

Producing and living the high-rise

New contexts,
old questions?

Edited by

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Series in Built Environment



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Introduction

The Highrise research project¹ is a consortium of academics and planners brought together to assess the verticalization of residential urbanization through both its design and the way it is inhabited, drawing from various metropolitan contexts in the global North, mainly Europe, and the South, Brazil, Argentina, Vietnam or Algeria.² The project was intended to fill some gaps in a fragmented but fast-developing literature on vertical studies based on cases in Asia or the anglophone world. Our readings of the verticalization of the city, especially its residential component, are framed with critical studies of the globalization and financialization of real estate markets and its relationship with metropolization processes, the changing socio-spatial dynamics of the city and planning policies that are more and more conditioned by urban renewal.

In the emerging field of vertical studies, scholars started to focus on technical considerations of high-rise design in the 2000s but seldom gave attention to economic (Halbert and Attuyer 2016), cultural (Arantes 2012 and 2011; Chivers and Kratz 2014; Sklair 2014) and sociological dimensions of verticalization (Oliveira 2002). While most research focused on Asia (Yuen and Yeh 2011), some papers associated with a small group of researchers from Melbourne (Fincher and Costello 2005; Fisher and McFail 2014; Randolph and Tice 2013) and Brazil (Souza, 1994; Ackel and Antonucci 2007; Martins 2010; Paula et al. 2013; Carlos 2011; Ramires, 2011; Alvim et al., 2013; Ornstein, Villa and Ono 2011; Ling, 2014; Alves, Camargo and Cardozo 2020; Alves and Daitx 2021; Dias and Guadanhim 2022) explored the demographics and social issues arising from vertical living. In Europe, issues of heritage and landscape compositions drew more attention, framing the tensions arising from the cultural production of vertical landscapes (Tavernor 2007; Appert 2011). Images and representations of the vertical city were often related to power inequalities and local political conflicts mirroring the glocalization of urban development (Sklair 2006; Appert and Drozd 2010; Hewitt and Graham 2014; Appert and Montès 2015).

The purpose of the book is to assess the process of urban verticalization in different contexts through time, to provide insight into the relationships

¹ “Highrise Living and the Inclusive City,” project financed by two research agencies: the Brazilian FAPESP, **FAPESP-2016/50278-3**; and the French ANR, **ANR-16-CE41-0010-01**

² Cities in these countries, as well as Santa Fe in Argentina, have been studied in the research project but are not presented in this book.

between high-rise design and the way inhabitants negotiate them in their everyday lives, to assess how planners, politicians and designers negotiate residential high-rises in the strategies they develop for building and regulating the city and to introduce urban narratives and cartographies. Contributions in this book come from various disciplines (geography, architecture, planning, sociology, or anthropology) and different cultural contexts, providing a wider spectrum of empirical evidence and approaches focusing on three interrelated dynamics: residential verticalization processes and socio-spatial differentiation; financialization of real estate; socio-spatial practices and readings on changing urban landscapes. Our objective was not to compare verticalization processes in different cities, but to deepen theoretical-conceptual questions arising from various geographical, social, and cultural contexts.

0.1. Residential verticalization as system

The project aims at overcoming the dissociation between the production and the reception of residential high-rises: contributions show that residential verticalization can be apprehended as a system in which modes of production, whether political or technical, are linked to anticipated and reported uses, and that conversely, the experience of living at height was a negotiation between personal trajectories and socio, cultural and technical conditions. A heightened gentrification is being put in place – or reinforced – in relation to regulatory capitalism and entrepreneurial municipalities that create conditions in the system that favor the control of developers over urban space and the capture of funding – for instance, in São Paulo, London and Lyon. This tends towards a commodification and financialization of housing - London and São Paulo -, even if the extent of this should not be exaggerated as local anchoring of developers most often remains the rule outside major metropolises in the global North (Alves and Daitx 2021) – as Manuel Appert (London) and César Simoni and Huana Carvalho, as well as Beatriz Rufino (São Paulo), have shown in their chapters.

0.2. Old height, lifestyles and experiences

The discourses and strategies of the stakeholders are sometimes based on urban regeneration, modernity, or the creation of new lifestyles that are supposed to make people forget, in Europe, the stigmata of modernist towers. Above all, beyond the representations of residential towers, the contemporary practices and experiences of living high show the effects of verticalization through the tactics and strategies of residents (Dorignon 2019): Experience of the elevator, the view as an element of distinction (as defined by Bourdieu) or the effects of the relationship between the vertical and the horizontal dimensions of the lived experience (the surroundings of the tower and the relationship to the city).

