order to mitigate the feelings of smallness, dwarfing, and irrelevance caused by the high-rises in the passerby. To achieve this landscaping and sensitive architectural design should be implemented at pedestrian levels and design

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elements such as the tower base, shaft, landscaping, atriums, plazas, and sculptures should facilitate the design. [5].

In order to evaluate the aesthetic impact of the high-rise buildings on the places they form another several aspects will be reviewed. The first of them is proportion. The ratio between the height of the building and the street width is crucial for the street imageability. From the proportion depends if the street is perceived as too wide or too narrow. Another aspect is rhythm. Changes in the heights of buildings along a path should be carefully considered. Smooth transitions instead of abrupt changes may reinforce consistency. Finally, there should be coherence: harmonious coexistence of different architectural styles, design and façade treatment.

B. The Aim of the Study

This study aims at analyzing factual information from observation of the high-rises in Birmingham, London, and Manchester in connection with the quality of the urban environment they are part of. The research questions opened by this study are:

- what is the quality of high-rises and their surroundings;
- what facilities and features are deployed in the research area:
- what is the role of the high-rise buildings in the placemaking process
- what urban design principles are applicable in this context

II.LITERATURE REVIEW

Contemporary urban areas face multiple problems: along with alarming extreme population growth and migration, social issues such as alienation, violence, and insecurity raise the question of ensuring social sustainability in the areas of concern. Various approaches contributing to human relations and increasing life quality perception by developing of social cohesion exist. One of these approaches; placemaking, emerged in the 1960s and had been applied to different scale of places [6].

"Placemaking" refers to the method of transforming public places to respond to physical and social human needs, recall a sense of place, and foster human activity and interaction. The physical features of buildings have an impact on the public space they are part of and this brings social consequences. For example fostering pedestrian street activity requires providing visually interesting features to attract and engage pedestrians [7]

There is a certain distinction between the terms "space" and "place". The term "space" refers to the physical container of activities and objects, while the term "place" refers to a particular part of space that relates to the physiological and psychological needs of people while experiencing specific culture, climate, and geography. Urban designers aim at turning spaces into places because cities provide one of the most significant, direct, and constant human experiences of our world [8]. This process is taking place in a context of continuous densification of our cities which is confronting for many, but also is welcomed by the young and the aged, and is

popular lifestyle for many others of diverse cultural backgrounds. Parts of the community see this process as an opportunity for a more socially active and engaged urban lifestyle and better housing conditions. However, the successful places depend on much more than just housing stock. Good quality and varied housing types, an engaging public domain, good public transport, and delivery of community and cultural services are necessary [9]. However, the cultural complexity of the contemporary planning contexts, and the course of governance and entrepreneurial policies hinder the creation of places and the achievement of social welfare and sustainability. Reference [10] argues for a socio-cultural approach to reveal social representations and practices that make a place.

In the recent theory, the majority of the urbanists, architects, and planners consider the compact city as the most sustainable typology of a settlement that can help the continuous modern urbanization. However, previous case studies reveal that environmental, social and economic context affect this process and also there is a difference between the developed and developing countries [11].

In the process of cities consolidation, the massive bulk, and the immense height, the high-rises significantly impact placemaking. Reference [12] stresses that high-rises design should respect cultural values and practices in relation to functional issues and space utilities. One of these issues is the provision of enough public parks and community gardens to foster social interaction and cohesion. The scope of "high-rise landscape" regards the man-made ecological system of outdoor and indoor environment including green roof, sky garden, podium parks and vertical greenery etc., connecting natural ecosystem with buildings and urban infrastructure. In this connection, the designed system must create a balanced ecosystem of biotic and abiotic components and a productive and even healing relationship with natural environment [13]. In practice, the main problem of the compact city theory is the less green and open spaces than could be found in a dispersed city [14]. Reference [15] regrets that physical and emotional connection to a place, that is time consuming, is deteriorating in today's fast-paced cities, with generic new developments concerned mostly with the cost savings.

