New urban freight policy for the Paris region: results of recent public-private consultation.

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#### **Abstract**

The Paris region (called Ile-de-France) is one of twenty-two French regions, and is among the largest and most developed metropolitan areas in Europe. It is currently confronting major economic, environmental, and institutional challenges. One of these is "Grand Paris," the creation of a unified metropolitan government for the City of Paris and neighbouring municipalities. In this changing context, freight and logistics activities have been acknowledged as major contributors to the region's economic well being that nonetheless have negative environmental effects such as noise, air pollution, and CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. To manage freight transport more sustainably, the City of Paris and the Ile-de-France region (more recently) have engaged in consultation processes with freight transport firms, carriers' organizations, and shippers' associations. Other stakeholders such as rail, waterway, and port infrastructure managers and chambers of commerce also participated.

This article describes these consultation processes and assesses their successes and failures. We examine processes at different levels in the Paris region's institutional framework: the local level, with the "neighbourhood councils" organised in the city of Paris's individual districts; the municipal level, with the Paris Delivery Charter experience (2006-2009); and the regional level, through the Ile-de-France Regional Council's recent experiences with freight consultation. We describe the relationships between these different processes, showing how they have benefitted from one other and sometimes overlapped. We analyse the difficulties encountered when conducting negotiations and implementing partnerships with the freight and logistics sectors in a complex urban environment. Conditions for success and some guidelines are proposed for other cities eager to engage in fruitful relationships with freight and logistics decision-makers.

Topic Areas: B4, G2, G4

## 1. Introduction: What is at stake when local governments address freight?

Every day, more than one million deliveries and pick-ups are made in Ile-de-France to meet the needs of its 700 thousand businesses and eleven million inhabitants, as well as its logistic platforms. More than one third of these occur in the city of Paris itself, which is at the heart of the metropolitan area. This illustrates a fundamental fact about goods movements in cities: it is the economic structure of a city that directly determines freight movements, i.e. each of the (very numerous) economic sectors present in a city has its own logistic characteristics, which in turn almost mechanically determine the types of vehicles and delivery frequencies that will be necessary to supply it. Before being delivered to (or sent out of) an urban area, a product will very likely pass through a warehouse, parcel carrier terminal, or combined transport yard, in short, a network node where merchandise will be transferred from one vehicle to another and is often stored, processed, or repackaged<sup>1</sup>. Thus, a vast band of logistic platforms surrounds cities, especially the largest ones. One significant result of this organization is that transport chains' urban segment is taken care of by local carriers, which are often very small businesses with little profit margin. To reduce costs, they use old vehicles that produce more pollution. Another consequence is that the urban goods transport sector remains relatively under-optimized and routine. A non-negligible part of urban freight transport is inefficient, i.e. it uses more vehicle-kilometres than necessary to supply households and businesses. Thus, the trucks that serve Paris and the Ile-de-France region contribute significantly to congestion (15-20 percent of vehicles) and pollution (60% of particle emissions and 30% of NOx), as well as greenhouse gas emissions (LET et al. 2006).

On the other hand, it is in large cities that a certain number of innovative new urban logistics services have appeared in recent years. E-commerce now accounts for about 5% of retail turnover in Europe, and the innovations related to this new kind of consumption are concentrated in urbanized areas like Paris. Star's Services is one of the most innovative French transport firms to appear in recent years, and deals in home delivery of food products, an area that is considered particularly difficult. It was created and grew in the Paris region, which is home to the vast majority of its 1200 vehicles, all of which are refrigerated and have onboard computer systems. The French postal service's new automated package consignment network originated in Paris, and has expanded the most there. A large number of logistics start-ups, such as La Petite Reine, Urban Cab, and BeCycle (who operate electrically assisted cargo tricycles) or Colizen (specialized in customized home delivery of high value-added online purchases with small electric vans) are currently conducting experiments in Paris.

