Corporations & Cities

BNP Paribas & Paris
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Preface

This graduation project was done within the ‘Real estate management’ laboratory-one of the four specializations offered in the ‘Real Estate and Housing’ graduation program. Being part of the growing body of the ‘corporations and cities’ research team, which is one of the various research themes in this lab, this project is coming to add some evidence from the ‘Paris and BNP Paribas’ case study. The main question raised here is the interaction between the city and the corporate accommodation during their development process and how this relation may be optimized, in order to benefit both parts. Policy, context and physical space issues are examined, leading to the final conclusion on the system of interaction of these two independent and in the same time highly related parts.

P5 Report
Corporations & Cities : BNP Paribas & Paris

AR3R030 Corporate real estate management Graduation Lab

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Summary

Cities are grown in a high pace. New spatial visions are adopted every now and then at a policy level to tackle this growth and more territory is consumed in order to accommodate more urban activities. From the other hand corporations are growing as well by adding more activities in their business cycle. Especially in the tertiary sector, in which exist many multinational firms nowadays, the business cycle growth lead to an important increase of employees and consequently of office space, making them often a key player in space terms. Being part of the urban activities, corporations are contributing as such in the urban development and metabolism by generating commuting transportation and by changing the urban scenery in qualitative and market terms. Seen that from the reverse side the city contributes as well in the corporate development by changing its urban context factors. The interrelation between these two parts is obvious and the optimization of their coexistence is a major issue.

Important steps have been done in the field of city policy to bring in the same table the cities (public) and the corporations (private) in order to plan together their common optimized future. The ‘organizing capacity’ is the new goal adopted in the urban development process. From the other hand, there is also important progress concerning the rationalized use of corporate assets, that has become a management theory under the ‘Corporate real estate management’ discipline. However, the latter is more introvert oriented, since the importance of the private-public communication is not strongly developed. Nonetheless, there is part of the literature devoted to the spatial relationship of the city and the corporation, by demonstrating the locational criteria and decisions of various corporations, through examples coming mainly by U.S., where concentration is the keyword.

The corporation of the French case study do not use the same keyword coming from the US evidence, although the corporate real estate management sector implements the last years a rationalized exploitation of the corporate heritage. However, considering the spatial relationship of the corporation and cities at a policy level, important steps are done in the direction of their common beneficial future. The ‘engagement territorial’ of Nanterre municipality is the initiation of a series of official engagements that should be established in/from both parts and which simple require a responsible decision making that takes into account all the linked and possibly affected aspects.
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PART A: RESEARCH - SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY
1. Research scope

1.1. Scientific relevance

This project belongs to the Real estate management (REM) master laboratory and more specifically to the research laboratory of “Corporations and cities”. The general and main question in this research laboratory is “What is the relation between corporate accommodation and urban development?”. The main aim here is to promote the discussion between the corporate managers and the urban planners in order to create a collective framework of collaboration.

The Corporations and Cities research is organized around five themes:

- Organizational strategies and urban planning goals
- History and future
- Agglomeration strategies and location choices
- Image, branding and representation
- Managing symbiosis

The current research belongs to the first broad theme since a transversal analysis of the organizational and city goals, aims to explore conflicts or synergies that might exist between corporations and cities.

1.2. Societal relevance

Big corporations, like multinationals, due to their demanding accommodation needs (in terms of size and quality) have a great influence in the liveability, structure and general development of the city. From the other hand a city has the power to ‘arrange’ the accommodation of a corporation via its various planning, legislative, administrative and fiscal tools. The identification and debate between these two starring actors has a great interest and in the same time it is important for the improvement of their future cooperation.

At the moment it seems that sometimes there is no communication between these two parts in any level. Thus here is intended an ‘artificial meeting’, where the corporate accommodation needs and urban planning goals are put on the same table. The contradictions, conflicts, but also the possible synergies that (may) exist officially or unofficially will be the basis for the creation of a common development framework. In this way urban as well corporate managers may be supported in their decision making process on planning and accommodation issues accordingly.

1.3. Utilization potential

This research may support various professionals in their own research, design or decision making processes. The narrow field of research spatially and in organization terms, may provide academicians, consultants, or corporation managers with significant past experience examples. The unique way of action of BNP Paribas in the city of Paris, may inspire professionals in their own tasks.

1.4. Personal motivation

During the presentation day of the graduation laboratories last year, a project for the accommodation of BNP Paris Bas bank in Paris was mentioned, as a really special case in the field of corporate real estate management. This organization accommodate the biggest part of its central office space in the center of Paris, when other organizations of the same scale leave the city centers in order to be accommodated in the suburbs. Having already worked on urban development projects the past years, this case initially was perceived as a step further and a specialization on the performance of corporations in the urban level.

In the end of September I had the chance to be present in a meeting with one of the managers of corporate real estate of the bank together with Herman Vande Putte and Richa Singh. After the end of this meeting, my perception for the topic started being much more concrete and a rough structure of the research was shaped. The decisions and their incentives and arguments behind this current organization’s accommodation supply, always seen through the lenses of the urban development of Paris (the urban developer actors) are issues that will be further explored.
2. Research methodology

2.1. Problem statement/Research question

Problem statement

Large, multinational corporations locate their central offices (headquarters) within the metropolitan area of important cities worldwide. Due to their big volume in people and in space terms, these private corporations play a significant role in the urban metabolism quantity wise but also quality wise. From the other hand the city while it develops it has also an impact on the location and function of the corporation in it.

This interaction but also its character is becoming noticed even more during the relocation of the corporation within or out of a certain urban area. In fact, based on the changes in socioeconomic context, these corporations need to reform their business context. Consequently sometimes they need to change their accommodation, creating a certain impact for the development of the city. Based on the same context, the city changes accordingly and in this way there are consequent implications on the corporate accommodation.

This study puts in its center the system of corporations and cities, as this has been roughly described above. The exploration and the understanding of the way in which the city development is influenced by the corporate location and vice versa, is defined here as the problem. The understanding of this system leads to its optimization (proposal) that represents here the (possible) solution to the problem. The example that is used to explore and describe this relation is this of BNP Paribas and Paris.

This corporation that is considered to be one of the largest corporations in the world has traditionally been located in the historical center of Paris. Recently a big part of its central offices was moved in the immediate suburbs of Paris. This case study is a chance to explore the above mentioned system in its transition phase. This move reveals the reasons but also the type of influences which exist in this system.

Looking at the case study a bit more in depth here, some recent evidence from Paris metropolitan area may help in understanding better the dimensions of this problem statement. As a matter of fact, during 1960s, in addition to the traditional CBD, a new office area “La Defence” was created in the west immediate suburbs, under the greater decentralization plan of the city. This office area is provided by the local public authorities, in order to absorb a part of the emerging, at that time, tertiary sector. By this time the banking sector, is traditionally located in the center of Paris. Due to the growing economy, this sector following the trends of the greater tertiary sector, in which it belongs, is under reformation (merges acquisitions etc). However, the relatively small volume of these corporations creates small accommodation needs, which are easily satisfied, in the available urban fabric. In the following decades more tertiary sector poles emerge in the metropolitan area, the most of the times this being a result of transition of old industrial areas.

Since the last decade of the 20th century, the further economic growth causes the further restructure of the tertiary sector (including the banks). At this period the volume of this sector increases significantly and the establishment of multinational schemes is a fact. Under these conditions, important relocations are taking place, concerning mainly the exit of large firms outside the center of Paris where they used to be settled. One of the most important examples is the relocation of ‘Societe General’ from the center of Paris to the new office area “La Defence” in 1995. The next years, more banks, which were traditionally located in the center of Paris, are moving to different poles. In 2000 the merge of BNP and Paribas creates BNP Paribas, one of the biggest companies worldwide. BNP Paribas is until today the unique bank which still accommodates a big part of its central offices in the center of Paris. The rest of the corporate central offices are relocated progressively since the last years in the suburban area, based on the recently adopted accommodation policy.
RESEARCH QUESTIONS

How did the portfolio of BNP Paribas headquarters emerged in Paris and what might be its future?

The emergence of the bank property portfolio in the urban fabric of Paris is the basic framework used in order to explore and understand the way of interaction between those two parts of the system in a given time framework.

This question is location and firm specific. The reason for this narrow question is the uniqueness of both elements, but also in the same time the wide range of their applicability. Paris region is one of the biggest metropolitan areas in Europe but also worldwide. However, no matter its development according to modern urban trends, its historical urban fabric is still the strongest branding symbol of the city. Moreover, taking into account that this historical urban fabric remains vital by being able to accommodate the needs of the contemporary urban functions, makes the Paris city a unique case to study.

From the other hand BNP Paribas is one of the largest banks and in the same time one of the biggest companies in the world. The volume in surface and employees terms is capable of representing and describing the corporation and city system.

SUB QUESTIONS

The sub questions that address to each one of the research fields refer to three distinct levels of approach: policy, context, space.

The ‘policy’ level is considered as the more general approach. In this type of approach the general visions and guidelines given from the city and the corporation are researched. These guidelines are based however, on the general context (conditions) that occur at a certain period, meaning the socioeconomic and market trends. All the above conditions and strategies are depicted on the spatial level that is the last and more detailed level of research approach.

Related to the corporate accommodation portfolio, for each of the given time periods and scale levels:

1. Which are the goals of BNP Paribas’ accommodation strategy?
2. Which are the conditions in which this portfolio has been developed?
3. Which are the spatial characteristics of the corporate real estate portfolio?

Related to the urban fabric, for each of the given time periods and scale levels:

4. Which are the goals of central Paris’ urban planning policy?
5. Which are the conditions in which this fabric has been developed?
6. Which are the spatial characteristics of the urban fabric of central Paris?

Related to the link between both arenas, for each of the given time periods and scale levels:

7. Is there a match/mismatch between the goals of these two parties?
8. What is the technique that has been put in place to realise the synergy?
9. What is the future of this location policy?

HYPOTHESES

The answer to the above stated main research question is steered by two main hypotheses. Each one of them represents one side of the dual ‘corporation and city’ system. Considering the position of the corporation part as passive, the following hypothesis may support the definition of the way the corporation location is affected by the city policy, context and space wise:

(1) The Haussmannian fabric seems to absorb and facilitate this important concentration of offices of BNP Paribas in the proximity of Opera Garnier very well. In the same time, Paris urban management seems to accept its presence there. Apparently central Paris is able and in the same time interested in accommodating such large corporations.
From the other hand, the way in which the city is affected by the location decisions of the corporation matters. The policy, context and spatial demands of the corporation need to be known. The following hypothesis is the departure point of this research.

(2) Given that the office buildings in the center of Paris have higher direct costs, such as rent, taxes, maintenance etc. and higher indirect costs such as workspace efficiency, lack of agglomeration economies etc., BNP Paribas seems to be able and interested to pay an extra fee for this location choice. So apparently BNP Paribas is not keen on the minimization of costs deriving from the effective corporate real estate management.

2.2. RESEARCH STRUCTURE-METHODOLOGY
The research contains two basic fields: the city and the corporation. In order to understand how these two fields interact, the research structure is divided in three basic steps:

- Analysis
- Synthesis
- Conclusions

ANALYSIS
To begin with the analysis, in order to be able to acquire all the necessary information, these two fields are going to be analyzed separately, based on a common analysis framework.

This analysis framework is consisted of three dimensions: the policy, the context and the space. These dimensions are highly related to each other in a system of reactions that is similar for the city and the corporation. These systems are presented below, together with the explication of the aforementioned dimensions.

**URBAN DEVELOPMENT SYSTEM**
The scheme below (scheme 1) represents the urban development system, showing the chain of reaction between the three dimensions policy, context, and space.

**External factors**: unexpected events or trends coming from the external environment – outside the city of Paris - e.g. a war, a disease, a disaster, baby boom, earthquake etc. and the impact one of the system’s components.

**State**: By this term is represented the political system of the state, which decides for the visions, policies, strategies and regulations for each one of the basic sectors: economy, education, health, public security, social cohesion etc. All these sectors have as common denominator the spatial level. Therefore, the ‘state’ having as fundamental core business the development of the country, defines certain spatial policy demands, resulted by the correlation of the sectorial policies content.

**Urban policy**: Based on the demands expressed by the citizens of Paris (in every field), but also according to the (past and present, or even the anticipated) content (supply) of the urban context (explained below) aspects, a certain vision is created and certain goals are set for the development of the urban agglomeration. The implementation of
this vision is steered and controlled by a certain management framework that is represented by several actors (public/private) who decide on specific type of urban development plans. The output is basic guidelines (goals) which return back to the context level in order to change its conditions and control its evolution.

- Urban management scheme
- Urban goals

Urban context: The composition of population, the education, the workforce, the transportation networks, the location of different urban functions on a certain territory etc. make a place special and distinctive. The content of these aspects represent the ‘supply’ side of the ‘market’. According to the demand, the policy will check for defects and improvement space in this supply side. In the case of mismatch between the demand and the supply, certain changes are proposed on the content of these aspects which are reflected on the physical environment. These aspects are:

- demography (population)
- socioeconomic characteristics
- Land uses
- technical infrastructures
- Land market

It should be underlined here that the corporation system that is described below, contributes in the content formation of these aspects. The level of influence is however, relevant to the ratio ‘corporation dynamic/urban context dynamic’.

Physical Space: The reflection of the urban context, either it is planned, or it is unplanned, in the physical space. The physical space interacts with the content of the urban context factors, stimulating also their evolution (change).

One more definition concerning the above scheme is given here. The starting point of this scheme differs, based on the type of development (planned, unplanned). As a result in the case of the unplanned development the starting point for the urban development ‘network’ is the urban context. The implications of the unexpected events change, usually in a radical way, the urban context aspects, which transform in the same direct way the physical environment. On the other hand in the case of planed development the starting point is the urban policy.

CORPORATION SYSTEM

According to the scope of the current research, the study of the corporations system concerns exclusively its spatial reflection. That means that the analysis of the corporation system here, aims finally at presenting the way in which the group is organized in its spatial environment and not internally, in its core business environment. However, these two different in content environments are indivisible, since the core business environment functions as the source of demand for the formation of its spatial-physical environment. This system is presented below (scheme 2). The basic directions: policy, context and space are included here similarly with the urban field. The basic distinction between spatial and non-spatial environment is need here as well, since one part of the system contains a non-spatial activity.

External factors: expected or unexpected events coming from the external environment –outside BNP Paribas- e.g. changes in monetary policy, bankruptcy of competitors etc.

Corporation: internal aspects in the corporate environment, which regulate and organize the production line of its core business, concerning the structure as well as its content. These factors are:

- organizational structure
- management culture
- core business policy (vision, strategy etc)

These aspects are affected by the external environment that is usually the global business world. From the other hand the total of these aspects define certain spatial needs and demands for the optimal performance of the corporate activities. These needs and demands constitute the input for the next part of the corporate system the ‘Corporate accommodation policy’.

Corporate accommodation policy: Based on the corporate core business demand in space, an (aligned) accommodation policy is determined. The corporate accommodation
policy sets the basic concept and the guidelines for the spacial organization of the core business activities. **Corporate accommodation context:** Similarly with the urban development system, the content of these aspects represent the ‘supply’ side of the ‘market’. According to the demand, the policy will check for defects and improvement space in this supply side. In the case of mismatch between the demand and the supply, certain changes are proposed on the content of these aspects. At this level there is a great content overlap with the urban system. In fact, the ‘corporate accommodation context’ is the ‘urban development system’. The population, the employment, the land uses, the land prices, the policy that is applied on these urban context aspects, as well as the physical space itself, constitutes in total a deterministic input for the formation of a certain corporate accommodation strategy. However, due to the significant scale difference, but also to the difference in the core a business interest (city-bank), there is a more targeted approach and consultancy of these context aspects for the purposes of the corporate accommodation policy formulation. By targeted is meant that the urban system content is used here in order to ‘check the supply’ of the corporate portfolio concerning specific characteristics, which are examined up to a certain extend.

**Corporate physical space:** The physical reflection of the corporate accommodation context, after this is redefined by the accommodation policy. The spatial dimension of the corporation, that is always filtered, controlled from an accommodation strategy.

**SYNTHESIS**

After having acquired sufficient content insight in both fields, this information is used in order to correlate the performance of each field in each one of the given aspects: Policy, context, physical space, including always the examination in time and scale terms. Therefore, the structure in this phase of the study, is not organized based on the division between the two fields: city and corporation, but according to the three aspects. An example is given here, showing that the policy aspect content of the city, in a given time and scale, is correlated to the relevant policy performance of the corporation, always within the same time and scale limits. In this phase is also taken into account the theoretical input that is presented in the beginning of the analysis.

**CONCLUSIONS-INTERACTION**

Trying to represent the two above presented systems while they are in interaction is not very simple. As it is explained also above the two systems use each other as a part of their context. Further research on this system interaction will occur also through the case study examination, since this is a chance to observe in depth the actual performance of the systems in relation to each other, while they are in action.

**TIME AND SPACE SCALE**

The content examination of the above presented systems’ components is organized in aspects of (1) time and (2) spatial scale.
Due to the fact that important conclusions have to be drawn based on an evolutionary process, the research examines the above fields during a specific time period which is divided into certain timeframes. Based on some important events of both fields known beforehand, three basic timeframes are formed here, in order to be used in the analysis organization. The first timeframe represents the past and it lasts from 1960, until 2000. In 1965 the first holistic attempt for the implementation of spatial policies in France (and in Paris) is a fact. From the other hand in 1960 BNP is founded in Paris. The second timeframe represents the present and it lasts from 2000-2012. The basic incident of this period is the foundation of BNP Paribas in 2000. The last timeframe includes the years from 2012 until 2030 when current programmed period of Paris ends.

The spatial scale used for the examination of the above fields is also divided into three levels, which are shown in the scheme below:

These spatial scales are assigned to each one of the above scheme components: policy, context, space. For instance the city policy is examined for its vision concerning the urban area, its strategy concerning the urban places and its actions concerning the urban fabric. In the similar way the corporation system is going to be analyzed. The schemes below, illustrate the total structure of the analysis and synthesis, as these were extensively explained above (scheme3):

2.3. RESEARCH BOUNDARIES
The research boundaries aim to define the (1) non-spatial and (2) spatial boundaries where the above analysis structure is going to be applied.

NON-SPATIAL

(1) The non-spatial boundaries need to be drawn in the corporation field. These boundaries have to do with the part of the organization which is examined here. This part is the central offices of the corporation. This part of the corporation is defined by the U.S. Central Administrative Office and Auxiliary Establishments [CAO] as follows:

‘An auxiliary is any establishment of the company whose principal function is to manage, administer, service, or support the activities of other establishments of the company (Census, 1996). This includes administration and management, R&D, computer data processing centers, communications, central warehouses and trucking. For detailed descriptive information
on the data set see Aarland et al. (2007)’(Davis & Henderson, 2008, p. 446)

In the case of the bank of course there is no R&D and logistic facilities as these are mentioned in the above definition. Trying to apply the same rule in the case (financial) industry, the central offices are defined as all the departments and activities which are evolved in the production of a final service before these are delivered to the customers in the retail spots.

**SPATIAL**

(2)Concerning the spatial boundaries (picture 1), these will be a horizontal scale of reference in the whole study. Being location specific, here are going to be presented the areas in Paris where each one of the above space scales refers. Accordingly the corporation spatial levels which are aligned with the urban are analysed within the same areas.

**URBAN SPACE – PORTFOLIO**

The reference area in this scale level within the prefecture Ile-de-France and more precisely within the Municipality of Paris and its immediate suburbs. The vision of the spatial policy, the basic context trends, as well as the physical growth of the agglomeration, are examined there. From the other hand, the accommodation policy, the basic accommodation context trends and the physical reflection of both on the space are examined for the corporation part.