Finally, the singularity of São Paulo was shown, where verticalization is old and almost ordinary, at first exclusive and now extended to different social classes – although mostly focused on the middle classes and, supposedly, promoting aspiring global lifestyles. In other cities (Melbourne and Dallas, for example), verticalization also affected suburbs in the process of densification, not without resistance. France, seen particularly through the case of Lyon, shows a more recent verticalization which partly resumes the rare 1970s attempts at offering luxury towers' *copropriétés* in the city center, which had never been studied before. No globalized model, therefore, but hybridizations, local adaptations, and radically different scales of residential verticalization (from 130 for Lyon, including social housing, to about 16500 for São Paulo, 7865 since 1985 and 2290 between 2010 – 2022). More than lifestyle and closer to Dorignon (2019), we preferred to focus our analysis on the practices and representations of the high-rise as a set of designed objects negotiated by their occupants. How does living in a residential tower differ from living in a “horizontal” space? It is in fact, the characterization of “vertical living” that is involved in relation to the social life of the wider city. New spatialities are created, due in part to the well-known processes of social and ethnic segregation and gentrification but also to all the nuances in between: the tower, even if it is a morphological or even social enclave, also functions as an interface.

0.3. High-rise, inequalities and resistance

The project ultimately illustrates new ways of producing inequality through residential verticalization, high-rises.³ It brings a new dimension to the spatial distribution of populations (vertical versus horizontal) and re-examines the processes of segregation, fragmentation and even secession within the city. It also makes it possible to show the differences between countries of the North and countries of the South, where the processes of residential verticalization are older and on a much larger scale. The case studies of the “Souths” (São Paulo, Hanoi, Oran, and Buenos Aires) therefore, enabled us to propose the “de-Westernized” view that we wanted to adopt (Robinson 2006). In terms of urban design, it emphasizes the base of the tower as a private space of collective (public) domain, an interface between the city and the condominium, a space negotiated or even appropriated by individuals or developers. It also shows the importance of the view as an additional factor of distinction and experience of the environment within the city. The state of the art has evolved since the start of the project, but we can say that no major text has been published on the question, even if residential verticalization interests more researchers, partly

³ The working definition in our project for a high-rise is a residential building, which can be of mixed use, with ten or more floors or a height equal to or over 30 meters.

thanks to the sessions that the ANR Highrise has organized in scientific meetings, in part by expanding the analysis from the financialization of real estate to this specific object (Nethercote 2019 for the case of Melbourne). Our methodology differs, however, from that of Megan Nethercote, which remains fundamentally theoretical and in which “the empirical examples [...] are illustrative and not the basis of the argument” (Nethercote 2018, 3). This nevertheless spawned subsequent collaborations between Megan Nethercote and Louise Dorignon, as seen in the article they published together in 2021. We have also explored the potentially conflicting dimensions of towers. It had already been addressed (territorial conflicts: Drozd and Appert 2012; social housing: Kearns et al. 2012; gated communities for urban elites: Graham and Hewitt 2013; urban fragmentation: Charney and Rosen 2014) and, building on these works, we assess the power relationships and sometimes struggles that arise in building and living high-rise buildings.

0.4. Beyond the depreciated urban form

This architectural form joins the category of places depreciated by academic criticism, as the science fiction dystopias of Hewitt and Graham (2014) or the non-places (Augé 2009; Gregory 2010), where the high-rises are at least partly defined by the tyranny of the technique to which people would be subjugated as well as by the tyranny of efficiency and interchangeability of design and structure. This denunciatory vein continued in Graham (2016) and Atkinson (2018). We have studied the perversion of the regulations of public spaces by developers in São Paulo and in Melbourne with the resistance to the irruption of high-rise residential developments in neighborhoods of individual houses representative of the Australian Dream. Recent publications on the subject show that residential verticalization has become a major way of understanding contemporary cities beyond the normative through the micro-segregation in vertical housing (Maloutas and Karadimitriou 2022) or the planning perspective of the design of vertical neighborhoods (Webb and White 2022).