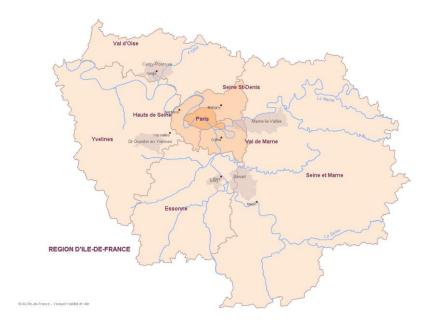
So we see that urban environments are full of freight-derived nuisances, but also conducive to innovation in this area. Faced with these contrasting economic and environmental realities, Europe's major cities are trying to create policies that target freight transport. These policies may involve traditional tools such as traffic and parking regulations (*e.g.* lorry bans) or more audacious ones like automated enforcement or congestion pricing, as well as the promotion of innovative equipment and vehicles or river and rail transport (SUGAR, 2010). One of French cities' preferred ways to encourage urban logistics innovation is through consultation procedures that bring together public decision-makers and transport professionals. French law,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The INRETS shipper surveys have shown that between 1998 and 2004 the proportion of merchandise passing through a logistic platform rose from 66 to 85 percent for shipments leaving the Paris region, and from 50 to 62 percent for incoming shipments. (Dablanc, Routhier, 2009).

specifically article 28-1 of the Domestic Transport Orientation Law (LOTI)<sup>2</sup>, strongly encourages cities to organize such procedures.

The city of Paris has been particularly active in applying consultation policy to freight transport since 2001, as has the Ile-de-France region since 2008. We shall describe these experiences in detail, focusing on the unique aspects at each administrative scale, as well as successes and failures. Section 2 addresses the first, local level of consultation in Paris, that of the neighbourhood. Section 3 examines issues surrounding freight consultation at the Paris municipal scale, and section 4 at the regional council level.



The city of Paris covers 105 km². It has a population of 2.2 million inhabitants and 1.6 million jobs. It is composed of 20 *arrondissements* (districts) which are divided into four *quartiers* (neighborhoods) themselves. The Ile-de-France region covers 12 000 km². It has 11.8 million inhabitants and 5.5 million jobs (INSEE, 2006). The region is made up of 1281 municipalities.

## 2. The neighbourhood council: a difficult place to discuss freight transport issues

The eighty Paris neighbourhood councils (conseils de quartier) are local, non-decision-making bodies whose randomly selected or appointed members meet two or three times per year. They were created in the early 2000s as part of a set of new policies aimed at increasing bottom-up decision-making and local community involvement in the management of Paris. As places where local consultation actively occurs, and the basis for most of the municipality's consultation processes, these councils are a good place to begin our evaluation. We have analyzed the importance accorded to freight and delivery issues at a total of forty meetings held in the fifteenth arrondissement's neighbourhood councils. The fifteenth is located in the southwest of Paris, and is one of the largest arrondissements in the city. We specifically

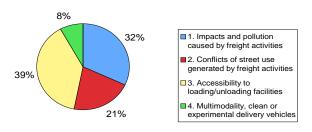
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Article 28-1 of the LOTI calls upon all major French urban areas to "deal with freight transport and delivery, while rationalising metropolitan supply conditions and supporting commercial and artisanal activities" when drawing up their Urban Travel Plans (PDU).

focused on the relative weight of freight compared to other issues, as well as the type of stakeholders involved, employing a lexical search and a detailed analysis of the meetings' minutes. We found 28 references to freight and deliveries, *i.e.* an average of 0.7 references<sup>3</sup> per meeting. This means that these problems receive very little attention from neighbourhood councils, except when goods transport is central to the issue discussed (such as the reorganisation of lorry access to the Porte de Versailles Exhibition Park).

When freight issues were discussed, the specific themes were the following (Figure 1):

Figure 1 - Distribution of freight-related thematic expressions in neighbourhood council meetings



100 % = 28 freight-related references

The effects of deliveries cited by council members are congestion, safety, and noise (in order of frequency). There was only one reference to air quality problems. Local effects are also discussed, such as the manoeuvres that trucks must perform to reach a supermarket on a narrow street. These local issues are surprisingly few. There are many references to the difficulty of accessing shops for delivery, particularly when new cycle lanes are introduced.

