

Comparative Analysis of the Role of Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) according to the Characteristics of Business Districts

- Based on a case study on BIDs in London, UK -

Youngseo Park

KIRA, Principal, Ordinary Architects, Korea

<https://doi.org/10.5659/AIKAR.2023.25.2.19>

Abstract London's BID, introduced in the early 2000s, has grown significantly to fill the gap between government services which have been decreased by the global recession and localism, and the demand for better services to strengthen competitiveness on a global level. Based on this background, this study comparatively analysed two BIDs in London with contrasting regional characteristics to find how BID works differently for the regeneration and sustainable development of regional business districts according to regional characteristics. As a result, the two BIDs ultimately had the goal of improving the local business environment and strengthening the competitiveness of local businesses and had a common point of working in close partnership with the public sector such as the local government. However, depending on the local situation and characteristics, it has been observed that there are differences in the strategies of work and the roles and relationships in the partnership with the public sector.

Keywords: BIDs, Business Improvement Districts, Local Businesses, Urban regeneration, Midtown, Orpington

1. INTRODUCTION

(1) Background and purpose of the study

In April 2022, the government of the Republic of Korea enacted 'The Act on Coexistence and Revitalization of Local Business Districts (Act No. 18357, Apr. 28, 2022)', which provide policy support for the regeneration and sustainable development of local business districts.

The law divides business districts into 'local win-win zones' and 'autonomous commercial zones' according to regional characteristics, and then the private sector promotes commercial zone revitalization based on the win-win agreement, and the public sector provides tax and financial support.

It is significant as the first law to support business district units rather than individual stores and is worth noting that the

emphasis is placed on mutual cooperation among the private members of the local business district for the operation of a self-sustaining and self-reliant business district as much as on the government's support.

In this circumstance, it is necessary to pay attention to the Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) that have been found to provide better services for the improved competitiveness of commercial areas and play a significant role in place management and regional marketing.

Particularly, since the 2008 financial crisis and the global recession, the UK is one of the most active countries for BIDs. During this period, the UK government has reduced the budget of the public sector with the austerity policy, while the role of local governments has increased in accordance with the strategy of Localism. In this instance, the role of BIDs, which is supposed to supplement the services of local authorities, has been emphasized more and expanded to take on a long-term role in placemaking (FoL, 2016).

Under GLA's enthusiastic support, London is the most active BIDs area in the UK. The number of BIDs has grown significantly with the "strong endorsing for the BIDs and their role in the 'place-shaping' of local town centres and industrial estates by the Mayor and City Hall of London" (GLA, 2016c). As effective vehicles for collaborative working with the Greater London Authority (GLA), BIDs have been set up in very different parts of London to address the challenges associated with growth in already prosperous areas or to tackle manifestations of decline and the poor-quality public realm and

Corresponding Author : Youngseo Park

KIRA, Principal, Ordinary Architects, 4F Yeawoo Bldg. 461-3, Seokyo-dong, Mapo-gu, Seoul, Korea

e-mail : ys0350park@gmail.com

This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution Non-Commercial License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/>) which permits unrestricted non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

to promote the regeneration (FoL, 2016).

At this time, the roles of BIDs can have differences because the services required are divergent depending on the local circumstances and characteristics. However, compared to studies that analysed the function and role of BID itself, few studies have been conducted that comparatively analyse the difference in the role and work of BID according to the situation and characteristics of each region. In this situation, identifying the difference in the role and activities of BID according to the region is crucial from the perspective that it can be used as a reference for developing appropriate services to strengthen the competitiveness of local business districts and, furthermore, establishing strategies for efficient regional development and urban regeneration.

Therefore, this study aims to comparatively analyse how the role of BIDs works differently in the regeneration and sustainable development of business districts according to contrasting economic scales and characteristics of business districts based on the case of London, UK.

(2) Materials and methods of the study

To examine the different roles and contributions of BIDs to the regeneration and sustainable development of local business districts according to the characteristics of business districts, this study conducts a literature study on BIDs and a case study and comparative analysis on the operation status of BIDs in parallel.

The subjects of the study are BEE Midtown in the borough of Camden in central London and Orpington First in the London borough of Bromley in South London. They are commonly included in London’s Town Centre Network in the London Plan (2016) but contrast marked differences in the volume of the economy, characteristics of the community, and the budget size of BID of the commercial district. The period of this study is from 2008 and 2013, when these two BIDs signed contracts first, to 2018, before being affected by COVID-19.

As a research method, first, it is examined the changes and evolution in the role of BID according to changes in British government policy and economy, including the basic concept of BID, such as the emergence and adoption of BID in the UK through a literature study. Then with various statistics and data, the regional characteristics and differences between the two research areas are identified.