**URBAN PLACE – POLES OF ACTIVITIES (BUILDINGS)**

The reference area in this scale level matches with the administrative unit of municipality/arrondisement. In this level are examined the specific strategic goals, defined under the above mentioned vision, the particular changes in the context of these areas, and how all these are depicted on the physical space. In the same way are examined the policy, context, space aspects for the corporation. However, since an extensive urban place analysis is out of the scope in the current research, certain municipalities and arrondisements were chosen to represent this scale level. The selection was based on the location of the corporation in the city during all these years, since the basic scope is to understand the influence of this specific corporation on the space. The chosen municipalities are shown on the picture on the left:

Due to the fact that a location specific analysis might hide a part of the picture and lead to the distortion of the real situation, these municipalities are grouped in two big zones: the central and the suburban.

**URBAN FABRIC-WORKSPACE**

In the fabric scale the interest is transferred from the two dimensional environment to the three dimensional environment. The reference unit is the building. It should be underlined that although for the city part the external characteristics of the buildings, like the height, the volume, the architectural typology, represent better the term urban fabric, for the corporation side is not exactly the same. In the case of corporation the spatial demands have a greater functional meaning which is better found in the internal arrangement of the buildings – the workspace.

![Picture 1: Research area](image-url)
2.4. THE RESEARCH DESIGN
In this paragraph the general research design scheme is presented. Various methods of research will be used in order to collect the necessary data that lead to the answer of the research questions. Since the main research question refers to an extensive period of time, one of the basic methods is the ‘historical survey’. This method is addressed mainly to the urban evolution of Paris. Some ‘desk research’, done again within an extensive timeline is also necessary, concerning mostly the corporation, but also the urban planning part. For the latter the desk research is useful in order to find out the basic frameworks like planning or general law of the country/city that may be of crucial role in the whole decision –making game. Finally one big part of the research is based on ‘talking/contacting many people’ type of research. Mainly as far as the current and future situation in both scientific fields concern, interviews and field inspections should be done in order to acquire all the necessary data that are not easily found in any kind of document. As far as the interviews concern they will be open in nature and will be formulated after a thorough literature study. The result of the literature study is also the indicator for the field inspection. Everything that is not possible to be found in the books should be acquired in this way. Moreover there are parts of the study, like the portfolio inspection that are exclusively based on this research method. However, even in this case the basic guidelines and criteria should be first considered through the literature study.

2.5. MENTORSHIP
Main mentor in this research project is Herman Vande Putte. Being the project leader of the research laboratory ‘Corporations and cities’, but also having a specialization in project feasibility analysis and strategic corporate real estate planning and management processes, Herman actually proposed the current project during a laboratory session last year.

The second mentor in this project is Willem Hermans. Willem, is an assistant professor at the department of Urbanism, Faculty of Architecture at the Delft University of Technology. He specializes in urban design (public space, green and water transformation and the urban project networks and mobility, hubs, nodes and places). Apart from his academic career, he is also an urban designer in Rijnboutt bv in Amsterdam. His dual role as a professional and as an academician in the urban design field is important in this research.
The theoretical framework chapter aims at providing the underlying theory that is applied in the two basic fields of this study. Definitions, strategy schemes, methods, indicators, benchmarking and common practices are going to be presented in this part. Later on in the synthesis phase, all this information will be used in order to assess, compare and in general understand the data coming from the case study. In sort, in the next paragraphs, starting with the city part, the general urban development models of the last two decades as well as the urban planning practices are presented. Further the corporation is examined in terms of core business and of course as far as the corporate accommodation strategies concerns.
3. City

3.1. URBAN POLICY VISION

Cities grow, extend, change patterns and in general evolve continually. Central visions, which are adopted based on the contemporary trends every time, underpin and define this growth/development. These trends refer to social, economic, industrial, technological changes.

Going back in the end of the 19th / beginning of the 20th century the ‘Cuidad lineal’ by Soria y Mata, the ‘Garden city’ by Ebenezer Howard, the ‘Industrial city’ by Tony Garnier, are some of the most important models (visions) that define the development of the cities, being inspired by the conditions created in the city from the industrial era, which demand a functional approach.

After the end of the 2nd world war a series of industrial and technological changes had as a result the tremendous evolution mainly in the transportation industry (use of private car). The “Broadacre city” by Frank Lloyd Wright, introduces a dispersed expansion of the cities that derives from the wide use of private car and the re-definition of the term ‘distance’. This model (vision) represents the phase of the ‘urban sprawl’, which is in fact the ‘chaotic’ growth of the urban space, with great negative effects in the natural and the physical environment.

Today the dominant trend in the city development visions is the answer to the previous catastrophic perception of the urban space use. The ‘compact city’ in which the land use resources are efficiently combined and exploited in a responsible way, in order to achieve the real development of the human environment without harming the physical environment.
3.2. URBAN DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT

The old top-down traditional model of developing cities was restricted in the town planning that was exercised by the governmental-specialized public parties. Moreover, this town planning version had a strong spatial-technocratic character, since this was the major type of issues in the urban agglomerations during the 20th century.

However, in the end of the 20th century and more precisely during the 70s it is becoming a common consideration in the USA that a more entrepreneurial approach of strategic management of both public and private initiatives in the urban environment, will be more efficient (Franzen, Hobma, Jonge, & Wigmans, 2010, p. 44), than the mere spatial and functional arrangement, for the actual development of the cities.

This new-enriched approach of the old ‘town planning’ method, the ‘urban management’ may be looked as “… the strategic decision making process for the development and the improvement of urban regions” (Franzen et al., 2010, p. 44). Analogically to the complexity of the general context within which the urban development occurs, the decision making process had become multidimensional as well. As a result, compared to the previous-old urban planning processes, in the new coming framework, besides the actual content and means of realization that were taken into account initially, equal weight is given also to the context and actors aspects.

The content of an urban area development focuses on the creation of spatial constellations, wherein various functions (residential, working etc.) can develop in harmony. The means of realization refer to the availability of financial (such as money, land etc.), but also of knowledge sources, that are necessary for the execution of the urban development content. The context factor which in general adjust the boundaries of the development and form the final content is examined in the following paragraph. From the other hand the actors that take part in the new urban development processes are coming from many more fields than the public authorities. The entrepreneurial approach of the urban development processes, oblige the presence of the private sector as well. Citizens, investors and in general every end user of the final urban development content has the right to participate in this process (scheme 4).

Being able to coordinate the above urban development processes and procedures, as it is required under the scope of the new ‘urban management’, certain organizing capacity is needed. By this term is meant: “Organizing capacity is defined as the ability to enlist all actors involved and with their help generate new ideas and develop and implement a policy designed to fundamental developments and create conditions for sustainable economic growth” (Franzen et al., 2010, p. 48). This capacity, lays with the urban region stakeholders and legislative frameworks and through this interactive bottom up process, may develop and implement the decided integral strategy.

Scheme 4 : New approach in urban management

(Franzen et al., 2010, p. 10)
3. 3. URBAN CONTEXT

3.3.1. Factors

The term ‘quality of life’ is a derivative of ‘standards of living’ as these were ruling the urban planning and development aiming to cure the unhealthy cities of the industrial era. Politicians, developers and urban planners had as a task to determine adequate quantitative ‘standards of living’ in order to fulfill the basic needs (food, clothing, housing, recreation, education) of the community. The target group of this period was the labors, since they were the main workforce of the dominant industrial economy. However, moving towards the present, the socioeconomic evolution and the dominance of the tertiary sector, have as a result the replacement of the labors with knowledge workers. Within this context the term ‘standards of living’ was replaced by the term ‘quality of life’ in this post-industrial era. The already over fulfilled ‘needs’ of the industrial labors are changing into ‘desires’ of the knowledge workers.

Amartya Sen the winner of the 1998 Nobel Prize in economics, try to describe this term in the following lines: ‘not only….the money they do or do not have, but a great deal about how they are able to conduct their lives…. (and then) how people are enabled by the society in question to imagine, to wonder, to feel emotions such as love and gratitude, that presuppose that life is more than a set of commercial relations’. (Freestone, 2000, p. 147) As a result, the ‘standards of living’ as an indicator of material conditions has become but one variable among many to assess the ‘quality of life’. Concerning the rest of the indicators/variables there are many lists coming into fore trying to capture all the spectrum of this term and give a final assessment.

The Institut d’urbanisme de Paris and the Universite Paris-Est Creteil Val-de-Marne-UPEC, in their common edition provide a list of indicators (more lists are presented in the appendix of this report), which refer to spatial as well as to socioeconomic characteristics of the city (Institut d’urbanisme de Paris & Universite Paris-Est Creteil Val-de-Marne-UPEC, 2010, p. 37):

- The economic resources
- The education and training
- The families and the households
- The health and care
- The conditions in employment
- The social life and participation
- The transportation and housing
- Local environment and amenities
- The public security and criminality
- The culture the identity the political resources and the human rights

3.3.2. Assessment framework

A recent study that was realized by the urban institution of Paris APUR, in collaboration with the Laboratoire Architecture/Anthropologie in November 2005, provides a basic structure for the assessment of the ‘urban life quality’ level. The study, titled ‘Tranche de ville, habiter Paris ou comment apprécier la qualité de la ville urbaine a Paris’ (APUR & Laboratoire Architecture/Anthropologie, 2005), is a correlation of quantitative and qualitative data, given from statistical databases and interviews of local residents accordingly. The study is done within a stripe that covers the central part of Paris in the orientation east-west.

The qualitative data are feelings and the emotions of city users. Residents of the research area ‘stripe’ were asked to assess the different areas concerning spatial and social qualitative characteristics (mentioned below). In the same time spatial and socioeconomic data were collected and analyzed for the same stripe and for the same period of time (the most recent census). The qualitative data were correlated with quantitative data which provide a more objective presentation of the situation. Concerning the evaluation and the benchmarking of the given synthesis result; this is based again on the same study. This time look-
ing not only the structure but also the qualitative results of the study, the needed conclusions were drawn (table 1).

The sense of originality derives (by the researchers) from the form of urban tissue (continuous, discontinuous, mixed function, or not mixed function etc). From the comparison it is easily seen that the mixed used/mixed form of urban fabric represents the meaning of originality for the residents.

The sense of social diversity is more intense in the east side of the city, which traditionally is characterized by residential uses. The presence of social housing, the lower rent prices, in comparison with the rest of the area, but also the socio-professional profile of the area which is characterized by the dominance of employees (including workers) related jobs (in comparison with the west side, where the employees are found in greater percentages), have as a result the greater mix of people.

The sense of artificial lighting is more intense in the center of the city and it is a result of the combination of important concentration of local and global commerce together with the multi-functionality that characterizes the same building blocks.

The sense of desert is highly related to the mono-functionality of the place but also to the low density rates that dominate in the edge areas. The commerce and especially the local commerce is another important aspect that contributes a lot to the vitality of the areas mostly during the daytime, decreasing significantly the sense of desert to the city users.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban fabric form</th>
<th>Originality</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Housing</td>
<td>Social Diversity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominant land use</td>
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<td>Prices 1999</td>
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<td>Prices 2003</td>
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<td>Socio-professional categories</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local commerce</th>
<th>Lighting (artificial)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Global commerce</td>
<td>Desert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban fabric form</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Global commerce</th>
<th>Desert</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local commerce</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Density</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominant land use</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(APUR & Laboratoire Architecture/Anthropologie, 2005)
3.4. URBAN PHYSICAL SPACE

In the discussion for the city physical space, the building units attract significant part of interest, since their extended life cycle demands a special approach based every time on the new city visions. The same units needs in some cases to forego a functional change (from housing to office etc), thus their space need to be examined as for its efficiency and ability to respond/adapt in these changes.

Point of departure for the study of this specific aspect here is the article of Leslie Martin, where he demonstrates that different building configurations on the ground have significant effects in the urban environment, but also a different performance concerning the internal space efficiency. In his schemes he names the central square pavilion and the outer band court (picture 2). He considers them as two different ways of placing the same amount of floor area on the same site area. What Martin proves in this part of his study is that: “maintaining the same site area, the same volume of building and the same internal depth of room, the court configuration places the same amount of floor space into the buildings, which are exactly one third of the total height of the pavilion configuration on the grid” (Martin, 2000, p. 316).

The building form is changing radically and together with that the whole urban structure.

By doing that he finds interesting conclusions concerning several aspects of the urban environment, like accessibility, free space and internal lighting and views. Amongst his conclusions he supports that the high-rise configuration is not the most efficient development model. If fact he supports that: “when high buildings and their skyline are being described, the talk is precisely about this and not about the best way of putting built space on to ground space” (Martin, 2000, p. 318). By pointing out the importance of skyline for the high-rise development the author seem to support their dominance in the urban environment due to their branding power and their possibility to differentiate from the rest of the city and not because of their space efficiency.
4. CORPORATION

4.1. CORPORATION CORE BUSINESS FIELD

In contrast with the case of the city in which the core business content and the spatial policy are applied in the same environment, in the case of the corporation, there is an important distinction between the core business object and its spatial/physical dimension. Being more specific, the core business mission, for example of a bank, is to produce wealth in terms of financial assets. This activity is not related, at least directly, with its spatial environment, since it is a matter of dealing with the financial market demands, which similarly they are not applied directly on the space. Therefore, in this case it is necessary to understand the core business – non spatial object and how it is structured, in order to be able to discuss its spatial dimensions, which contribute after all in an indirect way (productivity of employees etc.) in the optimization of its efficiency.

4.1.1. Organizational structure

The usual organizational structure adopted by corporations is the simple bureaucratic model. Basic characteristics of this organizational model according to Allison (Allison, 1997, p. 142) are the formally defined roles and positions. Such a model seeks low risk and high efficiency and effectiveness, although its rigid structure has slow responsiveness to changes. Working under such a model there is systemized co-ordination that is going together with the high level of interdependence, monitoring and supervision. Bureaucracy is considered by Weber as the dominant type of organization in the modern society (Pugh & Derek, 2007, p. 1).

A typical bureaucratic structure, called by Anheiner also as U-Form (Anheiner, 2005, p. 157) is given in the scheme on the right (scheme 5) where is apparent the top-level management in all functions.

Again according to Anheiner there is another organizational structure that has a multidivisional form and is called M-form (Anheiner, 2005, p. 157). In this organizational form the control and the management weight is moved to the lower functional levels and thus it presents greater levels of responsibility and independency. This results to faster response towards the changes, but also greater administration volume.

Hybrid models do also exist, combining the characteristics of the two basic organizational models as these are presented above.

Scheme 5: Types of corporate structure
ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE IN BANKING INDUSTRY

In the banking industry, the organizational structure is changing together with the evolution of the economy. The internal environment of the corporations is affected by the changes in the external environment meaning the regulation framework or changes in higher scale like the monetary policy. The basic trend is the transition from the central management schemes (vertical hierarchy/U-form) towards more decentralized structures, where the different departments – functions of the corporation have a significant grade of accountability and the independence of the several corporate functional departments (horizontal hierarchy/M-form).

According to Canals J. one of the most dominant organizational schemes in the banking sector of industrial countries since the end of the 20th century is the universal bank that is: “providers of a large variety of financial services, from checking accounts to derivatives, from corporate loans to financial advice on mergers and acquisitions, from bond trading to active shareholding in industrial companies” (CANALS, 1998, p. 1)

These types of organizations are performing under an integration model in which there are new activities added always under the same corporate umbrella. The same author gives two different configurations of this integration model, which appeared in the end of the 20th century (1980-1990) initially from U.S. Corporations.

These models are ‘the divisional model’: “each business unit of the corporation turns into a division within the group, with its own management team reporting directly to the group’s CEO” (CANALS, 1998, p. 7)

And ‘the confederated model’: “The creation of legally separate companies grouped under a corporate headquarters which coordinates and allocates resources is becoming” (CANALS, 1998, p. 8)

4.1.2. Core business strategy

One of the most widely used theories of business strategy is this of Porter, called “Competitive advantage” theory. This specific theory as Edwards and Ellison mention in their book is widely acknowledged as one of the most influential in modern business management (Edwards & Ellison, 2004, p. 79), due to the fact that it is well developed. As a consequence is the most widely read and applied in different types of businesses.

This management theory is based on the basic idea that “once an industry has been analyzed, it is possible for an organization within that industry to develop a competitive strategy to allow it to achieve its objectives”. The dynamics of this (any) industry within which the organization has to find its position are its suppliers, its buyers, its potential entrants and its substitutes.

Every corporation has to defend itself within the above dynamics, or influence them in a way that best serve its interests and performance. After the corporation define its position within the forces above, a strategy must be established that will provide the means to achieve the certain objectives (position). Porter presents three generic strategies in his theory that are listed below:

- Overall cost leadership

“In order to produce the cheapest product or service within a particular industry the firm must have identified and acted upon more efficiency measures and economies of scale than the next most efficient organization, without compromising quality and standards” (Edwards & Ellison, 2004, p. 82). Moreover an organization following this type of strategy refers to a great scope meaning the market segments.

- Differentiation

“...developing a product or service that is clearly perceived as unique by the industry as a whole", such examples of products or services are: brand image/technology/customer services/dealer network/product features (Edwards & Ellison, 2004, p. 85). Here again in this type of strategy the scope is broad and addresses to several market segments.

- Focus

“...focusing on a narrow segment of the market", this segment may refer to geographical location, type of customer
or a variation within a product range (Edwards & Ellison, 2004, p. 87). The fundamental difference between this strategy and the two aforementioned is that this one focuses on a few defined market segments and thus the scope range differs significantly.

One other important aspect in the strategy formation that might be considered as inherent to all the above types of strategy is the relationship of the organization with its external environment. By this is meant to be examined the type of strategy an organization may follow and if this is based on its internal characteristics and power or if it is influenced by the indications coming from its environment.

4.2. CORPORATE ACCOMMODATION FIELD
4.2.1. corporate accommodation policy

‘Although it is rare to find a business operating without an overall business strategy, it is quite common to find one operating without a property strategy’ (Roulac, 2001, p. 129). According to the same author such an omission may put an enterprise at significant risk, a consideration that may also be supported by the fact that the property portfolio of a firm is the second largest business cost next to labour (Edwards & Ellison, 2004, p. 9).

The property portfolio occupied by a certain company may be perceived as an investment asset but also as an operational asset. Although in the first case the property represents a financial return (or cost) in the latter the property is considered as a tool for the core business and requires a strategic approach and management. This property management or different called the Corporate Real Estate Management aims at managing the corporate accommodation in order to obtain maximum added value for the organization. By added value may be meant:

- Added value of CREM
  - Raising production
  - Choosing sites
  - Innovating workplace
  - Retaining professionals
  - Reducing absence
- Reducing cost
  - Workplace costs
  - Accommodation costs
  - Facility costs
  - Benchmarks
  - Finance
- Controlling risk
  - Inflexibility stock
  - Wrong site
  - Value crunch
  - Work environment
  - Environmental issues
  - Process risk real estate development
- Raising value of real estate
  - Acquisition/disposal
  - Redevelopment
  - Market analysis
- Increasing flexibility
  - Organizational
  - Financial
  - Technical
- Changing culture
  - Workplace innovations
  - Communication
- PR/marketing
  - Image
  - Selling points
  - Sales strategy
CREM design

A special framework (scheme 6) has been developed in order to steer the design of an accommodation strategy for a corporation, being always linked with its core business strategy and objectives. This framework is presented schematically below. This scheme contains the demand and the supply sides and examines them in present and in future time. There are four steering events (grey rhombus) answering to the following questions:

- CURRENT MISMATCH: What we need versus what we have
- FUTURE MISMATCH: What we (might) need in the future versus what we have now
- DESIGN, EVALUATE AND SELECT ALTERNATIVES: Alternatives of what we could have
- PLAN THE TRANSFORMATION (FROM PRESENT TO FUTURE): Step-by-step plan to realize what we want to have in the future

THE ACTORS

The CREM is recorded in various roles within the corporate environment in the different time periods. Moving from the technical (day to day management) towards the strategic approach (future added value), the process and the content of the decision making in this sector is evolving. In the first diagram (scheme 7) below is shown this evolution of the role of the CREM within the institutions, which is additive by nature. Consequently the panel of actors which are taking part in the strategy formation is constituted by various disciplines derived from the emerging character of the domain (scheme 8).
4.2.2. corporate accommodation context

The corporate location within the city is the primary corporate accommodation context element, which the CREM strategies aims to control/correct. By city is meant here not the physical space but its context factors, which determine the locational decisions of the various tertiary sector institutions. Two are the basic issues that are supported here by general practices followed by the tertiary sector institutions: the location criteria and the pattern of accommodation. This evidence is coming mostly from the US cases and at the moment consists the basic growing body in location theories in the tertiary sector.

