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How to build stakeholder participation in collaborative urban freight planning

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ABSTRACT

Although freight issues are often the subject of controversy within urban communities, urban freight stakeholders rarely participate in local planning processes. This paper studies how different criteria to ensure actor participation in collaborative processes are practised in urban freight planning in seven Norwegian cities. The authors link different criteria of actor participation to Arnstein's "ladder of citizen participation", and study if the collaborative urban freight arenas provide participants with enough power to affect the outcome of improved planning process for urban freight. Participatory observation of collaborative arenas in Norwegian cities, combined with interviews with participating actors, revealed that knowledge and consensus building allowed stakeholders to reach the fifth step on the ladder of participation. The findings suggest that city characteristics influenced what criteria were most important. One important finding was the need to introduce a tenth criterion 'political and planning anchorage', which seemed particularly important for private stakeholders' participation in collaborative processes. This finding may be of value to local authorities striving to enhance stakeholder participation and include both private and public stakeholder concerns in urban freight planning.

1. Introduction

To achieve sustainable and well-functioning cities the integration of infrastructure with aspects in land use, transport and mobility is crucial (Banister, 2008). However, planning for such well-integrated futures is often confronted with increasingly complex problems rooted in different societal domains, occurring at varying levels and involving a number of actors with dissimilar perspectives, norms and values (Loorbach, 2010). Therefore, legal requirements, community expectations and normative goals based on democracy and participation necessitate a collaborative approach to addressing urban problems (Raynor, Doyon, & Beer, 2018). Within this framework, urban planning struggle to integrate freight and logistics into city development (Cui, Dodson, & Hall, 2015). In Norway, urban transport planning focus on reducing private car travel and stimulate a mode shift to public transport, walking and cycling (Ministry of Transport and Communication, 2017). Planning principles such as integrated land use and transportation planning, compact cities, mixed land use, subsidised public transport, parking restrictions, and road tolls have been applied in order to reach such goals (Muller-Eie, 2018). While passenger transport has received considerable attention from the

scientific community and urban planners, less consideration has been given to urban freight (Browne, Allen, Nemoto, Patier, & Visser, 2012; Gatta, Marcucci, & Le Pira, 2017), which is the focus of this study.

Banister (2008, 2011) states that transport planning must involve all stakeholders potentially affected by or interested in a local environment in order to create an understanding of the rationale behind policy changes. The local authorities' capacity and knowledge regarding how to involve stakeholders in such planning is limited. However, studying the use of collaborative urban freight planning could change this (Bjerkan, Bjørgen Sund, & Nordtømme, 2014; Bjørgen, Seter, Kristensen, & Pitera, 2019; Lindholm, 2013).

Two main approaches have been identified in planning for urban freight transport; (1) integrating urban freight into sustainable urban mobility plans (SUMPs) or other existing local plans (Fossheim, Andersen, Eidhammer, & Bjørgen, 2017) and (2) developing a separate sustainable urban logistics plan (SULP) (Ambrosino et al., 2015). With regard to urban freight this involves both private and public stakeholders from national, regional and local levels (Bjørgen et al., 2019; Cui et al., 2015). Private stakeholders include end consumers, and industry actors as logistic service providers (LSPs), retailers, private developers,

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entrepreneurs, property owners, unions, industry associations, and chambers of commerce. It is therefore important to understand public-private interactions and how to include industry actors in collaborative planning processes (Dablanc & Rodrigue, 2017). Building on Gunton and Day (2003), who identified key design and management criteria for citizen participation in collaborative planning, in this paper we study how these criteria may be practised in urban freight planning. To broaden the scope of collaborative planning, we apply the theory to a situation in which private stakeholders rather than citizens represent the main affected actors involved in the planning process. The relationships among highly diverse stakeholders add complexity to planning logistics activities since each group of stakeholders tends to act differently and seeks to have its own needs maximised (Cui et al., 2015; Macharis, Milan, & Verlinde, 2014). The benefit of understanding groups of stakeholders in urban freight planning is that solutions and policies to be implemented can be adjusted to the needs of those affected, thereby reducing the level of conflict, efficient land use, improved traffic flow etc. Thus, successful implementation of urban freight plans depends on the understanding and acceptance of the users involved in the implementation processes (Banister, 2011; Heitz & Dablanc, 2019).

Although integrated urban development requires planning methods that are adaptable, robust and responsive while also focusing on stakeholder participation (Lindenau & Böhler-Baedeker, 2014) to balance conflicting interests and ideas (Raynor et al., 2018), there has been little focus on whether the views of the private stakeholders are actually heard. To fill this knowledge gap, we therefore link the criteria for collaborative planning to Arnstein's ladder of participation (1969) to examine to what extent collaborative urban freight arenas in Norway provide participants with sufficient power to affect the outcome of improved planning process for urban freight. Increased knowledge about the relationship between those approaches may support innovative tools and methods to improve participation in the planning processes.