Finally, through articles published in various media and annual reports issued by each local government and the BID, it is analysed and concluded how these regional characteristics and differences influence differences in BID’s activities pursuing the same goal of regional sustainable development.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

(1) The emergence and current status of BIDs in the UK

Formed in North America in the 1960s, BIDs can be defined as “a mechanism in the form of a levy whereby relevant property or business owners elect to make a collective contribution for a specific period of time to secure private capital to fund

activities within a designated commercial area to improve its attractiveness” (Ward, 2010). As can be seen from the definition, the initial aim of BIDs was to cover the demand for an effective and high level of service in the commercial district of the inner-city area (Lloyd et al., 2003). Retailers in the downtown recognized that a more efficient management method to enhance the service level and improve the shopping environment was required to attract customers and compete with the suburban shopping centres, which offered a clean and safe shopping environment; this led to the emergence of BIDs (Justice & Skelcher, 2009). In this period, the priorities of the US municipalities were social welfare, and this led to an inevitable reduction in the service level in the local areas. Therefore, by filling the gap between the demand for the high level of service in the local commercial area and the limitations of the provision of the local government services, BIDs were able to show notable growth in the 1990s, and since 2000, it has spread to the UK and Japan. (MacDonald, 1996).

In the early 2000s, when BIDs were introduced, the UK was under the ‘Third-way’ framework, which comprised a synthesis of social democratic interventionism and neo-liberal market ideas in the planning practice (Giddens, 1998). The adoption of the BID was a plan to improve the local business area by setting out high-quality public services through new governance so that market-led businesses were supported in the form of tax measures in defined areas (Lloyds et al., 2003). This background caused differences in the activities of BIDs in large cities in the United States and the United Kingdom. According to a study by Mltarai & Suebsuk (2017), while New York’s BID emphasises indicators of cleanliness, green space, streetscape, and beautification of the area, marketing, economy, and crime prevention of the districts are relatively more prioritised in London.

Table 1. Number of UK BIDs by year

Year	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
New	14	16	13	19	18	10	17	29	22	33	28	43	31	28
Existing		14	30	41	60	71	77	95	113	140	171	189	214	238
Renewal				2	2	9	13	12	20	14	7	10	24	19
Second renewal									3	2	11	12	13	17
Third renewal													1	4
Fail to renewal									2		6	2	5	3
Total	14	30	43	62	80	90	107	136	156	189	211	252	278	303

Data source: (Grail et al, 2019)

The Localism manifesto also encouraged BIDs to become involved in shaping places to bring new energy and ideas to town centre management and area-based regeneration (FoL, 2016). Economic threats such as the 2008 financial crisis represented simultaneously a challenge and an opportunity for BIDs. Initially, the global recession deeply affected the operation of the BIDs, which relied heavily on the levy of the business

district.

However, as a countermeasure to the reduction in public services, which originated from state-led austerity, the demand for BIDs in promising and competitive areas increased notably. Since then, the number of BIDs in the UK has grown steadily, with a total of 303 in the UK in 2018. Particularly, the number of London's BIDs rose gradually from 54 in 2019 to 65 in 2020 and 71 in 2022, even with Brexit and the COVID-19 pandemic (DGU, 2022).

(2) The evolution of the role of the BIDs

The provision of higher-level services, such as enhanced cleaning, environmental management, and community safety initiatives, to the commercial district, is the aim of the establishment of BIDs. In a premium services area, where there is a need to maintain high costs, the need to collaborate with BIDs is recognized as essential for local authorities. As BIDs have evolved, a range of additional services, including place-shaping and the provision of more effective consumer marketing, has been emphasized (Lloyd et al., 2003). The role of the BIDs is to nurture and act as catalysts for a range of pilot projects by providing investment and support to obtain a longer-term economic development benefit. In addition, the regular revenue and the ability to respond to local priorities in a quick and direct way are the most notable competitive features of BIDs to conduct the work. BIDs can influence and support the government's policymaking and implementation as well as provide a range of benefits in terms of the quality and the effectiveness of delivery. The Metropolitan Police Service regularly shares and discusses the information and direction of safety and security. Transport for London (TfL) utilizes the data and opinion of BIDs from the daily operational issues and gives travel advice regarding more strategic projects, such as Crossrail 1 and the Road Modernisation Plan (FoL, 2016). It shows that BIDs have evolved from a level that complements the government's shortcomings to a more active and pivotal role in the public-private partnership. BIDs have shown a tendency to develop their abovementioned role after the five-year renewal period. Having shown their ability to address basic services, such as safety, security, and environmental schemes, they can obtain more trust to deliver more complex projects and the ability to leverage additional income. Therefore, the term 'renewal' is a significant indicator of BIDs' success (FoL, 2016). In addition, it is found that the renewal system makes UK's BIDs disclose more information and publish reports to show the performance of their activities compared to Japan, which does not have a renewal system (Mitarai & Suebsuk, 2017).

