

# GREATER LONDON AUTHORITY

## Late-Night London: Planning and Managing the Late-Night Economy

### SDS Technical Report Six

June 2002

**LONDON**  
DEVELOPMENT  
AGENCY

Transport *for* London



**Late-Night London: Planning and  
Managing the Late-Night Economy**

*A report commissioned by the Greater London Authority,  
London Development Agency, Transport for London  
with financial support from the Government Office for London*

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# LATE-NIGHT LONDON

## Planning and Managing the Late-Night Economy

Report of an Introductory Study for:

The Greater London Authority  
London Development Agency  
Transport for London

with financial support from:

The Government Office for London

*by*



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*with*

CASA  
(The Centre for Advanced Spatial Analysis,  
University College London)

*and*

Dr Andy Lovatt

This report was completed in January 2002 and is now published as one of a number of research reports informing the London Plan (SDS).

This report reflects the views of the consultants and not necessarily those of the commissioning agencies.

# LATE-NIGHT LONDON

## Planning and Managing the Late-Night Economy

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# LATE-NIGHT LONDON

## Planning and Managing the Late-Night Economy

### Executive Summary

This report of an introductory study into London's late-night economy by URBED (Urban and Economic Development Group) aims to throw light on a number of controversial issues which the Mayor faces in pursuing his vision "to develop London as an exemplary sustainable World City". In particular it addresses the questions:

- What does the idea of a '24 hour City' really mean, and what is its relevance to London's future?
- What are the main activities that make up London's evening and late-night economies and where are they concentrated?
- How is the night-time economy currently regulated, and what changes in regulation are likely?
- What are the key issues that the night time economy raises and what are their implications for the Mayor?

The project was commissioned by the Greater London Authority (GLA) in conjunction with the London Development Agency (LDA), Transport for London (TfL) and the Government Office for London (GOL). It is intended as a preliminary or 'scoping' study to highlight the key issues, make preliminary recommendations and indicate areas which require further study. The research involved:

- a review of the literature and experience elsewhere, led by Dr. Andy Lovatt, Director of the Cultural Industries Development Service in Manchester
- an analysis of the extent and distribution of activities that make up London's evening and late-night economies, using a Geographical Information System (GIS), by the Centre for Advanced Spatial Analysis (CASA) at University College London
- four case studies of different parts of London affected by late-night activity: Covent Garden, London Bridge, Shoreditch/Hoxton and Ealing Town Centre
- a survey of all the London boroughs and analysis of the 25 responses
- a round table seminar which brought together practitioners and experts with representatives of many of the boroughs with an interest in the subject
- a brief review of the regulatory framework, including current proposals for changes in relevant policies in planning, licensing and policing
- interviews with interested parties and discussions with members of the project's Steering Group.

## What is the 24 Hour City?

The research identified a series of factors that are leading many people to want more activities and services to be available later and later into the evening and night. However, while it has been fashionable to talk about a '24 hour economy' as if everything might be available at all hours, it is in fact the growth of late-night entertainment which is causing the most problem in London, and having the greatest impact on the public realm and on public services (such as transport and policing), and which should therefore be of greatest concern to the Mayor.

On the one hand, London's late-night entertainment industry (mainly involving drinking in pubs and bars and dancing in clubs) is highly successful and an important source of continuing economic growth:

- It is a major part of London life. It is estimated that around 500,000 young people regularly go 'clubbing' in London on a Saturday night. This is more than all the people who visit all of London's 'top ten' visitor attractions combined in a week
- It is an integral part of London's growing entertainment/culture/tourism sector which now employs over 300,000 people (8% of the total workforce)
- It attracts visitors and contributes towards London's image as a World City
- It is an area in which London is seen, especially by young people, as being at a leading-edge of excitement and creativity.

Evening and late-night entertainment has other benefits too. It gives enjoyment to large numbers of people and brings increased activity to the streets, helping to make many places more interesting and lively. It also contributes to the growth of local economies by creating business opportunities and providing jobs.

However, it can have disadvantages too, mainly because of its association with alcohol and other drugs, and the problems this can bring, such as:

- noise and/or rowdy behaviour in the streets near pubs, bars and clubs, particularly after they close, which can be a serious nuisance to local residents
- anti-social behaviour, such as littering, vomiting or urinating in the streets, which is not only unpleasant and intimidating but also requires extra effort and cost to clear up
- criminal behaviour, such as drug dealing or robbery.

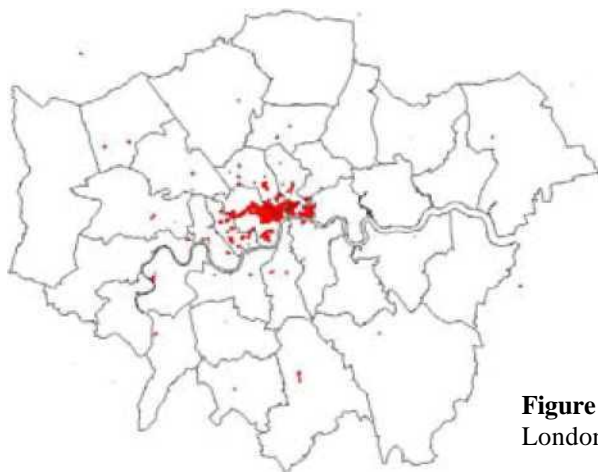
While only a small minority of revellers may cause any problems, there is always a risk of some incidents occurring in 'hotspots' where there are concentrations of late-night activities, particularly if these are in, or close to, areas with a significant residential population. In addition, there are extra costs involved in policing, servicing and maintaining areas with late-night activities, and in providing extra services such as late-night transport.



## Location and Scale of the Late-Night Economy

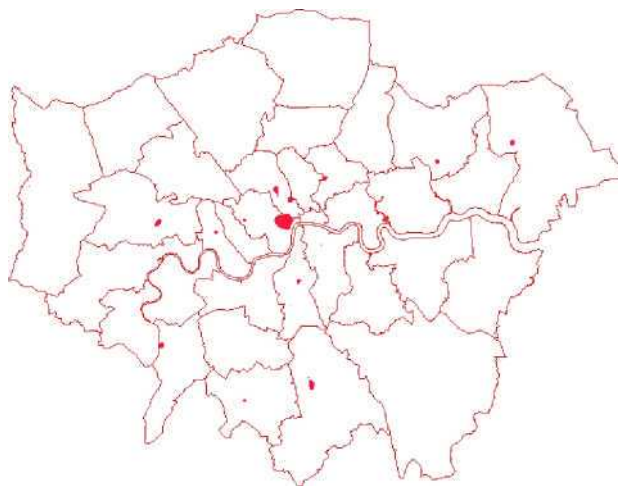
In this project, GIS (Geographic Information System) technology was used to identify where London's evening and late-night economies are concentrated, based on employment data and late-night crime statistics. (Ideally licensing and other information, such as travel data, would have been used as well, but it is not currently available in a form that can be readily analysed for the whole of London).

The results (based on 1999 data) show that while the 'evening economy' is widely spread throughout London, especially in and around established town centres, the main 'peaks' of activity are concentrated in the centre of the city (especially the West End) and to a lesser extent in inner London, including Victoria, Kings Cross, Camden, Knightsbridge, Earls Court and Notting Hill Gate (see **Figure i**).



**Figure i:** Major Concentrations of Employment in London's 'Evening Economy' (Source: ONS, CASA).

In the absence of a comprehensive and consistent database of London's 'late licensed' premises, late-night 'street crime' figures provide one of the best indications of where the late-night economy is located (see **Figure ii**). Again the largest concentration is clearly in the West End (centred on Soho). Smaller 'hotspots' occur in places such as Camden, Croydon, Ealing, Kingston, Kings Cross, Brixton, Romford, Ilford and Dalston



**Figure ii.** Late-Night Street Crime Hotspots in London (Source: Metropolitan Police, CASA).

This confirms that Soho/Covent Garden is the main late-night hotspot, and that there are comparatively few other major concentrations in inner London. The case studies, however, showed that new areas of activity are starting to develop around London Bridge and Shoreditch, around the fringe of the City.

The local authority survey also confirmed these findings. It also showed agreement on the benefits that evening and late-night activities can bring, and on the problems that they can cause. However, it was found that most boroughs were still keen to encourage more evening and late-night activities in specific areas, mainly in their principal town centres or in areas needing regeneration, but some also favoured commercial areas or areas around transport nodes. Only four of the respondents said that new late-night activities would not be encouraged in their boroughs. Over half the local authorities said that evening or late-night activities had become a major issue for the borough, and several respondents commented that the main problem was how to reconcile evening and late-night uses with nearby residential uses, especially as they were being encouraged to promote more housing in town centres.

## The Regulatory Framework

Throughout history there have been opposing attitudes towards night time activities. Some believe that they should be tightly controlled to prevent excess and disorder. Others think that regulation unnecessarily constrains people's freedom to enjoy themselves. While the tide is currently moving in favour of less regulation, there are still several particular ways in which the evening and late-night economies are controlled. The most important ones for London involve planning controls, licensing, policing and security, and public transport. Major changes, involving Government legislation, have been proposed in each of these areas or are in the process of being implemented.

The proposed simplification and relaxation of England's arcane licensing laws are likely to have a profound effect, and it would seem essential that effective mechanisms for managing and servicing areas with substantial amounts of late-night activity are put in place before the changes come about.

Particular attention should be paid to the potential for developing the 'Business Improvement District' (BID) model of organising and financing additional local management and services, which the Government has announced it is willing to support. Furthermore, both public transport (including the proper licensing of minicabs, as well as the extension of night bus services) and increased policing, both of which are within the Mayor's sphere of influence, have an important role to play and need to be developed as part of a co-ordinated approach to the management of late-night entertainment areas.

However it is in the field of planning policy that there is currently the greatest potential for conflict, particularly in relation to Soho/Covent Garden the traditional heart of London's entertainment district. Through its Unitary Development Plan Westminster City Council is

taking a strong line in trying to curb the growth of late-night entertainment activities because, in its view, the numbers (and size) of bars and other late-night venues are changing the character of the area, and the numbers of people on the streets late at night (and the anti-social behaviour of some of them) are causing serious disturbance to residents. While it is right to sympathise with the residents of the area and to deplore the unpleasant behaviour of some of the late-night revellers, the balance between the interests of residents and those of London's late-night entertainment industry needs to be carefully struck. Through the London Plan (*Spatial Development Strategy* or SDS) and other means, the Mayor must make sure that London's World City status is not compromised, and that every effort is made to minimise bad behaviour and the nuisance it can cause, without cutting back what should be an important and valued industry for central London.

## Issues and Recommendations

There is however no single, simple solution. The research indicates that there are a number of issues that need to be addressed if London's late-night economy is to achieve its full potential without causing excessive nuisance.

These issues affect far more than just one part of the city; over half the respondents to the local authority survey said that they were now considered important for their boroughs. Although the Mayor does not have the powers or resources to solve all the problems on his own, he is well placed to promote the actions needed to tackle the key issues which include:

- setting out a positive vision for late-night London
- helping to resolve current conflicts in the West End
- promoting co-ordination of planning, licensing and management policies
- developing strategic guidance to help avoid conflicts between mixed uses
- encouraging the spread of late-night activities to other suitable locations in London
- encouraging the diversification of the evening and late-night economies, so that they are not so dominated by young people and by alcohol and other drugs
- improving late-night transport
- combating anti-social behaviour and alcohol and drugs related problems
- ensuring that many of London's unemployed or underemployed have a chance to secure jobs and training in the leisure industry
- promoting good practice in managing late-night entertainment areas
- helping to develop a mechanism through which the management of the late-night economy can be reliably funded.

While this is only an introductory study a number of conclusions could be drawn and initial recommendations made, some of which require further development. The recommendations are addressed principally to the Mayor, but several also have relevance for other organisations in the GLA group.

### **A positive vision**

The Mayor should have no objection in principle to the extension of activities beyond traditional hours in suitable locations. He should set out a positive and optimistic vision for late-night London, welcoming the contribution that a flourishing late-night entertainment industry makes to London, while recognising the problems it can cause. He should declare his confidence that the problems can be overcome and his determination to see that they are energetically tackled.

### **The West End**

The problems are most acute in the West End. Three recent reports (including two commissioned by Westminster City Council) have stressed the importance of taking a co-ordinated and pro-active 'area management approach' to dealing with late-night entertainment areas. All parts of the local authority, other public agencies (including transport and the police) and the private sector (including venue operators) need to work together. The Mayor should endorse this approach, and should offer support to Westminster City Council in tackling the problems that the concentration of late-night activities in the West End is causing. He should make it clear that he will support a range of practical actions to help reduce the pressure on the West End.

### **A co-ordinated planning and management approach**

Through the SDS and other means the Mayor should seek to ensure that boroughs develop appropriate planning policies for areas with significant amounts of late-night entertainment activity. He should also seek to ensure that these will be supported by his own transport and policing policies. Boroughs should be encouraged to designate such areas as 'Entertainment Management Zones' (EMZs).

The essence of EMZs is that they are areas which require particularly careful planning and management. Careful attention, for example, should be given to noise and how different frontages in an EMZ are likely to be affected by it. Planning and licensing policies should seek the inclusion of appropriate noise mitigation measures (ranging from fitting noise limiters to sound systems to securing effective sound insulation to nearby properties - through double glazing etc.)

The Mayor should also take steps to ensure that boroughs are starting to review their licensing policies and procedures, as well as their area management arrangements, ahead of the major changes to the licensing laws which are likely to be introduced soon. He should convene a London Licensing Conference to review, and if necessary co-ordinate, the boroughs' proposed licensing policies and to identify any particular issues that need

to be taken up with the Government on a London-wide basis. The GLA might also consider maintaining a forum on its website through which information on licensing and other aspects of the late-night economy could be exchanged.

### **Conflicts over mixed uses**

Much has been made recently of the need to encourage more people to live in town centres and to promote mixed-use development, but care needs to be taken in pursuing these policies jointly as it may be difficult to reconcile some uses (such as housing) with other activities (such as late-night entertainment) which generate noise. As well as indicating that co-ordinated management is required, the designation of an EMZ should make it clear that other potentially conflicting uses (including those that are sensitive to noise) should not be encouraged in that area - unless the developers are prepared to take special precautions that will guard against the problems that might arise. In particular, residential development should only be permitted in EMZs where the developer can demonstrate that the type of housing is appropriate for the location and that noise attenuation measures are adequate.

### **Spreading late-night activities**

Encouraging late-night entertainment in suitable locations away from the West End would help reduce the pressure on Soho and Covent Garden, as well as bringing benefits to other parts of London. The local authority survey carried out for this study showed that most boroughs are keen to encourage more late-night activities in certain types of areas (usually in larger town centres or areas needing regeneration, but also in some cases in commercial areas or around transport nodes such as railway stations). Further work, beyond this study, would be required to develop detailed guidance on the factors that will make an area particularly attractive for late-night entertainment and the criteria that should be used in assessing whether an area is suitable for designation as an EMZ. However two types of area should initially be sought:

- Areas that are highly accessible and near the centre of London (e.g. London Bridge, the City of London, Paddington) and can so help relieve immediate pressure on the West End
- Areas that are further afield which can become expanded nodes of activity (like Brixton already is).

### **Diversity in the late-night economy**

At the round table seminar there was widespread agreement that two of the main problems with the way that late-night entertainment has developed in Britain are that it is too greatly focussed on the sale and consumption of alcohol, and that it caters almost exclusively for young people. Increasing the diversity of the late-night economy will not necessarily be easy in practice, but there are plenty of avenues to explore, drawing perhaps from experience abroad. The new licensing laws should make it easier for

restaurants to stay open later. Shops, cafes, galleries, libraries, museums and other cultural venues might be encouraged to stay open longer. Streets could be imaginatively lit. Evening events could be organised and marketed. The Mayor's cultural Strategy could take diversifying the evening economy as one of its themes, thereby helping to establish entertainment as an important, and growing, part of London's culture. Good practice needs to be established, and pilot projects carried out to show how it can be made to work in practice.

### **Late-night transport**

One of the reasons that the West End is such a focus for entertainment is its high accessibility, particularly by public transport, including the night bus services. If late-night activity is to spread more to other areas, they will need to have good late-night transport services too. The Underground system shuts down before many revellers wish to go home, especially at week-ends. While there appear to be good reasons why it must be shut down for a given period each night, a full evaluation should be made of the possibility of keeping it open later on Friday and Saturday nights. Consideration should also be given to aligning more night bus routes with the well understood Underground Line routes.

Late-night transport planning and management should be an important, and integral, part of the planning and management of EMZs. Transport for London (TfL) should try to ensure that night bus routes and timings tie in with the closing times of major venues. Information on local public transport should be provided for display at late-night establishments, and door supervisors should give this information to departing customers. Where possible night bus stops should be close to venues, preferably where they can be overseen by door supervisors. Steps should be well lit and security arrangements should be discussed with the police and club operators. TfL is already taking steps to increase the number of taxis available at night and to reduce the number of unregistered minicabs. These policies should be applied to all EMZs.

### **Disorder and alcohol and drugs related problems**

One of the consequences of supporting late-night entertainment as a valuable part of London life is the necessity of managing the problems of the alcohol and drug abuse that can be associated with it. The Mayor is already establishing an alcohol and drugs policy through the Greater London Alcohol and Drugs Alliance, which should be involved in developing the management policies and action plans for each EMZ in conjunction with the other agencies, including the new Security Industry Association. In addition the GLA's alcohol and drugs staff should be asked to draw up a comprehensive Code of Practice for dealing with all aspects of drugs, alcohol misuse, and violence in and around nightclubs and other venues. This should build on the several existing guides, each of which, however, tends to focus on a specific part of the problems. The aim should be to produce a comprehensive training manual for those involved in the late-night entertainment industry.

## **Jobs for the local unemployed**

One advantage of developing more evening and late-night activity in areas requiring regeneration is the opportunity it provides for local people to get jobs - provided that there is some agency able to make connections between venue managers and the local unemployed, and provided that intensive training and support is also available. The LDA should be asked to comment on how this might best be taken forward and it could also be incorporated into the Mayor's Cultural Strategy and into all EMZ management plans.

## **Good practice in managing EMZs**

Just as traditional retailing areas found it necessary to introduce 'Town Centre Management' schemes to try to match the higher standards that were to be found in out-of-town shopping centres, so the importance of managing all aspects of entertainment areas is coming to be realised. The range of things that might be done - through design, maintenance, service provision, licensing, enforcement etc. - is enormous, and a large number of initiatives have already been tried in various places. One way of helping to improve management practices is to make sure that as much of this experience as possible is readily available.

Further work would be required to categorise and assemble good practice advice on the full range of topics that would be relevant to managing an EMZ. The Mayor should convene a multi-agency working group, led by the GLA, to draw up a checklist of all the areas in which good practice advice is required and to recommend which bodies might be responsible for developing good practice guidance on each main topic.

## **A reliable funding mechanism**

Even if the good management practices are developed which could allow late-night entertainment activities to flourish in many parts of London without causing undue problems, they will never in fact be implemented without the proper legal framework and locally available resources. Ironically London's entertainment industry has been highly successful and generates large revenues, but there is no reliable mechanism for channelling any of them into local area management schemes or into the provision of specific additional local services - such as additional police on the beat or improved late-night transport.

In USA, the Business Improvement District provides a successful model for doing this, but the concept would have to be tailored to British circumstances and would require new legislation. The Mayor should, however, actively support initiatives to enable funding from local businesses to provide a reliable means of contributing to extra management and extra services in specially designated local areas like EMZs.

In conclusion, this study has shown that action and co-ordination will be required in many spheres if London's late-night entertainment industry is to bring its full benefits to the city in a sustainable manner. The Mayor is uniquely well placed to take the lead in this.

# 1. INTRODUCTION

This report summarises the results of an introductory study originally called "Locating and Managing the 24 Hour City" which was commissioned by the Greater London Authority (GLA) in conjunction with the London Development Agency (LDA), Transport for London (TfL) and the Government Office for London (GOL). It was carried out, between September and November 2001, by a team of consultants led by URBED (Urban and Economic Development Group). Other members of the team were the Centre for Advanced Spatial Analysis (University College London), Dr. Andy Lovatt (Director of the Cultural Industries Development Service in Manchester), and additional assistance was provided by planning consultants Robert Turley Associates.

The aim of the project was to bring together existing data on the size and location of London's late-night economy and to identify the key issues that it raises and their implications for the Mayor of London. The report is based on:

- research into the basic literature on the "24 hour City" and on recent reports on the entertainment industry in the West End of London, the proposed changes to the Use Classes Order and to the licensing laws, and related topics
- analysis of employment, transport, crime and licensing statistics for London
- a survey of planning officers in the London boroughs and the City of London
- case studies of late-night entertainment activities in four very different parts of London
- interviews and discussions with people involved in different aspects of London's late-night economy
- a 'round table' seminar which brought together over 50 people to discuss key aspects of 'Where to Encourage Late-night Activities in London'.

The following chapters cover:

- the meaning of the term "24 hour City" and its relevance for London
- the size and distribution of London's night time economy
- the regulatory framework within which the night time economy functions
- the key issues facing London's night time economy and their implications for the Mayor.



The work of the consultants was overseen by a Project Steering Group drawn from the GLA and its related organisations. The members of the Steering Group were:

Eleanor Young (Mayor's Office)  
Alex Bax, GLA (Senior Policy Officer)  
Anne Crane, London Development Agency  
John Lett, GLA (Senior Planner)  
Jo Prentice, GLA (Planner)  
Max Dixon, GLA (Ambient Noise Strategy)  
Rosy Greenlees, GLA (Cultural Strategy)  
Siwan Hayward, GLA (Alcohol and Drugs)  
Chris Hyde, Transport for London.

The team are very grateful for the information and comments that the Steering Group provided, and extend particular thanks to those members who acted as reporters at the round table seminar.

## 2. WHAT IS THE 24 HOUR CITY?

### 2.1 The Growth of the 24 Hour City and the 24 Hour Society

The phrase "24 hour City" - the city that never sleeps - has been associated with New York since the 1920s. It conjures up an image of a pulsating, glamorous place where something is always happening on the streets - especially late at night, a time of excitement and possible danger. In Britain, it was first used in the title of a conference "Towards the 24 hour City?" (1) held in Manchester in 1993, which took a critical look at how strategies for regulation and regeneration affected the city at night, and the inherent conflicts between them.

At that time, 'town centre revitalisation' was becoming a key issue in urban regeneration (2). There was a need to find new uses to bring life back to declining areas. Retailing had begun to move away from traditional centres to out-of-town developments, which were readily accessible by car from the suburbs in which so many people now lived. Retail space, especially in secondary areas, was becoming vacant, and there was less and less reason for people to come into the town centre at all. The prospect of British town centres becoming almost 'no-go areas', like some of their American counterparts, was starting to cause alarm (3). Yet in much of Europe there was a completely different state of affairs, which was plain for any visitor to see. City centres were lively, attractive places, full of people and with a wide range of things to do throughout the day and into the evening. They did not become empty and threatening after dark, as concerted efforts had been made to keep them alive by promoting restaurants, bars, theatres, cinemas and other cultural facilities (4). The idea of 'cultural and entertainment led urban regeneration' had been first advocated in Europe in the late 1970s and was put into practice at that time in such cities as Rome, Copenhagen and Barcelona. However, the term used by the Mayor of Rome to describe what he was doing was "enlivening the night time economy" (5). This same theme was explored in Comedia's influential *Out of Hours* report, published in 1991, which looked at various aspects of a range of British towns including their 'evening economies'. It found that there were relatively few things to do in town centres in the evening and that even then youth-dominated pubs exercised a "stranglehold" over evening social life in Britain (6).

Following the Manchester conference, the phrase "24 hour City" was picked up by several British local authorities who saw that entertainment and cultural activities could play an important part in revitalising their town and city centres - as could encouraging more people to live in them. These policies were later endorsed in the 1996 revision of the Government's Planning Policy Guidance Note 6 *Town Centres and Retail Development* (7). "24 hour City" became a catchy marketing slogan, again with a glamorous ring, which signalled that a town was now aiming to reinvent itself as a lively place to visit for entertainment, fashion shopping and other leisure activities. Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Sheffield, Cardiff and even Bolton have proclaimed themselves as being, or wanting to become 24 hour cities, and further 24 hour city conferences have been held which stressed the role that the evening economy could play in town centre regeneration.

The 24 hour city, or rather, this move towards having areas with entertainment activities which remain busy in the evenings, can be seen as being part of a much wider phenomenon, the development of a "24 hour Society". *The 24 Hour Society* is the title of a book by social trends forecaster Leon Kreitzman (8) which describes a range of reasonably familiar factors (demographic and social changes, changes in patterns of work, the growth in numbers of working mothers, a desire to 'get more out of life' and to do more things, increasing affluence etc.) which are leading more and more people in Britain (and elsewhere) to want services to be available later and later into the evening. While these include shops\*, petrol stations, telephone banks and the like, the biggest effect is in the entertainment sector. Not only do radio and television stations now broadcast throughout the night, but there has been growing demand for more late-night entertainment outside the home, particularly restaurants, pubs, bars and clubs, and particularly at week-ends. Kreitzman argues that in recent years we have become "insatiable consumers". Most people have sufficient income to have real choice and, for younger people especially, "consumption has become an end in itself". Those who can afford it "want what they want, when and where they want it..". It is this that is driving the 24 hour Society, and it will not easily be stopped.

In his final chapter, Kreitzman admits that the idea of the 24 hour Society receives a mixed response. Many see it as a blessing, but to others it is an anathema. Market research shows that it divides society - young against old; town against country; employed against unemployed. Kreitzman believes that there is a strong puritanical undercurrent in the objections to the principle of a 24 hour Society, that sees excessive consumption as wrong, even sinful. However, he is also in no doubt that the new attitude will prevail (8).

There is one other aspect of the "24 hour" name tag that should be noted. In the 1990s the Happy Mondays, a Manchester-based dance band, released an album called *24 Hour Party People*. Its title referred to the fact that young people had found that by taking the drug ecstasy they could dance throughout the night. It was this that had fuelled the large scale 'acid house' or 'rave' parties which used to take place in empty warehouses and other out-of-town locations. And it was the opening of dance venues in towns in the 1990s that led to the huge surge in "clubbing", and in late-night activity on the surrounding streets.