The article has the following structure; Norwegian planning system is described (Section 2), followed by a presentation of the theoretical framework of collaborative planning (Section 3), stakeholder participation and a literature review of the existing criteria for participation and the methods (Section 4). The criteria are analysed (Section 5) on the basis of empirical studies of seven Norwegian cities that have started a collaborative process in planning for urban freight before we discuss (Section 6) and conclude (Section 7) on our main findings. The focus of this paper is how to involve private stakeholders that represent the freight industry in urban planning.

2. The Norwegian planning system

In general, national planning systems are structures that support the modern state and its form of democracy (Pløger, 2001) with citizen participation as one of the core values. In Norway, participation in planning is enshrined in the Planning and Building Act (Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation, 2008). Local cities are responsible for municipal planning processes and ensuring their compliance with planning and building legislation with the purpose of creating attractive, liveable, and competitive communities where sustainable urban mobility is considered important.

Citizen participation in planning is given a high priority in the Norwegian Planning and Building Act in terms of general rules for consultations, publicity and information to ensure transparency, predictability and the participation of all affected parties (Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation, 2008; Ringholm, Nyseth, & Gro, 2018). As early as in the 1985 version of the Act, the Ministry of Environment emphasised that 'for the planning, it is an advantage that views can be identified as early as possible, avoiding the process coming to a standstill because vital points of view are presented too late in the process' (Ministry of Climate and Environment, 1985). Since the revision of the Act in 2008, the level of citizen participation has been with guidelines for participation and tools for developing solutions adapted to local needs (Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation, 2014; Vedeld, Bergsli, Millstein, & Andersen, 2015).

Planning participation activities can be initiated by authorities or private actors. The role of market and industry actors has increased their influence in the planning system and in practical planning in the last years (Falleth, Hanssen, & Saglie, 2010). While local zoning plans in Norway were traditionally predominately devised by public authorities, currently approximately 90% of urban zoning plans are initiated by private developers (Falleth et al., 2010). In 2013, 67% of local politicians reported that they were always in contact with developers in early planning stages (Ringholm et al., 2018). Ringholm et al. (2018) state that detailed zoning plan processes tend to be non-transparent and inaccessible, even in cases where some level of participation is documented. The main contents of the plans are agreed upon by public planning officers and the market actors before the public hearing phase (Ringholm et al., 2018). Issues regarding urban freight and delivery solutions are not covered in the Norwegian Planning and Building Act, and guidelines on how to deal with related issues such as unloading/ loading areas, street restrictions and parking access are not addressed. Furthermore, fragmented knowledge and responsibility on the local level, and little dedicated capacity to freight issues make it even more important that industry actors are included, know the steps in planning processes and participate in the early phases of current zoning plans (Bjørgen et al., 2019).

3. Participation in collaborative planning

3.1. Stakeholder involvement

From an overall mobility perspective, measures in freight transport are often subject to discussions, and included in the development and implementation of mobility plans (May, Kelly, & Shepherd, 2006) which combine high levels of cooperation, coordination, and consultation between different local, regional and national authorities. A transparent approach involving all of the relevant actors has to be followed in the development of the mobility plans to ensure user acceptance (Lindenau & Böhler-Baedeker, 2014; Morfoulaki, Mikiki, Kotoula, & Myrovali, 2015). Such stakeholder involvement in planning is often referred to as collaborative planning (Gunton & Day, 2003), an effective planning model that is more likely than other planning models to develop and implement a plan in the public interest. Collaborative planning is a communicative planning concept that emerged in the 1980s and 1990s and that is based on inclusive dialogues (Cullen, McGee, Gunton, & Day, 2010; Innes & Booher, 2015; Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000). The approach consists on involving all those with a stake in the planning exercise (Innes & Booher, 2010) and to reach consensus agreements through negotiations (Bjørgen et al., 2019; Cullen et al., 2010).

Collaborative planning is increasingly used for dealing with social and political fragmentation, shared power and conflicting values (Innes & Booher, 1999). The goal is to create deliberative forums based on 'ideal speech situations' that aim to address uneven power relations (Habermas, 1987). Collaboration among competing stakeholders may expand possibilities without compromising their interests, so that the plans can move forward. The basic notion of collaborative planning is that the authority to develop plans is delegated to stakeholders who engage in face-to-face negotiations and long-term dialogue to reach a planning agreement and seek consensus solutions to common problems (Booher & Innes, 2002; Innes & Booher, 1999). Consequently, since levels of opposition and conflict can be reduced, collaborative planning can be more efficient than traditional planning processes that rely on expert decision-making with limited public consultation (Cullen et al., 2010). Designing and managing the collaborative process is important in order to achieve efficient planning and may be divided into three main phases. First, the pre-negotiation phase focuses on preparation, identifying potential stakeholders and making a framework according to time, resources, principles, and leadership. Second, the negotiation phase may be, for instance, workshops to identify the stakeholders' roles and interests and map potential solutions. This is followed by discussions concerning options, moving towards consensus, and binding the parties to an agreement. Third, the post-negotiation phase achieves the approval of the agreement necessary for implementation and creating a monitoring process to evaluate the implemented solution. Collaborative processes and its phases need of course to be adjusted to local contexts with different challenges and opportunities, as well as with regard to city-specific implementation of solutions (Gunton & Day, 2003).