0.5. Europe, Brazil and beyond

The project is anchored in case studies, revealing different types of local-global negotiations in the city's design. Lyon and São Paulo, places of exercise of the project partners (USP and University Lyon2), are the bases of the study, with London introduced as a reference case. For political reasons, the collaboration with the urban planning agencies of the two cities did not allow them to be as widely associated with the research as hoped. Around this nexus, insights were shed on, for instance, Dallas, Brasov, and Oran, reflecting on different contexts in broadly the same scale of time. The study was also extended to Argentina

(Santa Fe and Buenos Aires) thanks to the collaboration initiated with Julio Arroyo.

The choice of São Paulo and Lyon may, at first, seem paradoxical. However, it is not a question of establishing a comparative framework between the process of verticalization in France and Brazil but of contextualizing and problematizing their specificities and differences (normative and cultural, among others). This approach allowed the investigation of aspects of the contemporary city critically questioning, on one hand, to what extent the same hegemonic global logic of city production promotes, today, regardless of their geographic location and socio-cultural conditions, an increasingly homogeneous urban space and so, on the other hand, to investigate to what extent global hegemonic processes of neoliberal governance define the development of similar spatial conditions in the contemporary city, even if in different sociocultural contexts. Furthermore, it allowed us to understand through the different contexts and case studies, the unique adjustments that can emerge from the converging process of globalization and modes of governance.

We did not intend to compare the verticalization processes of São Paulo and Lyon but to explore new questions to enable a better understanding of different forms of local and global negotiation in the production of the city and the contextualization of eventual distinctions of processes and realities in Brazil and in France, proposing the deepening of theoretical-conceptual questions, through mapping and critical questioning of notions and concepts. To do so, it is understood that vertical residential buildings (high-rises) constitute, today, not only architectural solutions of a joint strategy between market finance and the State, but they are components of the process of (re)production of urban space as an element and condition for reproduction of capital, characterizing a process that aims at the increase of the social base for the expansion of the accumulation process, not necessarily to the reproduction of needs of urban life.

0.6. Pluridisciplinarity and narratives of the tall building artifact

Urban geography, architecture, planning, sociology, and anthropology are in dialogue to question how socio-political and cultural configurations generated specific modalities of production and living high in the city and the influence, to varying degrees, of globalization.

Moreover, different epistemologies have been mobilized to address the questions raised by the contributors. The first, chronologically, was the spatial analysis, the first two scales (Continental and Regional) from the Emporis world towers census, aiming at the development of an inventory, an evolution, and the first elements of analysis of the return of residential towers in European cities, their

continued growth in South America and Brazil and their recent development in other countries (United States, Australia, Romania). The main problem being the incompleteness of the databases, a manual work of verification by members of the project was carried out. On the other hand, the desire to use common indicators, even with the adoption of a method of reading the urban territory based on HDI parameters and territorial units of analysis (one capable of dealing with differences, came up against the incompatibility of the available data), which does not allow a direct comparison, the cases studied being too different (which, as a matter of fact, was originally an objective of the research and ended up being of one of the results).

The main method on the French side was the ethnographic method to characterize the contours of “living at height” and the relationships of the inhabitants of these towers with their environment (other inhabitants, tower managers, rest of the city). It mainly consisted of in-depth interviews, guided tours, and approaching the living conditions through a socially lived experience.

Complementary methods have been implemented on the Brazilian side, financial analyses and qualitative and quantitative narratives through cartography and remote sensing. The spatial dynamics encompassed the characterization of aspects of the verticalization process on five scales associated with the production of specific urban cartography. The first two, already mentioned, are related to the continental context (Europe and South America) and to the regional/national context (France and Brazil). The other three were: the local context (Grand Lyon and the Metropolitan Area of São Paulo); the intra-urban scale (São Paulo); and the urban environment scale, the specific area of the high-rise building and its surroundings. Each of these scales used specific Brazilian databases and required different approaches to obtaining and treating data. Photography, while extensively used to document the verticalization processes, is also one of the methodologies provided to assess the verticalization processes.

0.7. Structure of the book

The book is divided into three parts, addressing three ways to analyze residential high-rises: their production, the ways they are lived in, and how to narrate them.

0.8. Producing high-rise living

In the first chapter, Manoel Alves, Manuel Appert and Christian Montès look at the way developers, through loopholes in legal planning regulations and urban design features, are succeeding in perverting public spaces around new residential high-rises in São Paulo. Instead of creating public spaces and inclusiveness,

looking closer at how “inclusion” is worked by developers clearly shows it is largely dealt with design tricks to win planning permissions from local authorities, resulting in private developers taking control of an urban landscape characterized by private and controlled urban spaces of public domain.