Apart from a single discussion concerning the future of an abandoned railway encircling Paris (the *petite ceinture*) and a debate on the future of river ports, the delivery-related themes are local, short-term issues unrelated to the challenges of innovation (clean vehicles, for example). Only one goods transport reference concerned the general organization of deliveries in Paris.

Nearly half (46%) of the references involve opposition to or a negative view of freight operations, presenting them as noisy, dangerous, and cumbersome. However, the other half (54% of references) presents freight activities in a positive light, stressing the necessity for delivery bays and the need to improve truck drivers' working conditions. Most participants in the meetings agreed that the reorganisation of rue du Commerce (a very busy street with many businesses) should allocate more space to on-street delivery bays at the expense of car parking. On the whole, the perception of freight issues by participants in neighbourhood councils is not as negative as we initially expected.

The 28 references to goods transport in the debates were composed of 78 individual contributions. Figure 2 provides a breakdown of these contributions according to which participants made them.

<sup>3</sup> A reference is defined as a full discussion (involving several contributions by different participants) on a specific issue.

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10%

Residents

Elected representatives

Experts

City's technical staff

Citizens' groups

Figure 2 – Origin of contributions during debates concerning deliveries

100% = 78 freight-related contributions

29%

Over one-third of contributions are from residents, and mainly concern perceived nuisances. A non-negligible number of contributions also concern the necessity of delivery bay access for certain activities (such as plumbers and tradesmen).

Contributions from representatives of associations (parents of schoolchildren, property owners' associations, or residents' associations) are rare at approximately 10%. We should note that businesspeople and their representative associations (including delivery companies) are rarely present at these meetings. The only meeting that attracted a business representative concerned the rue du Commerce redevelopment. This representative was present mainly to explain the project to the other participants, who were mostly residents. It would appear that businesspeople were encouraged to participate in other meetings concerning the rue du Commerce redevelopment, outside the neighbourhood council context.

The *arrondissement's* councillors made 29% of the goods transport and delivery-related contributions. In general their contributions were well-informed: some use delivery and shop access problems to challenge entire redevelopment projects (*e.g.* the Bir Hakeim – Montparnasse bicycle path). They intervene in different ways depending on whether they are acting as representatives of the *arrondissement* (against the central City Council, for example<sup>4</sup>), as sponsors of a local project (that they wish to defend), or as chairmen/coordinators of a neighbourhood council (in which case they attempt to launch debate).

Street engineers and other invited outside experts accounted for a quarter of contributions. They attempt explain the constraints and realities of delivery activities in layman's terms and promise technical solutions. Technical knowledge of the challenges and planning issues concerning deliveries was previously in short supply, but now appears to have taken on greater importance for Paris's administration.

Neighbourhood councils are an important basis for most consultation processes in Paris, on all issues, but in the case of freight transport they have proven to be of little use: freight and logistics issues are not really discussed in these councils because direct stakeholders like transport companies and shippers are not active participants. However, when freight and logistics are discussed in local councils, it is in a rather cooperative way, *e.g.* stressing delivery employees' need for better working conditions.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The 15th *arrondissement* is currently run by a party opposed to the Mayor of Paris, who is a member of the French socialist party. *Arrondissements* have a mostly consultative role; The City of Paris has most of the say in transport, street use, and planning policy and delegates very little to the mayors of the *arrondissements*.

# 2. The proactive implementation of a freight consultation policy in Paris in the early 2000s

In France, the city of Paris stands out in that awareness of freight mobility's importance grew from the beginning of the 2000s. As a result of innovations in passenger mobility, public authorities began to consider a general freight mobility process necessary. The roadway reorganization undertaken in 2001 in favour of bus traffic (*i.e.* the creation of bus lanes) made deliveries very difficult in certain Parisian streets, and led to conflicts with carriers' representatives and shippers. The parties involved were able to overcome this contentious situation by creating a space for consultation and discussion between public and private entities.

