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**Metropolisation:
acceleration
or deceleration?**



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Metropolisation (at last) for all

Metropolisation: the word is definitely on everyone's lips, the idea is in everyone's mind. The Covid-19 crisis has put the spotlight on this fundamental movement that affects all countries, all economies. Undermined by the health crisis, metropolisation is resurfacing with force and necessity. More and more, a little music is being played on the theme "*metropolisation is not all good*". So much so that urban dwellers are thinking of leaving the city for the countryside or the seaside and working people are considering working... at home or in a natural setting. Metropolisation – and its cohort of urban facts (density, mobility, intensity) – could have been the ultimate victim of the health crisis. And yet the city is both "*the problem and the solution*", as witnessed by the young talents to whom we have given the floor, and who give their vision for the city of tomorrow.

The problem. The health crisis – a subject that will remain topical – will have served as a first alarm/warning in the world's major metropolises, suddenly emptied of their assets, victims of their inhabitants entrenched in housing that is too cramped and, moreover, unsuitable for work. This life-size test legitimately calls into question metropolisation and point towards many dangers whether migratory, social and/or climatic.

The solution. For several decades now, metropolisation has resulted in wealth creation on the economic, social, societal and political levels. Paradoxically, it is deepening inequalities, which are becoming blatant. One unfortunate illustration of this is the growing difficulties in access to housing.

To solve this equation, which involves many unknowns, goodwill and incantatory speeches will no longer suffice. To ensure that the values of sharing, equity and diversity do not remain at the marketing stage, metropolisation must be everyone's business, for everyone.

Metropolisation's key figures



45%

The share of the world's rural population in 2018 out of the total population.

Source: World Bank

1.89%

The growth of the urban population per year in 2019.

Source: World Bank

+3.36%

The increase in the number of jobs in the most populated cities during the period from 2008 to 2015.

Source: General Commission for Equality of Territories (CGET)

6.7 billion

The number of people living in urban areas in 2050.

Source: United Nations



+8%

The increase in the proportion of managers in the Greater Paris area (+4% in France).

Source: APUR

42 million people

The Japanese capital has the most populous metropolis in the world.

Source: Populationdata.net



47%

The share of the 20 largest US metropolises in the overall GDP of the United States.

Source: Swiss Life Asset Managers France

43

The number of megacities, i.e. cities with more than 10 million inhabitants in 2030.

Source: United Nations



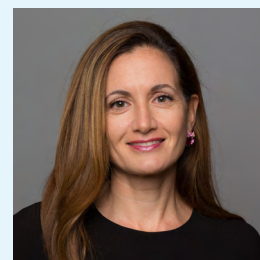
70%

The share of CO₂ emissions from cities.

Source: GIEC

Metropolisation: Stronger, Greener, Smarter and Fairer

By Beatrice Guedj (PhD), Head of Research & Innovation, Swiss Life Asset Managers France



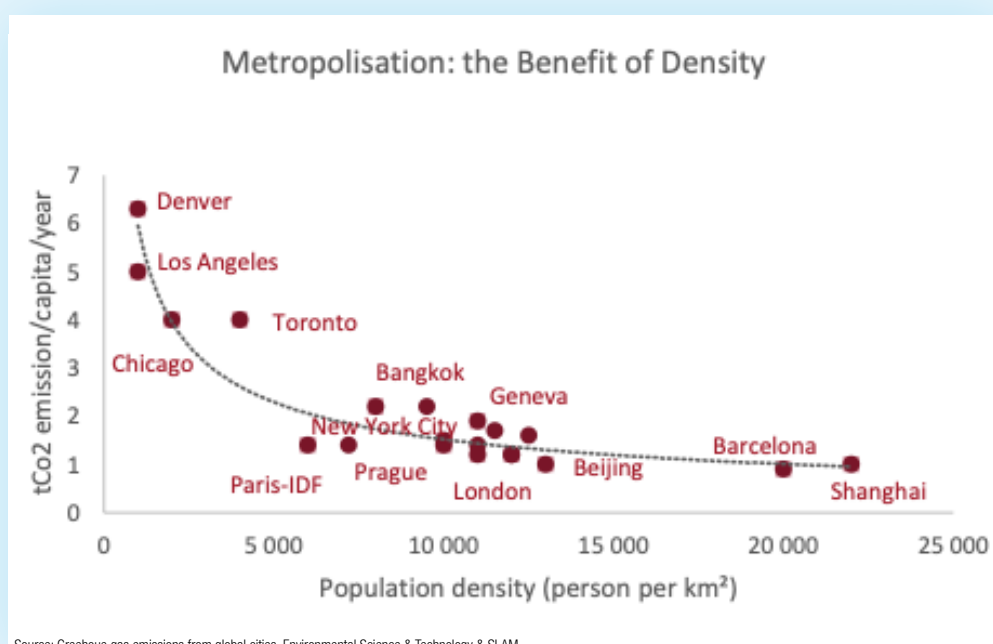
Back in 2008, **Paul Krugman** won the Nobel Prize for his contribution on Economic Geography and more specifically on metropolisation. First and foremost, cities emerged by historical accident 8000 years ago or by human vision and technological innovations since the agricultural revolution. Both features explain the emergence of metropolises or megacities worldwide: from Rome with its 1 million inhabitants to 20 million in New York, there is basically no huge difference. Although the truly wave of metropolises emerged in the 18th century with the birth of the manufacturing industry, the mathematical process which rationalises the dynamics of the city has not changed: increasing returns drive urbanisation and metropolisation overtime. Increasing returns have shaped our cities when it comes to design an evolutionary process, mirroring the development of a city. Well demonstrated by economic theory, specific locations qualified as Core, are the strong agglomeration force of wealth given positive externalities and higher productivity. Metropolisation benefits to residents who move to cities as they usually benefit from both higher wages and local amenities generating mega cities to be the largest economic drivers of a country (the top 20 American metropolitan areas comprises 47% of overall GDP, Paris 33% of the national GDP, London 22%, Madrid and Barcelona both 20%: all these cities comprising the first decile of earnings). Consequently, these metropolises display top prices and top rental value levels in both commercial and residential markets. Also, metropolises have usually anchored both rental and capital value growth overtime, they usually buck the national trend over the long term with a higher risk-return ratio. Mega cities also explained the traditional “flight to quality” from