III.METHODOLOGY

The study relies on direct observation for gathering considerable data on the field. Direct observation is underestimated and valuable method to collect evaluation information and has been chosen as an appropriate methodology to conduct this study. It is especially useful when there is physical evidence that can be readily seen. Observation checklists and structured questions have been prepared for the purposes of collecting thorough and complete data. The sites were visited June 2015, during which the checklists and questions were used and photographs were taken. The observation is covert, which raises some ethical questions however the observation focused on structures and buildings, not on people and the anonymity and privacy of passing people has been preserved. The buildings selected are

relatively new, with more than 12 storey and with certain architectural qualities

IV.RESULTS

Altogether nine buildings were subjected to analysis of their role in placemaking: The Beetham Tower, 17 New Wakefield Street, 1 Deansgate in Manchester; 10 Holloway Circus, The Cube, Block M Masshouse Circus in Birmingham; and The Landmark East and West Tower, The Heron and Pan Peninsula in London. They have been examined for nine approaches contributing to successful placemaking that are interconnected:

- •visual attractiveness
- identity, safe and pleasant, ease of movement, a sense of welcome
- •availability of public spaces and 'permeability'
- •tower articulation
- •the design of the tower base
- •the coherence with human scale
- proportion
- rhythm
- •coherence: harmonious coexistence of different architectural styles, design and façade treatment



Fig. 1 Beetham tower, Manchester

The Beetham Tower, Manchester, (Fig. 1) is situated on a busy street without any distinctive design intervention in the spaces around it. The tower is very pleasing visually, with strong identity and with a base connected to a lower volume that respects the surroundings height and the human scale. The proportions of the high building are predominantly vertical, but are providing the feeling that the street is too narrow due to the dominating low-rises around. The connection with the street is achieved by a small recess of the building. The building definitely misses surroundings designed for people: it feels safe, but not comfortable, varied or attractive. Despite the business of street, it does not offer passenger any spaces to linger and enjoy the street life. It does not have any landscape features, but the good integration with the street makes it a space that contributes to the richness of the existing settings. However, as the only high building in the vicinity, the rhythm of the street is disrupted and there is also missing coherence with the surrounding brick low-rises. On the plus side is also that its significant height makes it visible from distant parts of the city, emphasizing key locations and contributing to the

skyline, creating an important landmark optimally at main centers of activity, in focus of intersection of major streets. The environment created is a mixture of traditional low-rises brick architecture in contrast with the appealing modern glass and steel architecture of the high-rise and is characterized by good legibility, ease of movement and access, proximity of transport, high quality of the public realm which however is quite poor from functions and amenities. The lack of public art can also be described as a shortage. The ground floor comprises different functions (residential, restaurant and a hotel) enabling different uses, social integration and vivid street life. There are also two parks in walking distance. However, there are missing paths for cyclists and the cyclist safety feels poor.

17 New Wakefield Street, Manchester, (Fig. 2) is an example of poor surroundings of a prominent building. The frontage of the building steps directly on a quiet street without any or public space to allow social interactions of any sort. It makes the frontage of the building accessible, but not inviting. The complete lack of comfortable, varied, and attractive public realm is a definite shortcoming of the design of the building which does not contribute at all to the street life. However, the appealing design is in harmony with the urban fabric of the street, creating a coherent whole with the street and providing an active frontage. The surrounding low-rise buildings are executed in brick and steel which is complemented by the metal cladding of the high-rise. The tower base respects the height of the surroundings and the human scale and is better articulated than the rest of the tower. The height and the architectural features of the building make it a successful landmark, defining directions and locations in the neighborhood but also disrupt the rhythm of the street with its predominantly vertical proportions that cause the street to feel too narrow. However, there is a mix of uses (shops) that enliven the ground floor. The proximity to varied public transport is a plus, but there are no public parks or at least a community garden in a walking distance. However, the space around the high-rise has good legibility, the movement and access are easy and the high quality architecture makes it relatively acceptable from urban design point of view.



Fig. 2 17 New Wakefield Street, Manchester



Fig. 3 1 Deansgate, Manchester

1 Deansgate, Manchester, (Fig. 3) is located on a busy street and its dashing design reflects its dual functions: retail and residential. The basis of the building designed with high height spaces and sophisticated architectural detail, enriches the qualities of street life with numerous shops and memorable appearance. The building and its surroundings benefit from increased viability of urban facilities and support for small business. There are no landscape features, only a small corner widening of the sidewalk. The area around the building is mainly for walking and shopping and it blends in perfectly from functional point of view. However, the residents are deprived from spaces to socialize and linger. The character and setting of the area are mainly streetscape with many prominent buildings and the design of 1 Deansgate strengthens local identity and sets a distinctive landmark. It uses the right materials, forms for the locality; respects street and road linkages and relates to existing urban structures. The smart shape contributes positively to the skyline. The v-shaped columns and the distinctive shape of the building enhance the sense of place. However, the lack of amenities such as green areas and playgrounds make it unsuitable for families with children and elderly people, reducing the social integration potential of the place. The location and the functions of the building promote design for walking, with the wide continuous sidewalks flanking the building, thriving with shops and eateries. The legibility and accessibility are also very good. It provides visual stimulation and joy of the prominence of the building for its close proximity and from a distance. However, a plaza in connection with the building would have been a great asset for the area. The proportions, rhythm, tower base, and coherence contribute positively to the sense of space.