The consultation begun in 2002 brought together the Mayor and the Adjunct Mayor in charge of transport with freight transport stakeholders: those who generate flows (represented by Chambers of Commerce and shippers' associations), carrier federations, rail and river infrastructure managers, energy providers, and certain institutions (including the State, Regions, and Environmental Agency). Several key political and private actors affirmed their desire to deal with freight mobility on an equal footing with other uses of public space, thus allowing innovative and ambitious policy to be put in place.

The following objectives were fixed:

- Reducing negative environmental effects
- Reserving space for freight activities within urban space
- Improving working conditions for goods delivery personnel
- Relocating logistics facilities within the city
- Increasing the city of Paris' attractiveness

An action plan and a pilot committee were created, and three working groups were launched simultaneously. The first sought to collect information about the delivery sector. Studies, surveys, and diagnostics were carried out to better document and understand how this industry functioned on a daily basis. The second concerned the optimisation of the city's logistic activities. Action was taken through regulations and real estate, with several exemplary operations emerging. The final one developed prospective analyses for the medium and long term, and focused on innovative urban logistics and organisational techniques.

In June of 2006, all the participants agreed to sign a "best practices" charter<sup>5</sup>. This text was active for a period of 3 years and was not legally binding; it depended on the notion of commitment and "win-win" principles. A charter follow-up committee was also created to verify the signatory parties' adherence. This committee also served to resolve problems and conflicts related to goods deliveries within Paris.

The partners agreed to rework the city of Paris's regulatory mechanisms, acting on the following three themes:

- Delivery traffic regulations, with cooperative development of new regulations for freight vehicles. The major innovation was to introduce an "environmental" regulation for the first

<sup>5</sup> The charter can be downloaded on the City of Paris's website at: <a href="https://www.paris.fr/portail/deplacements/Portal.lut?page\_id=376&document\_type\_id=5&document\_id=25945&portlet\_id=1187">www.paris.fr/portail/deplacements/Portal.lut?page\_id=376&document\_type\_id=5&document\_id=25945&portlet\_id=1187</a>

time in Paris, with a time window (17h-22h) reserved for only the least polluting vehicles (most recent "euro standards" -i.e. E.U. standards for truck manufacturing-, gas or electric vehicles)<sup>6</sup>. Finally, the city made advance announcements about certain regulatory changes (Euro norm restriction changes, and the end of exceptions for car carriers, which had been allowed to deliver during the day for three years despite the fact that their size was well in excess of regulatory limits).

- Supply and use of on-street delivery areas, by revising how delivery areas are positioned on roadways and creating new rules for their use. The method developed by the city of Paris modulates delivery area dimensions according to need, based on the type and quantity of shops along a street. Residential streets are also outfitted with delivery areas every 100 meters to meet home delivery needs. Discussion on the use of delivery areas began with the observation that they were often used for illegal parking practically half the time. It is difficult to enforce use restrictions because of national traffic law, which allows anyone to use such spaces as long as they are loading or unloading. It is up to traffic enforcement personnel to judge whether a vehicle is illegally parked, without knowing if the driver is unloading goods or has parked for a longer duration. To eliminate this ambiguity, the partners agreed to limit delivery area use to 30 minutes. This limit is enforced with a Paris-specific disc, more than 100,000 of which were manufactured by the city and distributed by its partners.
- Urban planning regulations. Several goods-specific items were added to the Local Urbanism Plan (PLU). The first concerns parking regulations, specifically the obligation to set aside a delivery area on private land when constructing shops over 500m<sup>2</sup>, hotels with over 150 rooms, offices over 2500m<sup>2</sup>, and warehouses irrespective of surface area. The second aims to preserve a range of rail and waterway transport sites within Paris, and to locate logistic activities on them. The French capital developed around industrial and logistic sites, particularly rail yards, the Seine River, and canals. Many of these sites have now disappeared because of land scarcity - they were reused for housing, public amenities, or green space. The few that remain have fallen into disuse and are not up to minimum operational standards. Thus, logistics firms have progressively left the urban centre, moving to the inner, then the outer suburbs. As a result of increasing distances between warehouses and delivery points within urban areas, road tonne-km in the Ile-de-France region has increased along with the associated external effects: energy consumption, pollution, noise, greenhouse gas emissions, and consumption of available space. In order to reserve urban logistic spaces in the Paris PLU, it was necessary to make political trade-offs and strike a balance between this goal and developments meeting housing needs. The Paris PLU now includes these logistics sites in "Major Urban Service Zones" which are dedicated to public amenities. Thirteen shared transloading sites were also designated within the "Urban Green Zone" along the Seine, on a strip between the Bercy and Grenelle bridges. These facilities can be used at certain times to transfer goods between boats and delivery vehicles, but are available for other uses at other times.