CRITERIA FOR THE LOCATION IN THE CITY

Basic input for the office location determinants is coming from, John Parr and Leslie Budd. In their article, they talk about the financial services and the urban system in USA. They support that the most important factor for the location of offices is the existence of agglomeration economies. They distinguish two dimensions of agglomeration economies the internal and the external to the firm. Internal to the firm there are two types of agglomeration economies the economies of scale and the economies of scope:

- **Economies of scale** refer to the fact that over a significant range of production, long-run average cost is a decreasing function of output.
- **Economies of scope** are less familiar. These occur “if the joint production of two goods by one enterprise is less costly than the combined costs of production by two specialty firms (Parr & Budd, 2000, p. 602)

After this consideration of the concentration powers within the firm they transfer the same concentration attributes in the regional/urban level (external to the firm). This result to the following three types of agglomeration economies that exist in the higher spatial level and actually give an important indication about the location of offices within the city center:

- Localization economies refer to the advantages accruing to firms in the same activity which result from their joint location.
- Urbanization economies, by contrast, are concerned with the range of advantages to the individual firm which result from the joint location of firms in different and unrelated activities.
- Activity-complex economies refer to economies that emerge from the joint location of unlike activities which have substantial trading links with one another. (Parr & Budd, 2000, p. 603)

Apart from the existence of agglomeration economies in particular part of the city (center, suburbs), Shilton and Stanley support in their survey that the economic base of the city is a determinant in the location of certain types of companies in its center. Accordingly corporations that are out of the city’s ‘core business’ are placed in less central areas and usually in the suburbs. An indicative example is given below: The current trend in US counties is that technology and business services headquarters are on the outskirts, whereas money and media headquarters are in the core of the cities. New York, Boston, San Francisco are only few of the counties that this scheme of headquarters location is found. However, there are exemptions in this finding. In the county of Denver money services are located in the outskirts, whereas oil, gas and energy services are in the center of the city. The reason for this is that the major point of doing business for this area is the oil, gas and energy industry, whereas money is a secondary economy in this state.(Shilton & Stanley, 1999, p. 356)

Concentration is the keyword for the office location as it derives from all the above authors. However, recently some opposition to this ‘general reality’ is expressed from several researchers, who focus on specific firm aspects. One of these examples is the recent article of Richard Shearmur, who tries to understand the geography of innovation in the knowledge intensive business sector (KIBS). Doing that he is opposed to the agglomeration economies ‘panacea’ by supporting that although the urban concentration of firms is cost-saving it is not as well
certified as an innovation driver. Examining several case studies of KIBS there are several indicators given which prove that innovative firms do not want to interact/co-locate with other firms. Reasons for that is the secrecy or that the interactions necessary for innovation are available outside the firm clusters. Therefore the interest is moving from the regional/urban scale concentrations towards the lower scale of the neighborhood by supposing that “the interactions that lead to innovation are localized (at the neighborhood level)” (Shearmur, 2011, p. 8). The above mentioned hypothesis is a part of a continuous growing literature body in the field of the office/service sector location determinants which put some light on the actual value of agglomeration economies.

CRITERIA FOR THE ACCOMMODATION PATTERNS

In general the evolution of the tertiary sector and especially the significant growth of its volume, had important impact in the organizational architecture of the corporations and consequently to the role and the function of their decision centers (headquarters). The basic trend is the transition from the central management schemes (vertical hierarchy) towards more decentralized structures, where the different departments – functions of the corporation have a significant grade of independency (horizontal hierarchy) (further analysis on this topic was presented above). This transition has important impact obviously on their locational characteristics, which are varying significantly according not only to the aforementioned organizational culture but also based on other characteristics/ criteria which are presented below.

James C. Davis and J. Vernon Henderson, in the article discussed just above they mention that according to the type of activity, some firms need to agglomerate more than others (Davis & Henderson, 2008, p. 445). This fact is also supported from Leon Shilton and Craig Stanley: “Those firms that need technological information or fresh market information will cluster because they need the information through face-to-face contact—"the glue of office markets” and by hiring the “intelligent” labor that has this information” (Shilton & Stanley, 1999, p. 344).

Governmental regulations and policies are another aspect. Apart from the planning regulations that have direct effect on the location decision, governmental regulations dealing with the core business of the corporations may also affect their decision making process. (Testa, 2006)

The stage of the life-cycle in which the corporation is performing, may also affect its decision for corporate accommodation pattern. Shilton and Stanley (Shilton & Stanley, 1999) support that during the life-cycle of a firm the relative importance and cost of information in the production of goods will vary.
4.2.3. Corporation physical space

The evolution in the structure of the tertiary sector corporations is expressed also in spatial terms through the change of the workspace environment. Here is presented a brief historic overview of the workspace evolution since 1950s, as it is presented in the last part of the book “Costs and benefits of innovative workplace design” (Voordt, 2003).

In 1950s the functional organization that characterizes highly the business world is also depicted in the office workspace arrangement. The cellular office is the most appropriate way to respond in this type of organization.

The next generation of offices is coming one decade later in 1960 with the first version of open plan offices. In this workspace arrangement the internal partitions are absent and the interaction between the employees is direct, a fact that increases the collaboration but also the noise levels.

The combi office in the next type of office workspace. This type appeared in 1980s and is based in the invention of the revolutionary personal computer. In the same time the even more rising attention around the human resources performance and communication led to this concept of offices which contribute by its central common area to the informal or formal communication between the employees. In this common area, by placing common functions (photocopy machines etc), the interaction is enhanced; in the same time when in the private offices occupy the perimeter of the building façade.

Today, even more flexible ways of working are introduced, based on the continually increase and role of the communication means. The interest is now orientated towards the optimal use of workspaces according to the time and place schedule of the employees. Meetings in different places than the office are more and more popular, leading to the adoption of a desk sharing concept where different employees are sharing the same space, based on their presence in the office.
PART C: CASE STUDY ANALYSIS

Based on the research structure and the content boundaries which were presented in the introductory part of the study, the analysis of the city of Paris and BNP Paribas is following. The structure of the analysis was presented in the introductory part of the research.

Field: City

Aspect: Policy

Scale: Urban space/Portfolio

Time: Past

Aspect: Context

Scale: Urban place/Buildings

Time: Present

Aspect: Space

Scale: Urban fabric/Workplace

Time: Future

However, due to the large number of dimensions and their subdivisions, the title of every paragraph shows only the theme and the specific topic of it. The aspects time and scale are not mentioned in these titles; although they structure internally the paragraph always according to the structure shown below (example given for the city case, but the corporation part follows the same structure):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past:</th>
<th>Present:</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban space</td>
<td>Urban space</td>
<td>Urban space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban place</td>
<td>Urban place</td>
<td>Urban place</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. City-Paris

Before starting the analysis of the main research components a brief insight is given in the demand supplier of the system: policy, context, place as this is already described in the introductory part of the study. In the case of the city this ‘demand supplier’ is the French state (including the citizens), which establishes the main pillars for the formation of the spatial development of Paris city

5.1. French State

Certain needs and demands are expressed in this organizational level, referring to the educational system, the quality of the health services etc. These are satisfied partly in the spatial environment. Moreover, these demands may refer directly to the urban development field (demand for better infrastructures, building quality, land use zoning etc).

During the study period the national plan of France has as basic vision for the development of the country the achievement of the ‘Metropoles d’équilibre’ (Williams, 1984, p. 39). This concept was adopted in order to orientate the growth away from the Paris region and boost the development of designated areas (Lyon, Marseille, Lille-Roubaix-Tourcoing, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Nantes-Saint-Nazaire, Strasbourg, Metz-Thionville-Nancy), by establishing there, industry, private firms, universities, research centers and in general develop equally the performance of all the policy sectors, in a evenly distributed pattern covering the total of the national territory. The spatial implications of this organizational vision are obvious for the French cities and are going to be furthered analyzed below for the Paris case.

5.2. Paris Development Policy

This paragraph contains two basic topics: the management framework and the actual content of the spatial policy in Paris in the given time periods, for the given scale levels.

5.2.1. The management framework

In the management framework are presented the system of plans and the actors who are taking part in their elaboration. These are parts of the mechanism which organize the production of the spatial policy in Paris region.

THE PLANS

During 1960s is established the current planning and housing system in the country, in order to steer and control the great reconstructing tasks after the great damages from the Second World War, but also the great venue of population in the capital of the country, due to the socio-economic changes at that time. (Williams, 1984, p. 37). In general the national planning system is organized in three basic levels following a hierarchy from national to local level:

PAST

Past – Space

- National plan: This is a framework of regional and local planning, approved by the Parliament and implemented by the prefets. All the sectorial departments (energy, industry, education etc) are involved and the central element is a plan that sets economic, social and physical objectives. It is revised every four years. (Williams, 1984, p. 37)

- Scheme directeur d’amenagement et d’urbanisme (SDAU): It is a strategic policy in terms of major public investment in regional level (urban areas and their close hinterland). It is revised every 20-30 years.

Past – Place

- Plan d’occupation des sols (POS): The urban law of 1967 created the POS which is mandatory for every town over 10,000 people. It is a land use map, including the regulations that are fixed for every plot. The exact contents of this plan are:
  Article 1: Type prohibited land uses
  Article 2: Type of occupation or land use subject to special conditions
  Article 3: Access and roads
  Article 4: Infrastructure (water, sanitation, electricity)
  Article 5: Characteristics of land
  Article 6: Establishment of buildings with regard to the public space
  Article 7: Establishment of buildings with regard to the plot boundaries
  Article 8: Establishment of the buildings with regard to the...
position of each other on the same property

Article 9: Land uses
Article 10: Maximum height of buildings
Article 11: Appearance
Article 12: Parking
Article 13: Public green space
Article 14: The coefficient of land occupation
Article 15: Surpassing the coefficient of land occupation

Planning tools

- **Zone d’aménagement concerte (ZAC):** It is a contractual arrangement between public and private developers for land assemble/infrastructure investment/development based on a comprehensive plan. Within this area it is:
  - Allowed the use of compulsory purchase powers
  - Facilitated the integration of private and public capital

Housing, industrial, commercial and office projects have been realized in major cities all over the country. In the Paris region, two of the most important projects realized using this planning tool are La Defence and the Front de Seine. They were declared from the region and the local authority.

- **Zone d’aménagement différé (ZAD):** It defines an area within which a right to acquire land valid for 14 years is given to the state or to any other public body. As a result within this area if there is land for sale, this must be offered first to the public authority at a price based on existing values. This planning tool is used often for:
  - New towns
  - Protection of rural areas
  - Touristic development

Past – fabric

The construction permit is the lower scale of planning and in the same time the only one that has direct implications on the urban fabric scale level of the city.

PRESENT FUTURE

The basic planning framework remains the same for the next two time periods (present-future) as this is presented analytically above. Some new plans are added in response mainly to the need for greater spatial coherence (e.g. SCOT), however such a deep analysis of the planning system is out of the scope of the research. From the other hand the existing from the past plans went through many content revisions took. During these updates there was also a ‘light’ update of their role, a fact that is depicted also in the change of their titles.

For the future important progress is taking place with the Charte d’engagement territorial that is implemented in municipality level.

The *Charte d’engagement territorial* which is implemented by the suburban municipality of Nanterre aims at coordinating the relationship between the local community and the arriving enterprises. Therefore the municipality calls the new coming enterprises to contribute in the actual development of the local community and economy by:

- develop the employment, integration and training
- promote the development of links with schools, the universities, training centers, local associations and businesses
- develop links with the local fabric of small and micro businesses
- develop links with local trade
- facilitate access to housing of employees
- Assistance to develop the early childhood and infancy
- support the creation of activities
- hire disabled employees and promote the development of links with organizations working for disabled guests
- promote the environment and fight against climate change
- contribute to the maintenance of the quality of life
- get involved in local sporting and cultural life
- develop information and communication

THE ACTORS

Who are the responsible for the adoption of a certain policy/plan and who are asked to give their consultancy/opinion? Is the private sector or its representatives taking part in these negotiations? The answer to these questions is important in order to understand the relationship between corporations and the city of Paris in an organizational (formal) level.

PAST

In general, during the last decades (after 1981), the planning process has been through significant decentralization, allowing the local expertise (professionals/politicians) to have greater influence. However, the financial and legal control stays always with the central government. (http://www.developpement-durable.gouv.fr/-Sur-le-territoire-.html)

Apart from the public offices that are responsible for it, there are ‘28 agences d’urbanisme’, which are advisory planning agencies, supporting groups of communes in the preparation of spatial plans, studies and policies. They are funded by central and local funds, but they don’t have any jurisdiction in the final decision – making process that is exclusively in the hands of the local politicians. Some of the basic planning partners are shown in the table below according to the area of their influence (next page)

Reaching the lower scale level, the building unit the local public technical offices are the main representatives. The construction permits and the allowances for any type of intervention in the urban fabric are provided by the public employees who are responsible for the implementation of the above presented plans. Moreover, due to the fact that some of the accommodation needs are satisfied through the provision of non-spatial services, e.g. services of shuttle bus etc, in the local public services are included various sectors.

PRESENT

There are two important changes concerning the actors who are taking place in the spatial planning decision making procedures. The first one has to do with the decentralization of planning authority towards the lower levels of administration. In this way the ‘state; which was involved in every scale level of planning, now is deteriorating its jurisdiction. The second basic change is the increase of the number of actors. More actors, who are coming from more disciplines/fields participate in the decision making process.

Table 2: The planning system in France since 1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban space</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Schéma directeur de la Région Île-de-France (SDRIF)</td>
<td>Plan Local d’Urbanisme (PLU)</td>
<td>Plan Local d’Urbanisme (PLU)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schéma directeur de la Région Île-de-France (SDRIF)</td>
<td>Plan Local d’Urbanisme (PLU)</td>
<td>Charte d’engagement territorial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban place</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plan d’occupation des sols (POS)</td>
<td>Zone d’aménagement concerte (ZAC)</td>
<td>Zone d’aménagement differe (ZAD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plan d’occupation des sols (POS)</td>
<td>Zone d’aménagement concerte (ZAC)</td>
<td>Zone d’aménagement differe (ZAD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban fabric</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plot development standards (POS)/construction law</td>
<td>Plot development standards (PLU)/construction law</td>
<td>Plot development standards (PLU)/construction law</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Between them in the urban space (regional level) is also the Chamber of commerce, that is one of the most important representatives of the private corporations in the public development planning.

The same trends continue to dominate also for the future, since the Grand Paris vision is elaborated from various actors.

Table 3: The actors in the urban policy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAST</th>
<th>PRESENT</th>
<th>FUTURE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Urban space</strong></td>
<td>Ministry of environment</td>
<td>Representatives of sectorial interest:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central government</td>
<td>General council of IdF</td>
<td>- &quot;Agence Régionale de Développement Paris Ile-de-France&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefecture</td>
<td>Chamber of commerce</td>
<td>STIF, Le Syndicat des transports en Ile-de-France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General council of IdF</td>
<td>Regional council of economy</td>
<td>L’Atelier International du Grand Paris et des Projets Architecturaux et Urbains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipal authorities</td>
<td>City ministry</td>
<td>- &quot;Chambre de commerce et d’industrie de Paris (CCIP)&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Urbanism agencies</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>- &quot;Le préfet de région d’Ile-de-France.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Ministre de la Ville: Maurice Leroy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Association des Maires de Ile-de-France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Paris Métropole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Urban place</strong></td>
<td>Municipality/EPCI</td>
<td>Municipality/EPCI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central government</td>
<td>Regional council IdF</td>
<td>Regional council IdF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General council of IdF</td>
<td>Municipality</td>
<td><strong>Urban fabric</strong></td>
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<td>Municipality</td>
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<td>public technical offices</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>public technical offices</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
COLLABORATION WITH PRIVATE ACTORS

As a general conclusion from the previous review of the spatial development tools and the stakeholders who take part in this policy formation, is that the position of the private sector is very weak – almost absent. The decision-making bodies are evolved internally in the public sector by the decentralization of the responsibilities from the central towards the local authorities. Concerning the collaboration with the external environment of these bodies – the private sector, some progress in this side is noticed during the last years, initiated during the elaboration of the ‘Le grand Paris’ project.

PAST

Since the beginning of the spatial policy establishment, the decisions were taken exclusively by the central and a bit later, the local public bodies. There is no official negotiation scheme between the public and the private actors. The different activities (private sector) are located on the urban space based on the following logic, as this was described by Audry J.M. during an interview in 21/03/12: ‘Ce n’est pas l’urbanisme de la municipalité qui a fait partir. C’est des raisons économiques, des pris des locaux. On avait un cadre favorable pour les mouvements des entreprises. Ce n’est pas une décision publique que les banques soit partir, mais le pouvoir régional a créé un cadre avec les nouvelles centralités des bureaux et d’activités qui étaient favorable pour des mouvements de décentralisation’. The role of the public side is to provide the new activities poles (always according to the general guidelines of the spatial policy). However, it is not the public sector who will decide on the location of the private activities, but the market mechanism. This means that the private sector decides where to locate, based on its own criteria.

Although there are no negotiations at least in urban space level, there is a kind of communication between the public and the private actors. In fact, the only moment when the public actors are involved in the (re)location process of a private corporation is in its last stages. By last stages, is meant either the moment before the installation of the company, or even after this is already done. This depends on the type of relocation, for instance if the private corporation will use pre-existing buildings of the area or if new buildings need to be erected. In the first case the private corporation needs the support of the local public authorities for practical issues of the already established unit e.g. start a shuttle bus line if the location is not well connected to the transportation network.

In the second case the interest in concentrated around the urban fabric scale. Here, the public sector has a greater power over the negotiations, since the private corporation having the role of developer (of its own buildings) needs the building permission that is provided by the local municipality. From the other hand in this second case the private side has a certain power as well, since having already a certain capital to invest, it is able (interested) in taking advantage of the competition that (may) exists between the different municipalities (or group of municipalities), in order to get the best offer and achieve the optimal deal for its accommodation.

PRESENT

The urban developers of Paris, but also the private corporate world are already aware of the fact that an efficient scheme of collaboration, concerning their location plans/strategies, will result for both in a greater optimization of their performance. As a matter of fact, in 2007 IAURIF made a research titled “La reorganisation des sieges sociaux et des activites tertiaires centrales des grandes entreprises-principes et pratiques, consequences sur l’evolution spatiale en Ile-de-France’ in which after identifying the current situation of replacements of large corporations, gives certain conclusions and advises both for the contribution of the public and the private sector to these urban scale changes.

Actually, there is some progress towards this direction. In 2007 during the revision of the SDRIF there is a new stakeholder evolved in the decision making process who bring closer the private and the public sector. This is the ‘chamber of commerce and industry’ which is responsible to convey of the private sector demands to the public planning bodies. Concerning the place and fabric scale the conditions and decision making mechanisms haven’t changed during these years.
The same study provides the public urban developers with certain advice in order to strengthen their position in the negotiations with the private sector in the future. Based on the recent trend of the planning system to decentralize the decision making process, giving more responsibilities and juridical power to the lower in the hierarchy administration units (Region, departments, municipalities etc), it is underlined that, by doing that beyond a certain grade, there is a possibility to increase the competition between the different territories, strengthening in this way more and more the position of the private sector in the location decisions, as it was described above.