Since 2012, eight BIDs in London with renewal ballots have all been renewed with increased approval rates. Including these 8, as of 2017, there was a total of 60 BIDs in London alone (GLA, 2016b). BIDs in London have been established in diverse areas with a range of conditions. Some have been strengthening their competitiveness and overcoming the challenges associated with the development, and others are encouraging regeneration by improving public services and pursuing economic revitalization.

Nevertheless, several challenges and limitations in the role of BIDs are also reported. First, the basic characteristic of BIDs working only in the contracted area can lead to imbalances between the areas covered by the BID and those not, including residential areas. In particular, the surrounding commercial areas also show a trend to attract BIDs to meet the level of service, which can be a business burden (GLA, 2016b). Furthermore, as De Magalhães (2014) pointed out, despite many of BIDs' services, such as security and cleaning, overlap with those of governments by default, there is no clear evidence that when the services in an area are covered by the BID, the surplus budget and manpower are transferred to other relatively vulnerable areas. That means the public service quality would be weaker, and the regional imbalance would become more severe. Hoyt and Gopal-Agge (2007) also argued that the replacement of these public services can cause problems, such as the monopoly of the essential services by the private sector and the transfer of enforcement powers and the over-regulation in public spaces.

Lastly, the levy system currently imposed on tenants in the UK's system is also controversial (Lloyd et al., 2003). It might be said that increased profit with the local activation through the BID can go to the current tenants, but in the long run, it will finally result in an increase in the landlords' profit through the increase in property prices and the higher rent. Therefore, opinions are emerging that proper institutional supplementation will be required.

3. DATA SURVEY

(1) Research subject and region

Two contrasting BIDs in terms of region and size, BEE Midtown in the London Borough of Camden in central London, and Orpington First in the London Borough of Bromley in south east Greater London were selected for comparative analysis for the study. The London Plan (2016) defines the two areas in Town Centre Networks together and identify as requiring 'medium' level of regeneration. However, while Orpington is recognized as a 'major centre' that 'contains over 50,000 sqm of retail, leisure and service floorspace with a relatively high proportion of comparison goods' in this classification, Holborn which BeeMidtown belongs is defined as a 'CAZ(Central Activities Zone) Frontage' which refers to 'mixed use areas usually with a predominant retail function, particularly having arts, cultural or entertainment character.

First, Midtown, coved by Bee Midtown, is located in central London and comprises Holborn, Bloomsbury, St Giles, Farringdon and Clerkenwell. It is a vibrant and evolving district with famous attractions such as The British Museum, thriving shopping and leisure places, and a creative media hub. The London Plan(2016) encourage this area's mixed-uses with a strong art, cultural or entertainment character. Midtown combines these into one unique ecosystem, attracting professionals, entrepreneurs, and tourists with diverse restaurants, retails and cultures. It has a population of over

47,000 in 2011 and is reported to have an economy of around £24.9 billion, which is between City of £72.8 billion and West End of £22.7 billion in 2019 (Bourke, 2020). In addition, it is expected the arrival of Crossrail in Farringdon will bring more benefits from more transportation links and traffics for workers, residents and visitors. Currently, Bee Midtown has been covering the area and representing over 400 local businesses since 2005.

Meanwhile, Orpington, served by Orpington First since 2013, is a general medium-sized town located in the southeast of Greater London, 13.4 miles from Charing Cross. It is identified as one of 35 town centres which classified as broad future directions of Greater London in the London Plan (2016). According to Census (2011), the population of Orpington was 15,311 and reported 9,000 sqm of office space and 85,000 sqm of retail & service space (LBB, 2021). The main business district in Orpington has consisted of The High Street, Nugent Shopping Park located at the north of the high street and the adjacent Walnuts Shopping Centre which is built in 1990. It contains a variety of high-street shops, pubs and restaurants, much of the town's retailers, and several 'Big Box' retail outlets.

Activities of both bids were compiled from each BID's annual activity reports and local media articles based on the period prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. Using credible research reports published by public sectors such as the Mayor of London and research institutions, their activities were analysed.



Figure 1. The location of Bee Midtown and Orpington First (Author)

(2) Data collection and analysis

BEE Midtown is a local BID covering London's Midtown, which includes Bloomsbury, Holborn, and St. Giles, and is the second-largest employment area in London. Based on this, as a vibrant commercial and cultural hub, the area contributes to London's social, cultural, and economic development by £16bn of Gross Value Added annually. BEE Midtown was established in 2005 and as of 2019 represents over 400 local businesses and has been operating with an annual budget of £1,980,000, second only to the West End (BEE Midtown, 2019a).