In October 2009, the City and its partners summarized their assessment of the three years of cooperation under the Goods Charter. The most salient conclusions were the following:

- 1) The importance of dialog on goods transport. The first advantage of consultation is to bring together groups who do not habitually meet. This time devoted to discussion helps develop an understanding of each participant's specific limits, needs, and difficulties, and defuses conflicts before they break out.
- 2) A temporal misalignment between actions by public and private parties. In general, public

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<sup>6</sup> Details are available at: <a href="http://www.paris.fr/portail/deplacements/Portal.lut?page\_id=376">http://www.paris.fr/portail/deplacements/Portal.lut?page\_id=376</a>

authorities and the private sector do not function on the same time scale. The private sector is accustomed to setting plans into motion rapidly and tends to find public decision-making processes very slow. On the other hand, private sector investments are geared toward the long term because of amortization concerns. The private sector seeks to coordinate these investments with future regulatory changes.

- 3) Enforcement is quite insufficient. The creation of any new regulatory measures must be accompanied by means to enforce them. The institutional organization of Paris dissociates local regulatory power from enforcement, and the means dedicated to enforcement are currently insufficient in the extreme. Private businesses demand better enforcement, as this is the only way to distinguish "virtuous" transport companies from their less scrupulous competitors.
- 4) The necessity of strengthening real-estate action. The city of Paris is trying to conserve and develop logistic sites within its territory through its Local Urbanism Plan, but land scarcity is also an issue in the inner suburbs. All participants agree that it is necessary to reflect on and facilitate actions at a scale beyond that of Paris' centre city.
- 5) Lack of representativity. The question arose as to whether the professionals who participated in the consultation were sufficiently representative. There is very little communication between a delivery driver who works daily in the field and his/her representative who participates in institutional discussions. Additionally, the large professional federations and large carriers are overrepresented relative to small businesses with only a few employees.
- 6) The usefulness of experimentation. New forms of urban logistic organisation became more visible through innovative experiments. Though they concern only an anecdotal fraction of urban freight flows, they are effective in communicating possibilities and spreading ideas that promote changes in behaviour.
- 7) The relevant territory is larger than the centre city of Paris. The Paris consultation created an institutional framework for public-private discussion. It gradually became evident that the problems seen in Paris also existed in the suburbs. The organisation of freight flows is mainly regional, with warehouses that serve the entire region. When faced with the difficulty of supplying central Paris, businesses adopt strategies with consequences for the surrounding municipalities. Beyond the specifically urban problems typical of Paris and the dense neighbouring municipalities, there are others that can only be dealt with at a larger scale, by the Ile-de-France Regional Council.

# 4. A new participant in freight consultation since 2008: the Ile-de-France Regional Council

The Region has no legal responsibilities regarding passenger or freight transport. Its policy of supporting infrastructure development is based on the general responsibility for territorial development it received in the 1982 decentralisation laws. Like all French Regions, it co-finances infrastructures under contract with the State in "project contracts". We are currently in the fifth generation of these contracts, and since 2000 they have included a section on goods delivery covering rail and waterway infrastructure financing. The annual regional budget for freight rose from 6 million Euros in 2000 to 35 million in 2010.