Manuel Appert and Christian Montès show that London has experienced the earliest and most intense high-rise construction phase of the European major cities and planning for tall buildings can now be considered at maturity in the context of a far reach neo-liberal planning framework. The spatial analysis of residential high-rise construction in the wider metropolitan area reveals a center-periphery pattern highly nuanced by localized concentrations associated with planning policies and public transport accessibility. They serve as de-risking tools for developers and, in return, high-rise developments compensate for the limited financial resources of local authorities.

In the global South, other examples are presented. Julio Arroyo shows that Buenos Aires participates in the trending flows of global capital but follows *variegated trajectories* that make it a particular case. Buenos Aires is fully anchored to the Western culture and, at the same time, is the core of an unbalanced urbanization of more than 17 million people. High-rise building in Buenos Aires refers to two different processes. The first is the densification of the traditional urban fabric respecting the pattern of the grid and block (*manzanas*), and the second, verticalization is associated with the flows of global capital and less adjusted to the grid. Meanings, scopes, and visions of cities are quite different in each case. Buenos Aires, full of lyricism and imaginaries, is still on the fringes of globalization, contrary to London, a benchmark for other European metropolises.

Beatriz Rufino's chapter aims to contribute to the debate on the relationship between financialization and urban restructuring processes. It discusses the recent trajectory of housing financialization in Brazil and its articulation with the spatial transformations of São Paulo Metropolitan Area. The author discusses the emergence of displacement within the dominance of housing financialization from production to property, which imposes a rising sophistication of real estate products. Under the control of financial agents and instruments, real estate developments become an investment business within the framework of multifamily properties. The concentration of these properties in strategic spaces in São Paulo, mediated by urban planning instruments, accelerates and defines an incessant character of these urban renewal processes. Cesar Simoni Santos and Huana Carvalho analyze housing development in the São Paulo Metropolitan Area from 2005 to 2019, shedding light on how housing financing conditions specific urbanization trends comprising verticalization, densification, and geographical centralization. They found an intriguing strengthening of subsidized housing production in high-rise buildings

located in more centralized areas between 2015 and 2019. The new development trends, which might seem positive from a social perspective, are more the result of a project adaptation in the context of a market downturn than a response to social demands. The new market tendency is characterized by reduced-size dwellings, suggesting they benefit middle-income youths instead of more underprivileged families. These findings draw attention to the role that verticalization may play in the context of the affordable housing crisis in Brazil and probably in other Southern countries. The next chapter focuses on specific areas of São Paulo. Maíra Cristo Daitx shows that the 2014 new municipal zoning framework rearranged the constructive parameters of São Paulo's territory, enabling the construction of high-rise buildings in areas that were previously blocked for high-rise developers and restricting the constructive densification in the core. Incentives and obligations regarding land occupation (mixed uses) and the creation of active facades and spaces for enjoyment were also established to improve the quality of public spaces in the city for the entire population. Drawing from the case of Pinheiros neighborhood, Daitx shows that these instruments were neither sufficient to democratize access to housing in already privileged areas of the city nor to improve the quality of public spaces and public life for the wider public. Although the guidelines proposed in the plans point to more inclusive building typologies, the changes that have so far occurred suggest the opposite: high-rise buildings with little or no connection to the street are built and marketed at high prices, reinforcing the predominance of existing social profiles in the neighborhood.

As a transition between the first and second parts of the book, Carlos Tapia shows that *Verticalizing* cities causes uprootedness, the unsurprising estrangement from the ground base; it creates social gaps in height and instills competing global cities with arriviste representativity by imaginably living in the heights. He assumes that there must be something other than capitalist speculation in building high and aspires to explore the statutory characterization of architecture, for which the very shape of buildings is an (external) social imposition and, at the same time, an (internal) distortion of the principles of a building project. Launched by the words of architect Anthony Royal about his skyscraper in Ballard's novel *High-Rise*, he delves into the historical project and compositive principles of architecture, such as Royal's apparent conceptual debt, and extends the inquiry into the deformations which, as a concept, the architectural *sacred cube* has suffered throughout the history of architecture. Not only because of Ballard's novel but because of the social bias imposed by Lefebvre's struggle against unbridled construction, he analyzes some projects dating from the 1970s onwards to test his concept of distortion, which perhaps is a show of thoughtlessness, but is probably more the result of media imposition on the understanding of global architecture's image.