Figure 2. BEE Midtown BID project area (Author, 2022 / Base map: Central District Alliance)

The district maintenance and improvement are crucial elements of BEE Midtown. They are supporting the upgrade of Holborn Station and New Oxford Street. They contributed to reducing crime on the street by 25% since 2005 (Mavrogordato, 2018). Since 2008, they have been consulting with local charities to seek a more permanent solution for the homeless and for street begging. It does not involve just moving the homeless to another place but includes supporting them to get help from the relevant charities. The BID also aims to make the area more sustainable and eco-friendlier. Supported by TfL, they promote cycle commuting by running the Midtown Cycle Vault which has cycle storage, maintenance facilities, toilets, and a shower room.

To emphasize social and environmental value, BEE Midtown has various partnerships. They set out its Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), including reducing inequality at workplaces, promoting energy conservation and improving waste management and are working actively through a partnership with UK Stakeholders for Sustainable Development. In terms of marketing and local image-making, they launched the Midtown membership and supported art and culture events, such as Clerkenwell Design Week and the New London Architecture exhibition. Through real estate forums, they provide investment information about the area to promote new businesses and investments.

In the longer-term view, Bee Midtown is supporting the policy implementation and decisions making of governments with strong networks and by sharing the research, information and data. Their board of directors includes key personnel from each group representing policy, culture, and business, such as Arup, the British Museum, and Mitsubishi. Representing each part, they influence policy establishment such as New London Plan and Community Infrastructure Levy schedule by conducting research including ground-floor retail use, local development track mapping, building refurbishment case study, and a holistic vision for the Farringdon and Clerkenwell area (Mavrogordato, 2018). In partnership with Evening Standard, one of the most popular media outlets, their activities and claims are more effectively communicated and advertised (BEE Midtown, 2019b). Based on this competency, the BID discusses with and

offers advice to public sectors such as the council, the Mayor's Office, TfL and Metropolitan Police to enhance competitiveness and secure advantages for the area.

BEE Midtown succeeded in being extended to a fourth term with an approval rating of 82% for renewal in February 2020 and renamed Central District Alliance.

By contrast, established in 2013, Orpington First is a relatively small BID, which is situated in Orpington in the London Borough of Bromley, the southeast part of Greater London. It shows how even a small BID has created considerably more opportunities to revitalise and improve a declining area. Orpington town centre is a typical neighbourhood commercial district including shops, restaurants and a local shopping centre, Walnuts. A general market, held three days a week and located between the shopping centre and Orpington College, is also an important business part.

In 2007, with the grand opening of Nugent Shopping Park a mile away, Orpington town centre had been left behind by the competition and so had to find innovative ways to be revitalised and ensure sustainability. Given the situation, like the "emergence of BID in the 1960s", the mission of Orpington First was to create a vibrant and commercially viable town centre for 325 businesses with a levy income of £220,000, a little more than 10% of the budget of Midtown.

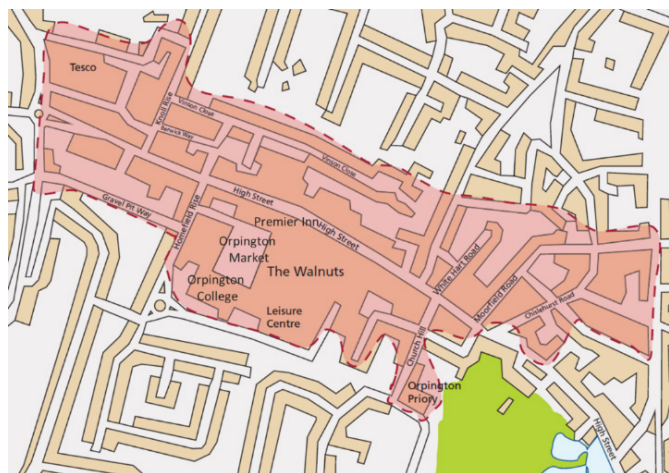


Figure 3. Orpington First BID Area (source: Orpington First business plan 2013-2018)

To improve the function of the town centre as a shopping destination, Orpington First attempted to find a way to increase its competitiveness. First, they focused on ways to raise street security and improve the shopping environment. One strategy was the simple idea of using their offices as a rest area for the police. In the absence of a local police station, if the police take a break at the offices, it means not only that the police can stay longer in the area, but also it makes communication easier. This strategy contributed to improving the security of the high street. They also took over a public toilet building in the market, which had been recognised as a weak point for the visitors and renovated it. Then, by attracting advertisements to the toilet, they secured its maintenance cost and obtained another source

of revenue.

The BID also endeavoured to attract more customers and enhance the competitiveness of the business district. They engaged businesses, developers, and landowners in gathering ideas and opinions. As the result, there is an annual food festival as well as a Christmas festival, and they organised the Orpington's Finest Awards to promote better service and revitalised the three-times-a-week outdoor market to attract more customers and increase local business.