investors as metropolises tend to exhibit strong resilience in case of an economic slowdown, apart from a higher liquidity. Conversely, in a recovery phase, megacities tend to bounce back quicker and higher feeding through greater income and capital returns over the long run. For such a reason, investors in real estate prefer to diversify their portfolio across megacities, in order to leverage on the upside over a long-term horizon. The Global Financial Crisis has accelerated the metropolisation effect through a concentration of corporate investment in megacities, leading to a virtuous innovation effect and new productivity growth. Last but not least, the strong digitalisation of services in metropolises has reinforced their competitive edge in term of technological equipment: the cumulative process has increased economies of scale and competitiveness. In Europe, metropolises have become smart cities for the best, with smart buildings and smart ecosystems across all sectors and places. To make a long story short: from the Machine to Machine information technology to Internet of things as well as artificial intelligence, cities have

continued to adapt to the age of information, also to tackling environment challenges on top of both physical and transitional risks.

The metropolisation is crucial for the environmental impact as large cities tend to exhibit a lower carbon footprint per head, as demonstrated by the climate finance literature. The outbreak of the Covid-19 triggered a pandemic worldwide as the R0, the reproduction number of cases by one individual, rocketed in mega cities. The Covid-19 has provoked a shockwave on megacities and social habits through a Great Lockdown. However, past pandemics had never reversed the expansion of, what is today, megacities.

What comes next? In Europe, mobility in metropolises remains lower compared to national level, public transports being the Achilles's heel in an era of social distancing. This is a strong challenge but a short-term issue compared to the long term metropolisation effect. Smart Metropolisation will ensure inclusive transition across greener metropolises, with the real estate industry to be at the forefront of these changes, providing sustainable properties across all asset classes. •



“Happiness is in the metropolis”

It's called having vision. A few weeks before the start of the Covid-19 crisis, a book prefaced by former French City Minister Jean-Louis Borloo burst onto the shelves of bookshops. Written by Xavier Matharan, magistrate, former legal advisor to the Ministers of the Environment (1992–1993) and of Land Use Planning (1997–1999), this work defends tooth and nail the benefits of the metropolis. Under the unequivocal title *“Le bonheur est dans la métropole”* (Happiness is in the metropolis) published by L'Aube, the lawyer who was also elected in Evry simply defends *“the right to the city as a fundamental right”*. Selected pieces in six sentences and key ideas...



© DR

1 - Responding to the social challenge

“In every metropolis with global reach, access to housing is a new fault line that has never been so acute.”

2 - Cohesion through metropolises

“This movement of metropolisation is therefore inevitable. I also believe it to be healthy and positive. I don't believe at all in a sharing of space made up of daily mobility or telecommuting that would allow people to work in Paris on a massive scale while living in Orleans, Vendôme, Chinon, Reims.”

3 - Densify and fluidify the housing supply

“We must allow more people to live in the metropolis and even in the heart of it. How? Around the following trinity: densifying, fluidifying, diversifying.”

4 - Separate land and real estate ownership

“The world's major cities such as Paris have been the big winners from the dynamics that have been accentuated since the 2008 crisis, with a surge in prices that is the consequence of the arrival on the market of baby boomers aged between 30 and 50 years, the age group where, statistically speaking, people are becoming the most property owners. »

5 - (Re)make mix

“Who can still imagine that a city, let alone a metropolis, functions in a ghettoised way? The ghettos of the rich are as deadly as the ghettos of the poor. It is morally undignified and empirically ineffective.”

6 - Going beyond the city to become a metropolis

“The metropolis is the inescapable surpassing of the city. The major challenges of the contemporary world are now being played out on a global scale: climate change, migration, technology, terrorism. Everything can be understood today outside of yesterday's national borders.”

Xavier Matharan

Magistrate, former legal advisor to the Ministers of the Environment (1992–1993) and of Land Use Planning (1997–1999).

XAVIER MATHARAN

Le bonheur est dans la métropole

préface de Jean-Louis Borloo

■ l'aube



“Above all, metropolisation must be regulated”

— Martin Vanier, geographer

Martin Vanier is a geographer, a professor at the École d'urbanisme de Paris (Paris' school of urban planning) and a consultant with the Acadie Consulting Cooperative. His work focuses on changes in the French space and related policies. His latest book – *“Demain les territoires, capitalisme réticulaire et espace politique”* (Tomorrow's territories, reticular capitalism and political space) – was published in 2015 by Hermann Editions.

WHAT DOES METROPOLISATION REALLY MEAN?

Martin Vanier: Metropolisation is urbanisation with a relationship to the world. It is the name of an access to the world, a role it has had for more than 2000 years. During antiquity, the known world was the Mediterranean Basin, and the Phoenician and then Roman metropolises were the bases of this first «world-system». Today, metropolisation and globalisation have other characteristics, but the meaning remains: metropolises are the nodes of the world of interdependence. Where the relationship to the world organises local society and its living space, there is metropolisation, including in the countryside, which is an essential component of

the phenomenon today. In other words, metropolisation is always the name of a new stage in the relationship that urban societies establish with mobility in all its forms. In this day and age, the automobile, on the one hand, and high-speed trains, on the other, play a major role.

WHAT ARE THE VIRTUES AND DISADVANTAGES OF METROPOLISATION?

MV: The virtues and disadvantages for whom? What interests are at stake? According to what criteria and values? Metropolisation concentrates, connects and diffuses. Every metropolis is a crossroads, economic, social, cultural, which attracts and radiates, but not all individuals

are equal at this crossroads. Moreover, the intensity varies greatly depending on whether we are talking about an urban area of less than half a million inhabitants or a mega region twenty or forty times more populated. Metropolisation is not necessarily urban gigantism. In Europe, London, Paris, Moscow and Istanbul are exceptions among a network of small, human-sized metropolises. And in France, let's not forget that we are also talking about metropolises for agglomerations such as Metz, Dijon or Orleans, which have fewer than 300,000 inhabitants. So it's all very relative. The only thing that all these facets of metropolisation have in common is the weight of mobility and movement, both of people and of goods and information. And mobility is today the most powerful social discriminator.

SHOULD METROPOLISATION BE ENCOURAGED OR STOPPED?