10 Holloway Circus, Birmingham, (Fig. 4) is a prominent building situated on a busy crossroad that has little amenities of some sort in the vicinity. The public spaces are only sidewalks to densely populated shopping street and the approach to transportation, traffic management and parking lacks originality: there is a traffic pocket in front the building to accommodate the visitors coming by car. The pedestrian entrances are directly accessible, clear, prominent, weatherprotected with a covering and directly linked to the sidewalk. The entrances are marked with appropriate signage. The

quality of the public realm is quite low, considering the lack of plazas, public art, or landscape features. However, it is mixed use development. The walking distance to vibrant urban environment with shops, cinemas and attractions is quite short (5 min), addressing the connection between people and places and considering the need of people to access services. The place has a distinctive character, with building forms (highrises and low-rises) forming the townscape, but the building does not replicate the local materials and colors, maintaining completely unique appearance. The base of the building externalizes more active use (restaurant and a bar) and has an increased transparency to the street. The area capitalizes on higher densities: social proximity enhances interaction and diversity, as well as the economic viability of the development, which comprises hotel and residential functions. However, the social integration is reduced by the lack of sitting out areas, playgrounds and landscapes, which makes it unwelcoming couples with children or the elderly. The appealing design of the building connected to an adjacent lowrise building maintains strong street frontage and can be used to emphasize the location. Views and vistas aligned with key buildings are particularly useful to the visitor. The building contributes positively to the city skyline. The rhythm and height of the building base and tower defines relationships to other buildings. Distinctive design features, building form and shapes contributes to a sense of place, but no distribution of the mass of the building is relating to the adjacent low-rises.



Fig. 4 10 Holloway Circus, Birmingham

The Cube, Birmingham, (Fig. 5) stands out with distinctive architecture. Its memorable façade strengthens the street identity, but the location of the building feels unfavorable. The other buildings on the street are brick low-rises which have nothing in common with the materials, the rhythm, and the detail of the Cube. However, the place has a distinct character dominated entirely by the high-rise and the distinctive design features maintain a sense of place, but plazas and landscape features would have been beneficial for the residents. The area around the entrance is characterized by change of the materials of the street (asphalt to pavement) and there is an ample space to pull over and stop your car. There are good accessibility and ease of movement. The base of the

Cube is dedicated to active uses (restaurant, shops, hotel) but the height is of a normal floor, which looks little oppressed. The recesses in which the entrances are situated provide weather protection and welcome users. However, the street is not designed to create comfortable and diverse environment, also the social integration of elderly people and families with children is diminished by the absence of any facilities for them in the vicinity. Views are preserved by the design of the building. It contributes positively to the city skyline, even though it is the only high-rise building on the street, which turns it into important landmark along with its extra richness of the architectural design. However, the location with its low-rises is particularly appropriate for better distribution of the mass of the buildings where lower parts would maintain the connection with the context much better.



Fig. 5 The Cube, Bitmingham



Fig. 6 Block M Masshouse Circus, Birmingham

Block M Masshouse Circus, Birmingham (Fig. 6) is a 14 floor high-rise, situated on a quiet lane along with other high-rises on site. Its striking rounded shape enriches its surroundings with architectural quality but the building cannot be defined as a landmark because it blends into the context along with the other high-rise buildings in the vicinity. The building is situated on a high podium treated with stone cladding and for the change of levels; both stairs and ramps are provided to the prominent, accessible entrance. The rhythm is balanced with other high buildings in the vicinity. The base of the building is accentuated with pillars spreading for two floors; the top is also treated with richer architectural design, contributing to the city skyline. The basis is not accommodating any different uses than residential, but the adjacent building has plenty of shops on the ground level and

the high-rises form a successful complex, both visually and functionally. The tower is better articulated than the basis. Wonderful impression makes the rich landscape features surrounding the buildings: meadows, shrubs, and trees with a variety of shapes, sizes, and foliage. However, it seems prohibited for active uses such as wandering, playing and lunch. The place has strong identity and is presenting varied, comfortable, and appealing environment. It works well with the other mid-rise buildings in the vicinity. Memorable feature are the wavy balconies on the high-rise and the significant height of the podium focusing attention on the buildings. There is respect to the human scale, nice proportions, and style coherence with its surroundings. Beneficial for social integration is the near-by park which can meet the needs of the elderly and the families with children. However, there are some omissions in the design: lack of varied and welcoming seating, as well as the lack of the public art.

