# **Town & City Management Paper**

# Business improvement districts and the influence of historical community development: The Forest Avenue and South Shore BIDs of New York City

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Abstract Business improvement districts (BIDs) have become increasingly prevalent entities in urban neighbourhoods and communities. BIDs are non-profit organisations established to deliver public services and improve economic conditions by imposing additional assessments on property owners. BIDs are invariably intertwined with the communities they are established to serve, and as a result understanding the complex relationship between BIDs and communities is imperative. This paper seeks to evaluate the role historical community development and community actors play in the development and implementation of BIDs by utilising a case study analysis of two BIDs in the New York City borough of Staten Island. Findings from this study reveal that historical patterns of community development are the principal determinant of the organisational objectives and budget allocation of BIDs. Further research concerning the interconnection between communities and BIDs is also suggested.

**Keywords:** business improvement districts, community development, local governance, urban revitalisation, public–private partnerships

#### INTRODUCTION

Business improvement districts (BIDs) are organisations comprised of property owners within a geographically bounded area who agree to impose an additional tax upon themselves to carry out various measures of improvement. BIDs are primarily formed for the collective purpose of enhancing the economic stability and physical appearance of the designated area to benefit residents and

business owners.<sup>1</sup> The implementation of BIDs is most prevalent in densely developed and populated urban areas and has become an increasingly visible method through which contemporary urban development takes shape.<sup>2</sup>

This paper focuses specifically on two BIDs located within the New York City borough of Staten Island (see Figures 1 and 2): the Forest Avenue BID and the South Shore BID. Despite

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Figure 1: Forest Avenue BID

Source: NYCMap360

the close proximity of these two BIDs, both face unique challenges in terms of successful development, organisation and implementation of local economic development. The Forest Avenue BID is located within the North Shore area of Staten Island (see Figure 3), which has historically been the more developed and densely populated section of the borough and has been facing economic stagnation in recent years. In contrast, the South Shore BID occupies neighbourhoods in the recently developing and less densely

populated South Shore area of Staten Island (see Figure 4).

I will begin by outlining the prevalent points in contemporary discussion concerning BIDs. This will be followed by an examination of the historical trends of development within the New York City borough of Staten Island, which will lead into a case study analysis of two BIDs located in Staten Island: the Forest Avenue BID and the South Shore BID. While both BIDs are located within close geographic proximity of one another



**Figure 2:** South Shore BID Source: OnTheWorldMap

— specifically in the same borough of New York City — investigation into the organisation aims of each BID reveals differences that align with the needs of distinct communities. The study concludes with a summary of how historical community development has shaped the unique organisational objectives of the observed BIDs, while providing a final statement on the broader implications of the study's finding on the future trajectory of BIDs in relation to government and society.

BIDs are a form of public–private partnership that operate as private non-profit entities. Typically, an elected board of directors consisting of property owners, business owners and local public officials governs the BID, with the district having authorisation by local government to carry out public services within their boundaries in accordance with state legal policies.<sup>3</sup> BIDs may also, however, be governed through boards elected by state or local government, which raise funds through a combination of fees, bonds and

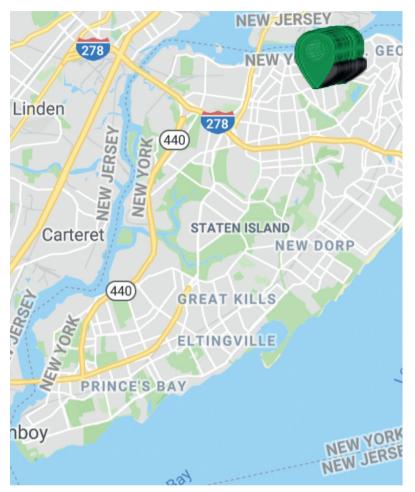


Figure 3: Forest Avenue BID is located within the North Shore area of Staten Island

