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BIDding on cities

Applying the Business Improvement District model for urban sustainability

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Abstract

There is a growing expectation in the field of sustainable development that cities are the most suitable scale for addressing global environmental issues, particularly through their ability to mobilize local actors. Business improvement districts (BIDs) are a form of public-private partnership (PPP) in cities typically established by associations of private actors that aim to generate value for communities by jointly investing in physical improvements and local services. The model is gaining attention in Sweden, with one BID established in the Sofielund neighborhood of Malmö currently integrating sustainable development concepts into its core strategy to experiment with solutions for reducing socioeconomic inequalities and the area's environmental impacts. Since BID Sofielund is seeking to learn new methods for incorporating sustainability and because the nexus between BIDs and sustainability has not been adequately addressed in the academic literature, this research utilizes an exploratory approach in a multiple-case study design focusing on BID Sofielund and four reference cases to investigate how BIDs engage with sustainability through the projects and processes they carry out and develops potential explanations for why they might choose to do so. By plotting BID activities in a sustainability framework, this study found that BIDs contribute to sustainable development through strategies including providing a platform for collaborative governance, promoting energy efficiency in buildings, investing in capital improvement projects that enhance public spaces, and filling gaps in social service provision. The study identified multiple contributors to why BIDs engage in sustainability and assembled a general framework consisting of both internal and external drivers that must be considered to fully understand BID sustainability activities, however more research is needed. From an academic standpoint, the knowledge produced furthers the discussion on BIDs in a sustainability context and it provides practical value for BID practitioners as they seek to measure performance in new ways and enhance their effectiveness through sustainability-driven strategies.

Keywords: Public-private partnership, business improvement districts, sustainable development, urban sustainability, network governance, BID Sofielund, Victoria Business Improvement District, DowntownDC Business Improvement District, West Colfax Business Improvement District, Capitol Hill EcoDistrict

Executive Summary

By studying multiple cases with an exploratory approach, this study sought to investigate how and why associations of private actors under the business improvement district (BID) model engage with sustainability at the urban scale.

Problem definition and research questions

Business improvement districts (BIDs) are public-private partnerships (PPPs) that aim to achieve urban renewal and economic development activities. They are typically formed and governed by associations of property and business owners within a territorial subdivision of a city and authorized by the local government to make improvements and fund public services within their designated urban or suburban areas. They are often professionally managed non-profit organizations that coordinate public and private stakeholders as well as CSOs to revitalize districts through economic and quality-of-life developments.

There is only limited attention paid to any explicit linkage between BIDs and sustainability in peer-reviewed academic literature despite their popularity and their observed contributions to sustainability in practice. The full extent of how they participate in urban sustainability through specific actions has not been fully explored and it is unclear what motivates them to initiate projects that bring sustainable outcomes. If we can better understand BIDs, their motivations and their influence on city development and governance, then we can consider how they might be envisaged as a tool for the governance and implementation of urban sustainability. As a specific form of PPP and representative bodies of district stakeholders with the ability to raise funds to invest in urban development, BIDs appear to be important organizations that governments could consider for more active collaboration when pursuing urban sustainability initiatives.

This research sought to explore how BIDs are linked to urban sustainability through their activities and why they might choose to pursue sustainability in their strategies, positing that engagement in sustainability could be described as a function of partnership quality. As such, the thesis was guided by the following research questions:

- 1) *How and why do BIDs engage with urban sustainability?*
- 2) *What BID outcomes (e.g. projects and processes) can be classified as influencing urban sustainability?*
- 3) *How does partnership quality influence BID engagement in sustainability?*

Research design and methodology

This research was intended to produce practical information for BID Sofielund as it seeks to further develop its operations into a model for testing the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Using a multiple case study approach, the research design was focused around an in-depth case study on BID Sofielund that sought to understand the motivations for why it was initiated and how the organization functions to impact sustainable development in the Sofielund community in Malmö. Four reference cases were then selected – three from the United States and one from the United Kingdom – to explore other examples of BIDs and the practices they employ to incorporate sustainability into their operational strategies.

The research strategy consisted of four steps:

- Literature review and conceptualization of BIDs, PPPs, network governance and urban sustainability to inform data collection.

- In-depth case study of BID Sofielund based on a document review and semi-structured interviews with BID members and local government representatives, with analysis of partnership indicators.
- Four mini reference case studies utilizing secondary data available on organization websites.
- Cross-case analysis exploring how BIDs engage in sustainability and investigation of plausible theories for why they choose to do so.

To explore how BIDs engage in sustainability, a sustainability framework for PPPs was taken from the literature and used to categorize BID projects and processes according to environmental, social and economic indicators. The thesis also sought to build explanations for why BIDs engage in sustainability by employing the theoretical proposition that partnership quality would help define BID sustainability activities as well as by investigating common themes across the five cases, culminating in a generalized framework for understanding BID activities developed by the author.

Findings

BIDs were found to engage in a range of sustainability activities. From an environmental standpoint, BIDs promoted and provided resources for green infrastructure development projects, incentivized energy efficiency improvements and advocated for local investment in land use and transportation plans. BIDs also contribute to a range of social sustainability functions like funding public safety measures, social services, and facilitating community participation and the formation of local identity. They also engaged in economic development activities to support local employment and small and medium businesses by helping them secure financing. It is also argued that BIDs, as networks of various community stakeholders, can be a vehicle for promoting more democratic community governance if there are appropriate measures of accountability and manageability for the stakeholders they represent. Democratic governance and the equitable distribution of benefits in urban development are seen as key elements of sustainable development.

The study also set out to explore why BIDs engage in sustainability. First, the operational concepts of partnership quality (trust, information sharing, negotiation, benefit and risk sharing, multiple stakeholder participation) proved useful to guide the data collection and analysis for BID Sofielund and connect the characteristics of the PPP to how the organization impacted urban sustainability. Partnership quality was not necessarily a determinant of why BID Sofielund engages in sustainability, but it was possible to see how trust, information sharing, and the levels of benefit and risk sharing could enhance the perceived outcomes of the BID's activities by participants. The findings also suggest that BID activities are highly context-driven, however common themes emerged to explain their relationship with sustainability. The findings are used to assert a generalized framework to understand BID sustainability activities that relies on several factors including their intrinsic linkages to land use planning and development and their response to internal organizational pressures (stakeholders and organization structure) and external contextual pressures (community assets and local initiatives).

Conclusions

As the global population grows increasingly urban, we need to find solutions that optimize our urban environments for managing the ecological impacts of existing structures and new development, ensure equitable access to the benefits of development and create more democratic systems of governance. BIDs are a potential vehicle for delivering these goals that operate as networks of actors that fill a niche in the urban environment between individual community stakeholders and groups and the local government. They are granted legal authority

to make improvements in their jurisdictions and engage in governance processes that have impacts on the economic, social and environmental functions of urban systems.

The research aimed to fill gaps in the academic discussion on BIDs and sustainability and drew connections between their network functions as PPPs, implications for urban governance, and their relationship to urban sustainable development. The findings also present sustainability as an additional lens with which to assess BID performance as public authorities require methods to ensure that PPPs deliver public goods and services accountably.

The research findings are relevant for BID Sofielund as it seeks to experiment with strategies that further integrate sustainable development into the organization and community it represents under the forthcoming Case Sofielund 2030 project. Some of the important strategies observed in the reference cases were those that sought to enhance inclusive community development, such as hosting collaborative workshops to generate design ideas, and the formation of specific sustainability metrics to track and inform organizational decision-making. These findings are also relevant to practitioners in general who desire to learn more about how sustainability can be made accessible to individual property or business owners through BID collective actions. The study also suggests that BIDs can be a vehicle for better collaboration between the public and private sectors to affect urban development, and public authorities could take a more active role to work with BIDs.

Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	I
ABSTRACT	II
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	III
LIST OF FIGURES	VIII
LIST OF TABLES	VIII
ABBREVIATIONS	VIII
1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 PROBLEM DEFINITION	2
1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS	3
1.3 SCOPE	3
1.4 LIMITATIONS	4
1.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	5
1.6 AUDIENCE	5
1.7 OUTLINE	5
2 LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	6
2.1 BUSINESS IMPROVEMENT DISTRICTS	6
2.1.1 <i>BIDs: A brief history</i>	6
2.1.2 <i>BIDs in practice</i>	6
2.2 BIDs AS ACTORS IN GOVERNANCE NETWORKS	9
2.3 BIDs AS PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP	10
2.4 ACHIEVING SUSTAINABLE CITIES	11
2.5 STATE OF THE ART: BID ENGAGEMENT IN SUSTAINABILITY	13
2.6 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	13
3 METHODOLOGY	14
3.1 CASE STUDY RESEARCH	14
3.1.1 <i>Theory informing the methods</i>	15
3.2 DATA COLLECTION METHODS	15
3.2.1 <i>Document review</i>	15
3.2.2 <i>Semi-structured interviews</i>	16
3.3 ANALYSIS	17
3.3.1 <i>RQ2</i>	17
3.3.2 <i>RQ3</i>	18
3.3.3 <i>RQ1</i>	18
3.4 ENSURING VALIDITY	19
4 CASE STUDY MAIN FINDINGS	20
4.1 REFERENCE CASES	20
4.1.1 <i>Victoria BID</i>	20
4.1.2 <i>DowntownDC BID</i>	22
4.1.3 <i>West Colfax BID</i>	24
4.1.4 <i>Capitol Hill EcoDistrict</i>	26
4.2 IN-DEPTH CASE: BID SOFIELUND	29
4.2.1 <i>Urban development in Malmö</i>	29
4.3 BID BEGINNINGS	29
4.3.1 <i>Community overview</i>	30
4.3.2 <i>Purpose and vision</i>	31
4.3.3 <i>Legal framework</i>	31

4.3.4	<i>Governance</i>	32
4.3.5	<i>Organizational structure</i>	32
4.3.6	<i>Financial information</i>	33
4.3.7	<i>Focus Areas</i>	33
4.3.8	<i>Exploring the partnership</i>	37
5	MULTI-PHASE ANALYSIS	43
5.1	HOW DOES PARTNERSHIP QUALITY INFLUENCE BID ENGAGEMENT IN SUSTAINABILITY?.....	43
5.2	CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS.....	47
5.2.1	<i>Size</i>	48
5.2.2	<i>Leadership and governance</i>	48
5.2.3	<i>BID activities overview</i>	48
5.3	WHAT BID OUTCOMES CAN BE CLASSIFIED AS INFLUENCING URBAN SUSTAINABILITY?.....	49
5.3.1	<i>Environment and natural resources</i>	49
5.3.2	<i>Livability</i>	50
5.3.3	<i>Health & Comfort</i>	50
5.3.4	<i>Social Justice</i>	51
5.3.5	<i>Community & Participation</i>	51
5.3.6	<i>Others</i>	52
5.3.7	<i>Summary</i>	52
5.4	HOW DEMOCRATIC ARE BIDS?.....	53
6	DISCUSSION	57
6.1	ON FINDINGS.....	57
6.1.1	<i>How do BIDs engage in urban sustainability?</i>	57
6.1.2	<i>Why do BIDs engage in urban sustainability?</i>	58
6.2	THEORETICAL DECISIONS GUIDING THE RESEARCH.....	63
6.3	METHODOLOGICAL CHOICES.....	63
6.3.1	<i>Research design</i>	63
6.3.2	<i>Data sources</i>	64
6.3.3	<i>Sustainability framework</i>	64
6.3.4	<i>Alternative analytical methods</i>	65
6.4	IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH.....	65
6.4.1	<i>Generalizability</i>	65
6.4.2	<i>Moving forward – BIDs and sustainability in research and in practice</i>	65
7	CONCLUSION	67
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	69
	APPENDIX A – LIST OF INTERVIEWS	76
	APPENDIX B – SAMPLE INTERVIEW GUIDE	77
	APPENDIX C – CODING STRUCTURE	80
	APPENDIX D – 12 GUIDING PRINCIPLES FOR DEVELOPING VICTORIA'S PUBLIC REALM	82
	APPENDIX E – THE ECODISTRICT INDEX	83
	APPENDIX F – BID SUSTAINABILITY ACTIVITIES	84

List of Figures

Figure 2-1. Conceptual framework.....	13
Figure 3-1. Multiple-case study procedure.....	14
Figure 4-1. Victoria BID boundary	20
Figure 4-2. DowntownDC BID boundary	23
Figure 4-3. West Colfax BID boundary	24
Figure 4-4. Capitol Hill EcoDistrict proposed project boundary	26
Figure 4-5. BID Sofielund boundary.....	31
Figure 4-6. BID Sofielund organizational structure	32
Figure 5-1 BID decision-making authority.....	55
Figure 6-1 BID sustainability activities framework	60

List of Tables

Table 2-1. BID activities.....	7
Table 2-2 Classical public administration vs. new governance.....	9
Table 2-3. PPP sustainability framework	12
Table 4-1. 2016 EcoDistrict Index Update	28
Table 5-1. Organizational features.....	47
Table 5-2. BID activities.....	48
Table A-1. List of conducted interviews.....	76

Abbreviations

BID – Business improvement district
CHED – Capitol Hill EcoDistrict
CSO – Civil society organization
PPP – Public-private partnership
RQ – Research question
SDGs – Sustainable development goals
SOV – Single occupancy vehicle
VBID – Victoria BID
WCBID – West Colfax BID

1 Introduction

The concept of sustainable development is founded on the imperative that current generations must be able to meet their needs without compromising the needs of future generations (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987), and has since been refined to discuss the quality-of-life, environmental and financial impacts of development activities (Koppenjan & Enserink, 2009). A key consideration for managing sustainable development is the trend of urbanization, in which an increasing majority of the world's human population resides in urban settings. Cities and urban systems of various sizes provide greater opportunities for economic, social and cultural development but also concentrate resource use and other environmental impacts in those areas, presently accounting for approximately 60-80% of energy consumption and 75% of carbon emissions globally (United Nations, 2015). Furthermore, they are only expected to increase in importance as economic growth centers (McCormick et al., 2013) in emerging economies.

Urban sustainability as a concept is still ill-defined and the discourse is often segregated between different academic and professional disciplines (Maiello et al., 2011), but it can be understood as a normative measure of sustainability suggesting that urban systems (i.e. energy, water, food, cultural, organizational, etc.) should operate in a way that seeks to advance socioeconomic growth and well-being while keeping us within natural constraints (Ernst et al., 2016). The implementation of sustainable development has focused increasingly on urban environments. Advancing sustainability at the urban scale through sustainable development has been promoted through international environmental agreements due to the arguments that “many environmental problems, both local and global, stem from the activities of urban individuals, communities, governments and industries,” and “that cities are places in which efficient solutions can be found, and where win-win solutions between” multiple objectives may be possible (Bulkeley & Betsill, 2003, p. 23). For instance, it has been found that the inhabitants of well-functioning cities tend to have lower per capita emissions than the country average (Dodman, 2009). Effective management of urban systems is then a significant component of sustainable development.

Within the myriad strategies devised to implement sustainable development, the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development (United Nations, 2002) proposed public-private partnership (PPP) as one tool for achieving sustainable projects (Pinz, Roudyani, & Thaler, 2018). PPPs are financial and organizational arrangements between the public and private sectors (Hueskes, Verhoest, & Block, 2017) that are stated to allow more effective and efficient delivery of public services by capitalizing on private sector know-how and financing and through the sharing of complementary resources and management expertise (Pinz et al., 2018). While there is no universally agreed upon definition of PPP, Savas argues that they generally fall on a spectrum of privatization measures (Savas, 2000), wherein traditional public good and service delivery is transferred to non-governmental actors. PPPs have since been categorized into five different broad techniques, two of which are the focus of this paper. These include “civil society and community development” activities and “urban renewal and downtown economic development” (Hodge & Greve, 2009, p. 33).

By most accounts, organizations often referred to as business improvement districts (BIDs) are considered to be PPPs (Grossman, 2008, 2010; Mitchell, 1999, 2009; Morçöl et al., 2008; Morçöl & Wolf, 2010) that aim to achieve urban renewal and economic development activities. BIDs are typically formed and governed by associations of property and business owners within a territorial subdivision of a city and authorized by the local government to make improvements and fund public services within their designated urban or suburban areas (Briffault, 1999; Morçöl & Wolf, 2010). They are often professionally managed non-profit organizations

(Mitchell, 2009) that coordinate public and private stakeholders, as well as civil society organizations (CSOs) to revitalize districts through economic and quality-of-life developments (Mitchell, 1999).

Since their inception in North America approximately four decades ago, BIDs have proliferated and now number in the thousands worldwide (Briffault, 1999; J. Mitchell, 2009), having greatly expanded the types of functions they fulfill. They were initially formed to provide niche services such as public safety and cleanliness (Morçöl & Zimmermann, 2006) but have since carried out activities including consumer marketing, policy advocacy, capital improvements (e.g. street lighting, furniture), urban planning and others (Briffault, 1999; J. Mitchell, 1999). This expansion into what was previously the realm of the public sector involves new governance theory into the discussion, wherein public administration has evolved from direct command-and-control, top-down provision of public services to a form that relies on networks of actors, PPPs and the enabling of non-governmental actors to provide goods and services (Salamon, 2000). As such, an evaluation of BIDs should also encompass a critical view of how democratically they operate within the metropolitan sphere through issues such as legitimacy in decision-making, accountability to the public, and manageability by public authorities (Morçöl & Wolf, 2010).

BIDs are also dabbling in sustainability work as evidenced by the Downtown DC ecoDistrict, that aims to reduce resource consumption for its community for example through advocating renewable energy purchasing for its properties (Pomeroy, 2012). Some BIDs in London were also found to promote district-wide recycling initiatives, provide environmental consultancy services, energy auditing and funding of research (Association of Town & City Management, 2013).

To that end, the BID model has gained increasing popularity in Sweden within recent years with several taking root. *Fastighetsägare Sofielund* (“Property Owners Sofielund”) – henceforth referred to as BID Sofielund – was established five years ago in the Sofielund neighborhood of central Malmö as a tool to remedy economic and physical decline of the urban environment. While it operates in much the same way as other BIDs, it has been adapted to fit the national and local context. Catalyzed in response to rapid social change and disinvestment in the local community, it seeks to bring about social equity and economic growth by forming a collaboration between property owners, public authorities, CSOs and other stakeholders and taking a sustainable development perspective (“Stadgar,” n.d.). To support its mission, it aims to be used as a model and strategy for implementing the UN’s Sustainable Development Goals at an urban district scale (BID Project Leader, 2018).

With the focus on cities as an ideal scale for carrying out sustainable development (Bulkeley & Betsill, 2003; McCormick et al., 2013) and an emphasis on multi-stakeholder and private sector collaboration (Agranoff, 2006; Bulkeley & Betsill, 2003; Dedeurwaerdere, 2005; Hassall & van den Belt, 2017; Khan, 2013) to achieve it, BIDs appear to play an important role in urban governance and could potentially be mobilized to advance urban sustainability.

1.1 Problem definition

There is only limited attention paid to any explicit linkage between BIDs and sustainability in peer-reviewed academic literature (cf. Browne, Allen, & Alexander, 2016; Frykman, Svendler, & Ullström, 2018; Lorne & Welsh, 2013) despite their popularity and their observed contributions to sustainability in practice. The full extent of how they participate in urban sustainability through specific actions has not been fully explored and it is unclear what motivates them to initiate projects that bring sustainable outcomes. If we can better understand BIDs, their motivations and their influence on city development and governance, then we can consider how they might be envisaged as a tool for the governance and implementation of urban sustainability.

As a specific form of PPP and representative bodies of district stakeholders with the ability to raise funds to invest in urban development (De Magalhães, 2014), BIDs appear to be important organizations that governments could consider for more active collaboration when pursuing urban sustainability initiatives.

This research may provide practical value for BID Sofielund and other practitioners as they look for new strategies that add value to their mission. Furthermore, they might be able to better consider how the practices of corporate responsibility and sustainability can be integrated into their practices as society grows more expectant of institutions to do so. Public administrators may also benefit from knowing more concretely the motivations that drive BID activities so partnerships can be strengthened. The research is also of academic relevance because Swedish BIDs have not received sufficient attention in the literature despite their growing popularity, and because there have been only minimal attempts to connect BID activities to sustainability despite their recognizable participation in urban planning and development.

1.2 Research questions

The research questions below are posed in order to address the literature gap between BID activities and the implementation of sustainable urban development processes highlighted above. The overarching question guiding the research is:

RQ1: How and why do BIDs engage in urban sustainability?

Since the overarching research question is broad and exploratory, it must be broken down into narrower sub-questions to investigate its constituent parts. RQ2 then addresses the “how” portion of RQ1 by asking:

RQ2: What BID outcomes (e.g. projects and processes) can be classified as influencing urban sustainability?

Based on the initial literature review and recognition that BIDs operate as partnerships between public and private actors, it is proposed that partnership quality may provide a lens for explaining why BIDs choose to engage in urban sustainability. To address the “why” portion of RQ1, RQ3 asks:

RQ3: How does partnership quality influence BID engagement in sustainability?

Combining the findings of RQ2 and RQ3 may provide a platform for understanding how and why BIDs engage in urban sustainability. The exploratory research aims for the following research objectives:

1. To explore cross-national cases of BIDs and highlight the differences and similarities therein
2. To further develop theory surrounding PPPs through the lens of BIDs
3. To explore and describe the ways BIDs may promote urban sustainability through their projects and organizational processes

1.3 Scope

This multiple case research design focuses on BID Sofielund in Malmö, Sweden, DowntownDC BID in Washington D.C., United States, Victoria BID in London, United Kingdom, West Colfax BID in Denver, United States, and the Capitol Hill EcoDistrict in Seattle, United States. The BID model has recently gained attention in Sweden as a way to address mounting

socioeconomic issues in the country and was established in the Sofielund neighborhood of central Malmö in 2014. BID Sofielund was selected as the main focus of the study because it is branding its activities as sustainable development and was identified as an accessible case to study BIDs in a sustainability context. The case study attempts to go in-depth to understand what motivated the organization to start and how it operates and aims to cover its entire lifespan since 2014.

In addition to the academic relevance and value of this research, the study also aims to provide practical value to BID Sofielund as it continues to develop strategies and projects that will support its objectives. The four reference cases were selected to provide a breadth of examples of BIDs in other geographic locations and socio-political contexts and how they are engaging in sustainability in different ways to provide practical information for BID Sofielund as well as to support the analysis of the study's main research question. Using what was already known about BID Sofielund, a key program or project was selected from each reference case that was thought to highlight what could be an interesting strategy or practice for BID Sofielund to consider in their own operations. In addition, the projects were selected based on the availability of sufficient information to write a full summary.

The scope stops short of attempting to quantify the impact of sustainability outcomes. There was data available that recorded improvements in social and economic indicators but not for environmental impacts. Furthermore, the impact problem present in the study presents uncertainty in assigning a clear correlation between what BIDs do and their impact at a district scale since there are other actors and policies that contribute to final outcomes.

1.4 Limitations

Several limitations influenced the research design and outcomes of this study. A primary limitation on the data collection for BID Sofielund was the language barrier. Much of the secondary data available on the organization website and other reports written about BID Sofielund were in Swedish so it had to be run through a translator. This presumably affected the quality of the text due to limitations in translating software, and it was also not practical or feasible to fully translate every document relevant to the case. As such, it was not possible to address all of the secondary data made available. The language issue also impacted primary data collection when potential interview subjects either declined interviews or were not able to communicate as confidently and elaborately as they would have been able to in Swedish.

Another decisive factor impacted the scope of the research design roughly halfway through the allotted research period after the BID Sofielund data collection was complete. The initial design intended to analyze how differences in partnership quality might affect engagement in sustainability through two in-depth case studies on BID Sofielund and another organization, but due to unforeseen circumstances the second case had to be abandoned. As a result, the rest of the data collection was carried out through four reference cases using secondary data only. This presented a limitation on both the quality and quantity of data available since it was not possible to gather primary data (which is generally more desirable in a case study context) and since the data published on BID websites is selectively chosen to advertise and portray the BIDs in a certain way.

The change in scope limited the significance of analyzing how partnership quality impacts engagement in urban sustainability, but potentially provided a more robust design to explore how BIDs contribute to urban sustainability and develop alternative explanations for why they do so.

