

Unleashing Self-organising Capacity in Urban Development?

The case of Business Improvement Districts in the UK

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Paper for the COMPACT meeting at Erasmus University Rotterdam. Rotterdam, 23th-25th June 2011.

Abstract

Throughout Europe, various attempts are made to involve civil society from the very outset in spatial development processes, aiming at a shared responsibility between governments and citizenry. However, the participatory processes by which this corporation is organised, is heavily criticised for not meeting the dynamics and diversity of present day civil society. This paper therefore puts forward the notion of self-organisation as initiatives originating in civil society, by community based networks of citizens, autonomously organized from governmental procedures yet part of the urban system, spatial and situated. This notion no longer puts the governmental perspective as leading, but a multitude of actor-networks planning at the same time. Question is however, why and how do such initiatives for shared responsibility emerge, and what conditions give rise to such new behaviour? This paper puts special focus on the emergence of the Business Improvement Districts in England as an example of self-organisation in urban development. In order to analyse the conditions that give rise to the establishment of BIDs, the concept of bifurcation-points is used (as the moment in time and space when new behaviour emerges) is introduced. A framework for bifurcation-points is developed and applied to case studies in Birmingham, Liverpool, Coventry and Newcastle.

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I. Introduction

Throughout Europe, various attempts are made to involve civil society from the very outset in spatial development processes, aiming at a shared responsibility between governments and citizenry (Balducci 2003, Healey 1997, 2007, Albrechts 2004, Pløger 2004). However, the participatory processes by which this shared responsibility is pursued, is heavily criticised (Weinrich 1987, Woltjer 2002, Boelens 2006). This critique is largely due to the inclusive character of participation: only those that understand and fit the procedures are able to take part (Pløger 2001, De Graaf 2007, Van der Arend 2007). Moreover, within most participatory practises, it is politicians and planners – mainly working as civil servants or under the authority of government, serving government (political) interests (Flyvbjerg 1996, Pløger 2001) – who stay in control over their procedures, thus putting one (the preferred political and governmental) perspective central. On the other hand, governments are not always able to be open to initiatives that spontaneously emerge from society and which do not necessarily correspond with policy issues (Frissen 2007). Participatory planning has become an organisational routine with a focus on reducing uncertainty – finding consensus on one view of the future, however leading to suboptimal behaviour and thus lock-ins (cf. Bertolini 2010). Governments' ask for citizen involvement and shared responsibility, but according to their path-dependencies hold on to instruments that keep them in central positions, in a society that is no longer governable from such a one-dimensional perspective (Boonstra and Boelens 2011). To be able to address the dynamics and diversity of present day civil society, which has become highly empowered, elusive and individually fragmented, leading to a social organization that is temporary, changing and multiple (Castells 1996, 1997, Urry 2003, Koffijberg and Renooy 2008) – new approaches to achieve a shared responsibility for spatial development have to be found. Approaches that do not reduce complexity but enhance it, views places as relational and multiplicities – continuously in heterogeneous processes of becoming (Murdoch 2006, Hillier 2007, Boelens 2009) and in which citizens can plan their actions in space increasingly beyond the confines of government (Kreukels 1985, Boelens 2009, Klijn and Snellen 2009).

In order to establish shared responsibilities among public and civic parties concerning spatial quality in a complex society, the main research question for this paper is: how do initiatives for such shared responsibility emerge, and what conditions give rise to this new behaviour? Especially of interest are those initiatives that do not originate from governmental participatory processes or planning procedures, but directly from interests and networks within society. In this paper, such initiatives are theoretically framed as self-organisation. Self-organisation is a notion derived from complexity theory, generally meaning the emergence of structure from unstructured beginnings, without one central or external actor determining the outcome of such a process (Cilliers 1998, Heylighen 2001). Thus, self-organisation is a notion that can overcome the lock-in of participatory planning, since it no longer puts the governmental perspective as leading, but a multitude of actor-networks operating (or: planning) at the same time. In order to gain more understanding on the conditions that make such new behaviour emerge, this paper focuses on Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) in England in the period 2004-2010. Business Improvement Districts are framed as self-governed and self-assessing business-led initiatives aiming (among other issues) at improving the spatial quality of their business environments. As various English examples show, these initiatives often make durable partnership working between public and non-governmental actors possible.

In the next paragraph (II), a further exploration of the notion of self-organisation and the empirical ground of the Business Improvement Districts are given. In paragraph III, an operational framework is constructed in order to understand why and how initiatives like BIDs emerge, using the concept of bifurcation points. In paragraph IV this operational framework is used to explore the introduction of the BID legislation in England, and in paragraph V the operational framework is used to explore the emergence of individual BIDs in four English cities. In the last paragraph, some preliminary conclusions are given on the conditions that make such initiatives emerge, and what (f)actors are decisive.