MV: We're not in front of a valve that you just turn one way or the other. Above all, metropolisation must be regulated in the same way as all human activity must be regulated. If we want fewer metropolises, we must deglobalise societies, their activities, their exchanges and their development horizons. There are precedents in history and in all civilisations: perhaps we should remember what they have meant for people. Without losing sight of this inescapable biological perspective: the world's population will increase roughly from 7.5 to 11 billion by the end of the century, i.e. almost 50% more people who will need to be housed and fed. Fewer cities, and fewer connections between them, for a planet of 11 billion people, is this the prospect of a better world? I don't think so. We are faced with a duty not to demetropolise, but to live sustainably on the planet, and tomorrow there will be more of us than ever before. This implies pursuing the metropolitan invention, in particular by taking full advantage of the principle of city clusters, which makes it possible to seek the advantages of globality by federating cities that remain medium-sized.

WHAT LINK DO YOU MAKE BETWEEN METROPOLISATION AND URBAN DENSITY?

MV: What urban density are we talking about? Population density? Presential density (inhabitants + jobs + users)? Built density, measured how? The density of flows and circulation? Metropolisation is a process of shifting population density from central cities to the metropolitan peripheries, along with the concentration and polarisation of jobs and the intensification of mobility. In 2020, intramural Paris will have a quarter less population than in the 1920s, but the overall balance of the evolution of the other density should be assessed with caution. We have the impression of increasing urban intensity in our big cities, but how much of

**“Metropolisation is always
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this impression is due to the digital revolution, for example? One thing is certain: on a constant perimeter, population density is lower today than they were a century or half a century ago, because contemporary societies organise their spatial comfort, in housing as well as in public spaces.

WHAT IS YOUR DEFINITION OF A RESILIENT CITY OR METROPOLIS?

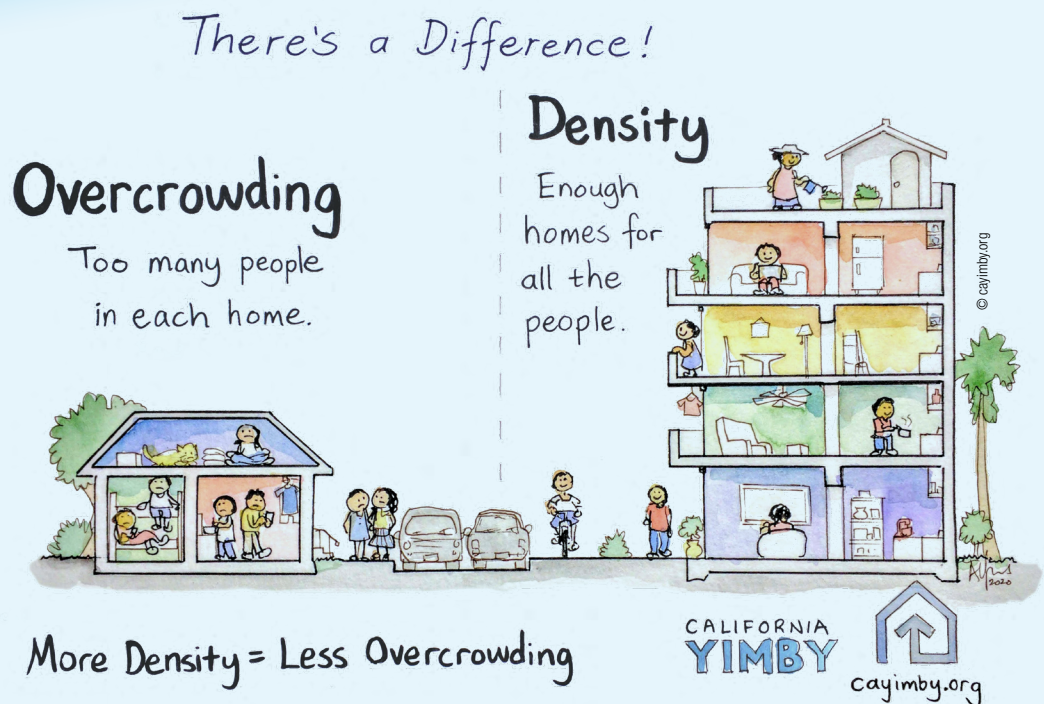
MV: It is a city that can withstand and overcome shocks, whatever they may be, and does so by adapting to new constraints. It is a social challenge: who is resilient in the resilient city? Who adapts, and who disappears or is excluded from this adapting city? Today, we think of resilience in relation to environmental or health shocks (heat waves, pandemics), and so we are looking for the technical or material responses of a «resilient urbanism». But resilience is a quality of life, and therefore a social quality as far as humans are concerned. Cities have known how to protect themselves from natural, climatic, hydrological, seismological and other hazards for centuries, but always in proportion to the cohesion and solidarity of the societies that inhabit and build them. A resilient metropolis is above all a metropolis of solidarity. Then it all depends on its technical and material universe. As far as ours is concerned, we have recently been able to see that the resilience of a city or metropolis is largely due to the quality of its networks (transport, logistics, surveillance, information, services, etc.) and their ability to continue to function in the face of adversity. •

Metropolisation: acceleration or deceleration?

The Covid-19 crisis has reshuffled the maps of metropolisation. Yesterday celebrated for its centralising missions, today it is being blamed for its propensity to carry many ills. So, is the metropolis liberating or alienating? And isn't the health crisis in danger of sounding the death knell for metropolisation? Answer(s)...

“This is not life as usual. There is a density level in New York City that is destructive. It has to stop and it has to stop now. NYC must develop an immediate plan to reduce density.” That tweet didn't go completely unnoticed. Probably because it was written by **Andrew Cuomo**, the governor of New York. Intriguing, disturbing, subversive, the American aedile points to density as the vector of all evils in the metropolis of metropolises. Still in the United States, a drawing that has become famous confronts density and overpopulation.