1.5 Ethical considerations

While this study was partially intended to be written for BID Sofielund, the author took care to remain unbiased, objective and critical when conducting the research through the data collection and analysis. The work was carried out largely independently from the BID manager and the organization as a whole. Potential interview subjects were not required to participate, and if they agreed to participate they were provided an opportunity to opt out if they were no longer interested to participate. Furthermore, each interview subject was asked for permission to be recorded, and saved case files were coded to ensure anonymity and not shared with third parties. Finally, the author remained aware of the ethical and academic integrity issues concerning the writing process and made the best possible effort to avoid plagiarism.

1.6 Audience

The findings of this research first and foremost serve the practical purpose to support the advancement of BID Sofielund by providing a variety of examples of BID projects and processes that BID Sofielund could consider internalizing or adapting to fit its own needs. The research is also of practical value to BID practitioners more generally, ranging from BID managers and members that want to develop a sustainability strategy to public administrators seeking to evaluate BID performance or opportunities to advance sustainable development.

The research may also be of value to academics in the study of urban sustainability since there are research gaps in between BIDs and sustainability and because we need to better understand the variety of urban actors and their roles in supporting sustainable development.

1.7 Outline

The research is organized and presented in the following chapters:

Chapter 1 introduces the topic and argues the need for further research into the problem area, describing the nature of the problem and specifying research questions that will guide the research. The content then identifies the scope of research, limitations, ethical considerations and the intended audiences.

Chapter 2 presents a more thorough analysis of the key concepts and theories that served as a basis for conducting the research, introduces two analytical frameworks that were employed in the study and the state-of-the-art research on the problem area.

Chapter 3 presents the case study methodology followed through the research and the data collection and analysis steps that allow for exploration of the problem area.

Chapter 4 presents the main findings from each of the five case studies.

Chapter 5 presents a general cross-case analysis of the findings and the analytical frameworks to answer the two subquestions guiding the research.

Chapter 6 discusses the overarching research question, reflects on the efficacy of the theoretical and methodological approach, and offers suggestions for alternative research designs.

Chapter 7 presents the main conclusions of the study and its contribution to the literature, providing recommendations for the principal audiences and for future research.

2 Literature review and conceptual framework

The literature review for this study draws from a previous project by the author that set out to characterize business improvement districts (BIDs) in general including how they are defined, their objectives, organizational structure, legal context, financing structure and evaluation measures. The review also generated materials that indicated different theoretical perspectives that could be applied to BIDs in the context of urban development and governance. Finally, the review looked into sustainable urban development with a focus on public-private partnership, since in the first phase it was found that BIDs are characterized as one form of public-private partnership (PPP).

This study uses the previous findings to build a conceptual framework to explore how BIDs are employed for urban sustainability in practice. This section provides a conceptual understanding of the problem area by defining BIDs, focusing on their characterization as a PPP, placing them in a governance context, and concludes with the implications for urban sustainability. Chapter 2.1 presents the type of data that could be gathered about a BID to explore its operational processes and outcomes.

2.1 Business improvement districts

BIDs have been established for the role they play in provision of public services and urban economic revitalization that “transform areas into exciting, interesting places where businesses want to relocate and people want to work, shop, live and have fun” (Mitchell, 1999). Since the first BID in Toronto in 1970, the model surged in North America and spread globally beginning in the 1990s. In 1999, Briffault (1999) stated that there had been no official tabulation of the number of BIDs, and it appears that is still the case. He estimated somewhere between one and two thousand just in the US at that time, and more recently Mitchell (2009) found approximately 1500 BIDs worldwide.

2.1.1 BIDs: A brief history

BIDs arose in response to the suburbanization of cities, wherein the population continued to move away from downtown areas during the 1970s – 1990s, bringing their money with them (Grossman, 2010). This presented two problems: a shift in economic activity away from the urban center, significantly affecting business revenues, and as a result; a reduction in an important tax base for the municipality. Because of the public sector’s limited resources and inability to provide adequate public services such as sanitation and public safety, a positive feedback loop was created that further diminished the commercial and socioeconomic state of downtowns.

Identified as a solution to both issues, the private sector lobbied municipalities enable them to take collective action by paying a special assessment to the city that is immediately distributed back to the operators of the collective (Wolf, 2006). In this arrangement the municipality also ceded a portion of its authority over development of the district to the organization. The foundation of BIDs is then purely economic, where private and public interests merged around a collaborative effort to provide economic revitalization to business districts in urban cores. The success of BIDs has since encouraged policy transfer across North America and internationally since the 1990s (Ruffin, 2010) and they are now being implemented in many large metropolitan areas across the western world (Morçöl & Zimmermann, 2006).

2.1.2 BIDs in practice

A range of titles now applies to what is generally the BID model. In the United States they can be called BIDs, neighborhood improvement districts, special improvement districts, downtown

improvement districts, community improvement districts, and self-help business improvement districts. They are business improvement areas in Canada and city improvement districts in South Africa (Grossman, 2010; Morçöl & Zimmermann, 2006). All of these names refer to organizations that are an “amalgamation of a number of legal organizational, and management capabilities” (Grossman, 2010). This section aims to outline the broad categories of what constitutes a BID and its organizational structure.

Legislation

In the United States, BIDs are typically explained under the legal system as taxing districts with boards elected by and made up of district property owners (Morçöl & Zimmermann, 2006). Often they are voluntarily initiated by the private sector and granted varying structures and powers over their territories by rules, procedures and consent agreed upon by their municipality (Briffault, 1999).

Financing

BIDs can have multiple revenue streams, but the main source is typically the assessments paid by property owners and businesses within their territories (Morçöl & Zimmermann, 2006). BIDs also often leverage public monies in the form of federal, state and local grants to fund development projects in their districts (Morçöl & Wolf, 2010). Additional revenues of lesser quantities may be from private donations or proceeds of bonds (Morçöl & Zimmermann, 2006).

Management and governance

Based on research of US BIDs, management may be handled by private nonprofits, public commissions or governments offices (Grossman, 2010). This adds to the complexity of characterizing BIDs but in practice offers flexibility to meet the varying needs of business and community development at the local level. At least within the United States, there also remains a legal ambiguity around whether BIDs are public or private entities due to variations in state and local laws.

Projects and programs

From an economic development perspective, BIDs and their municipalities have co-developed their aims into a three-pronged focus. They should “(a) enhance the property values of the district; (b) help improve the profits of the businesses in the district, and; (c) create a climate in which available commercial space becomes rented” (Reenstra-Bryant, 2010). In order to fulfill these objectives, Mitchell (1999) and Briffault (1999) found that BIDs in the US were providing the following broad categories of functions and services in the left-hand column, with a general description in the right-hand column:

Table 2-1. BID activities

BID activity	Description
Consumer marketing	Festivals, events, self-promotion, maps, newsletters
Economic development	Tax abatements and loans to new businesses
Policy advocacy	Promoting public policies, lobbying
Maintenance	Trash collection, litter removal, washing sidewalks, tree trimming, snow shoveling
Parking and transportation	Public parking systems, maintaining transit shelters
Security	Security guards, electronic security systems, cooperating with police

Social services	Aiding homeless, providing job training, youth services
Capital improvements	Street lighting, street furniture, trees, shrubbery
Strategic planning	Design of public spaces
Public space regulation	Managing vendors, panhandlers and vehicle loading
Establishing and operating community courts	--

Source: (Briffault, 1999; J. Mitchell, 1999)

Synthesized in their review, Morçöl et al. (2008) group these services into four hierarchical levels, with each successive stage having a higher degree of publicness: (1) business services, (2) policy advocacy, (3) traditional public services, (4) comprehensive governmental authority. Now frequently taking over the delivery of social services, funding capital improvements and designing public spaces, academics and practitioners alike see BIDs as having broader public responsibility. Justice and Goldsmith view BIDs as instruments that accomplish broad public policy goals, such as "promoting the general welfare of municipalities" or facilitating the "joint provision and production of local public good of place" (Justice & Goldsmith, 2006, p. 187).

Methods of evaluation

Reenstra-Bryant (2010) provides a framework and guidelines for evaluating BIDs intended for use by BIDs themselves. She discusses standard methods including measuring revenues and expenditures over time, participation of key stakeholder groups and organization strategy, but also customized metrics such as consumer perceptions about aesthetic qualities. Wolf's (2006) study of four BIDs in Washington DC provides a table of characteristics used to summarize them including environmental conditions (i.e. district context), size (geographic and budgetary), major programs and others. In a later study he also analyzed and characterized BID-government relations in terms of their levels of collaboration, ranging from strictly contract based to an integrated and seamless relationship (Wolf, 2008).

Strengths, limitations and criticisms

Despite their proliferation around the world, the literature finds that there has been limited empirical evaluation of BID performance by practitioners as well as in academia (Grossman, 2010; Morçöl & Wolf, 2010). Evaluation to date has been centered primarily around qualitative and anecdotal evidence of their successes and challenges.

Proponents argue that BIDs give municipalities the ability to tap into new assets and utilize what limited financial resources they have more effectively through the formation of multisector partnerships (Grossman, 2010, p. 367). They are touted to "increase and manage services specifically designed to enhance the economic viability of business areas and downtown business centers" (Grossman, 2010, p. 367), evidenced in one report on New York BIDs that found BIDs were responsible for significant increases in commercial property values (Furman Center for Real Estate & Urban Policy, 2007). They also fund services and developments of urban areas without raising general taxes, with the intent that they are low-cost tool for providing basic services essential for the effectiveness of commercial areas (relative to public provision) (Briffault, 1999). They are innovative problem solving (Morçöl & Wolf, 2010) institutions that can give a neighborhood the institutional ability to craft and implement strategies for the development of their locality.

However, they do experience limitations and draw criticism from segments of academic and practitioner communities. Firstly, we must ask whether organizations of private actors have the managerial capacity and know-how to effectively deliver public services. Another limitation is

budgetary, since the funding of BID operations and programs is largely dependent on incoming revenues from assessments paid by businesses and property owners. Smaller budgets would leave insufficient resources to employ staff and “have the capacity for action” (Association of Town & City Management, 2013, p. 14). The funding aspect also introduces the possibility for imbalanced service delivery, wherein higher income districts are more able and willing to pay for better quality services, potentially causing inequitable provision across neighborhoods (Briffault, 1999).

They have also drawn criticism regarding their level of democracy, transparency, accountability and manageability (Briffault, 1999; Hoyt & Gopal-Agge, 2007; Göktuğ Morçöl & Wolf, 2010). First, democracy is questioned since their organization and governance structures may limit the adequate representation of those affected by BID decision-making. Morçöl & Zimmermann (2006) highlight concerns of BID-resident relations when residents are unable to participate in decision-making processes. They also point to the weighted voting schemes utilized by some management boards that favor the interests of larger property owners. The limited application of government oversight and examination of BID-government relations (Morçöl & Wolf, 2010) also obfuscates the true impact of BIDs, making it difficult to ensure they act in the public interest.

2.2 BIDs as actors in governance networks

Given that BIDs are thought of as partnerships between private and public actors and are enabled by government to expand into what was previously the public sector’s purview, it is vital to investigate the governance context they function within. This section discusses conceptual aspects of network governance which provides the theoretical basis for this study.

Within the scope of public administration and governance theories, BIDs are an institution of the “new governance” paradigm (Salamon, 2000) that emerged over the last few decades, and are thought of as actors in governance networks (Morçöl & Wolf, 2010). In this form, government seeks to foster new institutions from and beyond itself, blur its responsibilities and boundaries, and recognizes that effectiveness in getting things done is now dependent on the participation of actors within its network (Wolf, 2006). Salamon (2000) explains the core elements of new governance in contrast to traditional public administration (Table 2-2). The conditions that define new governance appear strikingly similar to how BIDs operate and relate to urban governance.

Table 2-2 Classical public administration vs. new governance

Classical public administration	“New governance”
Program/agency	Tool
Hierarchy	Network
Public vs. private	Public & private
Command and control	Negotiation and persuasion
Management skills	Enablement skills

Source: Salamon (2000)

The legitimacy and decision-making abilities now shared among public and non-public actors alike results in a situation where government, businesses and CSOs are faced with solving increasingly complex societal problems (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2015). As such, the act of public management has grown more complicated through the fragmentation of public sector power,

presenting challenges for the manageability, accountability and legitimacy of the system (Salamon, 2000). Agranoff and McGuire discuss how the multitude of networks that shape policymaking complicates the role of public managers but also provides “multiorganizational arrangements in order to remedy problems that cannot be solved... by single organizations” (Agranoff & McGuire, 1998).

While it is challenging to balance the demands of diverse stakeholders, these scenarios and others that grew out of network governance enhance the sense of local ownership over issues and a multi-stakeholder view that defines the concept (Rhodes, 2007). Public managers can strengthen collaborative network governance by supporting the development of common ground between actors through building trust, and orienting consensus around factual knowledge and normative values (Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2017). When the network system works well, the participation of different actors across the social sphere can deliver greater net benefits to collaborators and better solutions to problems.

2.3 BIDs as public-private partnership

BID managers see themselves as managing PPPs (Grossman, 2008) yet this concept is “notoriously hard to define” (Evans & Bowman, 2005, p. 62), with Savas explaining that in general terms they fall on a spectrum of privatization measures (Savas, 2000). They can be understood as financial and organizational arrangements between the public and private sector wherein private actors are authorized to provide public goods or services (Hueskes et al., 2017). Five different techniques of PPPs have been categorized, most relevant to this study as “civil society and community development” activities and “urban renewal and downtown economic development” (Hodge & Greve, 2007, 2009).

Another author sought to critically examine the different meanings of PPP (Linder, 1999), with one identification of PPP as a power sharing method. This is characterized by an “ethos of cooperation and trust” instead of adversarial relations resulting from command-and-control, a “mutually beneficial sharing of responsibility, knowledge, or risk” and an “expectation of give-and-take between the partners” (Linder, 1999, p. 47). The characterization above describes the public-private dynamic, but what constitutes partnership?

Partnership is another operative term within the PPP concept and is also inherently ambiguous (Hastings, 1996). Since this study aims to describe and explore the qualities of BID Sofielund as a PPP, the ability to operationalize and identify indicators of partnership for data collection and analysis is needed. This study draws from the literature on traditional public-private partnerships, inter-firm business partnerships as well as urban regeneration partnerships to paint a holistic picture of BIDs as a group of participating stakeholders that shape the urban environment and develops an operational framework for understanding BID partnership quality.

From the literature on business partnerships, two studies present a slew of attributes that describe partnerships, communication behaviors and conflict resolution techniques (Lee & Kim, 1999; Mohr & Spekman, 1994) between supply chain partners. To narrow the scope of the forthcoming data collection, a selection of these attributes are chosen as ‘partnership indicators’ or ‘partnership attributes’ that operationalize our understanding of partnership in this study, including:

- Trust - “The belief that a party’s word is reliable and that a party will fulfill its obligation in an exchange” (Mohr & Spekman, 1994, p. 138)

- Information sharing – “The degree to which critical information is communicated to one’s partner” (Lee & Kim, 1999, p. 57; Mohr & Spekman, 1994, p. 138)
- Benefit and risk sharing – “Degree of articulation and agreement on benefit and risk between partners” (Lee & Kim, 1999, p. 57)
- Negotiation - Strategic partners are incentivized to jointly problem solve (Mohr & Spekman, 1994) and compromise around solutions to complex issues

Since the concepts are drawn from business management literature, benefit and risk share is explained mainly in financial terms. The meaning is expanded for operationalization in this study to cover the range of benefits and risks shared in an urban regeneration/economic development PPP. The two studies looked at a number of different conflict resolution indicators, but out of convenience are summarized as ‘negotiation’ for use here.

Drawing from the literature on urban regeneration partnerships, community participation is often cited as a crucial determinant of partnership success and may be an end in itself (Ball & Maginn, 2005; Carley, 2000) in addition to the relevance of the same indicators previously listed. Hastings (1996) adds that inclusive and egalitarian partnerships are the most effective. As such, the following indicator is added to our operationalization of partnership:

- Multiple stakeholder participation – In a broad sense, describing both the variety of stakeholders who participate and the ways they participate

2.4 Achieving sustainable cities

Building on the introduction to sustainable development presented in Chapter 1, we lay out the governance context BIDs must negotiate to enhance urban sustainability.

Voß et al., (2007) define the governance challenge that is presented by sustainable development in three dimensions: goals, knowledge and power. They argue that in order to steer society and its institutions towards sustainable development, governance must overcome both conflicting goals and those that are vague and abstract even after being agreed upon collectively. Further, steering must also confront uncertainty in knowledge and the complexity of system dynamics. Lastly, steering towards sustainable development also necessitates a restructuring of the distribution of power throughout different sectors of society, as well as coordinating activities between institutions with varying levels of influence in shaping development. The combination of these three dimensions reflects the complex challenge of sustainable development in any situation.

Compared to the institutions and social structures at higher levels of government, the city scale is arguably more adaptable to rapid transformation. In a synthesis of 20 articles discussing the potential for advancing urban sustainable transformation (McCormick et al., 2013), collaboration, governance in planning, infrastructure and resilience, and a focus on sub-regional developments emerged as the main elements needed to drive sustainable transformation. It is justifiable then that a manageable and narrow frame is applied when attempting development projects, and Ryan (2013) supports a district-level focus. Encompassing a fragment of a city’s buildings, infrastructure, transport and public space, they allow for a multitude of creative options for promoting urban sustainability. For instance, engaging with private sector actors “in the development, maintenance, and operation of sustainable urban infrastructures” (Koppenjan & Enserink, 2009, p. 285) is one method that mobilizes additional non-public finance, expertise and efficiency in a collaborative way.

In terms of urban development activities and PPPs, sustainability has since been refined to encompass social equity, environmental protection and financial sustainability concerns (Koppenjan & Enserink, 2009). This explanation still lacks specificity, so in order to operationalize urban sustainability in PPPs we employ the framework (Table 2-3) devised by Hueskes et al. (2017). produced a framework for evaluating the level of sustainability language present in government tenders for large infrastructure projects through PPP. While this study seeks to focus on tangible projects and processes implemented by BIDs that may influence urban sustainability, this would provide a basis for placing BID actions on a spectrum of sustainability.

Table 2-3. PPP sustainability framework

Main category (first level)	Sub-criteria (second level)	Examples of indicators (third level)
Environment and natural resources	Energy	Reference to renewable energy
	Water	Reference to limited water usage
	Materials & design	Reference to environmentally friendly materials; life cycle costing; contextual fit in environment; multifunctional design; local products
	Biodiversity & land use	Reference to protection of species; efficient land use
	Clean air	Reference to reducing CO2 emissions
Liveability	Public facilities	Reference to facilities for the community; sustainable public transportation
	Security	Reference to security of object/environment; road safety; quality of public space
Health & comfort	Indoor climate & comfort	Reference to indoor air quality; lack of harmful substances; thermal comfort
	Acoustics, noise & vibration	Reference to measures reducing noise disturbance
	Healthy lifestyle	Reference the encouragement of a healthy lifestyle
Social justice	Emancipation and equality	Reference to accessibility for people who experience disabilities; affordability; promoting diversity
	Public meeting	Reference to measures that stimulate social cohesion
	Labour and human rights	Reference to social security and labour rights; non-discrimination; local employment
Community & participation	Local and societal needs	Reference to demands of local community; fair distribution costs and benefits
	Involvement in decision-making	Reference to citizen and stakeholder involvement in decision-making; participation and co-creation
Others	Transformative change	Reference to systemic change
	Sustainability in general	Reference to the concept of “sustainability” without further explanation of the exact meaning
	Other sustainability indicators	Remaining category reserved in case sustainability aspect found does not fit into any of the other criteria

Source: (Hueskes et al., 2017)

2.5 State of the art: BID engagement in sustainability

As stated in Chapter 1, BIDs are found to engage in sustainability in practice, however there has been insufficient attention to this in academia. This section presents the academic research found during the literature review explicitly linking business improvement districts to sustainable development and sustainability in general.

Browne, Allen, & Alexander (2016) conducted a sector-specific study that investigated UK BIDs and the strategies they were implementing for sustainable logistics management. Through a case study approach, the study found that BIDs developed sustainable supply chain management techniques and were hiring and utilizing electric vehicles for freight deliveries. Focusing on BID Sofielund, Frykman et al. (2018) describe how the organization has worked with energy efficiency projects and strategies to add to its sustainable development objectives.

A paper by Lorne & Welsh (2013) introduces a theoretical basis for considering BIDs in the context of sustainable development, arguing that they may provide a suitable framework for implementation. The authors describe how BID organizations have the necessary ingredients to deliver the innovative solutions needed to combine economic opportunity and sustainability through community-level actions. This argument is used as a point of departure for the paper at hand and as far as the author is aware, there has been no attempt to holistically explore how BIDs deliver outcomes within the three pillars of sustainability in academic research.

2.6 Conceptual framework

The following conceptual framework visualizes the important themes identified in this chapter that will be used to explore the research area:

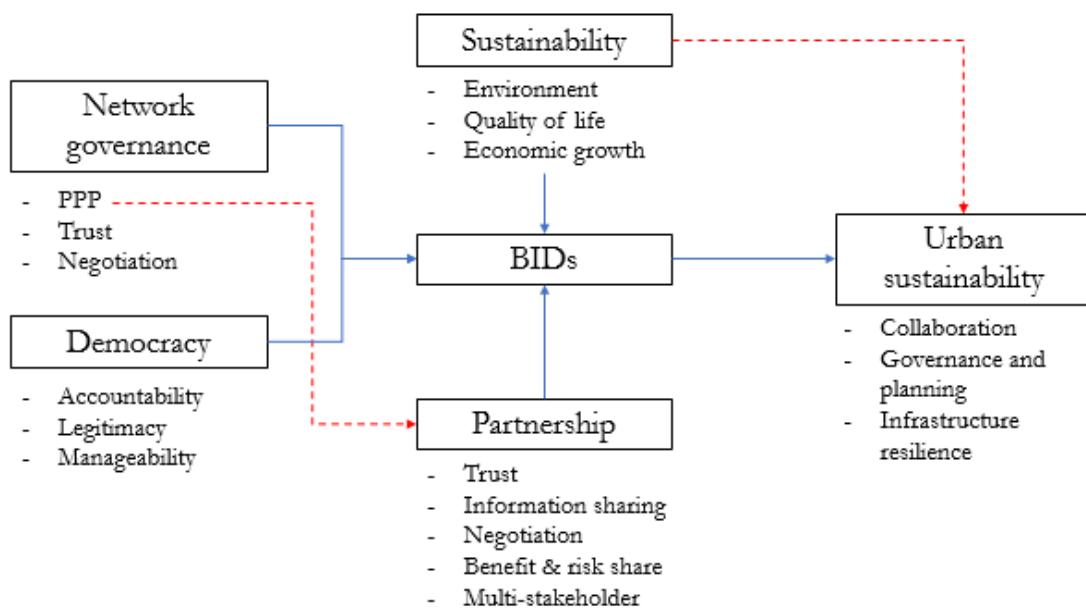


Figure 2-1. Conceptual framework

Source: Author's own elaboration

3 Methodology

3.1 Case study research

In order to explore possible answers to the research questions at hand, the research design utilizes a multiple case study approach (Yin, 2009). Due to the exploratory nature of this study, several reference cases are outlined to exemplify a range of geographic locations where BIDs are employed and an array of functions that contribute to urban sustainability. Following the more abbreviated reference cases, an in-depth study is performed on BID Sofielund. The BID concept is relatively new to Sweden and is conceived as a tool to improve social welfare in socioeconomically disadvantaged districts in the country’s major cities. Furthermore, according to the organization’s website, BID Sofielund is stated to pursue sustainable development by aligning its activities with the UN Sustainable Development Goals (“Hållbar utveckling,” n.d.). Since the BID concept applies to any number of organizational forms depending on where and why they are established, utilizing a case study methodology is advantageous because case studies support empirical inquiries into contemporary phenomena and their real-life contexts and are especially useful when the boundaries between the phenomena and context are unclear (Yin, 2009).

The in-depth case was selected using convenience sampling and reference cases selected through purposeful sampling. Colleagues within the International Institute for Industrial Environmental Economics (IIIEE) mentioned BID Sofielund and its manager as an accessible case to study a local BID. Through purposeful sampling, the reference cases were selected to provide richer information and deeper knowledge about the research topic (Al Qur’an, 2010; Palinkas et al., 2015; Patton, 1999) to support the practical intent of the study. The reference cases cover a breadth of geographic applications of the BID model within considerably dissimilar political-economic contexts, demonstrating both similarities and differences in the composition of their partnerships and type of projects they pursue. It is important to note that case study research is an iterative process and analytical methods especially are more flexible than in other sciences (Yin, 2009), so data collection and analysis methods were developed and evolved as the research progressed.