II. Self-organization and Business Improvement Districts

The notion of self-organisation is derived from complexity theory, a scientific approach addressing a world in which non-linear and irreversible change are rather rule than exception (Prigogine and Stengers 1984, Cilliers 1998, Heylighen 2001). A complex society is thus a society in which there is endless and continuous movement and interaction between all its different elements (people, places, institutions). This continuous movement results in patterns and unforeseen initiatives emerging spontaneously. Self-organisation is the emergence of new organised structure (Teisman et al. 2009), or a process whereby a system develops a complex structure from fairly unstructured beginnings (Cilliers 1998: 12). This process changes the relationships between the distributed elements of the system under influence of both the external environment and the history of the system. Since the system has to cope with unpredictable changes in the environment, to which the system can develop or change internal structure spontaneously and adaptively in order to cope with, or manipulate these changes, the development of structure cannot be contained in a rigid set of rules that control the behaviour of the system (Cilliers 1998).

Self-organization is not seen as something that opposes structure, but rather as the emergence of new structures despite and through existing structure, bringing complexity to a higher level by increasing multiplicity. Concerning the lock-in of participatory planning in gaining shared responsibilities for urban development, the notion of self-organisation might provide a way out, since it does not take the governmental perspective as leading, but a multitude of actor-networks operating (or: planning) at the same time. Self-organisation in urban development in this paper is thus defined as initiatives originating in civil society, by community based networks of citizens, autonomously organized from governmental procedures yet part of the urban system, spatial and situated. This paper puts special focus on the emergence of the Business Improvement Districts in the United Kingdom. When the concept was first introduced in Britain's legislation in 2004, it immediately unleashed a massive self-organising capacity among local entrepreneurs: local entrepreneurs taking on an autonomous position in maintaining and developing their own business environments with their own means and administrations. Within a period of six years (2004-2010) over a 120 BIDs were established throughout the UK (www.ukbis.org).

Business Improvement District (BID) is a legislation of North American origin, started in Toronto in 1971 and gradually spread over Canada and the USA from the 1980s onwards (Menger et al. 2005). During the 2000s the legislation found ground in Europe, among others in the United Kingdom in 2004. Business Improvement Districts are self-assessing and self-governing districts of commercial actors (property owners in the USA and businesses in the UK) with a pro-active nature in governance and policy making, operating in designated geographical areas (Morçöl 2006). They are enabled by national legislation (UK) or state laws (USA) (Morçöl and Zimmerman 2006a, Justice and Skelcher 2009) and created in response to various problems like deterioration of inner city areas. BIDs can be framed as self-organization because the establishment of new BIDs embodies the emergence of new structure out of fairly unstructured beginnings, the system being the eventual BID organisation. They are an expression to a sense of business responsibility for the economic welfare of the places that directly affect degrees of business success and failure, cooperation among self-interested entrepreneurs (Houston 2005: 15-16). They are good examples of the phenomenon that when citizens face common problems, they self-organise, mostly when economic interests are involved (Morçöl and Zimmerman 2006a: 77-78). Because BIDs are business-led, they cannot be created against the will of the majority of property and/or business owners (Morçöl and Zimmermann 2006b). BID legislation is not prescriptive on the projects and services a BID should deliver, and they are neither compulsory urban governance schemes (Cook 2008). BIDs blur away the divide between public governmental planning and private interests – in relation to the issue of participation, they go beyond the divide of public and civic society, since they are both led by businesses as made possible by governmental legislation.

III. Deploying Bifurcation Points

In the process of emergence from order to chaos to order, there is one feature of self-organization that is of particular interest for studying the process of emergence of such initiatives, especially addressing the question what conditions give rise to such new behavior. This is the concept of bifurcation points. Bifurcation points are those moments in time and place that actors in a system suddenly decide to