Source: Forest Avenue BID

grants.<sup>4</sup> The assessment revenues raised by BIDs can vary, based largely on a district's economic value and stability. In terms of urban development, overall wealth of the area in which a BID oversees is a primary determinant in the political leverage and fiscal power carried by the district.<sup>5</sup>

This dynamic allows BIDs to serve as a quasi-public entity inextricably intertwined with local policy measures and government officials, while concurrently operating as a private organisation with the ability to more expediently implement the district's various targeted initiatives. Given these attributes, BIDs reflect the contemporary

shift in urban redevelopment strategy and the role of local government towards integration of public-private partnerships.6 As urban spaces continue to wield proliferating global influence and BIDs become increasingly prevalent in the socio-economic development of these urban locales, understanding the modern theoretical foundations of successful local economies and accurately targeting the needs of distinct communities becomes necessarily pertinent. Indeed, case study analysis of BIDs occupying vital urban centres provides important insight into foundational development, goals and implementation of revitalisation and development efforts.

Study of BIDs in major global cities, such as New York City, allows for especially pertinent analysis in terms of applied understanding of BIDs. New York City, the most populous city in the US, is home to many of the country's BIDs, with each of the five boroughs having multiple BIDs of their own. New York City's first BID was established in 1984 in Manhattan's Union Square neighbourhood, and by 2000 44 BIDs had been formed, investing over US\$52m in development projects.7 As of January 2018, New York City has 74 registered BIDs, which serve 85,000 business and invest US\$134m into community development annually.8

This paper focuses specifically on two BIDs located within the New York City borough of Staten Island: the Forest Avenue BID and the South Shore BID. Despite their close proximity, both face unique challenges in terms of successful development, organisation and implementation of local economic development. The Forest Avenue BID is located within the North Shore area of Staten Island, which has historically been the more developed and densely populated section of the borough and has been facing economic stagnation in recent

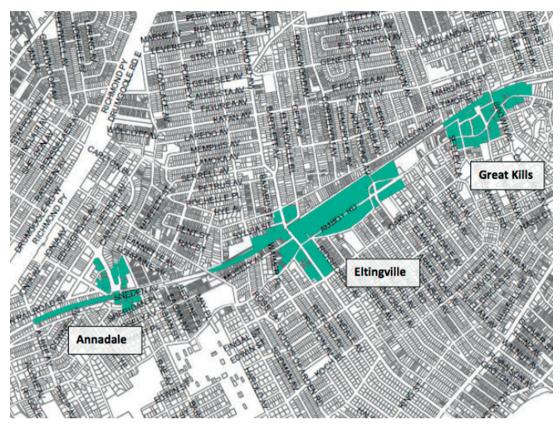


Figure 4: Recently developed and less densely populated South Shore area of Staten Island

Source: SI Live

years. In contrast, the South Shore BID occupies neighbourhoods in the recently developing and less densely populated South Shore area of Staten Island.

Thus far, research pertaining to BIDs has primarily focused on the effects and implication of BIDs on local governance and communities. This study inverts this common perspective by instead concentrating analysis on possible underlying factors for how local communities affect the organisational goals and development of BIDs. Through the examination of two BIDs in the New York City borough of Staten Island, this analysis explores the structure and development of BIDs, as well as the historical development of New York City and the borough of Staten Island, to evaluate how community factors affect

each of the observed BIDs in terms of organisational goals. This study finds that factors of historical development, which include population density, economic stability and transport networks, in the geographical area a given BID represents determine the driving influences of organisational objectives and budget allocation on the part of BIDs.

## BUSINESS IMPROVEMENT DISTRICTS: BENEFITS, CHALLENGES AND GOALS

BIDs have rapidly become a central aspect to urban development and revitalisation throughout both applied and theoretical platforms. As a result, BIDs are a visible lynchpin of contemporary public—private partnerships taking place in urban spaces. One aspect for which BIDs have been

lauded lies in their ability to inject efficiency and innovation into areas that previously remained stagnant. The freedom through which BIDs are able to carry out organisational goals as a result of operating primarily as a private entity serves as a central basis for their support. Indeed, the shift towards privatisation of public services that BIDs represent reflects the adoption of market principles in modern public management.