The BID Sofielund case study was conducted between late May 2018 – late July 2018, and data for the reference cases was collected between early to mid August 2018.

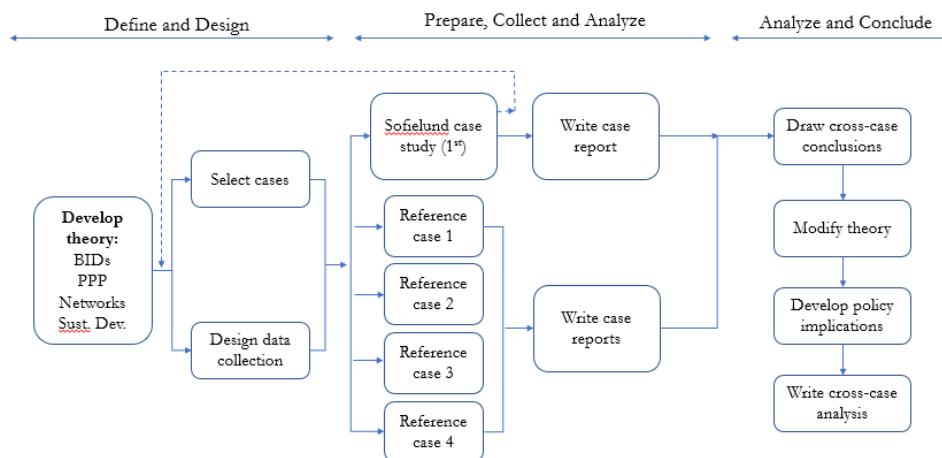


Figure 3-1. Multiple-case study procedure

Source: Adapted from Yin (2009)

3.1.1 Theory informing the methods

The line of inquiry followed during the research is based on Morçöl & Wolf's (2010) argument that BIDs should be analyzed through the lens of new governance (presented above in *Chapter 2.2*). This usage is in line with Creswell (2014) who states that theory can be applied at the beginning of qualitative research to shape what features of a problem the researcher focuses on and the type of questions that should be asked. New governance implies the use of networks, PPPs and partnerships more generally to achieve policy goals, while partnership research has identified success factors for determining partnership success. Following the literature review, the thesis employs the theoretical proposition that BID engagement in sustainability can be described as a function of the partnership quality between the network of actors comprising the BID and within the BID-government relationship.

The research design sought to elicit primarily qualitative data granting the ability to investigate how the collaborative process takes place between public and private partners within BID Sofielund and examine any relationship to its ability to affect urban sustainability. Focusing on how BID Sofielund functions as a PPP is justified by network governance theory and provides a narrower scope for carrying out the data collection and analysis.

3.2 Data collection methods

This exploratory study is guided by the overarching research question (RQ1: “How and why do BIDs engage in urban sustainability?”). In order to respond to this broad question and its two subquestions, the author composed a literature review using an iterative approach and devised a conceptual framework (Figure 2-1) to help guide the data collection. Partnership quality and sustainability for PPPs (according to the sustainability framework) were operationalized (Chapter 2.3 to Chapter 2.4) and based on the reviewed literature and used in the initial coding structure, while other concepts were loosely defined and used as guiding themes during the data collection due to the study's exploratory nature.

Data was first collected for BID Sofielund, and the process attempted to gather as much information as possible about the organization from its establishment until the present. This included secondary data available from different web pages on the organization website, reports prepared by consultants or external researchers, as well as primary data gathered from semi-structured interviews with BID participants. Data collection then moved onto the reference cases, where solely secondary data was gathered from the organizations' websites which included their own content as well as reports written for the organizations by external consultants.

3.2.1 Document review

Sources of data used to answer the research questions could include: background literature, documentation (agendas, study reports, website), archival records (annual reports, neighborhood survey data, municipal data).

The data needed to answer RQ2 (What BID outcomes (e.g. projects and processes) can be classified as influencing urban sustainability?) covered information on the following topics:

- Integration of sustainability into organizational processes
- Stated actions where sustainability is mentioned
- Environmental, social or economic development themes

The data needed to answer RQ3 (How does partnership quality influence BID engagement in sustainability?) provided information on the following topics:

- Manageability by public sector
- Accountability to the public
- Legitimacy in making decisions
- Involved actors and roles
- Partnership attributes (trust, knowledge sharing, negotiation, risk sharing, multi-stakeholder collaboration)

The data needed to answer RQ1 (How and why do BIDs engage in sustainability?) is covered by the previous RQs, as well as further information

3.2.2 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were performed for the in-depth BID Sofielund case to gain higher quality data about the research subject and investigate the theoretical proposition for RQ3. Given the exploratory nature of the research and the focus on BID Sofielund's partnership quality between public and private actors, interviews provide an important basis for data collection in this case and other case studies more generally (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). The first interview took place in May 2018 with the BID Project Leader. He provided initial information about the organization and listed potential interview subjects. With this information, BID participants, including private sector board members, government agency representatives, and academic; researchers were identified and solicited for interviews (*Appendix A*).

The interview questions (*Appendix B*) sought to elicit information that would possibly answer the two research questions and support the theoretical proposition that guided the research methodology. Interviews were broken up into three sections, 1) introductory questions; 2) sustainable development questions; and, 3) partnership questions. The introductory section was used as a warm up to develop a basic understanding of the individual's connection to the BID and provide a jumping off point to advance into the more complicated or intrusive questions. The sustainability section aimed to assess how the interviewees thought sustainable development related to their role within the BID or as an associate, whether they thought it is a worthwhile activity for them and the BID to pursue, and specific responses that could be categorized into the different domains of sustainability (social cohesion/quality of life, environmental protection, economic growth). The partnership section attempted to elicit the partnership quality indicators of trust, information sharing, negotiation, benefit & risk sharing, and multi-stakeholder collaboration and that might also introduce themes related to manageability, accountability and legitimacy that were identified as important to urban governance and public-private partnerships.

Considering that the research is focused on the interplay between public and private actors within BID organizations, the author sought a balanced mix of property owners and government representatives engaged in the BID partnership. The author aimed to interview a diverse mix of BID participants and Board Members, government representatives, member property owners and other BID associates. The author had the initial intent to prioritize and manage the number of interview subjects in order to achieve theoretical saturation without exceeding a quantity that would limit the amount of new knowledge generated in subsequent interviews and detract from the ability to perform a penetrating analysis (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

Ultimately, a greater proportion of Board Members participated in interviews out of circumstance. First, some individuals were unable to participate in interviews due to

uncomfortability with holding an interview in English. Second, other individuals solicited for interviews either did not respond to requests or were unable to participate. While seven Board Members agreed to provide information for the study, only two public authorities who sit as Adjunct Board Members agreed to participate.

3.3 Analysis

The multiple case study design employs two types of cases, with several shorter reference cases that relied on the collection of secondary data from the organizations' websites and an in-depth case study that combined both primary and secondary data. A multi phase analytic strategy was developed to fit the two different types of cases employed in the research design to address the overarching research question (RQ1: "How and why do BIDs engage in urban sustainability?").

First, the analysis was framed around two general analytic strategies for case studies as outlined by Yin (2009), including developing a case description and relying on a theoretical proposition. Second, the analysis utilized more specific techniques necessary to explore RQ1, including categorizing information to satisfy RQ2, while pattern matching and explanation building were used to combine findings from RQ2 and RQ3 and other data to explore possible explanations of the "why" portion of RQ1.

The entirety of the analysis took place by playing with data as it was collected through an iterative process. Since operational concepts were set prior to the analysis, the early steps sought to find emergent patterns between them. The coding structure (*Appendix C*) was built based on the conceptual framework from the literature review, using pre-established operational concepts of partnership quality. In early stages, data can be manipulated in the following ways to search for emergent patterns, insights and/or concepts that may help to answer the research questions a) examining; b) categorizing; c) tabulating, d) combining qualitative and quantitative evidence (Yin, 2009).

Presented in Chapter 4 (Case Study Main Findings), analysis first began with the composition of case descriptions for each case to support the exploratory and descriptive purpose of the study. Beginning with BID Sofielund, a case description in a semi-narrative format was composed to provide contextual information for where it is set and why it was established, general organizational features, and the types of activities the organization engages in. Case descriptions for the reference cases were prepared using a similar but more condensed format due to limited data availability and present what was determined to be a key programmatic or project area for each organization to display a breadth of BID activities. According to Yin (2009), the descriptive approach can help the case study practitioner identify explanations for their case.

Chapter 5 (Multi-Phase Analysis) responds to RQ3 by exploring associations between the partnership indicators and BID Sofielund's observed behaviors. It then covers a cross-case analysis of primary organizational features of all cases and answers RQ2 by analyzing BID projects and processes according to the sustainability framework and addresses. Lastly, it analyzes findings according to BID levels of democracy

3.3.1 RQ2

In order to support the analysis of RQ2 ("What BID outcomes (e.g. projects and processes) can be classified as influencing urban sustainability?"), the analysis utilizes the sustainability framework for PPPs identified in the literature (See Table 2-3) which provides a tool for categorizing evidence (Hueskes et al., 2017). While the author points out that this framework was developed to analyze textual information in PPP contracts and government requests for

proposals, this study aims to categorize actual BID outcomes according to the framework. Nevertheless, it was deemed satisfactory to support the objective of this study after initially collecting data on BID Sofielund. This framework was applied to both the in-depth case and reference cases to provide a basis for cross-comparing how BIDs engage in urban sustainability through their projects and processes.

3.3.2 RQ3

RQ3 is asked specifically of BID Sofielund and is related to the theoretical proposition guiding the research, that attributes related to partnership quality would provide an explanation for why BID Sofielund engages with urban sustainability. This provides a basis for directed content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). With directed content analysis, operational concepts for partnership quality and type of engagement in urban sustainability were identified during the background research prior to analysis and are employed to conduct the coding of primary and secondary data for the in-depth BID Sofielund case. The codes were developed and refined further during the data analysis phases for each case.

The partnership and sustainability themes are then analysed in relation to one another through pattern matching and explanation building to comment on potential associations between them.

3.3.3 RQ1

The overarching research question (RQ1: “How and why do BIDs engage in urban sustainability?”) is addressed in **Chapter 6 (Discussion)**, synthesizing the data accumulated from all five cases in the following format:

1. How do BIDs engage in urban sustainability?
 - a. Analysis of key organizational features
 - b. (RQ2) Presentation of BID projects and processes according to sustainability framework
2. Why do BIDs engage in urban sustainability?
 - a. Analysis of key organizational features
 - b. (RQ3) How does partnership quality influence engagement in sustainability?
 - c. Pattern matching to elucidate drivers of BID sustainability activities

To explore “how” BIDs engage in urban sustainability, first the organizational features of each BID were compiled into a table and summarized to examine how that might affect their activities, followed by a table that allows comparison of the different activities they engage in generally (non-sustainability). Next, a cross-comparison of BID activities according to the sustainability framework is presented and summarized, commenting on the major commonalities and differences found in the cases (RQ2).

RQ3 only serves as a partial explanation to the “why” portion of RQ1. To support further exploration into that question, the general organizational features were again considered, while pattern matching and explanation building were employed as additional analytical techniques to develop a framework for understanding BID sustainability activities through inductive reasoning.

3.4 Ensuring validity

To ensure a high quality of research, I will follow the guidance provided in Yin (2009) and select appropriate actions to maintain construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability that are relevant to the study.

- *Construct validity:*
 - Use of multiple sources of evidence
 - Establish chain of evidence
- *Internal validity:*
 - Pattern matching
 - Address rival explanations
- *External validity*
 - I am using theory to support the investigation of specific concepts, which will help to develop theory around BIDs, PPP and networks
- *Reliability*
 - Use of a case study protocol
 - Maintain case study database
 - Key informant review of case description (BID Sofielund)¹

¹ The author requested that the BID Sofielund project leader review the case description to ensure accuracy of the account. However, due to time conflicts the project leader was not able to perform the review.

4 Case study main findings

4.1 Reference cases

Due to the practical nature of this study, four reference cases were selected to exemplify an array of BID strategies that could potentially be of value for BID Sofielund to consider as it continues to develop. This also helps to strengthen the theoretical value of the study in its intent to explore how BIDs engage in sustainable development. Chapter 4.1 presents a general summary and key project or program for each reference case.

4.1.1 Victoria BID

The Victoria BID (VBID) was granted its first five-year term in 2010 following a successful vote on its 2010 - 2015 Business Plan by eligible levy-paying businesses and granted its second term from 2015 – 2020. VBID is located in the City of Westminster in central London and encompasses 43 hectares and 250 properties (Volterra Partners, 2017). Charities, schools are exempt from paying the levy, as well as businesses with a rateable value² below £150,000 (Volterra Partners, 2017). In the first bullet point under what the BID offers to businesses in its 2015-2020 Business Plan, the BID is stated to incorporate sustainability “across the organization’s work addressing the social, environmental and financial impacts of our partner programmes” (Victoria Business Improvement District, 2014, p. 5).

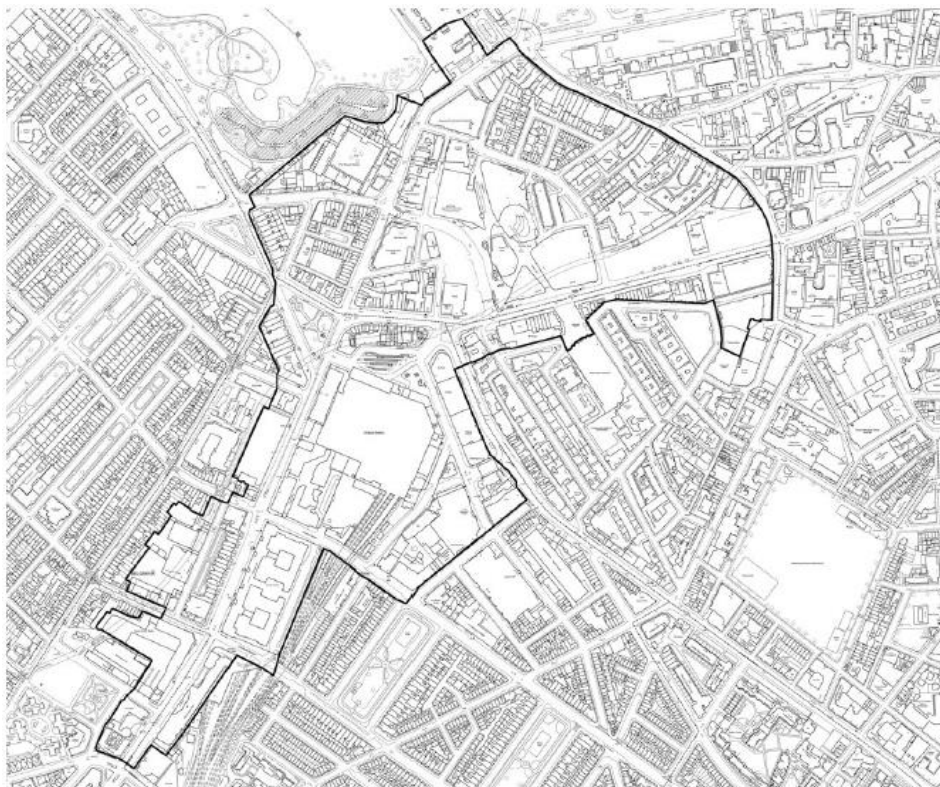


Figure 4-1. Victoria BID boundary

Source: Victoria Business Improvement District (2014)

The Vision 2020 Business Plan provides insight into VBID’s governance structure (Victoria Business Improvement District, 2014, p. 37). VBID is headed by a Chairman that serves an

² Rateable value is an estimate of the annual rent a landlord could charge a tenant on a year’s lease (“rateable value,” 2009).

annual term and nominated by other Board Members, who must represent different private industries within the community as follows: “Financial Services Representatives, Retailers, Hoteliers, Independent Retailers, Corporate Tenants, Theatre and Leisure Representatives, Restaurateurs and Property Owners.” Additionally, a group of observers from the public sector and local CSOs is invited to increase transparency and public accountability. The Board is able to implement its activities through a 12-person Executive Team (“Meet the Team,” n.d.), as well as through Steering Groups composed of community stakeholders.

VBID’s work programs are shaped by the organization’s business partners and divided into five categories listed in the following order on its website and publications: 1) Clean and Green; 2) Safe and Secure; 3) Sustainable Prosperity; 4) Destination Victoria, and; 5) Public Realm.

VBID coordinates extensively with the local police to address low level crime, business crimes, counter-terrorism security and business security through trainings, hiring security, and facilitating information sharing networks between businesses and authorities (“Safe and Secure,” n.d.). Under the Sustainable Prosperity program, VBID attempts to drive the economic sustainability of the area by supporting businesses and attracting continued investment, ultimately to support Victoria’s development as a prosperous commercial hub (“Sustainable Prosperity,” n.d.). It generates knowledge about its area through analyses such as the Victoria Vibrancy Report (Volterra Partners, 2017) and the Victoria Coach Station Economic Impact Assessment (Victoria Business Improvement District, 2014).

Destination Victoria spans the marketing and communications activities of VBID, under which it hosts numerous public events, gathers intelligence from individual businesses and facilitates the sharing of information between business owners and the network and publishes a public monthly newsletter (“Destination Victoria,” n.d.). The Public Realm work program has a combination of projects that may significantly shape the development of Victoria. First and foremost, VBID drafted a list of 12 principles (*Appendix D*) that should guide the development of the area. The principles are designed to incorporate sustainable development practices and be people-oriented (“Public Realm,” n.d.).

Green infrastructure

Under the Clean and Green work program, VBID has paved the way among private sector actors in London to emphasize green infrastructure experimentation and research, ultimately to achieve positive change in the community’s urban landscape. According to their publication on the topic, green infrastructure attempts to enhance the harmony of open and green spaces and features within an urban landscape with the surrounding ecosystem. It considers the network of ecological systems, such as water flows and habitats, and attempts to strengthen them to promote natural resource management while generating economic and social co-benefits (Victoria Business Improvement District, 2013). The most notable initiatives under the Clean and Green work program for their contribution to urban sustainability are the following two:

1. *Green Victoria*
2. *Green Infrastructure Audit Best Practice Guide*

One of VBID’s first acts was to perform a Green Infrastructure Audit in 2010 to identify potential investments in green space that could also aid in mitigating surface water flooding (Victoria Business Improvement District, 2013). The audit revealed opportunities for pursuing green infrastructure investment in the area, and the initiative Green Victoria came to be. The Green Victoria strategy strives to develop a sustainable and pleasant business environment by

investing in green infrastructure retrofitting projects (e.g. rain gardens, living walls, public green spaces) in the area and researches local effects of these projects (“Green Victoria,” n.d.).

Following VBID’s audit, several BIDs in London and other business associations applied a similar model to seek out in green infrastructure opportunities with support from the Greater London Authority and the Cross River Partnership (an urban regeneration PPP). The Green Infrastructure Audit Best Practice Guide was assembled together in partnership with a private urban planning consultancy and with support from the public sector organization Natural England to accumulate the knowledge developed through these various audits. It presents a how-to guide for BIDs and similar organizations to assess the state of green infrastructure in a designated area and look for opportunities to improve the local environment through a five-step process beginning with how to encourage stakeholder engagement and form strategic partnerships to build support for projects and give stakeholders greater ownership over developments (Victoria Business Improvement District, 2013).

The original intent of Clean and Green and Green Victoria was to utilize in green infrastructure for aesthetic enhancements to make the area more attractive for workers, residents and visitors (“Clean and Green,” n.d.), but the projects resulting from VBID’s in green infrastructure audit and audits undertaken by other organizations were found to deliver a multitude of additional benefits.³ The most common being the availability of additional income, developing new partnerships, maximizing investments by targeting high benefit projects, and improved intelligence about the BID area (Victoria Business Improvement District, 2013).

4.1.2 DowntownDC BID

Founded in 1997, the DowntownDC BID spans 138 blocks and approximately 520 properties in Washington DC, United States (State of Downtown 2017, 2017). Providing capital improvements, resources and research services, the BID asserts it plays the role of “catalyst, facilitator and thought leader in diversifying the economy, promoting public/private partnerships and enhancing the DowntownDC experience for all” (“Who We Are,” n.d.). In 2017 the BID convened five separate focus groups to develop their next five year business plan, and was granted authorization to continue operations until 2022 (State of Downtown 2017, 2017). The area it presides over has a diversity of restaurants, retailers, museums, parks and performance venues as well as residential property, making it a regional hub in the nation’s capital city. DowntownDC BID established itself as an EcoDistrict beginning in 2011, incorporating goals aimed at enhancing economic performance, increasing market competitiveness, and reducing resource consumption in the district (Pomeroy, 2012).

³ The Best Practice Guide lists arguments for undertaking a green infrastructure audit including increasing consumer footfall, improving air quality, reducing flood risk, developing partnerships, improved aesthetics, additional income, climate change adaptation, increasing biodiversity, and understanding existing assets.



Figure 4-2. DowntownDC BID boundary

Source: *State of Downtown 2017*, (2017)

The group's website states that property owners within the BID's territory are members, including residents as of 2018 ("Members & Residents," n.d.). In 2017, the organization had approximately USD 11 million in expenses employed a 24-person team of professional staff, 78 neighborhood ambassadors, and has a Board of Directors consisting of 11 representatives primarily from the private sector (State of Downtown 2017, 2017).

The DowntownDC BID divides its programs into seven areas: 1) Clean and safe; 2) Homeless services; 3) Marketing & communications; 4) Parks and places; 5) Transportation; 6) Economic development, and; 7) Public space.

Public space management

The BID's Safety/Hospitality & Maintenance (SAM) Ambassadors program is its flagship and most recognizable program, contributing to a range of the BID's various objectives. The Ambassadors are hired employees and the public face of the BID, with Safety/Hospitality Ambassadors providing directions to downtown visitors, reporting emergency situations and public asset deficiencies to proper authorities, as well as engaging with the homeless population in the area ("Public Space," n.d.).

The latter is of critical importance for the area, impacting the social dynamics within the BID territory. 12 specially-trained SAMs comprise the Homeless Outreach Services Team (HOST), which partners closely with the local social services organization Pathways to Housing DC to provide housing and mental health and addiction interventions, addressing a critical social issue in the city ("Homeless Services," n.d.). In 2017, HOST provided outreach to 482 homeless individuals and moved 28 individuals into housing. Furthermore, 22 safety and hospitality ambassadors lead a youth engagement center, where they are trained in providing services to at-risk youths (State of Downtown 2017, 2017).

Maintenance Ambassadors seek to remedy problems in the physical and public realm of the BID territory and remove litter, trash, recycling, posters and graffiti, as well as perform landscaping needs, paint, hang banners and other public space needs (“Clean & Safe,” n.d.). The Field Asset Management (FAM) Team, another sub-group of ambassadors, reports deficiencies in the District’s public and private assets using a mobile application that is aggregated into a Public Space Conditions Database (“Public Space,” n.d.). Ambassadors can address some issues internally, but information is also shared bi-monthly with the Public Space Working Group, which is comprised of local and national public sector agencies and utilities with the ability to fix damaged assets and maintain the quality of the streetscape. In 2017 DowntownDC BID collected 166,663 bags of waste from the BID area, trained maintenance ambassadors to use heavy snow plowing equipment, and installed new landscaping across hundreds of locations (State of Downtown 2017, 2017).

4.1.3 West Colfax BID

By promoting investment through land use and redevelopment projects, supporting and recruiting commercial enterprises, and promoting multi-modal transportation developments, the West Colfax Business Improvement District’s (WCBID) mission is to establish West Colfax Avenue as “Denver’s sustainable Main Street” (“About Us,” n.d.; West Colfax Business Improvement District, 2018). WCBID is located on Colfax Avenue, one of Denver Colorado’s oldest and busiest thoroughfares. Emerging out of a neighborhood planning process in 2006 just to the west of downtown Denver, the WCBID was established as a tool to revitalize the area after a period of disinvestment (“History,” n.d.).