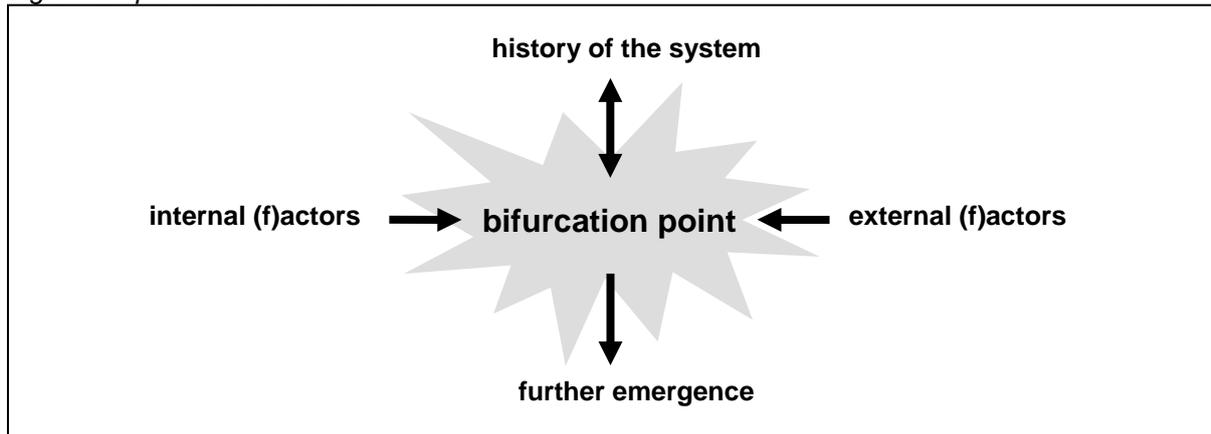
break away from path-dependencies and lock-ins, and start self-organizing. Path-dependencies are stable configurations or organisational routines, and when these become suboptimal, a lock-in emerges which can lead to a collapse of the system (Bertolini 2010: 83). This is called symmetry-breaking. "Symmetry-breaking [can happen] spontaneously by means of missing or incorrect connections (or other happenings of chance), as well as by the non-linearity of the system and the resulting sensitivity to small fluctuations." (Cilliers 1998: 95) After symmetry-breaking, a process of self-organization emerges, and the system develops into a new – unforeseen – direction, preferring this new particular direction and behavior as new configuration. "Non-linear systems [...] have typically several solutions, and there is no a priori way to decide which solution is the "right" one. In terms of actual self-organizing systems, this means that there is a range of stable configurations in which the system may settle. [...] It is as if the system has made an arbitrary decision, and thus changed the range of possibilities. It is this unpredictability which, in a sense, creates the real novelty." (Heylighen 2001: 12)

Bifurcation points, however, do not stand alone, but are nonetheless embedded in the history of a system and they also determine the further emergence of organization. Understanding the unique set of opportunities and constraints determined by a given historical development and local configuration of factors – that is 'path-dependence' – is therefore essential, as is the way this new configuration fundamentally limits the scope of changes in the future (Bertolini 2010: 85). So, in order to understand and deploy bifurcation points, four perspectives on a bifurcation point are of importance. First, there is the **history of the system**. Since systems 'learn' from experience, they have to 'remember' previously encountered situations and compare them with new ones. Therefore, a self-organising system always has a history, previous conditions of the system form vital influences on present behaviour (Cilliers 1998: 91-92). Triggers for new behaviour can both be **external factors** (a "change in the external situation and boundary conditions of the system" Heylighen 2001: 3.7) or **internal factors** ("order emerges from within rather than being imposed from the outside" Bertolini 2010: 95). Last, the bifurcation point also determines the **further emergence** of the system. Bifurcation points are thus no system description, but rather "the middle" of things (cf. Hillier 2007), describing the elements, interactions and networks that give rise to new associations, or new behaviour. In order to study the emergence of such behavior one has to follow the actors themselves (following Callon and Latour 1981, Callon 1986, Law 1986, Law 1992, Law 2004, Latour 2005). One important aspect of this actor-network approach¹ is the inclusion of both human and non-human elements as actors or factors (**(f)actors**) in the analyses of a system. By deploying these bifurcation points from four different perspectives, it is the aim of this paper to understand more of the conditions that give rise to new behavior such as self-organisation and Business Improvement Districts. Note that, following Hillier (2007) it is not the aim "to discover universal [settings], but to 'find the conditions under which something new is produced'" (Hillier 2007: 18 following Deleuze 2002)

As bifurcation point I take the initiative for individual BIDs (the period from the first mention of a possible BID until the ballot that approves for the BID) as the bifurcation moment to see how this moment is connected to: the history of the system, how the emergence of the BID is triggered by internal (f)actors (elements that is later phase become part of the BID organisation) and external (f)actors (outside the future BID organisation), and how the specific configurations of the bifurcation point determine the further emergence (and development) of organisation. This particular moment in time is chosen because this is the most crucial and decisive period for the BID, when the general legislation is translated towards local and specific conditions, and businesses officially approve in a ballot to the new organisation. As a method for research elite interviews are taken with BID leaders / leading actors in the establishment phase of the BID and analyses of documents produced by the BID.

¹ According to Hillier (2007: 54) Actor-Network Theory has strong resonance to Complexity Theory.