It has also been argued that BIDs' achievements are not only rooted in the benefits of freedom and efficiency of private entities in carrying out public development goals, but in the priorities of business improvement in comparison to local government.<sup>11</sup> The priorities Macdonald primarily refers to pertain to the ability for BIDs to direct their focus on smaller geographic districts, while bypassing the red tape of adhering to certain rules and regulations present in local government. The prospect of BIDs as a natural movement towards providing the best aspects of public-private partnerships can be seen not as the public sector simply deferring duties to private actors, but instead as the private sector taking on certain accountabilities of the public sector by infusing community ownership into the process of urban development.<sup>12</sup>

Support for specific priorities of BIDs can also been seen in their involvement in urban renewal and development through the delivery of necessary community services. 13,14 At times, BIDs not only have the ability to supplement services provided by government, but also to augment these public services with less expenditure in comparison to utilising public sector employees.<sup>15</sup> This can be an attractive vision for many communities, particularly those struggling to revitalise stagnant or declining economies and improve area conditions. Signifying this is one major point of emphasis surrounding BIDs pertaining to their ability to create

safer communities and public spaces. <sup>16,17,18</sup> The methodological findings of these studies reveal how BIDs are implemented not simply a means for economic development, but for overall improvement and revitalisation of urban areas.

Scholarly literature has also been critical of many aspects surrounding BIDs, primarily pertaining to challenges that these districts can present to local governance and the interests of residential property owners.<sup>19</sup> One aspect of criticism surrounding BIDs in terms of local governance is their challenge to democratic accountability to which public services are traditionally held.<sup>20</sup> As opposed to residents casting votes for elected officials, the chosen board of directors and administrators tasked with operating BIDs are, to an extent, insulated from many residents of the area the BID represents.

Despite the ability of BIDs to provide additional services to a community through assessment revenue, the possibility of a reduction in transparency and accountability to residents can lack the ability to outweigh the substantive benefits BIDs can provide.<sup>21</sup> The position that BIDs are less democratic and accountable has been challenged, however, with some scholars arguing BIDs are both democratic and accountable to residents and property owners in the districts they representm since they seek to achieve the same goals for improvement and development.<sup>22,23</sup>

Further, it has been argued that BIDs contribute to social and economic inequalities in their district.<sup>24,25</sup> These socio-economic inequalities could result from BIDs pushing out poor and homeless citizens, as opposed to actively seeking to improve their quality of life.<sup>26</sup> The move towards privatisation in the way BIDs operate raises questions in terms of the ability to provide equal opportunity to the residents they are designed to serve. As a result of BIDs operating as a collective

public–private partnership, it has been noted that this can cause BIDs to act without full consideration of resident interests.<sup>27</sup>

Both support and criticism has continued to surround BIDs, further underscoring the importance of understanding how BIDs occupy both the public and private sector, while simultaneously seeking to address the unique challenges and needs of a given area. BIDs, more than ever, reflect the contemporary interconnection of public and private actors in local government. Indeed, BIDs have the ability to augment public services efficiently and effectively; however, these outcomes have the possibility of coming at the expense of accountability, transparency and closing gaps in inequality. Local governance remains a balance between the roles of the public and private sectors, and BIDs continue to challenge pre-existing norms of public governing. As a result, the study of BIDs is a relevant and imperative undertaking in terms of contemporary urban governance.