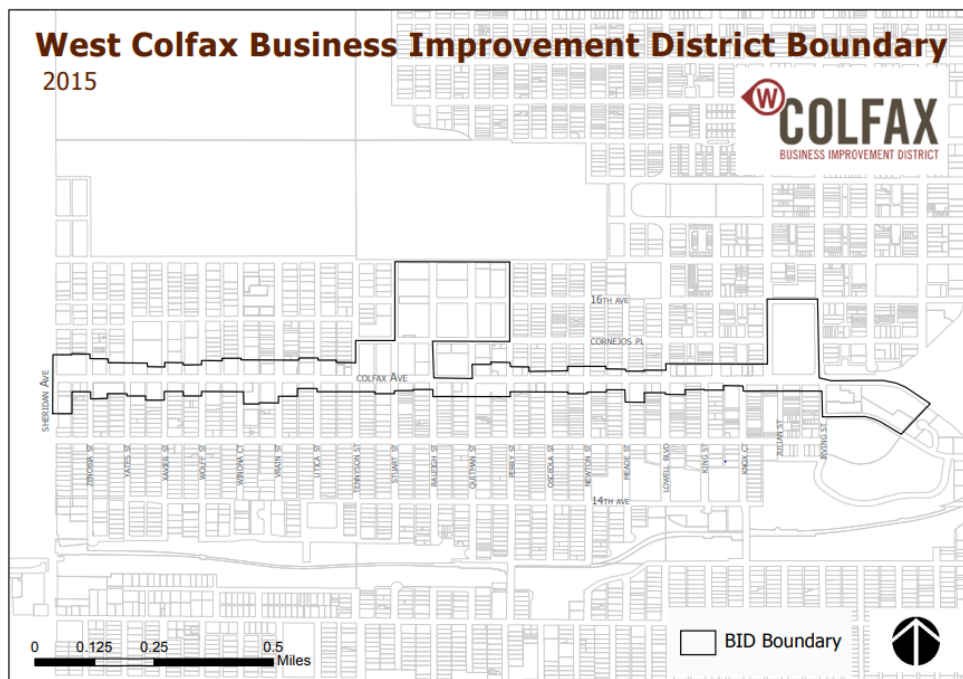


Figure 4-3. West Colfax BID boundary

Source: West Colfax Business Improvement District (2015)

According to WCBID’s bylaws, the organization is required to be governed by a group of officers, including a President, Vice President, Secretary and Treasurer elected from the Board of Directors (“West Colfax Business Improvement District By-Laws,” 2016). The BID is currently run by a non-property owning Director of Economic Development who serves as

strategic manager and legal counsel, and three Board members representing private property owners (“People,” n.d.). In recent years, it joined in partnership with three other BIDs along the corridor, forming the Colfax Collaborative for enhanced collective bargaining to advocate for coherent improvements along a significant stretch of Colfax Avenue.

The WCBID website does not lay out work areas or programs as specifically as the other organizations in this study, but rather divides the work across three categories: 1) Business Support; 2) Projects & Development, and; 3) Sustainability. However, in addition to the website, the 2018 Operating Plan expands on WCBID’s activities and divides its agenda into the categories of real estate development and land use, economic development, marketing and events, street, and public art. These groups display similar characteristics as the activities of other BIDs in the study (West Colfax Business Improvement District, 2018).

WCBID’s business support activities are primarily targeted at the district’s many small and medium sized enterprises. WCBID arranges investment and financing consulting to inform businesses about available tax credits and has also leveraged the USD 1.3 million collected in assessments since its inception to receive direct financial investment in community improvements and other investments in development projects from the city by a factor of seven and a factor of 55, respectively (“Investments and Financing,” n.d.).

WCBID’s Projects & Development functions aim to facilitate the sustainable development of the community by investing in capital improvement projects, researching local demographic and market conditions, serving as a community advocate in citywide discussions on transportation planning and development, negotiating for grant funding from the local government and other parties, and other activities that have consequential effects on the community over the short, mid and long term (“Improving West Colfax,” n.d.). WCBID’s sustainability work encompasses its transport-related planning and activities as well as energy efficiency improvements along the corridor (“Sustainability,” n.d.).

Transportation planning advocacy

Given that WCBID is along a major and car-heavy transit corridor, much of the organization’s activities relate back to Colfax Avenue. It plays an important role by advocating for the interests of the local community, including businesses and residents, as the local government plans for future growth. To achieve its transportation development-related goals, it periodically utilizes the services of urban planning consultants to engage with decision-makers that control land use and planning within the local government. WCBID has taken several actions in the recent past that influence the sustainability of the district through transportation planning and advocacy:

1. Securing local government funding dedicated to capital improvement projects
2. Collaborative transportation and land use planning with community stakeholders

In 2017, WCBID collaborated with three other BIDs (combined as the Colfax Collaborative) along the corridor to advocate for the community’s needs in future capital improvement projects, presenting the local government with a unified idea for how streetscape design should be implemented. The Colfax Collaborative collectively gathered over 1800 surveys and canvassed the local community to evaluate resident perceptions on how crossing enhancements should be developed along Colfax Avenue and gained broad-based consensus, ultimately resulting in the allocation of USD 20 million in city bond funding earmarked for capital improvements along the corridor (West Colfax Business Improvement District, 2018).

Over the Colfax Clover is another ongoing transportation project that has brought together local stakeholders in a collaborative process to re-envision the design of a major intersection in

ways that better meet the needs of the local community that can inform planning decisions (“Over the Colfax Clover,” n.d.). Several design visualizations were generated by a private engineering firm after workshops with urban planners, engineers, developers and public authorities and with input from the local community. A key partner in the project is the healthcare provider Kaiser Permanente, whose aim is to help develop the currently single use area into a mixed-use living hub that promotes health by enabling improvements to pedestrian and cycling infrastructure. (West Colfax Business Improvement District, 2018).

Supporting the transformation of West Colfax into a multi-modal transit corridor has potential to improve the environmental performance of the transport system as well as contribute to a more pedestrian-friendly area. WCBID has funded its own capital improvement projects that promote traffic calming and buffer pedestrians from vehicle traffic. Other projects include public art installations, graffiti removal, and public events that are intended to improve the community’s aesthetic character and sense of local identity (“District Projects,” n.d.).

4.1.4 Capitol Hill EcoDistrict

Established in 2013, the Capitol Hill EcoDistrict (CHED) is not technically a business improvement district but it can be characterized under the same category of Hodge & Greve's (2007; 2009) typology of PPP techniques described in Chapter 2.3 (civil society & community development / urban renewal and downtown economic development). It plays a similar role in its community as BID Sofielund, possessing attributes and motives that focus funding towards the physical and social aspects of urban development. These qualities make it a relevant case for this study and it will be referred to as a BID in the rest of the thesis for the sake of simplicity.

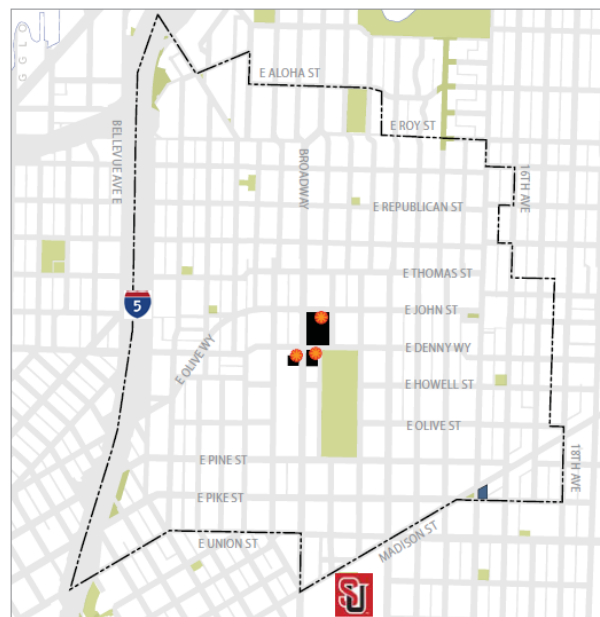


Figure 4-4. Capitol Hill EcoDistrict proposed project boundary

Source: (GGLO, 2012)

It is organized by Capitol Hill Housing in Seattle, Washington, United States, a publicly owned community development authority dedicated to providing affordable housing and maintaining community health that owns and manages 49 affordable housing properties (“Capitol Hill Housing,” n.d.). Under its parent organization, Capitol Hill EcoDistrict partners with local stakeholders to address the district’s present and future sustainability challenges (“About the

EcoDistrict,” n.d.). It is guided by a steering committee comprised of 21 individuals including public officials, academics, neighborhood organizations and private companies and operated by a seven-person staff (“Our Steering Committee,” n.d.) to experiment with various approaches gleaned from other cities to meet neighborhood and sustainable development needs (“About the EcoDistrict,” n.d.).

According to the initial report that laid the groundwork for establishing the EcoDistrict, CHED exists in the context of Seattle’s sustainability policies and objectives (GGLO, 2012), working to bring them down to a more manageable local community scale.

- Carbon Neutral Seattle (2050)
- City canopy coverage 30% (2040)
- Seattle Climate Action Plan – single occupancy vehicle (SOV) trips <36% (2030)
- Reduce water demand by >15 mil gallons/day (2030)
- Seattle 70% recycling rate goal (2025)

The organization works under eight performance areas covering social, environmental and cultural objectives and long term goals for the district (“About the EcoDistrict,” n.d.):

1. *Water* – Stormwater management, water conservation and other goals
2. *Habitat* – Habitat conservation and connectivity, promoting nature-friendly design
3. *Culture* – Preserving and promoting diversity, culture & arts, encouraging social interaction
4. *Energy* – Improving energy performance of new and existing buildings, reducing fossil fuel consumption
5. *Materials* – Promoting resource conservation and waste diversion
6. *Transportation* – Creating more multi-modal transit opportunities
7. *Health* – Public safety, access to healthy foods, supporting physical activity and social cohesion
8. *Equity* – Engage underrepresented groups in decision-making, equal access to public space and services, increasing economic opportunity for low-income people

CHED works on projects under five categories: 1) Buildings; 2) Businesses; 3) Infrastructure; 4) People, and; 5) Partner projects (“Projects Archive,” n.d.).

The EcoDistrict Index

As a primary leader and driver of sustainability initiatives in the community, in 2015 the CHED developed a method to track its progress called *The EcoDistrict Index* (*Appendix E*). It includes a set of targets for the year 2030 with performance metrics and baseline figures for measuring changes according to seven decision-making criteria: (i) place specific; (ii) scale appropriate; (iii) measurable; (iv) relevant to real issues; (v) congruent with partner organizations; (vi) evaluated and adjusted over time, and; (vii) easy to communicate (“EcoDistrict Index,” 2015). The metrics not only allow CHED to attempt to measure their own impacts, but also serve as a base of actionable information for use by local government decision-makers.

CHED used a collaborative process with community members, university researchers and public officials to collect data, determine baselines and align tracking methods with best practice and to ensure local issues are addressed with respect to Seattle’s overall priorities. The 15 targets contribute to seven of CHED’s eight performance areas, with seven health targets, six transportation targets, two habitat targets, two equity targets, one materials target, one water

target, and one energy target. Based on these targets, it appears that the community health and transportation performance areas are of top priority, and it is unclear whether the other indicators are less important or if there are other entities already measuring these types of issues. It is unclear with the available data exactly how deliberations took place to select these specific targets, but based on the decision-making criteria, these targets may have been the optimal combination of those criteria at the time.

CHED issued a progress update in 2016 that measured neighborhood change during 2015. The review found positive change for six targets, negative change for three targets, no change for three targets, and missing or unavailable data for three targets (“EcoDistrict Index Update,” 2016).

Table 4-1. 2016 EcoDistrict Index Update

Performance Area	Target for 2030	% Change
Energy	Reduce building energy use intensity by 50%	+2.8%
Water	Reduce building potable water use intensity by 50%	N/A
Materials	Achieve 70% waste diversion	-11.5%
Habitat	Achieve 21% tree canopy cover	N/A
Equity/ Habitat	Achieve 100% of district within ¼ mile of park	0.0%
Health	Achieve 100% of district within ½ mile of grocery store	0.0%
Health	Double P-Patch Plots within walking distance	0.0%
Health	Double Farmers Market shopper count by all incomes	+23.3%
Health/ Transport	Achieve 0 serious injuries, fatalities from traffic collisions	+23.1%
Transport	Reduce SOV commute rate for residents to 15%	+18.8%
Transport	Double transit boardings and alightings	-0.4%
Health/ Transport	Increase pedestrian traffic at selected intersections by 33%	+54.5%
Transport	Triple bicycle traffic at selected intersections	+12%
Equity/ Transport	<15% income spent on transportation	N/A
Equity	<30% income spent on housing	-10.0%

Source: Adapted from (“EcoDistrict Index Update,” 2016)

The table above displays positive change primarily in the transport-oriented targets. It is not possible to deduce whether these outcomes resulted directly from CHED’s activities or if they improved due to external factors. It is also noteworthy that three targets were not measured, and no explanation was provided on why data is missing. One could speculate that these indicators are measured by another organization, perhaps the city, and the evaluation was not carried out or is not performed on an annual basis. Based on what is available online, CHED has not publicly published any updates on the EcoDistrict Index since 2016.

As a district in a major city in the western US, transportation-related sustainability issues are dominant. Community health and other social factors are also a primary focus for the parent organization, Capitol Hill Housing, and as such it would be expected that performance areas falling into the social dimension of sustainability are emphasized.

4.2 In-depth case: BID Sofielund

Chapter 4.2 presents the findings for BID Sofielund, including its setting, an in-depth summary of the organization and its programs, as well as the findings related to partnership quality indicators gathered from interviews.

4.2.1 Urban development in Malmö

Malmö, Sweden's third largest city with a population of roughly 300,000, has been on the forefront of sustainable urban development since the 1990s. Following the national government's actions during the 1990s and early 2000s to develop a strategy for sustainable development (Ahlberg, 2009), Malmö also took these ideas on board to incorporate them into the local strategy for sustainability and economic growth. To date, developments in neighborhoods such as Augustenborg, Västra Hamnen and Hyllie have incorporated innovative experimentation and solutions for reducing the areas' environmental impacts (Malmö Stad, n.d.a).

Social and economic disparities have proven harder to tackle. Older neighborhoods, especially those in the center city, were not receiving similar levels of investment and living conditions began to deteriorate (Bohman, 2015). In addition, in the midst of growing concerns about socio-economic disparities, Malmö and other parts of Sweden have undergone significant social change in the last ten years. As of 2013, roughly one-third of Malmö's population is foreign born (Statistiska centralbyrån, 2015), the largest proportion of the total population out of any Swedish city. Sofielund and other neighborhoods in Malmö's inner-city have received the most immigrants and show even higher proportions of foreign-born residents, at around half of the population as of 2013. The lack of investment in the area beginning in the 1990s has been compounded by the socio-economic struggles experienced by immigrants, creating an impetus for new solutions to promote social sustainability.

Områdesprogram för ett socialt hållbart Malmö (2010 – 2015)

The area development program initiated in 2010 identified five priority areas within the city that were allocated five million Swedish crowns in funding each year over a five-year period to catalyze developments that would improve the socio-economic conditions of public safety and employment opportunities for those living in Malmö's areas with the lowest social welfare. (Malmö Stad, n.d.-b)

Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö (2011 – 2013)

Upon the recognition that the residents of certain communities and districts within Malmö were experiencing significant disparities in socio-economic well-being, thereby creating public health issues, the Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö was established in 2011. The commission investigated the social determinants of health and prepared recommended solutions for what could be done to reduce health disparities and how (Isacsson, Balkfors, & Leander, 2011).

4.3 BID beginnings

With the conversation about social sustainability already going on, the evident socioeconomic issues afflicting certain Malmö neighborhoods were compounded by the challenges of integrating tens of thousands of migrants into the country during the refugee crisis taking place after 2011. As a result, the city was experiencing crime rates and public safety issues at a level not seen before with problems concentrated in many of the neighborhoods previously identified under the social sustainability programs. In addition to social concerns, studies done by the criminology department at Malmö University found that the urban environment was

also affected by physical problems in the forms of excessive litter, instances of poor upkeep of residential properties, and other aesthetic quality issues (Kronkvist & Ivert, 2017).

“Broken windows theory” began to shape the perspective of government actors regarding local conditions. The theory uses the metaphor of a broken window to argue how neighborhood disorder (the presence of a broken window), raises the signal that there is a lack of care or responsibility for the property and so breaking more windows (committing crimes) would cost nothing for a would-be criminal (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). As such, the high levels of criminality and insecurity affecting these neighborhoods in Malmö were thought to partially result from the perception of criminals that local residents, property owners, and the government itself did not care about maintaining a sense of order across the social and physical factors in the urban environment. This line of thinking forms the basis and core purpose for installing the BID.

The initiative to establish a BID in Sofielund was first brought forth by several of the major property owners operating in the neighborhood. During a study visit to Bryant Park in New York City, the property owners had the opportunity to learn about the not-for-profit Bryant Park Corporation which operates under the BID model and was charged in 1980 with revitalizing the public park as an agent of the city government (“Bryant Park - About Us,” n.d.). The idea formed that experimentation with this model could complement other needs and potential solutions for Malmö borne out of the Områdesprogram and Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö. The concept was then discussed among the major owners of the Sofielund district, importantly with backing from the municipal housing company, MKB, and brought to the Project Leader around 2012-2013, with another initiative to establish a BID in Gamlestaden in Göteborg occurring in parallel (BID Gamlestaden, 2017).

Along with support from some of the large players in the area, the Project Leader, as the area developer working for Malmö Stad, took on the role as a key player and advocate for the experiment in discussions with the local government, private actors and CSOs whose support was needed to establish a BID. Now encompassing the Malmö neighborhoods of Södra Sofielund, Norra Sofielund, Sofielund’s industrial area, Annelund, and Lönngården (“Området som vi utvecklar och verkar i,” n.d.), the association now known as BID Sofielund was established on September 3, 2014 through a joint initiative between Malmö Stad (the City of Malmö) and a group of local property owners (Bohman, 2015).

4.3.1 Community overview

As stated previously, over 30% of BID Sofielund’s inhabitants are foreign born, and the area has a younger population than the whole of Sweden on average (Statistika centralbyrån, 2015). During an early fact-finding study for BID Sofielund, the area was also defined as having relatively low income and employment rates and a high occupancy turnover rate (Bohman, 2015). The BID uses occupancy turnover as a key performance metric and hopes to lower the rate to contribute to a greater sense of identity and responsibility among residents.



Figure 4-5. BID Sofielund boundary

Source: Author's creation adapted from Juterot (2018)

4.3.2 Purpose and vision

The purpose of the BID is to make the area more attractive, increase property values, create a greater sense of community cohesion, responsibility and identity in the area among its inhabitants. Taken from BID Sofielund's statutes, the organization more specifically has the objectives of:

- *“Promoting cooperation between property owners, housing associations, village communities, tenants and businesses in North and South Sofielund and between property owners, the City of Malmö and other stakeholders in order to benefit the advancement of Sofielund.*
- *Create a long-term security work to increase the collective strength among property owners and residents in the area [to] contribute to a long-term social sustainability in cooperation with the city authorities and businesses.*
- *Promoting a positive image, increasing the attractiveness and pride [in] Sofielund and promot[ing] good property that will contribute to a socially stable and attractive area” (“Stadgar,” n.d.)*

4.3.3 Legal framework

Currently, the BID model as it is used in Sofielund has not been given a specific legislative framework under Swedish law. As described above, the model has a stronger legal basis in countries like the US, UK, Canada and others that began utilizing the model earlier. Both the BID manager and a local politician explained that despite the lack of legal structure, the BID concept was established locally and adapted in a Swedish way following the work laid out by past social sustainability development projects.

Due to the close involvement and coordination with city departments and politicians, as well as the fact that the BID coordinator himself is an employee of *Gatukontoret*, most, if not all, BID projects and activities are subject to oversight and approval by some representative of Malmö Stad. This provides a *de facto* legal basis grounded in the existing laws and regulations that city departments are constrained by. BID Sofielund is formed as a nonprofit organization, and as

such follows standard guidelines for the steering of nonprofits within Sweden. The statutes stipulate that there shall be a Board of 9 – 15 members elected for one year terms that are responsible for directing the organization’s activities (Stadgar för Fastighetsägare BID Sofielund, 2014). One interviewed board member also pointed out that the BID follows best practices and laws for the governance of nonprofit organizations established at the national level (“Förening,” n.d.; “Valberedning,” n.d.).

4.3.4 Governance

Members

The BID’s members consist of smaller property-owning organizations such as *Bostadsrättsförening* ([Brfs] collectively owned housing) and *Byalag* (homeowners associations), to the municipally owned housing company MKB, to regional and national corporations like Svenska Hus and Heimstaden. Commercial businesses, several industrial companies including Pågen, Akzo Nobel, and Stadex, the local utility E.ON, and a handful of civil society organizations (CSOs) and NGOs also participate. Since the establishment of the BID organization, membership increased steadily from an initial group of five members to nearly 50 members when this research was conducted (“Medlemmar,” n.d.).

Board of Directors

The organization has a 14-member Board of Directors that are often managers of their respective companies and elected from the base of fee paying members (“Styrelse,” 2018). According to the BID manager, the goal for selecting board members is to represent the spectrum of member organizations and gather local players with the legitimacy and power to make decisions while also providing representation and a seat at the table for the range of local stakeholders in the area. Furthermore, a group of adjunct board members consisting of representatives from Malmö Stad departments including the Police, Environmental Department, Streets and Parks, City Planning and others (“Styrelse,” 2018) sit in on board meetings depending on the agenda. The BID manager invites them to attend if their knowledge or input is needed to better formulate BID projects and to provide a vehicle for improved communication and collaboration between the property owners and government representatives.

4.3.5 Organizational structure

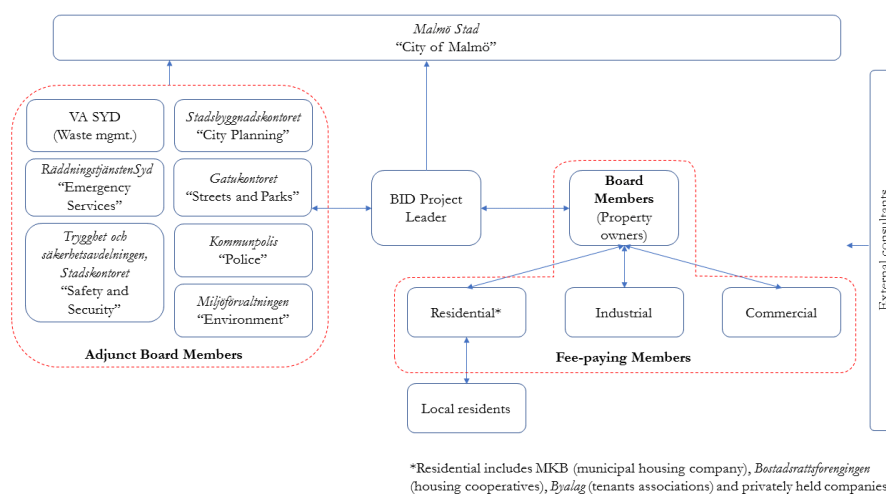


Figure 4-6. BID Sofielund organizational structure

Source: Author’s own elaboration adapted from “Styrelse,” (2018)

4.3.6 Financial information

As of the 2018 Annual Meeting, the membership fee of 500 Swedish crowns per year (~ USD 50) was maintained for all members engaging with the BID. There is also an assessment charged to private property owners and the *Brfs* assessed at differentiated rates. Private owners, including MKB, must pay 9 crowns (~ USD 1.00) and *Brfs* are required to pay 3 crowns (~ USD 0.30) per square meter of property in the area (“Dagordning årsmöte Fastighetsägare BID Sofielund 2018-03-19,” 2018).

According to the 2017 Annual Report, the BID had an income of roughly SEK 1 million, the majority of which came from the assessments. The total expenditure was SEK 1.3 million, with almost one-half spent on the work of consultants. One-third of expenditure went towards supporting local social organizations and project grants, and the difference was spent on administrative costs (Fastighetsägare BID Sofielund, 2018).

4.3.7 Focus Areas

BID Sofielund directs its activities under seven focus areas. Since it began, the type of projects undertaken by the BID have continued to evolve in purpose and scope, with the initial focus on public safety programs and activities intended to improve the aesthetic qualities of the neighborhood. The BID is now an entity with considerable legitimacy and power to influence urban planning decisions that take place in and around its territory.

Building off of the 2018 Activity Plan newsletter (“Aktivitetsplan 2018 - ett urval,” 2018) which highlights the organization’s current priority work areas, this section addresses the data gathered from all sources, including the document review and interview responses, and categorizes them into the BID’s seven focus areas. Key projects are also featured that accentuate the purpose of the focus area.

Safe and secure

Following the broken windows theory, it is believed that the level and type of criminal behavior taking place in the area stemmed from the mismanagement of properties. The BID decided early on that a fundamental strategy of expelling property owners who are not “serious” and attempting to bring in actors with a greater sense of responsibility was necessary to achieve its goals (Bohman, 2015).