Thus while it is a catchy slogan and is not necessarily intended to be taken literally, "24 hour City" does reflect a major change that has been affecting some parts of our cities, including London. Many people will welcome the concept, seeing it as describing an exciting place with growing opportunities for themselves. However, others will see the 24 hour city only as a threat - that their lives will be disrupted if it is encouraged. It is, therefore, an emotive and ambiguous term. Since it is intended to apply only to limited areas and mainly to limited times - the early hours of the morning at weekends - it is perhaps, not a very sensible term to use. It is more accurate to refer to 'late-night entertainment activities' or to the 'late-night economy'.

\* Tesco, for example, now has 174 stores which stay open 24 hours a day, except on Sundays. (It is only in the last seven years that such hours have been permitted, and Sunday trading is only eight years old.)

## 2.2 The Evening and Late-night Economies in London

London has for centuries had a reputation as a great centre for entertainment (9), and it was one of the first cities to develop a night time economy based on consumption - especially the consumption of alcohol (10). In particular, the introduction of gas lighting at the start of the nineteenth century made London stand out as a 'beacon of civilisation' and a 'victory of man over nature'. But as well as civic pride and further opportunities for trade the new lighting brought with it shadows, danger and fear - reinforcing the contradictory attitudes towards the city at night (11).

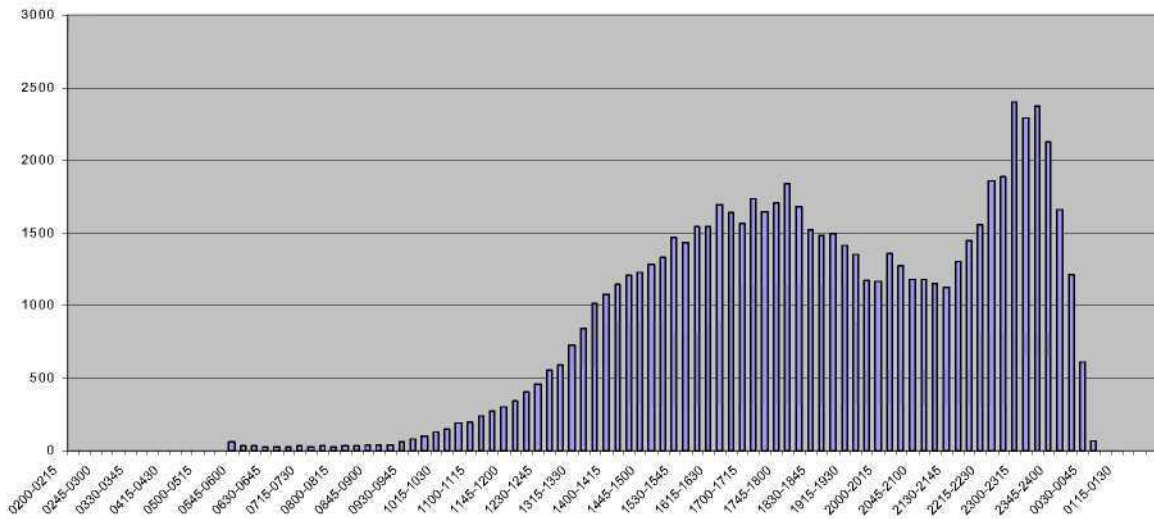
London's late-night economy is still dominated by entertainment activities (mainly involving drinking in pubs and bars and dancing in clubs) which, as in other cities, have increased sharply in recent years. Although there are still many people who work nightshifts in factories and in the emergency services (and to some extent in the offices of truly global firms that operate internationally throughout the day and night), it was clear from our case studies (which covered areas as diverse as Covent Garden, London Bridge Shoreditch/Hoxton, and Ealing) that it is the growth of late-night entertainment that is having the greatest impact on the public realm and on public services (such as transport and policing), and which should therefore be of greatest concern to the Mayor.

Of course people have always gone out in the evenings, and especially at weekends - to parties, pubs, restaurants, theatres and cinemas - but, with the huge growth in popularity of dance clubs in the 1990s, the scale of late-night activity in London is now immense. It is estimated that around 500,000 young people regularly go clubbing in London on a Saturday night (12). This is more than all the people who visit all of London's 'top ten' visitor attractions combined in a week, and more than all of those who go to all the West End theatres in a week. 'Club culture' has become a way of life for many young - and not so young - people. It is now a part of mainstream London culture. However, unlike traditional 'local' pubs, the new venues are not spread evenly throughout the city. Certain places have become evening and late-night 'hotspots' where it is fashionable for large numbers of young people to congregate, and where an increasing number of trendy establishments (particularly bars and clubs, and increasingly club-bars which combine the attractions of both) are springing up to provide the entertainment. The size and location of these hotspots is discussed in Chapter 3.

Under the current licensing laws all pubs and bars that do not have a Public Entertainments Licence (PEL) must stop serving drinks at 11 p.m. and customers have to be off the premises within half an hour. On busy nights this results in large numbers of people being turned out onto the streets (often reluctantly) at this time and then having to decide what to do next. Some of course go home, as public transport, including the Underground, is still running, but for many 11 p.m. is far too early for the party to stop, especially at the weekend. Most restaurants are closing or have closed by then, but take-aways are still open and they can stay open after midnight if they have a Night Cafe Licence. Pubs, bars and clubs with Entertainments Licences will also be open, and they can often be identified by the queues of people outside them and the security staff at their doors. In an area with a choice of venues, groups will be wandering back and forth trying to decide which, if any,

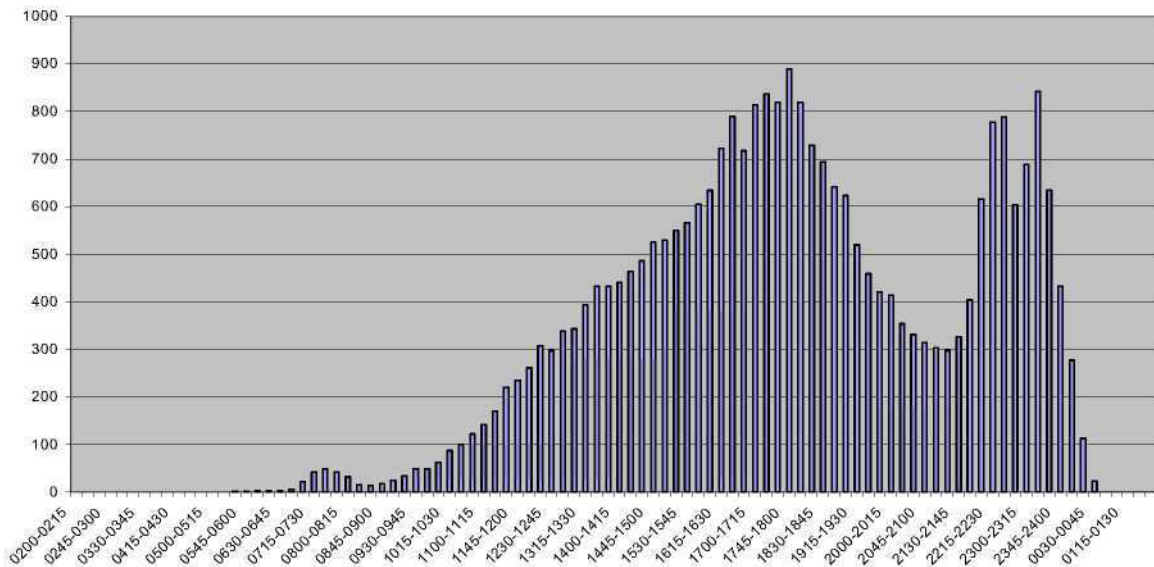
they should go into. (There is almost always an entrance fee for places with entertainment, so there is some incentive to remain in the chosen venue.) Different venues have different closing times depending on the conditions of their licences.

In central London the last Underground trains leave at about half past midnight. This encourages more people to leave at that time, but information provided by Transport for London shows that, particularly at weekends, there is also a surge of people arriving by underground in central London then (**Figures 1a** and **1b**). Indeed pedestrian flow counts confirm that Leicester Square, in the heart of the West End, is at its busiest between 10 p.m. and 1 a.m. (13).



**Figure 1a.** Numbers of People Leaving Leicester Square Underground Station on a Saturday (*Source TfL*).

Saturday Exits from Covent Garden



**Figure 1b.** Numbers of People Leaving Covent Garden Underground Station on a Saturday (*Source TfL*).

When the clubs close (often at 2.00 or 3.00 a.m. but sometimes not until 6 a.m.) more people come out onto the streets again, and many of them will be feeling the effects of their drinking. By this time the Underground has stopped running, but there are night buses (covering 73 routes in total in London), taxis and minicabs. Getting home, however, may not be easy or cheap and tempers may get frayed. Crime rates in the West End peak at around 3 a.m. Some take-aways still remain open, and some people will wait around until the Underground starts running again, but by then the night is over.

## 2.3 Benefits of the Late-night Economy

In many ways the growth of late-night entertainment is an excellent development. Entertainment - people enjoying themselves - is one of the great blessings of life. Now, with people working longer hours, but doing less physically demanding work, and wanting to get more out of life; with increasing incomes; with women in particular having greater economic independence; and with many young people delaying taking on family responsibilities, there has never been a time when so many Londoners - especially young people - want to be out and about enjoying themselves later and later in the evening. They are joined too by large numbers of visitors, both overseas tourists and people from the suburbs or from other parts of the country.

Having people on the streets outside daytime working hours brings interest and vitality to places which would otherwise be dead at night and makes them feel safer. It helps make cities places where more people want to be. It has led to the development of 'female friendly' venues which encourage more women to join in the fun. It is starting to bring about the urban renaissance that is needed for a more sustainable future. It also creates new jobs, which provide many different opportunities from traditional office employment. Entertainment encourages and supports a whole range of creative industries and skills. Furthermore, 'hotspots', where people congregate informally, provide opportunities for people to mix and meet, which is one of the most important functions of a city. Night time also provides opportunities, for those who wish to do so, to explore alternative identities.

Thus late-night entertainment makes people happy and places lively, as well as bringing the economic benefits of more business and more jobs.

## 2.4 Disadvantages of the Late-night Economy

However large-scale, late-night entertainment activity has disadvantages too, mainly because it is commonly fuelled by alcohol and other drugs. Although they are not the heaviest drinkers in Europe, alcohol consumption in Britain (currently 8.3 litres of pure alcohol per head of population per year) is rising (14), and British drinkers have a reputation for getting drunk and indulging in rowdy, anti-social or even criminal behaviour. While only a small minority may cause any problems, there is always a risk of some incidents occurring in 'hotspots' because of the large numbers of people that are

there. The case studies and local authority survey confirmed that the main problems are most likely to be:

- Noise and/or rowdy behaviour in the streets near pubs, bars or clubs, particularly just after closing time (but sometimes also at other times if, for example, people are refused entry to venues, or if there are disputes over minicabs or at bus stops). Noise from revellers can also be compounded by other intrusive sounds, such as early morning street cleaning or bottles from bars and restaurants being tipped into refuse containers. Late-night noise can be a serious nuisance to local residents and it may prevent them from getting a proper night's sleep. Rowdy behaviour can escalate into street fighting, and it is estimated that 40% of violent crime, 78% of assaults and 88% of cases of criminal damage are alcohol related (15).
- Anti-social behaviour, such as littering, vomiting or urinating in the streets. Late night cafes (mainly take-aways) which many people go to after leaving bars or clubs can be a focus for this type of behaviour. It is not only unpleasant and intimidating for other people, but falls far short of the standards that are expected in the World City that London aims to be. It also enrages local residents and requires extra effort to clear up before day-time activities begin in the morning.
- Other criminal behaviour, such as drug dealing or robbery, which crowds and darkness can encourage.

In addition, there are extra costs involved in policing, servicing and maintaining areas with late-night entertainment activities, and in providing extra services such as late-night transport. Furthermore, although late-night entertainment is by no means the only opportunity for drinking, excessive consumption of alcohol is in itself dangerous and can lead to many serious health and social problems (16). The Chief Medical Officer's Annual Report for 2001 highlights "a worrying trend upwards in deaths from liver cirrhosis, particularly in younger people...where binge drinking patterns appear to be common" (17).

## 2.5 Importance of Late-night Entertainment for London

Much of the interest in promoting late-night entertainment in urban areas has stemmed from the need to regenerate them. While much of London is highly prosperous, there are parts of the city that are in need of regeneration and late-night entertainment may have a part to play in that process. These areas range from secondary parts of suburban centres to river and canal side wharves, which might be turned into lively waterfronts. Also London has many outlying centres, some with local economies of the size of many provincial cities. Here, too, the potential role of late-night entertainment in their development as truly metropolitan centres needs to be considered too. However, the health of the late-night entertainment industry in central London is also extremely important for several reasons:

- It is an integral part of the entertainment/culture/tourism sector which is one of the cornerstone's of the London economy, employing 310,000 people in 1999 (8% of the total workforce) (18). Although there has been a downturn in the tourism business, particularly in the number of transatlantic visitors since the recent terrorist attacks in the United States, the sector has grown strongly in the past and is expected to continue to make a major contribution to London's economic growth in the medium and long terms.
- Evening and late-night entertainment are an increasingly important part of London's tourism offer. Overseas visitors have long made up a substantial part of the audiences of London's theatres, but the growing importance of drinking and clubbing is shown by the length of the sections that are devoted to these subjects in the leading tourist guide books (19, 20, 21). Even the staid *Frommer's Guide* notes that "London's pulsating scene is the most vibrant in Europe" (22). The Government, too, has explicitly recognised the connection between late-night economy and tourism in its decision to move responsibility for Alcohol and Entertainment Policy from the Home Office to the Tourism Division of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS).
- To continue to succeed as a World City, London needs to have a wide range of world class attractions, including "diverse and cosmopolitan cultural activities which satisfy... the international community" (23). Late-night entertainment is very much part of that mix.

The Mayor is committed to the development of London as an exemplary sustainable World City. This is one of the foundations on which all his strategies including London's new *Economic Development Strategy* is based (24). While much of what qualifies London as a World City takes place during the normal working day, what happens out of hours is becoming more and more important. In the past, much of London's attraction has depended on its unmatched heritage and tradition, but, in a changing world, if it is to remain at the very top along with New York and Tokyo, and ahead of Paris, Frankfurt and Berlin (which are all eager to usurp its position), it needs to complement these with other, 'leading-edge' activities that appeal to other tastes. London has the advantage of great cultural diversity and it is now at the leading-edge of dance culture. According to the guide books "London remains the place to come if you want to party after dark". It is "Europe's dance capital - and it's still a port of call for DJs from around the globe." (19) In London "you'll party like you've never partied before" (20). "Clubbing is now an essential part of mainstream British culture" (21). As a recent review of the role of the creative industries in London's economy puts it: "London's reputation for being at the cutting edge of contemporary and street culture helps attract a new generation of visitors" (25). This is where London is very much in tune with the changing values, especially among the young, that underlie the "24 Hour Society".

A shift in values is taking place throughout the Western world. Research by Demos (26) identifies excitement, hedonism and risk taking as the attributes of a city which attract outsiders and generate creativity (the "buzz which is... such an attraction to millions of Londoners and visitors"). Young Londoners (under 45), and therefore London, are at the



leading-edge of this trend. If maintained, this will continue to give the city a competitive advantage over its rivals. Thus London's night life, and the excitement it generates, contributes both to its creativity and to its future as a World City.

However these values can also lead to anti-social behaviour. The challenge is to maintain the excitement and creativity while maintaining a high quality, safe public realm with a feeling of security and not damaging other interests. This is principally a management issue, but with the important caveat that creativity and excitement are not easy to manage with a corporate or institutional approach. It would be all too easy to 'manage' them out of existence, and not notice it until it was too late. Entertainment areas are also creative areas. They often start out as places where clusters of creative people live and work - which then attract in other cultural or entertainment uses (25). Indeed some creative areas seem to go through 'life cycles' (rather like businesses do) and the type of management they require will almost certainly vary according to the stage of development they have reached.

## 2.6 Life Cycle of Creative Areas

Cities change continually over time. Once busy or fashionable areas can go into decline and become run-down, only to be redeveloped and regenerated once more, but probably with a very different role and character than before. Thus areas, like products and businesses, can go through 'life cycles', which are partly driven by changing economic and social circumstances and partly by changes in property prices. In business terms, a life cycle is usually described as a progression of stages (start up, growth, maturity and decline), each with different characteristics and each requiring to be managed rather differently. While area life cycles are not necessarily the same, it is clear from the case studies that both Hoxton and Covent Garden as creative and entertainment areas are going through a type of cycle. Soho, too, can be thought of in the same terms.

The cycle starts when the area is out of fashion, blighted or neglected for some reason. Property prices are low, because institutional investors are unwilling to risk investing in it. If it has some underlying character - some fine buildings for example - and is reasonably accessible, it may attract artistic individuals to live and work there, because they can afford the space (27). Over time a creative colony may develop (although it is usually only easy to see this with hindsight). Creative people, like artists and designers, tend to group together as they are usually only principally involved in one aspect of turning their ideas into marketable products or services. Others in the group can supply some of the other necessary steps or processes.

Creative people often work creative hours and welcome reasonably priced entertainment. Pubs probably already exist. Over time cafes and restaurants run by independent operators may open up particularly if some of the artistic people start to do quite well, and they can start to attract in customers from outside. Gradually a wider range of creative businesses may be drawn in, through their contacts with the area. Small firms of architects, designers, people in the music business, ICT firms and the like will be

attracted while rents remain low. Galleries may open. Some businesses may even buy a building and start doing it up. Furthermore, entrepreneurs looking for cheap premises for nightclubs or other venues may be attracted to the place, and if the area really is run-down then the local authority may be only too willing to provide late-night entertainment licences without many onerous conditions attached.

These independent operators will no doubt have had other venues elsewhere and will make sure that they bring as many of their existing customers as possible with them. If the new venues set the right trends, more and more people will be drawn in by word of mouth, and the area will start to become quite lively by night as well as by day. It will be unofficially on the map. The area is still likely to have a shabby, rather 'wild west' feeling about it. Policing and enforcement are likely to be rather relaxed, if the activities are not causing a problem. (In practice an area that is in use is likely to have less crime than one that is derelict). Design conscious firms, and others run by young people, will continue to move in. In fast moving fields, some of the businesses may grow very rapidly, and other more established firms may be attracted to the area.

The next stage is for the area to be 'discovered' by the media and by estate agents. Property prices will start to rise, and eventually property professionals will be prepared to advise their institutional clients that the area is safe to invest in. The clubs and bars will be seen as fashionable, and more people will start coming to them.

Next, when the area has a proven market, larger corporate investors will start to move in, followed eventually by the chains. Existing pubs will be bought and converted into the operator's current 'concept', and more restaurants, clubs and other facilities will be opened. Property prices will have greatly increased, even though run-down buildings and sites may remain. The irony is that the original creative colony will almost certainly have been priced out, and will have moved on elsewhere (unless, for example, some subsidised workspace or live-work space has been created for them, perhaps through some form of development trust). The area is now 'mature'. The character of the place will have totally changed, and, as it becomes more successful, late-night noise, anti-social behaviour and crime will increase. There will be demands for more policing, better enforcement and proper management of the area. Many will think that the area has improved immensely, others will feel excluded from the new activities and regret the passing of the 'good old days'.

The 'good old days', however, were a period of transition and almost certainly not sustainable as they were. Given the rapid rate of change in the entertainment industry it is not even clear how long the 'mature' phase of the life cycle will last. If entertainment uses continue to grow, the area will eventually run into capacity problems, as in Soho. But if it does not remain popular it will sooner or later go into decline, or change its character and role yet again. The most logical way of remaining popular in a fast moving environment is to diversify so as to attract a wider customer base - particularly, in the case of late-night entertainment, one that does not rely so exclusively on young people and on alcohol, but that is still lively and attractive. This, however, is a stage that no late-night entertainment area in a British city has yet reached.

In summary late-night entertainment brings enjoyment to many; it creates jobs and business opportunities, and it can help to regenerate run-down areas. But it also creates, or compounds, problems - especially for local residents, the police and for people who are tempted to abuse alcohol or drugs. The following chapters analyse the size and location of London's evening and late-night economies, and then discuss the current regulatory framework and how it is changing.

### 3. LOCATION AND SCALE OF THE LATE-NIGHT ECONOMY

The West End, Soho and Covent Garden, is clearly a major hotspot of late-night activity, but there are other parts of London that are also busy late at night. In order to try to assess the location and scale of all London hotspots, three types of investigation were carried out:

- The Centre for Advanced Spatial Analysis (CASA) at University College London identified and analysed readily available London-wide datasets which were capable of being fed into a Geographic Information System (GIS). In doing this they were able to build on work previously done with URBED for DTLR.
- URBED undertook a brief survey of all the London boroughs.
- URBED also examined recent reports, commissioned by Westminster City Council, on the size of the entertainment industry in the West End.

#### 3.1 Mapping the Evening Economy (CASA)

It was agreed with the Project Steering Group that the main types of data that would be sought were:

- Economic
- Licensing (both liquor licences and entertainment licences)
- Crime
- Travel

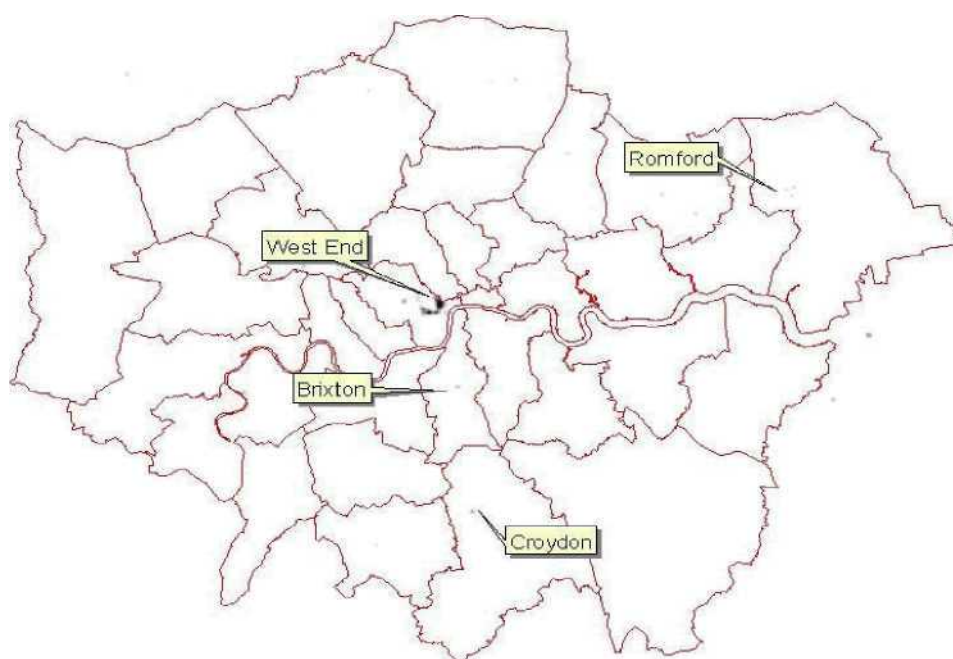
CASA's tasks were to identify suitable datasets, collect London-wide data, analyse and map it through a computer-based GIS system, and draw conclusions on the location and size of the evening, and if possible, the late-night economy. A report of CASA's work is given in Appendix A.

##### 3.1.1 Economic Data

One of the most comprehensive datasets on economic activity in Britain comes from the Office for National Statistics' (ONS) Annual Business Inquiry (ABI). It gives employment data on every business in the country which makes either PA YE or VAT returns (and this should include all business entities apart from some self-employed individuals). The data used in this research referred to employment in January 1999.

The ABI is one of the main datasets which underpins the production of the town centre statistics which DTLR will shortly publish. It is extremely detailed, both in terms of the

information it holds on business establishments and on their geographic location. It is thus able to provide employment totals aggregated by 5 digit Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) code for each unit postcode (although information at this level of disaggregation is not normally available to the public because of commercial confidentiality). Because the location of each unit postcode is known, employment data from the ABI can be mapped by single SIC code, or by aggregations of codes which will show the distribution of complete industries. For example, the density of employment in nightclubs in London can be shown by plotting data for the single SIC code 55401 (Licensed clubs with entertainment) as in **Figure 2**. While the West End shows by far the highest concentration, other centres, such as Brixton, Romford and Croydon, can also be seen.



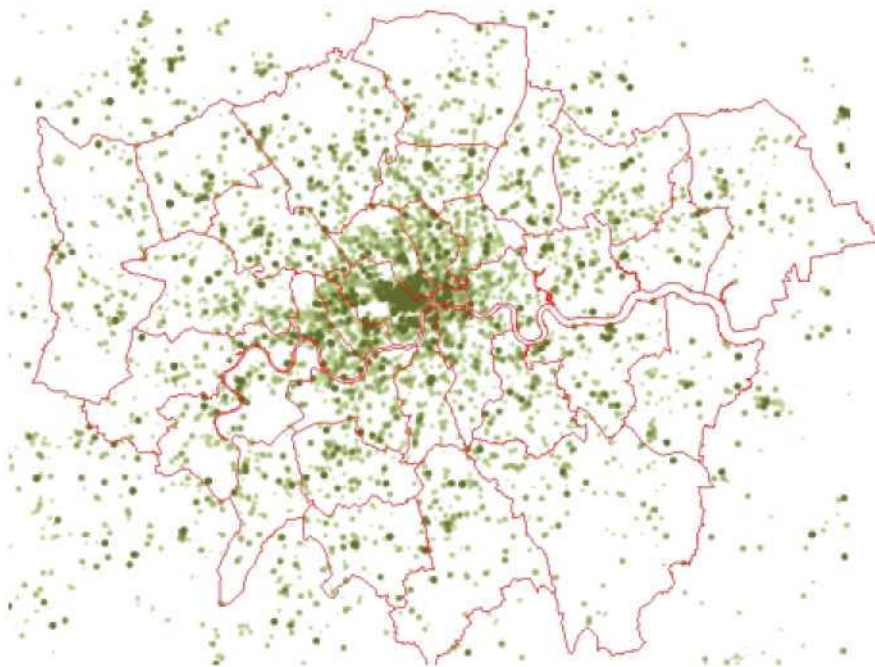
**Figure 2.** Density of Nightclub Employment in London (SIC 55401) (*Source: ONS (ABI 1999)*).