Orpington First also suggested a more efficient operating method for local businesses. A joint procurement scheme brought savings of approximately £50,000 in costs to the shops in the area. They also delivered annual savings of up to 70% of the cost of waste disposal by providing the waste collection recycling supporting service. After this, the BID made a partnership with the local council and secured funds for business training and the development of the Enterprise Hub. It has become a delivery partner for Start-up businesses, incubating new business ideas in the town's market and now promoting women returning to work after maternity leave (Orpington First, 2017).

The BID took advantage of the college as an important catalyst for local business. They arranged for the college to be supplied with food for the refectories from the local market, and local restaurants and hotels provide work experience for the students of hospitality and catering studies. Sometimes, it works as a supply of emergency staff cover for the businesses. Besides, to promote and deliver more vibrant business activity, they opened the 'Enterprise Hub' at the college, providing a low-cost and flexible workspace with conference and training facilities.

Table 2. Comparison between Bee Midtown and Orpington First

	Bee Midtown	Orpington First
Location	Midtown, London Borough of Camden	Orpington downtown,
Establish and Term	2005 ~ 2025 (Fourth Term)	2013 ~ 2023 (Second Term)
Number of Business*	400	325
Main Activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local area and public facilities improvement and maintenance Local and cultural events attraction Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) Campaign Conducting research and appealing to governments' policy-making 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local area and public facilities improvement and maintenance Local and cultural events attraction Proposal of measures to strengthen the competitiveness of local companies Promotion of job training and employment for local universities and unemployed

Data source: (Bee Midtown, 2019a, Orpington First, 2018b) / * ** As of 2018-2019

As a result of these activities, vacancies in downtown Orpington have decreased by 50% since March 2014, and 66% of businesses said that there has been a ‘great improvement’ to the physical appearance of Orpington over the last 4 years (Orpington First, 2017). These achievements have increased the role of the BID in the area and built more trust in it from the other stakeholders in the partnership. Through involvement as a senior officer and an observer, the council was aware of the BID’s projects and their output. The renovation and management of the public toilet encouraged the council to ask the BID to review the utilization of other assets, such as upgrading the public realm and relocating the public library. The BID was able to gather and analyse local opinions more effectively and give advice to the council. This involvement brought more community facilities. The Orpington BID was approved for the second term through 2023 by ballot in November 2017.

4. DATA ANALYSIS

In this chapter, through the data collected in the previous chapter, the differences according to the regional characteristics of the two research subjects are identified, the activities of each BID affected by these differences are analysed, and how the contrasting regional characteristics affect the BID activities is discussed.

(1) Identification of differences

Based on the research data, it can be identified the differences between the two BIDs, in the volume of the economy of the commercial district, the characteristics of the business area and the difference between the backgrounds and the profile of the board members composing the BIDs. Looking more closely, First, the difference in the economic scale of the business districts of Midtown and Orpington, to which each BID belongs, is clearly shown in the difference in the budget of each BID, based on the levy imposed on the businesses belonging to the BIDs. As of 2019, Bee Midtown covered 400 businesses with an annual budget of £1,980,000. Orpington First had 325 businesses, over 80% of the number of Bee Midtown. However, their annual budget was only £220,000, which was just 11% of Bee Midtown. This indicates that the budget of Bee Midtown available for a single business is around £4950 and while Orpington was able to spend for one business only £677 which was less than 14% of Bee Midtown.

Looking at the characteristics of the two commercial districts, Midtown, which is located in inner London and is the second largest employment area in London, has rich attractions such as the British Museum and Media Hub, and also is directly adjacent to the West End which is famous as the mecca of plays and musicals. Based on these complex locational advantages, Midtown is attracting visitors having various purposes and this means that many economic activities in the district are being carried out extensively beyond the region. The London Plan (2016) defines this area as a Central Activities Zone (CAZ) Frontage which refers to ‘mixed use areas usually with

a predominant retail function and particularly having arts, cultural or entertainment character. This clearly shows the character of this area.

On the other hand, Orpington, as a town centre in Bromley, southeast of Greater London, has a relatively high proportion of comparison goods. However, it can be seen that it is a relatively general commercial district where major economic activities are conducted within a relatively limited borough-wide. It can be seen that the reason why Orpington High Street suffered when Nugent Shopping Centre opened in 2007 is that it had to compete with the shopping centres having more convenient facilities for the customers in a situation without the uniqueness and characteristics which can attract the customers in the same area.

Table 3. Identification of differences in Bee Midtown and Orpington First

		Bee Midtown	Orpington First
Budget	Annual Budget**	£1,980,000	£220,000
	Annual Budget for one Business	£4,950	£677
Characteristics of the districts (Recognition of the ‘London Plan 2016’)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CAZ(Central Activities Zone) Frontage of the Town Centre Networks • Mixed use areas usually with a predominant retail function and particularly having arts, cultural or entertainment character 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Major Centre of the Town Centre Networks • Relatively general commercial district where major economic activities are conducted within a relatively limited borough-wide.
Board of Directors		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Key figures from each group representing research, culture and business 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relatively ordinary people who are belonging to the local business

Lastly, the two BIDs show contrast in the composition of the board of directors of each BID. While Bee Midtown’s board of directors includes key figures from each group representing research, culture and business, such as Arup, British Museum and Mitsubishi, which are located in the region they serve, Orpington First’s board of directors is made up of relatively ordinary people who are belonging to the local business.