One way the BID began applying pressure to these identified property owners was a coordinated effort to enforce the violation of building safety and environmental codes. Certain properties were stated to be in slum-like conditions, with occupancy rates in some residences far exceeding what they were designed for (BID Project Leader, 2018). A task force of representatives from different municipal agencies with the authority to impose fines and other legal measures was assembled and made rounds throughout the BID’s neighborhoods. With this method, property owners were expected to improve their behavior or face continued regulatory pressures brought on by the BID. This work is still ongoing.

Close collaboration with the Police Department has been another important theme and distinguishing factor of the BID, highlighted by various interviewed board members. The officer responsible for the inner city of Malmö, including BID Sofielund’s geographic area, also sits as an adjunct board member. From his point of view the BID so far has been an invaluable tool for developing a more effective partnership between law enforcement and the local community. Using the BID as an institutional platform for communication among its participants, the officer and other interviewees described different advantages provided by the organization in relation to security and public safety.

The Police Department has been able to work more effectively with property owners when property improvements are needed to help deter crime (Adjunct Board Member 2, 2018). One example was an improved information sharing ability and uptake by property owners about the need to install new or additional locks on properties. In addition, several property owners appreciated that they now have a direct line of contact with high-level law enforcement officers, and thereby have faster response times to reported problems. The BID has also initiated several other projects that were stated to produce positive outcomes on security and safety within the area:

Volunteer Night Patrol

The BID initiated a project early on with support from the Police Department to create a volunteer night patrol group to provide basic security services and report serious crimes to the local police. The police provide training for what the patrol is and is not allowed to do, and the visibility of this group has contributed to reductions in crime according to anecdotal evidence

Safety Certifications

Through a collaboration with the Police Department, the national insurance agency *Länsförsäkringar*, and property owners, the BID is helping to develop a certification scheme with different standards related to building safety that can be applied to local properties. While the project is still in development, the goal is to encourage property improvements by providing lower insurance rates and a logo or marking applied to properties that meet the new standards (BID Project Leader, 2018).

University Research

BID Sofielund has provided a total of SEK 250 000 in grant funding to the Criminology Department at Malmö University to research its role in crime prevention and urban development since it was established. The most recent report collected data from police crime report statistics, housing surveys, property owner surveys and interviews to research any notable effects (Kronkvist & Ivert, 2017).

Clean and tidy

In order to make the area more attractive and increase property values, the BID has focused its efforts to make improvements to properties in the area as well as through different beautification projects. On the individual property level, one interviewed property owner described how he realized his company needed to inspect its properties for damage and other problems that would detract from the perceived cleanliness of the area. Following a board meeting that discussed the cleanliness standards the BID should uphold, he went back to his company and acted to repair damages and make improvements to their buildings' façades (Board Member 3, 2018)

The BID also finances projects that affect cleanliness at the community level and improve the conditions of public spaces.

Sofielundpatrullen

Beginning in March 2016 with 15 employees, *Sofielundpatrullen* ("The Sofielund Patrol") was tasked with collecting litter, removing graffiti and making maintenance improvements around Sofielund ("Rent och snyggt," n.d.).

Urban environment

As a collaboration between large and small residential, commercial and industrial property owners and local government, BID Sofielund has the legitimacy and decision-making power to significantly influence how the urban environment takes shape. Importantly, the formation of

the BID around a common vision allows for cohesive planning of developments that occur at the district level, rather than through smaller scale projects located on individual properties. BID representatives stressed that it provides a platform for property owners, civil society and other organizations to collaborate around the needs of different stakeholders (Adjunct Board Member 1, 2018; BID Project Leader, 2018; Board Member 5, 2018)

During the planning phase, one property owner's large development project was heavily influenced through negotiations with the BID. Since this project would have a consequential impact on the district both for property owners and the municipality, the project was shaped to integrate several resource efficient elements (e.g., geothermal heating systems, storm water containment) and reduce physical barriers to promote a more open layout. After deliberations with BID partners, the project was enhanced to complement the needs of the district and synergize with conditions on the neighboring properties (Board Member 5, 2018)

Destinationsanalys Sofielund (“Destination Analysis Sofielund”)

As part of the planning process for a new train station in the adjacent community of Rosengård, Malmö's Streets and Parks Department commissioned *Destinationsanalys Sofielund* (“Destination Analysis Sofielund”) in collaboration with BID Sofielund to analyze the impact of the project on socioeconomic factors within the area and present ideas for how to bring about economic growth and social well-being (Juterot, 2018).

Stadsdelsatlas (“District Atlas”)

Together with the architecture and urban design firm White Arkitekter, BID Sofielund developed a District Atlas, which mapped out the 1000+ different stakeholders within the district as well as the structure of the urban landscape and what those aspects mean for the area from a sustainable urban development perspective (White Arkitekter AB, 2018).

Sustainable development

The concept of sustainable development has underlined most, if not all, of the work enacted through the organization's other focus areas. As a part of its commitment to responsibly contribute to the well-being of the district and its inhabitants, the BID is currently working to align its activities and processes with the 17 United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). According to the BID manager, the SDGs will provide a guideline for how the organization should operate and seek to interact with external parties and the community at large. While the SDGs span the holistic view of sustainability by focusing on ecological, social and economic indicators, so far the BID has mainly supported work lending to social and economic sustainability.

The BID's flagship environmental sustainability project to improve energy efficiency was a cooperation between the BID, Naturskyddsforeningen (“the Nature Conservation Association”), and E.ON, the local energy provider, to install solar panels on the rooves of select properties within the district. Malmö and E.ON have had an ongoing partnership whereby E.ON uses the city as a test bed for experimenting with smart energy grids and other energy efficiency innovations, so this pre-existing cooperation was exploited to execute the project (Frykman et al., 2018).

Spearheaded by BID Sofielund, another key project still in progress during the execution of the research and cited by numerous interview subjects is the creation of a fund called the Sofielund Utvecklingsfond (“Sofielund Development Fund”), which is intended to support the vision shared by Malmö Stad and the BID to make the area more attractive, spur investment and bring about sustainable development. Managed by Sofielund Utveckling AB, a limited company/corporation, and with the approval of the municipality, the Utvecklingsfond will be

able to sell shares and pool financial resources used to stimulate investment into the area. A pilot study was conducted in Spring of 2018 to outline the present conditions for establishing the fund and negotiations were taking place between the BID and the municipality during Summer 2018, with an expected start date in Fall 2018 (Juterot, 2018).

During 2018 – 2021 the BID will also manage two projects co-financed by the EU under the European Regional Fund (“Aktivitetsplan 2018 - ett urval,” 2018).

Case Sofielund Entreprenörskap (“Entrepreneurship”)

Co-financed by the European Regional Fund, the objective of the project is to strengthen local entrepreneurship, thereby seeking to address the community’s needs for increased employment and economic growth and strengthen the community identity (“Case Sofielund Entreprenörskap,” 2017).

Case Sofielund 2030

Co-financed by the European Regional Fund (“Aktivitetsplan 2018 - ett urval,” 2018) the project will be managed by the BID to establish Sofielund as a test bed for new ideas around how to implement the SDGs on a local level. Approximately 10% of the budget will be allocated to the formation of the Sofielund Utvecklingsfond described above (“Case Sofielund 2030,” 2017).

Traffic and accessibility

Recent work areas for the BID regarding traffic and accessibility include supporting plans to improve bicycle infrastructure, upgrades to sidewalks and street corners and other mobility planning measures to alleviate car traffic (“Trafik och tillgänglighet,” n.d.). The local utility E.ON has submitted a letter of intent to partner with the BID to experiment with smart mobility services such as installing charging stations for electric vehicles and a potential carpool service. BID also engages with external consultants to make plans for redeveloping neighborhood streets that are in need of capital improvements and presents ideas to the local authorities (“Aktivitetsplan 2018 - ett urval,” 2018).

Communication

The BID has both internal and external communication processes. Internally, the board meets six times per year and discusses the BID’s ongoing work. Annual meetings are open to all BID members and during the meetings the members determine the BID’s activities for the coming year and other aspects of governance such as the election of board members (“Stadgar,” n.d.). The BID has also sought to improve its external communications to ensure transparency to the local public and advertise the activities and role it plays within the community (“Kommunikation,” n.d.). It is now using social media platforms Facebook, Instagram, LinkedIn and YouTube in addition to activity plans published on a yearly basis and newsletters published quarterly or tri-annually since the beginning of 2015 (“Nyhetsbrev,” n.d.).

Member benefits

While the website does not list specific projects that apply to the member benefits focus area (“Medlemsnytta,” n.d.), various member benefits emerged out of discussions with interview subjects including:

- Access to the partner network
- Improved safety of the area
- “Making the district a better place” (implicit benefits to all stakeholders)
- Information sharing

- Potential for collective bargaining
- Platform for negotiation
- Improved reputation

4.3.8 Exploring the partnership

This section presents the findings for RQ3 (“How does partnership quality influence engagement in urban sustainability?”) using the pre-defined operational concepts of partnership quality. The material presented in this section is based on the responses of interview subjects who are directly involved in the partnership (board members, adjunct board members, and members) and excludes interview material generated from external actors.

Trust

Based on the responses of interviewed board members, both private and public, there is a general sense of trust between the public and private sector actors as well as the actors within their own camps. Examples of interviewee responses related to trust were:

“Today we can talk about a partnership instead of talking about just cooperating. A partnership is one step more. We are really doing things side by side and I think it’s created a good respect for one another and what needs we have and what we prioritize.” (Politician, 2018)

“I think the people or property managers or companies involved with BID Sofielund are all up for doing things better in each area. All from the streets to the backyards to everything. To make the whole area a better place to live in.” (Board Member 1, 2018)

“But with the BID, and the trust I have in them and the connections I have with other real estate owners, the municipality, yeah, we want to stay, we want to put money into this.” (Board Member 5, 2018)

The source of trust can be attributed to several factors. First, it appeared from discussions that a high level of trust is placed on the BID’s Project Leader. As a long time resident of the Sofielund area and community development employee with the municipality, he has built significant rapport with residents and private businesses alike. Sitting at the center of the BID’s operations, his mediating role facilitates trust between other BID members and municipal agencies.

The continued dialogue and negotiation between the board and other members allowed for the development of a common vision for the area, providing the basis for trust. Interpreting the purpose of the “property owner code of conduct,” the removal of less serious property owners leaves those that are genuinely interested in supporting the development of the community and are willing to act in ways that may not immediately benefit their immediate self-interest. It can be argued that this brings forth a fundamental element of trust between the BID partners.

While property owners and government agencies may have differing opinions of the means for achieving the goal, the BID places more decision-making power in the hands of the private sector actors and provides a platform for reconciling their profit-based motives with the municipality’s priorities. Public sector respondents stated that these types of collaborative planning and development are always required for new projects, however the BID produces more effective opportunities for collaboration.

Information sharing

Interview responses and other data collected reflected information and knowledge sharing as a key theme within the BID Sofielund organization. Seven out of ten BID members, including private sector board members, public sector board members, and one non-board member discussed the information sharing theme with six out of the seven reflecting that this aspect of the BID had affected their interests in a positive way.

Information flows through a number of different channels and essentially mirrors the connections shown in the organizational structure (Figure 4-2). First, the BID provides a platform for information sharing between private sector and civil society organizations and the municipality. A high-level politician who supported the project early on discussed the most fundamental information sharing taking place through the BID. It has allowed all of the partners involved, public and private, to understand their respective organizational cultures, including the beliefs, values, needs and constraints around what the partners can and cannot do in a given situation. This continues to be done through roundtable discussions that occur at annual meetings as well as the more frequent board meetings held six times per year. The BID has enabled a more direct line of contact between property owners and government decision-makers that is not typically available in other areas.

“...but I think very much that the coming stuff that will happen in Sofielund is good to know about and we receive from the board meetings. And also some other information from Malmo Stad about the bigger situation in Malmo, so I think it’s good to receive that information.” (Board Member 6, 2018)

The information shared between the government partners and property owners was stated to be mutually beneficial in several ways. The BID members, especially board members, have an opportunity to learn about what is going on in the city. This gives property owners access to valuable information about the city’s plans, leading to better decision-making for individual firms. One board member stated that information shared with the board especially raises the minimum level of awareness about the city’s strong climate goals and what that means for business. According to the Police, information sharing between them and property owners also allows crime prevention efforts to be more effective - one of the BID’s main focus areas. The interviewee explained that:

“...there’s forms of meetings as well where we meet up everybody and I get a lot of information and I also give them some when they need to take action.” (Adjunct Board Member 2, 2018)

Second, property owners share information between one another. Several property owners mentioned they were able to tap into each other’s knowledge and property management expertise to improve their own operations, for instance by gaining information about maintenance services when facility issues arise. Smaller property owners seek to gain from closer dialogue with regional or national leaders taking place within BID meetings but also through networking outside of the confines of the BID. The BID allows property owners to collaborate around solutions to local problems and coordinate their activities instead of act in competition. One property owner in particular was characterized as the strongest advocate for pursuing sustainability within the organization and pushed for the solar panel installation project.

“So for me as a property owner to talk with other property owners. So we have a lot of information sharing. We have (Board Member 7) – great guy – he’s doing a lot with his real estate, like with solar panels and so on. And it’s easy to call him and ask (Board Member 7), can you help me here I’m interested to do the same.” (Board Member 5, 2018)

Third, information about the community and the area's residents travels up through the property owners and to the local government. One of the interviewees described this occurrence:

"I have people out in the properties talking to people every day, I know what they want, I have ears on the ground. So the Kommun, normally they don't have that, they have only fragmented small pieces of knowledge about people's every day lives. We know about people's everyday lives... I can give the local perspective in a very good way." (Board Member 2, 2018)

Property owners know better about people's daily lives through consumer surveys and less official communications through their property managers and can assist the municipality to get more output out of their ideas and projects. Board meetings are also managed by the Project Leader and set up in a way so that different speakers and community representatives can address the group depending on the BID's current and potential future projects.

Finally, the BID also facilitates information generation from external sources. Examples include the funding of the *Destinationanalys*, *Stadsdelsatlas*, and various research projects that aid the BID and the municipality in understanding the unique identity and dynamics of the Sofielund area. This information is a critical tool that will continue to be used to determine the most effective strategies that can be applied to the local context for improving the work performed by the BID and the local government. The BID also conducted a study visit to Lisbon during 2018 to share information about what it has been doing and learn from other practitioners.

Negotiation

Especially with context-specific development and social issues, stakeholders must be able to come together to discuss problems, share solutions, and share the goal for what will be created. Examples of interviewee responses related to trust were:

"So that's to understand each other's culture, decision process, to understand what we can do as a city and not do by legal means and so on. That's both the upside and downside. Greater understanding but at the same time it takes, sometimes its very frustrating for them but I totally understand it." (Politician, 2018)

"But there have been times where the board said no to his ideas. And of course there has also been times when (Project Leader) has one idea, I mean the board they are creative people. They take the idea during the meeting and they, it's dynamic, they change the idea and something else comes out of it." (Adjunct Board Member 2, 2018)

"I think if we take the property owners that are sitting there, we almost every time have the same, think the same things. And we are the majority in the board. So I don't think it's a problem. We haven't been any big issues that we haven't come to an agreement. I think we have come to agreement on almost everything. Sometimes it takes a bit longer but it's a good environment." (Board Member 3, 2018)

The BID has created an additional way for local stakeholders to co-create their vision for the area and decide on the means to achieve it. This is a significant function, since local actors rarely will unanimously agree on issues. One board member felt that the municipality's expectations for property owners are not rooted in financial reality, but the Project Leader provides an essential resource to facilitate and mediate negotiations surrounding the ideas presented by the public and private sector partners. Another board member commented that while negotiations may take longer at times due to opposing or differing needs, the BID ultimately tends to come to agreement on most issues due to sharing the same vision.

Negotiation was stated to provide different advantages to the BID participants and the outcomes it produces. From a development standpoint, one property owner stated that participation in the BID provides an earlier opportunity to negotiate and attempt to influence municipal plans to best suit his company's needs (BID Member, 2018). This ability allows for compromise and was also reported to enhance plans launched by either the public or private partners to make them more effective in achieving the organization's goals. The network established among the BID's property owners was also stated to provide a constructive setting for negotiating potential conflicts that may arise between individual property owners.

Multiple stakeholder collaboration

Collaboration between multiple different stakeholder groups within the community can also be seen as an indication of partnership quality. First it is important to repeat the myriad collaborators involved through the BID in one way or another. Citizens, CSOs, property owners (including large and small companies, MKB, Brfs, and housing associations), municipal agencies, Länsforsakringar, E.ON, academia and consultants have all either directly or indirectly participated with the BID since it began. In essence, the BID has institutionalized a network geared towards revitalizing the community, with the shared belief that all of the stakeholders are working in unison towards the same goal and at a level not found in other parts of Skåne. This is illustrated by the following quotes:

"I think the big difference is we do it together in Sofielund. It's a good cooperation between different real estate owners, the municipality. In other areas in Skåne with other properties there isn't as much cooperation." (Board Member 6, 2018)

"But I think that diversity is very important on this kind of board, you have the big actors and the small actors and also the people actually living here, not only the property owners. Because we have representatives from the byalag... private property owners. So we have the representatives from these groups as well, which I think is very important. So we are very close to the reality, not only property owners observing from a distance." (Board Member 2, 2018)

Certain municipal agencies, especially the Police Department and Planning Department, were stated to be legally obligated to collaborate and facilitate participatory processes. Representatives from both departments appreciated the BID as a participatory and collaborative tool, with the planning representative stating that "city actors and residents are extremely important in terms of investment and how the town's attractiveness is experienced" and that the "BID is a means of collaboration with the community" (Adjunct Board Member 1, 2018).

The BID is able to consider the needs of the community's residents via direct and indirect methods. Residents may indirectly collaborate either by communicating directly with property managers about their ongoing experiences living in the community or through consumer satisfaction surveys. This information can then be passed on to property owners that participate in the BID and transferred to municipal representatives who also participate. Several informants reflected the BID's desire to continue increasing opportunities for direct collaboration and community participation in driving BID activities. One such example is the BID's support for local CSOs and cultural and women's groups who came to the BID in need of meeting places, funding and other types of assistance.

Benefit and risk sharing

Data related to the benefit and risk sharing indicator was one of the least prevalent referenced in interviews, however a common theme was the shared benefit of access to the BID's network.

Implied by multiple interviewees, the vision behind the BID implies that shared benefits and the co-creation of value are the ultimate outcome of its activities. One property owner explained that if the intended outcome occurs, once all property owners make a concerted effort to work together and improve the area, they will share the benefits of a stronger relationship and higher property values. Another interviewee discussed how tenants had responded to his new investments in a property by taking better care of the building. They benefitted directly from his investment and perceived that he was striving to be more responsible, meeting him with their own improved responsibility. He stated:

“...I think it’s been really good for the rental guests at least in the area, that they knew that we are living in a house that people want to do something better with. Because that meant that the rental guests got more involved, they contacted me more about things we could do together, and then we took that up on the board meetings, so you know a lot of different ideas.” (Board Member 1, 2018)

The municipality also benefits from the BID because they are able to stretch their funds in exchange for some power and authority over local development. The BID puts private funding towards projects and processes that supplement municipal objectives.

Only one comment addressed the theme of risk sharing, referring to the BID’s ability to spread the financial risk of different projects across the group through joint investment.

Effectiveness

While not part of the original operational concepts of partnership quality, a prevalent theme related to the interviewees’ perspectives on the effectiveness of the partnership. Interviewees described different opportunities for effectiveness:

With respect to the objective of improving security and reducing crime, most interview subjects responded that they felt the BID had been effective in reducing crime rates in the community. However, most of the evidence supporting this is not derived statistically, but rather anecdotally and based on the reports of local residents and what property owners have witnessed. But, crime reporting effectiveness is seemingly increased as illustrated by the following interviewee:

“The great thing is is the collaboration between the authorities and us. So we have the police in our meeting and so on so we have other authorities – tax and fire department and so on – but it’s easier for me to ring the police. (Adjunct Board Member 2) I have this problem can you help me. I don’t have to call 114-114 and wait on the line. But now I have direct connection and that’s very valuable to make action time shorter.” (Board Member 5, 2018)

During an initial interview, the BID Project Leader stated that in the early stages of the BID’s formation there were approximately 60 known criminals in the area that were responsible for committing crimes there. At the time of our meeting in May 2018, he reported that this number had decreased to 6. Despite several sources’ admissions that it is too soon to tell whether the BID has made concrete impacts on crime born out in crime statistics, it seems that the perception about the outcomes thus far is positive based on the collected data.

Property owners also have a more effective means for protecting their business interests by participating with the BID. Given the property owners’ desire to increase property values, the BID allows collaboration between them and other stakeholder groups through various projects intended to make the area more livable and attractive. This gives them a more effective means to have a say in and influence decisions occurring at the community-scale which ultimately impacts the financial returns on their property investments.

“So this is thanks to the group that there are many property owners which creates a strength when you are talking to insurance companies or to energy companies. There’s a strength also when you meet companies who are trying to create employment. So in every sense, there’s a strength in the collective sense, when you organize yourself you get one step closer towards sustainability in every sense.” (Politician, 2018)

Development and redevelopment projects are also reported to progress more quickly since property owners have direct lines of communication with government agencies when going through permitting processes.

“So it moves quite faster trying to do things in Sofielund than in other parts of Malmö... It’s a bridge into the Kommun. It’s a very good way in because we are sitting in the same meeting.” (Board Member 3, 2018)

The BID also grants them a method for collective bargaining, for example through the safety certification deal in negotiation with Länsförsäkringar which can reduce the insurance costs for operating their properties. Similarly, the collective strength is used to advocate for or influence government decisions that will impact the needs of property owners.

By collaborating with the BID, municipal agencies also become more effective in working towards their own goal of improving the sustainability of the area by raising socioeconomic conditions. The BID enables a participatory and collaborative mechanism for working with community members, provides a link between the residents and municipal decision-makers, and allows the municipality to capitalize on the expertise and flexibility of its business owners to make investments in the area more swiftly.

5 Multi-phase analysis

Chapter 5.1 examines if partnership quality influences BID engagement in sustainability (RQ3) by analyzing the data gathered for BID Sofielund. Chapter 5.2 begins with a cross-case analysis of the general organizational features observed throughout each of the five case studies and Chapter 5.3 categorizes BID activity findings into a sustainability framework (RQ2), and Chapter 5.4 analyzes the findings in terms of how democratic the organizations are.

5.1 How does partnership quality influence BID engagement in sustainability?

Relying on earlier research and the theories presented above together with the knowledge developed over the course of the case study, this section used a qualitative analysis focusing on how BID Sofielund's organizational features (e.g. structure, finances, legal framework) presented in the case description and the projects and processes listed in the table may be connected to the partnership quality indicators.

The role of trust

When the concept of trust emerged during interviews, the same interviewees responded positively that trust had been gained through collaborating with the BID and also thought the BID has produced positive outcomes so far. In their study that examined the value and development of trust in complex decision-making networks across 200 Dutch PPPs, Edelenbos & Klijn (2007) argued that trust is a key success factor in these arrangements and made several hypotheses based on their findings. Regarding the development of trust, they propose that a "high density and frequency of interactions between actors in networks will result in a higher level of trust between actors" (p. 15). One of the strengths of BID Sofielund is the configuration of its board, with property owners and municipal representatives meeting face to face on a regular basis to steer the BID's activities. Using Edelenbos & Klijn's (2007) argument, this characteristic of the relationship is more collaborative and trust developing than the typical relationship shared by businesses and their regulators. Especially between property owners and the Police Department, property owners expressed a higher level of trust in that relationship compared to other areas without a BID. Evidence related to the other three hypotheses surrounding trust development were not detected in the BID Sofielund data.

Regarding the value of trust, the authors hypothesize that trust is foundational to more stable, cooperative relationships that are more likely to stimulate the exchange of information and knowledge. Furthermore, they argue that trust is crucial for network actors to perceive positive outcomes (Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007). In a later paper using the hypotheses from the 2007 study, Klijn et al. (2010) found further evidence to support these arguments. A similar association can be drawn between these elements in the BID Sofielund case. While there was a mixed perception that pursuing sustainability is economically favorable for businesses, sufficient trust is present to encourage cooperation in those endeavors. However while not evident in this study, Frykman et al. (2018) found that property owners in BID Sofielund had mixed levels of trust about the energy company E.ON, which posed a challenge for carrying out the solar energy efficiency project. This matches another study on cooperation between Swedish property owners and energy providers that found mixed perceptions of trust and cooperation between the two parties (Bulut, 2016).