0.9. Living the high-rise city

The second part of the book is about living in a high-rise. The first three chapters explore the case of Lyon. Loïc Bonneval and Aurélien Gentil first study the value of height. While the large social housing estates have given a negative image to height in France since the 1970s, does the return of urbanism of height result in a revaluation of it? Using data on housing prices, they first show that height is valued differently depending on the place and time of construction. This ambivalence justifies an interest in the non-economic dimensions of value and the representations of inhabitants from a sociological perspective. They then conducted two case studies, interviewing the inhabitants of two large luxury housing developments built in the 1970s in the center of Lyon. These interviews show three forms of valorization: singularization, with the building standing out from the urban fabric; the reconciliation of contradictions, with the height allowing one to live in the city but protected from the nuisances of urban life, and social distinction, whether this is in relation to the external environment or inside the building.

Enora Achéritogaray goes into the very workings of the high-rise through the analysis of the elevator experience. Within vertical cities, elevators have become not only emblems of high-rise buildings but also ordinary and daily components of high-rise living since they are the world's most used medium of transportation. This chapter draws on phenomenological approaches to vertical cities to demonstrate the experience of elevators as a distinctive feature of high-rise living. It analyzes elevators as a daily urban transport in the metropolis, as a communal place where social relationships are challenged, and as an intimate space that broadens new experiences of the city. This chapter asserts that residents develop unequal, non-remarkable elevator experiences and practices in metropolitan contexts, which raises questions about tactics and strategies in daily urban journeys, self-territories, and practices due to the intimate dimensions of high-rise living. Geoffrey Mollé goes outside to study the value of view. Today, the resurgence of high-rise buildings in the skyline of French metropolises confirms the revaluation of urban forms of vertical habitat. Unlike the previous generations of towers, mostly dedicated to social housing in the peripheries, contemporary towers in France are socially selective. A distinctive feature of these "immeubles de belle hauteur" that real estate promoters insist on is that they offer residents the possibility of acquiring a view of the city from above. He tries to understand why this skyline desire seems so important, but also to examine if they extend to social housing. His point is to demonstrate that the domestic view on the city from above can be considered as a privilege of the body in the context of urban densification.

The next chapter compares two cases of social housing in La Duchère, Lyon, France, and the Civic Center of Braşov, Romania. Bianca Botea and Olivia Legrip's anthropological research shed light on whether there is a specific value and particular ways of life associated with high-rises. To do this, they address some central aspects to qualify this habitat: the materiality and physical qualities of verticality, its symbolic dimension and social representations, the sensory experience, and the perceptive aspect of height. They highlight the imbrication between these various elements and the environment configurations (spatial and temporal) that allow us to understand the value and the practices of high-rise living. The last chapter, by Christian Montès and Manuel Appert, examines The Dallas-Fort Worth case study through two hypotheses. The first views the new residential high-rises as assets in an increasingly financialized market model, which can lead to a growth in inequalities. The second hypothesis sees them as a lever for municipalities to create a compact city and revitalize their centers, resulting in the creation of vertical gentrified spaces. In 2011-12, Dallas witnessed the emergence of a market for residential high-rises, both in the city center and its surroundings, reinforcing the separation in a city that was already historically segregated. This process could be referred to as "built-high gentrification," which participates in the gentrification of (peri)centers linked to the financialization of "place-based products." Because of policies of the 1940s, which resulted in high levels of segregation, residential high-rise buildings were constructed in the predominantly white and well-to-do part of the city. However, this market is relatively new and remains mostly local, encouraged by the municipality and local billionaires, with local or national developers forming local alliances. Additionally, it is not a condo market, with mostly new apartment buildings, and therefore, it concerns mostly tenants.

0.10. Narrating the high-rise city

The third part addresses various narrations of residential high-rises, bringing readings of verticalization through mapping and urban cartographies, remote sensing, and photography. It opens with a chapter by Manoel Alves, Luiana Cardozo and Pedro Saraiva that introduces a narrative thread through the characterization of contemporary urban space by neoliberal political and economic dynamics, in which urban land is considered a financial asset and cities are guided by the logic of capital reproduction to attract private investment. In this context, urban policies that rely on the market can exacerbate processes of gentrification, privatization of urban space, and socio-spatial segregation. In São Paulo, the Master Plan presents urban instruments that stimulate construction density in strategic areas of the city, such as the Structuring Axes of Urban Transformation (SAUT) – in Portuguese, Eixos de Estruturação da Transformação Urbana: EETU). However, high-rise buildings

in the city date back to the early decades of the twentieth century, with intensification during moments of economic growth and the implementation of policies to incentivize civil construction. High-rise buildings are the result of a combination of factors, such as industrial production and real estate capital in the process of formation, which demanded the multiplication of urban land as an innovation in the subdivision of land in a new strategy for capital valuation. This chapter introduces a specific methodology (based on territorial units of analysis) for reading the urban territory.