Moreover, it stresses the need for a better informed and updated public committee on the sector of the office market and tertiary sector needs, so that they have actually the ability to attend the decision making processes of the private parties. In fact the last advice given by this study is already implemented, not by the public committees of the municipalities but from the independent public (or semipublic) urban offices. These offices by being close to the private corporations, they are able to communicate their needs, when a certain plan is designed or revised. For instance, during the last revisions of the regional and local plans it is apparent a certain contribution of sectorial authorities (chamber of commerce, Conseil économique et social régional), by giving their opinion on the plan, which obviously enhance the inclusion and respect of several non-territorial aspects. As it was presented above in the case of the last SDRIF revision, these bodies, while they don't have any juridical power in the final decision making process, their contribution is highly respected within the committee for the urban plans, fact proven by the stop the revision procedure in this case.

The planning system supports the elimination of the distance between these two bodies (public-private) based on the recent establishment of the Charte d'engagement territorial, which provide a platform of communication between them.
5.2.2. Policy content

After this general overview of the French planning system, it is very interesting to have an insight in their actual content during all these decades. By mentioning the basic visions and goals, adopted in the above presented plans, the logic of Paris development of Paris in organizational level is explained.

PAST SPACE: VILLES NOUVELLES

The decades after the second world war there is an important wave of people who immigrate to central Paris in order to take advantage of the local economic development. In order to avoid a future disequilibrium, the main vision adopted in every scale of the development plans was the decentralization.

1965 SCHEME DIRECTEUR D’AMENAGEMENT ET D’URBANISME

In regional scale this vision was expressed by the creation of new towns “villes nouvelles” in the ‘grande couronne’ of Paris region. In order to do that, many of the productive activities, like universities, research centers, but also the housing of medium and low density, is directed towards the periphery of the central Paris (new towns). (picture 3)

SERVICE SECTOR

Due to the problem-driven approach of the above regional plan there are some important future development aspects which are omitted at first. As Christian SAUTTER (prefet de region IdF) supports in one of his interviews in 1991 (Thiriat, 1991) the initial plans of SDAU ‘forgot’ to promote the development of the innovative at that time tertiary sector…. This omission was corrected in the first revision of the same plan in 1970, when tertiary development poles were added (picture 4, in red) in the peripheral municipalities in addition to the CBD of Paris. One of the most important poles was this of La Defence where was concentrated all the public investment interest.

(http://www.driea.ile-de-france.developpement-durable.gouv.fr/documents-cartographiques-du-a968.html#sommaire_1)
TRANSPORTATION

The infrastructure projects are of great priority, since the success of the above described multi-pole development is depended almost exclusively on the existence of connection networks. Many important projects are programmed during this period for the public but also the private transportation like: Ring road, RER, Metro lines, TGV (picture 5).

PAST PLACE: FUNCTIONAL DIVISION OF LAND USES

1977 PLAN OCCUPATION DES SOLS (POS)

In accordance with the regional plans and the effort to control the unexpected increased occupation of the Parisian land, the POS aims at organizing in a rational way the land uses of the 20 arrondisments of the Paris city but also of the suburban municipalities.

As a matter of fact, the goal of this plan is to keep the economic activities in the core of the agglomeration whereas the residential land uses (zone UH) in the perimeter of this pole. Further, these two distinct categories of land use are divided into further subcategories. In the central core there are two specific poles, one of economic activities (zone UC) and one of commerce (zone UA). From the other hand the residential land uses are divided into three categories which represent a different density scale. (picture 6)

PAST: FABRIC: BIGGER FABRIC VOLUMES IN THE SUBURBS

For central Paris the COS: coefficient of land occupation, varies between 0.5 which is given in the commercial as well as to the low density residential areas and 3.5 which is given to the central buildings which (aim to) host economic activities.

There is no available information on the exact suburban fabric standards of this period. However, these seem to be higher in in certain areas there, since there are buildings with significantly bigger volume.

(Zandbelt & Vandenberg, 2004, p. 9)

(APUR, 2001, p. 29)
PRESENT—SPACE: LE GRAND PARIS VISION

Despite the important infrastructure networks, which were realized during the past period, there is still significant disequilibrium, due to the functionalistic concept of land uses allocation. Opposing to this past approach, the city is now trying to diffuse its functions in the places where these are missed (picture 7). The model of mixed land use or else called ‘compact city’ development that suits the best the modern urban life standards is represented by the current urban plans proposals for ‘Le Grand Paris’ vision looking forward to 2030. This new urban vision for Paris: ‘goes for the more but in the same time by being more responsible’ (Schippan, 05/04/2012), as it is underlined from an urbanist of MVRDV which is one of the ten offices participating in the laboratory for the vision establishment.

SERVICE SECTOR

Concerning the future of the tertiary poles in IdF the challenge follows the central development vision of intensification and compact city movement. Consequently the diffuse of the employment poles in all the territory and in any way the change of the functionalistic approach of the previous periods is of central interest.

Special attention is given to the East part of the territory, since based on the previous development this area was the less promoted in tertiary sector activities (picture 8).

TRANSPORTATION

Together with the directions given in functional level, several transportation projects are programmed, in order to connect better the region and especially the peripheral areas to each other (picture 9). In the following picture the basic project of the new express metro lines, reduces significantly the travel time within the departments of ‘petite – moyenne couronnes’.

Picture 7: The compact city vision depicted by MVRDV

(MVRDV, ACS, & AAF, 2008)

Picture 8: Expansion of tertiary sector activities /east priority

www.paris.fr

Picture 9: New metro network in the outer rings

(Societe du Grand Paris, 2012, p. 7)
PRESENT—PLACE: MIXED LAND USES IN THE CENTER. FUNCTIONAL APPROACH IN THE SUBURBS

2012 PLU: CENTRAL PARIS
The basic aim is the promotion of the mixed land use development. Therefore, there is a promotion of economical activities in the eastern part of the city, in contrast with the western part where the basic guideline is the protection of housing (picture 10). By that is aimed to improve the profile of the eastern Paris and bring the same urban vitality standards in those excluded at the moment residential areas, which were formed in the past.

2012 PLU: SUBURBAN PARIS
Regarding also the PLU plans for the suburban municipalities, although, most of them have been recently revised, it is observed that they do not abandon the functionalistic approach of the past (picture 11).

PRESENT - FUTURE- FABRIC

CENTRAL PARIS
The policy-rules applied on the urban fabric evolve in this period. Concerning the COS coefficient a global ratio equals to 3 is applied in the city, but this is variable according to the different construction cases. As a matter of fact he areas mentioned as protection of residence (PLU) have a COS of 1, which results in the decrease of the building volume.

The maximum height in the central Paris must be below 25 meters, whereas there are certain areas where the heights may reach the 37 meters.

SUBURBAN AREA
In the suburbs the situation is not changing much from the previous period, when there was already a greater construction freedom at certain extended areas compared to central Paris.
5.3. PARIS URBAN CONTEXT

The composition of population, the education, the workforce, the transportation networks, the location of different urban functions on a certain territory etc. are factors which give a certain character to the city in all its scale levels. Talking in terms of the urban development scheme, which were presented in the research structure part, the content of these factors represents the ‘supply’ side of the ‘system’. According to the demand, the policy-makers will check for defects and improvement space in this supply side (context content). In the case of mismatch between the demand and the supply, certain changes are proposed on the content of these aspects which later are reflected on the physical environment. These aspects are:

- demography (population)
- socioeconomic characteristics
- Land uses
- technical infrastructures
- Land market

The aim here is to have a basic indication for the quality of life level in certain areas of Paris. The areas were chosen under the scope of center-suburb comparison, based on the beforehand information of the new suburban locations of BNP Paribas. This targeted selection of places was necessary because the conclusions that are expected to be drawn from here are specific as well. The zones selected are shown in the picture below:

- The northern zone which covers the following communes (direction west-east): Ruel-Nanterre-Puteaux-Courbevoie-Levallois Perret-Clichy-St.Ouen-Aubervilliers-Pantin, a small part in the north east edges of Paris city (arrondisments 18-19) and Montreuil
- The central zone which covers the arrondisments 2 and 9.

The analysis is based on data provided in already realized studies that were found on the websites of APUR, IAU, CROCI. Since an extensive analysis of these aspects in time and scale terms is out of the scope of the current research, during the analysis are given certain aspects of these factors and in certain time snapshots, which are able however, to express the general trends and conditions. These snapshots are related in the text to the above presented policies, in order to understand whether these conditions are the result of the policy implementation, or a stimuli for new demand (from the city of Paris side).

The chapter is divided in two main parts. In the first part titled “Urban context factors” are analyzed the aspects mentioned previously:

1. Population analysis
2. Socioeconomic analysis
3. Land use analysis
4. Transportation infrastructure analysis
5. Land market analysis

Each one of these paragraphs contains more subparagraphs, depending on the focus points in each case. The paragraphs, subparagraphs are organized in the time frame. As far as the space scale concerns, the content (statistical data) of all these factors is provided in the municipality level, with the exception of some spatial data which are given for smaller areas within the municipality (group of urban blocks).

In the second part titled “Urban context assessment”, the above factors are correlated to each other, based on the assessment framework presented in the theory part. The aim of this assessment is to compare the different city places (center- suburbs) based on the quality of life indicator.
5.3.1. Factors

**POPULATION/LOCATION**

**PAST**
During the period 1975-1999 the population of Île-de-France department is increased by 1,000,000 habitants, which was absorbed from the outer ring, due to the implemented policy of ‘new towns’. In the same time Paris, the center of the agglomeration, but also the its immediate suburbs lost more than 150,000 of its population. This situation is represented also from the selected municipalities. Apart from the municipalities of Nanterre, Puteaux and Pantin which a have an increase of 05-1%, everywhere else the percentages are negative (picture 12).

However, the picture of residential density (picture 13) is not the corresponding with the above population number variances. Despite the population decrease the densities in certain areas of the center remain high. Concerning especially the eastern part the densities in most of the areas exceed the 300 habitants/hectare ratio, in contrast with the central area and the immediate suburbs where the densities are between 100-300 habitants/hectare.

**PRESENT**
In contrast with the previous period, during 2000-2010 the population of Paris and its immediate suburbs has an important increase (picture 12). This increase of the population is better represented from the suburban municipalities, since the growth there surpasses the 1.5%. In the center of Paris the population growth is weak, with certain arrondisments having even a negative percentage.

In general no important changes are observed in 2009 compared to the previous period since the density levels in the different locations remain more or less the same.

**FUTURE**
The population projections show the ‘dominance’, of the suburban areas over the central Paris (scheme 9). The future decline of about 200,000 habitants in Paris and the parallel boost of the suburban population, in almost proportional numbers, confirm the trends of the previous periods, but also the current spatial vision of ‘Grand Paris’ compact city.
Picture 12: Population increase in suburbs

Entre 1982 et 1999

Entre 1999 et 2006

Moyennes :
• Paris = - 0,1 %
• 1ère Couronne = + 0,1 %
• Cœur d’agglo. = + 0,1 %

INSEE

www.iau-idf.fr

Picture 13 : Population density 1999

Scheme 9 : Population evolution 1975-2040

INSEE
Socioeconomic Profile

The evidence on the socioeconomic profile of the different areas is coming from the percentage of managers and high skilled professionals in proportion of the total employed population. The data are collected for the year 2008, but also for the evolution of this factor during the years 1999-2008.

Past

In general, based on the evolution between 1999-2008, the west suburban municipalities have the greatest increase in this type of employees (picture 14). This fact may be related to the general decentralization vision of the city and the economic activity of the local area and the recent accommodation of corporations in the suburban area.

Present

In 2008, there is a great distinction between the east and the west suburban municipalities concerning the availability of this professional group. As a matter of fact, the west side gathers a great percentage of these people since at some cases, like in Neuilly the percentage exceed the 50% of the local employed population. In contrast in the east side, the ratios are really low being usually less than 10% of the local population (picture 15).

In the central zone the percentages are in general higher, since more places have a percentage over 40%, however, here again is followed the degradation towards the eastern part, where lower ratios exist.

Future

The same trend are expected to be followed also in the future since the general urban vision supports the spread of the tertiary sector functions, where these people are occupied
SPATIAL PROFILE

For the spatial analysis a general overview of all the urban land uses is done initially. Additionally, due to the specific interest in the economic activities the land uses of offices and commerce are analyzed separately and more in depth, concerning their evolution during the last decades.

GENERAL LAND USE ANALYSIS

PAST

Before 1980s the north immediate suburbs are characterized by the intense presence of industry, which consume important part of the land. Apart from some parts on the north side where this particular land use dominates, this rest of the suburban ‘arc ‘presents some mix of collective and detached housing and industry. From the other hand in the central zone there are important mono-functional areas devoted to collective and individual housing (in the east and west parts) and only in its center there is a core of service sector, with a certain mix of land uses in its edges (picture 16).

PRESENT

Almost 30 years later the land uses haven’t changed at least as far as their location concerns. The mixed areas continue present the same structure. Only a few mono-functional areas present some degree of transition towards multi-functionality. Beyond the land use structure however, this area is been through a great qualitative transformation during all these years. The industry, following the global economy context, was replaced in a great percentage by the tertiary sector (scheme 10).

This trend characterizes almost exclusively the suburban areas, since the industrial activity was traditionally located there. There, the transition of the industry into offices is more intense in the west side than in the east, where still there are important cores of industry. The only exemption is the area of Pantin in the east side, where the Industrial activities gave some of their space for the accommodation of housing.

As far as the central zone concerns, there are not important changes. The traditionally devoted to services activities core, called CBD, continues being highly character-ized by the presence of offices. From the other hand the west suburbs which used to be highly dominated by individual housing, nowadays present some differentiation with the increase of the office activities there as well.
Picture 16: Location of various land uses during 1980s

Scheme 10: Hectares of land use loss/gain 1980-2010
OFFICE LAND USE

PAST

Following the urban policy guidelines of decentralization, many tertiary poles were formed in the inner but mainly in the outer ring of Paris. La Defence office area in the west immediate suburbs of the city, symbolized, in a way, the start of this new tertiary sector era, during which the production of offices was fueled. In 1975 the office portfolio in Paris had already 23.5 millions of m² (ORIE, 2007, p. 15).

The crisis of 1975 had as a consequence the slow down in the production of offices, which continues straight after the recovery from the crisis in 1985, having as main receptor the west immediate and distanced suburbs (table 4) (Boiteux-Orain & Guillain, 2004). During 1991-1999 the majority of the construction activity is realized in the city center mainly in the areas QCA, Montparnasse and Paris Rive Gauche.

PRESENT

The total evolution of office space during the previous decades result in the formation of certain tertiary poles in the center and in the suburbs. There are 20 tertiary poles (picture 18) which according to their dynamism and their distance from the center these poles are distinguished into major, intermediate and secondary poles.

During the first half of the decade 2000, the interest is turning again towards the suburban area. As a matter of fact, during 2000-2005 there is a development over 20% in the North-East area of Paris periphery, in the same time when the already major poles of the previous years have a lower development (0-5%). (picture 19)

Even with this differentiation in the development rates certain poles remain the dominant tertiary sector centers in absolute numbers. As a result Paris has the highest concentration of offices, since it accommodates almost the 33% of the total office surface in the region IDF. The department Haute de Seine that covers the west immediate suburban zone of Paris and contains the major office pole ‘La Defense’ is the second in the ranking of the m2 of office surface.
Table 4: Increase of tertiary activities in the inner and outer ring 1978-1997

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1978</th>
<th></th>
<th>1997</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>Inner ring</td>
<td>Outer ring</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>Inner ring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>26.78</td>
<td>41.04</td>
<td>31.35</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>23.35</td>
<td>34.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-tech industry</td>
<td>27.00</td>
<td>40.49</td>
<td>24.52</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>15.50</td>
<td>42.03</td>
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<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>46.46</td>
<td>33.47</td>
<td>20.07</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>14.10</td>
<td>44.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport, utilities, and communications</td>
<td>24.57</td>
<td>45.77</td>
<td>29.65</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>31.75</td>
<td>30.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale</td>
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<td>30.65</td>
<td>18.73</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>21.61</td>
<td>44.67</td>
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<td>Consumer services</td>
<td>47.44</td>
<td>28.35</td>
<td>24.21</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>41.10</td>
<td>27.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance, insurance, and real estate (FIRE)</td>
<td>76.96</td>
<td>16.05</td>
<td>6.99</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>59.72</td>
<td>20.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business services</td>
<td>59.29</td>
<td>25.65</td>
<td>14.46</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>37.02</td>
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<tr>
<td>Public services</td>
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<td>33.78</td>
<td>27.71</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>31.27</td>
<td>34.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>41.14</td>
<td>35.54</td>
<td>23.32</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>32.40</td>
<td>36.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Boiteux-Orain & Guillain, 2004

Picture 18: Main and secondary office poles 2000

(ORIE, 2007, p. 22)

Picture 19: Evolution of office poles 2000-2005

(ORIE, 2007, p. 23)
HEADQUARTERS LOCATION

The headquarters of big companies is a strong characteristic of the Parisian office market. In fact in Paris is accommodated, according to data collected in 2005 almost the 7,8% of the world head offices (headquarters) (IAURIF, 2007, p. 19). The majority of the offices is concentrated in the center and the west of the agglomeration.

Although the area presents an important diversity concerning the type of economic activities, it is a fact that there is certain specialization in industrial corporations. In the pictures on the right is shown the location of the offices for the industry and for the service sector (pictures 20, 21). It is apparent that there is a trend for greater spatial concentration in the service sector than in the industrial, that is in general dispersed in the west suburban wing of Paris. Moreover, concerning the office sector that is of central interest here, beyond the spatial concentration in a smaller radius around Paris it presents also a sectorial concentration based on the different types of businesses. As a matter of fact the banking sector seems to be located primarily within the central core of the city.

Relating the presence of headquarters in the city with the general analysis of the services sector, one more important conclusion derives here. This concerns the eastern part of the areas, where although there are no headquarters accommodated there; these areas are still characterized as service centers. Apparently the type of activity that is taking place there, is supportive (back office) to the decision and execution centers that are located in the center and in the east.
Picture 20: Headquarters location in Paris

(IAURIF, 2007, p. 39)

Picture 21: Location of Headquarters according to type of activity

(IAURIF, 2007)
**COMMERCE LAND USE**

**PRESENT**
The northern suburban zone is characterized by a low presence of commercial activities. There is some activity in the center of the communities but it is really limited space wise and weak. In the examined area there is also an example of a shopping center (of regional interest) that covers the needs in commercial activities for the area of La Defence.

Concerning the central zone, the commercial activity is more diffused comparing with the northern pointed location. Commercial streets exist all over the territory, whereas the center of the agglomeration is characterized as a metropolitan attraction pole (picture 22, in yellow).

**FUTURE**
The observatory of commercial activities in Paris (CROCI) mentions in one of the latest reports that: the dynamism of commercial activities in the immediate suburban areas of Paris is generally positive. Between 2002 and 2011 the number of commercial activities has increased almost 1%, surpassing currently the 106000m². This dynamism was reinforced more since 2008. As a matter of fact the vacancy of commercial spaces has decreased significantly during the same period (-13,8%).
Picture 22: Location of commercial land uses

L’offre commerciale à Paris

Concentrations commerciales
- pôle d’attraction métropolitain
- pôle d’attraction parisien
- pôle spécialisé
- commerce de gros

Voies commerçantes
- rue marché (PLU)
- voie très attractive
- autre voie commerçante

Surfaces de vente
- plus de 100 000 m²
- de 50 000 à 100 000 m²
- de 25 000 à 50 000 m²
- de 10 000 à 25 000 m²

Commerces de plus de 1 000 m²
- commerce alimentaire
- commerce non alimentaire
- commerce mixte (Monoprix)

Surface de vente
- plus de 15 000 m²
- de 10 000 à 15 000 m²
- de 5 000 à 10 000 m²
- de 1 000 à 5 000 m²

Marchés
- marché découvert
- marché couvert

Marchés aux puces
- marché découvert

Équipements commerciaux
- centres commerciaux régionaux
- et grands magasins parisiens

Autres centres commerciaux
- avec hypermarché
- spécialisés

(APUR, 2012a, p. 4)
TRANSPORTATION

PAST-PRESENT

The major transportation infrastructure projects were programmed in the SDAU of 1965 and realized in a great percentage by the end of 1970s. Below is presented the current situation for the private and the public transportation means.