There are, however, many other types of business that are involved in the evening and late-night economies, including restaurants and licensed premises, hotels and other arts, culture and entertainment facilities. Employment in these categories can also be aggregated and mapped (**Figures 3a** and **3b**). On these maps the areas with the highest densities (or concentrations) of employment in the stated categories have the darkest colour. A list of the SIC codes included in each of these categories is given in Appendix A.

**Figure 3.** Density of Employment in London in Activities which relate to the Evening and Late-night Economies (*Source: ONS (ABI1999)*).

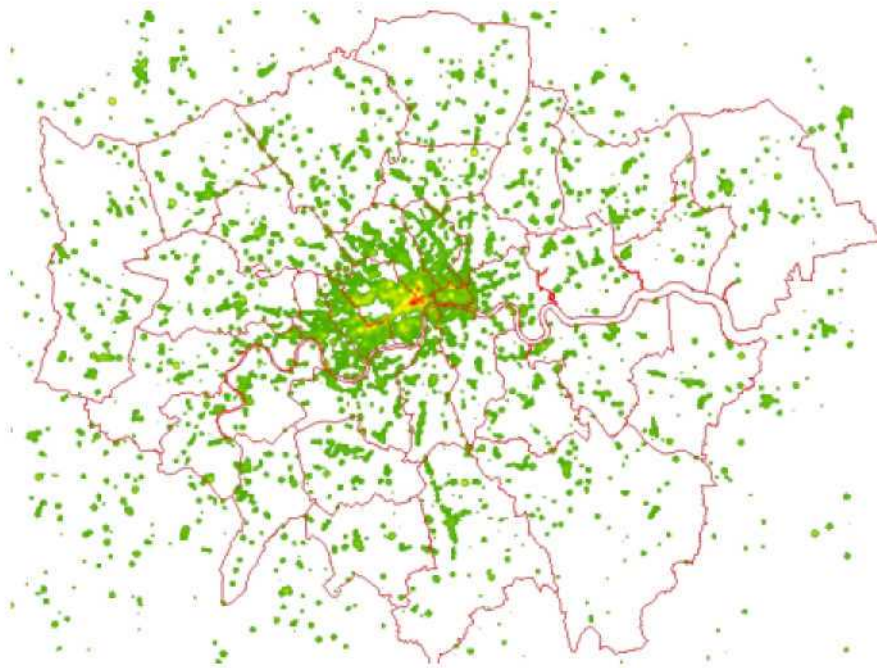


**Figure 3a.** Density of Employment in Restaurants and Licensed Premises.

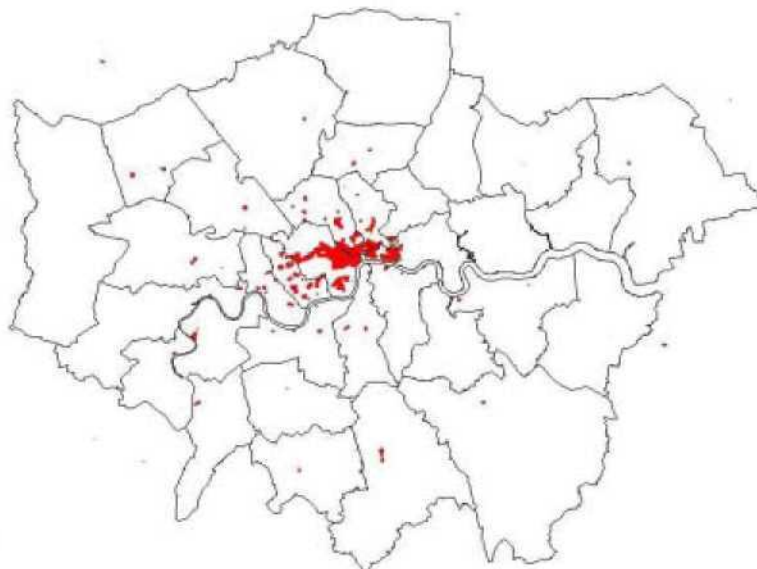


**Figure 3b.** Density of Employment in Arts, Culture and Entertainment.

The maps may be combined to give an overall picture of employment in activities which relate to the evening economy (**Figure 4**). It can be seen that while there is a great deal of activity in central London, the evening economy spreads out across the whole city, with most activity being in or around established town centres. However by using the GIS system to show only the peaks of the concentrations of employment, a smaller number of potential 'hotspots' can start to be seen (**Figure 5**).



**Figure 4.** Density of Employment in London's 'Evening Economy' (*Source: ONS, CASA*).



**Figure 5.** Major Concentrations of Employment in the 'Evening Economy' (*Source: ONS, CASA*).



The locations of the main concentrations of activity shown in Figure 5 are listed in **Table 1**, and grouped according to their size.

**Table 1**  
**Location of Main Concentrations of Employment in London's Evening Economy**

Central London (West End)

Central London (the City)

Victoria

Kings Cross

Camden

Knightsbridge/Sloane Street

Islington

Croydon

Earls Court

Shoreditch

Richmond

Notting Hill Gate

South Kensington

Ealing

Kensington

Chelsea

Chiswick

Portobello Road

Kingston upon Thames

Rayners Lane

Clapham

Fulham Broadway

Hampstead

Borough High Street

Clapham Junction

Swiss Cottage

Crouch End

Harrow

Brixton

Shepherd's Bush

*Source: CASA (based on ABI1999)*



Figure 5 and the list of names in Table 1 show that the principal areas of evening activity are mainly concentrated in the centre of the city and to a lesser extent in inner west London.

The great advantage of using employment data is that it does provide an objective measure of the scale of activity. However, employment is only a proxy for the numbers of people on the streets, which is the real measure of interest. Furthermore the ABI has no time dimension to it. It is therefore not possible to distinguish between say a restaurant that closes early (or does not open in the evening at all) and one that stays open until, say, midnight. So far as is known, no comprehensive employment dataset exists that could provide such information. Since many more establishments are open during the early evening than are open late at night, the employment data gives a picture of the evening economy rather than the late-night economy.

### 3.1.2 Licensing Data

Since every aspect of the late-night entertainment industry needs to have a licence, it should be possible to use the licensing records to obtain a comprehensive picture of the late-night economy. Liquor licences are granted by local magistrates (and the police hold records of them too) and other entertainment-related licences are issued by the local authorities (see **Chapter 4**). Unfortunately records of liquor licences appear to be available in paper form only. They would have to be individually geo-referenced, and entered into a suitable computer programme (such as a spreadsheet) to be ready to be fed into a GIS system. Efforts were made to obtain the required information, but it was found that this would have required that applications were made in writing to each Magistrates Court, and then it would only have been possible to obtain the required information by going to each court in person and copying the entries manually. It was not possible to do this within the scope of this project. (L. B. Camden found that it took a person working full time for two weeks to obtain the data on liquor licences in the borough and input it into a spreadsheet.)

Information on entertainments licensing is more readily available from local authorities, but it was found that it was usually in the form of typed sheets which did not always include the full amount of data that was required (such as full postcode, licensed capacity and hours of operation). It was possible to carry out some analysis for part of one borough (North Southwark) which showed a number of concentrations of late-night activities, for example around Borough High Street and around Elephant and Castle where the Ministry of Sound nightclub is located (see **Appendix A**), but it must be remembered that these did not show up as being particularly large hotspots in Figure 5.

Again, given the size and duration of this project it was not possible to obtain and analyse entertainments licensing data for the whole of London. Licensing data, however, ought to be one of the most important sources of information for measuring and monitoring the late-night economy, and it is disappointing to find that in 2001 the basic information is not held in a computer-compatible format. The move to a new licensing system in the

near future (see **Chapter 4**) ought to provide an opportunity for the new licensing authorities to prepare and make available comprehensive data on licences in a standardised digital format. This is a matter that should be taken up with the Department for Culture, Media and Sport as it applies nationally, and not just to London.

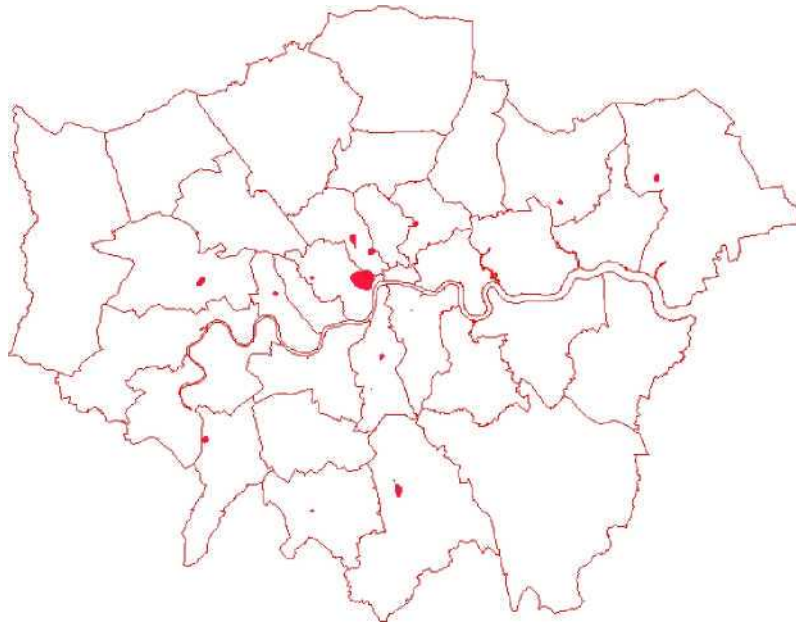
### 3.1.3 Crime Data

Where there are crowds of people, there are more likely to be certain types of crime, especially at night. Hotspots will often be troublespots too, and so crime statistics can provide evidence of the location of hotspots. The Metropolitan Police maintain comprehensive records on crime, in digital form, covering all of London except the City. Each time a police officer responds to a 999 call it is recorded on a central, computerised database. The entry gives the time of the incident, its geographical location (street and map reference) and the type of incident. The Metropolitan Police kindly provided a download from this database for 1999 (to match the ABI data discussed above; more recent crime data is available). Information for various types of 'street crime', aggregated by hour of day and map reference, was provided. The following types of incident were included:

- violence to the person
- robbery
- criminal damage
- shoplifting
- disturbance in a public place
- disturbance in licensed premises
- drunkenness.

By mapping the density of these street crimes which took place between midnight and 8 a.m., another picture of potential late-night hotspots emerged. While crime occurs very widely across the whole of London at night, there were again a few places which the GIS showed as standing out because of their high concentrations of late-night street crime (**Figure 6** and **Table 2**). These are likely to be the locations with the most late-night activity, and the West End clearly stands out among them.

Although this information refers only to street crime and does not include incidents of what is just anti-social behaviour, it would be reasonable to assume that the two are closely related. Therefore this map and list, which can be readily produced and updated, provide a simple way of visualising the main concentrations of late-night activity in London (although it could well be supplemented by aggregate licensed capacity information in the future). The data is of course well-known to the police, but should also be monitored by those in the GLA and elsewhere who are interested in promoting and managing London's late-night economy.



**Figure 6.** Late-night Street Crime Hotspots in London 1999 (*Source: Metropolitan Police, CASA; excludes City of London*)

**Table 2**  
**Locations with Highest Concentrations of Late-Night Street Crime in London.**

West End (concentrated in Soho)

Camden  
 Croydon  
 Ealing  
 Kingston upon Thames  
 Kings Cross

Brixton  
 Dalston  
 Ilford  
 Romford

Bayswater  
 Shepherd's Bush  
 Sutton

*Source: CASA (based on 1999 Metropolitan Police statistics)*

### 3.1.4 Transport Data

Another way of measuring late-night activity is to measure the number of people travelling late at night. Unfortunately sufficient quantitative data to enable the flows of people into and out of different locations in London late at night to be mapped is not available. However, Transport for London (TfL) does have useful datasets for the following modes of transport:

- **Underground.** The average number of people entering and leaving every station on the network is available. Figures 1a and 1b show the numbers of people leaving Covent Garden and Leicester Square stations on a Saturday. A clear upsurge of late arrivals can be seen around midnight. Unfortunately the Underground closes down for maintenance, just at the time that the late-night economy gets into its full swing.
- **Bus.** TfL has a dataset on bus usage which contains information on origins and destinations, by route, for every bus stop in London. The dataset however is only updated over a five year cycle, and since bus usage (and particularly night bus usage) has been increasing, it may not give up-to-date information. Furthermore extracting information from this dataset would have been a major undertaking, which was beyond the scope of this project.
- **Taxis and Minicabs.** TfL has commissioned research to identify the major concentrations of minicab activity and the routes taken by taxis. The results, however, were not available in time for this study, but they should be useful in providing information as to where additional taxi ranks and night bus capacity might be required.

While it is possible to combine the information that is available from the different sources into an embryonic overall evening and late-night activity map (see **Appendix A**), this is of limited value. Figures 5 and 6 show the main concentrations of London's evening and late-night economies respectively. However they are based on very different types of data (employment and crime statistics) and it is not intuitively obvious how these can be aggregated meaningfully. It is better to treat them separately. Until proper licensing data is available, these two sets of statistics are the ones which should be monitored. It is evident that there are many busy evening economy locations and comparatively few late-night ones. An important question to consider is whether further late-night activities can be grafted on to existing areas with strong evening economies without destroying their character.

## 3.2 Local Authority Survey

In order to supplement the analysis by CASA, and in case there was not sufficient London-wide data available to use a GIS system to map the evening and late-night

economies, URBED conducted a postal survey of the planning departments in the 33 London Boroughs (including the City of London), asking them:

- if there had been significant growth in evening/late-night activities in recent years and whether these were now considered to be a major issue in the borough
- to list locations that had significant concentrations of evening and/or late-night activities
- what the benefits and problems of evening/late-night activities were considered to be
- what special policies the borough had towards evening/late-night activities, and where (if anywhere) they were keen to promote such activities.

A copy of the questionnaire and an analysis of the findings are included as **Appendix B**.

Replies were received from 25 boroughs. While the great majority (80%) had seen significant growth in their evening/late-night economies, only just over half (52%) said that this had become a major issue for the borough. The boroughs for which it was a major issue were almost all inner London boroughs, or outer boroughs containing a Metropolitan Centre. Mostly the same centres as are listed in Tables 1 and 2 were given by the boroughs as being very busy in the evening or late at night. Some additional centres were mentioned, such as Barking, Bromley, Hammersmith, Stratford and Wimbledon, but since this is a subjective assessment it is not easy to judge how these compare in scale with those listed above.

There was broad agreement on the benefits (vitality, employment, re-use of redundant buildings) that the evening economy brings, and on the problems that it can cause, but the seriousness of those problems clearly varied from place to place. Most boroughs were still keen to encourage more evening and late-night activities, mainly in major or district town centres or in areas needing regeneration, but some also favoured commercial areas or areas around transport nodes. Only four of the respondents (Ealing, Enfield, Hammersmith and Fulham and Westminster) said that they would not encourage more late-night activities.

Few boroughs had special policies for dealing with evening or late-night activities. They were usually handled under policies for specific town centres. Several respondents commented that the main problem was how to reconcile evening and late-night uses with nearby residential uses, especially as they were being encouraged to promote more housing in town centres. There did not appear to be any clear guidance on this point.

The survey therefore broadly confirmed the findings of CAS A's analysis of the location of London's evening and late-night economies. It also confirmed the range of anti-social problems that evening and late-night activities bring, and that they affected many centres. This, however, does not give a real indication of the scale of late-night activities, but a recent study of the entertainment industry in the West End does show the size and growth of the industry in the centre of London.

### 3.3 Size and Growth of the Entertainment Industry in the West End

As CASA's analysis shows - and any Londoner knows - the West End is the centre of London's evening and late-night entertainment industry. It has 37 theatres (with a total of nearly 40,000 seats), 15 cinemas (with 52 screens and a combined capacity for some 15,000 filmgoers) and over 1,000 premises which are licensed to sell alcohol on the premises, as well as over 450 restaurants with licences to sell alcohol with meals. While the numbers of theatres, cinemas and restaurants have stayed approximately constant over the past decade, the number of licensed premises has risen by 40% since 1991 (13).

Furthermore the number of venues with a Public Entertainments Licence (which is required for late-night music and dancing (see **Chapter 4**) has risen from 91 (in 1992) to 278 (in 2000), an increase of over 200% in 8 years. The licensed capacity of these venues has risen from 33,400 to 127,900 in that time, an increase of nearly 100,000 or 280% (13). The majority of these venues close between 3 a.m. and 4 a.m. So it is this huge rise in the number of people, up to an extra 100,000, who are staying late into the night in dance clubs and bars - and not counting all the others who are hanging about on the streets outside - who represent the growth of the late-night entertainment industry in the West End. These are very large numbers indeed, and support the estimate given earlier of around half a million people going out clubbing each weekend. While this reflects the huge success of London's late-night entertainment industry it also shows the extremely rapid growth, and the size, of the problem with which the West End and other entertainment areas are now struggling to cope.

## 4. THE REGULATORY FRAMEWORK

There have always been opposing attitudes towards the night time economy. There is a "historical suspicion of the night as a site of excess, vice and crime" (28), and some people argue strongly that there is a real need to control late-night activities in order to prevent disorder. Others feel that regulation unnecessarily constrains their freedom to go out and enjoy themselves (29). While the tide is currently moving in favour of less regulation, night time activities will still continue to be governed by all the normal laws of the land that apply throughout the day (such as criminal law, employment law and planning law) with extra controls on the sale and consumption of alcohol and on late-night entertainment. Furthermore there will continue to be other forms of regulation - economic and social and cultural - that also affect the night time economy

The main avenues through which the law affects late-night entertainment are planning and licensing, and their stated aim is to achieve a balance between the various interests (30, 31), while protecting the public from crime or disorder, assuring safety and promoting sustainable development. However there are some other aspects of recent or impending legislation (such as that covering proposed changes in policing, the registration of minicabs, the control of the private security industry and the setting up of Business Improvement Districts) which may also have a significant impact on London's late-night economy. These are discussed below. However, it should also be realised that there are many other ways in which Government action interacts with the night time economy, for example through the amount of duty levied on alcohol, which are outside the scope of this report because the Mayor has no influence over them. Apart from raising over £12 billion per annum for Central Government, the duty and VAT on alcohol have a substantial effect on the price of alcoholic drinks, and "consumption of alcohol increases as alcohol becomes more affordable. This is especially true of young (18-25) drinkers." (32).

### 4.1 National and Regional Planning

The planning system regulates the development and use of land. In London, each borough is required to prepare a development plan (UDP) containing policies that will guide future development for the next ten years or so. Each UDP will in future need to be certified by the Mayor as being in general conformity with his *Spatial Development Strategy*, thus giving him considerable power to influence local policies. The plans that are currently being drawn up need to be able to anticipate changes that might take place over the next several years, which is not easy to do for such a fast changing business as late night entertainment. Furthermore there are some general problems that compound the difficulties:

- Local plans are the responsibility of councillors elected by local residents who, as the case studies and many reports show, and the seminar confirmed, can have strong personal views on the subject of late-night entertainment.

- What happens in London's Central Activities Zone (CAZ) (and at other key locations such as Heathrow Airport) can be crucial to its World City status, which has implications far beyond the boundaries of the boroughs concerned.
- The planning system only comes into operation when planning permission is sought. As far as entertainment venues are concerned, significant changes of use - and of intensities of use - can be made under the present system without the need for planning permission.
- In recent years, a sea change has taken place in planning policy, from 'zoning' to 'mixed-use' especially in town centres. There has also been a strong move to encourage more housing in town centres (particularly near transport nodes). Since late-night entertainment can be a source of disturbance for residents, great care needs to be taken in mixing such uses, but the available advice (in PPG 3 and PPG 6 (33, 7)) is not particularly clear about this.

The SDS gives the Mayor the opportunity to state his vision for London as a World City, (which must, of course, take into account the fact that a substantial population lives within the CAZ) and to make it clear that if there is a major conflict between the Mayor's view and local opinion on a matter that directly concerns the World City, the Mayor's view should prevail. The Government has recently issued a Green Paper on the reform of the planning system (34), and if possible the Mayor should lobby to have this principle enshrined in the proposed new system. While the interests of the residents of central London must be taken into account, it is not acceptable that they should have final control over the late-night entertainment industry in the heart of the World City, through their ability to unseat the local councillors who determine the local plans.

Even if this is accepted, however, the planning process will still have an important effect on the way the late-night entertainment industry develops. The current national system allows what are in fact major changes of use, for example from a sit-down restaurant to a large bar, to take place without requiring any planning application to be made. This is due to the current A3 Use Class (covering hot food takeaways, restaurants, cafes, snack bars, bars and pubs) being too wide. There are similar problems with the D2 Use Class (which includes nightclubs and dance halls). Proposals have already been made to the Government to redefine the A Use Class (and include nightclubs) as shown in **Table 3** (35).

Leaving aside the issue of allowing many non-retail uses (including small restaurants, cafes and bars) to be in the same use category as traditional shops, the essence of the proposed changes is to make a distinction between small A3 uses (up to 100 sq.m.) and large ones, and among large ones to distinguish between large restaurants (new Ab use) and large drinking establishments (new Ac use). These changes would certainly give planners more control, particularly over the creation of large drinking establishments, which are claimed not only to alter the character of an area (in comparison to a traditional pub) but also to be at the root of more problems on the streets due to the numbers of 'vertical drinkers' they serve. They should therefore be welcomed in principle.



Table 3  
Proposed New 'A' Use Classes

Use	Revised Use Classes Order	Revised GPDO
<p>Sale or provision of goods and services to visiting members of the public including</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• sale of goods and cold food, including through warehouse clubs</li> <li>• financial and professional services (including the sale of access to internet services) excluding health and medical services</li> <li>• sale of food and drink for consumption on premises, and including sandwich shops, subject to a maximum GLA of 100 sq m</li> </ul>	<b>Aa 'Mixed Retail' Uses</b>	Change to Aa plus single flat allowed
Sale of food and drink primarily for consumption on the premises, but including sandwich shops, where the GLA of the enclosed floorspace is greater than 100sq m	<b>Ab Restaurants and Cafes</b>	Change to Aa allowed
Sale of drink and food for consumption on premises where the primary purpose is the sale and consumption of alcoholic drink (including nightclubs) where the GLA of the enclosed floorspace is greater than 100sq m	<b>Ac Public Houses, Bars and Nightclubs</b>	Change to Aa and Ab allowed
Shops for the sale of hot food to be taken away (including drive-throughs)	<i>Sui generis</i>	Change to Aa and Ab allowed
Shops selling or displaying motor vehicles for sale	<i>Sui generis</i>	No change of use allowed
Launderettes, taxi businesses, car hire businesses, filling stations, scrapyards	<i>Sui generis</i>	No change of use allowed

*Source: Baker Associates, Review of the Use Classes Order, Report to the Department for Transport, Local Government and the Regions, September 2001.*

However it is not clear that the distinction between a large restaurant and a large drinking establishment can always be made, as many venues now perform both functions. Indeed some actually change their mode of operation during the day - from cafe to bar to restaurant to club - and are therefore sometimes referred to as 'chameleon bars'. Also the proposed limit of 100 sq.m. would not stop the conversion of some existing, but space-inefficient, pubs into much more intensively used bars. No doubt DTLR will, after consultation, issue detailed guidelines as to precisely which establishments will require the proposed Ac permission, and how to spot easily whether an Ab use has in fact been changed to an Ac use (or whether one property should have both permissions). Furthermore if planning and licensing policies are to be more closely integrated, as argued later, it might be possible to use a licensed capacity threshold of say 200 people to trigger the need for a new planning permission to be sought, thus giving planners more control over the actual use of a building rather than just over its physical configuration.

## 4.2 Local Planning

At a local level, Westminster City Council is taking the strongest line in trying to curb the growth of late-night activities. It has included in its draft UDP a number of policies to limit the growth of A3 uses, especially in defined "stress areas" including Soho/Covent Garden. (These policies were first introduced as interim measures in 2000.) New A3 uses, or extensions, will only be allowed in exceptional circumstances in "stress areas", and no new "large A3" uses (with capacity for over 200 people) will be allowed there at all. Also the Council is aiming for closing time in Soho/Covent Garden to be no later than 1.00 a.m., although it is emphasised that these restrictions apply only to new permissions, and not to existing ones (36). The reasons for these policies are that:

- the numbers (and particularly size) of bars and other late-night venues are changing the character of the area
- the numbers of people on the streets late at night, and the anti-social behaviour of some of them, are causing serious disturbance to residents, and making it difficult to service and maintain the area.

Westminster City Council, while acknowledging the area's major role as an entertainment centre, stresses the importance of retaining a residential population in the heart of London. (The population of the Soho/Covent Garden "stress area is currently estimated to be around 10,000, having grown about 15% in the last decade.) It states that it is following Government policy in trying to encourage more people to live in the centre. There is a fear that the numbers of late-night drinkers is "exceeding the capacity of the public service infrastructure" and is leading toward an "Ibiza culture" which will drive residents away (37). The change that is driving the growth in unacceptable behaviour is the growth in the number of A3 venues and this is what needs to be stopped.

While it is right to sympathise with the residents of the area and to deplore the unpleasant behaviour of some of the late-night revellers, the balance between the interests of

residents and those of London's late-night entertainment industry needs to be carefully struck. Local councils are elected entirely by residents, and may therefore, quite understandably, pay greatest attention to their interests. This may not in fact be in the best interests of London as a World City, in a world which, as previously explained, is become more hedonistic. There should be other ways to seek to control bad behaviour and to reduce the nuisance it causes without cutting back what should be an important and valued industry for central London. Furthermore a study of recent planning appeals in Westminster and Kensington and Chelsea regarding A3/D2 uses shows that in the last five years 52 out of 84 appeals (62%) have succeeded in overturning the council's original decision (whereas, overall, only one in three planning appeals is successful). For example in allowing an appeal in Covent Garden the inspector said:

"I also accept that the encouragement of mixed uses in Government guidance must imply acceptance of a noise climate for residential occupiers which may not be ideal" (38).

Westminster hope that if their new policies are enshrined in their UDP they will carry more weight at appeal. But the views of residents should be only one factor in decisions affecting the nature and size of London's late-night economy.

### 4.3 Licensing

While there are many types of licences, the two that most greatly affect the late-night economy are:

- liquor licences - issued by local magistrates to allow the sale of alcohol
- public entertainments licences (PELs) - issued by local authorities to authorise "public dancing or music" (if performed by more than two live performers) "or any other public entertainment of the like kind" (39).

Other licences, including those for theatres, cinemas, sex establishments and night cafes (which include late opening takeaways) can also be relevant.