Figure 1: operational framework



IV. Introduction of the BIDs in the UK

Originally, BIDs are a North American concept that only recently found its way into European, and particular English legislation. Before I run into more detailed accounts of the emergence of individual BIDs, it is useful for the understanding of what BIDs in England are, to give an overview of how this BID legislation emerged in England and how this BID legislation was shaped in order to fit the particular English context and needs. Also in this general story, a history of a system (path dependencies), bifurcation points and the emergence of new organisation is explored as well, in order to understand what conditions gave rise to this new behaviour.

Bifurcation-point is the period of transfer of the North American concept of Business Improvement Districts into England, ending with the pass of BID legislation in 2003 (Part 4 of the Local Government Act) and regulations in November 2004 (Dawkins and Grail 2007). The eventual legislation covers the geographical area of England, so external factors were the BID concept itself and the policy entrepreneurs bringing it from North America to England and internal factors are pre-existing legislations and practices that have reshaped the BID into its typical English form. The history of the system is the policy-events that were put forward to emphasize the need for BIDs in England, and the further emergence of BIDs after the legislation was approved.

History of the system

In England in the early 1990s, privatisation of public services, economic decline of downtowns and the inability of local governments to address these issues, led to the emergence of Town Centre Management (TCM) schemes: "something voluntarily, if reluctantly, entered into by both local authorities and the private sector" (Reeve 2008: 427). The purpose of such schemes was to improve links between public and private sector initiatives and to make city centres more economically competitive through licensing out state power to the private sector (Cook 2008). This way of addressing urban regeneration followed from attempts to make urban regeneration more area-based (after the 1977 White Paper for Inner Cities) and market-based and property-led (during the 1980s). TCM schemes were expected to "unleash an efficient, innovative and market-sensitive approach to the governance of city centres" (Cook 2008: 778). In 2008 about 300 of such management schemes existed in the UK (Reeve 2008). Most TCMs matured from general business forums into more organised structures, attracting more professional funding, and providing not only janitorial but also more strategic services. However in the late 1990s they became critiqued – notably by TCM officials and the national Association of Town Centre Management (ATCM) – for their voluntary funding schemes that encouraged free-riding and gave little evidence of the return on investment. In 1999, the Urban Task Force stated that fiscal measure perhaps had more potential to address urban regeneration than voluntary schemes. The North American concept of BIDs became regarded as a suitable alternative (Cook 2009), as it would enable partnerships to formalise their structures and secure contributions (Falk 1998: 14 cited in Reeve 2008: 439). Possibilities for the BID concept were created by the Green Paper Modernising Local Government Finance September 2000 (DTLR 2000) and in 2001 by the White Paper Strong Local Leadership – Quality Public Services (DTLR 2001) (Lloyd et al.2003). These, together with the TCM schemes in existence set the stage for the BIDs in England (Cook 2008, Reeve 2008, Lloyd et al.2003, Houstoun 2005).

External (f)actors

In contrast to TCM, which is a home-grown English concept, the BID concept was derived from North American experience. "The introduction of BIDs in England during the early-to-mid 2000s drew on experience elsewhere through a selective policy transfer from the United States where the New Labour government and Association of Town Centre Management (ATCM) perceived BIDs to be key player in the regeneration of once-depressed downtowns" (Cook 2008: 932). In the USA, there is a great amount of diffusion of BIDs and BID-like schemes, however across the US they share a common essence: they are a "publicly sanctioned yet privately directed organisation that supplement public and private services to improve geographically defined, outdoor public spaces and business services" (Hoyt 2006, Cook 2008: 773-4). Policy transfer from the USA to the UK has happened before (Lloyd et al. 2003). However key in this particular transfer were the emerging trans-Atlantic relations between the ATCM and the International Downtown Association (IDA) from the USA. Together they organised various meetings and congresses during the mid 1990s and several study trips took place, especially to the east-coast BIDs in the USA (Cook 2008). These particular BIDs were chosen as references because these were very accessible and impressive for their history and actions. This selective reference is critiqued for 'blatant policy tourism' and as biased since no negative or failed BIDs, nor BID-schemes likely to better fit the English context, were taken into consideration – rarely featuring the BIDs' shortfalls and failures, and absence of experiences with BIDs outside the USA (Cook 2008). All in all there was limited evidence on its successfulness (Lloyd et al. 2003, Steel and Symes 2005).