Closer to home, in France, the president of the Federation of Real Estate Developers **Alexandra François-Cuxac** comments on it, stressing that “density is not the enemy”. It is clear that, in Paris, New York, Hong Kong and London, the subject of metropolisation – and the cohort of its urban facts – is undeniably the subject of debate. “We have clearly seen the weaknesses of our urban systems (density being perceived as an obstacle to our health), but also the qualities we wanted to see developed,” sums up **Philippe Plaza**, Managing Director of Eiffage Immobilier. “There are many emotions in this perception, but we must remain objective over the medium and long term: the metropolisation of our territory has



been a constant for decades, in line with the progress of our societies, which are always looking for more services and protection. Demographics, education, the health system, powerful public transport (Grand Paris Express) ... are the driving forces behind the metropolis,” he says.

A “formidable” movement of metropolisation

Density, intensity, diversity: these few urban features characterise a galloping metropolisation for several decades. By 2050, two thirds of humans will live in urban areas. Also in 2050, there will be more than 40 cities with more than 10 million inhabitants, compared to

20 in 2020 and only 2 in 1950. For the Palladio Foundation, a decade ago, we moved from a society of humans to a society of... urban people.

“The movement of metropolisation is inevitable and it is accelerating. It is worldwide and does not spare France. The Île-de-France region is the most dynamic in terms of population growth, with the region alone accounting for half of France's demographic surplus, even though it is home to only one Frenchman in five,” emphasised **Robin Rivaton** in his book “La Ville pour tous” (The City for All), a handful of weeks before the health crisis began. This movement of metropolisation is protean according to urban scales. “The acceleration is

mainly due to so-called medium-sized cities (between 500,000 and 5 million inhabitants) in India, Africa and to a lesser extent in Europe. On the other hand, some megacities are now losing inhabitants,” notes **Patrick Le Galès**, Dean of the Urban School of Science Po and Director of Research at the CNRS. However, this change of scale is a global and worldwide movement that now ranks Paris on the same level as New York, London or Hong Kong. These are all major metropolises, world cities, seats of political, economic and cultural power that are symbols of both power and attractiveness. A lot of cities produce the same effects and sometimes the same contradictions: “10% of people die in the town where they were born. 50% live in the department where they were born. 30% of children do not live with both parents. There are 4 billion people on the Internet in 10 years and 6 billion mobile phones have been sold,” emphasises **Jean Viard**. For the sociologist, “these figures thus enumerated draw the features of the deep contradictions that are upsetting the models of the last 30 years and changing the society of urban people. We demand more local economy, more urban knowledge, more anchoring of our values, whereas today, we no longer know the cities we live in, we desert them, we promote mobility in an ultra-connected world where a third of us live alone with our children.”

Metropolisation and inequalities

This movement of metropolisation is above all far from being homogeneous. “The more the world becomes urbanised, the more differentiation between cities and regions increases. The 800 million new urban dwellers that we will be welcoming in the coming years undeniably raise the question of urban governance,” asks Patrick Le Galès, for whom cities are both the driving force behind the transformation and the target. The way in which these cities are organized remains, in fact, the number one problem.

The challenge is a serious one: not to add inequality to other inequalities. “Metropolises, which still have capacities for innovation and wealth production, create wealth, but also massive inequalities, particularly in terms of access to housing. They attract the richest populations and reject the poorest,” continues the specialist in urban issues at Sciences Po. “In France, metropolisation leads to a feeling of inequality that does not necessarily translate into a wealth gap. There is extreme precariousness in the heart of large cities, just as there is a solid bourgeoisie in medium-sized cities or peri-urban areas,” concludes Robin Rivaton.

Finally, metropolisation raises the question of the balance between metropolises and medium-sized cities. “We will not stop this revolution, which forces us, and especially for the quality of life of future

generations, to find a better balance. In this sense, urban and regional policies are regaining a greater sense of purpose, which public and private players must implement rapidly. Metropolises must play their role as accelerators of development on the scale of larger territories, including medium-sized cities, which remain within their influence, which will require a great deal of investment in terms of mobility.

Some fifty years ago, we invented the new cities on these principles and have seen their successes and failures. Let’s reinvent, with the current technological means, an urban planning that places well-being and living together at the centre of the debate and let’s all together (State, regions, departments, municipalities, citizens and businesses) provide the human and financial resources needed to develop and implement local policies in line with this objective,” Philippe Plaza advances.

Metropolisation: stop or else?

It took a pandemic and a global lockdown for metropolisation to be viewed with

suspicion, or even rejection. In record time, cities have withdrawn into themselves; megalopolises that were swarming and overflowing with activity, frozen for an instant, have turned into ghost towns worthy of the most daring Hollywood scenarios. More seriously, these metropolises – once strong and dominant – are now weakened by the speed at which the virus is contaminating them. Pollution, congestion, discrimination... now contamination: they are suddenly discovered as the mother of all evils, they are designated as “the crucible of the health crisis”, in the words of Guillaume Faburel, professor of geography and author of the book “Les métropoles barbares: démon-dialiser la ville, désurbaniser la terre”. Metropolisation even becomes the ideal accomplice of the pandemic.

During the health crisis, the confinement/metropolis combo – for the first time in contemporary history on this scale – had contrasting, even contradictory effects. “I note that the confinement had paradoxical consequences for the inhabitants of the metropolises. First

WHEN SILICON VALLEY DE-METROPOLIZES...

“Forever”: Twitter’s CEO had to weigh these seven letters before posting them. On 12 May, **Jack Dorsey** wrote to his 5,100 employees announcing them they no longer had to come to the office, if they wanted to. Between coronavirus and a real estate boom, their headquarters on Market Street in San Francisco now looks like a ghost town. Twitter is not an isolated case. Microsoft, Facebook, Google and many others are no longer expecting for their thousands of executives to come back to their office. Yet, Silicon Valley had put the means to attract the favors of their employees. Bonuses, salaries, etc: the GAFA’s have, over the last few years, found ways to counter the galloping price of real estate. Without waiting, the first real estate consequences of the Covid crisis are already being felt. Unemployment – nearly 6,000 tech workers are reported to have lost their jobs in a few weeks – and mass departures from Silicon Valley to other, more distant, but much cheaper regions. Why continue to live in the unaffordable San Francisco when companies are arguing for total remote? According to a Redfin survey, in the coming months, a post-pandemic migration from the most expensive cities in terms of real estate is to be expected as one in four employees expects to continue to telework. More than 50% of New York’s residents as well as those from Seattle, San Francisco, and Boston would choose to relocate if remote work would become permanent. There is no doubt that coastal cities are paying a heavy price for the pandemic. “Redfin is preparing for a seismic demographic shift to smaller cities,” said **Glenn Kelman**, CEO of Redfin. “Before this pandemic, the housing affordability crisis was already pushing people out of big cities into smaller ones. Today, more permissive remote work policies and a growing mistrust of nearby locations are likely to accelerate this trend. We expect more people to travel once a week from Sacramento to San Francisco, from Tacoma to Seattle, from New Hampshire to Boston. Some will not commute at all, choosing instead to work completely and virtually from a small town, perhaps where their parents still live. The whole story of the last 200 years, of young people moving to the big city, may be a little bit overwhelming in the years to come.” •