Advocates of collaborative planning argue that when stakeholders participate and are given responsibility to prepare and develop plans, the plans are more likely to be successful (Cullen et al., 2010; Innes & Booher, 1999). Stakeholder engagement and solving conflicting interests are the key to achieving robust solutions in planning. Stakeholder groups may seek the 'low-hanging fruit' first (i.e. the points on which everyone can agree) but they move on to more difficult issues that take months or years to work through (Innes & Booher, 2015). In addition, agreements reached through dialogue, experience and knowledge that multiple stakeholders bring to the table create greater support and successful implementation compared to plans developed without such collaboration. Stakeholder involvement is often time-consuming (Bjørgen et al., 2019), and furthermore, as pointed out by Ianniello, Iacuzzi, Fedele, and Brusati (2018) reaching agreement may be pointless if their results are ignored or even backfire, which can even create mistrust and hostility. Conflicts are seldom completely removed, although participants can agree on some ways to move forward together on the matters they care about without sharing the same values or interests (Innes & Booher, 2015).

3.2. Level of participation

To consider whether those who participate in collaborative urban freight planning are given power to affect the outcome of the planning process, the classic article on citizen participation by Arnstein (1969) provides a valuable framework. Participation is defined as the redistribution of power when decisions are being made, as indicated with reference to the ladder of citizen participation (Arnstein, 1969). The ladder starts with non-participation on the bottom level and develops until citizen control is reached at the top level, and consists of eight levels or steps named: manipulation, therapy, informing, consultation, placation, partnerships, delegated power, and citizen control. The ladder describes the transition from being informed to becoming involved in decision-making and acquiring real power to affect the outcome of the planning process (Arnstein, 1969; Ringholm et al., 2018). The ladder of participation has been critiqued for its focus on the power relations between authorities and citizens. Another critique is that Arnstein's (1969) notion of participation is devoid of context and, critically, has no means of making sense of the context in which the ladder is used (Collins & Ison, 2009). However, the idea of categorising the levels of participation may be useful as it allows employing a participatory approach regarding a city's ability to cope with involvement of different stakeholders or citizens. Arnstein (1969) argues that when analysing levels of participation, three questions need to be considered: (1) Who should be involved and given the possibility to participate? (2) How much influence and authority should stakeholders have? And (3) how will stakeholders' input form the decision-making process?

Several studies have focused on criteria for participation in collaborative planning (e.g. Gunton & Day, 2003; Innes & Booher, 1999). In this article, we emphasise the criteria that facilitate collaboration with private stakeholders. By combining criteria on user involvement from evaluations of collaborative planning with evaluations of public participation reported in the literature we identify nine criteria derived from theory that can be used to analyse collaborative planning processes. relevant participants (1) in the planning process. This means that all interests are represented and included, preferably early in the process. Hence, the selection and composition of stakeholders is important (Frame, Gunton, & Day, 2004; Gunton & Day, 2003; Innes & Booher, 1999; Laurian & Shaw, 2009; McCool & Guthrie, 2001). The second criterion and an important motivational factor for participation is that the collaboration ensures commitment and keeps the participants interested (2). The third criterion, which is an important determinant for participation in collaborative processes, is that local authorities need to provide sufficient and well-organised management and leadership (3). Clear ground rules, good leadership and effective process management can avoid or mitigate conflict and reduce political and organisational distinctiveness (Frame et al., 2004; Gunton & Day, 2003; McCool & Guthrie, 2001; Walter & Scholz, 2007). As a fourth criterion, for participatory purposes the collaboration needs to generate well-defined and acceptable tasks (4). The purpose of the collaboration and the tasks needs to be clearly defined, accepted socially and politically, and seen as real. Furthermore, the collaboration needs to remain flexible and adaptive to account for differing perceptions of problems and for building trust (Halvorsen, 2003)

The fifth criterion is setting a time frame or restricting the time used (5) for participation in the collaboration to ensure that more stakeholders are involved. It might also be important to provide realistic timelines because different stakeholder groups often have different perspectives in this respect. Sixth the production and exchange of knowledge (6), learning content and information is an attribute that can determine whether stakeholders find a collaboration important and decide to participate. Mutual learning and information can increase the overall knowledge, public awareness and agency awareness of public views (Faehnle & Tyrväinen, 2013; Frame et al., 2004; Innes & Booher, 1999; McCool & Guthrie, 2001; Walter & Scholz, 2007). As a seventh criterion, it is important to seek consensus-oriented collaboration (7) to ensure participation, especially after exhaustive discussions. Such consensus processes can result in structured decision-making and improved quality in such decision-making. For participation, and as the eighth criterion it is crucial to reduce power imbalances (8), inequities and asymmetries between stakeholders. Fairness and power sharing are important motivational determinants for participation. It is important to have equal opportunities in negotiation, shared respect and independence between participants (Laurian & Shaw, 2009; Margerum, 2002). In the collaboration, stakeholders must have similar levels of access to resources to generate a sense of ownership of the work (Gunton & Day, 2003; Halvorsen, 2003; Innes & Booher, 1999). The ninth criterion for participation is that ultimately the collaboration aims to implement a particular plan, policy, or solution (9). The collaborative process can commit to facilitating the implementation of a solution (Faehnle & Tyrväinen, 2013; Laurian & Shaw, 2009).