Everyone agrees that the present licensing systems are archaic, and "often uncoordinated, complex, bureaucratic and overlapping" (40). A White Paper proposing radical reforms was published in 2000 (31), and a commitment was made in the Labour Party Manifesto for the 2001 General Election to reform the licensing laws in England and Wales. (Scotland's liquor licensing laws were reformed in 1976.) However, no bill was included in the 2001 Queen's Speech, and there can be no guarantee that there will be space for one in 2002. Assuming that a bill were introduced in 2002 and received Royal Assent in the summer of 2003 it would still take at least a year to make the arrangements required for the new system, and so the actual changes are not likely to come into effect much before the start of 2005.

The features of the current systems which attract most criticism are:

- The standard closing time of 11 p.m. (10.30 p.m. on Sundays) for drinking establishments which do not have specially extended licences is too early, especially in larger town centres. This is regularly lampooned in tourist guide books\*, and is also said to contribute to 'binge drinking' (41) as customers hasten to consume as much alcohol as they can before closing time.
- As most drinking establishments close at the same time, a large number of people who have been drinking are forced out onto the streets at the same time and against their will. This is a recipe for trouble.
- The systems are too complex, confusing and inconsistent.
- The only sanction is to revoke a licence completely, which most authorities are reluctant to do. This encourages infringements of licensing conditions.
- The liquor licensing system fails to provide local accountability.
- Restaurants can only serve alcohol until 11 p.m. unless they obtain a Supper Hour Certificate, which extends the time for serving alcohol with a meal until midnight. (However a person found drinking without a meal will nullify the certificate.)
- Late licences for serving alcohol in a bar or club (Special Hours Certificates) can only be obtained by venues that already have a Public Entertainments Licence. Thus late-night drinking is only possible when it is ancillary to the entertainment (music and dancing) - except, in a hotel, for those staying at the hotel and their bona fide guests, but the guests may not purchase the drinks. The effect of this is that virtually the only places where late-night drinks are available are noisy nightclubs.
- Currently liquor licences cost only £30 while PELs may cost thousands of pounds. Thus in effect the entertainment is being taxed, through the licensing system, rather than the alcohol - which is agreed to be the cause of most of the problems which arise from late-night entertainment.

Under the new system, the local authority will be responsible for licensing individuals to sell alcohol and for licensing premises which sell alcohol, provide public entertainment or provide refreshment at night. Premises licenses will be issued for the life of the business's operations at those premises, but the conditions attached to the licence could be varied on application by the licence holder or, in certain circumstances, by the police. It will also be possible for the local authority or others to seek a review of the licence on the grounds of increased crime, increased public nuisance, a new threat to public safety or a relevant change of circumstances.

\* The first page of the Introduction to Lonely Planet's Guide on *London* says: "And let's face facts: a city where the pubs and restaurants close at a time when the rest of Europe is choosing its first course simply cannot be the 'coolest city' in the world" (20).

The main thrust of the new proposals, however, is that standardised opening (and closing) hours should be ended. An operator may propose to stay open up until any hour, even to stay open 24 hours a day. However, the local authority can set conditions to be attached to a licence, including setting limits on operating hours, but such conditions can only be imposed in so far as they relate to preventing crime and disorder, undue nuisance or threats to public safety. The White Paper (quoting research funded by the UK's leading drinks companies) believes that the new proposals will result in a spread of closing times from around 11 p.m. in residential areas to 2-3 a.m. in urban centres. This will result in a more gradual dispersal of drinkers (at times more of their choosing), with less binge drinking and significant reductions in drink-related offences, nuisance and noise (31).

The White Paper also proposes a new system of graduated sanctions and punishments for breaches of the terms of a licence. It also recommends that licences should be substantially cheaper than they are at present.

While there is widespread support for a more flexible and accountable system of licensing than at present, not everyone shares the White Paper's optimism that abolishing the present standardised closing time will automatically lead to a reduction in alcohol-related problems. Both the Institute of Alcohol Studies (formerly the Temperance Society) and Alcohol Concern have voiced anxiety over the potential for increased consumption if the licensing laws are relaxed too rapidly, leading not only to increased disorder, but also to increases in long-term health problems (42, 43). The evidence of what happened after licensing hours were deregulated in Scotland in 1976 is confusing (mainly because the discretion given to local licensing boards means that there is no one 'Scottish experience' but rather a 'patchwork quilt' of different licensing policies). Evidence from the criminology literature, however, suggests that the immediate post-liberalisation period (1976-1980) was associated with a "stepped increase in alcohol-related violence" (32). Edinburgh had a particular problem when it introduced 'zoning' whereby there could be a two-hour closing time difference between different sides of some streets. Only later, when a more co-ordinated 'Safer Edinburgh Project' was introduced, with higher visibility police patrolling and a range of practical crime prevention measures, did licensing-related crimes ultimately fall.

Some recent reports try to draw conclusions from foreign cities, where in general licensing regimes are much more relaxed, and late night drinking is not seen as causing any great problems. It is pointed out, however, that there tends to be a different, less 'yobbish', drinking culture in these cities and that a great deal more effort is made, and money spent, on policing and managing the main late-night entertainment area (as for example is done successfully in this country in Leeds). However it should be noted that although the White Paper allows licence fees to be charged to cover inspection and enforcement of conditions, the aim is to keep the costs of the license fee down and a maximum amount would be set centrally. At present there is no plan to allow any charges for the costs of managing the surrounding area or of providing additional late-night transport etc. The Government sees licensing policy as playing an important role in the management of the tourism industry. However it must be made plain that anti-social behaviour on the streets and a poorly managed environment will eventually put tourists off. Some way must therefore be found

of providing resources to manage and service the areas in which late-night entertainment takes place, otherwise tourists will be driven away.

#### 4.4 Policing and Security

The Metropolitan Police play an extremely important part in regulating the late-night entertainment industry, being responsible for maintaining order in the streets and for combating crime, such as drug dealing, in clubs and other venues as well as on the streets. Yet the police in London are very understaffed and, particularly in central London, have had to focus their efforts on national issues such as anti-terrorism. In the West End there are only 13 officers available to police an estimated 125,000 people out drinking late at night (44). Thus although the police now have extra powers under the Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001 to confiscate alcohol from people drinking in the street in designated areas and to close any licensed premises immediately in case of disorder or serious disturbance, they do not in fact have the resources in central London to do more than they are already doing - and anyway it is disturbance and anti-social behaviour on the streets, away from the venues, that is the main problem.

A White Paper on police reform (45) has just been published which gives a commitment to increasing police numbers and, more importantly ensuring that more of their time is spent out on the beat. One of the aims of the new policy is to "target.. the anti-social behaviour and disorder which blights so many neighbourhoods", and to do this the White Paper contains proposals for developing an 'extended police family'. This would include developing arrangements under which accredited (and trained) private security staff and, where they exist, street wardens would work in partnership with the police to tackle anti-social behaviour and local crime. Reported crime has decreased in areas where warden schemes are already operating. Although nothing specific is said on the question of funding, these types of arrangements could be very significant for areas with extensive night time activities as there are already large numbers of security staff working in the late-night entertainment industry and many local authorities are considering employing wardens in busy areas.

Security in licensed premises, especially at weekends, is provided by door staff or 'bouncers', and a licence can specify various conditions about them, including their training. In the past bouncers have been seen as being more part of the security problem than part of the solution, but registration and training schemes, supervised by the police, have been introduced in many areas. The Private Security Industry Act 2001 will set up a national scheme for vetting, training and registering 'door supervisors', who will be subject to a national code of conduct. The code is currently being discussed and it could well include requirements to help the police and others maintain good behaviour in the immediate vicinity of the premises concerned, thus helping to provide the extra security on the streets which is required.

Improved street lighting and Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) are other important tools for increasing security, especially as CCTV often requires better lighting to be installed if

it is to work effectively. Research in different parts of London by the Institute of Criminology at Cambridge University has shown that lighting improvements can markedly reduce incidents of crime and disorder in urban streets. Just as importantly, it also greatly reduces the fear of crime, which is often out of proportion to the actual risk involved (46). Leeds city centre has a very effective CCTV system (with an operating staff of 13 providing 24 hour cover) and lighting which is both exciting and helps to make the whole area feel safe. In London CCTV is usually installed in shopping areas (including Oxford Street) and while some late-night centres like Croydon are covered, a system for the West End is still only being planned.

## 4.5 Transport

It is widely agreed that London's public transport has fallen behind that of its main rivals, and as long ago as 1991 this was seen as a potential threat to its World City status (23). Transport for London (TfL) already has control of the bus system, but responsibility for the Underground will not be transferred to it until 2002, and then it will be subject to conditions imposed by the PPP agreement with the private investors who are to take over. Because the Underground closes comparatively early, night buses have a particularly important role to play in dispersing late-night revellers and the staff who work in the bars and nightclubs. Through its Transport Strategy, TfL is committed to the provision of transport to support London's 24-hour economy (47). Through the Public Carriage Office (PCO), TfL is also responsible for taxis and minicabs in London. In an effort to increase the numbers of black cabs that are available at night, their fare structure has just been revised. However minicabs, which can undercut taxis on price, have also become an important part of the late-night transport scene. They undoubtedly fill a gap, but they have been widely criticised for their behaviour. In the past minicabs in London have not been licensed, but under the Private Hire Vehicles Act 1998 TfL is first licensing minicab operators, and will then license individual drivers and vehicles. This will give an opportunity to bring in a code of conduct, which could lead to drivers losing their licences if they did not comply with it. The number of enforcement officers at the PCO is being increased to 40.

## 4.6 Business Improvement Districts

Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) are an American concept. They establish private sector organisations to organise and manage the provision of additional public services in a defined local area. They are funded by a compulsory charge on local property owners (collected like a supplementary rate), but they can only be established if a majority of the property owners in the particular area in question vote in favour of it.

They have been very successful in North America, where as well as improving an area they are also seen as helping to increase property values. For several years there have been calls to adapt then introduce them over here (48), particularly in retail areas, but this

will require legislation. They clearly would have great relevance, too, to areas with concentrations of night time activity, if the extra costs of managing and servicing the wider area cannot be covered by licensing fees. The Prime Minister has given a commitment to introduce legislation to support BIDs or their British equivalent, and pilot projects are under way in five areas of London (including the area around Coventry Street, between Piccadilly Circus and Leicester Square) to work up suitable schemes. These should include proposals for managing the night time economy, which might require a separate funding formula perhaps linked to alcohol sales or licensed capacity.

## 4.7 European Law

European law is also likely to have an increasing impact on the night time economy. Already Working Time Regulations limit the number of hours which a person can work each day to eight hours if three or more of those hours are normally worked between 11 p.m. and 6 a.m. (49). There are also moves within the EU to try to harmonise excise duties on alcohol.

Finally, now that the European Convention on Human Rights has been incorporated into British law under the European Human Rights Act 1998, some of its provisions may be more widely used, for it has now become unlawful (under Section 6 of the Act) for a public authority to act in a way which is incompatible with a Convention right. The parts of the Convention that are most relevant to the night time economy are:

- Article 8: "Everyone has the right to respect for his private and family life, his home and his correspondence". This has been used recently to object to the way the regulation of night flights into Heathrow Airport was changed because of the disturbance they cause, and some residents' groups are hoping to use it in their campaigns for a good night's sleep in late-night entertainment areas
- Article 1 of the First Protocol refers to the right to enjoy possessions, which can include licences.

One commentator believes that it "seems inevitable that there will be a conflict between an applicant's right to enjoy his licence and a resident's right for respect for his home and family life" (39). This remains to be tested in the future.

Thus there are a whole range of regulations which affect the night time economy, and many of these are undergoing reform. While there may well be some uncertainty during the period of change, it is likely that in the near future - provided that the necessary funding mechanisms can be put in place - there will be a greatly improved framework for regulating the late-night economy. In the meantime, however, there are a number of issues which still remain to be tackled, and it would also be wise to ensure that arrangements are in place to do so before the main changes (especially to the licensing laws) come into force.



## 5. ISSUES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The huge and rapid growth in London's late-night entertainment industry, and efforts to curb it in the heart of the World City, raise several potentially strategic issues for the Mayor and for London as a whole. Indeed there is a remarkable amount of agreement as to what the key issues are as the background research and case studies carried out for this project confirm. (The case studies are summarised in **Appendix C.**) Also there appears to be general agreement on what a desirable outcome would be, as was borne out by the seminar "Where to Encourage Late-Night Activities in London" which was organised as part of this research project. (A report of the seminar can be found in **Appendix D.**)

### 5.1 Key issues

The entertainment industry is of huge importance to London, and the recent growth of the late-night economy has been a great success - bringing enjoyment to very large numbers of people; generating profits for many businesses; creating new jobs; enhancing London's reputation as one of the world's leading cities; and even raising substantial revenues for the Treasury. However, it is over concentrated in the West End, where adequate mechanisms are not in place to manage it, while other parts of the capital are missing out on the potential advantages it can bring. It is dominated by young people and by alcohol and other drugs which, given Britain's drinking culture, leads all too easily to anti-social behaviour and crime on the streets. If unchecked, this could deter others from coming to the city centre at night to such an extent that it undermined other businesses in the area, as well as causing serious long term health and other problems. Many local residents already find the situation intolerable, and there is a growing, unresolved conflict of interest between the public policy aims of encouraging more people to live in the centres of towns and cities while also encouraging mixed-use development, often including entertainment, in those areas. Finally, ways must be found of co-ordinating all the functions that are required to plan, manage, diversify, service and police late-night entertainment areas (including, where relevant, safeguarding the interests of local creative enterprises) and a robust mechanism needs to be established for funding the necessary extra costs involved.

It is clearly in the interests of London as a whole that these problems should be sufficiently resolved so that the city may continue to enjoy the benefits of a vibrant and successful late-night industry, as befits a World City, without it causing too much disruption to the life of the areas in which it is mainly concentrated. There will naturally be disagreements over how this balance should be struck. However it is evident that late-night entertainment, like alcohol, has become part of mainstream British culture (and, as previously discussed, this is being driven by several fundamental changes in the way people are choosing to live their lives). It would seem sensible to concentrate on gaining the benefits of late-night entertainment, and managing its problems, rather than trying to control it too rigidly.

The difficulty lies in developing and co-ordinating all the practical actions that will need to be taken - in a fast moving field, where several parts of the regulatory framework are being fundamentally changed, and where many different organisations and agencies are involved. Furthermore it is evident that many of the bodies that are responsible for looking after areas with late-night activities incur the costs of doing so but receive no direct benefit from the success of the industry. Thus while late-night entertainment is a vigorous and successful industry that contributes to both London's prosperity and its international reputation, there are several groups who see it primarily as a public nuisance which ought to be curbed - rather as professional football was viewed only a few years ago. Local passions can run high, and there is a need for a wider, balanced approach to ensure that 'the baby is not thrown out with the bathwater'. The Mayor is well placed to take such a view and to promote the actions needed to tackle the key issues. While he does not have the power or resources to solve all the problems, and must work with others, he could take the lead in:

- setting out a positive vision for late-night London
- helping to resolve current conflicts in the West End
- promoting co-ordination of planning, licensing and management policies
- developing strategic guidance to help avoid conflicts between mixed uses
- encouraging the spread of late-night activities to other suitable locations in London
- encouraging the diversification of the evening and late-night economies, so that they are not so dominated by young people and by alcohol and other drugs
- improving late-night transport
- combating anti-social behaviour and drink and drug abuse
- ensuring that many of London's unemployed or underemployed have a chance to secure jobs and training in the leisure industry
- promoting good practice in managing late-night entertainment areas
- helping to develop a mechanism through which the management of the late-night economy can be reliably funded.

## 5.2 Setting out a positive vision

As people continue to expect to get more out of life, there is a demand for more services to be provided later and later into the evening - and sometimes throughout the night. While there are health risks associated with night working (50), there is no fundamental reason why an increasing range of services should not be available at hours which suit employers, workers and customers provided that they comply with existing regulations and do not disturb other people.

*The Mayor should therefore have no objection in principle to the extension of activities beyond traditional hours in suitable locations, provided that the potential effects on worker health are understood and mitigated, that employees are not made to work excessive or unsocial hours against their will, and that the activities do not cause disturbance to others.*

The Mayor is committed to the development of London as an exemplary World City. To continue to succeed as a World City, London needs to have a range of world class attractions, including those that are seen as being at a leading-edge and that are particularly attractive to young people (from among whom will come the driving forces of the future). Late-night entertainment, with its overtones of excitement and danger, and at which London is currently at the leading edge, fulfils this role, but can cause substantial disturbance to others.

*The Mayor should set out a positive and optimistic vision for late-night London. He should take a positive but balanced view regarding the late-night entertainment industry. He should welcome the contribution that a flourishing late-night entertainment industry makes to London, while recognising the problems that it can cause. He should declare his confidence that the problems can be overcome and his determination to see that they are energetically tackled. He should invite all the interests concerned to help him make the streets of late-night London attractive, safe and exciting.*

## 5.3 Helping resolve current conflicts in the West End

The most acute problem has arisen in the West End, London's major late-night entertainment 'hotspot'. It is a well-established entertainment area with many theatres, cinemas and restaurants as well as pubs, bars and clubs. It has a substantial working population; it is highly accessible by public transport; it is close to the major shopping areas; and it is firmly on the tourist trail. However the huge concentration of people in the area, particularly late at night and particularly at weekends, is causing concern.

Many reports show, and our case study of Covent Garden confirms, that local residents have noted a marked increase in late-night noise and a decrease in standards of behaviour over the last few years. The police were called to over 2,500 'disturbances in a public place' in Soho in 2000/1 (13), and complaints to Westminster City Council have become more persistent. The Council has found the area much more difficult to keep clean and to

service. There is a shortage of police. The Underground closes earlier than many people want to go home. Environmental standards are falling well short of those expected in the centre of a World City, and there is anecdotal evidence that many Londoners, especially older people, now try to avoid the West End in the evening because of its overcrowding and its unpleasant atmosphere. This could have serious consequences for central London's theatres and restaurants, which are also an extremely important part of the city's economy.

As described in Chapter 3, the City Council has recently introduced a number of new planning and licensing policies aimed at curbing the growth of the industry. This has provoked fierce opposition from the licensed traders and even criticism from the London press (51). It has also resulted in several lawsuits, many of which have gone against the Council. In addition, the Council - following general Government policy - has encouraged new residential development even in the Soho/Covent Garden 'Stress Area', the population of which has increased by around 15% to almost 10,000 in the past 10 years (13). It has particularly encouraged mixed-use developments, including residential use where possible (30).

Three reports on the situation in the West End have recently been published (13, 52, 53). All of these have stressed the importance of taking a co-ordinated and pro-active **area management approach** to dealing with the problems caused by late-night entertainment. All the agencies need to work together (including planning, licensing, policing, transport, servicing etc.) and it is essential that the private sector operators are involved as well. This will enable solutions to be found to many of the acknowledged problems in the streets in a more constructive and effective way. Westminster has accepted such an approach and has agreed to start implementing it in Leicester Square. This approach should also fit in well with the proposed BID (Business Improvement District) system which has been so successful in the United States in places like Times Square, the hub of New York's entertainment district, and which the Government wishes to see introduced in Britain. The Council is still, however, pursuing its new planning and licensing policies.

*The Mayor should support the idea that a co-ordinated area management approach should be taken in areas with late-night entertainment activities and that it should be adequately funded (see below). While policies should seek to address the legitimate concerns of established residents who are disturbed by late-night entertainment activity, their interests cannot be allowed to control policy relating to such an important aspect of London's role and image as a World City. It must be possible for responsible citizens and visitors to enjoy a late-night drink, and other entertainment, in the heart of London.*

Furthermore one of the recent reports, a study by Tony Travers of the London School of Economics (commissioned by the Westminster Property Owners Association), indicates that there may not be the same depth of dissatisfaction with the late-night entertainment activities among all the residents of Soho and Covent Garden (53).

- A poll by MORI found that 72% of residents of the Stress Area were satisfied with the area and 17% were dissatisfied, which was not very different from the satisfaction levels found in London as a whole (79% satisfied; 16% dissatisfied).
- The main disadvantages of living in the area were seen as drugs (40%), traffic noise (25%) and litter (25%). Noise from the street (18%) and noise from entertainment venues (15%) came comparatively far down the list.
- Demand for residential property in the heart of the entertainment districts is very strong, and prices have kept pace with the rises in the rest of central London.
- Soho/Covent Garden has one of the lowest proportions (17%) of council tenants who wish to transfer to another part of the borough.

No doubt the amount of disturbance will vary according to the precise location. However, the report concludes that although there are problems associated with the area, there is no evidence that it has become an impossible place in which to live, and that there are a number of steps (in the fields of management and service provision) that could be taken to ameliorate the quality of life within the West End (53).

There clearly is both crime and anti-social behaviour in the West End, and the fact that many residents are prepared to tolerate it does not excuse it, but it is also widely accepted that increased management, policing and servicing of the area could almost certainly improve the situation. *The Mayor should work with Westminster City Council in tackling the problems that the concentration of late-night activities in the West End is causing.* He should seek to engage the Metropolitan Police Authority in this particular issue, and he should also make it clear that he is supporting a range of practical actions (e.g. encouraging the spread of late-night activities to other areas, and encouraging diversification of the late-night economy) which should help reduce the pressure on the West End.

As an example, the pedestrianisation of the north side of Trafalgar Square through the World Squares project, which is managed by the GLA, should provide an opportunity to encourage some of the people who congregate in and around Leicester Square to spread out further, both into the Square and towards Charing Cross Station. This would help relieve congestion in Soho and Covent Garden. Careful attention therefore needs to be given to making Trafalgar Square attractive and convivial at night, as well as during the day. The square's role as the hub of the night bus service makes its role especially important, and it should be well lit and well patrolled. The provision of a range of non-alcoholic refreshments late at night would also provide a welcome alternative to what is normally available in the West End.

One key point remains, however. If the improved management and servicing of the area are not effective, or the efforts to encourage the growth of late-night entertainment elsewhere in London, do not succeed in stemming the growth in the numbers of people coming to the West End, should Westminster Council have some power to set 'drinking

capacity limits' for parts of Soho and Covent Garden? This research has not found any definitive answer to this question, or indeed how such a limit could be fairly implemented. The West End is extremely accessible and will no doubt continue to attract visitors and revellers. Apart from residents there are many others (e.g. businesses, creative industries, independent shops, theatres, cinemas, restaurants) whose interests could be seriously damaged if the level of crime and anti-social behaviour, and the number and size of bars and clubs, continued to grow rapidly. It could then be strongly argued that the overall, mixed character of the area was being threatened. Westminster's new UDP will need to last for at least a decade, and particularly given that the licensing laws will be dramatically changed during this period, it is not easy to forecast what the overall effect on the West End will actually be. Yet Westminster's recent attempts to limit capacity have not been successful nor addressed the real issues. Nevertheless the question of how, and whether, to set drinking capacity limits for particular areas remains unresolved. It requires further consideration.

#### 5.4 Promoting a co-ordinated planning and management approach

The local authority survey and the case studies indicate that the problems found in the West End, particularly the potential conflict between residential uses and late-night entertainment uses and the need for much more intensive management of late-night entertainment areas, also occur elsewhere. Local authorities appear to have been caught unawares by the growth in activity and its consequences. However in Ealing, where a particular effort has been made to integrate planning, entertainments licensing and liquor licensing - and to involve the local businesses - the situation appears to be more under control. The three Westminster reports referred to above all call for much more co-ordination between planning, licensing and all aspects of managing the areas concerned.

Each borough is responsible for developing and implementing its own planning, licensing and management policies with regard to evening and late-night entertainment activities. However, *through the London Plan (Spatial Development Strategy) and other means, the Mayor should seek to ensure that boroughs develop co-ordinated planning, licensing and management policies for areas with significant amounts of late-night entertainment activity. He should also seek to ensure that these will be supported by his own economic development, transport and other policies.* In particular:

- Each borough should have specific policies in its UDP for evening and late-night entertainment uses, setting out the objectives to be achieved and the principal means of achieving them. The objectives should broadly support the Mayor's vision.
- While late-night entertainment mainly takes place in private premises, the problems that can be associated with it - noise, anti-social behaviour and crime - mainly occur in the streets. Careful consideration needs to be given as to how the public realm will be managed. In places with a significant amount of late-night activity an overall 'area management approach' will normally be required, and areas in which it is intended that late-night use should be concentrated or encouraged to locate should be

designated as '**Entertainment Management Zones**' (EMZs). Planning, licensing, servicing, enforcement, policing, transport and other policies for these zones should be co-ordinated. They should cover not just the area in which the entertainment facilities are located but also any adjacent areas in which people are likely to congregate late at night, or into which late-night activities might be permitted to spread in the foreseeable future. In some cases EMZs may coincide with existing designated areas such as town centres. In other cases their boundaries may need to be specially drawn following an environmental assessment which pays particular attention to how the area is used especially at night.

- Each proposal - for a change of use or for a licence - should however be assessed individually. Not all locations within an EMZ may be suitable for late-night activity, particularly in the light of other established uses, including residential use. Careful attention should be given to noise, and how different frontages are likely to be affected by it. Planning and licensing policies should seek the inclusion in any development of appropriate noise mitigation measures from the outset (ranging from fitting noise limiters to sound systems to securing effective sound insulation to nearby properties - including double glazing etc.). Buildings themselves can screen noise and some frontages can be relatively quiet even when others in the same neighbourhood are likely to be very noisy. The latter could possibly be designated as 'late-night frontages'. These might, for example, be busy main roads, or they might be streets with various types of noise generating activity on them, including perhaps evening and late-night entertainment.
- Similarly there may be a case for a late-night entertainment use to be permitted outside an EMZ, but in that case it would be up to the applicant to take responsibility for the management of the surrounding area, or to take steps to ensure that no disturbance or nuisance occurred in the vicinity (e.g. by employing neighbourhood wardens or paying for additional policing or servicing).

The essence of EMZs is that they are areas which require particularly careful planning management, rather in the same way that it was found that town centres required special management and which led to the establishment of many Town Centre Management Initiatives. The requirements for managing EMZs successfully are likely to be similar, but not the same as for town centre management. The need to develop and enforce effective licensing policies, and to be able to cope with people who are the worse for wear through drink, go beyond what is normally thought of as town centre management. But the ability to co-ordinate the policies and interests of a range of players, including the private sector, and to use 'management through dialogue' techniques as well as enforcement, will certainly be shared. There is already some good practice in dealing with the problems of late-night entertainment areas (see below) and this will need to be built upon.