Another connection between trust and sustainability emerged in the data. When discussing social sustainability activities, especially those that directly support and open lines of communication between cultural and women's groups, property owners implied that these actions build trust between them and the community. The resulting improvements in reputation bring forth tangible benefits in terms of tenant satisfaction, but also the intangible benefit of

cultivating goodwill between them. According to anecdotal evidence, the BID's strategies to promote safety and a greater sense of responsibility and identity among community members have also engendered trust between residents.

It is important to recognize there may be limitations to the validity of the high level of reported trust within the organization. As board members and high-level individuals within and associated with the organization, their perception is necessarily more positive since they are the elected leaders and advocates for the group. Furthermore, the BID seeks to gain from positive reporting on their activities since they are aiming to establish themselves as a model for sustainable development and integration within Sweden and globally. In addition, a missing perspective that limits a more holistic analysis is that of non-board members of the BID. The BID manager stated that many members are hands off and do not participate aside from paying the membership fees, so the level of trust they feel within the organization may differ from other members. Finally, it should also not be overlooked that participation in the organization is voluntary. This fact may also partially explain the relatively high level of trust reported by interview subjects, since actors who are not interested in the vision are not required to participate.

The role of information sharing

In Agranoff's (2006) review of collaborative networks, he found that a key benefit to public administrators is the expanded resource base of knowledge available to solve public issues. In municipal network planning for climate-related issues, focus groups comprised of a range of stakeholders are often formed to organize appropriate strategies (Khan, 2013) by understanding the nature problems from as many perspectives as possible. Information sharing has been a critical process and motive driving the BID's activities. Importantly, the repeated interaction and dialogue between community stakeholders through BID meetings – especially between property owners and municipal representatives – was cited to be a critical step for developing a shared vision for the area that was reflected in another study on BID Sofielund (Lilja, 2017).

The frequent information sharing between BID partners in a collaborative manner allows each actor to understand the culture, decision-making processes, strengths and limitations of fellow BID members (Politician, 2018). This relates to the findings of Edelenbos & van Meerkerk (2017), who argue that mutual understanding and is an antecedent of goal congruence and the development of common ground between network actors. Especially in dealing with the complex problems of urban sustainability that require highly contextual actions by societal actors, BID information sharing works to counteract what Klijn & Koppenjan (2015) call substantive complexity, or the “uncertainty, and lack of consensus over the nature of problems, their causes and solutions” (p. 12).

The solar installation project and spillover activities it created, like the property owners who reported making other energy efficiency improvements in their buildings, was a result of information sharing between a strong sustainability advocate among the board members who argued the value of integrating sustainability into their business practices (Board Member 7).

The *Destinationanalys* and *Stadsdelsatlas* projects also exemplify information sharing and how the BID generates a basis of information about the area to facilitate development that is sensitive to local needs. Knowing your stakeholders, prioritizing needs according to the local context and allocating resources appropriately are important elements of BID effectiveness (Gross, 2005) Several interviewees mentioned that to achieve their goal of creating more social cohesion between the large immigrant population in Sofielund and the native Swedish society also requires the protection and strengthening of immigrant culture and the assets that give the community its unique character (BID Project Leader, 2018; Municipal Representative 1, 2018;

Politician, 2018). CSOs were also stated to provide information to the BID about community priorities. As such, knowledge about local culture is highly important for sustainable development and was also found in the sustainability framework.

Municipal representatives who are responsible for implementing sustainability efforts in the built environment, for example from the planning and environmental departments, are provided a platform to share knowledge directly with property owners about their priorities. Furthermore, the Project Leader serves as an intermediary and negotiator between the municipality and property owners to shape projects in a way that best serves the BID's purposes. Among property owners, one interviewee claimed that minimum level of awareness about sustainability has increased through ongoing dialogue with BID participants (Board Member 2, 2018).

The role of multi-stakeholder participation

Where many understand urban sustainability as primarily the environmental and climate impact of cities, issues of social justice are at least as important to address (Devolder & Block, 2015) and growing in their recognition. Social justice and community participation are key considerations for the sustainability of PPPs as shown in the framework above, with authors on sustainable urban transformation discussing how open participation, co-creation, and public engagement are crucial elements (among others) of governing for urban sustainability (Ernst et al., 2016; Kemp, Parto, & Gibson, 2005). The same concepts are described in the literature on urban regeneration partnerships, wherein a multitude of participatory actors and community involvement in decision-making are defining characteristics of how they are implemented (Ball & Maginn, 2005)

Tying into the social dimension of sustainability, the BID focuses on establishing a collaborative culture within the organization itself and the community where it resides. The constant form of stakeholder participation is between property owners and government agencies, while the BID engages with CSOs, individual citizens, university researchers, and others less regularly – but still routinely - to tap into as a knowledge base for decision-making. Creating opportunities both for direct and indirect participation, it carries out activities to better understand how its projects will distribute costs and benefits throughout the area and what the community's needs are, as well as providing opportunities for community members to shape decision-making and participate in the BID's work. The encouragement of multiple stakeholder participation and collaboration seemingly echoes concepts of network governance, with the possibility that this activity both reinforces the existing networks but also strengthens stakeholder groups' abilities to form new networks.

The role of negotiation

Integrating environmentally beneficial elements into construction is typically not the cheapest option, and at times requires large up-front costs with the acceptance of long payback periods. Furthermore, there is still no objective understanding of what is socially just (Devolder & Block, 2015) and we have traditionally looked to government to deliver social equity, so it may be beyond the scope of a property developer to think strategically about how society will be impacted through a project. It is understandable then that these issues might fall outside of what is expected of an individual profit-motivated business. Thinking in terms of conflict resolution, negotiation is relevant to why the BID engages in sustainability because it enables a form of joint problem solving for a complex and uncertain issue (Mohr & Spekman, 1994) by organizing a group of property owners to decide how they can impact environmental and social factors beyond their property lines through jointly funded strategies that they control. In addition to the trust developed through periodic meetings between property owners and government actors, negotiations between the parties to jointly problem solve can also bolster partnership success (Mohr & Spekman, 1994).

Members and other BID participants are offered a forum through BID meetings where they can negotiate to determine what activities the BID will create, fund, and manage that will ideally lead to positive socioeconomic change and environmental benefits within the community. The BID also provides an additional mechanism for the municipality (via Project Leader) to intervene in the planning process of development projects to better incorporate sustainable development concepts. A prime example is a development project which evolved from its initial plans to include a number of renewable energy upgrades, green infrastructure to help manage storm water flooding in the area, and a more holistic land use plan that promotes interconnectivity with adjoining properties. Board Member 5 stated this would not have happened if not for negotiations with other property owners and urban planners from the municipality. While it is difficult to draw any concrete conclusion, interviewees had mixed perceptions of which party ultimately has the largest influence over BID operations. Following this finding, it is this author's speculative assumption that negotiations are balanced and not perceived as one-sided.

The role of benefit & risk sharing

Equitable distribution of costs and benefits among community members is one of the components noted in the sustainability framework employed in this study. Building on statements in the previous section, the area's influential property owners designed the BID in collaboration with the municipality as a way to generate collective benefits for the community. Over time, it has been shaped to explicitly promote sustainable development and experiment with what that means for an existing neighborhood that received minimal investment over a long period. Referring to traditional infrastructure-related PPPs, Koppenjan & Enserink (2009) point out this steering of private actors toward sustainable development activities as a critical step to achieve sustainable PPPs due to the budgetary and management constraints on public agencies. This arrangement necessitates a distribution of benefits and risks between the parties to make the partnership an attractive option. By forming a shared vision for the area in which the municipality has a more stable neighborhood, property owners have more valuable property and residents have a safe and attractive place to live, the BID partnership advertizes the potential to generate more benefits than risks and makes local sustainable actions more accessible to private sector actors.

In addition to the mutual shared benefits touted in Chapter 4.3.7, there are further benefits as well as risks shared at different levels of the BID. Among the leaders, the ability to impact sustainability is raised through the direct interaction between property owners and public officials. Because of the high societal need in the area, property owners benefit from an expedited development process and greater ownership over the area than in other communities. In exchange, the public officials forfeit some amount of authority and are provided a greater ability to influence these development projects and a mechanism for steering private expenditure towards positive impacts on social and environmental factors. Average fee-paying members – those who mainly only attend annual meetings – are given a stronger voice and knowledge about how local development is carried out, gain access to a network of decision-makers, and reap personal benefit from knowing they contribute to the well-being of the community. The community benefits from having expanded social services and the growing sense of responsibility for what happens in the community initiated by the BID participants. Social sustainability, especially promoting social cohesion, is a core issue for the BID and one that will ideally produce mutual benefit over the long term as cohesion develops further.

BID membership reduces the financial risk of investing in programs targeting sustainability objectives relative to what a business would pay alone. It distributes the risk across its members so that in the eventuality a program or activity is unsuccessful, the cost is relatively low to individual group members. The joint investment and joint problem solving not only enhance

partnership, but also make investing in district sustainability more accessible, mitigating much of the financial risk.

In the first interview with the Project Leader, he mentioned the risk of free riding among local businesses since he claimed only about 10 percent of the property owners in the area were currently members. While he minimized the issue, free riding allows non-participants to benefit from the BID’s activities while limiting its capacities compared to if it had a greater number of members contributing their resources.

It is important to note again that the BID’s short lifespan and complexity of clearly isolating its impacts in the community limits the ability to empirically evaluate how cost-effective it is, so specific benefits are difficult to quantify. It may be the case that fee-paying members are essentially taking a gamble, making a good-faith contribution to the organization’s vision without being certain their business will benefit.

5.2 Cross-case analysis

The remainder of this chapter considers all of the data to perform a cross-case analysis of the BIDs involved in the research. Chapter 5.2 summarizes the general characteristics of each organization to provide a basis for comparison drawing from reviewed literature presented in Chapter 2.1. The descriptive table below was designed based on two articles that evaluated BIDs (Reenstra-Bryant, 2010; Wolf, 2006) in the literature.

Table 5-1. Organizational features

	VBID	DowntownDC	WCBID	CHED	BID Sofieund
Location	UK	USA	USA	USA	Sweden
Est.	2010	1997	2007	2013	2014
Size⁴	110 ha.	138 city blocks	~40ha.	?	~125 ha.
# Members	250 properties	520 properties	?	n/a	~50**
Property types	Commercial, residential	Commercial, residential	Commercial	Residential	Commercial, residential, industrial
Expenditure (2017)	GBP 1,570,977	USD 10,729,744	USD 291,509	?	SEK 1,345,127
Leadership & Staff	13 Board Members, 5 Board Observers (public sector/CSOs), 12 Executives	11 Board Members, 24 administrative staff, 78 SAM Ambassadors	1 Director Economic Development, 5 Board Members	21-person Steering Committee, 3 administrative staff	14 Board Members + 7 Adjunct Board members, 1 BID Manager, 2 support staff

*This information was not found in the available documentation.

**This figure is an approximation since members were continuously added during the study period.

Sources: (“About the EcoDistrict,” *n.d.*; “About Us,” *n.d.*; *West Colfax Business Improvement District, 2018*; *BID Project Leader, 2018*; *DowntownDC Business Improvement District, 2017*; *Fastighetsägare BID Sofielund, 2018*; *Victoria Business Improvement District, 2014*)

⁴ When unavailable in BID documentation, geographic area was estimated using Google Maps.

5.2.1 Size

BID size can be characterized by geographic size as well as their financial resources. In 1999, Houston categorized small improvement districts as those with operating budgets between USD 40,000 – USD 250,000, and large improvement districts as those with operating budgets greater than USD 1 million⁵ (as cited in Heimann, 2007). According to the current figures, VBID and DowntownDC BID can be considered large BIDs, while the other organizations range in the small BID category.

5.2.2 Leadership and governance

The organizations in this study had a variety of governance structures. Three of five had representatives from the public sector either on the board of directors (BID Sofielund), in an oversight role to the board (VBID), or with advising roles in a steering group (CHED). This suggests that public agencies have some degree of influence over what activities the organizations pursue, also granting an increased level of transparency to regulators. The other two BIDs (DowntownDC, WCBID) do not have public sector actors directly involved in their activities and appear to be more detached. They coordinate with authorities on an *ad hoc* basis in response to top-down decisions and regulations and instead try to align with public needs through surveying and focus groups with residents. According to Wolf's (2008) conceptualization of BIDs partnerships with the public sector, the relationship through BID Sofielund can be considered integrated and seamless since the BID is essentially an arm of the local government. VBID, DowntownDC, and CHED are closely coordinated yet separate collaboration since public sector advisers participate in steering committees, while WCBID was the least collaborative of the group and falls toward the lower end of the closely coordinated yet separate collaboration spectrum.

5.2.3 BID activities overview

Table 5-2 provides an overview of the type of activities each BID or BID-like organization engages in based on secondary data available on their websites, according to the framework used by Briffault (1999) & Mitchell (1999).

Table 5-2. BID activities

BID activity	VBID	DowntownDC BID	WCBID	CHED	BID Sofielund
Consumer marketing	X	X	X		
Economic development	X	X	X	X	X
Policy advocacy	X	X	X	X	X
Maintenance	X	X	X		X
Parking and transportation		X	X	X	X
Security	X	X			X
Social services	X	X		X	X
Capital improvements	X	X	X		X

⁵ Adjusted for inflation, these figures are now USD 60,000 – USD 380,000 and > USD 1.5 million. CPI Inflation Calculator was used to convert the figures from 1999 to 2018 value <https://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl>.

Strategic planning	X	X	X	X	X
Public space regulation	X	X			
Establishing and operating community courts	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Source: Adapted from Briffault (1999) & Mitchell (1999)

Despite disparities in operating budget size, the organizations in the study were found to engage in a comprehensive set of activities. However, there does appear to be some correlation between budget and number of activities, since VBID and DowntownDC BID were found to engage in almost all of the activities in the framework. BID Sofielund also managed to participate in eight of the ten activities with a significantly smaller budget, potentially due to its close ties with the public sector. WCBID devoted more focus towards commercial activities and did not fund security or social services, potentially since it is comprised of solely commercial actors. It was not possible to identify CHED's operating budget based on available data, but because it is a program under a public housing company one assumes the budget is somewhat limited. Furthermore, its intent appears to be more focused on facilitating and measuring sustainability in the area.

5.3 What BID outcomes can be classified as influencing urban sustainability?

This section provides a cross-case analysis of the projects and processes BIDs engage in that influence sustainability within their communities according to the framework devised by Hueskes et al., (2017). The full framework table is found in *Appendix F*.

5.3.1 Environment and natural resources

Energy

Three of five organizations studied engaged in energy related projects. The projects were related mostly to the energy performance of district buildings, including the installation of rooftop solar arrays and investment in upgraded lighting or heating and ventilation systems. WCBID and CHED supported the projects by directing property owners to existing governmental economic incentives, while several BID Sofielund board members stated that internal discussions about sustainability influenced their decision to investigate their properties for energy efficiency improvements.

Water

Three organizations were found to focus on water management issues. Two incorporate green infrastructure concepts, with VBID initiating green infrastructure projects such as rain gardens and green roofs, while one Sofielund interviewee explained how green infrastructure features were incorporated into their new development plans after public sector board members gave recommendations to enhance the project. CHED helps its businesses to comply with a voluntary public initiative entitled the Seattle Public Utilities Green Business Program which focuses partly on water conservation.

Materials & design

All of the organizations led activities to support urban design and material use that is sensitive to environmental needs. Four BIDs actively participate in shaping their urban environment by collaborating on or developing land use plans that affect transportation, streetscape design and

infrastructure such as waste management. Two BIDs were found to make direct investments in environmentally-sensitive construction through green infrastructure and environmental design (LEED).

Biodiversity & land use

Only VBID was found to make direct statements about the importance of biodiversity and habitat conservation. They performed a research project in cooperation with a scientific agency to evaluate the impact of green infrastructure on urban bat populations and also highlight a beekeeping project (the webpage for this was down).

Clean Air

Only VBID had a focus on air quality, with two support tools for businesses to help make work-related travel more efficient and to select zero and low emission suppliers.

5.3.2 Livability

Public Facilities

The description of this element in the sustainability framework is somewhat ambiguous, with the category explained as “facilities for the community” or “sustainable public transportation” (Hueskes et al., 2017). All of the organizations strive to improve community facilities be it for social or economic reasons, with four of the BIDs engaged in activities that could be argued to make sustainable public transportation more accessible. Of these four, they each have programs or initiatives aimed at increasing cycling infrastructure and cycling use, whether that is making capital improvements to add bicycle parking or expand protected bike lanes. They were also found to collaborate on existing city plans or develop their own to shape urban planning around mobility options, to reduce car dependency.

Security

The definition provided for this category was interpreted more openly to include security of individuals, since the given definition did not directly state public safety as an element. It is also important to note that this definition of security also refers to the quality of public space. The sample provided a number of strategies that BIDs utilize to improve security since it is often one of the core purposes for establishing a BID.

All of the organizations fulfilled some security-related function, with three arranging security patrols of private contractors, direct employees, or volunteers. Two were found to make specific reference to pedestrian safety on streets. Two capital improvement projects (better park lighting and installation of security cameras) were upgrades made to public space to improve safety. Three BIDs also provided maintenance services internally to deal with public asset deficiencies or by reporting issues to designated local authorities. VBID and BID Sofielund had the most robust security services. VBID’s notable project is the Victoria Radio Link, a radio service connecting businesses with multiple law enforcement agencies to provide intelligence surrounding criminal activity in the area. BID Sofielund, along with the national insurance agency, developed a security certification for residential properties to demonstrate a certain safety standard for resident peace-of-mind.

5.3.3 Health & Comfort

Indoor climate & comfort

Two BIDs referenced indoor climate & comfort in their buildings. VBID explains one of the benefits of green infrastructure as a means to regulate building temperatures for occupant comfort, while BID Sofielund is working to raise the housing standards and quality of local

properties for the benefits of residents. This is an important step for the BID to reduce occupancy turnover rates as well.

Acoustics, noise & vibration

Only BID Sofielund referenced the need to reduce noise levels which was related to road traffic.

Healthy lifestyle

Two BIDs had projects that made claims about healthy lifestyles. VBID's Walking Victoria provides walking route guides for visitors and commuters who want to avoid heavily congested streets and get exercise. WCBID's Over the Colfax Clover land use planning project is aimed at redeveloping the area into a mixed-use living area that promotes walkability.

5.3.4 Social Justice

Emancipation & equality

The two more socially-driven organizations, CHED and BID Sofielund, engaged in activities to promote emancipation and equality. CHED provides special transit passes for those living in the affordable housing managed by their parent organization. BID Sofielund supports cultural and women's groups, seeks to reduce occupancy turnover and maintain affordability for residents while raising property values, and developed the *Stadsdelsatlas* as a tool to understand and protect the area's diversity.

Public meeting

All of the organizations host public events, with one BID providing meeting places for citizen groups.

Labor & human rights

Three BIDs contributed to this category. VBID's jobs board supports connecting locals with employment opportunities, DowntownDC BID's HOST group provides social services to homeless, while BID Sofielund aims to support local businesses through *Case Sofielund Entreprenörskap* and *Stadsdelsatlas*.

5.3.5 Community & Participation

Local & societal needs

Three organizations made direct reference to representing the needs of the local community. They seek to attract investment through capital projects and land use planning, tailoring their strategies to the local context. Advocating for business needs, WCBID is composed of smaller and medium sized organizations so it consults them on financing opportunities and provides financial support. They also aim to meet community needs by elevating pedestrian safety and drawing public investment to their main street. CHED formed an advocacy group to represent neighborhood stakeholders during a large development project and devised a Parking Benefit District idea that redirects a percentage of funds generated by parking meters back to the area. BID Sofielund has produced two decision-making tools to support development in the area that recognizes local needs, including the *Destinationanalys* and *Stadsdelsatlas*.

Involvement in decision-making

These activities can be divided into several different categories. First, BIDs proactively incorporate citizen and stakeholder involvement to produce their own internal land use development plans. Second, they are also found to represent the views of the community in ongoing public-led developments. WCBID carried out community surveys of business owners and local residents to evaluate their needs and present them to the local authorities during the planning of a large-scale transportation project. Third, they can form and enable citizen groups

to advocate for themselves. For example, CHED started a renter initiative to organize renters that typically have less decision-making legitimacy than property owners during the review process of development projects. Finally, BID property owners may also indirectly integrate citizen and stakeholder needs into their own decision-making. Several interviewees from Sofielund argued that their decision-making is informed by resident needs because they speak directly with them and also gauge their needs through periodic consumer satisfaction surveys.

Two of the organizations (VBID and BID Sofielund) have public sector representatives on governing boards so as not to be dominated by business interests, while might also allow for optimization of BID resources to simultaneously strengthen business and public benefits.

At least in the case of BID Sofielund, the BID manager stated that they were seeking to improve public participation since the organization meetings are not attended enough by local residents. A critical component of the BID's strategy is to develop greater participation and opportunities for co-creation among citizens in order to build the sense of identity and responsibility for the community.

5.3.6 Others

Transformative change

BID Sofielund was the only organization to pursue activities targeting transformative change. While they did not state anything about making systemic change as per the definition provided, aligning BID processes and goals with the Sustainable Development Goals and developing the area as a test bed for implementing the SDGs can be interpreted as a transformational change for BID organizations.

Sustainability in general

BIDs incorporated sustainability in general by building CSR strategies, establishing sustainability objectives, and by making sustainability work accessible for property owners and businesses. Business and property owners may not necessarily pursue sustainability on their own, so BIDs help them to engage in activities that promote sustainability and urban development.

Other sustainability indicators

Other activities that could not be placed elsewhere included BID partnership formation with environmental and cultural organizations, collaboration with academia, and activities related to SME business support since economic factors were not present in this framework.

5.3.7 Summary

In the category "Environment and natural resources," the most numerous activities targeted energy efficiency and materials & design, for example through renewable energy projects and supporting green building practices. Of the six main categories in the sustainability framework, only one encompassed impacts to ecological indicators such as energy, water, air and others.

The most numerous activities contributed to the category "Liveability," which included initiatives focusing on public safety and security such as security patrols, maintaining the quality of public assets like street lighting and removing graffiti. BIDs also helped to design public facilities, with all five contributing in one way or another to transportation development and four of five creating or maintaining public green space. Another important category was "Community & participation," where BIDs were found to strategize around local and societal needs and create opportunities for affected stakeholders to be involved in decision-making either through direct means or indirectly through neighborhood surveying.

The framework skews towards social sustainability aspects, which proved useful to classify the various ways BIDs influence the social dimension of urban quality of life. The lack of economic indicators is a weakness of the framework and is not explained by the creators. It is possible that the sustainability framework presupposes economic sustainability since it was designed for PPP infrastructure projects, where the economic impact is assessed by other traditional financial measures.

5.4 How democratic are BIDs?

Both the theoretical framing of BIDs as actors within governance networks and the study's intent to place BIDs within a sustainability framework necessitate a discussion on how democratic they are as institutions. The issues of accountability, legitimacy, and manageability are examined through the cases from the perspective of public administration (network governance) and the governance of urban sustainability. Due to the research design and data quality, the BID Sofielund case provides the most detail to be able to address these questions. The reference case findings are used in this discussion where possible.

Accountability

BID scholars have pointed out that it is unclear how well governments hold BIDs to account (Briffault, 1999) through oversight powers, and that same finding was evident in this study. Acar, Guo, and Yang (2008) argue that for PPPs, accountability is best understood as how well the partnership can be managed to meet the diverse expectations of internal and external stakeholders, with Forrer et al. (2010) adding that safeguards must also be constructed to make sure the quality of public service delivery is not sacrificed for private profits. In their assessment of the democratic implications of BIDs in Pennsylvania, Morçöl & Patrick (2008, p. 312) identify specific measures of BID accountability following Koppel's multidimensional conceptualization of accountability:

1. *Controllability: Elected officials are expected to control the actions of bureaucrats in implementing their policies.*
2. *Liability: Officials and bureaucrats are held responsible for their actions; culpability; rewards and punishment.*
3. *Responsibility: The behaviors of officials and bureaucrats are constrained by rules, norms, and laws.*
4. *Transparency: Officials and bureaucrats are required to explain their actions in regular public forums, hearings, and periodic reviews.*
5. *Responsiveness: The actions of officials and bureaucrats are direct expressions of the needs and desires of the people; customer orientation.*

As Skelcher points out, full accountability also reserves the right for those being represented to revoke the mandate of decision-makers if they feel they are not being adequately represented (Skelcher & Sullivan, 2008).