Internal (f)actors

In the policy transfer of the BID concept from the USA west-coast to the English context and needs, some major adjustments were made. These differences show how internal (f)actors have actually reshaped the concept into a new form. The most important difference concerns who are actually the leading actors in a BID. In English BIDs these are the business occupiers, while in the USA these are land- and property owners (Blackwell 2008, Dawkins and Grail 2007). The choice to base the BID not on land and property owners but on business occupiers was made due to the English taxation system. In the UK businesses are taxed via a general, central system, in the USA businesses are taxed by a local system, and taxation is based on occupation instead of ownership (Lloyd et al. 2003). It was decided that the new BID levy would be arranged via the existing business rates system, because it was considered too complex to introduce a whole new taxation system just for this legislation (Dawkins and Grail 2007). The English rating system originates from the Local Government Finance Act (1988) that changed the nondomestic rating system from a local to a central system. The rateable value, on which taxation (and BID levy) is based comes from a valuation-list. There is both a local list and a central list, the local list contains the hereditaments that should be included in the BID (Blackwell 2008). Because of the taxation system, residents are excluded from the English BIDs, and there is a lack of involvement of employees and the wider public in the policy transfer (Cook 2008). Only a system of guidance rather than regulation in terms of inclusion of property owners is included in the legislation (Lloyd et al. 2003). Generally, it can be said that "the rating system in England is having grafted on it an American BID model to which it is ill-suited" (Blackwell 2005: 201). Other internal (f)actors determining differences between the USA and English BIDs, were a tradition of closer cooperation between public and private BIDs in the UK (Houstoun 2005), local authorities having a greater statutory role as service providers, and less severe conditions of English down towns as in the case of the USA (Lloyd et al. 2003).

Further emergence

The Labour Government announced its intention to introduce BIDs in England already in 2001, through the White Paper Strong Local Leadership – Quality Public Services (December 2001). Since then, extensive consultations with key stakeholders, existing BID pilot schemes, local authorities and businesses were held, in which various versions of regulations were discussed. A BID steering group and a National BIDs Pilot Scheme were set up. In 2003, the draft set of regulations were subject to formal consultation. Responses received indicated a positive opinion towards the policies set out (Deputy Prime Minister 2004). In 2003 statutory provision were adopted in UK legislation that enabled the creation of BIDs in England and Wales, deriving from the study of USA BIDs and experimentation with TCM partnerships and voluntary approximations of BIDs (Justice and Skelcher 2009: 740). In England, Business Improvement Districts became: consortiums of businesses that elect to make a collective contribution to the maintenance, development and promotion of their commercial districts, and aim to improve business opportunities by spatial interventions in their neighbourhood through targeted and ring-fenced investments, additional to public services (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister 2004). The BID legislation makes such initiatives legally binding and mandates the local

public authorities to collect the BID levy (Cook 2009). The BID legislation is a statutory instrument presented in 2004. These Regulations prescribe those matters that must be included and taken into account when developing and implementing a BID. It was decided not to be too prescriptive, but only to set out certain requirements for what needs to be contained within a BID proposal. This was in order to prevent unworkable schemes from going ahead and subsequently failing. The Regulations thus allow for BID proposals to be innovative, and to address the particular needs and problems of the local area (Deputy Prime Minister 2004). The Regulations (put forward as Statutory Instrument 2004: 2443) state the following:

“Business improvement districts are provided for in Part 4 of the Local Government Act 2003 as areas within which projects specified in the BID arrangements are to be carried out for the benefit of that district or those who live, work or carry on any activity in the district. Those projects are to be financed (in whole or in part) by a BID levy imposed on the non-domestic ratepayers, or a class of such ratepayers in the district. A business improvement district may only be established where those entitled to vote approve the BID proposals.” (Statutory Instrument 2004 No. 2443)

A BID can be initiated by non-domestic ratepayers in a certain geographical area, parties with an interest in land (landowners or landlords), bodies with a purpose to develop BID proposals, or the relevant billing authority. The BID proposal is put forward in a ballot, and should include the following details: works or services to be provided, and type of body the provider is; existing baseline services by billing or other public authorities; geographical area; who and how much BID levy and reliefs; arrangements able to be changed without a ballot; duration and commencement date. Further the legislation prescribes: rules and time tables for ballots, the yearly BID revenue account by the relevant billing authority, and the imposition, administration, collection, recovery and application of the BID levy. Arrangements that cannot be altered without a ballot are the geographical area and increases in levy (Statutory Instrument 2004: 2443). For the ballot, the turnover has to be at least 30%, of which half should be voting in favour of the BID, representing a minimum 50% of all rateable value in the BID area. The business-led board takes the final decisions, and the businesses democratically control the board’s actions and decisions. The internal organisation of the BID, being the moments of democratic control prescribed by BID legislation and the (levy-payers) business-led principle of the BID board (Statutory Instrument 2004 No. 2443). It can take up to two years for a BID to develop, assuming some pre-existing effective partnership between businesses and local government that is already in place. Indeed many BIDs are rooted in earlier TCM schemes (Dawkins and Grail 2007, Lloyd et al. 2003). Most BIDs are established through close deliberations among businesses, local authorities, landlords and –owners, and other interested parties. From this moment in the analyses, it becomes interesting to look into the emergence of some individual BIDs.