Planning and licensing are important aspects of the overall management of entertainment activities and policies in these fields should be closely co-ordinated too. It is widely agreed that the 1987 Use Classes Order defines the A3 Class too widely as discussed in

Chapter 4. The proposed changes will enable local planners to have more control over the way entertainment venues are used (for example, as restaurants or bars), which can have a major impact on the clients they attract and the problems that they cause. They are also likely to provide some protection for traditional restaurants and smaller establishments, which will make it easier to maintain a range of different types of entertainment uses and so help to increase diversity. *The Mayor should welcome the proposed changes to the A3 Use Class in principle.*

Radical changes to the licensing laws are expected to be introduced soon, as outlined in Chapter 4. Their effects are not entirely clear, but any relaxation of controls is likely to lead to an increase in consumption, at least in the short term. It is therefore important that local authorities (as the new licensing authorities) review their licensing policies - and the management mechanisms required to make them work - before the changes take place. Concerns have been expressed that the new law on licensing may unduly limit the types of conditions that can be attached to licences when the new system comes into operation. *The Mayor should urge the boroughs to start reviewing their licensing policies now*, as for example L. B. Camden is doing, and put them on a consistent and reasoned footing before the law changes. As with planning policies, licensing policies should set out the types of conditions that would be expected to apply to various circumstances, and the reasoning that lies behind these policies. The conditions will need to be justified in terms of "preventing crime and disorder", "undue nuisance" or "threats to public safety", the only 'considerations' which the White Paper says will be allowed (31). When the boroughs have completed their reviews, and before the new Licensing Bill is published (in late 2002 at the earliest), *the Mayor should convene a London Licensing Conference to review, and if necessary co-ordinate, the boroughs' proposed licensing policies* and to decide if there are other considerations which ought to be included in the Bill from a London perspective. The Mayor, together with London MPs, would be in a good position to lead any lobbying of the Government that might be required to amend the proposed legislation.

Setting licensing policies locally can potentially cause problems at the boundaries between different policy areas. (For example, the boundary between Camden and Brent runs, in part, up the middle of Kilburn High Road.) *The Mayor should seek to ensure that boroughs' licensing policies remain co-ordinated across borough boundaries.* This could be done by periodically reconvening the London Licensing Conference to review issues and exchange information. *The GLA might also maintain a forum on its website, through which information on licensing and other aspects of the late-night economy could be regularly exchanged.*

## 5.5 Avoiding conflict over mixed uses

The root of the problem with late-night entertainment uses which involve alcohol is the disturbance they can cause to nearby residents. London is almost unique among large English cities in having retained a sizeable population in and around its centre, and the case studies show that the potential for conflict between residential and late-night entertainment uses is not just confined to the West End. Much has been made in recent



Government policy of the need to encourage more people to live in town centres and to promote mixed-use development (33, 54). The Urban Task Force report said: "Transport hubs and town centres both justify higher population densities and a more diverse mix of uses", but it warned that activities that generate noise at unsociable hours cannot necessarily co-exist with housing (55). Planning Policy Guidance Note 24 also warns that it may be hard to reconcile some land uses such as housing with other activities which generate high levels of noise (56). These are important warnings and, while housing and entertainment uses can both bring benefits to town and city centres, great care must be taken when mixing them closely together. Several of the respondents to the local authority survey mentioned the potential conflict between late-night entertainment activities and residential use as an issue that should be addressed in the Mayor's Spatial Development Strategy.

*In encouraging the designation of Enterprise Management Zones, the SDS can make it clear that not only are they areas where co-ordinated management is required, but also that they are places in which other potentially conflicting uses (including those that are sensitive to noise) should not be encouraged - except where special precautions are taken by those developing such uses to guard against the effects of the problems that might arise. In particular, residential developments should only be permitted in EMZs where the developer can demonstrate that the type housing is appropriate for the area and that noise attenuation measures are adequate. The fact that a building is in a designated EMZ should also make it clear to anyone purchasing or renting residential property that they cannot necessarily expect the same type of living environment, particularly with regard to noise, that would be found in a purely residential area.*

The designation of EMZs, however, will not necessarily solve conflicts that have already been created by past decisions to allow residential and entertainment uses to be developed close together. Enhanced area management could help to identify and devise solutions for some of the problems, but this cannot be guaranteed. However if a robust funding system can be created for EMZs (see below), some of the income generated could perhaps be used to correct problems created in the past, as well as to manage the present. This prospect might encourage more areas to wish to become EMZs.

## 5.6 Spreading late-night activities to other suitable locations

Encouraging late-night entertainment in suitable locations away from the West End would help reduce the pressure on Soho and Covent Garden, as well as bringing benefits to other parts of London. The local authority survey carried out for this study showed that most boroughs are keen to encourage more late-night activities in certain types of areas (usually in larger town centres or areas needing regeneration, but also in some cases in commercial areas or around transport nodes such as railway stations).

Further work, beyond this study, would be required to develop detailed guidance on the factors that will make an area particularly attractive for late-night entertainment and the

criteria that should be used in assessing whether an area is suitable for designation as an EMZ. However these might include having:

- established evening or late-night activities, whose operators are keen to expand, extend their hours or improve the area
- good access by public transport
- empty premises in locations not close to residential areas
- existing partnership arrangements (e.g. Town Centre Management, SRB funded partnerships)
- enthusiastic local authority
- support from Metropolitan Police
- creative industries nearby
- a college/university nearby.

In order to evaluate potential areas a multi-faceted impact assessment needs to be made. This would involve analysing the effects (both positive and negative) of having large numbers of people in the area at night; examining whether the existing infrastructure could cope (or what would have to be done to improve it); and ascertaining how much support or opposition there was among the relevant local communities. A design and management 'action plan' for the area (of the type advocated in the new Planning Green Paper (34)) would then need to be drawn up together with outline development briefs for key sites, so as to ensure that the area can in fact work as intended.

Two types of area should be sought initially. Areas that are highly accessible and near the centre of London, and can so help relieve immediate pressure on the West End, and areas further afield that can become expanded nodes of late-night activity (like Brixton already is).

In the central area, locations such as London Bridge, the City of London and Paddington should be considered, and the GLA should work with the local authorities concerned (and where appropriate with other bodies such as the City of London Police) to look for potentially suitable areas. Given the high prices of property in the city, fringe areas close to public transport routes would seem most likely places for late-night entertainment to develop, and that has already started to happen.

Further afield, efforts should initially be focussed on areas that are important for strategic reasons and where there is already a basis for setting up a local partnership. The GLA could take the lead in trying to identify such areas in consultation with the LDA, TfL, the Metropolitan Police and, of course, interested local authorities and relevant partnership boards. The GLA's (and its partners') London-wide perspective would be invaluable.

## 5.7 Encouraging diversity in the late-night economy

At the seminar there was widespread agreement that two of the main problems with the way that late-night entertainment has developed in Britain are that it focuses too much on the sale and consumption of alcohol and that (probably as a consequence of this) it caters almost exclusively for young people. On the continent (even in cities like Copenhagen) there appear to be a variety of things to do and places to go to in the evening, and this attracts a wider range of people to be on the streets, which consequently feel safer.

Bringing about diversity is not necessarily easy, as it depends on local demand and supply, but there are plenty of avenues to explore. Planning policies can help to encourage venues like cinemas to locate in town centres, rather than out of town. The proposed reclassification of the A3 Use Class should help restaurants to remain as restaurants and not change into bars. The new licensing laws will make it easier for restaurants to stay open later. Cafes selling tea or coffee and snacks tend to close early but might be persuaded to stay open longer at least on selected days. Shops, libraries, galleries, museums and other cultural venues could also be encouraged to be open longer in the evenings. Streets could be brightly and imaginatively lit. (Lighting them well costs very little more than lighting them badly.) Evening events, either publicly or privately funded, could be organised and marketed. These can encourage a wider range of ages to visit a centre at night, and hopefully discover that it is not alien territory. Summer evenings in Britain are fine times for being out and about and Londoners should be encouraged to take advantage of them.

Some work has already been done in developing Cultural Quarters, as for example is proposed in Lewisham following the work of its Culture and Urban Development Commission. However, more needs to be learned about practical ways of bringing about diversity in the evening entertainment sector; how this can be encouraged to continue later into the evening; and to attract older people onto the streets. Pilot projects need to be carried out, and good practices need to be looked for systematically throughout London and other parts of Britain. Experience from abroad can help to generate ideas. However, conditions and habits (and indeed the weather) are often very different from those in this country, which makes it difficult to draw lessons that are relevant. The Mayor's Cultural Strategy could take diversifying the evening economy as one of its themes, thereby helping to confirm entertainment as an important, and growing, part of London's culture. Diversity in entertainment - and overcoming the barriers to access to it - is part of the challenge of creating a better city for all.

As for reducing the focus on alcohol in evening entertainment, this will only partly be accomplished by broadening the range of available activities. Work also needs to be done to encourage the consumption of more non-alcoholic drinks in pubs and bars. The Government appears confident that by having extended opening hours, customers will drink at a more leisurely pace. Others regard this as unbelievably optimistic. The overall consumption of alcohol is likely to rise, even though it may be consumed at a more leisurely pace. The introduction of a more flexible range of penalties for establishments, and more importantly for personal licence holders, who allow customers to become

intoxicated in their premises should encourage licensees to pay more attention to their responsibilities. (However this aspect is not covered in two respected codes of conduct for operators - Leeds' *Let's Dance Safely* (57) or Ealing's *Responsible Host* scheme (58).)

Since operators are reputed to make very large margins on non-alcoholic drinks sold in pubs and bars it is perhaps surprising that they do not promote them more. It will be difficult under the new licensing regime to impose conditions that are targeted at what are seen as an operator's commercial decisions, but good practice codes of conduct can nevertheless be developed and ways of implementing them examined. The Greater London Alcohol and Drugs Alliance is well placed to take the lead on this, as part of its mission to reduce the problems of alcohol and drugs in London. One club operator with a late-night licence in central London said at the 'round table seminar' that he always shut his bar one hour before closing time, so that only non-alcoholic drinks were available for that period. This not only encouraged people to leave on time, but also ensured that they would not be too much worse for wear when they left.

## 5.8 Improving late-night transport

The success of any late-night activity that draws in large numbers of people will depend crucially on the availability of late-night transport, particularly public transport as driving after drinking or drug taking must be totally discouraged. Currently the Underground system shuts down too early (with last trains at about half past midnight) for many late-night revellers. Some national rail lines operate a skeleton service through the night to a few destinations (such as Reading and Croydon, for example), but the bulk of London's rail network is shut at night. The night bus system has grown and now carries a total of 17 million passengers a year. However, it is still mainly focussed on the West End, with 56 out of its 73 routes passing through or along the edge of Soho/Covent garden (by contrast only 7 routes go through Shoreditch/Hoxton and 5 routes through Brixton) (59).

While there appear to be good reasons why the Underground must be shut down for a given period each night (due to long term maintenance contracts) a full evaluation should be made of the possibility of keeping it open for, say, up to an hour longer on Friday and Saturday nights, and opening it, if necessary, up to an hour later on Saturday and Sunday mornings. If this is indeed impractical, then additional night buses should be run. TfL is currently trying to align night routes with day routes, to make the system more understandable, but consideration should also be given to running buses along Underground routes (as the N5 and N20 buses currently do) and clearly identifying and publicising them with the names of the Underground Line too.

Efforts should also be made to tie in the routes and timings with the closing times of major venues, in both existing late-night entertainment areas and proposed new Entertainment Management Zones. This will require market research among club customers who rely on public transport. Information on local public transport (including destinations and frequencies) should be provided for display at late-night establishments, and door supervisors should be expected (as part of their training) to be able to give this

information to departing customers. Routes from major venues to bus stops should be clearly marked, and where possible night bus stops should be located close to the venues themselves, preferably where they can be overseen by registered door supervisors. Stops should be well lit and security arrangements should be discussed with the police and with club operators. In some cases it might be possible to arrange with some of the operators that their security staff will travel on certain bus routes after their venues have closed.

Increasing the number of night-time taxi routes (and enforcing their use by taxis only) may also help the dispersal of crowds in some locations, and TfL is already taking steps to increase the number of taxis available at night and to reduce the number of unregistered minicabs (see **Chapter 3**). Venues should also be encouraged to operate minicab ordering systems by telephone to reduce the numbers of people coming on to the streets in search of transport. In all EMZs, TfL and other transport operators (including local taxi and minicab operators) should be encouraged to review the way the late-night transport systems are operating and to put forward proposals for overcoming any problems identified.

## 5.9 Combating disorder and alcohol and drugs related problems

One of the main consequences of supporting late-night entertainment as a valuable part of London life is the necessity to manage the problems of the alcohol and drug abuse that can be associated with it. The Mayor is already establishing a London-wide alcohol and drugs policy through the Greater London Alcohol and Drugs Alliance (16), which will need to be involved in developing the management policies and action plans for each EMZ. The Department of Health, too, is drawing up a cross-departmental strategy to reduce alcohol misuse.

In practice close co-operation will be needed with the licensing authorities, the operators of venues and their security staff and the police (who now have power under the Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001 to close down venues where there is persistent drug dealing). If successful, the integration of accredited, private security staff at venues into the 'extended police family' will enable much more control to be exercised over illegal and anti-social behaviour. *The GLA's alcohol and drugs staff could be asked to draw up a comprehensive Code of Practice, for dealing with drugs, alcohol misuse, and violence in and around nightclubs and other venues.* This could build on existing publications such as Leeds' *Let's Dance Safely* (57), the Portman Group's guide to *Keeping the Peace* (60), and the London Drug Policy Forum's *Dance till Dawn Safely* (61) - which deals mainly with drug and safety issues, but not issues concerning disorder and alcohol misuse, and which is due to be republished shortly with the new title of *Safer Clubbing*. This new Code of Practice should make individual responsibilities clear and include recommendations for any training that is required (e.g. for licensees, bar staff, security staff, street wardens, police officers etc.). It should be discussed with the new national Security Industry Authority when this has been established.

In order to help reduce the focus on alcohol in evening entertainment, work also needs to be done to encourage the consumption of more non-alcoholic drinks in pubs and bars. The Government appears confident that by having extended opening hours, customers will drink at a more leisurely pace. Others regard this as unbelievably optimistic. The overall consumption of alcohol is likely to rise, even though it may be consumed at a more leisurely pace. The introduction of a more flexible range of penalties for establishments, and more importantly for personal licence holders, who allow customers to become intoxicated in their premises, or who allow customers who are already drunk to be served more alcohol, should encourage licensees to pay more attention to their responsibilities. The police should keep records of where those questioned in the street for drunken behaviour had been drinking, and this information could be used to identify irresponsible licensees.

### 5.10 Providing jobs for the local unemployed

The Shoreditch case study also revealed that some of the drug dealing around the bars and clubs which now draw so many people into that area at night was being carried out by young local people who were unemployed and without much prospect of a job. One advantage of developing more evening and late-night activity in areas requiring regeneration is the opportunity it provides for local people to get jobs - provided that there is some agency able to make connections between venue managers and the local unemployed (for example through youth outreach work) and provided that intensive training and support is also available. In Shoreditch a local employment agency, called Talent, is being established under the New Deal partnership, and other similar initiatives for finding employment in entertainment venues for local unemployed people should be encouraged. The LDA should be asked to comment on how this might best be taken forward, and it could also be incorporated into the Mayor's Cultural Strategy and into all EMZ management plans.

### 5.11 Promoting good practice in managing EMZs

The key to reducing the problems caused by late-night entertainment activities, and to making Entertainment Management Zones more welcoming and attractive to a wider range of adults, is to manage the zones pro-actively. Just as traditional retailing areas found it necessary to introduce Town Centre Management schemes to try to match the higher standards, and the safer and more welcoming environments, that were attracting their customers to out-of-town shopping centres, so the importance of managing all aspects of entertainment areas is coming to be realised. The level of management required will of course vary from place to place, and on the particular problems that have been allowed to develop. However, lively late-night areas are liable to suffer from noise, anti-social behaviour and crime.

The essence of good management is to understand the potential causes of problems, so as to anticipate them and either prevent them from occurring or defuse them rapidly if they

do. The range of things that might be done - through design, maintenance, service provision, licensing, enforcement etc. - is enormous. A large number of initiatives - ranging from Pub Watch schemes to winding down hours; from local wardens to improved street lighting; and from training courses for licensees to portable pissoirs - have already been tried in different places, both in Britain and abroad. One way of helping to improve management practices is to make sure that as much of this experience as possible is readily available, and to show how it can if necessary be built in to design practices, maintenance agreements and licence conditions.

Further work would be required to categorise and assemble good practice advice on the full range of topics that are relevant to improving the management of the environment in which late-night entertainment activities take place. However the seminar showed that there is no shortage of issues that are considered important. These include:

- making sure all interests (including private sector operators and local residents) are involved in the management of the area
- ensuring that more police and/or other uniformed personnel are on the streets and able to provide guidance as well as enforcement
- improving late-night transport (particularly public transport)
- controlling noise levels by promoting better design, management and maintenance, particularly in entertainment venues, but also in the public realm, backed up by resources for effective enforcement
- improving lighting
- encouraging a range of smaller venues to operate in EMZs, including restaurants
- keeping cultural facilities (e.g. museums, libraries) in or near EMZs open for longer hours
- insisting on good practice in managing late-night entertainment venues linked to licence conditions and possible training for licensees
- adopting a 'management through dialogue' approach, but being prepared to enforce conditions firmly when necessary.

To take this further, *the Major should convene a multi-agency working group, led by the GLA, to draw up an initial checklist of all the areas in which good practice is required and to recommend which bodies might be responsible for developing good practice guidance on each main topic* (e.g. the Greater London Alcohol and Drugs Alliance could be responsible for the sections on combating disorder and alcohol and drug misuse, as recommended above).

## Table 4

### GUIDELINES FOR GOOD MANAGEMENT OF ENTERTAINMENT VENUES

#### (Ealing's Responsible Host Scheme)

1. Operate an effective door-control policy which prevents overcrowding.
2. Ensure there is always a member of staff on duty who is trained to deal with rowdy, drunk or disorderly patrons and that where necessary this person passes on information to managers and staff of neighbouring premises or to the Police.
3. Watch over the outside of the premises and where necessary be ready to contact the relevant authority or staff in neighbouring premises.
4. Have the contact name and number of the relevant police personnel and be aware of when to call them. Participate in Pubwatch, Businesswatch or equivalent in the area.
5. Consider ways of reducing the opportunity for criminal activity within the premises through attention to layout, design and safety. Work with the Crime Prevention Design Advisor before applying for structural alterations.
6. Provide a safe 'outdoor' environment, (e.g. properly maintained shrubs and bushes, good lighting and fencing).
7. Ensure that facilities are provided for people with disabilities (including those with mobility limitation, sight/hearing impairment etc.).
8. Promptly repair or remove hazardous or damaged objects, materials or property from the premises and the immediate area.
9. Ensure that all servicing, waste disposal and recycling activities occur at a time which is considerate to local residents.
10. Ensure that noise from the premises and the outside area is kept to a minimum.
11. Provide up to date information on late night public transport and reputable taxi services for the benefit of patrons.

*Source: L. B. Ealing*



## Table 5

### STEPS TO ENCOURAGE SAFE LATE-NIGHT ACTIVITIES

Leeds is regarded as highly successful in promoting a vibrant nightlife in its centre (as part of its **Leeds 24 hour Initiative**). Here are 10 practical steps that it took.

1. **Safety first**  
CCTV operated 24 hours a day by dedicated LCC staff of 13 with direct links to police. (25% drop in crime since 1996). Using Home Office grants etc, Leeds now has 74 cameras.
2. **Brighter streets**  
Brighter streets are safer streets. All main and side streets brightly lit. Grants are available for floodlighting good buildings.
3. **Environmental improvements**  
An exciting environment attracts people, making places feel busy and safe.
4. **Improved transport**  
Provide groupings of well-lit "bus points" and a large number of night-time taxi stands (some overseen by club security). Make car parks safer (with CCTV).
5. **Relaxed licensing hours**  
Allowing pubs and café bars to open long into the evening (some to 2 am) and clubs to open until 6 a.m. Leeds now has 30 nightclubs.
6. **Responsible management**  
Provide a code of practice for the management of venues ("Let's Dance Safely"). Introduce a registration scheme for all door staff.
7. **Entertainment venues in commercial district**  
Encouraging entertainment venues to locate in the office district keeps conflicts to a minimum. There are few residents, and noisy entertainment is outside office hours.
8. **Cafes on the street**  
As a key element in the 24 hour Initiative LCC encourages pavement cafes. 23 are now licensed to place tables and chairs on the streets.
9. **Regular events**  
Events encourage a wider range of people to use the centre at night - and find they enjoy it.
10. **Late night shopping**  
Co-ordinate late-night shopping hours (even if only once or twice a week). This makes it much easier for customers.

In developing good practice, information can be drawn from many existing sources, including for example Ealing's *Responsible Host Awards* scheme which is summarised in **Table 4**, or the wider lessons from Leeds, as shown in **Table 5**. The results could be discussed at a London-wide conference called by the Mayor, and might be included in Supplementary Planning Guidance. They could also be set out in the Mayor's Cultural Strategy if it addresses the issue of managing cultural, creative and entertainment quarters and in information to be made available to all those involved in the management of EMZs.

## 5.12 Developing a reliable funding mechanism

Even if good policies and good practices are developed which could allow late-night entertainment activities to flourish in many parts of London without causing undue problems, they will never in fact be implemented without the proper legal framework and locally available resources. The irony of the situation is that as London's entertainment industry has been highly successful, resources are in principle available to help fund the improvements that are required and that the industry in general supports. Central Government benefits greatly from the excise duties, VAT, business rates, PAYE and corporation tax that the industry pays. Local government receives fees for Entertainment Licences, but these are only allowed to cover narrowly defined costs (62). However, there is no proper mechanism at present for businesses to make additional payments to local authorities and to be certain that they will receive the specific additional benefits in improved area servicing that they require - such as additional police on the beat, improved late-night transport, or extra maintenance and street cleaning.

One important principle which should be advocated, but which is not envisaged in the Government's current proposals is to switch the burden of licensing fees away from being a tax on entertainment towards being a tax on alcohol consumption. It is alcohol that is usually at the root of the problems that need to be managed in an EMZ, but the cost of a liquor licence is currently only £30 while an entertainment licence can cost thousands of pounds. The thrust of current proposals is to reduce the cost of licences. However it is vitally important that it is recognised that the extra cost of managing (and policing and providing additional late-night transport for) the public realm in EMZ is an integral part of the costs that licence fees must cover. Licence fees must also be allowed to vary according to local conditions and not set centrally. This must be clearly included in the new legislation.

Pilot schemes for Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) are being planned for a few key locations in London. It is likely that they will create management structures and resourcing mechanisms which will be very relevant for the late-night entertainment sector, but it will take time to develop the details of a framework that is suitable for Britain, and their initial focus is not specifically on this sector.

BIDs offer the prospect of being able to raise the additional revenue that is required for the proper management of an EMZ. The relationship between the costs of managing the

area's day time and night time activities needs to be carefully considered, as a different funding mechanism may be required for the latter.

While BIDs are voluntary insofar as they have to be approved by a vote of the property owners involved before they can be introduced, the levy that is charged becomes mandatory once the BID has been established and approved. In the case of an EMZ, however, a way must be found (either through the BID legislation or the Licensing Bill) to insist on a levy from licensed premises (related preferably to capacity or to the amount of alcohol sold) to fund the extra management and servicing that the EMZ requires. This issue needs to be thought through in the BID pilot schemes.

Part of the proposed vision for London's late-night economy is that more late-night activities should be encouraged to develop in areas away from the West End (see **Section 5.6** above) - and closer to where many people live. However such areas, even if they are designated as EMZs, may not have current levels of services (such as late-night transport) in place to make them attractive to new investors. Consideration should therefore be given to pilot funding of schemes (for example through the LDA) to help set up the necessary infrastructure and services and to promote investment in those areas. While each case would need to be considered individually, this could, for example, help to expedite the growth of properly managed late-night activities in suitable areas that are already earmarked for regeneration. Areas around railway stations that are in a state of transition, such as Stratford, Kings Cross, Paddington or London Bridge, might be considered. As previously discussed, leisure and entertainment uses can help to regenerate run-down areas and to create local employment. A good example is provided by Temple Bar in Dublin which was formerly a run-down area surrounding an old bus station, but which has been transformed into a highly successful culture and entertainment area (and which is now so popular that it is exhibiting some of the same problems as Soho). This approach could also help the development of BID mechanisms in areas which might not otherwise be seen as having high priority.

*The Mayor should actively support initiatives to enable funding from local businesses to provide a reliable means of contributing to extra management and extra services in specially designated local areas like EMZs.*

### 5.13 Conclusion

This study has shown that there are many controversial issues associated with London's late-night economy. For it to be truly successful, and to bring its full benefits to the city in a sustainable manner, action and co-ordination will be required in many spheres. The issues, however, go far beyond a single borough and potentially involve the whole of London. The Mayor is therefore uniquely well placed to take the lead, should he wish to do so.

## 6. SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

This final chapter summarises the recommendations made in this report. It should be stressed, however, that this is only an introductory study and that some of the recommendations require further development. Also while these recommendations are addressed principally to the Mayor, several of them will also have relevance for other organisations in the GLA group.