This suggests that the members of the board of the BID are also influenced by the characteristics of the region because they are composed of people related to the region in which the BID is in charge.

(2) Comparative analysis of the activities of the two BIDs

In this chapter, it will be examined how the difference in the economic volume and the characteristics of the business in each region affect the activities of BIDs in terms of improving the environment, strengthening the competitiveness of local businesses, and partnerships with public sectors.

First, in terms of improving the local environment, both BIDs show similar activities such as strengthening security, removing inconvenience issues and providing better public facilities. For this, they collaborated with the public sector and charity organizations to reduce the crime rate in the region and mitigate the homeless problem on the streets while improving and operating local public facilities, such as public toilets or bicycle commuting convenience facilities. However, looking more closely, If Orpington First's method of operating a police station is evaluated as a preventive measure that reduces the crime rate by extending police stay time in the area, Bee Midtown's action which connects the homeless and charity organizations to help their self-sufficient can be seen that a more fundamental solution. Likewise, if it can be said that Orpington First's improvement of the town centre's public restrooms met the minimum standards for essential shopping facilities, Bee Midtown's Midtown Cycle Vault operation can be counted that encourages eco-friendly commuting and provides additional amenities from a longer-term perspective. Therefore, it can be seen that the direction of practical activities for the same goal of BID to improve the local environment is different depending on the difference in the facility and infrastructure and the budget of BIDs. In other words, while in the case of regions lacking convenience facilities and having relatively small budgets the BID pursues more immediate effect to meet the minimum standards for facilities and environment, when the infrastructure is abundant and the budget is big, the activities of BID to improve the local environment are carried out in a direction from a more fundamental and long-term perspective.

Second, there were differences in the direction and strategies of each BID to strengthen the competitiveness of businesses according to the volume and characteristics of the local economy.

Firstly, Midtown is a thriving area. With the rich operation resources and the accumulated trust from the local businesses, BEE Midtown was encouraged to extend its role to not only local marketing and environmental maintenance but also the social, and environmental fields, such as SDGs through collaboration with other organizations in various fields beyond the region. It is based on the fact that the local businesses of midtown already have sufficient competitiveness in their own right. Therefore, instead of providing direct help, Bee Midtown seeks to strengthen the competitiveness of local businesses from a long-term perspective by increasing tangible and intangible values by enhancing the image and reputation of the region. This presents a positive example that large-scale BID can make more diverse contributions from a social and environmental point of view, rather than direct urban regeneration to strengthen the competitiveness of local businesses.

On the other hand, Orpington First's purpose was to provide more direct urban regeneration, including the revitalization of the stagnant downtown. Their work, such as setting up Enterprise Hub, proposal various ideas to reduce operating costs of local businesses, and collaborating with the mayor and universities, shows that the goal of BID's most important activities is to compensate for local weaknesses and improve the basic competitiveness of the business itself. What contrasts with Midtown in this process is the fact that the various activities and partnerships of the BID to strengthen regional competitiveness are mainly conducted within the local area. As previously discussed, it can be inferred that Orpington's business district is general and has relatively few features, so it mainly relies on economic activities within a limited borough-wide so that has less influence beyond the region compared to Midtown. However, the results of the local concentrated business activities can lead to more direct benefits to the local economy and businesses.

Finally, it is found that the budget of BID, the profile of the boards of directors, and accumulated trust also affect the BIDs' roles and relationships when conducting projects in partnership with the public sector. In first, the BID of Midtown, possessing more abundant material and human resources, influences the direction of government policy more actively. Particularly conducting research and surveys from a long-term perspective has made it possible to work in a bottom-up manner that can more actively influence the direction of government policy as well as top-down tasks entrusted by local governments. One example of this is that in 2018, they appointed a planning expert in charge of drafting the '2050 London infrastructure plan' as a board member and commissioned a research report on the economic and public realm vision of the region in the same year. Moreover, their activities and opinions can be promoted through influential media outlets that have friendly relations with them.

By contrast, in the case of Orpington First, due to the limited budget, they should rely more deeply on the final decision and the implementation of the local government. Therefore, close communication and cooperation with the government are highly emphasized in the progress of projects. Therefore, they promoted their work by including the council as an observer in their initial projects such as public toilet remodelling and tried to influence the implementation of policies of the council by collecting and analyzing local opinions. It goes to show that accumulating trust on both sides of the council and local businesses was a priority for this BID in proceeding with their work. As a result, the accumulation of trust of the local businesses and council encouraged the BID to conduct more complicated and challenging projects that required more long-term approaches. In addition, as FoL (2016) reported that "the term 'renewal' is a significant indicator of BIDs' success", it can be found that Bee Midtown, which has the 4th successful renewal in 2020, was able to play the more crucial and significant role than Orpington First, which has only 2 times renewals, based on the accumulated trust of local businesses and governments.