Participation refers to the integration of stakeholders, groups or citizens in planning processes and policy decision-making. The use of a collaborative approach is important in order to include all relevant stakeholders in the planning process and thereby insuring acceptance (Lindholm, 2010). Due to the complexities of urban freight transport (Bjørgen et al., 2019), involving multiple stakeholders with sometimes competing interests, the collaborative planning process acknowledges that stakeholders must engage in a negotiation process to seek mutually acceptable outcomes (Cui et al., 2015; Kin, Verlinde, Mommens, & Macharis, 2017; Lindenau & Böhler-Baedeker, 2014). To clarify whether the collaborative participatory planning actually provides the participants with sufficient power to affect the planning outcome, we have linked the ladder of participation to the criteria for collaborative planning. The connections between each of the nine criteria and their position on the ladder of participation are presented in Table 1.

Citizen control (step 8) is not achieved through collaborative planning; however, the willingness to implement joint solutions can be coupled with delegated power (step 7) on the ladder. The consensusoriented criterion can be coupled with the level of placation (step 5),

Table 1

The connection between the criteria for collaborative planning and the level of citizen's participation.

No	Criteria for citizens participation	The ladder of participation (step level) Based on (Arnstein, 1969)
9	Aim to implement joint solutions	Delegated power (7)
8	Reduce power imbalances	Partnership (6)
7	Be consensus-oriented	Placation (5)
6	Produce knowledge, learning and information	Consultation (4)
5	Impose time restrictions	Informing (3)
4	Generate well-defined and acceptable tasks	Informing (3)
3	Establish leadership and well-organised management	Informing (3)
2	Ensure commitment and keep participants interested	Informing (3)
1	Ensure inclusion of all relevant participants	Informing (3)

whereas the reduction of power imbalances can be coupled with partnerships (step 6). The production of knowledge and information has some connection to consultation (step 4) on the ladder. The last five criteria relate to informing stakeholders or step 3 in the ladder. The first and second step, manipulation and therapy, are defined as nonparticipation and is therefore not relevant in this paper (Arnstein, 1969). The higher on the ladder, the deeper the level of the citizens participation, or in this case stakeholder participation.

Before we go on to analyse how these different criteria for collaborative planning are applicable in urban freight planning in Norway and whether the private stakeholders in this process are provided with sufficient power to influence planning outcomes, we will describe the data and methods used in this paper.

4. Methods

Urban freight is a crucial topic in the context of collaborative planning research because it affects private stakeholders in addition to citizens who all seek to use the same space and services which are of public interest. Hence, if the criteria for collaborative planning can be applied, the scope of this concept can be increased (Gerring, 2006).

Norway has a planning system that emphasises citizen participation and is thus a suitable context for investigating how the scope of participation in planning can be broadened to include private stakeholders in cases where they are the affected actors rather than citizens. Collaboration between authorities and private stakeholders has been emphasised by a number of other authors e.g. (Browne, Brettmo, & Lindholm, 2019; Lindholm, 2014). For the collaborative arenas studied in this paper, the national research project NORSULP (Sustainable Urban Logistics Plans in Norway),¹ which aims to facilitate local strategies for urban development through developing guidance for the establishment of urban logistics plans in Norway were used as a frame (Jensen, Fossheim, & Eidhammer, 2020). The paper is mainly based on our participant observations in collaborative arenas in seven Norwegian cities in addition to meetings with the local authorities. These seven cities where chosen on the basis of being part of the NORSULP project, as this project seemed to be a particular useful frame for studying collaborative planning in urban freight. The seven cities were considered being a strategically sample by the researchers as key representatives of how urban mobility planning processes in the largest cities of Norway happen. Our observations of this work have provided us with information on how the theoretical criteria for collaborative planning are practised within the area of urban freight. The researchers were part of the NORSULP project and participated in the local NORSULP workshops. The local authorities in respective cities, through the NORSULP project, invited private actors to hear their perspectives and to place urban freight and logistics on the agenda.

4.1. Data collection

The observations were made during one full-day collaborative workshop in each of the seven cities. It is relevant to reflect on our role in providing expertise in planning the workshops together with the local authorities as a part of the NORSULP project. Each local authority was responsible for deciding which stakeholders were invited, how the workshop was organised and whether to link the activity to other ongoing processes. The workshops were designed around two main sections. The first section focused on today's situations, barriers, and challenges. The second section was mainly a discussion among the participants about how to improve the situation and how to overcome the challenges. For the first section there was prepared presentations from different stakeholders.