of all, a strong desire for urbanity, restaurants, theatres, cinemas, museums, everything that makes the big city attractive and sparkling. You only have to see the craze for Parisian terraces from the first second of the deconfinement to be convinced. Then, a fantasy of individual isolation: it is the happy confinement, without confinement, in a house "far from the city", open to nature. In other words, the "social distancing" and the "barrier gesture" that carefully separates the garden from one's own", analyses the architect **Julien Rousseau**, from the architecture agency Fresh.

So, are metropolises dangerous? Not so simple... We, poor urban dwellers, tend to forget that "cities know how to respond to crises. The paradox is that we run away from them at times like these," describes geographer **Martin Vanier** (see Interview on page 6). "Cities are both the problem and the solution," agrees Patrick Le Galès. With one important advantage: cities are more advanced than states in urban governance whether in the management of water, energy, materials or food supply. Cities have demonstrated their resilience during this ordeal.

We have also tended to forget that metropolises are not these cold, inhuman and frozen monsters, but living beings that breathe and feed, notions dear to the architect **Philippe Chiambaretta**, founder of PCA-Stream. "We must not lose sight of the assets of metropolises, which, despite this period, bring a great deal of quality of life to our culture of "vivre à la française" and which we could not do without. Today, we are still mostly "urban" and the metropolis corresponds to our expectations as women and men looking for the most efficient living solutions in our "contemporary" model. However, yes, we have gone very-too-far by favouring the economy over happiness," says Philippe Plaza.

Far from these images of a megalomaniac metropolis, cities have resolutely passed the stress-test of the health crisis. At least in the first wave. Attacked and challenged, they came out of the event with a sense of humility and without triumphalism. All the more so because tomorrow, already, other clouds - climate crisis or migration - are looming on the horizon. The challenge will be to know whether metropolisation will be able to respond to these new dangers. "The forces that remind us of metropolisation are strong. Something is at stake. It is too early to say, but an incremental change is underway," concludes Patrick Le Galès. It remains to be determined whether it is a fundamental trend or an epiphenomenon. • // **SaR**



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GOOGLE CITY, IT'S OVER!

It is probably the most mediatized collateral victim of the Covid-19 crisis. A "megaproject" district straight out of Google's overflowing imagination, this piece of Toronto simply won't happen. "Unprecedented economic uncertainty has taken hold around the world and in the Toronto real estate market: it has become too difficult to make the project financially viable without sacrificing essential elements of the plan," says **Dan Doctoroff**, CEO of Sidewalk Labs. Mass is said...

Positioned on the shores of Lake Ontario, the 5 ha Quayside brownfield site was to be transformed into an ultramodern, sustainable neighbourhood based on urban innovation. Launched in 2017, this \$4bn futuristic city was to deploy a host of technological innovations, from heated bicycle paths in winter to the installation of underground robots for parcel distribution and waste management. Highly criticised for its undeniable Big Brother side, Google City represented, on paper at least, a veritable laboratory of the digital city of the day after tomorrow, the prototype of a smart city which, beyond this aborted project, questions and worries. "Indeed, how can we analyse the incursion of a player in the technology and economy of platforms into the urban factory? What about a neighbourhood where sensors would be omnipresent, from the sidewalks to the inside of the houses; what about, in this context, the protection of the privacy of city dwellers?" asked French think tank La Fabrique de la Cité (The City Factory), who had worked on this case study as part of a dedicated trip. Sidewalk Toronto's pre-Covid response: "Technology can help create highly interactive communities that are accessible to all, freeing residents from the constraints imposed by infrastructure and spatial hierarchies of the last century. In this sense, our mission is not to create a city of the future. But to create the future of cities." An answer that today sounds like an admission of failure. •





Nathalie Bardin,
Strategic Marketing
Director, CSR and
Innovation, Altarea

Issy Cœur de Ville, the first
eco-neighbourhood with an urban
forest in the Greater Paris metropolis.

"Why I believe in the resilience of the metropolitan model"

"The health crisis has had particularly virulent consequences in the metropolises, both epidemiological and economic. Beyond the tragedies experienced by the people affected by this virus, this pandemic has revealed the weaknesses of an urban model based on the density of population and human activities, the concentration of power and openness to flows. Faced with a pandemic of such magnitude, metropolises have been forced to withdraw into themselves, confine their populations and stop almost all their activities, with the economic and social consequences we are all familiar with. Although the pandemic is not directly responsible for the ills associated with congestion in our cities (pollution, transport saturation, poor housing), the experience of confinement has undoubtedly shed a harsh light on its vulnerabilities, particularly the profound social and territorial inequalities. On paper, this Covid-19 crisis would sound the death knell for metropolisation. However, this means forgetting that these weaknesses are also structural assets. And with good reason. These urban developments are in line with the globalised economy. The major metropolises are a fundamental asset in the global economic competition between nations concerned about their attractiveness and

their influence. It is therefore pointless, in my view, to want to condemn metropolisation outright. Especially at a time when France has set itself many challenges to turn around an economy that has been damaged by three months of costly inertia. A statistic has just demonstrated the predominant role of metropolises in the service of the economy: the ten largest urban regions are home to 6% of the population, but produce more than 40% of GDP and 70 to 80% of technology.