Internationally, there has been a wide dispersion of the BID model, particularly in Europe, but also in non-European states such as South Africa, Japan, New Zealand and Australia.<sup>28</sup> Study of BIDs across continents and within major global cities allows for especially pertinent analysis in terms of applied understanding of them. As BIDs have carried influence past North America and into both European and non-European localities, analysis of the concept's international progression enhances understanding of myriad relevant issues concerning cities.29 Permeation of the conceptual structure of BIDs into England and Wales transferred from the US reflects the ability of localities within the UK to reshape previously employed city management methods and achieve sufficient response to novel political and social contexts.<sup>30</sup> In Japan, the federal

government passed legislation in 1999 which allowed for the implementation of Town Management Organizations, similar to BIDs in that they are joint ventures between local government and private business owners for development and revitalisation projects in downtown improvement districts.<sup>31</sup> Further, BIDs have been established throughout the Republic of South Africa (RSA), with residents, government officials and business owners seeking to revitalise cities and central business districts across the country in cities including Pretoria, Midrand, Johannesburg and Cape Town.<sup>32</sup> Central to the involvement of BIDs in the RSA thus far has been increased involvement in the areas of community maintenance and security, reflecting the trends in specific needs for increased services of protection and upkeep in these communities, as opposed to services focused on improving community aspects such as economic development, parking and transport.<sup>33</sup>

While the basic model and aims for BIDs — constituted by a partnership between public actors, such as federal and sub-national government actors and private actors, represented by property and business owners, designed to revitalise and/or improve area conditions and provide economic development within a designated geographical area of a city — remain essentially similar regardless of international location, challenges of individual BIDs can greatly vary, based largely on the neighbourhood(s), city and country in which a BID is located. As Morcöl and Wolf illuminate,<sup>34</sup> even within a single country the importance of local and regional actors in the oversight and organisation of BIDs creates varying regulations within which BIDs can carry out operations. Additionally, each BID is tasked with addressing the needs of a distinct community; therefore, the socioeconomic status, geographic location and levy rate placed upon property owners are

all aspects that may affect how a BID will create a plan for development and carry out operations. This, however, reflects that despite their international nature in contemporary cities, the structure and aims of BIDs are largely congruent, while the challenges each individual BID faces are affected primarily by factors of locality as opposed to those of the international state.

## HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT TRENDS ON STATEN ISLAND

Historically, development on Staten Island has progressed in a markedly distinct manner in comparison to the other four boroughs that comprise the rest of New York City. Staten Island officially became incorporated into the City of Greater New York in January 1898, when Manhattan, then referred to as the City of New York, expanded to include Staten Island, along with Brooklyn, Queens and the Bronx. At the time of incorporation into New York City, Staten Island held a population of 67,021 residents on the island's area of 58.69sqm.35 At this time there were no direct roadways connecting Staten Island to any of the other four boroughs, and local government had little control over ferry services that connected Staten Island's North Shore to Manhattan and Brooklyn.

By 1960, all of New York City's boroughs had populaces in excess of 1m, except for Staten Island with 221,991 residents.<sup>36</sup> Between 1929 and 1931 three bridges connecting Staten Island to New Jersey were constructed. A lack of transport options to expediently reach the other boroughs persisted, however, with neither a direct road nor subway connection from Staten Island to the rest of New York City. Construction of the Verrazano-Narrows Bridge in 1964 marked a major shift in the island's development and demographic profile.

Between 1960 and 1980 Staten Island saw the largest overall increase in population of the five boroughs, expanding from comprising 2.85 per cent of New York City's population in 1960 to 4.98 per cent of the City's population in 1980.37 Much of this rapid growth can be attributed to the opening of the Verrazano-Narrows Bridge, which connected Staten Island to Brooklyn, leading to an influx of residents searching for a more suburban setting in close proximity to New York City's other boroughs. Lack of controlled development during this period of expansion, however — especially on Staten Island's southern neighbourhoods<sup>38</sup> — created disparate plans for private development between the borough's newly burgeoning southern and southeastern neighbourhoods and historically developed northern and northwestern neighbourhoods. Distinct patterns of development continue to persist on Staten Island, with the borough's North Shore implementing high-density, multi-use urban development projects designed to attract tourism and fill existing commercial vacancies, while lowdensity, single-use development remains as the primary vehicle for economic evolution in the island's South Shore neighbourhoods.