Regional investment in freight beyond financial support for infrastructure was a result of several complementary factors:

- An organisational factor: the creation of the Ile-de-France Transport Syndicate (STIF, the transport authority for passenger transport), in which the Region has a majority of seats and over which the President of the Regional Council presides, led to interest in new transport outside the STIF's domain, principally in freight.
- A human factor: The new transport director was convinced that organisational action on freight transport was necessary, in addition to infrastructure action.
- An external factor: A 2007 exploratory study carried out in preparation for the Ile-de-France master plan revealed strong expectations from institutional and private entities.
- A factor of awareness on the part of elected officials: An evaluation of the 2000 Urban Mobility Plan (PDU) in 2007 revealed that its freight-oriented actions had been weakly implemented. The personal involvement of a regional official who was also a member of the Ile-de-France public land holdings establishment greatly contributed to discussions on land, real estate, and territorial development.

To design a new policy that was more favourable to freight, the Region sought to expand its expertise. It carried out its own studies and co-financed others with partners, financed a nationwide Goods and Transport in Cities Survey in 2010, and did origin-destination counts and surveys at major multimodal nodes. But above all, it launched consultations with goods transport and logistics professionals.

The 2007 exploratory study cited above consisted of around 20 interviews with mostly public entities dealing with freight. The final report submitted in 2008 covered several topics, including necessary public actions:

- A need for public involvement to organize and plan the development of major logistics facilities and influence the nature and structure of transport flows at all scales.
- A need for organisation, particularly of deliveries in dense urban centres. It is difficult to adapt day-to-day freight transport to heterogeneous local rules.
- A need to "account for and recognise" a quasi-natural drift toward the stigmatisation of heavy trucks, which has pushed logistic zones ever farther outward into the periphery, thus mechanically worsening the environmental performance of freight transport.
- A need for appropriate infrastructure in a context where passenger transport needs always dominate, and where both capacity needs and the technical details of freight transport are neglected.
- The need to limit noise, pollution, greenhouse gas emissions, and congestion.

The Region also found that it had become necessary to extend freight and logistics policies to the regional scale. Sub-regional entities such as municipalities and *départements* were not visible enough due to their small size, and their limited transport responsibilities prohibited them from implementing the necessarily multimodal responses.

Finally, it identified the tools needed by the Region to implement these policies. The various planning procedures available (PDUs, the regional master plan, project contracts, specific contracts with *départements*, the regional air quality plan, the household waste management plan, etc.) were deemed quite sufficient to translate its point of view and the strategies defined in working groups into provisional, indicative, imperative, or even legally binding texts.

This exploratory study concluded with plans to launch a true regional consultation procedure with transport and logistics professionals, in the interest of developing a formal regional policy on goods transport.

This consultation was carried out from April to December 2009, and included the following four workshops:

- Employment and professional training
- City logistics
- Major terminals and infrastructures
- Logistics real estate and developments

The consultation concerned regional-scale freight problems as well as intra-urban goods transport.

In other regions such as Rhône-Alpes (Lyon) or Aquitaine (Bordeaux), metropolitan agencies handle urban freight policy, while the larger Region handles major logistic platforms, ports, and infrastructure. In Ile-de-France, there are no large metropolitan wide agencies, so the Region is considered the appropriate scale at which to deal with all these subjects.

Each consultation workshop met 2 or 3 times. Problems and issues were discussed in the first meeting. The second concerned operational solutions and tools. Protocols and concrete action programs such as charters and follow-up tools were worked out at the third meeting.

The objective of this consultation was not to be exhaustive, but to re-centre debate around issues that were of direct concern to the Region, at a scale small enough to make concrete solutions plausible, but large enough to be of truly regional interest.