Whether to prove their value to participating property owners or provide genuine accounts of their public activities, many BIDs monitor performance indicators (Hoyt & Gopal-Agge, 2007) and publish results. A basic strategy for presenting this information found in this study was through organization websites. In general, the websites showcased the organization mission or vision, key programs and work areas, highlights from different projects, information about BID members and leaders, as well as financial statements and any other reports that they may have published or commissioned on behalf of the groups. With the exception of CHED, (because they are not a BID and subject to the same legal requirement), all of the groups produced an annual report to disclose financial information to increase transparency to their stakeholders. BID proponents have argued that they are accountable so long as they fulfill annual reporting, external audits, and apply for reauthorization (Hoyt & Gopal-Agge, 2007), however it is

questionable to what extent this information is actually reviewed by regulators and whether actions have been taken in response to

Representing the community in large scale development projects, such as transportation planning, was a core function for each of the organizations in this sample. To make sure their actions and opinions are chosen in accordance with public needs, two of the BIDs were found to create their business plans by convening focus groups of different types of stakeholders. Several BIDs were found to carry out neighborhood surveys of business owners and residents in order to better inform their decision-making.

In a recent study on BID Sofielund, the researcher's findings indicated that the organization had a weak political accountability and was left mostly to govern itself (Lilja, 2017), however based on the findings from this study, BID Sofielund appeared to have the highest level of public accountability of the sample despite lacking a legal framework specifically designed for BIDs in Sweden. It is the author's perception that this results from the BID manager's reputation in the community and due to the fact that he is a public employee, as well as the close collaboration with public officials that attempt to steer the group in a socially sustainable way. While board members admitted that they are still trying to draw more community engagement, the BID is an arm of the municipality and close collaborator.

The nature of accountability may be different for a BID depending on the composition of its property-owning members. BID Sofielund, especially with its most influential members and majority of the Board being residential property owners, arguably has a more direct connection to local residents and could be more in tune with their needs than a BID that is made up of commercial property owners. Commercial property owners may be able to gauge the needs of residents with neighborhood surveys or focus groups, but one could imagine they are lacking in-depth knowledge about living conditions and what the community wants from them. One BID Sofielund interviewee argued that they essentially operate as a sounding board for the community which is an invaluable resource for the municipality.

From a sustainability standpoint, the literature supports the inclusion of a social dimension to BID governance processes and emphasizes public involvement in decision-making and social equity, indicating that BIDs should be accountable to the communities they serve (Devolder & Block, 2015; Ernst et al., 2016; Hueskes et al., 2017; Kemp et al., 2005). In general, BIDs have been criticized when those affected by BID decision-making are not adequately represented in the governance of the organization. The findings from this study showed that all of the organizations claim to be accountable to their stakeholders, including businesses, residents and other local actors, however it was unclear how well specific community needs are met and the degree to which vested stakeholders can participate. Referring back to Skelcher above, it appeared that BID members had the ability to revoke the mandate of their leaders, however there did not appear to be a similar mechanism for the citizenry being impacted by BID practices. It is not possible to draw the conclusion that the organizations in this study are fully accountable to the public based on available data, but at the very least they make visible attempts to be transparent and make decisions on behalf of their stakeholders.

Legitimacy

BID legitimacy can be understood in different ways. As actors within governance networks, BIDs experience varying degrees of external legitimacy to act within their jurisdictions based on what is legally prescribed and further influenced by their relative size and budget. They all create unique visions for their communities albeit with varying capacity to make final decisions on pursuing them. In the following graphic, the BIDs are organized from the highest to lowest level of decision-making power relative to public authorities drawing from available data.

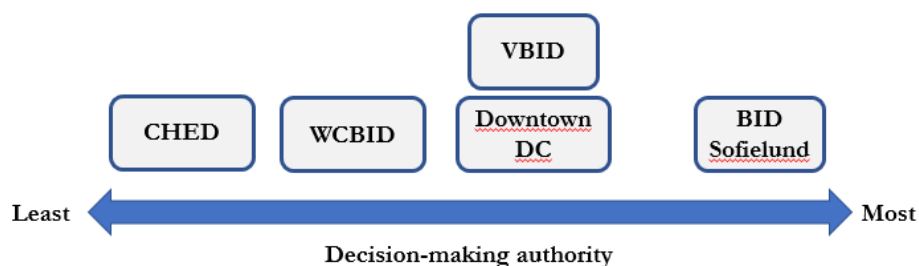


Figure 5-1 BID decision-making authority

Source: Author's own elaboration

DowntownDC and VBID have by far the largest budgets, while BID Sofielund's is comparable to WCBID. BID Sofielund is placed at the top of the list due to the close collaboration and steering the municipality exerts on BID activities, giving the organization considerable legitimacy over local development. With their large budgets, DowntownDC and VBID also wield sizeable legitimacy through a breadth of programs that fill in gaps in public service delivery. WCBID has the authority to complete relatively small-scale capital improvement projects and helps to guide development of the area through community organizing and planning. CHED appears primarily to serve a community organizing role and advocate for their vision.

As networks in themselves, one can also examine power relations among BID participants. This is only possible for BID Sofielund, where primary data gathered during the in-depth case study makes an analysis possible. When asked which group (municipality or property owners) exerts the most influence over the BID's decision making, Board Member responses were mixed. Some felt that property owners had the final say, while others felt that the municipality controlled decisions (mainly through the Project Leader). Issues regarding conflict between BID participants did not emerge in the data, but it is possible that response bias influenced the interviewees to provide only positive feedback about the BID. This account of power relations is also limited since interviews were conducted primarily with Board Members, actors we can assume have the most power within the group.

Manageability

Urban regeneration PPPs are typically multi-faceted in their goals, from economic development to projects focused on shaping the public sphere (Ball & Maginn, 2005). Delivering on these goals can be complex, so manageability can be understood in terms of managerial processes needed to guide a BID network (Morçöl & Wolf 2010). The cases explored in this study had a variety of management structures but always had a representative Board of Directors and at least one employee to manage BID processes. The number of paid employees generally correlated with relative budget size and organizational complexity, with the two largest organizations having full administrative staffs (DowntownDC and VBID).

To aid in manageability and related again to accountability, several BIDs used structures that included public sector representatives as direct participants (BID Sofielund) or observers (VBID), or steering groups with diverse actors that lend their expertise and perspective in managing various projects (VBID, CHED).

In the BID Sofielund case, it is the only BID in Malmö and it is an experiment carefully crafted by the municipality and the area's largest property owners. A municipal council member stated that the BID was chosen early on as an approved government project and explained that he still has occasional direct communication with the Project Leader. The Project Leader is also a municipal employee, so there is a relatively high degree of manageability from the perspective of the municipality. However, being that it is a new and exploratory approach to dealing with social issues, the development of management processes has surely been a work in progress.

6 Discussion

Chapter 6 discusses the findings from previous chapters to synthesize a response to the overarching research question guiding the study which asked, “How and why do BIDs engage in urban sustainability?” In order to answer this question, the research design included one in-depth case study that utilized both primary and secondary data and four reference cases assembled based on secondary data only. In recognition of the context-driven nature of BIDs, the organizations in question were selected based on the assumption that their various socio-political and geographic contexts would produce different forms of sustainability-related activities.

To learn *how* the BIDs engage in urban sustainability, the outcomes they produced (including projects and processes) were plotted according to a sustainability framework intended for analyzing PPP infrastructure projects. Two separate methods were used to assess *why* BIDs engage in urban sustainability. First, the theoretical proposition that partnership quality would explain sustainability behaviors guided the in-depth case study, so data was gathered and analyzed based on a set of partnership indicators. Second, alternative plausible explanations for why BIDs engage in urban sustainability were generated based on the cumulative findings of the five cases.

6.1 On findings

6.1.1 How do BIDs engage in urban sustainability?

In terms of how BIDs engage in sustainability, one clear finding was that they tailor their activities to fit the needs of their stakeholders and communities, with the larger organizations even developing long-term strategic plans through collective decision-making processes with potentially impacted parties. However, a surprising finding was that the selected BIDs engaged in similar activities despite operating in different socio-political contexts. While they pursued activities falling under each of the three dimensions of sustainability (*Appendix F*), BID outcomes were found to produce more social impacts. BID projects with plausible environmental impacts commonly involved energy efficiency improvements in buildings and infrastructure, and the long-term impacts of transportation planning (although this was categorized into “Public facilities” on the sustainability framework due to the suggested definition). The author would also consider street cleaning and landscaping maintenance as an environmental impact, albeit relatively weak.

Browne et al. (2016) argued in their review of BIDs and sustainable freight initiatives in the UK that they are good candidates for implementing those initiatives because of their public and private joint decision making and because they can increase logistics efficiency through joint procurement. This capacity for joint procurement and collective bargaining is a notable function of BIDs and was also found in this study. Through negotiations with local energy utility E.ON, BID Sofielund was able to form an agreement to install solar panels on multiple properties. This same process also helped BID Sofielund collaborate with the national Swedish insurance agency Länsförsäkringar to develop a housing certification program, that provides reduced insurance costs if property owners meet established standards. Following the approach of the Living City Block, a model used to make energy efficiency upgrades cost-effective for groups of old commercial properties, the potential purchasing power and collective bargaining of BIDs as a whole district may allow individual property owners to make investments that were previously too costly (Badger, 2012).

In line with the argument of Grossman (2010), this study found that through PPP, BIDs enable private sector actors to make investments that deliberately shape the public sphere while the

public sector can be more entrepreneurial and receive supplemental support without further demand on public finances (Briffault, 1999). This describes the way that BIDs engage in such activities as supplementing public safety efforts through security programs and developing and maintaining public facilities like sidewalks, parking spaces and landscaping. However, this does raise the issue of the privatization of the public sphere, and in a sustainable development context questions arise regarding to what degree BIDs should be allowed or expected to invest in sustainability programs by the public sector.

6.1.2 Why do BIDs engage in urban sustainability?

In order to be accountable to their stakeholders, BID leadership attempts to guide their organizations in a way that delivers value to their members while meeting the performance expectations of local authorities and distributes benefits equitably first and foremost among fee-paying members (Gross, 2005). Primarily as associations of property owners, it is evident that they most often sought to invest in strategies that attempt to create economic and social value for their districts. The research question asking why BIDs engage in urban sustainability produced a range of potential answers.

One assumption challenged by the findings was that BIDs would engage in urban sustainability only if they had sufficient financial resources to do so. The BIDs highlighted in this study had a wide range of budgets but still opted to pursue sustainability in one form or another. BIDs are capable of facilitating external funding for projects, for example WCBID's practice of helping member businesses to secure financing through existing government subsidy programs for energy efficiency improvements. Both a simple advisory role and a co-financier role are relatively low cost and cost-effective means to stimulate investment in sustainable projects.

Another assumption challenged by the findings was that BIDs would engage in sustainability as a result of a stronger sustainability focus by the government. The BIDs in this study all pursue sustainability in one form or another despite existing in locations with varying levels of government commitment to sustainability. Perhaps the degree to which sustainability is incorporated differs based on the government's perspective. BID Sofielund is being used as a governmental tool for promoting sustainable development and is provided preferential treatment in many ways, whereas DowntownDC BID, VBID and WCBID exist in places without a developmental focus on sustainability and have come to incorporate sustainability more independently.

The data collection and analysis generated multiple answers to the research question, first exploring the relationship between partnership quality and sustainability, followed by the synthesis of a general framework for understanding BID sustainability activities. While the framework is useful for understanding the multiple pressures that shape decision-making, the investigation still was not able to pinpoint exactly how the BIDs came to the conclusion that sustainability would pay off for them.

Does partnership quality influence engagement in sustainability?

This question was posed specifically for the BID Sofielund case. The theoretical proposition that partnership quality can be used to explain BID engagement in sustainability was supported. The operational concepts of partnership quality proved useful to guide the data collection and analysis for BID Sofielund and connect the characteristics of the PPP to how the organization impacted urban sustainability. Partnership quality ended up being most useful to analyze how BIDs engage in sustainability and why they can engage in sustainability if they so choose. It was not necessarily a determinant of why the BID engages in sustainability, but it was possible to see how trust, information sharing, and the levels of benefit and risk sharing were related to

sustainable development and how they could enhance the perceived outcomes of the BID's activities.

According to anecdotal evidence from the interviewees, the BID is helping to create a more trusting neighborhood between individual citizens, business owners, public authorities and other community members. Trust may not be an aspect of sustainability in itself, but the presence of trust facilitates compromise. Some of the interview responses indicated that trust among BID partners is part of the motivation that allows them to make financial contributions to the group. Because of trust, property owners are willing to devote their own time and potentially sacrifice financial gains for intangible social value that is shared collectively.

Information sharing is another critical element of engagement in sustainability. The finding that property owners' minimum level of awareness of sustainability that brought about BID Sofielund's solar project demonstrates the learning-related functions of networks, what Newig, Günther, & Pahl-Wostl (2010) refer to as information transmission and deliberation. They argue that networks present low effort opportunities for actors to gain access to each other's respective knowledge and a platform for deliberating, which produces favorable conditions for solving complex systemic environmental issues through creative solutions. They go on to describe how learning processes in networks may even change the assumptions and values of participants. Inferring from the interview responses of property-owning Board Members it seems the BID may have instigated this process that encourages property owners to have a more systemic focus with their business operations.

Towards a general framework for understanding BID sustainability activities – BIDs as responding to internal and external drivers

Using an inductive reasoning approach to draw general conclusions from the data (Walliman, 2006) this section synthesizes the primary drivers behind BID sustainability activities that emerged from the data across the five case studies. While this theory is certainly incomplete due to a limited sample size, I argue that a combination of internal and external drivers must be considered to fully understand a BID and its relationship with urban sustainability. Internal drivers include the composition of stakeholders and the organizational structure (which are both modulated by partnership quality), and external drivers include community context and assets, ongoing public initiatives, and BIDs' close ties with urban design, planning and development. Further research is needed to better define these factors and enumerate additional ones to develop a more coherent framework.

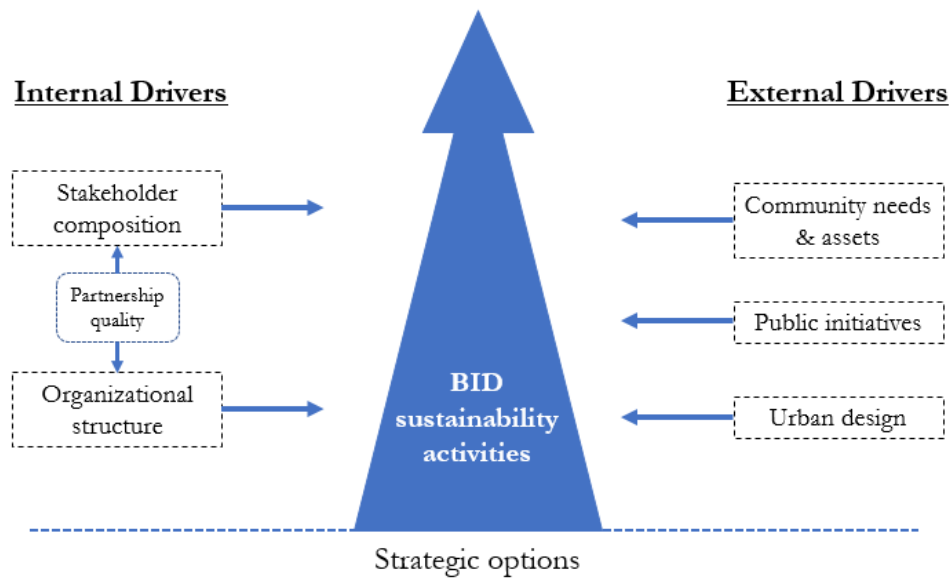


Figure 6-1 BID sustainability activities framework

Source: Author's own elaboration

Internal drivers

1. Stakeholder composition and (2) organizational structure

Given the complex network of stakeholders participating in and affected by BID activities at the urban scale, Mitchell, Agle, & Wood's (1997) theory of stakeholder salience is relevant to consider. The authors argue that to an organization, affected stakeholders possess a combination of three attributes: power, legitimacy, and urgency (p. 879) that shape how the organization should act in any given situation. This stakeholder perspective also drives BID activities as evidenced by one study on BIDs in New York that found their behavior to vary based on the “type of commercial property represented, [and] the composition and balance of power among key stakeholders” (Gross, 2005, p. 174) among a few other factors. Extending this line of thinking to this study, it is evident that stakeholder composition and dynamics between them play a role in the way BIDs are used for sustainability purposes.

The stakeholders arguably with the highest degree of power, legitimacy and urgency in any BID organization are the property owners they represent, however the BIDs in this study all made attempts to better understand local stakeholders that are ultimately affected by their decision-making. For example, VBID establishes Steering Groups with a range of community members to aid in strategy development, and DowntownDC convened focus groups in a similar fashion to develop its five-year plan. Other BIDs sought to incorporate stakeholder perspectives through stakeholder surveying and public meetings. Making decisions that are suited to the needs of stakeholders certainly benefits BID leaders to support their own legitimacy in the eyes of the businesses they represent and the public, but making decisions through PPPs that are sensitive to community and social indicators also count towards their degree of sustainability according to the framework employed above.

One can draw parallels between the dominant stakeholders for BID Sofielund and CHED and the type of behaviors they exhibit. CHED is operated by the public housing corporation Capitol Hill Housing, while a major player in BID Sofielund is Malmö's public housing company MKB. Since the goals of public housing corporations are to provide housing for low-income

populations and help them move out of low-income housing, it follows that the agenda of those BIDs seek to address social issues.

The importance of the Project Leader for producing results in the BID Sofielund case cannot be understated. Without solicitation during the interviews, 11 interviewees brought up the Project Leader by name and discussed how he was essentially the driving force behind the organization. Especially in relation to sustainability transition theory, policy entrepreneurs, change agents and thought leaders are often found to be key success factors behind transitions, carrying the banner on policy initiatives and motivating others to join in the movement (Block & Paredis, 2013; Busch & McCormick, 2014; Grossman, 2008, 2010; Ruffin, 2010). However, while the Project Leader has been important in managing the organization, he is not necessarily the reason why BID Sofielund members have agreed to pursue sustainability. Their engagement with sustainability is also defined by the organizational structure and influenced by the composition of its members. Board Member 7 was stated to be crucial for convincing other board members to commit to sustainable investments and the information sharing from city planners and other municipal representatives must also affect property owners' ability and willingness to develop properties in more sustainable ways.

Stakeholder composition and organizational structure still do not provide a root cause for why BIDs choose to incorporate sustainability out of a range of options. The composition of actors that made up BID leadership and their legitimacy in driving strategy actually differed quite significantly across the five cases. BID Sofielund was influenced heavily by the public sector to work with sustainable development, whereas WCBID is private-led and seemed to choose sustainability as part of its strategy independently. This raises further questions such as: Do community members demand sustainability? Do influential board members push for these strategies? Future research can take a more in-depth analysis of organizational processes to better understand these questions.

External pressures

1. Community context and assets

Keeping in mind BID criticisms related to uneven distribution of social services (Hoyt & Gopal-Agge, 2007), Hoyt (2005) argued that proper alignment of BID spending with the needs of customers (i.e. relevant stakeholders) could produce efficient outcomes with spillover benefits for a larger public. Private actors with their own self-interest in mind were found to adapt to the local context and seek to enhance available assets.

BID Sofielund emerged out of the need to address growing socioeconomic inequalities afflicting the local community spurred by disinvestment and difficulties assimilating the large foreign-born population. After the idea to experiment with the BID model was brought forth by several property owners, it was adapted as a method to experiment with solutions for social sustainability that allows existing institutional actors to collaborate with a degree of autonomy through joint investment to develop the area into a safer and more attractive place for people to live and do business. An important early step was the collaborative visioning process between property owners and public authorities that established a shared understanding of the local context and the objectives needed to remedy them, what Kemp et al. (2005) argue is a fundamental component of working towards sustainable development. This enabled BID Sofielund property owners to have a heightened capacity to incorporate those concepts into their development plans and aim to make changes in the urban environment.

Although lacking deeper data for the reference cases, it was clear that CHED sought to institutionalize and be a mechanism for sustainability in the district like BID Sofielund, especially working to address social inequalities. CHED established the Renter's Initiative, a stakeholder group designed to advocate for residents in local urban development projects – of which 80% are renters with a limited voice. They also lead a program that subsidizes public transportation for low income residents.

The other organizations in the study comprise important commercial and transit centers for their respective cities, so their focus often revolved around improving mobility or making enhancements to the streetscape with the end goal of supporting commercial viability. As a piece of an important commercial corridor, WCBID invests in sidewalk improvements to improve walkability between businesses. VBID and DowntownDC both comprise or sit adjacent to important cultural centers, so their motives revolve around enhancing streetscapes and the public realm to provide positive experiences for visitors.

2. Public initiatives

Supporting existing initiatives and collaborating with external partners may also open up avenues for additional funding to carry out BID projects and processes. A significant role for WCBID is to promote economic development among its members, and in addition to providing finance consulting and information about available tax credits for its commercial business members, it also teams with the Colorado Enterprise Fund to provide small loans and promotes local utility energy efficiency initiatives. These activities reflect a response to market-based incentives, which according to Kemp et al. (2005) are one of multiple strategies necessary to guide societal actors towards sustainable development. One could imagine that BIDs would be willing to engage in projects that align with sustainability if grants and other resources are made available by sustainability focused organizations or government programs.

BIDs also engage in sustainability by providing supplementary support to existing policy objectives. For example, CHED's activities were found to aid the pursuit of Seattle's climate-related targets. They supported local programs on building energy efficiency and waste management, while their key performance areas and the EcoDistrict Index could be used as a way to complement neighborhood metrics that are already maintained by other organizations or the local government.

3. Urban design, planning and development

I argue that the BIDs in this study engage in sustainability simply by virtue of their participation in local land use planning and urban development projects. Land use planning is not inherently sustainable, but the notions of urban development and sustainable development do seem to be converging in practice (Devolder & Block, 2015). In the UK, land use planning has been used as a strategy to promote sustainable development by “promoting increased urban densities, mixed land-use developments, providing urban green spaces, creating good design and reducing the need to travel” (Bulkeley & Betsill, 2003, p. 76). While budgetary limitations may prevent smaller BIDs from engaging in these activities as noted previously, each of the BIDs in this sample were found to implement at least one of those listed activities. They either represented their communities in response to public-generated plans or created their own plans to shape land use and invest in their territories.

Lorne & Welsh (2013) provide an explanation for this phenomenon. In seeking to define the motivations behind BID activities, they argue that because they typically possess public assets like roads, parks and other infrastructure, it is in their interest to strategically manage them for

the best societal use. Since their mission is to expand economic opportunities and social capital, they will be more effective if they can improve the real and perceived value of their constituent parts by jointly investing in public and private infrastructure plans and projects.

6.2 Theoretical decisions guiding the research

The theoretical basis for this study utilized Morçöl & Wolf's (2010) proposal that BIDs should be studied within a new governance framework that conceptualizes BIDs as actors within governance networks that are comprised of public and private actors working towards common public policy goals. Building from Lewis's (2011) assertion that there is only vague understanding of what makes PPPs effective within governance networks, the study aimed to further the discussion on how to characterize PPP success with a focus on BIDs geared towards sustainable development. This study did not aim to test the theory, but rather used it as a rationale for carrying out the data collection and analysis of the in-depth case study by influencing the selection of primary data sources and the type of questions asked during interviews.

Drawing from the initial literature review surrounding networks and partnership, a set of partnership indicators was assembled in a conceptual framework in order to guide the interview questions throughout the in-depth case study. Trust was identified as a critical element of partnership success in both business and governance contexts (Das & Teng, 1998; Dirks & Ferrin, 2001; Edelenbos & Klijn, 2007; Klijn et al., 2010; Lee & Kim, 1999; Mohr & Spekman, 1994), while other partnership attributes such as information sharing and benefit and risk sharing were drawn from business partnership literature (Lee & Kim, 1999; Mohr & Spekman, 1994; Spekman, Kamauff, & Myhr, 1998). An additional indicator was gleaned from the literature on urban regeneration partnerships, which emphasized a focus on the effectiveness of partnerships to address multi-faceted objectives that impact a broad set of stakeholders within their project areas (Atkinson, 1999; Ball & Maginn, 2005; Carley, 2000; Hastings, 1996). The initial process for selecting the indicators to apply in this study could have been improved to be more systematic, however they served as satisfactory conceptual framework for creating interview questions and examining data.