Because I believe in the resilience of the metropolitan model, I see the health crisis as a historic opportunity. The opportunity to rethink the metropolitan model, to decompartmentalise it so that everyone can benefit from it. A redeployment based as much on quality of life as on the fight against global warming and territorial openness. In this way, a new generation of low-carbon, decongested and rebalanced metropolises could emerge. This is a subject we have been working on for several years and it is in this sense that we are designing large mixed neighbourhoods, such as Issy Cœur de Ville, the first eco-neighbourhood with an urban forest in the Greater Paris metropolis. There is no shortage of solutions for this. They include, for example, an in-depth reorganisation of mobility and urban rhythms. Widening working hours to put an end to rush hours, encouraging telecommuting and soft traffic are all avenues to be followed. To rebalance the city, we must first rethink the notion of proximity. Allow each inhabitant to have access in less than 15 minutes to all his or her basic needs for living, housing, work, consumption and entertainment. But this "quarter-hour city" certainly implies rethinking centralities on a metropolitan scale, but also a certain density of population, well housed, essential to the functioning of these "urban services".

The necessary search for a more harmonious link between the central cities and the whole of the metropolitan territory must be extended to the whole of the national territory and its 22 metropolises: a better connection between the metropolises and each other, as well as between the metropolises and the medium-sized cities, will be a determining factor in combating the relegation of territories deemed "peripheral". •



“The architect builds places designed to accommodate the living”

Between Paris and Brussels, Maud Caubet takes architecture on a journey. Graduated in 2003 and independent since 2006, she is invested in all the scales of her discipline. Maud Caubet distinguishes herself from other architects by a holistic approach, multicultural inspirations, and a pronounced taste for... chlorophyll. A trip to metropolitan France with one of the most talented architects of her generation.



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Maud Caubet, Architect

DO YOU CONSIDER METROPOLISATION AS MANDATORY?

Maud Caubet: Let's draw up an uncomplicated, realistic inventory of fixtures and fittings: our era lives on paradoxes and within paradoxes. For a long time, the system we set up after the war has run out of steam, humanitarian, social, economic, community and health crises have followed one another in a loop in history. We are in a state of astonishment for a moment, an indignant and sincere reaction is expressed in the short term, but unfortunately, history repeats itself. Here and elsewhere, the rich are getting richer and richer, we run after time, growth... We are in need of nature and desert the big city as soon as possible to take refuge in the green. At the same time, the poor are getting poorer and poorer, mother nature is running out of breath, getting tired. Migratory movements in the world are accelerating at the same rate as our resources are being exhausted. Metropolisation is in the unconscious, or rather the collective consciousness, an obligatory step: home of employment, of networks, of the cultural, economic,

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heritage and historical wealth... the metropolis would offer new balances, new connections, new way(s) of life(s). Conceived as a solution to break with the traditional epicentralisation of a vast territory often reduced to the image of a capital, the new impetus of the metropolisation of Greater Paris is thus a fine demonstration of the African proverb *"Alone we go faster, together we go further"*.

Yet, we are still unable to house our homeless, refugees fleeing wars, poverty or climate change. Wealthy neighbourhoods are now home to nothing more than offices, working-class neighbourhoods are gentrifying, our students produce false papers in order to get housing...

Is our modern society only capable of producing algorithms? In this age of artificial intelligence, can't our creativity and collective common sense, solidarity, the fight for gender inequality, listening to ourselves and others lead to a reconstruction of the city in a different way?

At a time when the Romans were building, drawing on their knowledge with brilliance and genius, the handling of water and land, water and sun, are we not capable of rethinking the *"great"* city as a happy place, made of encounters and exchanges, of weaving, of varied scales, of mixing, of culture and history? Can we finally stop dissociating nature and the urban, considering nature as an object of pleasure or even partitioning worlds, disciplines, know-how, scales with physical or intellectual barriers?

Metropolisation is one of the answers to fragmentation, a way of thinking about urban, environmental, health and economic solutions for more people, of overcoming monocentrism by seeking the interest of the greatest number.

Whether we like it or not, metropolisation is also a solution to urban sprawl. In order to avoid any urban exodus that would not be in line with the environmental emergency, we must and will have

to think of the metropolis as an ecosystem that intimately links nature, resilience and living comfort, as a lever for transition towards a more sustainable world, whether we are in Bordeaux, Marseille, Lyon, Strasbourg, Berlin, New York, Bangalore or Rabat.

HOW DO YOU MANAGE TO MIX METROPOLIZATION WITH LIVING?

MC: I have always fought against the split of disciplines. The architect must have a humanistic, anthropological approach, we must apprehend the art of building by crossing the human, social, and natural sciences. Each human group has been conditioned according to its own values, but now we are called upon to come together on our humanist conscience, concerned about life, without borders.

“Metropolisation is one of the answers to fragmentation, a way of thinking about urban, environmental, health and economic solutions for more people, of overcoming monocentrism by seeking the interest of the greatest number”



© Image Maud Caubet Architectes

Les Lumières Pleyel in Saint-Denis, a third sports and cultural venue, student residence and Jo&Joe hotel.

Taking care of life means taking care of project's life in the long term, or rather "cycles" of life, improving the life of the users of the place, of the passers-by. Let's draw our inspiration from the heritage of the place, the customs, the materials used and local resources which, in fact, is an obvious response to improving the carbon footprint.

How can we create metropolises that are enduring, adaptable and at the same time, generous and happy? Architecture weaves the link between the elements. Intelligence is in Life. We build places that are meant to welcome the Living. Man and Nature are living beings, let us stop dissociating the two worlds, but let us apprehend the world as a whole.

Let us observe the passages, the paths of man and the living! I have always been fascinated by the paths traced gradually by erosion following the repeated passage of pedestrians, cyclists, or wildlife. The presence of these crossings, known as "lines of desire" through parks

or vacant lots, brings to light the fact that the urban planning that has been thought out is inappropriate to the existing crossings. The trail created often represents the shortest or most convenient route between two points; the width and extent of erosion are indicators of the nature of the traffic the trail receives.

WHAT IS THE ARCHITECT'S ROLE IN THE BUILDING OF A RESILIENT CITY?

MC: Although the architect has a major role in the construction of the city, the understanding of its stakes in the collective consciousness is not sufficiently disseminated. The construction of the city is a political and poetic act.

Architecture is not only at the service of people, but also at the service of Life. History moves forward in a cycle, and as far as architecture is concerned, let us

assume that "nothing is lost, everything is transformed". The resilience of the city depends on its adaptability. Let us nourish ourselves from the past and the heritage of old customs: was not vernacular architecture, by the use of simple materials, accessible "on the side", evolutionary and mobile? Didn't it create places that allowed several ways of living?