- The Mayor should have no objection in principle to the extension of activities beyond traditional hours in suitable locations
- The Mayor should set out a positive and optimistic vision for late-night London
- The Mayor should support the idea that a co-ordinated area management approach should be taken in areas with late-night entertainment activities and that it should be adequately funded
- The Mayor should work with Westminster City Council in tackling the problems that the concentration of late-night activities in the West End is causing
- Through the London Plan (Spatial Development Strategy) and other means, the Mayor should seek to ensure that boroughs develop co-ordinated planning, licensing and management policies for areas with significant amounts of late-night entertainment activity. He should also seek to ensure that these will be supported by his own economic development, transport and other policies. In particular, boroughs should be encouraged to designate such areas as 'Entertainment Management Zones' (EMZ)
- The Mayor should welcome the proposed changes to the A3 Use Class in principle
- The Mayor should urge the boroughs to start reviewing their licensing policies now, before the law changes
- The Mayor should convene a London Licensing Conference to review, and if necessary co-ordinate, the boroughs' proposed licensing policies
- The GLA should consider maintaining a forum on its website, through which information on licensing and other aspects of the late-night economy could be regularly exchanged
- In encouraging the designation of Enterprise Management Zones, the SDS can make it clear that not only are they areas where co-ordinated management is required, but also that they are places in which other potentially conflicting uses (including those that are sensitive to noise) should not be encouraged - except where special precautions are taken

by those developing such uses to guard against the effects of the problems that might arise

- The Mayor should encourage the identification of places away from the West End which would be suitable locations for late-night entertainment activities. Two types of area should be sought initially. Areas that are highly accessible and near the centre of London, and can so help relieve immediate pressure on the West End, and areas further afield that can become expanded nodes of late-night activity (like Brixton already is)
- The Mayor's Cultural Strategy could take diversifying the evening economy as one of its themes
- While there appear to be good reasons why the Underground must be shut down for a given period each night, a full evaluation should be made of the possibility of keeping it open for, say, up to an hour longer on Friday and Saturday nights, and opening it, if necessary, up to an hour later on Saturday and Sunday mornings. If this is impractical, then additional night buses should be run
- Consideration should be given to running night buses along Underground routes (as the N5 and N20 buses currently do) and clearly identifying and publicising them with the names of the Underground line
- Efforts should also be made to tie in night bus routes and timings with the closing times of major venues, in both existing late-night entertainment areas and proposed new Entertainment Management Zones
- Information on local public transport (including destinations and frequencies) should be provided for display at late-night establishments, and door supervisors should be expected (as part of their training) to be able to give this information to departing customers
- Routes from major venues to bus stops should be clearly marked, and where possible night bus stops should be located close to the venues themselves, preferably where they can be overseen by registered door supervisors
- In all EMZs, TfL and other transport operators (including local taxi and minicab operators) should be encouraged to review the way the late-night transport systems are operating and to put forward proposals for overcoming any problems identified
- The GLA's alcohol and drugs staff should be asked to draw up a comprehensive Code of Practice, for dealing with drugs, alcohol misuse, and violence in and around nightclubs and other venues
- This new Code of Practice should make individual responsibilities clear and include recommendations for any training that is required (e.g. for licensees, bar staff,

security staff, street wardens, police officers etc.). It should be discussed with the new national Security Industry Authority when this has been established

- The Mayor should convene a multi-agency working group, led by the GLA, to draw up an initial checklist of all the areas in which good practice in the management of EMZs is required and to recommend which bodies might be responsible for developing good practice guidance on each main topic
- The Mayor should actively support initiatives to enable funding from local businesses to provide a reliable means of contributing to extra management and extra services in specially designated local areas like EMZs.

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**LATE-NIGHT LONDON**  
**Planning and Managing the Late-Night Economy**

**APPENDIX A**

**Mapping London's Evening and Late-Night Economies**

Report by

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# Mapping 24 Hour Activity in London

Centre for Advanced Spatial Analysis (CASA), University College London

## 1. Approach

The CASA Town Centres team was asked to undertake the following element of the study:

1. Identify the datasets which could be used to map 24 hour activity for London
2. Map evening and late-night activities for London and identify 'hotspots'
3. Provide information for the 4 Case Studies
4. Identify gaps in the data

We decided to use a methodology similar to the one we had developed in *Defining Town Centre Boundaries*, a project we carried out with URBED for the Department of Transport, Local Government and the Regions (DTLR). This involved the mapping of various indicators of evening/night-time activity, converting the point data into surfaces, and combining these surfaces into a single surface, from which major concentrations ("mountain peaks") could be identified.

## 2. Datasets

At an initial project meeting, held at the offices of the Greater London Authority (GLA), it was agreed that four main types of data be investigated:

- Economic data
- Crime data
- Travel data
- Data on late-night licences for both alcohol and entertainment.

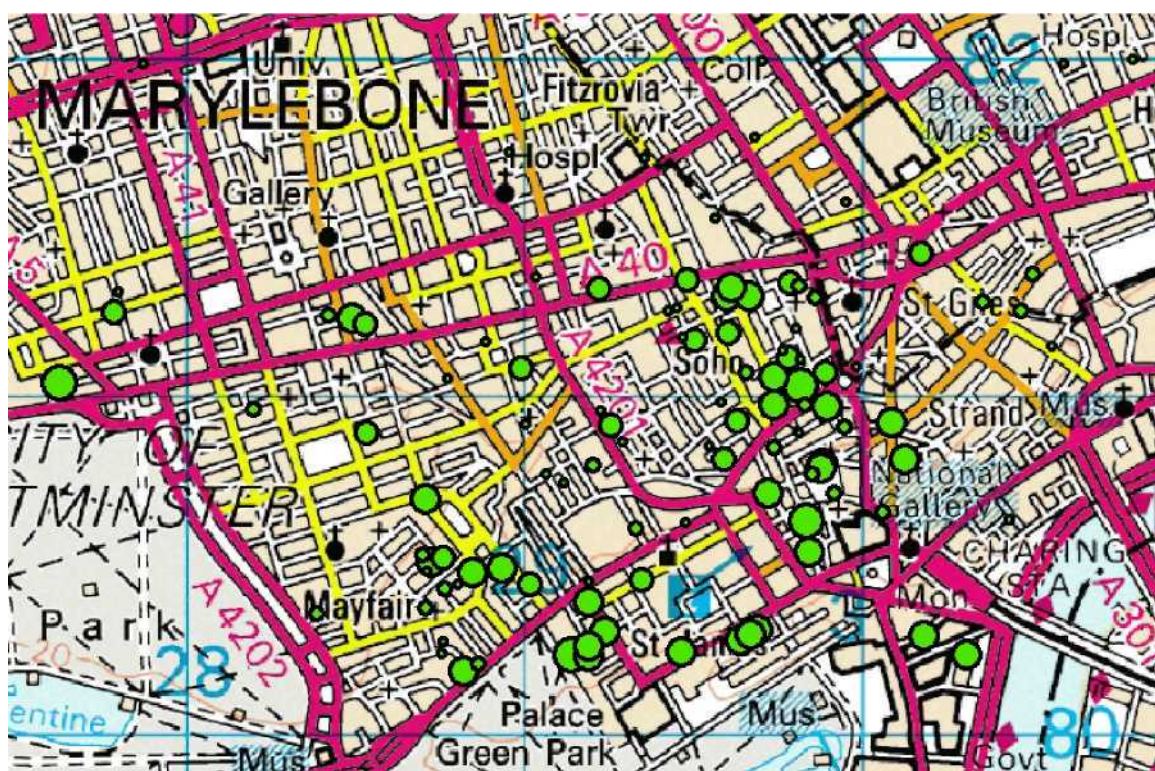
CASA's tasks were to identify the datasets; collect the data; input it into a computerised Geographic Information System; and then use it to develop a model of 24 hour activity.

### a. *Economic Data*

The economic data used came from the Office for National Statistics (ONS). Its Annual Business Inquiry (ABI) holds employment data on every business in the UK which returns either VAT or PA YE information to the Inland Revenue. The information used in this research refers to January 1999.

The ABI was one of the key datasets which underpinned the DTLR-sponsored research into town centres. It is extremely detailed, in terms of the information it holds on companies and their geographic locations. It contains employment totals broken down by 5 digit SIC (Standard Industrial Classification) code and by unit postcode. This makes the ABI ideal for the mapping economic activity within urban areas.

Employment data from the ABI can be mapped by single SIC codes, or by aggregations of codes, and can therefore be used to identify the location of various types of businesses. For example, the locations of nightclubs in the West End can be shown by mapping the number of employees in business establishments classified as SIC 55401 (Licensed clubs with entertainment) which have the same unit postcodes (**Figure 1**). As well as showing their locations (as each unit postcode is geo-referenced) the map can also show the scale of activity at any point - by using a larger circle to indicate a larger number of employees.



**Figure 1: Nightclubs in the West End** (ABI data processed through GIS software)

While this is a useful mapping device, converting the point data into a continuous surface (which indicates the overall density of employment in an area) is even more useful. Not only do broader patterns become more apparent, but it also becomes possible to start to integrate data from different datasets (see the section below on identifying hotspots).

**Figure 2** shows the same data as Figure 1, but this time as a density map. (As in all the density maps, the darker the colour the higher the density.)





Figure 2: Density of Employment in Nightclubs in the West End

Since the ABI is a national dataset, it contains data for the whole of London, and we can use it to map employment in different types of businesses across the whole of London. **Figure 3** shows the density of employment in nightclubs in the whole of London. This allows us to quickly identify where the main concentrations of nightclubs are. The main concentration is clearly in the West End, but other smaller concentrations, such as Croydon, Brixton and Romford, can also be clearly seen.

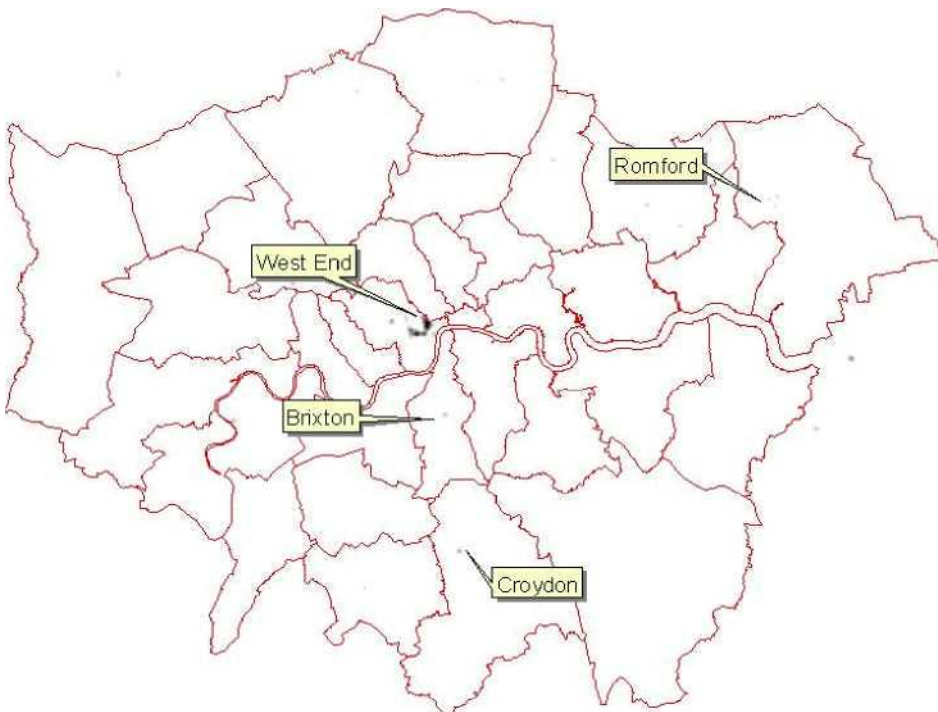


Figure 3: Density of Employment in Nightclubs in Greater London

It is possible to generate density maps such as these for any of the activities which are most associated with the evening or late-night economies (**Figures 4, 5 and 6**). (A list of the SIC codes that are included in each category is given in the Appendix).

Figure 4: Density of Employment in Hotels

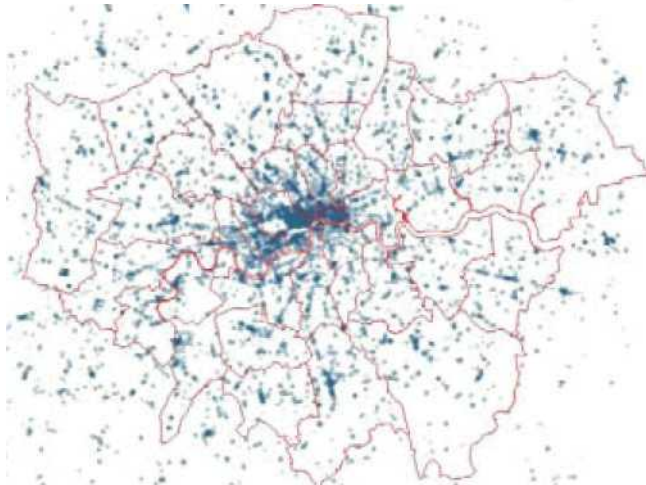
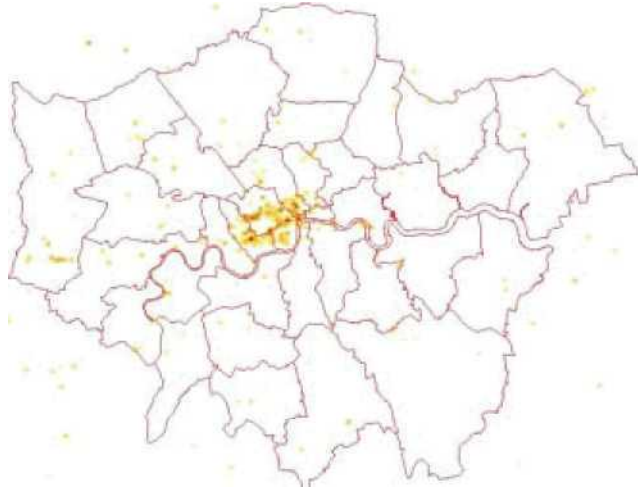
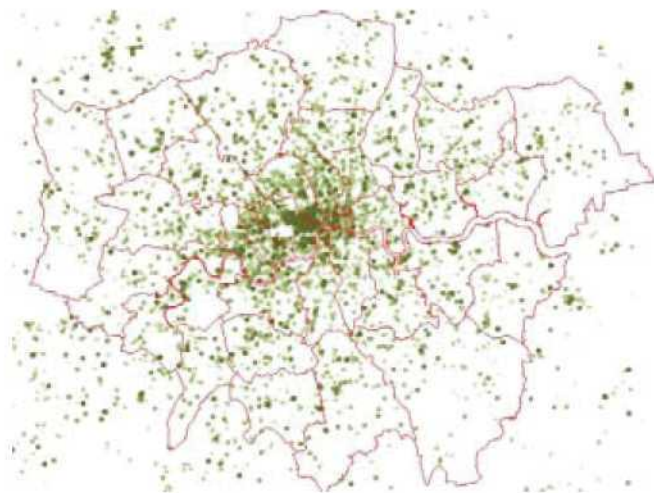
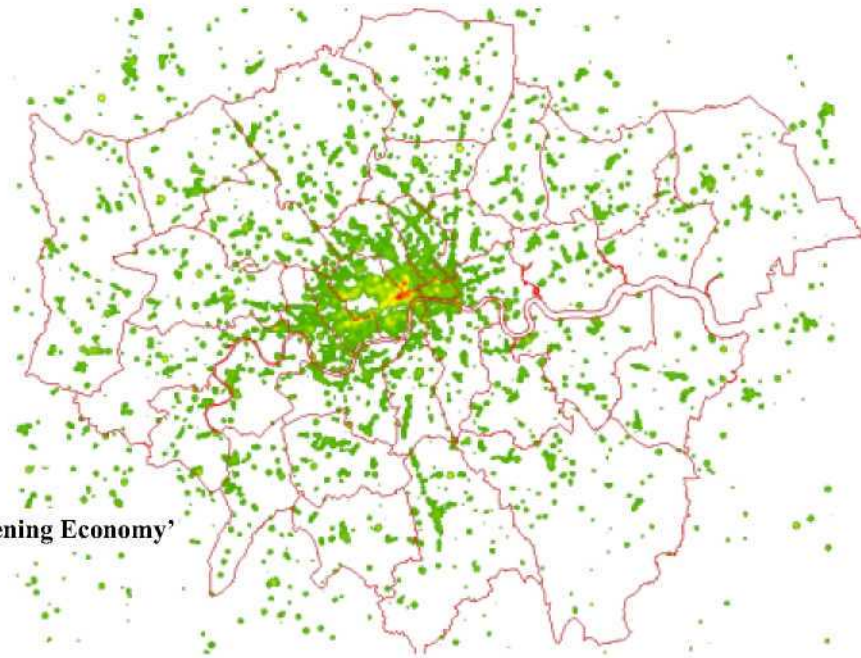


Figure 5: Density of Employment in Restaurants and Licensed Premises (including nightclubs)

Figure 6: Density of Employment in Arts, Culture and Entertainment

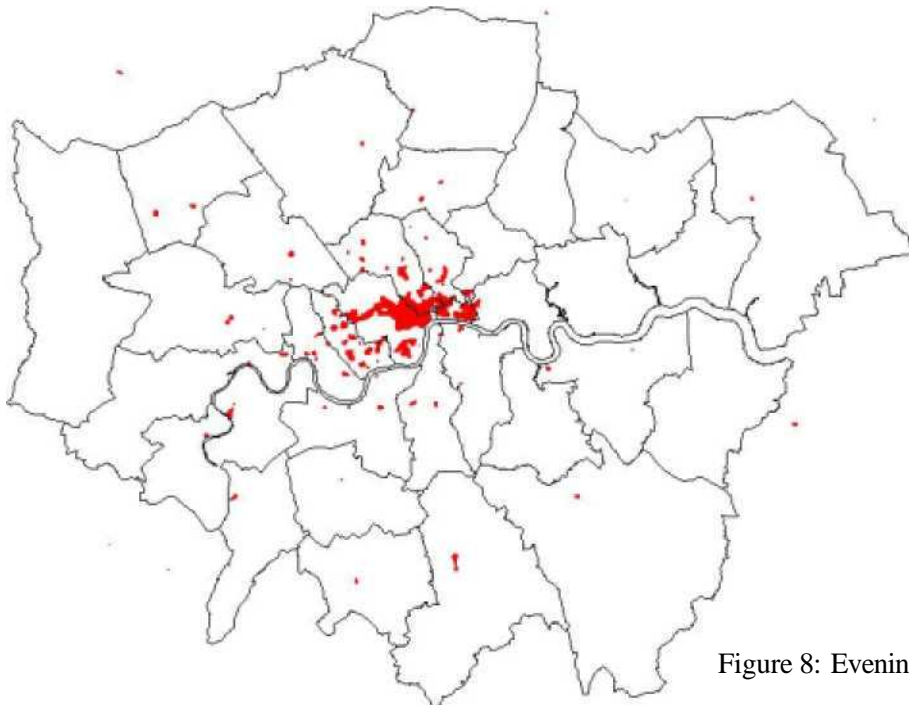


These data surfaces can be combined together to give a composite surface which shows the density of employment in London's 'Evening Economy' as a whole (**Figure 7**).



**Figure 7: London's 'Evening Economy'**

By eliminating areas with a low density of employment in 'evening economy' activities, and showing only those areas with a high density, it is possible to highlight the main concentrations of activity or 'hotspots' (**Figure 8**).



**Figure 8: Evening Economy 'Hotspots'**



As can be clearly seen the main concentration of the evening economy stretches across much of Central London. While it is centred on the West End, it extends both into the City and especially to the west along the north of Hyde Park. There are several individual hotspots in both Kensington and Chelsea and Camden. The centres highlighted in Figure 8 are listed below and grouped according to their size (**Table 1**).

**Table 1**  
**Main Concentrations of Employment in London's Evening Economy**

Central London (West End)  
Central London (the City)

Victoria  
Kings Cross  
Camden  
Knightsbridge/Sloane Street  
Islington

Croydon  
Earls Court  
Shoreditch  
Richmond  
Notting Hill Gate

South Kensington  
Ealing  
Kensington  
Chelsea  
Chiswick  
Portobello Road  
Kingston upon Thames  
Rayners Lane

Clapham  
Fulham Broadway  
Hampstead  
Borough High Street  
Clapham Junction  
Swiss Cottage  
Crouch End  
Harrow  
Brixton  
Shepherd's Bush

Source: CASA (based on ABI1999)

While the ABI data is extremely useful in identifying concentrations of related activities, it has no temporal information. It does not, for example, distinguish between restaurants that are open in the evening and those that are not (e.g. any that are open only at lunchtime). As a result, the results shown above only give an approximate picture of the evening economy (although one that is likely to include all the main hotspots). Furthermore the information is available for the whole country and can be quickly analysed by GIS. However, it does not provide any information as to which venues stay open late at night and which do not, and so cannot be used to identify areas with concentrations of late-night activities. So far as we are aware, there is no employment dataset which can provide such information. It is therefore necessary to look at other data to try to identify London's late-night hotspots.

## **b. *Crime Data***

One of the main concerns about evening and late-night activities is their association with anti-social behaviour and crime. Certain types of crime, often called 'street crime' are often associated with gatherings of people in public places. Since crime records give the location and time of an incident, as well as information on the type of crime involved, they provide another potentially good source of information about concentrations of people, which do allow London's late-night hotspots to be identified.

Each time a Metropolitan Police Officer responds to a '999 call', the incident is recorded on a central computerised database. Among other information, the time of the incident, its geographic location (given by a street address and a map reference) and a code describing the type of incident are stored on this database. The Metropolitan Police kindly provided us with data on the total number of recorded incidents in their area for the whole of 1999 (in order to match the date of the ABI data described above), aggregated both by the time of day of the incident and its map reference, for the following types of 'street crime':

- Violence to the person
- Robbery
- Criminal damage
- Shoplifting
- Disturbance in a public place
- Disturbance in licensed premises
- Drunkenness

**Figure 9** shows a density map of all incidents of these types which occurred between midnight and 8.00 a.m. during the course of 1999.

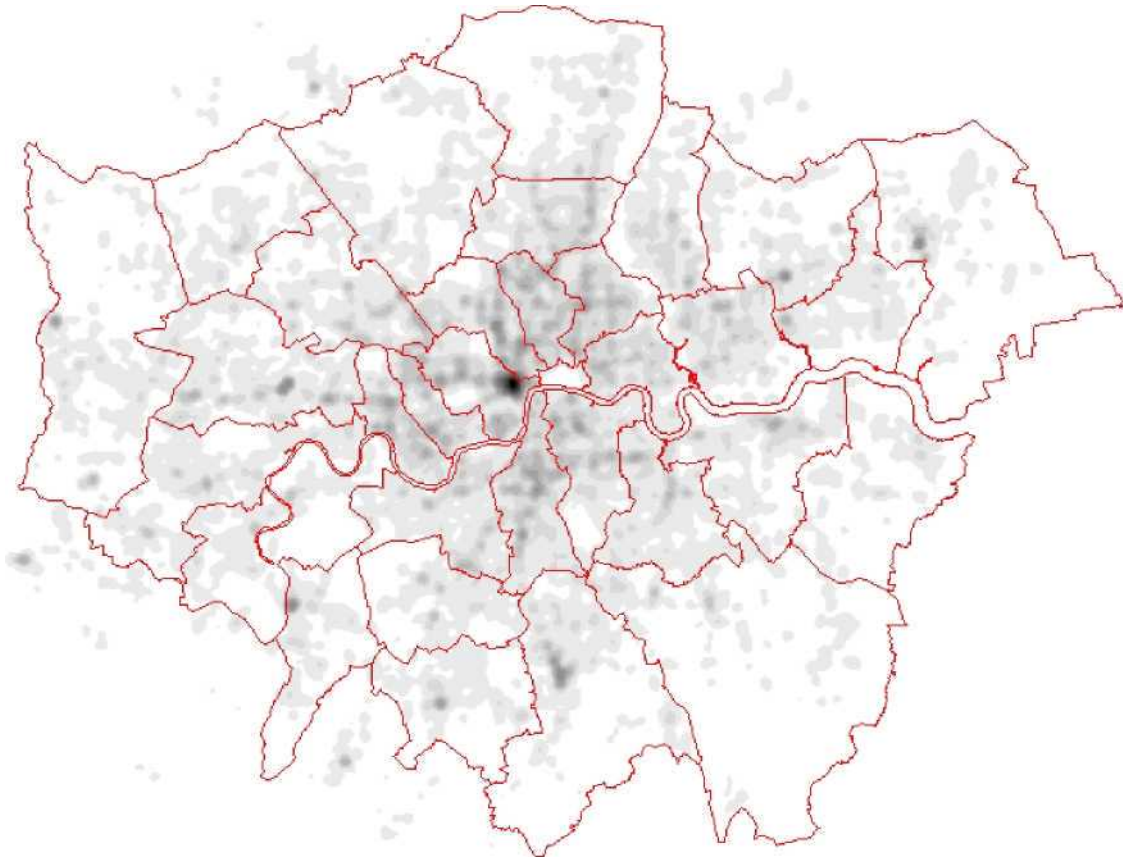


Figure 9: Density of 'Street Crime' Incidents in London in 1999 between Midnight and 8 a.m.

There are some points that need to be borne in mind about these data, including:

- The dataset is not fully comprehensive in that the Metropolitan Police area does not include the City of London.
- The map references used only give the location of incidents to the nearest 100 metres. (Hence the grid pattern which can be seen on the map.)
- Some of the co-ordinates provided were inaccurate (estimated to be around 1%).
- Some incidents may be classified in different ways by different officers, which may lead to some inconsistencies.

Notwithstanding these problems, the dataset is extremely rich, and it was possible to use it to identify areas which remain lively after midnight. **Figure 10** shows the places which have the highest concentrations of late-night street crime, which in turn will give a good indication of the locations of London's late-night hotspots.

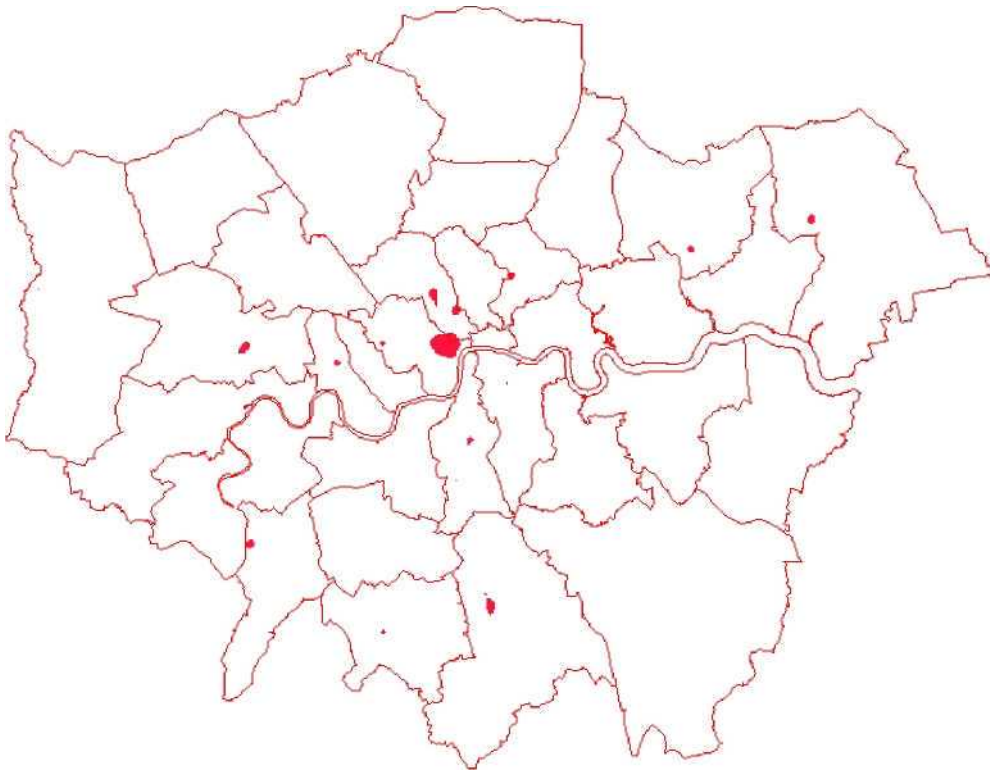


Figure 10: London's Late-Night 'Street Crime' Hotspots

The main late-night hotspots are listed below in **Table 2**.