Private transportation

Following a concentric pattern the road network has been developing since the beginning of the study period (1960). The boulevard périphérique is the first ring that surrounds the central area of Paris and apart from being the limit between the urban and the suburban territory, it offers them a certain level of connectivity. In addition to boulevard périphérique a network of radial axes is spread towards the rest of the region offering faster accessibility from the suburbs to the center. More rings were added, while the agglomeration was growing, connecting in this way the more distanced suburban agglomerations of IDF with the center.

Public transportation

The development of the agglomeration was much affected by the evolution of the public transportation and more precisely by the evolution of the rail network. Paris has also very good level of international accessibility with the TGV express trains, which connects the urban center with the rest of Europe.

Although the great projects that were realized during all these decades, there are still certain inequalities between the center and the suburban areas. One important indication in this direction is the decreased accessibility of the suburban citizens in the metro network (picture 23).
Picture 23: Level of metro facility services

Google maps
REAL ESTATE MARKET

In Paris the office market is been through important phases of decline but also of growth, which are related to the external environment and the global economy trends. In brief the real estate market is divided into four stages in sequence, which shape the chain of evolution. These are the expansion, the crises, the decline and the recovery.

PAST DEMAND

Center suburbs

The demand of the office space is analyzed by using data from the ‘placed demand’, which stands for the transactions already realized either by renting or by selling. In the first graph is given a general overview of the demand levels for offices<5000m², during 1993-2001 in the three basic areas of Paris office market: Paris (center), First suburban ring (immediate suburbs), second suburban ring. During these years there is an important fluctuation of the demand levels, which in general may be characterized as ‘mirrored’ for Paris and the first suburban ring (scheme 11). By mirrored it is meant that these two areas follow an opposite evolution. The second suburban ring presents a smoother evolution with smaller changes (in percentage).

SUPPLY

Center suburb

The offer is presented for the years 1980-2000. The data available concern the immediate offer and the imminent (future) offer, in terms of construction projects.


Since 1991 there is a gradient increase of the offer in the whole region that reaches its peak in 1994 with more than 4,000,000m² available in the market (scheme 12). This offer stays in high levels for the years of market decline (1995-1996). This offer is located in the periphery due to the previous high construction activity, but also in the center and in the south/north emergent office areas, as it is shown from the new constructions.

Recovery: 1997-2000

The recovery period, brings down the offer volume, which actually reaches the lower level of 1,000,000m2.

VACANCY

The vacancy levels do not differ for the region and the central district. There is a smooth increase since 1986, which is kept in the normal levels (less than 5%) until the beginning of 1990s. However, the period between 1992 and 1996, the percentages of vacant places are in high percentages, which started declining straight after. In 2000 the percentages were very low, following thereafter a more stabilized evolution (schema 13). (CBRE, 2006, p. 15)

PRICES

The rent levels have always been higher in the center of Paris, than in the rest of the areas. The area La Defence and the rest of the west side office concentrations have almost the same rent levels. In general after the low levels which dominated during 1992-1996, there is a smooth increase the next years which turns to be the peak in 2000. The prices at that moment were in the highest level during 1991-2005. After this moment there is a more stabilized evolution towards the present (scheme 14).
Scheme 11: Mirrored demand in center and suburbs

(BIPE, 2003, p. 17)

Scheme 12: Supply 1989-2000

(ORIE, 2000)

Scheme 13: Vacancy

Evolution du taux de vacance en Île-de-France et dans Paris Centre Ouest au 31 décembre (en %)

(CBRE, 2006, p. 15)

Scheme 14: Rent prices according to location

Evolution des loyers “prime” (€ HT HC/m²/an, en fin de période)

(CBRE, 2006, p. 25)
PRESENT DEMAND

Center-suburbs

In general the transactions (placed demand) in 2000 are evenly distributed to the different office surfaces (scheme 15). After 2001 there is a severe decrease of transactions, caused basically from the important retreat of the big office spaces (>5000m²). Since then, the increase of transaction is gradual and it is based mainly in small office spaces (<5000m²).

QCA

The situation is not different from the above presented general picture. The majority of office demand is placed for spaces less than 5000m². However, this situation seems to change the two last years, since there is a trend for greater increase in the demand for office spaces bigger than 5000m² (scheme 16).

La Defence

The demand levels are in absolute numbers lower for the case of La Defence, since these do not pass the 300.000m²/year. Moreover, the situation is characterized by the opposite trends compared with the QCA, since the existing demand is expressed for big office spaces. The greatest decline is recorded in 2001, when as it is also mentioned in the general trends (for Idf) there is very few demand for big office spaces.

West Suburbs

The demand for small (<5000m²) office spaces is also expressed in the wider west suburban area of Paris, according to the data for the two last years (scheme 17). The absolute number of m² of the transactions is in general smaller than in La Defence (and the other areas)

SUPPLY

Center suburbs

For this period a more complete picture is given. The available data present the total offer including apart from the new constructions (as it was the case in the previous period) also the second hand supply, which is also the dominant type of supply during this decade. The offer is increased significantly during these years. From the 1.000.000 m² in 2000, it reaches again the numbers of 1994 with the placement in the market over 4.000.000m².

QCA

The office space supply in QCA is between 200.000m² and 800.000m² during this period (scheme 16, yellow line). There are two peaks, one in 2003 and one in 2010. The low and in both cases decreasing demand, shows that this high supply was not ‘planned’ from the market.

However, these peaks may be explained here by the exit of many financial corporations (mainly insurance/banking companies) from this area during these years.

La Defence

The office space offer here ranges here from 100.000m² to less than 400.000m². There is a great increase during the years 2001-2002, which stays in these high numbers until 2006, when the demand recovers again (scheme 16 right).

VACANCY

Following the declining trend already expressed in the previous period the vacancy rate start increasing after 2007 in order to reach in 2009 the percentage of 7,2% where it stays stable for the next two years (scheme 18).

PRICES

The level of rent prices for the different areas (QCA, La Defence, West suburbs) do not change. QCA continues being at the higher level, while La Defence and the west suburbs are following. Below are presented the variations of these rent levels for the period 2001-2011.
Scheme 15: Demand 2000-2011 according to office space

(BNP PARIBAS, 2011, p. 4)

Scheme 16: Demand and Supply 2000-2011 for central Paris (left) and La Défense (right)

(BNP PARIBAS, 2011, p. 5)

Scheme 17: Demand for west suburbs

(BNP PARIBAS, 2011, p. 7)

Scheme 18: Vacancy rate

(BNP PARIBAS, 2011, p. 4)
5.3.2. Assessment

Due to the low availability of comparable data for the central and the suburban municipalities, a complete assessment of QoL is not possible here. More input is needed in order to produce concrete conclusions. However, below are presented some rough conclusions of the above analyses that may be used as a general indicator towards this direction (pictures 24 & 25).

**LIGHTING:** The sense of lighting for Paris residents was correlated with the existence of commercial activities, but also with the form of the urban fabric. From these two factors only one will be used here in order to get a rough idea of the lighting conditions in the different districts of Paris and its suburbs.

The northern suburban arc of Paris recently (since 2002) presents an important inflow of commercial activities. At the moment there are certain poles of commercial streets usually in the centers of the suburban municipalities. However, the intensity of this activity is still much lower than the situation in the central zone, where the activity has a metropolitan influence. Also in the center the activity is not smoothly located on the territory, since its intensity decreases when exiting the central core.

The difference between the central and the suburban areas, concerning the lighting conditions, is obvious and understandable. The difference of commercial activities availability is significant and thus it doesn't leave any space for doubts. However, since this sector has an important evolution in the suburban areas, it is expected to surpass this difference in the next years.

**DESERTATION:** In order to understand the desertation of a certain place the factors of commercial activities, density and mixity of land uses must be correlated. At the moment, for none of the suburban areas may be argued that the sense of desertation is low, since the optimal combination of the above factors is not found anywhere.

Important role in that plays the low performance of commercial activities. Beyond that the area that presents a relative high mix of uses and simultaneously important density is in the west and more precisely these are the municipalities of Courbevoie and Levallois-Perret. However, it should be underlined that in these cases, despite the mix of uses the economical activities are more than the residential, a fact that creates doubts about the vitality of the area during the night, when these activities stops.

In the central zone of Paris there is a zone which meets all the necessary conditions in order to reassure a low level of desertation. This zone is in the west side of the central area within the 3,10,11 arrondisments. It should be underlined here that the neighboring area within the arrondisments 1,2,9,8, which happens to be the CBD of Paris, is characterized by a significant dominance of economic activities and obviously low residential density rates, facts which despite the important commercial activity, keep the desertation sense of city users in high levels.

As a general conclusion for the level of QoL level in the central and the suburban areas it may be said that one of the most deterministic factors, is the commercial land uses. Currently the immediate suburbs have balance their ratios, residence/employees due to the arrival of many tertiary companies there, however the map of commercial activities reveals the big space of improvement in the field of everyday vitality in the streets of these areas. The really limited cores of commercial functions, which are also the result of the functional approach followed in the local urban plans, are the key for the improvement of this vitality standards in the future.
Picture 24: Correlation of QoL factors for the suburbs

Picture 25: Correlation of QoL factors for the suburbs
5.4. Paris city physical space

PRESENTATION OF PHYSICAL SPACE

During the years 1960-2000 the territory of Paris is increasing significantly. Unfortunately there are no aerial photos available (for free on the internet) from the past, in order to illustrate this evolution from the center to the edges of the agglomeration.

Concerning the place scale, the picture on the right (picture 26) shows the urban fabric development concept that was dominant in the different places of the agglomeration. There are three main categories defined concerning the typology of the urban fabric, which are established in different areas within the agglomeration:

Central area: Dominance of collective housing
Edges of central area: Dominance of HLM
West Immediate suburbs: collective housing
East Immediate suburbs: Mixed housing and HLM

TYPOLOGY OF URBAN BLOCKS

Central Paris

Paris has an important history of architecture which has remained authentic until today (picture 27). One of the basic periods in the development of this historic urban fabric is the decades between 1850-1914. Almost 29% of the current urban fabric was constructed during this period.

Continuing from the last period (19th century), a rational division of plots in regular shapes, forming the typical urban blocks with the inner yards and the increase of the street width (more than 18m), contributes essentially to the improvement of the urban fabric quality level, which was developed under an organic and spontaneous way. From the 4-6 meters that was the average of the width (facing the street) of the buildings during the first period (before 1800) in this period this average has risen to 12meters (APUR, 2011c, p. 6). These new standards have significant positive effect in the lighting and the general ambience of the urban fabric. Another important characteristic of these buildings is their construction in alignment with their adjacent buildings. Today there are many cases where buildings are merged internally or with external bridges, when more space was needed at a certain location.

Another important period in the shape of the Parisian urban scenery is the end of the second world war and the establishment of the high-rise constructions. During the period 1945-1974 it was built the 21% of the current urban fabric of Paris. The well-known internationally: “Grands ensembles” (HLM) having as main scope the secure of sanitary standards (natural lighting, ventilation) which were usually low in the old urban fabric of the center, are constructed in the periphery of the city, but also in the center, replacing symbolically some old and ‘unhealthy’ urban blocks. The building volumes, are rectangular high-rise volumes, located in a free way, within the given block. In contrast with the past period, the urban volumes do not follow anymore the street lines but are allocated according to other more functional aspects like the orientation and the prospects.

This modernist approach won’t last for long. During the recent period 1975-2000 specific laws are implemented in order to ‘reinvent’ the traditional form of the urban fabric. The height of the buildings is again restricted and the occupation of the land is calculated in order to produce the same building volume, as during the period before the end of the Second World War.

Suburbs of Paris

In contrast with the center of the city, the suburban scenery does not have such a long lasting history, since it started developing mainly within the 20th century. Two are the basic types of buildings-building blocks in these areas: the collective houses and the detached houses. Concerning the collective houses, these are mainly modern constructions of great volumes (HLM) (picture 28).
**Picture 26: Typology of urban blocks**

![Typology of urban blocks](APUR, 2001, p. 30)

**Picture 27: Typology of urban fabric in central Paris**

![Typology of urban fabric in central Paris](APUR, 2011c, p. 3)

![Typology of urban fabric in central Paris](APUR, 2011e, p. 3)

![Typology of urban fabric in central Paris](APUR, 2011f, p. 3)

**Picture 28: Typology of suburban buildings**

![Typology of suburban buildings](Google earth)

![Typology of suburban buildings](Google earth)
BUILDING PERFORMANCE

ENERGY PERFORMANCE
The diagram on the right (scheme 19) shows the energy performance of the Parisian urban fabric. The lower performance belongs to the buildings which were constructed between 1945-1975. This group represents the 21% of the housing stock of the city. The reason for this ‘bad’ performance is found in the materials used during this time. The introduction of beton armé in the building production that was not accompanied with the necessary know-how, resulted in this low quality result. It is really interesting to mention here that the old traditional buildings which were constructed mainly by rocks perform well, in comparison with the rest of the groups.

The new modern constructions, due to the development in the field of building technology, present an optimal energy performance, comparing with the previous periods.

SPACE EFFICIENCY
In order to understand/assess the space efficiency of the urban fabric, below are examined the facades and the floor plans of buildings from different periods (picture 29). The division between past and present here do not match with the general time frames followed in this study. Whereas, here it is used in order to define the change in the building concepts towards the modern/functional architectural types. Two building groups are examined. The first group includes the old traditional buildings and the second, the modern types which are introducing after the middle of the 20th century.

The contemporary planning standards are going to be used as a common denominator in both cases. These standards define as efficient building width the 18m, in which 6 m width area on both sides of the building have sufficient insolation for workspaces. The middle zone is used for functions of limited light access such as vertical communications and services and horizontal communications (corridors).

These standards are discussed based on some basic factors. These factors are:

- Insolation
- Circulation

PAST

Flexibility and shape
The layout of the Haussmannian buildings is highly determined by the existing urban tissue and its context. The surrounding building blocks limit natural light and ventilation access to the inner space. At the same time the existing urban structure (city blocks bordered by streets) does not provide any buffer space between the building and the street. In this case there are no possibilities for enlargement of green (public) space, which talking about workspace performance; it has significant contribution in terms of noise reduction and air pollution reduction.

Insolation

Moreover, due to the above presented ‘perimetric’ and ‘continuous’ arrangement of the buildings on the urban blocks, there is a certain degradation in the percentages of insolation concerning the different parts of the floor plan. As a result the areas attached to the external façade are better insolated than those which are located in the internal perimeter.

Circulation

In case of Haussmannian buildings (width of 12 approx.), the space loss for horizontal communications is decreased, in comparison with new building types, since the corridor of the same width serves much less useful space (around 5m of office space).
Scheme 19: Energy performance of buildings according to their year of construction

(APUR, 2011f, p. 12)

Picture 29: Space efficiency in traditional buildings

1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>04. French syndicat of grocery</th>
<th>07. Housing</th>
<th>02. Credit Lyonnais</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

![Image of buildings](image1)

(Lapierre, 2008)
**PRESENT**

Flexibility and shape

In contrast with Haussmannian building stock, suburban areas provide more flexibility in spatial organization terms for the building and for the plot. In case of suburban buildings their structure and shape can be adopted to the current needs of the owner (floor areas, number of vertical communication etc). Moreover, its location inside the plot can provide optimum conditions for natural insolation and ventilation as well as for the location of public (green) spaces in surroundings. This can improve the working climate and create more healthy atmosphere in the inner space.

**Insolation**

With the exception of the constructions in the center of the city, where the existing dense urban fabric do not leave a lot of space for changes, in the suburbs, the central position of the building in the block, gives the opportunity for increase the insolation levels in a typical floor plan.

**Circulation**

The rectangular shapes are used also for the arrangement of the internal space. The vertical circulation, in this case consumes much less space. Moreover, only in exceptional situations when a building is arranged in extended shapes, there is a need for more than one vertical circulation cores.

*Picture 30: Space efficiency in modern buildings*

1970

16. Office building

8. Office building

(Lapierre, 2008)
CONCLUSIONS OF THE SPATIAL/SOCIO-ECONOMICAL ANALYSIS

In life quality terms there are significant differences between the central area of Paris and its suburbs, even if these are in the immediate territory. According to the analysis and comparison of the socioeconomic factors these areas do not reach still the vitality level of the central areas. Many of the aspects that according to the city users, are related to a high life quality level are not presented in these areas. However, during the studied period there was implemented an important transition, which brought ambitious expectations for the future of the suburban area. This transition refers to the change in the type of economic activity as this is defined by the global trends. The dynamic tertiary sector started since 1960 to replace the industrial activity in this area. This new economic profile that evolves all these decades will bring the change in the spatial profile of the area, by adding more vitality. Important indications on this direction are the increase of population density, the increase of the employees quality level, as well as the slow but important increase in commercial activities.
6. Corporation: BNP Paribas

In the past, before 2000 BNP and Paribas were two different French banks. Paribas was created after the merge of ‘Banque de Paris’ and ‘Banque de Credit et de Depot de Pay-Bas’ in 1872, whereas BNP was created much later in 1966 by the merge of ‘Comptoir National d’Escompte de Paris’ and ‘Banque national de Commerce et d’Industrie’. All these organizations/ancestors of BNP and Paribas were founded in Paris after the revolution and the economic crisis of 1848. (BNP PARIBAS Immobilier, 2009, p. 13)

6.1. BNP PARIBAS CORE BUSINESS FIELD

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

PAST

During the past years the organization of the corporation was following an hierarchical structure, the U shape as it was explained in the theoretical part of this study. This was in accordance with the general trends in the tertiary sector by that time. In fact the organization was characterized by the following elements:

- Pyramidal and hierarchical organization
- The traditional bank
- Individual profits and tangible values
- Increase productivity
- Permanent salaries and career paths of linear
- Increasing number of contractors within the company

PRESENT

In 1998 BNP, one of the two banks that two years later, after the merge with Paribas will form BNP Paribas, was mentioned by Canals as an example of universal bank that is turning its organizational structure into divisional model: «each business unit of the corporation turns into a division within the group, with its own management team reporting directly to the group’s CEO” (CANALS, 1998, p. 7)

In fact, in the same article in 1998, it was mentioned that the investment and insurance businesses of the bank are becoming divisions with a certain degree of autonomy within the group, with a mission statement and specific resources of their own.

Fourteen years later in 2012 the activities and business lines of BNP Paribas in Paris are:

- Retail Banking, which includes the following operating entities (RB):
  - Territorial departments
    - French Retail Banking (BDDF)
    - Europe-Mediterranean (EM)
  - Personal Finance (PM)
  - Equipment Solutions (EM)
- Investment Solutions (IS)
  - Asset management
  - Insurance
  - Wealth management
  - Savings and online brokerage
  - Securities services (BP2S)
  - Real estate services
- Corporate and Investment Banking (CIB).

Moreover the core business is organized around nine basic functions of the group

- AFG - Fiscal Affairs Group
- AJG - Group Legal Affairs
- CG - Group Conherence
- FDG - Finance Development Group
More businesses and activities within those catego-
ries are performing under a certain degree of autono-
ymy. Some examples are the real estate department,
the security services, and the asset management
(Grossi, 2012). This important evidence shows the flat
hierarchical scheme under which the corporation per-
forms, not only in terms of different activities
(IS,RB,CB) but also in terms of business lines, since
even these are treated as divisions. The diagram fol-
lowing shows the internal structure for the internal
business lines:

Moreover, in the same direction it is really interesting
to mention the perception of the headquarter’s term
from the team of the bank. This perception which was
expressed by one of the managers of the bank sup-
ports that: ‘that the idea of headquarters is a past con-
cept and that BNP Paribas do not have headquarters in
fact’(Grossi, 2012). As a result all the above depart-
ments/business lines constitute the ‘modern’ head-
quarters perception of the bank.