Additionally, historical development of the Staten Island Railway has been central to the borough's geographically divided socio-economic disparities. From its inception, the Staten Island Railway skirted through the borough near the island's eastern shoreline. Stretching from Tottenville on Staten Island's southern shore to St George along the northern shore, the railway provided residents living in neighbourhoods located near to this direct, dependable form of public transport, such as Tottenville, Annadale, Eltingville, New Dorp, Todt Hill and Dongan Hills, with superior access to the Staten Island Ferry St George Terminal

— the main thoroughfare for those employed in the economically dynamic boroughs of Manhattan and Brooklyn. In contrast, neighbourhoods comprising much of Staten Island's western and northwestern shore, such as Chelsea, Bloomfield, Mariners Harbor and Port Richmond, lacked equitable development of reliable and expedient public transport. With no subway connection linking Staten Island to New York City's other four boroughs, the Staten Island Railway was an integral piece of the borough's economic relationship with the rest of New York City, and the railway's specific route was an influential factor in the variant development of the borough's neighbourhoods.

The rapid rate of development on Staten Island beginning in the 1960s has not abated in recent years. Staten Island saw a population increase of 24 per cent from 1990 to 2010, as well as a 32 per cent rise in private sector employment.<sup>39</sup> Continued growth in population, housing and employment opportunities reflects the necessity for thoughtfully planned policies and development goals for the borough when looking toward the future. This once again points to the influence transport networks and geographical location have on the historical trends of development in a given area. Thus, the development plans and policy measures pertaining to transport and housing will be integral to the strength and stability of economic development on Staten Island, going forward.

Distinct divergence in terms of development on Staten Island's North Shore in comparison to the borough's South Shore is a reflection of various factors, including proximity to the boroughs of Manhattan and Brooklyn, density of housing developments and neighbourhood population and development of transport networks. Greater population and infrastructure

density, earlier historical development and a need for economic revitalisation across much of the North Shore area contrasts with the recently developed, less densely populated, economically stable South Shore. This dichotomy has shaped the aspects of the borough's contemporary development and demographic features, setting the basis for future trends in development across Staten Island.

## FOREST AVENUE AND SOUTH SHORE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Similar to the development of other metropolitan areas, historical trends concerning aspects of local policies, demographics and transport networks have shaped the spatial underlying differences across Staten Island's distinct neighbourhoods. Forest Avenue is one of the island's major historical thoroughfares, cutting across the borough's north side through the Tompkinsville, West Brighton, Port Richmond and Mariner's Harbor neighbourhoods. The Forest Avenue BID, formed in 2005, was the first BID to incorporate on the New York City borough of Staten Island. Representing businesses between Broadway Avenue on the west and Hart Avenue on the east, the Forest Avenue BID serves 120 individual businesses in the West Brighton neighbourhood.

The Forest Avenue BID board of directors has partnered with the non-profit Staten Island Business Outreach Center (SIBOC) to implement a wide array of services to businesses in the district. The board of directors further reflects the deeply intertwined nature of BIDs between the public and private sectors. Forest Avenue BID is led by an executive team, headed by an executive director, vice president and four business owners who own property on Forest Avenue, as well as a separate board of directors. The board is also represented by private

sector leaders within the district, with eight business and property owners along Forest Avenue holding seats. Unlike the BID's executive team, however, it also includes public sector officials from Staten Island's Office of the Mayor, Office of the Comptroller and Community Board representing West Brighton, along with the borough president and city council representative.

Primary initiatives proposed by the Forest Avenue BID include collective marketing/small business promotion and special event coordination, as well as sanitation services. Area sanitation and beautification initiatives remain a central goal for many BIDs and have been a widely analysed aspect of BIDs by scholars. 40,41,42,43 The Forest Avenue BID uses assessment revenues to provide sanitation services including street sweeping, branded trash receptacles and graffiti removal, with the latter service being funded through grants provided by the New York City Council. The Forest Avenue BID has, however, established major district emphasis upon the marketing, promotion and event coordination aspects of the BID. Marketing efforts include an online business information page, community blog, social media presence, events calendar, e-mail marketing and quarterly newsletter, along with holiday lighting along the Forest Avenue commercial corridor and 'holiday stroll' and 'spring restaurant stroll' community events carried out within the district each year.