The Landmark East and West Tower, London, (Fig. 7) outdoor environment is safe, comfortable, varied, and attractive. On a limited space there is created public realm that is distinctive even though it does not offer much variety and choice. Planters are combined with seating for relaxing and watching the world passing by. There is a good connection with the street by pavement transition of the sidewalk to the little space between the buildings. The nice architectural detail, visual attractiveness and the slick appearance of the towers contribute positively to the visual richness of the area.

The created enclosure has a strong sense of place and the identity of the buildings settings is clear and prominent. The arrangement has a good surveillance potential enhancing the safety and security. The water feature by the buildings adds charm and variety to the place. The surrounding buildings are executed in different material and architectural features and the towers blend in well in the vibrant and varied built environment. Their height and prominence turns them into distinctive landmarks for the area.



Fig. 7 The Landmark East and West Tower, London

The entrances are weather protected and well visible and tie functionally into the existing pedestrian system. The basis of the buildings is treated with two storey height columns and with rhythm and design that established good visual connection with the architectural characteristics of the adjacent buildings and created strong street frontage. The legibility and accessibility are also very good. The absence of

amenities is the only downside of the environment. The area is also characterized by lack of public art which could be beneficial for the experience of the square users. The environment is child friendly even though there is no playground and appropriate to accommodate the needs of the elderly people. The whole development is designed as walkable environment but there are no shopping facilities and also no public services and amenities to support residents and workers and to provide focal elements of an urban structure that help to create a strong sense of community and identity. However, the place lacks cohesion between the styles and the proportions of the two towers and the adjacent middle-rise buildings which affects negatively the imageability of the place.

The Heron, London, (Fig. 8) is a residential skyscraper in London, featuring stunning architecture and too little to say about its surroundings. It is located directly on the narrow street, improving accessibility but lacking any designated public space. The proportions of the high-rise and the adjacent buildings make the street to look too narrow.



Fig. 8 The Heron, London

A colonnade on the ground level enhances legibility and the connection of the building with the pedestrian system, providing feature for the street frontage which is strengthened by the public uses of the ground level to create lively, active atmosphere around the building. It makes an impression that the entrance is not very well articulated. The massing of the building is implemented in different segments, connecting the building with the surrounding lower units and avoiding the boredom of one solid high block. It largely improves the legibility of the building. Vistas and views towards the Heron are preserved and its rich architectural detail and significant height turns it into important landmark for its surroundings. However, the lack of amenities is a significant downside of the development. There are no seating, no places for children to play or the elderly to enjoy the outside, making the building suitable only for families without children or single people, significantly reducing the social integration potential of the building. Even so, the residents of the building will be satisfied by the appealing design and the strong sense of identity of the place. There is a similarity in the materials used in the complex of buildings, their scale, and construction, which unifies visually the whole place, making it recognizable and sophisticated. Steel and glass, along with the stone pavement are the prevailing materials for a new modern look of this part of the city. A little concern is causing the "canyon feeling" created by the tall building because of the narrowness of the street.



Fig. 9 Pan Peninsula, London

Pan Peninsula, London, (Fig. 9) comprises of one 38 and one 48 storey buildings, situated in the Isle of Dogs, London. The development is characterised by outstanding quality of the high-rises but not so interesting public realm. There is a good connection with the street by combination of planters and seating and an established path for vehicles to both of the towers, securing accessibility, and ease of movement. The first floors of the buildings are treated differently with smaller scale and richer architectural detail which connects it visually with the lower buildings around. However, the recommended height of two floors is not executed and the ground floor is only one floor high and the uses are not opened to public, which would make the frontage more active and lively. The high-rises constitute solid blocks with a little mass breaking in the upper storeys which forms an interesting finishing of the buildings. The public amenities constitute the wharf nearby with good possibility for walking and relaxing, which offers families with children and elderly better conditions than most of the reviewed high-rises. Even though the appearance of the buildings is quite standard for high-rises, they provide an important landmark for the area. There is good legibility and visual relations with the buildings in the vicinity. However, their significant height makes the street looks too narrow. The architectural details are similar for the high-rises and low-rises which unify the area and provides high-quality built environment, however missing more landscape features for a development of this magnitude. The entrances are little hard to find affecting the quick access to the building and the orientation of the visitors but altogether the environment is easy to approach. There is an obvious lack of public art as well. There is proximity of public transport which is a convenience for the residents but no public parks in walkable distance, except Mudchute Park which is not so close.