**Table 2**  
**Main Concentrations of London's Late-Night Economy**

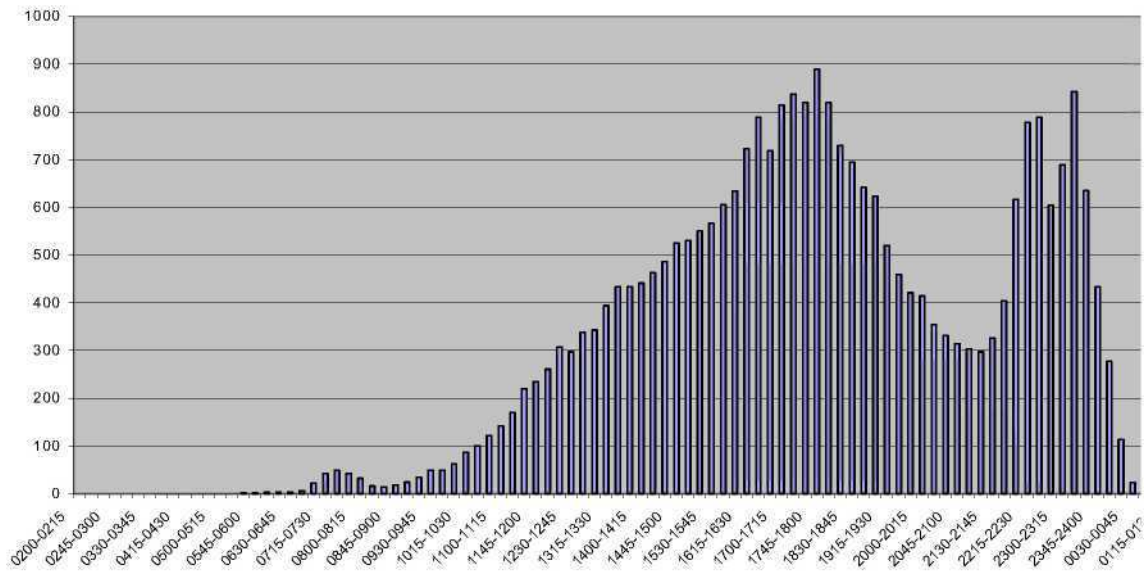
- West End - concentrated on Soho
- Camden
- Croydon
- Ealing
- Kingston upon Thames
- Kings Cross
- Brixton
- Dalston
- Ilford
- Romford
- Bayswater
- Shepherd's Bush
- Sutton

### c. *Travel Data*

People need to travel to and from areas of activity, and so travel data should also be able to provide information on where activity is taking place. Late-night revellers in London tend to use public transport including taxis and minicabs. While some quantitative data is available, it is not in a form that can easily be used to map places with concentrations evening or late-night activities. However, Transport for London provided information on the following potential sources of data:

#### 1. **Underground**

The average number of people entering and exiting every tube station on the network every quarter of an hour is recorded, and as the Underground system covers a large part of London (especially north of the Thames) this can show which places remain busy in the evening. However, the network closes down shortly after midnight each day and so it is not possible to use this data to track late-night (after midnight) activity. Some tube stations, such as Covent Garden (**Figure 11**) and Leicester Square, do experience a surge of people leaving them shortly before closing time, particularly at weekends. This suggests that there is a build up of late-night activity in that area - but this can be more fully demonstrated using the employment and crime data discussed above.



**Figure 11: Numbers of People Leaving Covent Garden Underground Station on a Saturday** (Source: Transport for London)

#### 2. **Train**

Many people travelling in the evening and later at night will use the overland rail network, especially south of the river. Unfortunately, at the time of reporting, we have been unable to secure any data on this usage.

### 3. Bus

Transport for London has a dataset which contains extensive information on bus usage, including data on journey origins and destinations by route, for every bus stop in London. This is potentially a very important dataset as the night bus network is the only mass transit which operates throughout the night. However, it was found that extracting data from this dataset would be a major undertaking which was beyond the size and timescale of the present study. Furthermore the dataset is updated on a rolling basis over a five year cycle which means that some of the newer services, such as the recent improvements to the night bus service, would probably not be included. It was therefore decided that analysis of this data could not be included in this study.

### 4. Taxis and Minicabs

Taxis and minicabs are important means of transport in London, and they too operate throughout the night. However, little quantitative information which would enable areas of evening and late-night activity to be mapped is currently available. Transport for London has commissioned research to identify major concentrations of minicab activity and the routes taken by taxis, but the results were not available in time for this project.

#### ***d. Licensing Data***

Since all establishments that sell alcohol need a liquor licence from their local magistrates' court and all late-night entertainment venues need an entertainment licence from their local authority, one of the best ways of identifying places with late-night activity ought to be by mapping the locations of premises with late-night licences. While all borough licensing departments do have records of all premises with entertainment licences in their areas, it was found that they were not in a form that could easily be fed into a GIS. Most of the records were in hard copy paper form, and not all were fully geo-referenced. It proved even more difficult to obtain information on liquor licences. The lists could be inspected at the individual courts. In both cases, the entries would have had to have been manually entered into a standard database. (One borough that did this for its own internal purposes found that it took one person two weeks to transcribe the liquor licences for that single borough.) However in order to test out how licensing data might be used a pilot project, using entertainment licensing data only, was undertaken for the north part of Southwark.

Southwark Council kindly provided data on all premises that have received a public entertainment licence (covering such activities as 'music', 'dance', 'films' and 'theatre') and on any premises, including public houses, nightclubs and restaurants, that had been granted a 'late licence' to stay open after normal licensing hours (i.e. after 11.00 p.m. on Mondays to Saturdays and after 10.30 p.m. on Sundays). The information included the licensed capacity (number of people allowed) for the venue and the time it was permitted to stay open till.

From this data the *late-night capacity* of an area was calculated by multiplying the licensed capacities of the venues in it by the number of hours per week that those venues are open during the evening and night. This latter factor was estimated, for although the licensing authorities specify a venue's closing time, they do not control its opening time - so this is not shown with the licence information. So 8 p.m. was used as the typical opening time of the type of premises in question (or as the start of the evening)). Using this method, it was found that 'evening opening hours' varied from a minimum of around 18 hours per week to a maximum of 82 hours per week (for The Ministry of Sound nightclub which stays open until 6 a.m. each weekday morning and until midday on both Saturdays and Sundays). The capacities and opening hours were then multiplied together to produce a 'late-night capacity' surface, or map, for the area (**Figure 12**).

From the map it can be seen that there are two main peaks of late-night activity in North Southwark and a number of smaller ones. The most northerly of the two (purple) peaks is around Borough High Street where there are a number of public houses and nightclubs. The second peak is just north Elephant and Castle where there is a cinema as well as The Ministry of Sound. The smaller peaks occur usually where there are a number of venues near each other, or where there is a single venue with a high capacity, or long opening hours.

If the data were readily available, this method of analysis could no doubt be extended and could for example be used to map the *late-night capacities* of different parts of London at different times of night. It should be capable of providing accurate maps of local hotspots and could probably be developed to help model the effects of granting more licences or extending the hours of existing licences in a local area. It would seem important that basic licensing data should be available in a standard database format for the whole of London.

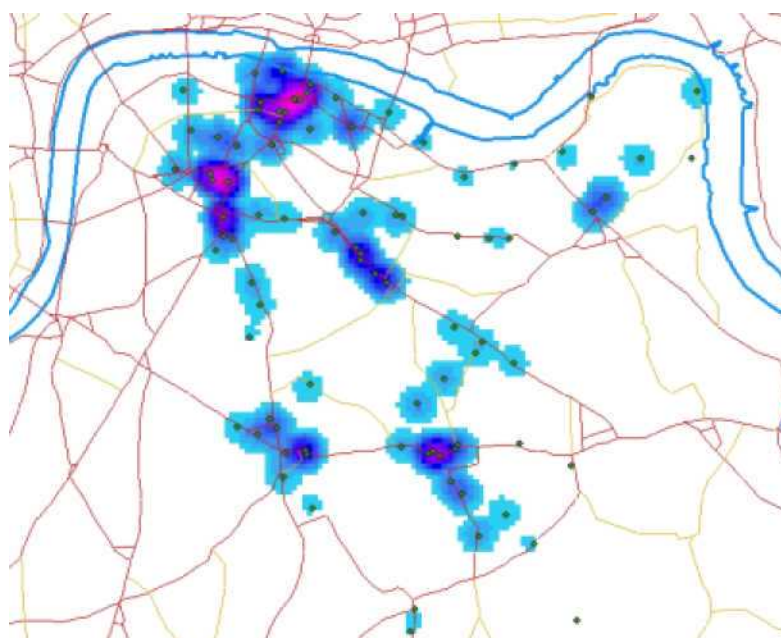


Figure 12: 'Late-Night Capacity' in North Southwark

### **3. Conclusion and Further Research**

#### ***a. Conclusion***

GIS provides a powerful tool for mapping the main areas of evening and late-night activity in London. Although only two of the four datasets examined (employment data and 'street crime' data) are currently in a form that can readily be fed into a GIS-based model of activity, maps indicating the main concentrations of London's evening and late-night economies have been produced (Figures 8 and 10 above). However one of the advantages of using a model based on 'data surfaces' is that it is possible to add in surfaces based on different datasets, in order to create a composite map which more fully represents the topic in question. Although care has to be taken over the weighting of each factor, the more aspects of the evening or late-night economies that can be included the better the maps are likely to be. The inclusion of licensing data, for example, should enhance the model, and hence the maps, significantly. Furthermore the use of several independent sets of data will help to reduce the effect of any errors that might be present in an individual dataset.

#### ***b. Further Research***

In the time available we have only been able to scratch the surface of modelling '24 hour London' with quantitative data. There are a number of additional avenues which could be explored in more detail:

##### **Employment**

- Employment data can now be mapped with great accuracy, but it lacks the necessary time information to distinguish readily between daytime, evening and late-night activity. Some SIC codes can be associated with evening and late-night employment, but if licensing data (including both hours of opening and capacity) were readily available, employment data would only be of secondary importance.

##### **Crime**

- The dataset provided by the Metropolitan Police contains a great deal of detailed information, including information on the time of incidents. While 'street crime' is only one aspect of the evening and late-night economies, it nevertheless provides some insight into where people are congregating. So far only one very simple analysis has been undertaken in relationship to the '24 hour economy'. Further, and perhaps more relevant, data surfaces could be generated by examining different patterns of reported crime at different time periods.



## **Transport**

- It is hard to assemble comprehensive data on transport and not easy to relate it directly to activity (i.e. the numbers of people on the streets in an area). However, the ticket information from Underground stations (particularly those in Central London) looked as if it could be further used, although it is not yet clear how best to integrate it with the other data. The inclusion of other data - on bus, overland train, taxi and car usage - would undoubtedly improve the model.

## **Licensing Data**

- As mentioned above, this should be a very important source of data. The modelling we undertook for North Southwark suggests that licensing data could not only play a major role in producing 'hotspot' maps related to different opening (and closing) hours, but might also be integrated into a more complex model.

## **Generic Issues**

- *Correlation between different datasets.* We have yet to explore the relationships between the datasets. There may, for example, be a correlation between certain types and sizes of activity (such as nightclubs and/or takeaways) and certain types of crime. This could lead to modelling of the effects of different types of concentrations of venues and, perhaps, of different types of management policies.
- *Time dimension.* GIS analysis has traditionally been temporally static. While there are an increasing number of datasets which include time-stamping, few standard GIS programmes are currently designed to handle them efficiently - yet this is clearly basic to the issues of the 24hour economy, and should be further examined.

## **c. Gaps in the Data**

### **Employment**

- The Annual Business Inquiry is a very full dataset. However, as with all fine scale datasets, it could be improved with better geo-referencing, classification and reporting. Furthermore the SIC classification used is perhaps better suited to manufacturing rather than service businesses, and there is often the suspicion that the official figures may not record all the people employed in certain types of entertainment-related businesses

### **Crime**

- The 'map referencing' system used in the Metropolitan Police dataset is comparatively poor. (It gives positions of incidents to the nearest 100metres).

However, street addresses are in fact supplied on the database and, subject to data confidentiality constraints, it would be possible to improve the quality of geo-referencing by using the addresses directly.

- The dataset provided by the Metropolitan Police does not include data from the City of London. The City of London Police need to be asked to provide similar data in order to fill this gap.

### **Transport**

- As mentioned above, the inclusion of bus use data, overland train data, and taxi and minicab data could only improve the situation. It would be useful to have origin/destination data so that overall movement patterns late at night might be tracked. Furthermore some estimate needs to be made of private car use in relation to the evening and night time economies. This is likely to be of particular importance in outer London.

### **Licensing Data**

- Getting licensing data in a consistent, usable form from the boroughs and the Magistrates' courts proved to be very difficult. It does exist and could be collated for the whole of London. This would be labour intensive, but it might be well worth asking the licensing authorities to keep their data in a standard form when the new licensing system is introduced.

### **Further Data**

An advantage of the modelling approach set out above is that the more data you integrate in to the model, the better it gets. Other potential sources of data which might be used to build up a comprehensive picture of 24 hour activity include:

- *ATM data.* Data from bank cash machines (ATMs), which show where, and importantly when, do people are getting out money, could help show where people are congregating in the evenings and late at night;
- *Mobile Phone data.* Mobile phone companies can count the number of users in each telephone 'cell' at every minute of the day. Indeed, being able to predict these numbers (and the related traffic overheads) is central to the next generation of mobile phone technology. Again this data, if available, could help to identify hotspots;
- *CCTV data.* More and more areas are introducing Closed Circuit Television systems to monitor behaviour in public places. These can be used to estimate the numbers of people on the streets at various times of day, as well as providing direct evidence of crime or anti-social behaviour.

## APPENDIX

### Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) Codes of Activities which relate to the Evening and Late-Night Economies

SIC Code	Description
----------	-------------

#### Hotels

55120	Hotels
-------	--------

#### Restaurants & Licensed Premises

55301	Licensed restaurants
55302	Unlicensed restaurants and cafes
55303	Take-away food shops
55304	Take-away food mobile stands
55401	Licensed clubs with entertainment
55402	Public houses and bars
55403	Tenanted public houses and bars
55404	Managed public houses and bars

#### Arts, Culture and Entertainment

91310	Activities of religious organisations
92130	Motion picture projection
92311	Live theatrical presentations
92320	Operation of arts facilities
92341	Dance halls, discotheques and dance instructor activities
92349	Miscellaneous entertainment activities
92510	Library and archives activities
92521	Museum activities
92522	Preservation of historical sites and buildings
92611	Operation of ice rink and roller skating rinks
92629	Other sporting activities not elsewhere classified
92710	Gambling and betting activities
92720	Other recreational activities not elsewhere classified
93040	Physical well-being activities

LATE-NIGHT LONDON  
Planning and Managing the Late-Night Economy

**APPENDIX B**

Local Authority Survey

## LOCAL AUTHORITY SURVEY

### Main Findings

A brief questionnaire was sent to the Planning Departments of all 33 London boroughs (including the City of London) asking for information on their evening and late-night 'hotspots', the benefits and problems that such activities bring, the types of areas (if any) in which they would encourage them, and details of any special policies they had for dealing with them. A copy of the questionnaire is attached.

Responses were received from 25 of the 33 boroughs, and the main findings are summarised below.

#### 1. 'Hotspots'

19 of the respondents (76%) said that there had been significant growth in evening/late-night activities in their boroughs in recent years. 5 said that there had not.

13 of the respondents (52%) said that evening/late-night activities were now considered to be a major issue in their boroughs. 11 (44%) however said that they were not, or not particularly, considered to be a problem. The boroughs which considered evening/late night activities to be a major issue were nearly all in central London or contained one of London's outer metropolitan centres (e.g. Ilford, Kingston). 24 of the respondents (96%) identified specific evening 'hotspots' in their boroughs and 19 of these (76%) also had late-night areas which were busy after midnight.

Thus while the main concentration of late-night activity is in the West End, it is an important issue in many other parts of London too, especially in central London and the larger outer centres.

#### 2. Problems and Benefits

Respondents were asked to rate potential problems that evening and late-night entertainment activities could bring, using a scale of 1 (no problem) to 5 (extremely serious). There were considerable variations between the ratings given, but the issues that were cited most often as serious problems (with a rating of 4 or 5) were:

- Noise disturbing local residents
- Additional police required
- Additional servicing of area required
- Litter/rubbish on streets
- Insufficient public transport at night
- Fouling of streets, public spaces (urination etc.).

On the other hand all the respondents were also able to specify benefits that evening/late-night activities brought. These were mainly expressed in terms of improvements to the local economy (such as increasing vitality and diversity, attracting more visitors, encouraging more local spending and investment, and providing alternative uses for premises), but improving the image of the area and helping to meet people's (rising) expectations were also mentioned. Having a wider range of local facilities also reduced the need to travel and so contributed to sustainability. Some respondents noted that evening/late-night activity on the streets helped to deter crime, but it was also said that it could bring more fear of crime too.

All this confirmed the other findings of the research.

### 3. Encouraging More Evening/Late-night Activities

Only 4 of the respondents (16%) indicated that they would not encourage more evening/late-night activities in their boroughs. The great majority of boroughs, however, would encourage more of these activities, particularly evening activities, in their main town centres. Other locations which were considered suitable were areas needing regeneration, areas around transport nodes and, to a lesser extent, commercial areas.

Thus in spite of the problems previously highlighted many London boroughs are keen to encourage more evening/late-night activities in suitable locations.

### 4. Special Policies

Respondents were asked to list any special policies that they had developed to deal with their evening or late-night economies. Most did not have any special policies apart from general policies in their UDPs. Some said that they were considering developing them or that they were bringing planning and licensing policies more closely together. Specific policies mentioned included policies for door supervisors and crime prevention partnerships.

### 5. Final Comments

Respondents were given the opportunity to express their views as to what issues regarding evening or late-night activities should be addressed in the Mayor's Spatial Development Strategy. Of the 15 respondents (67%) who provided comments, the most frequently mentioned issue was the need to protect or balance residents' interests with the growth of these activities, as both were being encouraged. (One respondent went as far as to say that this issue was 'being fudged' at present). Other areas in which the Mayor could make a contribution included transport, advice on diversifying the evening economy and on encouraging the private sector to take a more responsible attitude; and

guidance on the identification of suitable areas for evening and late-night activities. Some respondents, however, considered that the Spatial Development Strategy should concentrate on strategic matters, leaving the boroughs to deal with the specific issues of evening and late-night activities, so as to ensure that they are located 'where benefits outweigh disadvantages'.

In summary the survey confirmed that evening and late-night activities have been growing rapidly in recent years, and are starting to raise significant issues in many parts of London (not just the West End). While many boroughs would welcome an increase in evening and late-night activities in appropriate locations, and were aware of the potential benefits they could bring, little as yet has been done to develop specific policies and plans for bringing this about in ways that will also minimise the associated problems.

[Letter to Borough Planning Departments]

28<sup>th</sup> September 2001

Dear

**Evening and Night-time Activities in London**

In many parts of London there has been rapid growth in evening and night-time activities (especially leisure and entertainment, and often involving alcohol) in and around public places. While this has brought benefits to some areas, it has also caused considerable controversy in others. The Greater London Authority has commissioned URBED (Urban and Economic Development Group) to undertake preliminary research into the scale, location and effects of these activities, which are sometimes referred to as 'the 24 hour economy'. The aim is to provide relevant inputs into the Mayor's forthcoming Spatial Development Strategy.

I am therefore writing to invite you to fill in a brief questionnaire on the subject. You are also welcome, if you wish to, to add any further comments of your own and to send in any additional material, particularly examples of policies or practices that your authority is using to deal with the issues raised.

The tight time scale for finalising the SDS means that we need your response by **October 12th**.

I hope that you will not find the questionnaire too time consuming to fill in. If you would prefer to answer the questions or make further comments over the telephone, please call me on 020 7436 8050. With many thanks for your help.

Yours sincerely,

Christopher Cadell



## Questionnaire on Evening and Night-time Activities in London

### 1. 'Hotspots'

(a) Has there been significant growth in evening/late-night activities in your borough in recent years? (Please tick) Yes..... No.....

(b) Is the development/management of evening/late-night activities now considered to be a major issue in your borough? (Please tick) Yes..... No..... Not Particularly.....

(c) Please list the main places in your borough where there are significant concentrations of evening (*up to midnight*) and/or late-night (*after midnight*) activity. (Please show any places that get particularly busy in the evening/night by putting a tick in the last column).

Location	Type of Activity	Time (Eve/Late/Both)	Very busy?
(1) .....	.....	.....	.....
(2) .....	.....	.....	.....
(3) .....	.....	.....	.....
(4) .....	.....	.....	.....
(5) .....	.....	.....	.....
(6) .....	.....	.....	.....
(7) .....	.....	.....	.....
(8) .....	.....	.....	.....
(9) .....	.....	.....	.....

(If there are more, please add them on a separate sheet)

### 2. Problems/Issues/Benefits

(a) Do evening/late-night activities cause significant problems in your borough or raise significant issues? (Please indicate the seriousness of the problem - and add other major issues as necessary.)

**Seriousness of problem** (on a scale of 1 to 5)  
(1 = no problem. 5 = extremely serious.)

Rowdiness, fighting in the street	.....
Noise disturbing local residents	.....
Fouling of streets, public spaces (urination etc.)	.....
Litter/rubbish on streets	.....
Overcrowding of public spaces	.....
Area feels threatening or unsafe	.....
Drug dealing	.....
Vandalism	.....
Other crime.....	.....

(continued on next page)

- Insufficient public transport at night .....
- Additional policing required .....
- Additional servicing of area required .....
- Other (please add).....
- .....
- .....

(b) What are the main **benefits** associated with evening/late night activities in your borough?

.....

.....

.....

.....

### 3. Overall Policy

Are there specific places (or particular types of area) in your borough which are considered suitable for new evening and/or late-night activities to locate in? (Please write in the names of the specific places and tick as many of the ‘types of area’ as are considered suitable.)

	<b>Evening activities</b>	<b>Late-night activities</b>
<b>Specific places:</b>		
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
<b>Types of area:</b>		
Major/district town centres	.....	.....
Local centres	.....	.....
Commercial areas	.....	.....
Areas needing regeneration	.....	.....
Around transport nodes (e.g. railway stations)	.....	.....
On main roads	.....	.....
Other.....	.....	.....
We do not encourage new evening/night activities	.....	.....

### 4. Special Policies

Have any specific policies or guidelines been developed (or are being developed) in the borough to address the issues associated with evening/late-night activities (e.g. ‘Late Night Zones’, ‘24 hour Frontages’, ‘Quiet Zones’, specific licensing policies and conditions etc.)? If so, please list them, and if possible enclose a copy of them with your reply.

.....

.....

.....

.....

**5. Additional Comments**

Do you have any further comments on evening/late-night activities in London, or on how the Mayor should deal with the subject in the Spatial Development Strategy?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

If you would prefer to give your answers or comments over the telephone, please call Christopher Cadell on 020 7436 8050.

Name of person completing the questionnaire .....

Job Title .....

Local Authority .....

Address .....

.....

.....

Thank you for your time. Please return the completed questionnaire by October 12th to:

**Christopher Cadell, URBED,**  
**FREEPOST LON 8864, London WC1E 7BR**  
 (no stamp required)

or by Fax to: **020 7436 8083.**

**LATE-NIGHT LONDON**  
**Planning and Managing the Late-Night Economy**

**APPENDIX C**

Case Studies

- Covent Garden
- Ealing Town Centre
- London Bridge
- Shoreditch/Hoxton

# LATE-NIGHT LONDON

## CASE STUDY - Covent Garden

**An area which has gone through a rapid cycle of regeneration in which evening and late-night entertainment has played an important part, but which has now become so successful that it faces some acute problems.**

### 1. Character of Area

Covent Garden is an area of about 100 acres in the heart of the West End, sandwiched between Holborn and the Strand and between St. Martin's Lane and Kingsway, and just to the east of Soho. It is made up of many narrow streets, with small, densely packed buildings, around old Covent Garden market square. Being right in the centre of London, it is highly accessible by public transport (underground, bus and train - with Charing Cross Station just across the Strand). It is close to the main shopping streets (Oxford St., Regent St., Tottenham Court Road), and to both Westminster and the City. In recent years, after the closure of the market, the area has undergone a renaissance and it is now a magnet for visitors. It is full of restaurants, independent shops, pubs and bars, galleries and theatres. Entertainers perform in the square in front of St. Paul's Church and it is a natural place for people to congregate. With a large number of small businesses, a long-established residential population and crowds of visitors Covent Garden is a lively, busy place. It currently exhibits many of the problems associated with 24 hour life in the centre of a big centre.

Although most of Covent Garden is in the City of Westminster (and is part of one of its designated 'Stress Areas') the northern part of the area is in Camden.

### 2. Development of Area

Covent Garden has long been famous as an entertainment centre, with the Royal Opera House and several theatres, and many pubs - some of which opened at very unusual hours to serve the market porters (and others). Indeed when the market operated (up until 1974) Covent Garden truly was a 24 hour area. It operated round the clock. As soon as the opera and theatre goers had left, the fruit and vegetable trucks moved in and the process of unloading, warehousing, selling, reloading, and delivering small quantities to shops and restaurants all over London began, and continued all night so as to be finished by the time the first office workers arrived in the morning.