We acknowledge that our role as researchers participating in the workshops, might have impacted the discussions. However, we participated as mainly as passive observers in order not to bias the results. To guide and supplement these observations, we used previously collected data from semi-structured interviews with twenty participating actors in three of these cities, as described in detail by Bjørgen et al. (2019). In the interviews, we identified what the industry stakeholders perceived as benefits from participating in urban mobility planning, how they would prefer to participate and how they experienced the current situation. Local authority representatives contributed similar reflections. To capture potential contextual differences, we selected stakeholder representatives from three of the seven NORSULP cities (Bodø, Trondheim, Drammen) that were geographically spread out across the country and varied in size. A summary of the data collection is presented in Table 2.

The analysis is based on seven Norwegian cities (Table 3); Bodø, Drammen, Kristiansand, Oslo, Stavanger, Tromsø, and Trondheim, all of which are typical cases of large to medium sized cities in Norwegian or small to medium sized European cities. All in all, we consider the seven cities to be representative for how urban mobility planning is conducted in cities in Norway.

The seven cities are quite similar in the sense that they have taken the same approach to collaborative urban freight planning, as a result of being a part of the NORSULP project, but somewhat different in other aspects such as geographical location and population size. By attending the NORSULP project the seven cities may represent the first stage of the process of integrating logistics and freight stakeholder's in urban planning. This made it possible for us to perform a comparison of the collaborative process, while keeping contextual differences in mind. However, given the explorative nature of this study we do not seek to generalise findings, but rather seek deeper understanding of how criteria for collaborative planning in urban freight can be seen as a valuable tool and means of understanding how to build stakeholder participation in collaborative urban freight planning.

In comparison to Europe the largest cities in Norway are small to medium-sized. The capital Oslo has almost 700,000 inhabitants whereas the other cities studied range from the city of Bodø with 50,000 inhabitants up to the city of Stavanger with 140,000 inhabitants (Statistics

Table	2
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Data	col	lection.
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Year	Method	Cities	Stakeholders
2016	Semi-structured interview	3	20 (13 public and 7 private actors)
Planning mee	etings with authorities to pr	epare loc	al collaborative workshops
2017-2018	Participant observation	7	30–70 participants in each workshop

¹ www.norsulp.no.

Table 3

Characteristics of the case cities studied.

City	Bodø	Drammen	Kristiansand	Oslo	Stavanger	Tromsø	Trondheim
Population (2020) ^a	50.000	100.000	110.000	680.000	140.000	75.000	205.000
Geographical location	North	South	South	Capital	West	North	Mid
Estimated population growth 2040 (%) ^b	16,9	19,4	20,1	21,1	4	8,5	14
Relevant mobility/city program	Smart city	Living city	Mobility	Car free city	Smart city	Think	Greener
	Bodø	Drammen	Kristiansand	life	Stavanger	Tromsø	Trondheim

^a https://www.ssb.no/en/befolkning/statistikker/folkemengde/aar-per-1-januar (Statistics Norway, 2020).

^b http://ssb1.maps.arcgis.com/apps/MapSeries/index.html?appid=59ccdd3707ef4a76bdab47e760e7674a.

Norway, 2020). The estimated population growth towards 2040 varies among the participating cities and depends largely on the size of the region and the surrounding country. The urban density (population divided by urbanised land area) in Norwegian cities are in general low, around 1/3 of the typical European urban density. Urban density is critical in understanding the urban transport characteristics in any city. Low densities are associated with automobile dependence, and higher densities are associated with less automobile dependence and a greater role for public transport, walking, and cycling (Newman & Kenworthy, 2015). These cities being studied gives valuable input how to run collaborative planning processes involving private stakeholders and how to engage them. Thus, the findings presented are transferable to other European medium-sized cities as many urban freight issues seem to be quite similar across a majority of these cities (Browne, Behrends, & Woxenius, 2019).

5. The practice of collaborative urban freight planning

Using the identified criteria described in Section 3.2; Level of participation, we will in the following discuss how the criteria were practised in each of the ongoing collaborative planning processes on urban freight in the seven case cities.

Ensuring *inclusion of all relevant participants* (1) at an early stage in urban freight planning was widely discussed in the meetings with the cities' representatives, although none of the cities achieved this in terms of turnout in the collaborative arenas. Regardless of city context this criterion is challenging to achieve. Predefined groups of private and public stakeholders were invited; the workshops were overrepresented when it came to shop owners and city users, freight operators and authorities at different levels. The shop owner side was often represented through the local chamber of commerce or an interest organisation, which illustrates the challenge to achieving representation even when the issue is considered.