Table 4. Comparison of activities and strategies of in Bee Midtown and Orpington First

	Bee Midtown	Orpington First
Local environment improvement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthening security, removing inconveniences, and improving convenience facilities • Improving the local environment and facilities from a fundamental and long-term perspective 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthening security, removing inconveniences, and improving convenience facilities • Pursuing more immediate effect to meet the minimum standards with relatively small budgets
Strengthen local business competitiveness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthening the competitiveness of local businesses from a long-term perspective by enhancing the image and reputation of the region • Extending the role to the social, and environmental fields through collaboration with various fields beyond the region. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Providing a more direct urban regeneration, including the revitalization of the stagnant downtown area • Activities and partnerships are mainly conducted within the local area
Partnerships with the public sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Based on abundant material and human resources, it is possible to work in a bottom-up manner that can more actively influence the direction of government policy by conducting research and surveys 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Due to the limited budget, relying on the final decision and the implementation of the local government more deeply • Accumulating trust in council and local businesses is a priority for works

5. CONCLUSION

To see how BIDs work for the regeneration and sustainable development of local business districts differently according to regional characteristics, this study has conducted a literature study and a comparative analysis on the operation status of BIDs in London, UK. In particular, BIDs in London were able to grow notably to fill the gap between the shrinking government's services caused by the global recession and Localism, and the demand for better services for strengthening the competitiveness at the global level.

Based on these circumstances, it was possible to find differences in the roles of BIDs according to regional characteristics by comparatively analyzing the strategies, works and performances of the two BIDs in regions that have contrasting economic scales and characteristics.

With the research data, it was able to be identified the differences between the two BIDs, in the volume of the economy of the commercial district, the characteristics of the business area and the difference between the backgrounds and the profile of the board members composing the BIDs. The two BIDs ultimately had the goal of improving the local business environment and strengthening the competitiveness

of local businesses and had a common point of working in close partnership with the public sector such as the local government.

However, it was found that there are differences in the strategies and works to accomplish the goals and the roles and relationships in the partnership with the public sector according to the local situation and characteristics. That also means a BID can be not only the catalyst for the regeneration of stagnant areas but also contribute to supplementing Sustainable Development Goals even in already thriving areas that do not need urban regeneration.

Nevertheless, this study has a limitation in that it is based on the results of comparative analysis based on a limited number of cases below based on the area of London, UK. Therefore, it can be followed that further studies based on more diverse cases and comparative studies with BIDs with different backgrounds such as the US and Japan. In addition, it is also expected that follow-up studies on the limitations of BIDs, such as increased excessive influence on the government policies to represent the interests of a specific group, fairness with regions that have not adopted BID, and overheated competition between neighbouring BIDs.

REFERENCE

- Arup (2018). 'Midtown Integrated Economic and Public Realm Vision' Arup (December). Retrieved August 05, 2022 from https://www.centraldistrictalliance.com/media/i4gcbdes/bee_midtown_annual_summary_18_19_030320_download.pdf
- Bacon, G. et al (2016). 'Business Improvement Districts The role of BIDs in London's regeneration' Greater London Authority (February). Retrieved August 05, 2022 from https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/final_bids_report_0.pdf
- Bee Midtown (2019a). 'Pollinating Prosperity Annual Summary 2018/2019' Bee Midtown. Retrieved August 05, 2022 from https://www.centraldistrictalliance.com/media/i4gcbdes/bee_midtown_annual_summary_18_19_030320_download.pdf
- Bee Midtown (2019b). '2020-consultation' BEE Midtown. Retrieved August 05, 2022 from https://www.centraldistrictalliance.com/media/boun5wtj/bee_midtown_2020_consultation_030320_download.pdf
- Bee Midtown (2020). 'Bee Midtown 2020 Manifesto' BEE Midtown. Retrieved August 05, 2022 from https://www.centraldistrictalliance.com/media/1vln0sv5/bee_midtown_2020_manifesto_020320.pdf
- Bourke, J. (2020). 'Midtown rises in ranking of London's economic hubs', Evening Standard, January 22, 2020. Retrieved August 05, 2022 from <https://www.standard.co.uk/business/midtown-rises-in-ranking-of-london-s-economic-hubs-a4341526.html>
- Camden Council (2019). 'Partial Review of Camden's Community Infrastructure Levy Charging Schedule', Camden Council December 2, 2019. Retrieved August 05, 2022 from <https://consultations.wearecamden.org/supporting-communities/partial-review-of-camden-s-community->