V. Analyses of Individual BIDs in England²

Concerning the bifurcation points for individual BIDs, the period of establishment is the period in which new behaviour emerges and new structures are found and defined. This period begins with a first mention of a BID or need for cooperation in a specific geographical area, and ends with a positive BID ballot (based on the BID proposal). How both the history of the system, and internal and external (f)actors influence this new behaviour is also explained by the following quotation:

“[...] the various local English [...] BID schemes are embedded into, and emerging from, a contextually specific and often highly path-dependent set of social, economic and political relations and networks (Brenner and Theodore 202). The BIDs’ internal structures, goals and services have therefore, been shaped, constrained and facilitated by their local and extra local *context* and the relationship between them. Most importantly, they are constituted by the interpretation of localised customs, mechanisms and goals of politically organising businesses, delivering public and business services and partnership-working. Relatedly, local BIDs are also shaped by their interactive, and often reciprocal, *relations* with other actors and institutions (for instance, through

² Interviews took place in March 2010. All examples about individual BIDs are derived from these interviews. These Business Improvement Districts have been selected because they in some way showed an engagement in planning issues. They are not representational for the whole UK population of Business Improvement Districts.

consultation, joint working and, of course, conflict). Within this, BIDs are also shaped internally by the insights, decisions and debates of local economic and political representatives on their boards and committees. However, not only are BIDs constituted by the contextual relations and connections that they are embedded in and actively construct, they also actively reshape these contextual relations and connections.” (Cook 2008: 788, original emphasize)

Because the bifurcation point for each BID can be very specific due to local circumstances, this paper derives from a variety of case studies in Birmingham, Liverpool, Newcastle and Coventry, These bifurcation points are explored in further detail.

Birmingham

In Birmingham, over the period 2004-2010 four sequential BIDs were established. The City Centre Partnership CCP, a form of TCM), was instated in 2001 to improve the connections and partnership between public and private parties in Birmingham City Centre, played a crucial role in each establishment-phase.

Broad Street BID Birmingham (2005)

History of the system	Since the 1990s in the area around Broad Street a Convention Quarter was developed, with offices, hotels, convention facilities, bars, clubs and restaurants.
Internal (f)actors	The night time and the business economy were both growing in the area, however causing increasing conflicts between “drunks and bankers”, threatening the business for both. When a person is killed in a fight, public and private actors get together to discuss the problem and means to address it. This is when the connection to the BID legislation is laid.
External (f)actors	The CCP was connected to the ATCM.
Further emergence	First focus of the BID was on marketing, cleanliness and safety, targeting the problems of the day. Gradually, more issues were taken forward by the BID and a broader focus has been established. A successful re-ballot took place in 2009. Since then, the BID also focuses on urban regeneration and connectivity.

Retail Birmingham (2006)

History of the system	In this area of the city centre major retail development had taken place over the decennia. Among retailers there was a small voluntary partnership, Retail Marketing Group, promoting corporation.
External (f)actors	The success of the Broad Street BID, and the connection of the CCP to the ATCM were the main external triggers to start a BID in the Retail area as well.
Internal (f)actors	Retailers realized they had a chance of getting and keeping Birmingham in the top ranking shopping destinations of the UK if they cooperated on a more structural and formal base. Alan Chatman, major retail developer in Birmingham was one of the leading actors in establishing the BID and currently in the board. The cluttered public area and bad connections between streets and shopping malls was also an issue that the BID took forward.
Further emergence	The retail area of Birmingham is now the second shopping destination of the UK. Projects the BID took forward concern marketing (Style Birmingham), street operations (flowers and wardens) and business support (communication, consultation and support for independent retailers). The BID initiated a Design Strategy for the public areas and participated in the Big City Plan Birmingham. A re-ballot is scheduled for 2011.

Colmore Business District (2009)

History of the system	Next to the CCP, there were the business-oriented organizations of Birmingham Forward and Birmingham Future. New office developments took place during the 2000s.
External (f)actors	Colmore is the second business area of the UK, after London. However, there is increasing competition among UK cities. The CCP, Birmingham Forward and Birmingham Future saw the success of the BID on Broad Street and Retail on getting businesses on one line. One of the future board members took a field trip to the USA BIDs.
Internal (f)actors	Birmingham Forward and Birmingham Future wanted to increase membership, and in the Colmore area most of their target businesses were located. No clear identity for the area existed, and this was even more challenged by the new office developments. The goal of the BID was to promote and capitalize the already existing success of Colmore by generating a clear identity and improve the local business conditions.
Further emergence	Focus of the BID is business related: networking, events, communication, business-to-business trade, but also concerning the business environment being cleaner, greener, attractive, accessible and connected. There are some attempts to pedestrianize parts of Colmore.