The collaborative urban freight arenas varied in how the criteria of *ensuring commitment and keeping participants interested was practised* (2). Overall, the invitation to participate in such a collaborative arena was in itself positively received among the private stakeholders. Each workshop was attended by 30–70 participants and they were open for further collaboration to achieve sustainable and efficient solutions for their city. It seemed that these actors' interest was sustained by both the information about ongoing plans and projects affecting them, and the prospects of creating a network of stakeholders. Some groups of actors, including citizens, receivers, and real estate developers, were less well represented, which might have introduced bias in the results. In the two cities, Drammen, and Oslo, where the local authorities had not decided on how to use the results, we observed that the commitment to urban freight planning was experienced as shallow by stakeholders.

Organised management and leadership (3) were practised by defining a suitable vision for the collaboration. The analysis revealed that an external facilitator was applied by a number of cities to contribute to the management. In Bodø, Drammen, Kristiansand, Stavanger, and Trondheim an external facilitator combined their competence as mediators with problem-solving methods, and integrated the knowledge held by public planners with the knowledge held by industry stakeholders. However, having such expertise within the cities would probably have improved the collaborative process further, since this would have allowed authorities themselves to guide the discussions in preferred directions.

Explicitly *defining the tasks* (4) was practised among the seven cities with a structured invitation and clear agenda. Operating with well-known and clear targets in the collaborative arena influenced the private stakeholders to prioritise this workshop event. Achieving defined and acceptable tasks was done through prepared presentations and defined group discussions on issues to which the participants could relate. In addition, the planning agenda had time for open discussions that gave the stakeholders adequate opportunities for involvement.

The criterion of setting *time restrictions* (5) on collaborative urban freight planning was not practised in the seven cities. One reason for this may have been that the local authorities did not pay attention to time use as it was early on in the collaboration. Although it is well known that it is of great interest for the freight industry to have a predictable timeline with a defined date for ending the planning process. Another explanation may be that cities that plan for long time perspectives and private stakeholders that plan to achieve profit on a shorter time scale makes the time-restriction criterion difficult to accommodate.

The collaborative arenas, which were designed to facilitate deliberation among stakeholders, constituted a valuable opportunity for the *production of knowledge, learning and information* (6). Hence, the latter criterion was most often practised in all of the collaborative urban freight arenas. The participants in all the case cities expressed that the benefit was that the private stakeholders were given insights into public planning processes, while the public authorities gained insights into private stakeholders' needs, roles, and interests. Ultimately, this generated an increased willingness on both sides to continue the process.

Following from the above-mentioned criterion, deliberation among stakeholders can result in *consensus building* (7) between included stakeholders. However, the criterion of being consensus-oriented was less often practised in the seven cities than the production of knowledge, learning and information criterion. It was only two of the medium-sized cities, Kristiansand and Stavanger, which managed to ensure this criterion. In some of the collaborative arenas, particularly in the two largest cities, a divide between groups of private stakeholders and public stakeholders became visible. Hence, potential personal agendas and certain interests of the involved stakeholders existed rather than universal agreement.

As mentioned in Section 3.1; Stakeholder involvement, several interests are included and hopefully heard in collaborative planning. An important criterion is to *reduce power imbalances* (8) between participating stakeholders early in the planning process. Reducing the power of resourceful industry actors or interest organisations might provide opportunities for less resourceful stakeholders. Having all views represented is of major importance in collaborative planning processes, and with a few stakeholders dominating the collaboration, this perspective is reduced. Hence, it might also be a negative consequence as a result of the reduced inclusion of stakeholders or challenges in seeking consensus-oriented urban freight planning. The empirical findings suggest that this might be a bigger problem in larger cities, such as Oslo, as the interests represented there are potentially more diverse, and the economic impact is often of greater importance compared with in smaller cities.

For private stakeholders to prioritise participation, it is important to aim to implement joint solutions (9). Their input in the collaborative arenas suggests that they tend to focus on specific solutions as for example mobility hubs, dynamic use of urban space or accessibility to curbs, rather than on overall planning. The observations indicated that planning for solutions rather than implementation was the focus among the authorities when initiating collaborative planning. Hence, the criterion of aiming to implement joint solutions as for example an urban consolidation centre was rarely practised in any of the seven cities. Specific solutions as evening and night deliveries are yet to reach local authority's attention, possibly due to limited knowledge and ownership of the freight and logistics situation locally and the topic of urban freight in general. The exception was Tromsø, Oslo and Stavanger, three cities with previous experiences in urban freight collaboration that shifted their attention from general planning to solutions. As in Oslo, there two city hubs^{2,3} are established lately in joint cooperation among the industry and the local authorities. It is worth noting that the studied collaborative arenas were in their start-up phase, which might explain why the focus has not been joint solutions.