Notably, the Forest Avenue BID has targeted its leading organisational objectives to be centred around business marketing and promotion. These distinct objectives reflect how the Forest Avenue BID prioritises attracting community members as its key method of development, stemming from the area's earlier development and the necessity of offsetting economic decline in an

urbanising area on the historically more developed North Shore of Staten Island. Strong marketing and promotion efforts display goal-setting objectives on the part of the Forest Avenue BID that seek to achieve economic development through community networking and cooperation to improve business promotion.

As a result, the additional tax levies imposed on the businesses within the Forest Avenue BID, which are allocated primarily to marketing and promotion efforts, coupled with basic sanitation services such as street sweeping and trash receptacles, as well as graffiti removal, are utilised with the intention for business owners to ultimately achieve increased profit as a member of the BID through increased revenues offsetting the mandatory levy. The concentration of assessment revenue on business marketing and promotion exhibits a response on the part of the Forest Avenue BID to past development in the West Brighton neighbourhood and North Shore of Staten Island, which has historically been more developed and more densely populated than the borough's South Shore and requires a stronger concentration on economic revitalisation in terms of goal setting for the Forest Avenue BID.

The South Shore BID, established in 2015, was the third BID organised on Staten Island. In comparison to the Forest Avenue BID, which encompasses 23 block faces and 120 individual businesses in Staten Island's West Brighton neighbourhood, the South Shore BID covers 65 block faces with 380 businesses in the district's boundaries located within the Annadale, Eltingville and Great Kills neighbourhoods. Despite the South Shore BID maintaining approximately three times as many business and block faces compared to the Forest Avenue BID, there is relative parity in terms of each BID's total assessment budgets, with the South Shore BID operating under a yearly assessment budget of US\$185,000 and the Forest Avenue BID operating with a yearly budget of US\$165,000. While there is comparative equivalence in terms of the total yearly assessment levels taken by the South Shore BID and the Forest Avenue BID despite divergent geographical district sizes and amount of businesses represented, it is not, however, uncommon to see marked differences in levy rates between individual BIDs, dependent largely on which development and revitalisation strategies a BID chooses to employ.<sup>44</sup>

Positioning of the South Shore BID near Staten Island's southeastern shoreline in the Annadale, Eltingville and Great Kills neighbourhoods has established the organisation in a geographical area within the borough that became increasingly developed in the late 20th century. In contrast to Staten Island's North Shore, development in the neighbourhoods served by the South Shore BID followed patterns of suburbanisation, evolving primarily as a peripheral community of the more densely and economically developed boroughs of Manhattan and Brooklyn. Transport access and networks have been shown to be a driving factor in suburbanisation, with the development of roads and bridges as well as outwardly expanding public transport routes playing key roles in suburban development. 45,46,47,48 The construction of the Verrazano-Narrows Bridge between Staten Island and Brooklyn in 1964 and the ability for residents in neighbourhoods occupying Staten Island's South Shore to readily access the Staten Island Railway provided dependable transport access to Manhattan and Brooklyn, as well as increased incentive for the dispersion of population to areas occupying the southern portion of Staten Island.

In terms of the goals and services implemented by the South Shore BID, cleanliness, beautification and safety are the principal objectives of the BID. In addition to basic measures to achieve area cleanliness, such as sponsored trash receptacles within the district, the South Shore BID utilises assessment revenues to carry out capital improvement and beautification projects including fencing construction, roadway reconstruction and paving and business storefront improvements. In terms of safety measures, the South Shore BID has installed safety cameras throughout the district in an effort to maintain safety for business owners, customers and residents.

While the Forest Avenue BID is established in a more densely populated, historically developed and economically stagnant area of Staten Island, the South Shore BID is contrastingly located within an area with lower population density, recent development and economic growth. As a result, the response of the South Shore BID to organisational objectives and budget allocation differs from that of the Forest Avenue BID. Specifically, the South Shore BID positions its organisational focus towards targeted services that include capital improvement, increased safety measures and beautification efforts.