South Side Business District (2010)

History of the system	There was no real cooperation among businesses. The area is very mixed: there is a Chinese quarter, a gay community, offices, residential buildings, light industrial area and a night time economy.
External (f)actors	The success of Broad Street, Retail and Colmore were external triggers to try the BID concept in other areas of the city centre as well. The Big City Plan planning some major regenerations in the area and the redevelopment of the New Street Station (new entrance on the south) bring chances to attract more footfall to the area if business got more organized.
Internal (f)actors	The huge diversity of businesses in the area also involves many different interests. The need for regeneration and the chance to capture more footfall from redevelopments triggered businesses to organize.
Further emergence	A successful BID ballot took place in 2010. The BID has just started off, focusing on the quality of the streets, business support and marketing/ events.

Coventry

In Coventry, in the period 2004-2010, two BIDs were established. CV One, a form of TCM, was set up from the former organizations City Centre Company and Coventry and Warwickshire Promotions, as cooperation between public authorities and business interest organizations. CV One played a crucial role in the establishment of both BIDs.

Coventry City Centre Business Improvement District (2005)

History of the system	The activities of CV One.
External (f)actors	CV One was connected to ATCM, and some persons within CV One went on study trips to the USA BIDs.
Internal (f)actors	The city centre of Coventry (the area within the ring road) is strong on retail.
Further emergence	CV One is now managing the BID. Focus of the BID is on safe, clean and green, in order to attract more visitors to the area. The BID levy is low, there has been a re-ballot in 2008 but no major revisions were made.

Coventry Best for Business (2007 – 2010)

History of the system	New economics made Coventry transform from a mainly industrial city to more a service oriented city, with many industrial estates and business parks of mixed quality, dispersed over town.
External (f)actors	The success of CV One and the Coventry City Centre BID were reasons to start a City Wide BID as well. There was a plan by the City Council to establish a broad band network all over Coventry, and this could nicely be met with a business-led establishment of a CCTV system.
Internal (f)actors	City Council and CV One were looking for new sources of revenues to serve business interests.
Further emergence	The BID focused on security and the establishment of a cable network. However, the network was not delivered according to plan and businesses started protesting. Protesters got themselves voted on the board, and the BID was abolished in 2010.

Liverpool

In Liverpool, one BID was established in the period 2004-2010, and one business partnership organization is currently in the process of becoming a BID.

Liverpool City Central (2005)

History of the system	In the historic city centre of Liverpool, no real public-private partnership was at work, but the City Council became concerned with urban regeneration. The first attempt to establish a BID failed because the bigger companies were not involved. A second attempt became successful.
External (f)actors	The opening of Liverpool ONE, a major retail development next to the historic city centre, and Liverpool as European Capital of Culture in 2008 were triggers for businesses to get organized. The BID was established to make sure that the existing businesses of the city centre would benefit and not suffer from these developments. People from the City Council were connected to ATCM, and went on study trips to the USA.
Internal (f)actors	There was no real public-private partnership at work in Liverpool, which might have been the reason why it took a while for the BID to be established. Businesses are mainly retail, with some night time economy and residential buildings.
Further emergence	Focus of the BID is on clean, green, safe and animated (such as fashion shows). A successful re-ballot took place in 2008, and then some new parts were included changing the BID boundaries.

Liverpool Commercial District Partnership (2007, BID ballot in 2011)

History of the system	This area is an already long existing business district in Liverpool, however without cooperation among businesses.
Internal (f)actors	Two major investors in the area wanted to create more cooperation among businesses in the area, to establish some sense of community.
External (f)actors	These investors attracted a former resident of Liverpool working on the Piccadilly Partnership in Manchester. His experience of establishing an independent and voluntary business organization became leading in the establishment of the CDP as well. This partnership did not become a BID at first because the City Council wanted to include them in the existing BID. Businesses however preferred to remain independent. Liverpool Vision, the City Council regeneration authority, agreed to facilitate the partnership. When the economic crisis hit, voluntary contributions came at risk and the idea was born to turn the organization in an independent BID after all.
Further emergence	Focus of the partnership is on environment and security, transport and movement, marketing and communications and development. The CDP became part of the Sustainable Business District Partnership. Now also the focus is to prepare a BID ballot.

Newcastle

In Newcastle, only one BID is established in the period 2004-2010.