- infrastructur/supporting_documents/1.%20Oct%202019%20Camden%20CIL%20Charging%20Schedule%20information%20document.pdf
- Cook, I. R. (2008). 'Mobilising urban policies: The policy transfer of US business improvement districts to England and Wales', *Urban Studies*, 45(4), pp. 773–795.
- De Magalhães, C. (2014). 'Business improvement districts in England and the (private?) governance of urban spaces', *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, 32(5), pp. 916–933.
- Future of London (FoL) (2016). The evolution of London's business improvement districts, Greater London Authority. Retrieved August 05, 2022 from https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/evolution_of_londons_bids_march2016_web_020316.pdf
- Grail, J. et al. (2019). 'Business improvement districts in the UK: a review and synthesis', *Journal of Place Management and Development*, 13(1), pp. 73–88.
- Greater London Authority (GLA) (2016a). 'The London Plan: The Spatial Development Strategy For London Consolidated With Alterations Since 2011', Greater London Authority, (March). Retrieved August 05, 2022 from https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/london_plan_march_2016_malp_-_frontispiece_and_ch1_context_and_strategy.pdf
- Greater London Authority (GLA) (2016b). 'Business Improvement Districts The role of BIDs in London's regeneration', Greater London Authority (February). Retrieved August 05, 2022 from https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/final_bids_report_0.pdf
- Greater London Authority (2016c). 'About Business Improvement Districts'. Retrieved August 05, 2022 from <https://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/business-and-economy/supporting-business/about-business-improvement-districts>
- Data Government UK (DGU) (2022). 'London Plan Business Improvement Districts'. Retrieved March 30, 2023 from <https://www.data.gov.uk/dataset/a64c1aeb-159f-4c41-a685-5ee554300250/london-plan-business-improvement-districts>
- Giddens, A. (1998). *The third way: the renewal of social democracy*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Justice, J. B., & Skelcher, C. (2009). 'Analysing democracy in third-party government: Business improvement districts in the US and UK', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 33(3), pp. 738–753.
- Harding, D. (2000). 'UK to take US-style approach to regeneration' *The guardian*, December 12, 2000. Retrieved August 05, 2022 from <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2000/dec/12/regeneration.communities>
- Hill, D. (2012). 'London BIDs: friends and foes' *The guardian*, Jun 29, 2012 Retrieved August 05, 2022. from <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/davehillblog/2012/jun/29/business-improvement-districts-london-midtown>
- Hoyt, L., & Gopal-Agge, D. (2007). 'The Business Improvement District Model: A Balanced Review of Contemporary Debates', *Geography Compass*, 1(4), pp. 946–958.
- Lloyd, M. G. et al. (2003). 'Business improvement districts, planning and urban regeneration', *International Planning Studies*, 8(4), pp. 295–321.
- MacDonald, H. (1996). Why business improvement districts work, *Manhattan Institute Civic Bulletin*, 4, pp. 1–3.
- Mavrogordato, T. (2018). 'Midtown response to the Draft New London Plan Consultation' Bee Midtown, March 2, 2018. Retrieved August 05, 2022 from <https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/BEE%20Midtown%20-%20Lowick%20%283026%29.pdf>
- Mitarai, J., & Suebsuk, N. (2017). The comparative analysis of performance indicators and information disclosure for BIDs and area-based management in the US, UK, and Japan, *WIT Transactions on Ecology and the Environment*, 210, pp.25–37.
- Morçöl, G., & Wolf, J. F. (2010). 'Understanding Business Improvement Districts: A New Governance Framework', *Public Administration Review*, 70(6), pp. 906–913.
- Orpington First (2017). 'Orpington first business plan 2018-2023'. Retrieved August 05, 2022 from <https://s3.eu-west-2.amazonaws.com/dclite-clients/orpington-first/assets/images/misc/Orpington-1st-Business-Plan-2018-23.pdf>
- Peel, D., & Lloyd, G. (2008). 'Re-generating learning in the public realm: Evidence-based policy making and business improvement districts in the UK', *Public Policy and Administration*, 23(2), pp. 189–205.
- Rydin, Y. (2012). 'Editorial Board', *Progress in Planning*, 77(4), p. CO2.
- Sleigh, T. (2020). 'City's latest BIDs to help business' *Property Week*, January 24, 2020
- Ward, K. (2010). 'Entrepreneurial urbanism and business improvement districts in the state of Wisconsin: A cosmopolitan critique', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 100(5), pp. 1177–1196.
- Writtle, M. (2019). How BEE Midtown is inspiring London firms and stimulating growth, *Evening Standard*, July 19, 2019. Retrieved August 05, 2022 from <https://www.standard.co.uk/business/how-bee-midtown-is-inspiring-london-firms-and-stimulating-growth-a4193306.html>

(Received Sep. 12, 2022/Revised Mar. 9, 2023/Accepted Jun. 22, 2023)