Our observations led to the identification of an additional criterion: the importance of political and planning anchorage (10). This seemed to be an important criterion in collaborative planning when private stakeholders are the main affected actors. In six of the cities where this criterion was not practised, we observed that the stakeholders questioned the purpose of the workshop event. During the workshop we observed that participants expressed that political support and link to other ongoing processes, created an impression of political interest in their work. Thus, providing them with an incentive to increase their level of participation, due to that the effort and time use made a puzzle to the city planning. Politicians were only present among the stakeholders in Tromsø. Compared to the other case cities Tromsø is among the smaller cities and this workshop had a clear purpose of establishing a formal network compared to the other cities. The findings suggest that some criteria could be better accommodated at the collaborative arenas and that there were differences between the cities in how the criteria were used. These findings are summarised in Table 4.

In sum, our findings suggest that the criteria for collaborative planning were practised more often in the smaller cities, such as Kristiansand and Stavanger. In those cases, it may be easier to find common solutions through consensus building based on fewer conflicts. The complexity of the urban freight system is reduced in smaller cities because the numbers of interests represented, and competing activities are smaller. In larger cities, there is much at stake for the freight industry and larger economic consequences when reducing the opportunities for deliveries in a wider market, such as Oslo. The findings show that by facilitating interaction between private and public stakeholders, the collaborative planning process increased the acceptance of urban freight as an important part of local planning and that the context of the city influences which criteria are most important.

6. The participatory outcome of collaborative urban freight planning

Although the criteria for collaborative planning are more or less practised when the affected group consists of private stakeholders rather than citizens, they do not provide any information about whether this group of actors is provided with enough power to impact the outcome of the planning process for urban freight. The first five criteria for collaborative planning, together with political and planning anchorage, are considered as information, whereby participants are given little power to affect the outcome and are therefore not discussed in this section. They are mainly important for organising the collaborative arenas and including affected stakeholders when planning for urban freight on a local level (Banister, 2011; Cui et al., 2015).

Our analysis revealed that through the production of knowledge, learning and information (6) participants in the Norwegian collaborative urban freight planning arenas achieved levels of participation characterised by information sharing and consultation through discussions and knowledge transfer. The broad involvement of stakeholders representing a wide spectrum of interests concerning the local city's development created an active arena for dialogue supporting positive relations and trust between actors that do not normally meet. We found that a more diverse group of actors was included in the consultations, which might have made the interests of marginalised or less resourceful actors heard, compared with consultations required by law in more traditional planning processes. The inclusion of a number of different urban freight stakeholders that are competitors was perceived as driver for participation among these stakeholders, as they saw the process as a means to acquire information about future plans. This is also an argument for targeting industry actors that might have limited resources to represent their case as new or for giving additional voices the opportunity to influence outcomes. Overall, the goal of mobility planning integrating personal mobility and freight is to ensure a good situation for society as a whole, which is better ensured when all of the above-mentioned actors participate in the planning process (Cui et al., 2015; Rodrigue, 2006; Visser, Nemoto, & Browne, 2014).

By aiming for *consensus-oriented* (7) planning through participation, private stakeholders with a stake in the planning exercise and an interest in negotiation are given the opportunity to advise and to be a part of the process. The power to decide on final outcomes is still kept within traditional arenas, but to a greater degree it relies on the participation of experts who represent the freight industry. Some of the Norwegian collaborative urban freight planning arrangements achieved placation, although in the majority of cases it was relatively less practised. Consensus-oriented collaborative planning in arenas was often practised by two of the seven studied cities, namely Kristiansand and Stavanger. The variety of stakeholder participation and the framing of the process towards consensus agreements resulted in an improved structure, better decision-making, and city-specific implementation of desired solutions (Bjørgen et al., 2019; Cullen et al., 2010).

At the level of partnership, participants are given some control and power over the outcome of the planning process for urban freight. They can negotiate, discuss and engage in trade-offs with traditional power holders on equal terms (Arnstein, 1969). However, we found there were obstacles to *reducing power imbalances* (8) between actors when industry was not fully involved in achieving this level of participation. None of the participants in the collaborative urban freight arenas often practised the criterion of reduction in power imbalances. There was a tendency for differences between industry actors to have an enhanced status in collaborative processes, since large and more traditional industrial actors sometimes presented their views as a united front to the other participants.

Of the seven cities the small to medium-sized cities seemed more open to innovation and, to a larger degree, more accepting of changes in urban planning. The industry actors in the small to medium sized cities had a more positive attitude towards the sharing of ideas and opportunities as example the establishing of a network arena in Tromsø. This situation can create obstacles to partnerships in that it can reduce the level of trust between participants. Hence, the selection and composition of stakeholders is important for reducing or even sometimes enhancing power imbalances between stakeholders in the urban freight and logistics field. Another reason for power imbalances might have been that local authorities had limited knowledge of urban freight, as found in previous studies (Bjerkan et al., 2014; Bjørgen et al., 2019; Lindholm, 2013). This might mean that they were unable to distinguish lobbying

² http://www.citylogistics.info/projects/evaluation-of-db-schenker-oslo-cit y-hub-lessons-learned/.

³ https://elskedeby.no/.

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The use of criteria that determined stakeholder participation in the seven case cities.