GROUP VISION

According to the annual report of the bank for the
year 2010:

“For BNP Paribas, the goal of being ‘the bank for a
changing world’ stems from the core values chosen by
the new Group’s top management at the time of the
merger between BNP and Paribas in 2000. These values
are Responsiveness, Creativity, Commitment and Ambi-
tion. They express a desire to:

• create a united global, multicultural Group
• forge a strong, unique identity
• enlist employee support for the corporate mission by
giving that mission lasting sense”

(BNP PARIBAS, 2010, p. 339)

In order to secure and stick to the above values the
organization establishes a lot of actions/initiatives
within the human resources domain like:

• sharing cultures through group academies
• internal communications, a means of promoting em-
ployee cohesion
• group-wide policies”

CORPORATION WITHIN ITS ENVIRONMENT

Based on the theoretical findings, corporations tend
to co-locate in certain areas in order to take ad-
vantage of the agglomeration economies. However,
this doesn’t seem to be the case for BNP Paribas. In
fact the high level of competition and the ‘incredibly
high speed of imitation in financial innova-
tion’ (CANALS, 1998, p. 2) leads to the opposite effect.
The only reason for which an agglomeration with oth-
er corporations would be important, is the recruit-
ment of high skilled employees from them. However,
even this is not applicable in the case of BNP Paribas,

since being the only bank located in the center of Par-
is, is a unique competitive advantage towards the oth-
er firms which are located in less central districts.
There is no need to be close to the other employees/
banks since the employees are already highly motivat-
ed to join the group, even if they have to compromise
a lot their comfort standards due to this unique loca-
tion advantage (Grossi, 2012).
6.2. Corporate accommodation policy

6.2.1. The management framework

**The Plans**

**Past**

During the past years, there was a different approach in the management of the real estate portfolio. According to corporate real estate manager:

“I think that like each big company, real estate function, up to 2000-2003 was a poor function. It was only facility management, day to day management, issues like move from the first floor to the fifth floor and so on. The corporate real estate function arises (in fact in the real estate industry) only 10 years ago. Before, the job was not considered as strategic in France. It was only a tactical job”.

Due to this facility management approach, during this period there are not specific policy and strategic plans in order to steer the exploitation of the corporate property assets. The focus on the current needs, replace the need to perform under a wider and future oriented vision and strategy that indeed they need a certain elaborated on beforehand plan.

**Present**

The above past approach is changing within the time frame of ‘present’, into an organized and coherent planning system which is addressed in each scale level. For the portfolio level, in fact the greater accommodation policy scale, there is one plan called:

‘Schema directeur Immobilier Ile de France’

This plan presents actually the basic concept of the accommodation policy. Therefore, it sets the guidelines for the management of the corporate property portfolio in total, being always aligned with the demands coming from the core business environment. This plan has duration of almost 10 years.

The same plan includes the principles adopted in order to steer the exploitation of the corporate premises. In fact these principles constitute the real estate strategy used for the realization of the above accommodation concept.

For the workspace environment there is a special plan which transfers the content of the above mentioned concept and strategy into the physical workspace level. This plan is called:

“Charte d’aménagement des immeubles de bureau BNP Paribas”

This plan establishes the rules for the work space level by defining the following parameters:

- Defines the distribution of office areas and areas allocated to activities auxiliary,
- Organizes the distribution of zones of partitioned offices and office spaces,
- Highlights the flow management, different areas of activity and the principles of movement,
- Develop a "menu of spaces" responding to different work situations analyzed and regrouping working spaces and support spaces.
THE ACTORS

The actors who are taking part in the elaboration of the corporate accommodation plan are varying between the past and the present. As it is also presented on the planning structure the facility management approach during the past years had as a result the involvement only of the facility manager in the decision making process. Of course, when the decisions were concerning important changes in the accommodation supply of the corporation (e.g. relocation of departments etc.) the CEO of the group had to design the basic concept of approach. However, the approach is changing in recent years. The actors who are taking part in the elaboration and the decision-making process of the above schemes are coming from all the four quadrants of the basic CREM stakeholder’s scheme theory (scheme 20).

As a matter of fact, based again on what was mentioned in the interview with the corporate real estate manager, the following stakeholders form the accommodation policy, strategy and rules of the corporation:

Policy maker/Portfolio level: chairman of the corporation

In general the chairman has certain responsibilities within the group, amongst which is to:

• promote the values and image of BNP Paribas, both within the Group and externally

Based on this jurisdiction the chairman is the main and only actor who takes the final decision on the general accommodation concept that will be adopted by the corporation.

Controller/Building level: IMEX (Immobilier d’exploitation et Logistique) department

This department belongs to the function “Information Technologies and Processes” (ITP). It is divided into six activity groups. In fact, in this department belong all the actors who are involved in the corporate real estate management, from the real estate aspect.

• Management of property assets/heritage (gestion du patrimoine)
• Safety of persons and property (securite des personnes et des biens)
• Finance

Technical managers/ workspace level: IMEX (Immobilier d’exploitation et Logistique) department

• Operating services and logistics (services exploitation et logistique)
• Group of engineering and real estate production
• Human resources and information means

(Grossi, 2012)
COLLABORATION WITH THE PUBLIC SECTOR

PAST-PRESENT

The facility management approach during the past had as a result the communication of the two sides (corporation-city developers) only in the last stage of the process, as this is described in the corresponding part of the Paris-city analysis.

In the present, although the corporation has adopted a more strategic approach, the negotiations do not change at all. In fact, there is no negotiation direct or indirect taking place with the urban planners/developers of the city, in the stage of decision making for the accommodation strategy of the corporation (Grossi, 2012). This large multinational corporation admits that there is no interest and need from their part to be in contact with the city, during such a process.

FUTURE

However, the situation seems to change in the future, since based on a recent announcement for a new group of office buildings in the west suburbs, the corporation has signed a Charte d'engagement territorial with the city of arrival (Nanterre). By this charter the corporation is committed to contribute in the actual development of the local community and economy by:

- Develop employment, integration and training in collaboration with the public office of employment and training of Nanterre
- Develop links with the local small and medium businesses
- Facilitate access to housing for employees
- Develop assistance to early childhood and infancy
- Promote the environment and fight against climate change.


This public initiative is a big step towards the effective and efficient collaboration of the corporation with the public sector. The corporation has to be aware of all the parameters of the local community, supporting in this way the elaboration of a more complete and coherent, with its spatial scale of reference, accommodation policy.

6.2.2. Policy content

PAST

The facility management approach lead to the adoption of incremental accommodation strategies, from both organizations (BNP and Paribas). Being located in the center of Paris, their portfolio is growing according to the specific needs in terms of location, buildings and workspaces. Undoubtedly the most important event reaching the end of the 20th century and the end of this first study period is the merge of BNP and Paribas. This unexpected big volume of the newly emerged portfolio, created a demand of control for the corporate property portfolio: ‘the merge of BNP with Paribas in 2000 was the first event that brought significant changes’ (Grossi, 2012). By that time ‘the main buildings for BNP and Paribas were in the center of Paris’ (Grossi, 2012).

PRESENT

The location of the head offices, changes radically during this decade. The established flat hierarchy of the bank which support the independent function of the different departments and moreover the idea that the headquarters are not applicable anymore for such big-size companies, lead to the expansion of the property portfolio in the periphery, towards the new urban poles provided by the city. The added value aimed through the CREM is presented in the following main priorities, as these were explained during the interview by M. Grossi:

PRIORITIES OF ACCOMMODATION POLICY

Risk management

The first priority given was the protection of the core business activities, mentioned also as risk management. As a consequence the primary concern of the organization is the spread of the core business ‘tools’ (e.g. buildings) and data in different locations in order to protect them from any kind of natural disaster (e.g. fire). It should be underlined
that this risk management is not expressed in real estate terms. The bank owns the 65% of its occupied property portfolio. This fact that shows the important links of the corporation with the local market and the concept of a stable presence of the firm in the various city areas.

**Provide easy access of employees in their workplace**

The accessibility of the employees to their workplace (bank premises) by public transportation is another criteria for the location of the corporate premises.

**Optimization of cost /quality of space ratio**

The rationalization of the corporate asset portfolio in terms of financial costs and qualitative benefits is the second priority given, when a location strategy plan is elaborated. During the interview the term cost was mentioned always in function with the relative level of space quality that can be obtained with that. So this priority represents the effort of the organization to find the right balance between corporate needs and costs.

This attitude towards these two aspects is highly related to the history of the accommodation strategy of the bank and in the same time to the recent trends of the modern economy as these are expressed through the needs and preferences of the employees. An example is given here in order to make clear what is mentioned above: The corporation is traditionally headquartered in the center of Paris and precisely in Opera district, where is still located one of the functional poles of the corporation. In this pole the majority of the buildings are of poor quality and their cost is rather high in comparison with the other (suburban) poles. However, there are two important reasons which maintain its importance:

**Branding**

The first reason is its highly respected address. The location in the center of Paris is a political choice, based mainly in the ability of this place to offer a certain branding and identity characteristic to the corporation.

**Retain professionals**

The second reason is the current preferences of the high skilled employees to work in a vital urban place. In fact during the interview it was mentioned that:

‘this specific location has a unique power since is able to attract high skilled employees, who are even willing to compromise and ignore the poor quality of the workspaces there. A proof for that is their refusal to move in the provided new modern premises of the corporation which are located, however, in the suburbs’.

**Provide innovative workplaces**

Despite the unwillingness of a part of employees to move out form the centrally located premises, the corporation does not quit the priority of providing innovative modern workplace conditions.

From this small but fundamental for the organization example, it is proved that indeed there are several factors which are above the financial cost factor, in the hierarchy of the priorities when forming a real estate strategy.

Trying to put all the above information in a hierarchical scheme and present the priorities of the organization for the formation of an accommodation strategy:

- **Controlling risk:** Risk management
- **Raising production:**
  - Accessibility for employees
  - Retaining employees
- **P/R marketing:** Branding
- **Changing culture:** Innovative work-space
- **Reduce cost:** Optimization of cost / quality of space ratio

In general there is not any officially stated alignment between the group policy and the accommodation policy. Both exist and are implemented, apparently, independently. However, despite this lack of official statement, it is proved above that the real estate sector is aligned and thus it serves the catholic profile of the bank.
In respect of the above policy guidelines the official accommodation policy-concept of the group in Paris is presented in the following picture. The “Paris metro-plan” as this strategy is called is actually the way in which the above presented organizational structure, but also the policy priorities of the organization concerning its physical existence in space, are implemented during 2009-2016 (picture 31).

Basic element towards the realization of the above accommodation concept is the Prohibition to take additional space in Paris CBD. This is happening due to the fact that in the past the total portfolio of the bank was located in the center. Therefore, this restriction aims at bringing the balance between the actual situation and the future goals. In fact as it is shown in the picture below (picture 32), more than 9000 workplaces is planned to be relocated from the buildings in the center of Paris, towards the new office poles in the suburbs.

Concerning the above policy and how this is translated in the workplace level the “Charte d’aménagement”, defines the following, basic goal and qualities:

Harmonize, standardize, and organize the various workplaces and furniture to minimize the internal reorganizations and to promote various work environments in a consistent framework.

Adapting spaces for businesses within an evolving organization

Create spaces which combine socializing, teamwork and communication

Create adaptable workplaces, promoting flexible working and facilitating organizational change

Pooling of meeting rooms, spaces logistics (photocopying, mail, records, cafeteria space / recreation, etc.).

Develop quality room, acoustics and ergonomics of the workstation

Encourage architectural quality (choice of colors, materials, etc.)

The picture below shows the basic guidelines, aimed to be implemented in every building (picture 33).
Picture 31: Paris Metroplan—CRE vision plan of BNP Paribas 2016

(BNPPARIBAS, 2011, p. 4)

Picture 32: Plan for strategy realization

(BNPPARIBAS, 2011, p. 5)

Picture 33: Central workspace guidelines

(BNPPARIBAS, 2009, p. 13&21)
6.3. CORPORATE ACCOMMODATION CONTEXT

Context of corporate accommodation, is called here the supply check stage for the policy design and implementation. Based on the above presented policy content, due to the fact that for the past period there are no declared policy goals, but an incremental strategy, the interest is transferred automatically in the present period. Considering the policy qualitative priorities and their spatial translation in the portfolio, building and workspace level, below are examined four factors which are the basic indicators for the current corporate accommodation performance within the urban system.

As a result based on the policy priorities:

- Controlling risk: Risk management
- Raising production: Accessibility for employees
- Retaining employees
- P/R marketing: Branding
- Changing culture: Innovative workspace
- Reduce cost: Optimization of cost /quality of space ratio

But also on the spatial concept of this policy, which is the portfolio development in four basic poles the below context factors are established:

- employees (quantity/quality)/location
- functions and m2/location
- accessibility/location
- cost (mentioning the ownership state)/location

6.3.1. The factors

EMPLOYEES/LOCATION

Based on the fact that the total property portfolio of the bank was located in the center of the city the allocation of employees was a matter of building level and not of portfolio level. Moreover, due to the fact that the central core presents a high level of homogeneity, in terms of urban place/fabric quality, this issue had a functional than a qualitative character.

PRESENT

As it was presented in the theoretical analysis, the issue employees/location requires a different approach in terms of CREM nowadays. There is a basic distinction concerning the employees, which has to do with the quality of work that they produce. Therefore, they are divided into high skilled employees and employees of ordinary (back office) tasks.

Certain location quality is capable of attracting high skilled employees and therefore contributing and improving significantly the productivity of the core business. This spatial ‘ratio’ need to be examined for the case of the corporation since one of the basic policy priorities is actually the ‘attraction-retain’ of high skilled employees.

In general BNP Paribas provide accommodation for 42.000 employees. In fact the number of employees is ranged generally in higher level, since there is important outsourcing of projects. However, the attention here is given only in the 42.000 ‘in-house’ employees, which require a certain level of accommodation from the corporation. From this number of workstations almost 1/3 (14.000 workplaces) belong to high skilled employees, whereas the rest are occupied by ordinary and back office tasks.

The picture below shows the allocation of human resources in number of work stations and type of activity, within the different corporate portfolio areas.

It is easily noticed that the central pole has a great variety of functions, compared with the suburban poles which are almost mono-functional (more specialized). Moreover, the number of workplaces surpasses the number of high skilled employees from every department. This fact shows that there is sufficient space for these employees in the central pole (14.000 workplaces) and that they are not accommodated in the suburban poles.
Picture 34: Number of employees according to their activity location

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Departments</th>
<th>Workplaces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RB</td>
<td>10000-20000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIB</td>
<td>6000-10000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IS</td>
<td>4000-6000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General direction</td>
<td>0-4000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back office (ITP)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data taken from (BNPPARIBAS, 2011, p.6)
LAND USES/LOCATION

**Past**

There are several reasons which led the bank to occupy this specific location. First of all, all the business activities were located in this area due to the limited surface of the urban agglomeration by that time. Furthermore, especially concerning the banks an important activity which happened to be located there performed as a magnet for this sector. The ‘Palais de Bourse’, the stock market of Paris was situated in the street ‘rue Quatre Septembre’ in the Opera district and was an important financial activity for the banking sector. Moreover, given the great development and importance of the transportation means of that period, the location of basic train stations in a small distance from this part of center of the city, was one more important advantage. All these reasons led to the growth of a significant cluster of financial institutions, since until the end of the 20th century all the major institutions of this sector, but also all the major services for this business (lawyers, accountants, etc.) were agglomerated there.

**Present**

The situation is changing radically in the next period, since the majority of these institutions, due to their increased volume quit the central cluster. Similar is the situation also for BNP Paribas, which moves part of it central offices in the suburban municipalities. Therefore, the map of the land uses which surround the corporation buildings is changing consequently. In fact there are three main types of building location which characterize all the portfolio buildings. The first type is the location within the mono-functional areas in certain areas of the city. Three examples correspond in this typology: Rueil, St.Ouen and Montreuil. In all the three cases the corporate offices are located within areas, where the only function is the tertiary sector offices. Even the rest of the central activities (commerce, leisure etc) are usually away for this ‘inclusive’ district of offices.

The second type is the mixed land uses, in which the corporation offices are surrounded by various central activities of the city. There are two examples in this category. The first one is the central core, where the corporate buildings are surrounded by the central activities of the city and the second one in the group of offices in Levallois which also are not isolated by the rest of the city functions (commerce, education, leisure etc).

Finally the third type of office location appeared the last years and it is the private office parks of the corporation. At the moment there is only one example of this type of office development and this is in Pantin. Such type of office parks occupy important land surface where the corporation accommodates internally all the necessary auxiliary functions (restaurants, leisure etc.). In the case of Pantin this park is isolated from the rest of the urban functions of the area, since as it is shown also in the picture below there are many physical boundaries like railways and road networks.

**Future**

The last presented typology of office location is adopted also for the future office relocations of the bank within the next few years. At the moment are known only two examples of such developments of office parks in suburban municipalities: one in Nanterre and one in Paris Nord-Est. In both cases similarly with what was presented above the corporate offices are located within privet plots, being isolated from the surrounding functions and city environment.
Data taken from (BNPPARIBAS, 2011, p.6) & www.paris.fr

Data taken from (BNPPARIBAS, 2011b, p. 6-8) & www.nanterre.fr

Data taken from (BNPPARIBAS, 2011b, p. 6-8) & google maps

Data taken from (BNPPARIBAS, 2011b, p. 6-8) & google earth
In the past, due to the concentration of the corporation buildings in the center of Paris, where the total territory is highly served by the public transportation means, it is assumed that the level of building accessibility was accordingly high. Obviously, the situation was not that good concerning the private transportation means, since the car parking places in the dense urban fabric of Paris are scarce. However, the main concern when the term accessibility is mentioned is the provision of easy access by the public means.

Today, when actually the accessibility level is one of the main declared policy priorities, due to the recent relocation of some activities out of the traditional portfolio pole in the center of Paris, there is a certain differentiation in the service levels. It is easily noticed that the quality of public transportation access in the suburbs is lower, than in the center, since there are cases where the closest transportation node is more than 500 m away from the facility. Moreover, the types of transportation means or even the lines (metro lines) are limited (picture 38). From the other hand those areas are comparatively better served from the private transportation networks, since they are close to the high speed axes of the city and moreover include usually their own parking facilities.

New office poles are planned to be realized in the coming years, based on the current policy vision and strategy. These poles are located in the suburban area (based on the policy presented above it is forbidden to acquire new buildings in the central pole). There are examples of presentation of these new office poles, where the attention paid on the accessibility by public transportation has main role. Below is presented the example of Paris Nord-Est office pole, which is planned to be realized in 2012 (picture 39).

Based again on the fact that the portfolio is concentrated within a small radius in the center of Paris the variation of rent prices, do not create any important differences in terms of financial cost.

The situation is changing significantly since some activities are relocated outside the central area. At the moment there are already shaped the basic office poles as these are defined in the accommodation policy map. The diagram below (scheme 21) shows the cost variation of the different poles. The central pole has the greatest cost/m2 ratio, while the prices are in general decreasing moving from the center to the suburbs (La defense, Paris NE) and from the west to the east (Rueil, Montreuil)

Scheme 21: Average office costs according to location

Coût total / m²
Moyenne : 918 € / m² SUN

(BNPPARIBAS, 2011b, p. 13)
Picture 38: Level of accessibility with private means in different office poles

CENTER

WEST

NORTH

EAST

Google maps

Picture 39: Paris Nord-Est office pole public accessibility

Google maps
6.3.2. *The assessment*

The context assessment, concerns in the case of the corporation as well the comparison between the central and the suburban space (location of the corporate buildings). The comparative advantages of the central pole are here as well remarked. Considering all the levels of approach (accessibility, functions, facilities etc) the central buildings seem to be more attractive workplaces that the suburban cases. More indications however, are coming from the physical space, which are going to make this picture more concrete.