Luciano da Costa bases his reflection on photographs recently produced in two regions of a medium-sized city that is going through a verticalization process. Presented along the text, next to drawings and images from the 1950s, they punctuate the encounter between landscape as experience and representation and its appropriation as trade value, guided by authors who discuss the landscape in its cultural and phenomenal sense. Such apprehension ways of physical and urban space in transformation make up the central issue of the text, which seeks to recognize the man-world relationship as a constitutive sensitive dimension, having the original geography as an orientation for walking through the urban environment as opposed to the projection of the look towards infinity, hypothetically framed and redefined by an apartment's window. Thus, the theoretical-photographic essay explores the interruptions in the apprehension of the original landscape, while the voids in the photographs are an aesthetic concern and a critical proposition of urban processes arising from a sensitive experience redefined as real estate value.

Camila Moreno, Pedro Saraiva, and Sarah Rolindo introduce a cartographic device developed as an analytical and critical method of assessment of the verticalization process in São Paulo, using a wide range of socio-spatial references, data and information, organized from a multi-scalar perspective and dimensions through which singular adjustments and more general patterns of the production process of the contemporary city under a financialized accumulation regime are expressed. The graphic development of space-time narratives on interactive digital platforms that provide textual, imagetic, and audiovisual information in various formats, such as timelines and virtual maps, is highlighted as an important tool for critical analysis, and it can relate objective processes and their sensitive layers, essential to stress investigation issues and stimulate the search for new representative techniques. They point out the territorial heterogeneity as the most updated framework, representative of urban processes in the city. In this framework, recent residential verticalization contributes significantly, as it participates in the transformation processes of the urban structure, associating with urban macro-processes, contemporary city production logics, other urban interventions, and socio-spatial practice transformations.

Julio Pedrassoli and Marcel Fantin present the results of the application of the spectral mixing technique in remote sensing for analysis of the urban morphology of skyscrapers, associating this technique with different databases to identify and analyze processes related to urban morphology, land value, and socioeconomic issues. For this study, satellite images obtained through the Landsat 8 sensor were used. The spectral mixing technique was applied to analyze the spectral composition of pixels corresponding to skyscrapers. In addition, other databases, such as the real estate registry, were associated with satellite images to identify land value, and socioeconomic data were used to identify the characteristics of the population living in the urban area studied. The results obtained with the application of a spectral mixing technique allowed the identification of the urban morphology of skyscrapers and its association with different databases, allowing the identification of processes related to land value and socioeconomic issues. The results demonstrate the effectiveness of the spectral mixing technique as a tool for the analysis of the urban morphology of skyscrapers.

The last chapter of that part is an opening on another aspect of the research. Claire Perret explains how the HighRise project's valorization website has been developed. Firstly, it aims to report on the scientific production of an international and interdisciplinary project (including geography, architecture, urban planning, sociology, and anthropology), with three major case studies and about ten more specific cases distributed around the world, which differ in terms of employed methodologies, operability of concepts, and formats of restitution. Additionally, it intends to produce content adapted for web dissemination and make it accessible to both the scientific community and readers interested in the project's themes. The site's visual aspect, organization, navigation, and ergonomics allow visitors to quickly grasp the HighRise project's main lines, its scales of involvement, and the diversity of scientific proposals that emerged from it. However, this synthetic vision of the project also specifies the operating concepts for analysis, whether they are confined to a particular case study or transversal to the entire project. Finally, the editorial content's presentation highlights these contents to facilitate their reading and comprehension. The visual dimension proved crucial for the site's design due to the involved disciplines and methodologies employed during research. Structured as a tour of the www.highriseproject.net website, this proposal aims to present the site's general structure and focus on a selection of editorial content from the project's scientific production. By restituting the methodological approach used to design this site, the article offers a reflection on how web diffusion of academic research can be achieved for the academic, student and expert public.

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