No	Criteria	Bodø	Drammen	Kristiansand	Oslo	Stavanger	Tromsø	Trondheim
9	Aim to implement joint solutions	x	x	х	xx	xx	xxx	x
8	Reduce power imbalances	xx	xx	XX	х	х	xx	xx
7	Be consensus-oriented	xx	xx	XXX	х	XXX	xx	х
6	Produce knowledge, learning and information	xxx	XXX	XXX	xxx	xxx	XXX	xxx
5	Impose time restrictions	x	х	х	х	х	х	х
4	Generate well-defined and acceptable tasks	xxx	xx	XXX	xx	xx	xx	XXX
3	Provide sufficient and well-organised management and leadership	xxx	xxx	XXX	х	xxx	xx	xxx
2	Ensure commitment and keep participants interested	xx	х	xx	х	xxx	xxx	xx
1	Ensure inclusion of all relevant participants	xx	xx	xx	xx	x	xx	xx

Note: xxx - often practised, xx - less often practised, and x - rarely practised.

from expressions of common urban freight needs, thereby further increasing such imbalances. Since freight includes a diverse group of stakeholders, it is difficult to differentiate the various interests. Furthermore, some of the industry actors were insufficiently represented, which is worth questioning in future studies. The reason may be that the timing of the collaborative process was difficult or that they did not see the benefits of participation. Despite these challenges, and in line with (Ianniello et al., 2018), our findings suggests that participation itself is an important tool for balancing conflicting interests and goals between authorities and industry stakeholders.

In reaching the final two steps on the ladder of citizen participation, the local authorities in the studied seven Norwegian cities seemed unwilling to delegate power and provide citizens or, in this case, industry with control. The linked criterion, namely aim to implement joint solutions (9), was rarely practised in any of the cities, thus preventing that stakeholders would control some or all parts of the planning process. One reason not to delegate power may be that there is limited knowledge of the policy area within the city and that local authorities may be uncertain of the consequences of delegation and industry control, and another reason might be that private stakeholders have economic interests or self-interests in the outcome of local planning. This would require local authorities to consider carefully what is being expressed by whom and to keep control of the process to ensure that the majority of affected interests are heard. Although the highest level of participation has not yet been achieved in collaborative urban freight planning, participation still makes implementation easier and gives private stakeholders opportunities to influence outcomes rather than forcing them to accept an unforeseen development. Hence, as Innes and Booher (2010) put it, this is a way of coping with uncertainty.

7. Conclusions

In this paper, we have explored how nine key criteria for participation in collaborative urban freight planning are practised in an area in which the majority of actors are private stakeholders. Additionally, we have considered whether the collaborative arenas provide participants with sufficient power to influence planning outcomes. The findings presented here could be of value for European medium-sized cities as many urban freight issues, as for example the complexity and the challenges in last mile delivery, seem to be quite similar across a majority of these cities (Browne, Behrends, & Woxenius, 2019). The results demonstrate that involving stakeholders is one way in which one can improve the urban freight planning. For stakeholder engagement the results showed that collaboration, negotiation, and consensus building are potential viable strategies to overcome the complexity and often conflicting interests within urban freight.

The criteria that are most often practised and achieve participation in collaborative urban freight processes are the production of knowledge, learning and information, and sufficient and well organised management of the collaborative arena. Additionally, we found a tenth criterion, namely 'political and planning anchorage', which is rarely practised but through observations are considered important for the participation of private stakeholders in collaborative planning. Comparatively, all cities seem to practise the production of knowledge and learning at the expense of time restrictions and implementing joint solutions in collaborative urban freight planning.

With regard to power given to stakeholders, they are mainly provided with informational power to influence planning outcomes. It appears that the Norwegian collaborative urban freight planning arenas have yet to provide stakeholders to participate. Overall, local authorities seem unwilling to delegate power to the industry in the implementation of joint solutions when including private actors. As they constitute a slightly different group of actors than citizens, such considerations might be necessary. Therefore, we suggest that, compared with citizen collaborations, there are other conditions for collaborative planning when including private stakeholders. When initiating such collaborative planning, both the reduction of power imbalances between the actors and the development of joint solutions seems important.

The findings from this study provide valuable insights into how the public sector can involve stakeholders and how to organise stakeholder participation when developing urban mobility plans that include both freight and personal mobility. The findings also enrich planning theory in terms of how to develop the collaborative planning approach in policy areas with a private emphasis but where the public sector is a key facilitator. Future research could investigate stakeholders' perceptions of these collaborative processes or consider the different methodologies used by local authorities to initiate and organise collaborations with relevant stakeholders as early in the planning process as possible. This would help stakeholders to reach higher steps on the ladder of citizen participation.

The findings show that the local context and characteristics of each city influences which criteria are most important and on which step the stakeholder achieved on the ladder. However, the seven attended cities may represent the first stage of the process of integrating logistics and freight stakeholder's in urban planning. Additionally, the study has contributed to compare planning processes between the cities and how it influences by the local context and other ongoing processes.

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Declaration of competing interest

There is no conflict of statement.

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