V.DISCUSSION

Placemaking is a process through which a certain area of the built environment is given distinctive and unique character. The aim is to create places with strong sense of community, along with activities and amenities that

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correspond to the needs of the users. The process encompasses the work of a number of professions, including architects, town planners, masterplanners, urban designers, and landscape architects. And while the architects of the reviewed high-rises have been up to the challenge with visually attractive results, the urban designers have been marginalized by economic factors such as cost and availability of land thus living the high-rises with poor and underdeveloped surroundings.

The different buildings experience different problems. The Beetham Tower, 17 New Wakefield Street, The Cube, The Heron are the only high buildings in the vicinity and the rhythm of the street is disrupted with this sudden change in the height. It has a negative impact on imageability which according to [16] is very important for citizens' experience of the cities. The reviewed buildings definitely miss surroundings designed for people: comfortable, varied, or attractive. They do not offer passenger any spaces to linger and enjoy the street life and are poor from functions and amenities. This is due to the fact that they are situated on already developed streets where the plot could not support the creation of rich and indulging public realm. The reviewed high-rises fail to create any sense of place and feel disconnected from their locality; essentially, they could be 'anywhere'.

There are some attempts to dedicate space for placemaking (Block M Masshouse Circus, The Landmark East, and West Tower) but however the plot of the buildings allows only limited urban design interventions. The Landmark East and West Tower is the only one of the analyzed buildings that has small plaza and seating integrated with planters which can be used as a place for relaxation and social interactions, having the characteristics of a well-conceived public realm. Otherwise, the only amenities in the vicinity are shops on the streets. Streets for ages have been vital part of the public realm but they need to be reclaimed for the needs of the pedestrians for more satisfying social interactions.

In the placemaking process landmarks are important for the perception of the place. The reviewed buildings have the potential to stand as true landmarks for their surroundings. The drive to express power and grandness finds an appropriate solution in building high. The design of the reviewed highrises also attempts to create sense of place around a focal point. However, the lack of diversity and mix of uses prevents this from happening, nevertheless the role of the high-rise buildings as focal points remains.

Numerous design principles are applicable for the high-rise

- Urban design should promote and facilitate social interaction. This can be achieved by the adequate design of public places such as plazas, gardens, and streets for pedestrians.
- b) Civic and public gathering space should be generous. Unfortunately, this is not implemented in the reviewed buildings design.
- There must be a strong relationship between new development and nature, land form, and existing buildings. Regrettably, nature has not been included in the majority of the reviewed buildings.

- There must be coherence between the arrangement, volume, and shape of a building or group of buildings in relation to other buildings and spaces. A little regard to this principle has been paid in the reviewed buildings.
- There must be a pleasant nature of the setback, boundary treatment and its frontage condition at street level. This has been implemented.
- It should be the goal of those working in the development process to provide that the design of their proposals creates new townscape that is a meaningful and worthy addition to the settlement. However, the lack of cohesion between existing and new leads to disruption in the townscape from the high-rises.
- Development must protect and enhance the elements contributing to the character and distinctiveness of the area. The design of the reviewed high-rises adds strength to the identity and character of the place but with the little regard to the existing street features.

VI.CONCLUSION

The beginning of the article argued that high-rise is finding their place in many British cities due to the scarcity and cost of land. However, the findings suggest that designers are struggling to include the high-rises distinctive features in a successful placemaking process. Nine prominent high-rises have been analyzed and it has been found that their height disrupts the rhythm of the streets they are situated on. Very few of the buildings have public spaces dedicated for social interactions and there rarely is a cohesion of styles and materials between the new and the existing buildings. However, their qualities make them remarkable landmarks and they have the potential to be a focal point in a better arrange urban space if useful urban design principles are followed, especially protecting and enhancing the local character and distinctiveness with regard to the existing urban fabric.

There is certain limitation faced during the writing of the article. There are many British cities that embrace the highrise typology and many buildings worthy of an analysis. However, the nine most prominent ones have been chosen to support the thesis of the article. A further analysis might include more high-rises in different cities.

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