6.4. **CORPORATE PHYSICAL SPACE**

**PORTFOLIO**

*Past*

Based on evidence coming from the interview with M. Grossi, the portfolio of both BNP and Paribas, were located in the center of Paris. Due to their long history in the Parisian banking industry, these two institutions were occupied prime locations in the heart of the Parisian agglomeration (picture 40).

*Present*

The merge of BNP and Paribas in 2000, had as a result the creation of a big property portfolio in the center of Paris. Soon, due to the significant need to align the core business of the two institutions many buildings were quitted and in general there was a great demand for the rationalization of the property portfolio. Therefore, during the years 2000-2012 there is an important exit of activities in the immediate suburbs (picture 41). However, the central core remains still the bigger activity pole.

- Zone 1 - Rueil : 7 immeubles - 94,903 m² (15% de la SUI totale)
- Zone 2 - La Défense, Levallois, Saint Ouen : 8 immeubles - 87,130 m² (13% de la SUI totale)
- Zone 3 - Quartier Central des Affaires : 33 immeubles - 266,523 m² (41% de la SUI totale)
- Zone 4 - Paris Nord Est : 6 immeubles - 112,589 m² (17% de la SUI totale)
- Zone 5 - Montreuil : 6 immeubles - 92,837 m² (14% de la SUI totale)

*Future*

New locations are added in the portfolio the next years. The majority of them are found within the existing suburban poles. The role of these new premises is to gather the workspaces, which are spread in several buildings in one. (picture 42)
Office surface >600,000m²

Data taken from (BNPPARIBAS, 2011b, p. 6-8) & Google maps

(Grossi, 2012)
BUILDINGS

PAST 19TH CENTURY – 2000

Center

During this long past period the property portfolio of the bank was located in the center of Paris and more precisely in the financial district of the city in Opera area. After the merge of BNP and Paribas in 2000 it is assumed that the portfolio of the new bank BNP Paribas increased significantly within this pole. Since these data are not available below is presented an approximation of the situation by demonstrating the premises which are still occupied but also these which were recently vacated after 2009 in order to transfer the activities in the new poles in the suburbs.

Concerning the main characteristics of the buildings in this central pole, almost all of them belong in the category of Haussmannian buildings. As it was presented above (city analysis part) this specific type of buildings has a limited height that is lower than 8 floors (25m) and moreover, the urban blocks are organized based on a concentric pattern. Given the above height and volume restrictions the central urban fabric in general has lower space capacity than the suburbs, where there is significant freedom. Despite that fact the flexible legislation for the historic urban fabric preservation allows important intervention and refurbishment in the interior space of the buildings, having as a severe obligation the preservation of the external façade. As it is shown in the picture on the right (picture 43), there are cases of corporate buildings which where connected with external bridges in order to satisfy their demand for more space at the certain location.

PRESENT 2000-2011

Suburbs

Based on the multi-pole accommodation policy of the bank which is decided during this period, there is an important extension of the property portfolio in the suburban municipalities. There are important poles in the North East and in the West immediate suburbs. Three are the basic types of accommodation: in mono-functional areas, in multifunc-

tional areas, in private office parks. However, despite the locational characteristics the common element of all these poles is that these are formed from new modern buildings (picture 44).

FUTURE 2016

New poles are planned for the future in the suburban area.

A new trend is already revealed since the end of the previous period concerning the type of office poles. As a result in contradiction with the previous years and concepts, instead of choosing the portfolio buildings from the existing building stock of the market, the corporation undertakes, or just participates in projects, where the redevelopment of a certain piece of land is programmed (picture 45). In this way there is a better controlled allocation of the business in the urban context, since the land uses and the context characteristics are defined before the startup of the project. One example of a future project, which the corporation has already placed it in the future accommodation pole, is the ZAC zone, in the North East immediate suburbs of Paris. This project includes the construction of housing, commerce, public equipment, leisure activities and offices. However, in case when these context characteristics are not predefined there, this type of accommodation may present certain negative aspect such as the isolation of the corporate activity from the rest of the urban activities and of course the local development.
New type of office clusters

Data taken from (BNPPARIBAS, 2011b, p. 6-8) & Google maps

Modern buildings in the suburbs

Data taken from (BNPPARIBAS, 2011b, p. 6-8) & Google maps

Traditional buildings in central Paris

Data taken from (BNPPARIBAS, 2011b, p. 6-8) & Google maps

New type of office clusters

Data taken from (BNPPARIBAS, 2011b, p. 6-8) & Google maps
WORKSPACE

ENERGY PERFORMANCE

Concerning the energy efficiency, the corporate buildings follow the ratings, mentioned above for the total building stock of the city. Therefore the buildings of the central city pole due to their age and the high quality building materials which were used by the time of their construction have a slightly lower energy consumption rates than the suburban modern constructions which have to optimal performance. However, concerning the new standards in the mechanical apparatus for the indoor environment quality, in terms of heating and air-cooling, the old buildings have a lower performance than the new premises which were actually designed in order to provide such facilities.

SPACE PERFORMANCE

Insolation

Haussmannian buildings have good insolation only from the outer perimeter of the building. Natural light access in the inner space from the courtyard is limited and cannot provide good working environment. Therefore, considering the sample of the corporation floor plans and their functional arrangement, the majority of working places are located on the street side of the building, while rooms adjacent to the courtyard are devoted to functions, where permanent staying of people is not essential. For instance vertical communications, storages, and meeting rooms are located around the courtyard.

Circulation

In case of Haussmannian buildings (width of 12 approx.), the space loss for horizontal communications is decreased, in comparison with new building types, since the corridor of the same width serves much less useful space (around 5m of office space).

Present

The traditional buildings from which the portfolio used to be formed in the previous period, do not respond to the contemporary workspace standards. Because of new standards in the indoor environmental quality, but also in the communication networks (ITC) new mechanical and electrical networks need to be installed in the majority of the cases. According to the architectural team of the group this is an easily tackled problem, since the big floor height of these buildings leaves some space for the creation of suspended ceilings and false floors, where all these installations are installed.

Additional to the traditional buildings which are one big part of the property portfolio, new modern premises are added recently, which are the main discussion topic here. However, some efforts are taking place recently for the improvement of the old premises as well. In general the buildings of Haussmannian type do not leave much space for improvement of the space efficiency performance, considering a reasonable financial investment. As a result the efforts of the facility management team apart from some fundamental big scale interventions concerning the technical installations, for the space efficiency performance are deteriorated in furniture ergonomic studies and in general small scale changes (add/remove partitions).

Space efficiency

For the space efficiency in the case of the corporation buildings is applied what was mentioned for the Paris urban fabric part.

Insolation

In the new suburban type of buildings which were added in the property portfolio during the last years, the inner space has natural light access which is sufficient from both sides of the building. This implies more (double sided) and more efficient workspaces.

Circulation
In the case of the modern buildings the space loss for corridors and vertical circulation is diminished because it serves two sides of the building and thus more useful area in total.

Picture 46: Office setting in Haussmannian buildings

IMEX plans

Picture 47: Office setting in modern suburban premises of BNP Paribas

IMEX plans
PART D: CASE STUDY SYNTHESIS

The general aim in this part of the study is to detect possible synergies or/and conflicts, in policy, context and/or in physical space level between the city of Paris and BNP Paribas. In this part of the study the above information for both fields is presented in a rearranged way so that these are correlated and thus comparable. The following model is used as a guide to explain the way of examination here. In the center are put the three basic aspects: policy, context, physical space for which basic conclusions are going to derive in this part. Moreover, after having a complete picture from the correlation of the case study information this is going to be related also to the theoretical part that was analyzed in the beginning. Therefore, in the end of this chapter the case studies conclusions are assigned in the general level.
7. Case study synthesis

7.1. POLICY
7.1.1. The framework

PLANS

During this period the spatial development policy of the area is organized, establishing a series of plans, as these are presented in the tables below according to their scale of reference. From the other hand the corporation does not adopt any similar (at least official) framework of plans and the management of their accommodation demands are approached only in the lower: fabric/workplace scale and by a day to day facility management logic.

Table 5: Synthesis-the planning framework evolution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAST</th>
<th>PRESENT</th>
<th>FUTURE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>BNP PARIBAS</td>
<td>PARIS</td>
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<td>Incremental policy</td>
<td>Schéma directeur de la Région Île-de-France (SDRIF)</td>
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<td>PLACE/BUILDING</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plan d’occupation des sols (POS)</td>
<td>Incremental strategy</td>
<td>Plan Local d’Urbanisme (PLU)</td>
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<td>Zone d’aménagement concerté (ZAC)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zone d’aménagement différent (ZAD)</td>
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<td>FABRIC/WORKSPACE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plot development standards (POS)/construction law</td>
<td>Facility management</td>
<td>Plot development standards (PLU)/construction law</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the urban planning system has not changed significantly (only revisions and some small restructures), the corporation, in contrast with the previous period, provide a series of plans, which are highly aligned in terms of scale of given guidelines.

More opportunities are given to the private public negotiations with the establishment of the Charte d’engagement territorial from the public side. In this way a more effective, concrete and responsible dialogue may take place between the two parties.
ACTORS

The actors who are taking part in the policy making for both fields vary in number and type, not only concerning the different scales but also the different time periods. The general trends that are obvious also from the following schemes are (1) the decentralization of responsibilities towards the lower authority levels (2) the increase in the number of actors.

PAST
SPACE/PORTFOLIO

For the city side, the state and the regional authorities are contributing in the elaboration of the regional development plan for IdF. From the other side, the day to day facility management approach was executed by the facility manager. However, since at some points there is a need for strategic decisions, these were taken by the CEO of the corporation.

PLACE/BUILDING

The contribution of state in apparent also in the place scale plans, were land use and more detailed technical issues are addressed. For the corporation the actors who are dealing with building scale issues are the same as in the previous scale.

FABRIC/WORKSPACE

The local public offices are responsible for the implementation of the building law. By local public offices is meant the public office of urbanism and local development, but also the offices of the other sectors which provide services concerning the accommodation of various land uses in the territory, e.g transportation facilities etc. For the corporation, the facility manager is responsible to deal with issues in the workspace level.

PRESENT
SPACE/PORTFOLIO

In contrast with the previous period, more actors are involved in the elaboration of the regional plan, which moreover are coming from various disciplines and authority levels. In the same time more actors are involved also in the elaboration of the CRE policy of the bank. The emergence of the corporate real estate manager who is responsible to ‘provide’ assets which are contributing is the development of the core business. Therefore, in addition to the general manager of the corporation and the facility manager, the asset manager is added in the team for the elaboration of the accommodation policy, in order to defend the issue of added value of the property portfolio.

PLACE/BUILDING

The state actor is also absent from the urban place level, where however, the regional council IdF is responsible for the coherence between the various PLU plans which are defined in municipality level. For the corporation, in this scale the tasks have a more executive character and therefore the role of the general manager (who gave the primary guidelines in the previous plan) is not necessary anymore.

FABRIC/WORKSPACE

The execution of the building law e.g. building permits, accommodation permits etc. is, like in the previous period in the hands of the local public offices. Similarly for the corporation the workspace issues are addressed by the architectural and technical office of the bank, called in other way as facility management services.

FUTURE

There are not expected changes in terms of actors for the following years.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>REGIONAL</th>
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<td>Regional council of economy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNP PARIBAS</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chamber of commerce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Mayor</td>
<td>Mayor</td>
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<td>Urban institutions</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>City ministry</td>
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<td>Local public authorities</td>
<td>Local public authorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Facility manager</td>
<td>Facility manager</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.1.2. Content

**PAST**

The basic concept of spatial/ (accommodation) development for Paris and BNP Paribas is not completely aligned during this period. The decentralization policy concept of the city, which support the development of the ‘villes nouvelles’ in the outer suburban ring of the city and from the other hand the political choice of BNP Paribas to remain in the center of Paris, do not match. However, a conflict cannot be claimed here, since the bank do not support the city development plans but from the other hand it doesn’t put constraints as well.

The decentralization policy of Paris is translated in the ‘place’ scale with the creation of new office poles in the immediate and outer suburban municipalities, in addition to the traditional central CBD. As a result, the policy of central location of the bank is not ‘against’ the city plans, without from the other hand supporting the new challenges and goals (development of new poles), by locating some of the portfolio buildings in the new suburban office poles (picture 48).

The corporation fits in the old existing buildings of the city center. There are cases in which these buildings were erected in order to house in older times the banks-predecessors of BNP Paribas (CNPI, BCEP etc.). In this sense the urban fabric standards do not put many constraints in the supply of certain workspace environment requirements. Moreover, due to the incremental strategy that the bank follows concerning its asset and facility management, there are no (available) stated any special requirements in respect to the workspace standards.

**PRESENT**

The new vision for the city is the ‘compact’ development that is currently applied by the law ‘Le Grand Paris’. In the same time the new accommodation policy of the bank adopts a decentralization concept aiming at spreading its portfolio volume almost equally in four activity poles, three of them being in the immediate suburbs. This relocation of office space from the center of the city towards the suburban municipalities from the side of the bank, supports (unofficially) the general endeavor of the city to ‘fill in the gaps’ in terms of functions which are the result of the great territorial expand during the previous period (picture 49).

The implementation of the above vision in the urban places requires a different approach concerning the functional division of land. In fact, the land use plan for central Paris having as a main goal the equilibrium of the residents/employees ratio in the given territory, provides only some guidelines concerning the reinforcement of the one or the other function, where these are weak. However, the situation is not the same for the suburban municipalities, where the new plans insist in the detailed-functional division of land. As a result, there are given for instance specific office development poles which are isolated by the residential uses. The building policy from the side of the corporation, in general supports/obey in the directions given by the city, in the first case (center) by aiming to decrease the number of buildings in the CBD and in the second case (suburbs) by locating the new premises in the established office areas.

Although the city center urban fabric does not leave enough space for intervention, given its volume but also the architectural value of its buildings, the policy applied in this case is significantly flexible. In this way there is a high level of allowance concerning the renovation and reconstruction of these buildings, which in some cases were demolished completely, having as mere obligation, the conservation of the façade. From the other hand the situation in the suburban areas is different; since there are only few and small traditional cores and therefore the applied policy do not provide any special restrictions. As far as the corporate workspace policy concerns, during these years there is an increased interest for the indoor quality environment provided to the employees. There are officially stated guidelines concerning the allocation of functions within the floor plan, but also concerning the performance standards e.g. in terms of insolation. All these corporate guidelines are not blocked by the policy of the city as it was shown above. However, the cost for such type of interventions is incredibly high and therefore despite the flexible laws, the urban fabric in the center of the city is not easily convertible-adaptable to new space trends.
Picture 48: Location of BNP Paribas offices in relation to the city’s vision in the past

Picture 49: Location of BNP Paribas offices in relation to the city’s current vision
7.2. CONTEXT
7.2.1. Factors

**PAST**

**Population / employees**

During this period there is a population decline in Paris and in its immediate suburbs, in favor of the significant growth in the outer ring departments of Idf. In the same time, as it is also presented above, the corporation is located since its foundation in the center of the agglomeration. Looking more carefully the population statistics, the decline mentioned above concerns as well the arrondisments where the corporation is located (2eme, 8eme). As a result the overconcentration of the corporate buildings in this specific district contributes in a way to the mono-functionality of this area and thus, to its vacation in terms of residents (population) (picture 50).

**Land use / m² of offices**

The basic conclusion from the land use analysis was that the suburban arc was dominated by industrial uses and Paris was devoted to residential uses apart from a the central core, where the tertiary sector functions were highly concentrated. The corporation contributes clearly in this allocation of functions since it allocates its more than 600.000 m² in the Opera district. In fact the CBD, where all the financial activities are concentrated, counts for the 50% of the office space in the central Paris. By that it is becoming even more understandable the importance of this corporation for the composition of this particular urban scenery | (picture 51).

Moreover it should be stressed that the rest of the contributors of this CBD belong to various economic sectors like the commerce the transportation, the construction etc. The major stakeholder being the banks and the insurance institutions this area is a cluster of head offices of all the above mentioned sectors.

**Transportation infrastructure / accessibility in corporate buildings**

The offer of transportation public infrastructures is high in the center of Paris. The same situation do not describe the private transportation networks, since the highly dense city structure and in the same time the concentration of many land uses which represent the traffic generators, create important problems and discomfort in terms of accessibility in the center. The central location of the corporation buildings in great proximity to the public transportation stations, cover the transportation needs of their users in terms of public means. however, the problem in the private network remains unsolvable, since none of these buildings provide parking solutions (picture 52).

**Land market / cost of corporate buildings**

During this period the real estate market completes one total market cycle, getting through the phases of expansion/crisis/decline/recovery. The basic characteristic during all these years is the ‘reflective’ performance of the central and the suburban markets. However, the constant presence of the corporation in the central area and the small scale relocations from one building to the other, in fact do not create any fluctuation in the market. In contrast other institutions (e.g. Societe General) initiate the trend of ‘suburban establishment’, vacating important office spaces in the central area and thus influencing significantly the local real estate markets (center and suburbs).
High accessibility level by public transportation

Picture 50: Contribution of the bank in the mono-functionality of central opera district, shown by the decrease of habitants

Entre 1982 et 1999

Picture 51: BNP Paribas is within the financial cluster of Paris

Picture 52: High accessibility level by public transportation
In contrast with the previous period, during 1999-2006 the population increases also in the central and inner suburban ring of the city. In the same time the corporation after the important merge and the steep increase of its property portfolio in 2000, establishes a decentralization policy, under which big parts of employees are relocated in the suburban areas (picture 53). In fact these relocations occupy an important part of the local employee markets in the suburban areas, shrinking in the same time the participation of the group in the internal employment rates.

In order to understand the real correlation of the city population and the corporate presence in the different locations, it is important to examine as well the commuting percentages. As a matter of fact together with the raise of the employment in certain suburban population there is a parallel increase of commuters (picture 54). It is proven in this way that the role of the corporation is really important for the further raise of the real population growth of these suburban municipalities.

### Land use /m² of offices

The basic characteristic of this period is the conversion of the industrial land uses in the periphery of the city to tertiary sector establishments. In this direction the corporation portfolio with its relocation in the immediate suburbs contributes in this change.

### Transportation infrastructure /accessibility in corporate buildings

The new suburban establishments do not present the same transportation service level, since most of them are not within the dense metro-network. However, the connectivity is based mainly on other modes of public transportation like the RER (and soon the new express train line), which have a suburban character and as a main concept to link these areas with the center. As a result their station network is not that dense, compared to the metro network. Therefore in many cases, there are bigger distances between the stations and the building’s entrance. Form the other hand these type of establishments have an important advantage in the case of the private transportation, since apart from the fact that they are located on the main motor axes of the city, they have also the possibility of car parking places, a need that in the center is covered by the city facilities.