The place of women in society is a major factor in ensuring a healthy balance. Our presence is fortunately evolving in architecture. The feminisation of the profession will also bring a new way of building the city, the place of women in society, and therefore its resilience, its ability to heal ills.

For a resilient city, everyone has a role to play, as does the architect, who has a central role. He has a power, the crucial role of changing the way the city is designed. A power that, in the face of the social, environmental and health emergency we are experiencing, becomes a responsibility. •

"For a resilient city, everyone has a role to play, as does the architect, who has a central role. He has a power, the crucial role of changing the way the city is designed"



SNEF competition, Paris 12^e: A reversible office building for housing, shops and urban logistics. Reverso is a capable, scalable building designed to adapt to new uses and initiate a new relationship to work and community life. The reversibility studied at the heart of the project allows for the transformation of all or part of the office space into housing, or housing-workshops.

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“Build a more resilient society”

Neal Gorenflo is the Executive Director and Co-Founder of Shareable, an award-winning news, action, connection hub for the sharing transformation. He shares his views on the possibility of outmigration in the near future.

By Neal Gorenflo, Shareable

Whether it accelerates or decelerates may depend mostly on how current conditions (pandemic, economic crisis, social unrest) impact rural outmigration. Will it accelerate outmigration or decelerate it? I say it mostly depends on this factor because those living in cities now will likely continue to prefer to live in cities, though they may decide to live in a different and perhaps a smaller city or a close in suburb, areas where the typical attractors of urban life are present, but that offers a higher quality of life at a lower cost. I'd look at intermediate cities in particular, especially ones with ready access to nature and recreation, a robust local food system, a diverse local economy, and within 2 hours travel time to a large metro. I believe that people, perhaps especially young families, will seek out such places where it seems more possible to build a life that makes sense both in financial terms and what brings them satisfaction.

In fact, to build a more resilient society, national governments might explore ways to influence settlement patterns so that populations, political power, and economic activity is more evenly spread across their territories. They already do this in the location of capital cities often putting capitals in a city other than the nation's largest. Governments can do this more comprehensively to prepare for climate change, the sea level rise that's coming with it, to create more resilient and sustainable economies, and to be less vulnerable to natural and other disasters. A large disruption in a capital city like Mexico City (22% of GDP), could have a huge impact on the entire country. Keep in mind that the rise in xenophobic populist political parties (generally anti-metro, anti-globalization, anti-multicultural) is partly a function of a dramatic rural urban divide. Nations would

do well to better integrate their citizenry and spread economic opportunity across their territories.

Because of the agglomeration advantages of cities, something that's made cities the most durable human institution throughout all of human history, I believe dramatic deceleration is unlikely in the short term. We might see minor, temporary dips. The exception, of course, is if global civilization collapses, a growing possibility as humans continue to exploit nature and pollute at unsustainable rates. In this scenario, deceleration would be rapid, dramatic, and irreversible. However, this is not likely to happen in the next five to ten years in my opinion.

This said, we may see migrations between metros or from big ones to smaller ones or from the city center to edge cities or from major metros to intermediary cities. As in all of human history, people will leave places where they are in danger or lack opportunity or freedom and seek places that offer them more safety, opportunity, and freedom. As the world becomes more unstable, this might also mean a period of accelerating metropolization due to increased migration as large cities are the natural first stop for migrants. A historical example is Vienna after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian empire. It's population exploded as the empire imploded causing

massive social, economic, and political problems. It led to a period of intense innovation known as Red Vienna, where municipal socialism flourished during the 20s and laid the foundation for what would become one of the most livable cities on the planet. •



Neal Gorenflo, Director and Co-Founder, Shareable

“To build a more resilient society, national governments might explore ways to influence settlement patterns so that populations, political power, and economic activity is more evenly spread across their territories”

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The floor is to the architects

In the face of the metropolisation issues, emphasised by the health crisis, three architects of the new wave share their cross visions of its virtues and dangers.

DO YOU BELIEVE THE HEALTH CRISIS WILL LEAD TO THE DOWNFALL OF THE METROPOLISATION?

Frédéric Quevillon: It all depends on the definition and the meaning we give to the word “metropolisation”. If we focus on the density of a city, where everything is seen in a big way, then perhaps it does. We should think more in terms of density of activities and service proposals and not in terms of population. In this respect, activities and services must be sustainable and be able to function. However, the theorization of the concept of the “quarter-hour city”, has proved to be very interesting and completely topical. Short routes should be generalised, with the aim of being closer to daily destinations in order to reduce transport, consume less, or in a greener way – walking or cycling, for example. In this regard, metropolisation is not coming to an end. However, it needs to be rethought, and more room must be given to nature and spaces. A city is not only made of full spaces, it must also be made of empty spaces.

Guillaume Sibaud: I do not believe so and, moreover, the opposite would probably be undesirable. If by metropolisation, we mean the pooling of goods, common resources, and public systems, we must not go backwards as it is essential in the control of climate issues. However, we can discuss the nature of metropolisation and reflect on the appropriate

density. The question of size can also be raised. Many sub-prefectures suffer from territorial competition from their large neighbours and, therefore, can lose their inhabitants and their dynamics. Yet, in terms of balance and density, it would seem wise to encourage their growth, as they have major assets (human, infrastructural, cultural, heritage, etc.) that should be optimised in their use. Above all, it will be necessary to rethink the competition in which cities are engaged.

Julien Rousseau: No, it's quite the opposite! I have experienced this health crisis as a salutary reminder not to forget the essential when we, architects, develop the urban fabric. The metropolis, however large it may be, must make people dream, offer beauty, and well-being, as well as create some desire, while not forgetting the essential: the breathing of nature. The unprecedented situation we have just experienced will therefore have intensified the contrasts between the generations. A desire to be close to the city centre for the youngest, who have been deprived of it and to the contrary, a desire to escape it for families who are looking for a house with a piece of garden. Moreover, remote work has also shown that with a good connection, there is no need to be physically at the office. However, moving to the countryside isn't an option! We want to escape the big city, its exorbitant prices, congestion and pollution. However, we want to be close enough to get there whenever we want! “We are 40 minutes away



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Frédéric Quevillon
Architect DPLG, founder of
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Guillaume Sibaud
Co-founder of Triptyque
Architecture, architect
DPLG / DEA urban
planner IUP, founding
partner of the Triptyque
architecture and urban
planning agency in Brazil
(2000) and France (2008),
Naja laureate (2008)



© DR

Julien Rousseau
Architect Associate,
Co-Founder of FRESH
Architectures

from the centre" is the ultimate motive to move out. The Yvelines, Seine-et-Marne and Val-d'Oise are becoming the most popular destinations for the 11,000 or so Parisians who leave the city every year, fuelling large-scale suburbanisation.