An extranet site dedicated to logistics and freight transport consultation in Ile-de-France was created to complement the workshops. It provided information on the master plan and project contracts, as well as various studies by the regional planning and development institute. The site also offered contact information for participants, minutes, and presentations for each workshop. This site was made permanent, and the Region continues to offer information about its work to consultation participants and other institutional partners. There are plans to improve its usability in 2010.

The consultation phase ended with a closing seminar, attended by all participants and by external people, which allowed the groups to share their conclusions.

The regional vice president in charge of transport provided political guidance. Seven elected officials from the majority participated, including the president of the Regional Transport Commission and the elected official in charge of urban travel plans. Recognized experts helped direct working group activities and assisted in writing the final report. Two or three meetings were held on each theme, leading to 35 action items.

Two main tools will be used for implementation:

- The regional urban mobility plan (PDUIF) which is currently being revised
- One or more framework agreements. The first one is slated for creation at the end of the year (2010), and may contain "real estate" and "experiments" sections.

This consultation procedure helped the region find its position among public and private stakeholders and target appropriate types of intervention. Three legitimate regional-scale concerns were identified:

Questions surrounding land use, development, and real estate. Here the region is entirely
within its territorial development role and can make use of the regional public land
holdings agency.

- Support for experiments and exemplary practices.
- Infrastructure investment.

It was concluded that the weight of urban planning documents was necessary, and that the urban mobility plan (PDUIF) would be a relevant tool. At the current stage in this document's development, it requires space to be set aside for logistics in future developments, and provides a map of protected logistics sites, whose use is now fixed.

The Direction of Transport was given the mission of implementing strengthened or renewed policy favouring freight movement. Though freight issues span several regional responsibilities (*i.e.* economic and territorial development, transport, and job training), the conclusions of the consultation primarily concern transport. In the future, the action items will need to be integrated into other regional mechanisms for economic and territorial development and job training, perhaps through contracts with sub-regional entities.

The consultation was carried out at a difficult time politically: it ended 3 months before the regional elections. Elected officials were focused on passenger transport issues, as this is a politically sensitive topic. The action items should be appropriated and set into motion by the new administration in the coming months.

The consultation defined precise, consensual actions and also managed to involve elected officials in a subject with which they were unfamiliar. It will need to be followed by another consultation with local (municipal) elected officials, because it is they who have power over land parcels and traffic enforcement.

### 5. Conclusion

Consultation with freight organizations has become a mainstream activity for many large local governments in France. This was not the case only a few years ago. Municipalities, metropolitan agencies, and regional governments have learned to meet with carrier organizations and large trucking companies. They commonly engage in discussions on issues such as delivery time windows, the layout of on-street and off-street delivery parking spaces, training programs in logistics, or the provision of major intermodal facilities. In this paper we have described how these consultation processes take place in the Paris metropolitan area. Both the city of Paris (with two million inhabitants) and the Ile-de-France Region (i.e. the Paris metropolitan area with a total population of nearly twelve million) have recently implemented active partnerships with freight transport organizations. More classic consultation processes such as the "neighbourhood council" meetings in all 80 of Paris's neighbourhoods, where officials discuss municipal affairs with local communities, have proven useless with regards to freight transport issues. Freight issues are omitted from neighbourhood council meetings because direct freight stakeholders such as truck companies do not participate in these meetings. Other stakeholders such as shop-owners participate in many of these meetings but are not interested in delivery issues. As we have discussed in this paper, the Paris case leads to two conclusions. First, with regards to freight issues, specific consultation processes need to be implemented. In Paris, freight partnerships have been organized in parallel with regular consultation processes such as neighbourhood council meetings, because regular consultation processes often neglect freight transport issues. Secondly, freight consultation processes are of little use at a municipal level. They need to be combined with (or transformed into) metropolitan or region-wide consultation. Only a metropolitan or a regional scale can guarantee coherent and effective discussion with freight decision-makers, because freight movement in urban areas is logistically connected to regional and national supply chains.

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