### Land market analysis/cost of corporate buildings

There is one basic trend after 2000 which has as a result the significant change of the office market conditions in Île-de-France. This trend is the exit of many financial institutions, which were traditionally headquartered in the center of Paris, towards the new, peripheral office poles of the city. The direct consequence of this relocation is the steep increase in the CBD office offer (picture on the right) in certain moments. Following this basic trend BNP Paribas is also exiting its old premises in the center and is relocated in new suburban buildings. The result from this relocation was from the one hand the rationalization of the property portfolio of the corporation in financial terms and from the other hand the reinforcement of the new office parks of the city. As far as the central area concern, the consequences were not important since the market itself found the mechanism to fill in the increased offer of vacant space. The mechanism was the division of the vacant buildings into smaller parts (e.g. 2000m²) and therefore the ability to address the high demand for small office spaces. Important proof for the efficiency of this mechanism is the vacancy rates, which stay in general in normal levels (scheme 21).
Scheme 21: The exit of firms from the center of the city is confronted

Picture 53: Relocation of corporate departments and increase of population

Entre 1999 et 2006

Picture 54: Increase in commuting percentages in the west suburban area 1999-2008
7.2.2. Assessment

The composition of the city context factors gave a general indication on the QoL level difference between the center and the suburbs of Paris. The basic conclusion from this very general approach was that the suburban municipalities are still far away from the vitality levels of the center, especially due to the weak commercial activity. In the same time a comparison of the various office groups of the corporation showed similarly the prevalence of the central offices, due to the provision of services. The two examinations are highly related and actually the relative high level of QoL in the center is the basic reason for the high appreciation of the central pole. However, an important focus element is the future of this context correlation-comparison, since based on the current spatial plans of the suburban municipalities (PLU) this situation does not seem to be changed. The functional concepts of land use organization within their territories, won’t promote the increase of vitality, which is actually the strong point of the city center at the moment.

7.3. Physical Space

The city pushes its borders outwards in order to include the ‘villes nouvelles’. In this way the urban scenery is changing in certain places with the production of new type of urban fabric, under the functionality concept. In the same time the corporation follows another location concept by staying in the center, in its traditional old buildings. As a matter of fact the corporation does not contribute in this change of the urban fabric, but on the contrary it adapts its requirements in the existing old building stock.

Past

The urban territory and the urban fabric have already established their ‘new’ concepts. From the other side, the corporation starts expanding and differentiate its building portfolio, being however, always adapted to the available supply.

Present

Based on the few indications available at the moment the attitude of the corporation against the city building stock, is changing, since the accommodation process do not refer anymore to the building level but to the urban plot. In this way the corporation is ‘free to shape its own premises on a certain (usually big) piece of land, creating in this way exclusive islands of corporate land (picture 55).

Future

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<tr>
<td>Context</td>
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<tr>
<td>Physical Space</td>
<td>Dynamic intervention</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
8. Case study—theory synthesis/ reflection

The majority of the theories mentioned in the beginning of this project are verified both for Paris and for BNP Paribas. Paris city is developed during the past by planning new cities all around the main agglomeration, whereas the compact city idea is widely expressed through the newly established ‘Grand Paris’ vision. Moreover, in policy level, despite the fact that the French spatial planning system since the last century has been considered fundamental and its framework has been adopted by many countries (e.g. Greece), today is adjusting to progressive ideas coming from Anglo-Saxon countries (U.S., the Netherlands etc). The ‘organizing capacity’ a term that is defined by the EUR-school introduces the required within the new socio-economic context, entrepreneurial and multi-stakeholder approach in the spatial planning system. The recent establishment of the ‘territorial engagement’ in the municipality of Nanterre proves the progress of the local spatial planning system in the direction of the private-public collaboration for their common future.

From the other hand the corporation is also aligned with the corporate real estate management discipline, introduced in the market during the last decades again from the Anglo-Saxon countries. The rational management of the corporate assets lead to extra added value that is expressed in almost all the aspects of the business cycle inside but also outside the corporation (productivity, branding etc.). The establishment of a new approach according to the aforementioned discipline and away from the old facility management idea is a fact for BNP Paribas the last decade. Although it still grows and there is space for improvement especially as far as the concrete and deterministic incorporation of this management sector in the core business area, there are already the first results from the recent strategic plans which were elaborated under the new idea.

In contrast with the compliance that Paris and BNP Paribas presents with the given theoretical issues, their common interface meaning the ‘corporate location within the city’ presents important differences with the theoretical input coming mostly from US evidence. As a matter of fact, ‘concentration’ is the key word to describe the way many large corporations decide to be accommodated in the cities: either in the center of in the suburbs. The term concentration may be addressed in the internal arrangement of the corporation, leading to the gathering of all the different departments in one single location or even building. It may also be addressed to the external firms, having as a result in this case the conglomeration of firms, from the same or from complementary sectors (economies of scale, scope). Also it should be underlined that there is a growing body of researchers who support the opposite. According to them ‘concentration’ is not a panacea and the demand for innovation and uniqueness keep the different corporations in different locations.

Despite the fact that the accommodation strategy of BNP Paribas was reconsidered during the last decade, when the concentration idea and its derived benefits were already communicated and in a way promoted in theoretical scale, the locational characteristics of the French bank are different. The bank opts for a multi-pole development in four departmental poles in the center and in the suburbs of Paris, away from the popular office clusters of the city (e.g. La Defense) and consequently from other firms. Moreover, given the declaration of their accommodation policy values it is not supported even the latest idea for the innovative-detached firms.
9. Hypotheses answer

Although the main research question and the sub questions were answered extensively and in a clear way in the chapters above, here in the synthesis/conclusion part an answer is given in the two hypotheses, which were mentioned as well in the introductory part.

1) BNP Paribas is not keen on the minimization of costs deriving from the effective corporate real estate management

PAST

For the past years this hypothesis is answered based on general indications available for the corporation and not by using specific numbers. Indeed, after the merge of 2000 when the office surface increased significantly (over 600.000m²) there was indeed much space for rationalization of assets and costs. However, according to the present corporate real estate manager, the main objective at that time was the identity preservation and communication to the local but also to the foreign markets. This message was conveyed in the market through the political decision taken by the CEO of the group, to keep the headquarters in the historic center of the city, where both BNP and Paribas were initially founded. This was a decision highly affected by the recent relocation of other competitors/ex-neighbors to emergent business clusters all around the city and especially in La Defense. Considering that the prices in the traditional city center are always higher than in the rest of the areas, due to historic value, it becomes clear that by choosing the differentiation strategy in the market the corporation automatically declares a low interest for the minimization of accommodation costs.

PRESENT

The situation is changing radically the next years, since cost minimization is introduced in the corporate accommodation policy criteria. The ‘Paris Metroplan’ divide the traditionally unique central pole of the firm in the center of Paris into four poles and locate the three new poles in the immediate suburbs of the city. Besides the need to disperse the business activity into different locations for risk management reasons the idea behind this division was also the rationalization of the accommodation expenses (rents, maintenance, taxes etc). In fact it is aimed to aligne different accommodation costs with different business activities according to their human added value. As a result, back office activities are relocated in the suburbs where the average accommodation cost is almost 30-40% of this in the central pole. Despite the important cost efficiency provided in the suburbs the corporation is still unwilling to fully adopt a decentralization strategy in its portfolio locations. In contrast there is still interest in keeping the central historic and expensive buildings, since these are a unique competitive advantage and capable of attracting high skilled employees. This type of employees who are almost the 35% of the corporate human resources, declare supporters of the city center and its unique branding and vitality and refuse to move out of the Haussmannian offices even if higher working environment is offered in the suburban premises.

M. Grossi: We move people from the center of Paris to Nanterre (back office activities), people are very keen on having a job, so they accept. But from a certain level of business and quality skills is difficult.

2) Central Paris is able and in the same time interested in accommodating such large corporations

PAST

The emergence of La Defense in 1960s by the local public authorities placed doubts in many firms about the ability of the central business district to accommodate large corporations and their increasing requirements in terms of space, internal environment quality, building facilities, branding etc. Indeed by that time there were many relocations from the city center to the high-rise buildings –unique in the Parisian urban fabric– of La Defence, proving in this way the disability of the traditional urban fabric to come up with the high requirements of the modern office space. In addition to that traffic congestion and general car unfriendly local policies (e.g. car parking policy) confirm the reasons of the exit from the central areas. However, BNP Paribas do not confirm this general trend, due to corporate accommodation policy decisions showing that the above consideration
is not widely accepted and that apart from its technical deficits the central/historic urban fabric of Paris is able, due to its unique brand to accommodate large multinational companies.

Interested

The regional and urban plans of the past decades show the intention of the local authorities to direct the tertiary sector activities in the suburban zone of the city, in new designated office poles, in order to support the local development there. La Défense is one of the most popular examples in this case since the local public authorities showed great interest for its realization that was fully funded by the public budget. However, despite the great focus in the suburban areas, the traditional central business district in the center of Paris is not withdrawn from the local urban plans maintaining its dedicated territory there.

PRESENT

Able

The ability of the central historic district of Paris to accommodate the corporate business increases during the last years, since high skilled employees have shown special preference in this authentic and vital part of the city, in contrast with the modern suburban office poles. As a result again despite its poor building quality this city area is capable to attract high ranked employees giving in BNP Paribas a strong competitive advantage over its competitors, who left the area during the past decades.

Interested

The new vision for the compact ‘Le Grand Paris’ city promotes the diffusion of the urban functions all over the territory of central and suburban Paris. In this way similarly with the previous period, local authorities aim to keep a certain level of vitality in the whole urban area. In this sense the city center is interested in hosting such functions as long as they are able to maintain these vitality standards.

10. Conclusions

Case study conclusions

Many important conclusions derive from the synthesis part of the study, where Paris and BNP Paribas were correlated in the given research aspects, space scale and time. The outcome of this correlation demonstrate the synergies, the conflicts and/or the coexistence that characterize their relationship and how this evolve during the time.

PAST: NEUTRAL IMPACT

The constant presence of BNP Paribas in the same location and buildings of central Paris lead to a low impact relationship between the two fields in every scale of each aspect. Examining each aspect separately, the above consideration is presented in all its extent.

For the urban area/portfolio level, it should be underlined that although Paris had a well developed spatial planning system since 1960s, the ‘day to day’ approach of BNP and Paribas in the sector of the accommodation management, resulted in a weak communication between them. In fact there was no channel of collaboration in policy level. Every decision for the city spatial planning as well as for the corporate accommodation was taken ‘in absentia’ of the actors of the other field, who were communicated only about the construction permissions, that is the latest stage of policy implementation. However, despite this weak coordination, due to the lack of a common framework of action (plans, actors) there were no recorded conflicts concerning the spatial vision of Paris and the accommodation of BNP Paribas within it. BNP Paribas after the political decision to stay within the center of Paris, do not contribute actively in the decentralization plan of Paris, without however, putting any constraints in it. The same is verified in every space scale studied in this research, since the corporation do not follow the trends placed on market from the city of Paris (e.g. new office poles) but in the same time it respects the given policy context (legislation). From the other hand due to the location of BNP Paribas in the center of Paris which remained con-
stantly vibrant, the decisions in spatial policy level do not have a significant impact on this part of the city and as a result on the corporation function.

The same ‘neutral impact’ idea is met also in the urban context aspect. There are some cases when the corporation by being passive towards the city policies, participate in negative urban trends. For instance the concentration of over 600,000 m² of its central offices in the city center, that is almost the 1/4 of the total office stock of that period, contributes in the preservation of the mono-functionality of the area and the increase of the traffic problems.

For the urban fabric/workspace level this neutral impact relationship is expressed through the adaptability of BNP Paribas in the ‘poor quality’ Haussmannian buildings. At a time when there was already important supply of new modern offices in other areas of the city like in La Defense, the decision of BNP Paribas to remain in the old traditional buildings reveals the low impact that the historic urban stock has to the corporate accommodation standards and consequently to the accommodation policy decisions. From the other hand the legislation for the preservation of the traditional urban fabric of Paris, is very strict and in the same time very much aware of the new trends and requirements in the indoor environmental workspace conditions. As a result, having as main objective the maintenance of the exterior facades, the legislation is significantly flexible as far as the internal space concerns. Thus there are cases of building which are totally demolished and reconstructed internally. Furthermore a case that belong to BNP Paribas shows the possibility of external link of two buildings with a bridge. It should be underline here that apart from the flexible law, the quality of the urban fabric itself (aligned constructions) gives this possibility. Therefore the corporation do not meet any constraints from the city and from the urban fabric quality itself but the financial feasibility of such projects.

Present: Related Policy Framework

The situation does not differentiate a lot during the last years, although important steps have been done from the corporate side. There are no any synergies or conflicts recorded since 2000 although both fields went through important development. The neutral/positive impact idea, or differently mentioned ‘coexistence’ of both fields characterizes their correlation these years.

The development of a corporate real estate management framework of plans and actors, with a concrete strategy until 2016, opens a communication channel with the rest of the external stakeholders, including the city of Paris. Although there is no official link between the corporate accommodation policy and the city of Paris, this new corporate strategy which defines a portfolio development of four poles, is very much aligned with the compact city development vision for Paris 2030.

As a consequence of the above policy content alignment, the context impact of the corporation to the city and vice versa is positive during these years since there is a consequent accordance amongst corporate and urban context with the former to contribute significantly in the positive/required trends of the city development. For instance the new corporate office poles in the immediate suburbs of the city absorb 1-3% of the local employment rates. These percentages show the great potential of this firm to support the local economy rates. However, in order to confirm the real development brought in these suburban municipalities the commuting rates were research. A comparative presentation of recent data showed that commuters are increased during the last years. That means that few of the employees are also habitants of the same municipality. Consequently, although the presence of the corporate departments in suburban municipalities is a positive step, there is still a lot of space of improvement towards their real development.

As far as the physical space concerns the conditions do not change. The corporation is adapted to the given traditional building stock in the center of the city and the building leg-
islation is supportive to further adaptation of the internal workspace needs.

**Future**

Although the basic spatial plans have already been established up to 2030 and the spatial vision and goals are already presented in the previous years, one very important step has been done in 2012 concerning the way these are going to be ‘realizable’. A new statutory commitment is established from the side of the city (Nanterre Municipality) in order to regulate the communication/negotiation between the municipal (urban) and the corporate demands. As it is called the ‘Charte d’engagement territorial’ declares the municipality requirements/rules which are necessary obligations for the establishment of a corporation there. These obligations deal with urban context factors and especially with the local employment, habitants but also with vitality and more technical issues. This is signed from both parts (city, corporation) and it engage them in an efficient and effective collaboration. Based on this recent step the adoption of this or of similar local policies will establish the dialogue between the city and the corporations in the policy level and ensure a better controlled future for both.

Based on the above progress in the policy level, it is expected that more coherent and compatible guidelines are going to be given from both fields and thus greater positive impact is expected in context level between both sides. However, a more careful look in the physical space level shows that there are some recent indications which create doubts about the success of the above engagements context wise. The recent trend of the corporation to obtain jurisdiction over a big plot of land instead of a building as it was happening in the past, creates a different type of relationship between the city and the corporate physical space, since the latter has a greater power to intervene and change the former. At the moment there are already two realized examples one of which in Pantin, where the corporation bought a big piece of land with five old industrial premises within it, in an area that is detached from the rest of the urban fabric. There, the corporation developed an office campus, including many urban facilities in it like restaurants, gym etc. As a result this corporate campus is not only physically detached from the rest of the municipality but also socially. Additionally to the urban scenery issue that is mentioned above, the mix of uses that is the secret of success in the central area is not possible to happen under these circumstances. Moreover, aspects within the territorial engagement which might foresee contribution to the urban vitality of the area, but also social interaction of the corporate employees with the local community are not possible, due to this inclusive type of office campuses.

Closing this first session of case study conclusions, here it is proven that a legislative enforcement limited in context numbers and obligations might not be adequate. In contrast an idea for a certain vision or goal should be translated in laws, contractual engagements, or compulsory advise concerning also the rest of the system aspects: context, physical space. In the case of Nanterre the compact city vision is implemented locally with the context engagement between the municipality and the corporation for its actual contribution in the local society. However, there is no control mechanism for the implementation of the above engagement from the side of the bank in this case. As it is shown above this may easily lead to misconceptions and unsuccessful policies in practice, with mono-functional areas in the form of ‘gated communities’ to constitute urban barriers and hampering in the end the realization of the compact city vision.

**Research Framework conclusions**

Theoretically as this was perceived during the design of the research framework, the interaction of the city and the corporation systems was defined as ‘the existence of one within each other’ in the context aspect. By that it was meant that the total city system: policy, context, physical space, represents a major part of the corporation context content and vice versa. However, putting this relation-interaction under the microscope of the current case study of BNP-Paribas, this initial ‘theoretical explication’ in fact does not explain in a
complete way this relationship. In contrast it is proven that there are (additional) links between every different type of aspects-components of these systems.

**Past – Present**

In the past the link between the city and the corporation in policy level was very weak. As it is mentioned also in the case study conclusions, the only moment of interaction is the latest stage of implementation, the construction permit. This relationship is really weak since it can be subject to competition threats (the municipality is elastic in order not to loose the corporate investment) and usually it doesn’t lead to successful decisions. In this way the direct interaction is taking place in the context level, where usually the corporation act as a key player. Also their interaction in physical space is weak, but this is a result of the specific decisions taken by BNP Paribas at that certain time. The same scheme represents also the present interaction of the two fields. The corporation is not keen on the collaboration with the city policy makers, thus the weak links are still maintained.

**Future**

The link in policy level is becoming more strong and effective in the sense that actors from both fields are asked to design together, taking into consideration simultaneously the corporate and the city demands. In the same time the interaction is becoming strong also in physical space level, given the trend of the corporation to develop pieces of land with many buildings instead of a single building.

In all the three cases it is noticed that the initial assumption about this system interaction is not totally applicable. Obviously the context is already influenced by the policy and the physical space (directly or indirectly) but there is always a link (weak or stronger) to connect the distinct components. Considering also the qualitative results of this study it may be stated that there should be strong links between the corresponding aspects of the two fields. The participatory planning, in which both the city and the corporation define a common optimal future should become a rule of the game. Further the active participation of the corporation in the change of the public urban scenery may also contribute in a more direct way in the realization of the policy visions. However this is happening only in case that the physical space decisions are aligned and support the certain policy.

**Generic conclusions**

Giving a more general reflection, this study was a chance to understand after all the role of the corporate real estate management in the system of corporations and cities. France is one of the ‘markets’ where corporations have only recently adopted such an approach concerning the management of their property assets. This historic overview showed that the different culture, way of doing business, but also the different ‘historic’ urban scenery, lead to a different approach of the corporate real estate management decisions and tactics compared to what is coming from the Anglo-Saxon evidence. In fact the available theoretical input that is coming mostly from the US counties, where it is already proven that the agglomeration economies factor is (within) the top criteria for the location of large corporations. However, this theoretical input seems to be ignored in this French case study for the banking industry. The greater location policy priorities do instead concern the corporate security, by dispersing the activities in various locations and also the efficient corporate function, by being able to recruit high skilled employees, as well as more practical aspects.

Further research is welcome in order to find out if indeed this type of priorities are adopted only in the banking sector, or if from the other hand this (European) city itself, given the policy and the physical space setting, has a special influence in the priority rankings of the corporations it hosts.

The framework designed for the analysis of this case study may be used in order to investigate more corporations in this city, or even more cities within the European Union, creating in this way a new growing body of literature supplementary to the existing one.
The ongoing practice is evolving towards a positive direction, given the case study indications. However, still it is not reached the optimal level of collaboration between the city and the corporation which will enable the realization of beneficial synergies for both sides. At the moment the greatest effort is taking place in the policy field, where new official engagements are established in the city side, having as main goal the control of the private corporation’s impact. More rules should be added in the game, concerning from one hand the process and from the other hand the content.

In the process domain, starting from the design phase, special focus should be given in the stakeholders map. More incentives and/or legislation should be established concerning the participation of the private sector in the discussion about the city planning. Similarly the role of the urban institutions which at the moment is not active enough in the discussion about the corporate accommodation, has to be reconsidered and/or better established in legislation terms. Concerning the implementation phase there should be a mechanism of to ensure that all the terms and conditions are fulfilled by the corporation across the timeline (checking points).

In the content domain, during the design phase there should be an ‘alignment control’ concerning all the different elements that are taking part in it. In order to avoid non effective policies, the policy goals should be reflected in a proper way in context and physical space goals (and results). The checking points mentioned above in the process domain, have to be applied also content wise in order to reassure the actual policy realization.
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