6.3 Methodological choices

6.3.1 Research design

An apparent weakness from the outset of the research design – especially in the ability to answer the “why” portion of the research question – was the disparity in the type, quality and quantity of data collected across the five case studies. The in-depth case had more robust and varied data collected from both primary and secondary sources while the reference cases relied only on secondary data the organizations chose to publish on their websites. This information was better used to catalogue a range of BID strategies and enabled only speculative analysis of why they chose them.

The cases were selected specifically because they intentionally pursue sustainable development activities. A potential alternative research design could have focused on two BIDs of similar size and scale – one sustainability-focused BID and one BID that does not strategize for sustainability – and compare the reasoning behind their strategy development. This could provide a more controlled experiment to identify one or a few key factors that explain why BIDs do or do not engage in sustainability.

6.3.2 Data sources

It should be recognized that because data collected about the reference cases came from their websites and publications written for them, there is little to no critical perspective provided on their activities. Because they are seeking to advertise the successes they have, the information shared is predominantly about their achievements, which limits a holistic analysis and critique on their activities. This limitation may also be relevant to the interviews of BID Sofielund representatives, especially since the project has had constant attention from the local media and other researchers. The leaders are potentially susceptible to response bias so as not to draw any negative commentary, while the author's own bias may have affected the interpretation of data.

The primary data collected for the in-depth case also has its limitations. Since the intent was to understand partnership quality, the data collected may have been one-sided since the primary interview subjects were representatives of the BID leadership. Partnership quality could have potentially been better understood by speaking with a more diverse set of BID stakeholders. Valuable data could have been gained by surveying average BID members who are less participatory to see how they think the partnership is and how effective it is, or by surveying non-participants to gain their perspective on why they have not volunteered to join BID Sofielund. Additionally, only two Adjunct Board Members responded to attempted contact via email and phone and agreed to provide information for the study. One participated in an in-person interview, while the other answered questions via email. Since the study intended to evaluate the private and public partners' perceptions of partnership quality, there was limited data to draw conclusions from the perspective of public authorities. To gain the perspective of public authorities, several government representatives outside of the BID were interviewed instead. This provided some insight into the government perspective, but the data is less reliable than speaking directly with the desired individuals.

Another lacking primary data source is direct observation of a BID Sofielund meeting. Without the ability to carry out direct observation in a board meeting due to the language barrier, the exact decision-making process followed by BID Sofielund leadership for choosing its activities is unclear.

6.3.3 Sustainability framework

A potential limitation is that the original intent of the framework was to classify language used in project descriptions, contracts or other written texts for infrastructure related PPPs rather than for classifying actual outcomes of economic development or urban regeneration PPPs. One could imagine that the latter would differ to some degree, however the original framework was deemed suitable for this study.

Another limitation of the framework is the lack of purely economic indicators despite the acknowledgement that economic development is a key BID strategy and one of the core pillars of sustainability. Since the framework is designed for infrastructure PPPs, it is a sub-optimal way to evaluate the BIDs in this study which were at least partially driven by economic motivations and better defined as urban regeneration or economic development PPPs. While the framework supplies useful indicators of environmental and social sustainability, it provides an incomplete picture of the way BIDs impact sustainability. Tanguay et al., (2010) analyzed the different sustainability indicators employed by global cities and found economic indicators such as unemployment rates, job creation, ratio of income inequality and mean household income were in use. Similar indicators could have been integrated into this study to improve the description of the way BIDs contribute to economic sustainability.

6.3.4 Alternative analytical methods

A study on primary care partnerships between public and private individuals and agencies in the healthcare industry (Lewis, 2005) utilized social network analysis to map the connections between involved partners and elucidate important relationships within the network structure. On top of quantifying and mapping the network structure, the study also utilized surveys and interviews to generate quantitative and qualitative data that allowed the researcher to create a more robust narrative of network functioning. This approach is not suited to the primary research question of this study; however a different question could be asked that explores the strong and weak relationships throughout a BID structure that is purposed towards sustainable development.

6.4 Implications for further research

6.4.1 Generalizability

Despite the highly contextual nature of BID operations, the research findings identified common themes on both how and why they engage in sustainability. The research design deliberately chose to investigate BIDs who stated their involvement and pursuit of sustainability, but I argue that one could produce similar findings in other cases.

The framework used to analyze how BIDs engage in sustainability produced patterns in the type of activities used across the five cases. Projects related to energy efficiency, building design and urban planning activities and processes like developing collaborative governance and decision-making emerged from the data. As associations of building owners, BID sustainability projects might often be those that generate value for property owners such as reducing building operational costs or by aiming to shape the public sphere in ways that are economically favorable; whether by funding litter cleanups and other streetscape improvements that raise surrounding property value or funding research on transportation planning.

The findings supporting the why portion of the RQ are less generalizable, since multiple plausible explanations were generated through the analysis. However, an important assertion for why BIDs choose to engage in sustainability is because they are intrinsically motivated to affect urban design in their districts which in its modern practice often incorporates elements of sustainability, not least multi-modal transportation. Those with less financial resources for affecting urban planning and development may not be capable of funding those types of projects above their basic services, but I propose that smaller organizations would be equally intent on pursuing projects that allow them greater influence over how people interact with the built environment to make it more attractive for residents and customers. Whether or not sustainability is the intended outcome, things like developing for walkability contributes to environmental factors by reducing fossil fuel use and social factors by creating opportunities for social interaction, which is imperative for social wellness (Porta & Renne, 2005).

6.4.2 Moving forward – BIDs and sustainability in research and in practice

Urban sustainability is thought of as a wicked problem with complex interdependencies between systems and it requires significant investments to pursue (Ernst et al., 2016). It also requires that all societal actors buy in to the cause to some significant degree. In our societies that are predominantly concerned with achieving economic efficiency, according to Lorne & Welsh (2013) BIDs create a platform for individual businesses to contribute to sustainable development in a tangible way that would otherwise be less economically favorable and/or accessible. In addition, they argue that due to their localized nature and relatively small-scale actions, BIDs have the ability to experiment with targeted solutions to urban sustainability that

do not cause larger scale negative impacts if they fail. This ability could fit into a larger strategy of sustainability transitions, wherein various incremental strategies and projects are implemented to prevent lock-in to any one course (Kemp et al., 2005)

The findings suggest that BIDs could be a valuable vehicle for enhancing the democratic process and governance of sustainability. If BIDs continue to build capacities for public accountability and participatory governance in strategy development, they have the possibility to strengthen a culture of participation and co-creation necessary for sustainable transformation (Ernst et al., 2016) and build communities to fit the needs of their residents and other stakeholders. Based on the findings of the Sofielund case, the repeated interactions of property owners, governmental authorities, CSOs and private citizens through BID processes supported the development of social capital in the community in the form of trust and knowledge sharing. This echoes Kemp et al.'s (2005) claim that policies are strengthened, conflict reduced, mutual learning and idea and information development is enhanced through sustainability governance. Thus, looking for opportunities to expand stakeholder participation and representation in organizational governance should be a continuous process for BIDs.

The findings also point to the benefits of more active collaboration between BIDs and government authorities. While it should be recognized that there is formal legislation guiding BIDs' roles in the US and UK examples and their capabilities are largely based on the amount of resources they have, a public authority that is seriously pursuing sustainable development could put more resources towards coordinating BID partnerships. BID Sofielund is steered by the public sector more so than the other organizations in this study, and as a result they are achieving a considerable amount in a short period of time. VBID has also worked closely with London's central authority and produced valuable knowledge about green infrastructure that has been shared to other BIDs and property owners across the city.

However, based on what can be gleaned from the US BIDs, it seems local government takes a more hands-off role when allowing BIDs to operate. In Wolf (2006), he described the level of collaboration between Washington DC's BIDs (including DowntownDC BID) as benign, finding that government authorities do not get involved in their activities so long as they meet minimum performance criteria. The same conditions seem to apply for WCBID. Governments may be less inclined to intervene in BID activities due to administrative limitations or others, but there are still potential mutual benefits if they more actively seek to stimulate BID activities to pursue a shared vision through incentivization.

The UN's 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) set high level targets for countries to achieve, while development processes and the delivery of services that actually impact the lives of people largely occur at a local level. A United Nations Development Programme representative delivered a speech on localizing the SDGs to the World Bank in 2017, during which he discussed five drivers of transformational change: "(i) sensitization and engagement of local actors, (ii) accountability mechanisms, (iii) participatory planning and service delivery, (iv) local economic development, and... (v) partnerships" ("Localizing the Implementation of the SDGs," n.d.). These themes are entwined in the findings of this study, suggesting BIDs may be a potentially effective model for localizing the SDGs. BID Sofielund is now beginning to test this notion by merging the SDGs with their own goals with the assistance of EU co-financing, and I argue that other BIDs have the necessary components to follow suit.

7 Conclusion

As the global population grows increasingly urban, we need to find solutions that optimize our urban environments for managing the ecological impacts of development, ensure equitable access to the benefits of development and create more democratic systems of governance. BIDs are networks of actors that fill a niche in the urban environment between individual community stakeholders and groups and the local government. They are granted legal authority to make improvements in their jurisdictions and engage in organizational processes that have impacts on the economic, social and environmental functions of urban systems. The overarching question used to explore the problem area was “How and why do BIDs engage in urban sustainability?” (RQ1). In order to produce answers to this question, two sub-questions were posed to address the “how” and “why” aspects:

- *“What BID outcomes (e.g. projects and processes) can be classified as contributing to urban sustainability?” (RQ2)*

The answer to how BIDs engage in urban sustainability was answered by placing their activities in a sustainability framework for PPPs. In this sample, the cases engaged in a multitude of activities to enhance security and public safety in their districts. They also often pursued energy efficiency projects and involved themselves in transportation and land use planning, either advocating for the community in existing plans or developing their own strategic plans. They also aimed to support commercial viability by working on economic development projects that support local employment and small and medium businesses.

- *“How does partnership quality influence engagement in urban sustainability?” (RQ3)*

To investigate why BIDs engage in sustainability, RQ3 was based on the theoretical proposition that BID activities would be shaped by the quality of the public-private partnership as described by a set of indicators, and this proposition was supported. The operational concepts of partnership quality proved useful to guide the data collection and analysis for BID Sofielund and connect the characteristics of the PPP and how the organization impacted urban sustainability. Based on the findings of this study, partnership quality is not necessarily a determinant of BID engagement in sustainability, but it appears that a stronger partnership does enhance the effectiveness of BID operations to achieve projects that are sustainable.

In response to the overarching research question which synthesized findings from across the case studies, the author argues that BID motivations to engage in sustainability can be understood by a combination of internal and external pressures that shape strategic decision-making. The research aimed to fill gaps in the academic discussion on BIDs and sustainability and drew connections between their network functions as PPPs, implications for urban governance, and their relationship to urban sustainable development. The findings also present sustainability as an additional lens with which to assess BID performance as public authorities require methods to ensure that PPPs deliver public goods and services accountably.

The findings are relevant for BID Sofielund as it seeks to experiment with strategies that further integrate sustainable development into the organization and community it represents under the forthcoming Case Sofielund 2030 project. Some of the important strategies observed in the reference cases were those that sought to enhance inclusive community development, such as hosting collaborative workshops to generate design ideas, and the formation of specific sustainability metrics to track and inform organizational decision-making. These findings are also relevant to practitioners in general who desire to learn more about how sustainability can be made accessible to individual property or business owners through BID collective actions.

The study also suggests that BIDs can be a vehicle for better collaboration between the public and private sectors to affect urban development, and public authorities could take a more active role to work with BIDs.

Due to the exploratory nature of this thesis, further research is needed to test the theories relating BIDs to sustainability. First, further research could be conducted on another sample to see what additional projects and processes BIDs use to work with sustainability. Second, the viability of theories asserted in this study must be tested and refined on other cases. Another design could focus on two BIDs of similar scale in the same city – one that does not claim sustainability as a strategy and one that does – and investigate the causes for that occurrence. The study was also broad in its assessment of sustainability activities, so future research can use a narrower perspective on BID impacts for one specific aspect of sustainability, for example biological diversity. Finally, applying research from an economic perspective would also be of interest to investigate why BIDs decide that sustainability will be an economically favorable investment. Since urban development practices are shaped by economic decision-making, we need a better understanding of how to make sustainable behavior more economical than traditional practices.

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Appendix A – List of interviews

Table A-1. List of conducted interviews

Interviewee	Date	Duration	Format
Adjunct board member 1	12 June 2018	N/A	E-mail
Adjunct board member 2	19 June 2018	39:00	In person
BID member	3 July 2018	N/A	E-mail
BID project leader	9 May 2018	45:00	In person
Board member 1	13 June 2018	38:00	In person
Board member 2	13 June 2018	57:00	In person
Board member 3	15 June 2018	36:00	In person
Board member 4	15 June 2018	N/A	E-mail
Board member 5	20 June 2018	41:00	In person
Board member 6	28 June 2018	22:00	Phone
Board member 7	9 July 2018	N/A	E-mail
Municipal rep. 1	18 June 2018	68:00	Phone
Municipal rep. 2	27 June 2018	32:00	In person
Politician	7 June 2018	20:28	In person
University researcher	15 June 2018	47:00	In person

Source: own elaboration

Appendix B – Sample interview guide

Interviewee(s)	
Organisation	
Duration	
Date/Location	
Other observations	

Introduction to study:

First of all, thank you for your willingness to participate in this interview. To explain why I'm here, I am focusing my thesis on Property Owners Sofielund and I'm looking at how it is now being used and how effectively the organization works as a partnership between different groups in the local community to achieve common goals. I also want to see its potential effect on urban sustainability. By that I mean anything that can improve the quality of life for residents and help protect the environment without harming the economy.

I wanted to speak with you because as a board member, you have valuable knowledge about how the organization is working and how different participants understand the goals and the partnership that makes it successful.

You can decide not to respond to questions or drop out of the study at any time if you choose. If you don't mind, I will also record the interview so I can transcribe it later and use your feedback to help describe the BID in my thesis. I will not use your name in any public materials and will keep things anonymous, but it may be possible that someone could guess it was you who provided the information. Do you agree to these terms?

Do you have any questions before we begin?

I. Introductory
How long have you been a property owner in Sofielund/Malmo?
When and how did you first find out about BID Sofielund? What was your first reaction to the idea?
How long have you been involved with the organization? How did you come to be involved?

Can you describe the kind of work you do as a board member for the organization? (time spent, activities, etc)
II. Sustainability
The BID tries to achieve “sustainable development” in all of its activities. What do the terms sustainability or sustainable development mean to you?
Where did the motivation to push for sustainable development come from?
Had you worked on sustainability issues before the BID?
As a property owner/developer, can you discuss what you believe your role is in contributing to sustainable development?
How well-suited do you think the BID model is to produce sustainable development? Why?
III. Partnership
Within the BID, which people do you speak with most often to do your work?
Are you involved in any other associations that have overlapping work with the BID? Can you name them?
From your perspective, does it seem like you and the partners involved through the BID share a common vision for the community? If so, how did you come to this agreement?
Why is it important for you to collaborate with Malmo Stad to achieve your goals?
Are ideas for what activities the BID should do mostly driven by the property owners or by government representatives?

Do you think the BID provides learning opportunities between you and/or representatives from Malmo Stad? If so, can you provide examples?
From what you have seen or heard, is the BID partnership producing any recognizable or measurable effects in the community? (I'm aware of the crime reduction, but what about other things such as: more dialogue, quality of life, economic impacts)

Appendix C – Coding structure

Although not duplicated here, the PPP sustainability framework found in Table 2-3 was also used in the coding structure.

Table A-2. Coding structure

Code name	Definition
BID activities	
Capital improvements	Street lighting, street furniture, trees, shrubbery
Consumer marketing	Festivals, events, self-promotion, maps, newsletters
Economic development	Tax abatements and loans to new businesses
Maintenance	Trash collection, litter removal, washing sidewalks, tree trimming, snow shoveling
Parking and transportation	Public parking systems, maintaining transit shelters
Policy advocacy	Promoting public policies, lobbying
Public space regulation	Managing vendors, panhandlers and vehicle loading
Security	Security guards, electronic security systems, cooperating with police
Social services	Aiding homeless, providing job training, youth services
Strategic planning	Design of public spaces
BID democracy	
Accountability	Public accountability, stakeholders are fully represented
Legitimacy	Decision-making authority
Manageability	Manageability by BID leadership or public authorities
Network processes	
Co-producing value	Producing value together that is distributed equitably
Evaluation	Ability to evaluate performance
Experimentation	Testing ideas - trial and error

Goal alignment	Goal alignment between different actors and organizations
Motivations	Purpose of engaging in networking
Place-based approach	Objectives are aligned with local context
Partnership	
Information sharing	The degree to which critical information is communicated to one's partner
Multi-stakeholder collaboration	The variety of stakeholders who participate and the ways they participate.
Negotiation	Strategic partners are incentivized to jointly problem solve and compromise around solutions to complex issues.
Benefit & risk sharing	Degree of articulation and agreement on benefit and risk between partners.
Trust	The belief that a party's word is reliable and that a party will fulfill its obligation in an exchange.

Appendix D – 12 guiding principles for developing Victoria’s public realm

Source: (“Public Realm,” n.d.)

1. Create a network of related spaces to build a new public character.
2. Improve air quality.
3. Improve walking routes and pedestrian environment.
4. Minimise the impact of traffic and vehicles.
5. Improve cycling conditions.
6. Enhance trees, greenery and planting.
7. Build character, programme events in public spaces and provide play opportunities.
8. Ensure public identity through signage and wayfinding.
9. Encourage unified, light touch management and oversight.
10. Enhance lighting.
11. Commission art in public places.
12. Adopt a coherent material palette for Victoria.

Appendix E – The EcoDistrict Index

Table A-3. Capitol Hill EcoDistrict Index

Performance Area	Target for 2030	Indicator
Energy	Reduce building energy use intensity by 50%	Energy in kBtu/year ⁶
Water	Reduce building potable water use intensity by 50%	Volume/year
Materials	Achieve 70% waste diversion	% weight diverted
Habitat	Achieve 21% tree canopy cover	Tree canopy cover
Equity/ Habitat	Achieve 100% of district within ¼ mile of park	Distance to parks
Health	Achieve 100% of district within ½ mile of grocery store	Distance to grocery stores
Health	Double P-Patch Plots within walking distance	Distance to urban gardens
Health	Double Farmers Market shopper count by all incomes	Farmers Market attendance/income
Health/ Transport	Achieve 0 serious injuries, fatalities from traffic collisions	Traffic statistics
Transport	Reduce SOV ⁷ commute rate for residents to 15%	Vehicle ridership
Transport	Double transit boardings and alightings	Vehicle ridership
Health/ Transport	Increase pedestrian traffic at selected intersections by 33%	Pedestrian traffic
Transport	Triple bicycle traffic at selected intersections	Bicycle ridership
Equity/ Transport	<15% income spent on transportation	Relative income
Equity	<30% income spent on housing	Relative income

Source: Adapted from (“EcoDistrict Index,” 2015)

⁶ KBtu = One thousand British thermal units

⁷ Single-occupancy vehicle

Appendix F – BID sustainability activities

Table A-4. BID sustainability activities

Main category	Sub-criteria	Victoria BID	DowntownDC BID	West Colfax BID	Capitol Hill EcoDistrict	BID Sofielund	Total
Environment and natural resources	Energy			<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Support and co-financing for building solar thermal array 2. Streetscaping with solar-powered lighting /irrigation 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Participation in and promotion of Better Buildings Challenge - incentivizes energy efficiency improvements 2. Partnership with Seattle 2030 District to support building efficiency improvements 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rooftop photovoltaic solar array 2. Encouraging energy efficient building upgrades 3. Planning for EV charging stations and carpools 	7
	Water	1. Rain gardens, tree planting, green roofs, living walls to alleviate surface water flooding			1. Supporting SPU Green Business Program to conserve water and protect waterways	1. Stormwater management systems in new development	3
	Materials & design	1. Green infrastructure research and projects	1. Creation of DowntownDC BID Streetscape standards	1. Facilitating, promoting and/or installing construction of LEED-certified buildings and energy efficient upgrades	1. Supporting SPU Green Business Program to reduce waste	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Helping to locate areas for installing recycling centers 2. Improving housing quality standards and design 	6

	Biodiversity & land use	1. Green infrastructure and impacts on urban bats 2. Beekeeping					2
	Clean air	1. Business health check - recommendations for more efficient (less) work-related travel 2. Zero and low emission suppliers directory					2
Liveability	Public facilities	1. Creation of public gardens	1. Cycling projects/initiatives - expanding number of parking spaces, collaboration on bikeshare program 2. Planning collaboration on DC Circulator bus system 3. Smart parking system 4. Collaborative parks management with NPS 5. . Advocating sustainable infrastructure investments in 2015 leadership paper	1. Supporting multi-modal development of the primary transit corridor	1. Testing pedestrian only streets concept 2. District Shared Parking strategy	1. Capital improvement projects (tree planting, benches, managing parking spaces) 2. Destination analysis	11
	Security	1. Business-oriented security programs and training services 2. Security patrols 3. Victoria Radio Link	1. Maintenance Ambassadors - remove litter, trash, recycling, posters and graffiti 2. Field Asset	1. Graffiti removal 2. Traffic calming and pedestrian-friendly capital improvements	1. Park lighting project to improve safety	1. Capital improvement projects 2. Security certification for residential properties	18

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Cleaning services team 5. Environmental Ambassador - reports neighborhood deficiencies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Public Space Conditions Database 4. Public Space Working Group 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Beautification projects 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Sofielundpatrullen 4. Night patrol 5. Installing security cameras 6. Collaborating on planning projects for pedestrian safety 	
Health & comfort	Indoor climate & comfort	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rain gardens, tree planting, green roofs, living walls to mitigate high urban temperatures 				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Improving housing quality standards and design 	2
	Acoustics, noise & vibration					<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Collaborating on development projects to reduce traffic and associated noise 	1
	Healthy lifestyle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Walking Victoria - walking route guides for commuters and visitors 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Over the Colfax Clover 			2
Social justice	Emancipation and equality				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Affordable housing transit passes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Supporting cultural and women's groups (Yalla Sofielund) 2. Stadsdelsatlas 3. Reducing occupancy turnover, planning against gentrification 	4

	Public meeting	1. Hosting public events	1. Hosting public events	1. Hosting public events	1. Hosting public events	1. Providing meeting places for citizen groups 2. Hosting public events	6
	Labour and human rights	1. Jobs board for local businesses	1. Homeless Outreach Service Team			1. Case Sofielund Entreprenörskap 2. Yalla Sofielund 3. Stadsdelsatlas	5
Community & participation	Local and societal needs	1. Rough-Sleeping Group	1. Safety/Hospitality Ambassadors - Report emergency situations, chaperone workers after hours	1. Provides investment and financing guidance and support to local small businesses 2. Advocates for public spending on capital improvement projects	1. Community Package Coalition - Advocacy group for neighborhood stakeholders in large development project 2. Parking Benefit District	1. Destinationanalys 2. Stadsdelsatlas 3. Improving housing quality standards	9
	Involvement in decision-making	1. 5 public and non-profit sector "observers" to the board and executive team	1. Leadership on transportation planning through research and dialogue with community, public officials and other stakeholders 2. Advisory role to stakeholders in economic decision-making	1. Over the Colfax Clover - multi-stakeholder dialogue on redesign of large intersection 2. Consultation with public officials during planning of large-scale transportation concept (Bus Rapid Transit)	1. Land use review committee to create dialogue between community and developers 2. Renter initiative - Organizing renters who make up 80% of residents	1. Stadsdelsatlas 2. Enabling multi-stakeholder dialogue and co-creation 3. Reduce occupancy turnover to encourage community identity and responsibility	10
Others	Transformative change					1. Case Sofielund 2030 2. Aligning goals with SDGs	2

	Sustainability in general	1. Integration of CSR strategy into organization activities			1. Establishing 2030 sustainability targets	1. Making sustainability work accessible for property owners 2. Encouraging long-term perspective among property owners	4
	Other sustainability indicators	1. Green infrastructure research 2. Creation of 2020 Vision	1. Economic development activities - research on local economy, foster PPPs, work with stakeholders in decision-making		1. Partnerships with local environmental & cultural nonprofits	1. Engaging with academia	5

Source: Adapted from (Hueskes et al., 2017)