These objectives are distinctly shaped by the communities that the South Shore BID serves. Recent development and economic growth within the Annadale, Eltingville and Great Kills neighbourhoods of Staten Island reduces the need for the South Shore BID to allocate the majority of organisational funds towards efforts targeted for economic revitalisation, such as business promotion and graffiti removal. Instead, the current state of economic stability in the area allows the South Shore BID to position organisational goals and funding projects towards capital projects that maintain and improve the security and appearance of the area to deter economic stagnation and declining development, as opposed to a need for the district to revitalise an economically

stagnant and developmentally declining area.

Analysis of organisational objectives and assessment revenue allocation of both the Forest Avenue BID and South Shore BID reveals distinguishable differences. Despite these perceptible deviations in goal setting and budgeting, however, a common thread unites organisational efforts aside from establishment in the New York City borough of Staten Island. Perceptibly, both BIDs have been predominantly influenced by the historical development of the respective communities in which they operate. Factors surrounding patterns of housing and business development, transport network progression and economic stability that encompass the comprehensive course of historical development and shape the contemporary communities in which these BIDs have been established are therefore the principal determinants of organisational objectives and budget allocation for the BID.

## CONCLUSIONS AND BROADER IMPLICATIONS

Addressing the implications for future development of BIDs, outcomes from this study suggest that the organisational goals and revenue allocation of BIDs are primarily shaped by historical development patterns within the community in which a given BID is established. Analysis of the Forest Avenue BID and the South Shore BID uncovers the predominant influence of historical community development. Specifically, the Forest Avenue BID located in the West Brighton neighbourhood on the historically more developed and densely populated North Shore area of Staten Island prioritises business marketing and promotion as a response to aspects of economic stagnation in the community and seeks to revitalise the historic district to achieve economic growth for business

and property owners. In contrast, the South Shore BID serving the Annadale, Eltingville and Great Kills neighbourhoods on the South Shore of Staten Island, which has seen more recent development and less-dense population growth similar to patterns of suburbanisation, prioritises cleanliness and security with the objective of maintaining developing areas, as well as protecting business and property owners from economic stagnation or decline.

BIDs are indeed a singular actor in the system of public administration and public service delivery. 49 However, as BIDs increasingly interact with the property owners, business owners and local government that comprise urban neighbourhoods and communities, it becomes essential to continually examine their roles and consequences in relation to the cities in which they are established. While BIDs are broadly established to improve conditions of a given geographical area, it is clear through this analysis that specific organisational goals are shaped distinctly by the communities they serve. The divergent organisational objectives present in comparison of the Forest Avenue BID and South Shore BID reflect the influence of historic community development patterns upon the decisions and goals of BIDs.

Local government remains a balance between the public and private sectors. Concurrently, local government must respond to the needs of property and business owners who they are assembled to serve. As organisations invariably intertwined with local government, BIDs must conjointly interact with neighbourhoods and communities to efficiently and accountably assist in area development. While standards for efficiency and accountability of BIDs can be difficult to conclusively establish as a result of their position between the public and private sectors, 50,51 it is important to note that BIDs must still interact with the

areas they serve and address distinct needs of communities, regardless of changes in local governance.

This analysis establishes a framework for future analysis of community influence on BIDs. Specifically, organisational objectives and revenue allocation of BIDs is primarily influenced by the historical patterns of development within the community a given BID represents. This study develops a basis for further research pertaining to community influence and interaction in relation to the organisational structure, objectives, financial distribution and service delivery of BIDs.

The emergence of BIDs as integral developments in contemporary cities, reflecting modern interconnection between public and private actors, has resulted in conceptualisation of the BID as both a theoretical and applied area of study. <sup>52,53,54,55</sup> As BIDs continue to become a central aspect of local governance, further research must be conducted to comprehend and evaluate their interconnection with the communities they serve. This can allow for better delivery of community services and development in cities across the globe.

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