WHAT ARE THE VIRTUES AND MISDEEDS OF METROPOLISATION?

FQ: Energy-wise, metropolisation has its virtues, as it allows us to create and share more easily. Pooling is beneficial for some areas, but it must serve a certain degree of population density. However, the individual tends to disappear within this sometimes too intense metropolisation. After the health crisis we have just gone through, even if in the big cities there are great medical facilities and services, we must not forget that it is also in these cities — where promiscuity rules — that the virus has spread much faster.

GS: The metropolisation can lead to an optimal pooling of resources, whether energy or public service resources, which is the first virtue. It is also a way of life that should best respond to climate challenge, as it is meant to be effective and efficient. All systems are more cost-effective as soon as there is a pooling effect. The ability to have high-performance equipment is an essential virtue that mutualisation enables; therefore, many services shouldn't be found in rural areas for these reasons. Also, when density is mentioned, it is more the idea of the urban structures being compact that is taken into account; the ability to make workplaces, services, culture, and consumption coexist in a compact space, thereby reducing the need for travel. However, we need to restate what the desirable density could be, beyond economic logic, because we are reaching its limits. People's aspirations have changed, and cities that are too dense no longer necessarily guarantee the comfort and quality of life they aspire to. The need for a green outdoor space as an extension or in the immediate vicinity of housing has been particularly felt during lockdown. This slowdown has also made us aware of the often-questionable pace of our working methods and the need of a more localised and peaceful life. Not to mention the fragility of our access to traceable quality food, the production of which has been pushed by densification away from urban centres, which now have only a few days of self-sufficiency left.

“It is by shaking up habits, through unprecedented innovations, that big cities have been able to draw in entire civilisations and exercise their power of fascination on the populations”

- Julien Rousseau

JR: The health crisis does not lead to the end of metropolization; it reinforces by exacerbating a desire for greater centrality among the youngest, and by provoking the peri-urban expansion of families. The desire to escape from the city only extends the city, pushing back the limits of regional metropolitan agglomerations. It is by believing they are leaving Paris, Lyon, Bordeaux or Lille that former city inhabitants create Greater Paris, Greater Lyon, the Urban Community of Bordeaux and Lille Metropole.

WHAT IS THE BALANCE THAT NEEDS TO BE STRUCK BETWEEN METROPOLITAN AREAS (LED BY GREATER PARIS) AND MEDIUM-SIZED CITIES?

FQ: The new cities in the second periphery of Île-de-France, for example, are perhaps a demonstration of this balance between metropolises and medium-sized cities. Indeed, this balance lies mainly in the question of distribution. We need to think about a dynamic system that would be more a matter of complementarity and interaction between cities than of increased competition between them. Even if an balance were to be found, would there not be a risk of duplicating an ideal and monotonous model for all cities?

GS: The recent crisis has reaffirmed the importance of public action, both in public health and in urban development. We need to think about how to

better distribute these dynamics without constraining them in a dogmatic or authoritarian way. Greater Paris is a belated rebalancing that is absolutely necessary: thinking about the populations living in the immense metropolis surrounding Paris means, of course, maintaining a dynamic of employment and facilitating travel, but also, and above all, strengthening and creating symbolic and cultural places that are better distributed and more egalitarian. For medium-sized cities, the challenges are reversed. It is a question of restoring economic dynamics to territories that are overqualified and over-equipped in terms of heritage, culture, and infrastructure.

JR: Increasingly, however, they are taking the plunge: the medium-sized provincial city! Until now in a relationship of servitude, it is in the process of inverting roles with the big cities. It's «in the regions» that cities are the most attractive, that the most daring cultural experiences are made... Doesn't Paris appeal more by its past, its heritage, than its future? Aren't the major cities ultimately the most conservative? What is left for big cities? I think they have to reinvent themselves thanks to utopian architects and urban planners, in the positive sense of the word, through the verticality of the towers, the collage of styles, new developments, so as not to fall back on the audacities of the past, but to find those of the present and the future. It is by shaking up habits, through unprecedented innovations, that big cities have been able to draw in entire civilisations and exercise their power of fascination on the populations, who have come there in great hurry. •

About **MIPIM CONNECT** and **PARIS REAL ESTATE WEEK** – MIPIM Connect is a digital platform

brought by MIPIM to meet the needs of property industry professionals all year long. It includes a networking tool to simplify connections between international property professionals registered to MIPIM 2020, exclusive MIPIM content such as webinars and studies of the international property market and free access to curated content.

The Paris Real Estate Week, which will be held from 14 to 17 September, 2020 in Paris, is designed to support the property sector during the current global upheaval. It will therefore be the first event enabling real estate leaders to make an initial assessment of the impact on the industry and discuss future prospects.

The Week will be built around Propel by MIPIM and will combine events organized by Propel and MIPIM as well as by clients and partners, such as a MIPIM Urban Forum, the Investors Think Tank, the City Forum and the MIPIM Awards ceremony. Meanwhile the MIPIM Connect digital platform will continue to operate in parallel to help property professionals recover.

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Created in 2003, Business Immo has very quickly established itself as the leader of the BtoB press in the French real estate industry, thanks to its 3 pillars of information :

Print: with the titles "Business Immo", "in interiors", "Etudes Foncières", as well as special editions,

Web: 2 websites dedicated to market news,

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In order to offer ever more exhaustive and precise information, Business Immo has set up a "Lab" in collaboration with i-read, providing access to exclusive studies and maps.

Supplemented by a strong events activity, offering more than 20 conferences per year and the organisation of the "Forum des métiers de l'immobilier et de la ville" or "Les Assises Nationales du Foncier et des Territoires", the Business Immo group has been able to diversify, while keeping information at the heart of its activity.

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