Newcastle NE1 (established in 2009)

History of the system	The City Council produced a planning framework for Newcastle city centre. They thought that a BID would be a means to get extra funding for the projects in the planning framework.
External (f)actors	The City Council attracted someone from London to establish a BID following the boundaries of the Planning Framework. When they found out that a BID was business-led the City Council decided to bring it further anyway.
Internal (f)actors	There was limited cooperation among businesses in Newcastle City Centre, but many informal networks.
Further emergence	Most of the work when the BID was established in 2009 was to find mutual interests for all these different networks and businesses. Mutual concerns found (forming the further focus of the BID) were: establishment of an early evening economy, central station physical improvements, marketing and operations (green, clean and safe).

VI. Conclusions

In this analysis, the bifurcation points for individual BIDs are taken as examples of the conditions that give rise to self-organization in urban development. Analyses of the (f)actors, history that gave rise to this new behavior and the further emergence, show how bifurcation points can differ and how pragmatic and timely the decision to establish a BID or to self-organize through a formal legislation, can be. Six different reasons are visible in the above described cases. First, there is the urgency to deal with an existing and **acute problem**. This motivation is visible in the general adoption of BID legislation in the UK, where the acute problem was the failure of TCM schemes to effectively help the deteriorating city centers. Also in the case of Broad Street BID Birmingham the acute problem between “drunks and bankers” was the main trigger to start a BID. A second reason to self-organize is the attempt to **transfer success** from one location to one’s own location. This motivation is visible in the general adoption of BID legislation in the UK, but also in the further emergence of BIDs in Birmingham after the success of Broad Street (Retail, Colmore and South Side Business District), further emergence of Coventry Best for Business after the City Centre BID and the emergence of the Liverpool Commercial District Partnership (deriving experience both from the Liverpool City Centre and Manchester Piccadilly Partnership). A third motivation visible is the attempt to **capitalize existing success**, particularly in the cases of Retail Birmingham and Colmore Business District. Fourth motivation is close to the third, and tries to **take revenues from new developments**, such as Birmingham South Side Business District in reaction to the New Street Station redevelopment, and Liverpool City Centre in reaction to Liverpool European Capital and the development of Liverpool One. A fifth reason is the attempt from public authorities to **generate private funding** for public projects. The case of Coventry Best for Business shows that this can end quite unsuccessful if the businesses are not wholly convinced of the benefits for this extra funding. In Newcastle NE1 the first attempt to generate private funding for public projects was transformed into extensive networking among businesses and resulted in a turn towards a more business-led organization. A sixth reason to start a BID is to **continue existing schemes** but in a more formal setting. Coventry City Centre Business Improvement District and the Liverpool Commercial District Partnership are examples of this last motivation.

A difference between these BIDs lies on the dominance of either external or internal (f)actors. In fact, only in Broad Street BID Birmingham and Liverpool Commercial District, internal (f)actors are dominant. If self-organization is defined as the emergence of structure from local (internal) interactions, these two BIDs can be seen as the most self-organized. In the other examples, external (f)actors such as a City Council, experience from outside or a reaction on developments not initiated by the businesses themselves are more dominant in the establishment of a BID, or a balance between internal and external (f)actors is found as in Liverpool City Centre and Birmingham South Side Business District. The examples of Coventry Best for Business and Newcastle NE1 however show how crucial it can be for a BIDs existence to take self-organization of businesses as a crucial element.

A final conclusion on this analysis relates to the way in which a bifurcation point can determine the further emergence of shared responsibilities and activities, especially concerning spatial issues. Most BIDs provide services such as sanitation, security, marketing and promotion, and act as advocate for their community and lobby to the city council on matters such as beautification and commercial development; some even produce and manage development plans for their specific area and surroundings. By establishing a BID, the businesses express and take their responsibility for urban development, and thus control over the quality of public space and business environment becomes a shared responsibility among public (local authority) and civic partners (businesses). The examples of Newcastle NE1, Retail Birmingham, Broad Street BID Birmingham, Colmore Business District, South Side Business District show that if a planning decision, a new spatial development or an acute problem that is the result from spatial developments is the trigger to form a BID, it is likely for the BID to take spatial development (such a Design Frameworks, development of Pocket Parks and improvement of the train station environments, urban regeneration etc.) as one of its targets. The relationship between spatial developments and the emergence of the other BIDs is less visible, and these BIDs do not show any attempts to address spatial issues in other ways than clean, green and safe environments. Thus, when businesses see a clear relation between spatial settings and business revenues, it is far more likely for these businesses to start act like spatial planners themselves.

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Julie Moss – City Centre Partnership and Retail Birmingham
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Mike Olley – Broad Street Business Improvement District
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Stuart Griffiths – South Side BID initiative and Hippodrome
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Andy Talbot – Coventry City Centre BID and West Orchard Shopping Centre
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Stan Oldridge – Coventry City Council
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