After the market closed the area seemed very dead and full of empty property, but research by URBED in 1978 showed that there were still some 1,500 firms in the area employing over 30,000 people (mostly involved in six networks such as printing and

publishing, music or the theatre). At that time about 3,000 people lived in the area, but mainly in council housing or run-down rented accommodation. In addition, and often forgotten, another 1,500 people lived in local hostels, some of which, such as Bruce House, were notorious. There was a symbiotic relationship between the market and some of those who dossed down in the area, and though often grubby, Covent Garden had a unique character.

Although there was a period of uncertainty while grandiose plans for comprehensive redevelopment were discussed, the GLC which had acquired most of the market buildings set up a locally-based team to mastermind the regeneration of the area. Because of its character and location, and its plentiful supply of cheap and empty space, artistic and design-oriented people and firms were soon attracted in. The process of regeneration started not, as is often thought, with the conversion of the Market Buildings into a specialist shopping centre, but with the conversion of empty buildings into studio workspace on the upper floors and restaurants or bars on the ground floor. Many architects moved into the area and for a time Covent Garden housed the largest concentration of designers in Britain, who provided a lunch-time trade to supplement the evening trade from theatre goers and office workers on their way home. Thus it was the proliferation of places to eat and drink (as well as the removal of the blight caused by the market) that helped Covent Garden take off, and it soon became firmly established again as a place to go in the evening.

Thus, after being blighted by the market and going through a comparatively dead period after the market and all the market-related businesses moved out, the revival of the area started with design-minded people moving into cheap space. They not only brought life back to the area, but brought a demand for services too - including entertainment. A key part in the area's regeneration was also played by a number of community groups, including the Covent Garden Community Association, which opposed comprehensive redevelopment and promoted the ideas of mixed uses, working communities, and festivals.

The GLC started to build new blocks of flats for those in housing need, while private developers took on smaller projects, usually involving the re-use of existing buildings. The new people who moved in often had links with the central area, like for example Christina Smith, who ran a number of shops, galleries and restaurants. Several mechanisms were set up to try to maintain what was special, including the continuation of the Area Forum, with broad representation, and also a Trust to monitor the Central Market, when this was sold to a financial institution. The Covent Garden Community Association (CGCA) has remained active as the voice of the residents.

Under the GLC the central market buildings were renovated as a specialist shopping centre. As the area became smarter, more independent shops also moved in and the area became known as an extremely interesting place to visit, helped by some good landscaping and imaginative conversions of old warehouses. In addition to the traditional pubs, which were used to having people drinking outside on the pavements a series of bars with tables outside made Covent Garden look more and more like part of a

continental city. Many of the early pioneers, such as Paul Tutton, sold out and moved on to projects elsewhere. In time, demand for space increased and institutional investors became more interested. The 'development cycle' moved on. As rents rose, and buildings were redeveloped small businesses (like URBED) had to move elsewhere, and organisations moved in who were prepared to pay highly for a fashionable location, such as firms in public relations and advertising as well as more restaurants and bars.

Covent Garden also became more and more part of Tourist London. The Everyman Guide to London says: "thanks to the determination of the people who lived there, such as artists and architects, the authorities were eventually persuaded to restore Covent Garden. The work was successfully completed in 1980, with a central pedestrian area and Neal Street, a lively collection of small shops contributing a new lease of life to the old market." What was not anticipated was the way in which the number of people visiting the area has grown and grown, as it is now not only on every visitor to London's map, but is also a big attraction for young people from all over London, and beyond. Little attempt was ever made to distinguish between residential areas and leisure areas (although an 'Entertainment Route' was incorporated in the Covent Garden Plan). Indeed mixing uses was seen as highly desirable at the time. Furthermore, with so many theatres finishing late, it was (and still is) reasonable that there should be a range of restaurants and bars open afterwards.

### 3. Covent Garden Today

"Covent Garden has come full circle: what started out in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century as London's first luxury neighbourhood is once more a highly desirable place to live, work and shop" and meet, eat and drink. Time Out's guide to Eating and Drinking lists 79 places in Covent Garden. (Only Soho and The City, a much larger area, have more entries). It also has a huge number of shops, including art and design shops, and both mainstream and designer fashion shops. The area becomes very crowded especially at weekends and especially in summer. With its many bars, it is certainly busy and noisy up until closing time, or when the Underground closes (soon after midnight) but, compared to Leicester Square and Soho it is not a particularly late night (after midnight) area, although there are some clubs with late licences (such as the Rock Garden and Roadhouse on the piazza which can generate long queues) and there are groups of people to be seen wandering about the area in the early hours. Significantly the bicycle rickshaw drivers said that it was not worth looking for business in Covent Garden after 11.30 pm (although rather later at weekends) as there were not enough lights in the area late at night to attract passing pedestrians into it, particularly in comparison with Leicester Square and Soho.

Although the area is busy in the evenings only a few shops (like Waterstone's, Next, Jigsaw) stay open after 7 pm ("People may come in, but they do not really spend money then".) Tesco is open until midnight. Some restaurants, too, are open up until around midnight catering for the post-theatre trade.

#### 4. Issues

##### **Disturbance to residents**

While Covent Garden does not have the same intensity of late-night activity as Soho, it is nonetheless a very busy place and Westminster City Council has included it in the West End 'Stress Area' in an attempt to stop further growth of A3 Uses and to curb anti-social behaviour and disturbance to residents. As noted above there were people living in the area even when the market operated. More people moved in, in the lull after the market closed, and some of them contributed greatly to the regeneration of the area, and the population is continuing to grow. (As property prices are now high, it may be expected that the new residents are more well-heeled than those who traditionally lived in the area).

From attendance at a CGCA meeting it is clear that there is a perception among residents, some of whom have lived in the area for 30 years or so that the problems of rowdiness, and worse, have greatly increased in the last few years. They include rubbish, late night drinking, urination, and over-crowding, particularly in and around Covent Garden and Leicester Square stations at rush hours. (Most people are apparently unaware of other possible entry points to the area, such as Holborn Station.) Also one respected long-term resident said that Covent Garden has become a very noisy area to live in, not just when the pubs close, but throughout the night.

Particular problems include the sound of broken glass, people kicking plastic cups around, and restaurants emptying bottles into Palladins, plus the refuse vehicles in the early morning. Shop fitters also start work early (despite the ban on building outside 8.30 am to 6.00 pm) plus shop deliveries. There can also be the sounds of fighting and people running around looking for somewhere to go after the nightclubs close (there are ones in the Piazza and in Drury Lane). It is the sudden noises that are worst. (She does not have double glazing, and wondered how it would be possible to get fresh air in if she did.)

She thought that things had got worse since exceptions had been allowed to the 'Entertainment Route' which was in the original Covent Garden plan. Licensing applications now take up most of the time of the CGCA's Planning Committee. She doubted if changes to the licensing system would improve the situation. (She was not sure what was proposed but the last changes did not help.) An extra half an hour's operation on the tube would be helpful, but the biggest thing is to make people feel and act more responsibly. Foreigners, particularly from Scandinavia, seem to be the worst, and Americans always seem to talk loudly. Wardens could help. But the real priority is to take quick action on the small things, and perhaps to have a quiet day on Sunday.

Urinating in the streets has been one of the nuisances mentioned most frequently by local residents, and there is obvious evidence of this on the streets late at night. Members of the CGCA have been instrumental in the development and trial by Westminster of a system of portable urinals. The Council estimates that over the 15 weekends that the first



five units were tried out, there were over 21,000 users, and they have since developed a new phase to the trial of permanent units that are only open at night, plus an additional six removable units. All units have directions showing the location of alternative public toilets open 24 hours. Local police are reported to be very pleased with the trial.

### **Undermining the character of the area**

Another recurring complaint about the growth of the West End as a visitor attraction is that the "chains" are taking over the shops, restaurants and bars, and converting them into standardised, high turnover outlets. In doing this they raise property prices, so that independents are tempted to sell out and only other efficient corporate operators can afford to come in. This not only "undermines the character" of the area, but leads to less responsible management of venues (especially bars) where managers are motivated to meet high sales or profit targets. Certainly more and larger chain bars (e.g. All Bar One, O'Neills, Rat and Parrot) and South African and Australian sports bars are readily visible, and there seems to be a proliferation of bars with D Js which crossover from bars to clubs.

However as shown above that the 'character' of Covent Garden has changed enormously in recent years. While it may be possible to alter the course of change, (e.g. by preventing restaurants changing into bars) it would seem impossible to freeze it as it was at some ideal time. Furthermore in a free-enterprise system it is difficult to argue against businesses for being "too successful" and attracting too many customers. If London is to be a World City which everyone wants to visit, it can hardly complain about their taste.

Irresponsible behaviour by both suppliers and consumers, on the other hand can be addressed. The former by collective monitoring and management of what is happening in the area, and ultimately through the licensing system (as alcohol or entertainment will almost certainly be involved). Irresponsible consumers (e.g. rowdy people on the street) present more of a problem, but their behaviour can also be addressed by more intensive management and better servicing of the area, including more policing, and by taking steps to try to keep entertainment, and residential uses more separate from each other.

## **5. Conclusions**

Covent Garden illustrates many of the issues surrounding London's evening and late-night economy. The area has gone through a great cycle of change over the last 30 years, which is still continuing. The entertainment industry helped bring about the regeneration of the area, but it has now attracted so many visitors into the area that many of the pioneers have left and others feel that their quality of life is being damaged. The area is a victim of its own success, and of the growing trend for more and more people to wish to enjoy themselves without always giving thought to the consequences for anyone else.

Yet what is an acute problem for Covent Garden (and Soho) ought also to be seen as an opportunity for London as a whole. Many people clearly want what Covent Garden has

succeeded in offering. The challenge is to try to replicate this success in other parts of the city, which in turn should reduce the pressures on Covent Garden. Furthermore a busy area with potentially conflicting interests needs good management and servicing of the public realm. This does not just apply to late-night activities, but it is particularly acute for them.

# LATE-NIGHT LONDON

## CASE STUDY - Ealing Town Centre

**Taking a co-ordinated approach to managing the problems caused by the rapid growth of youth drinking culture in a mixed-use town centre with an established residential population.**

### 1. Character of Area

Ealing is one of London's ten or so 'metropolitan centres'. These are major shopping, employment and entertainment centres in outer London, which if viewed on their own would rank as important regional or sub-regional centres. They stand in a ring approximately 10-miles from the centre of the city. Ealing Town Centre is on the busy A4020 (called The Broadway and The Mall at that point) about 9 miles due west of St. Paul's Cathedral. It is the main centre in L. B. Ealing. (Other centres include Acton, Southall, Greenford and Hanwell). Ealing Broadway station which serves it, is on the Great Western main line and the District and Piccadilly Underground lines. The centre is well served by buses.

The character of the surrounding area is mainly residential, with the principal commercial area being to the south of the railway line along the main road, which has a cinema and several restaurants, cafes, pubs and bars. The main shopping centre (Ealing Broadway Centre) and more restaurants and large pubs are located to the south of the Broadway on High Street and Bond Street. To the west of the area is Walpole Park and to the east is Ealing Common, with several prosperous residential roads between them (including a Conservation Area). Thames Valley University is a few hundred years to the south. Thus although Ealing is a substantial town centre it has well established residential populations living close by. Furthermore, although the centre is an important shopping centre with a major transport interchange and a growing university, older residents probably think of it as rather like Richmond or Blackheath.

### 2. Late-Night Ealing

Because of its good transport links and university Ealing has attracted a lot of young professional people to live in it and is in some ways a student town. Although with the railway and main roads always busy, Ealing has long been noisy at night, but by the early 1990s the town centre began to become noticeably noisier in the evening and night (especially after closing time) from (mostly) young people who had been drinking and eating. Although the entertainment facilities are not on the scale of the West End Ealing now has 5 nightclubs and some pubs or bars and 70 restaurants (including take-aways). Furthermore several of the pubs/bars are on a large scale and cater mainly for 'vertical

drinkers' (standing customers, more of whom can be fitted in to a given space, and who are said to drink more quickly). Late-night disorder and crime began to rise.

Ealing Town Centre therefore found itself confronted with an uneasy mix of a growing youth pub/bar culture, an established residential population, concern for the environment and an important retailing centre which wished to maintain the reputation of the town as a safe place to come to. Residents began to complain to the Council of drunken people on the streets around midnight and of young people vomiting or relieving themselves in their gardens. Between July and December 1994 Ealing police were called to almost 300 incidents in the town centre involving rowdiness, fighting and drunken behaviour. The area was becoming dominated by young people and alcohol, and older women in particular were afraid to be in the centre late at night. Suburban Ealing was facing the same issues as the West End. The local press began referring to the area as "the Las Vegas of Drinking".

### 3. The Council's Response

Local residents were used to commenting on planning applications, and they started complaining to the planning department, which initially told them that these were licensing issues not planning matters. Although there were established procedures for objecting to licence applications, people were not familiar with them, and usually most attention was paid to the views of the police. In 1994 the Ealing Community and Police Consultative Group took up the issue, and following its report a Central Ealing Working Group was established including the Council's licensing officer, the Licensing Magistrates' Clerk, police officers (including crime prevention), community and residents associations and representatives of all the council departments involved (planning, licensing, environmental health, legal). This recognised that the problems of the night-time economy were multi-faceted and required a co-ordinated response.

In particular the planning and licensing departments began to work closely together (and are now part of the same department). A written Licensing Panel Policy was drawn up and published. A leaflet explaining in practical terms how people could object to applications for licenses was published by the Ealing Civic Society in consultation with the other agencies. A planning officer now attends the meetings of the Magistrates' Licensing Committee and provides information on the status of all planning matters concerning a license application. Licences are not granted until all planning issues, including reserved matters, are resolved.

The philosophy behind this approach was that there was a difficult balance to be struck between the need for Ealing to move with the times as a metropolitan centre, and the need to retain residential amenity and the reputation of the centre and to control crime. At the very least all the public agencies needed to have the same overall objectives and consistent policies for the centre. Supplementary Planning Guidance for Places for Ealing, Drinking and Entertainment in Central Ealing was issued. This recognised the

positive role that leisure and recreational uses can play in maintaining the health of town centres, but stated that applications would also be assessed in relation to fire concerns:

- protecting the centre's retail function
- promoting a good range of community facilities for all
- protecting and promoting residential use
- protecting and enhancing the character of the area
- taking account of transport implications.

Model conditions to be attached where appropriate to planning permissions were also issued.

In addition it was realised that the area required better management and that it was essential to involve the venue operators directly, especially the pubs and bars. A 'Responsible Host' scheme was drawn up, ostensibly as an annual award scheme, but with a clear set of guidelines or code of conduct (see **Appendix**) and a system of inspections by an evaluation team. The guidelines call for management of the area outside and around the premises as well as the inside.

#### 4. Conclusions

Ealing has been affected by the same types of issues over late-night entertainment as are now found in central London and in the centres of other large cities. Although this is not a new phenomenon, the rate of growth and concentration of the youth drinking culture in central Ealing in the early 1990s took the public agencies by surprise and led to both disorder and fierce local objections. Since then a co-ordinated management approach has been developed, both within the public agencies and between them and the local entertainment operators. Efforts have been made to work collaboratively, but also to enforce planning and licensing conditions. New venues have also been encouraged to locate elsewhere in the borough (e.g. in West Ealing).

While some problems still remain, as alcohol can fuel problems and late-night entertainment and residential uses are not highly compatible, Ealing Town Centre is a lively place at night (especially at weekends) and the conflicts have been reduced. Late-night activity, however, is still dominated by young people and ways have not yet been found to diversify the late-night economy, but by taking a co-ordinated approach a reasonable balance is being achieved.

## APPENDIX

### GUIDELINES FOR GOOD MANAGEMENT OF ENTERTAINMENT VENUES

#### (Ealing's Responsible Host Scheme)

1. Operate an effective door-control policy which prevents overcrowding.
2. Ensure there is always a member of staff on duty who is trained to deal with rowdy, drunk or disorderly patrons and that where necessary this person passes on information to managers and staff of neighbouring premises or to the Police.
3. Watch over the outside of the premises and where necessary be ready to contact the relevant authority or staff in neighbouring premises.
4. Have the contact name and number of the relevant police personnel and be aware of when to call them. Participate in Pubwatch, Businesswatch or equivalent in the area.
5. Consider ways of reducing the opportunity for criminal activity within the premises through attention to layout, design and safety. Work with the Crime Prevention Design Advisor before applying for structural alterations.
6. Provide a safe 'outdoor' environment, (e.g. properly maintained shrubs and bushes, good lighting and fencing).
7. Ensure that facilities are provided for people with disabilities (including those with mobility limitation, sight/hearing impairment etc.).
8. Promptly repair or remove hazardous or damaged objects, materials or property from the premises and the immediate area.
9. Ensure that all servicing, waste disposal and recycling activities occur at a time which is considerate to local residents.
10. Ensure that noise from the premises and the outside area is kept to a minimum.
11. Provide up to date information on late night public transport and reputable taxi services for the benefit of patrons.

*Source: L. B. Ealing*

# LATE-NIGHT LONDON

## CASE STUDY - London Bridge

**An area close to the centre of London which does not have a well developed late-night economy, but might have the potential to do so.**

### 1. Character of Area

This case study covers the area around London Bridge Station on the south bank of the Thames between Southwark Bridge and Butlers Wharf (just to the east of Tower Bridge), and stretching south to Long Lane which is about half a mile from the river. It is in the London Borough of Southwark. It includes a wide mix of places, such as Borough High Street, the Guys Hospital campus, London Bridge Station (both mainline and underground) and the new Jubilee line stations at Southwark and Bermondsey, as well as the emerging creative quarter in Bermondsey Street and Bermondsey Square, with the Zandra Rhodes Fashion and Design Museum and the antiques market. It also includes several major tourist attractions such as Southwark Cathedral, Tower Bridge, HMS Belfast, the Golden Hind, Vinopolis, the London Dungeon, World War II Exhibition, the Bramah Coffee Museum and the Design Museum. Tate Modern, the Blade of Light footbridge and the Globe Theatre are just to the west of the area. The area has a number of parks and green spaces (e.g. Potters Fields and Tanner Street park).

The area is therefore used by many different groups: office workers, retailers, hospital staff, patients, tourists and residents of both social and private housing.

The riverfront is a mixed area with three major developments, two completed (although there is some development activity still at Butlers Wharf) and one, More London, due for completion 2005. The three sites are:

- London Bridge City (Hays Galleria, with shops, pub, bar and restaurants, as well as a petanque pitch, fitness club and feature boat)
- Butlers Wharf (a prestige mixed use development with substantial residential, office, retail and upmarket leisure uses like restaurants)
- More London (an office development, but with some retail, a supermarket and hotel, as well as restaurants, cafes, bars and a fitness centre. It also includes the future home of the GLA).

During the day the main activity is work based, with a substantial number of tourists, especially during summer months. A spatial study examining movement around the area was undertaken 3 years ago by the More London developers. This indicated large numbers of business people crossing between the station and the City, as well as a busy tourist route across Tower Bridge and along the river front to the South Bank. Substantial numbers of local people also use the waterside and Potters Field park.

In the evening activity is mainly focused on the riverside strip, which has pubs, restaurants, and some clubs (e.g. Club SE1 and others). The Ministry of Sound is further south at the Elephant & Castle. There is a policy of encouraging the use of railway arches for club activity to avoid disturbance of residents. As well as the waterside activity, Borough High Street has a number of pubs and restaurants, such as the recently opened TAZ, and there is the Delphina restaurant in Bermondsey Street.

Weekend activity centres on tourists (and local residents, with the Borough Market being a draw on Saturday morning). On Sunday the area tends to be quiet in the evening.

While there have been some major developments over the past 10-15 years as the City has started to expand across the river, there is some consensus that the area has changed markedly over the last 2-3 years, especially with Southwark Cathedral's extension, the opening of Tate Modern and the Globe Theatre, as well as the start of building on the More London site. In addition the Queen's Walk provides access to virtually the whole of the riverside, providing a pleasant route with several attractions along it. Access to the area has also been improved with the opening of the Jubilee Line extension.

Thus the area is mixed and becoming heavily developed. It has a major transport interchange, and the number of office workers working in the area (as opposed to just walking over the bridge) is growing. It caters for large numbers of tourists and has an established residential population, mostly in the south of the area. There are long established eating and drinking venues in Borough High Street, and more are opening up to serve the new activity especially along the river. The evening economy is therefore growing, and there is now some late-night activity in clubs under the railway arches, but it is not particularly well developed, in spite of its very central location.

## 2. Development Plans

L. B. Southwark has no specific strategy for the evening economy, although it was mentioned in the Key Issues Paper produced as part of the current review of the UDP. This has now been developed into a Local Issues Paper on which consultation has been invited. Questions about the evening economy are included in a survey that the Council is conducting. However, the evening economy is not regarded as a high priority. There



is a lack of agreement among members over its development, and local residents oppose it. Nevertheless, despite the lack of policy the evening economy is developing anyway.

There are a number of other proposed developments that would affect the area and increase the level of activity in it, including evening use:

- London Bridge Station (more through trains, Thameslink, more office and retail space)
- The Piano tower block (offices)
- Bermondsey Square (mixed use, residential, some retail, market and leisure)
- Cannon Street pedestrian bridge
- St. Christopher's House (planning application for a major scheme behind the Tate Modern which would create a new 'high street' and include both evening and late-night activities).

### 3. Issues

#### **Public Realm**

The area along the river, where additional evening and night time activities might perhaps be developed, has a pleasant environment.

The riverside walkway on the whole is of reasonably high quality, although there are some unsightly areas (e.g. around by the bridges). The Queen's Walk is mainly well cleaned, although there were a few pockets of rubbish to be seen. The river walk is well lit, although there were a couple of areas where the lights were out.

There are other parts of the case study area - railway arches, Bermondsey Street tunnel - that do need improvement. However, the railway very much cuts off the riverside from the residential area to the south, which is mainly social housing.

#### **Security**

The riverside feels fairly safe after dark, despite a low level of activity between the different 'hot spots'. Some young women were walking alone. The Home Beat Police Officer said that the area was relatively quiet after 8.00 pm, and that most people went home after work at 6.30 - 7.00 pm. Borough High Street was the busiest area, with a number of pubs, although there was also activity around St. Thomas St./Guys Approach

(with an All Bar One and Nicos), as well as at London Bridge and Railway Approaches. He confirmed that Friday, Saturday and Sunday were the busiest nights, with clubs open through the night in Duke Street and Tooley Street, Borough High Street. There are the usual numbers of street fights and disturbances, but the biggest crime at the moment was mobile phone theft.

### **Transport**

During the day and evening the area is well served by public transport. There are mainline services to Kent and Sussex (and small part of Surrey) and Thameslink across London, as well as frequent trains to the West End (Charing Cross is just two stops). The Northern and Jubilee Underground lines also run through the area. The mainline station is busy until the last trains at, for example, 23.10 to Brighton (Thameslink), 00.40 to East Croydon, 00.21 to Gravesend, 23.50 to Waterloo East (with a last train from Waterloo main line to Richmond at 00.18).

### **Noise**

Noise levels around Southwark Cathedral are high because of the station e.g. Indian restaurant under the lines suffers vibration as trains pass over. There are also complaints from some of the residents at Butlers Wharf about the noise levels from Le Pont de la Tour - diners leaving late at night and bottles and rubbish being put out.

## **4. Conclusions**

The area around London Bridge, especially the area close to the river is continuing to undergo radical redevelopment. The numbers of office workers and tourists are increasing and are likely to continue to do so. The evening economy, with pubs and restaurants is already developing, but the area quietens down quite early except for a few clubs and some smart restaurants. There would seem to be potential for encouraging some overspill of late-night activity from the West End, given the area's proximity to the City and its (potentially) good links with the West End (2 stops from Charing Cross), Shoreditch and King's Cross (Northern Line) and other parts of London vi the Jubilee Line (which presumably does not need to be shut down so much for maintenance as it is so new).

However, any moves to increase late-night activity would have to be made in the knowledge of the problems it can bring, and of the need for properly resourced, co-ordinated management to be in place to deal with them.

# LATE-NIGHT LONDON

## CASE STUDY - Shoreditch/Hoxton

**A deprived area that has undergone an astonishing and rapid transformation to become a "new Soho", but which now suffers from some of the same problems which large-scale night life can bring - without any mechanism for dealing with them (until now).**

### 1. Character of Area

Shoreditch is the southern part of Hackney which runs down to the City of London just to the north of Liverpool Street station. Hoxton is the part of Shoreditch around Hoxton Square, north of Old Street. It is a city fringe area that used to contain a lot of manufacturing and warehousing (clothing, furniture etc.), as well as council housing estates which replaced the crowded slums for which the East End was famous. Much of the industry closed down in the 1980s leaving empty property on the edge of the City. Not only have office uses begun to spread in from the City, but also many of the empty buildings have been colonised by people whom the Rough Guide to London describes as "designers and architects and beautiful people with studs all over, mangled aubergine hair and me-and-my-genius portfolios". In other words the artistic and creative people who might have gone to Covent Garden and later Camden when they were cheap moved into the area to live and work (Hackney supports Live-Work development) - and have to some extent moved on to other places now that Shoreditch has become fashionable and property prices have started to rise steeply.

The area is still heavily built up with little open space (apart from Hoxton Square) and suffers from heavy traffic on the 'ring road' around the eastern side of the City. There are still some empty buildings in the area, which still looks run-down, partly because Hackney is a poor borough and does not have much money to spend on the public realm.

### 2. Late-Night Shoreditch

Shoreditch is close to the City and is served not only by Liverpool Street (main line terminus and 4 Underground lines) but also by Old Street (which is on the Northern Line and has commuter train services too). Large, cheap buildings make good venues for dance clubs, and several 'city fringe' areas in transition (e.g. Clerkenwell, King's Cross) have developed late-night activities. In the last few years Shoreditch has gone from a place for creative pioneers to a trendy area with a hectic night life. Time Out says: "Five years ago, many Londoners would not have been able to find Shoreditch and Hoxton on a map. But now the area... has taken over from Soho as the centre of London's freshest night life culture".

While the original Blue Note on Hoxton Square has moved on, many clubs and bars have opened up (e.g. 33, Cargo, Shoreditch Electricity Showrooms, Herbal etc.) and the area is busy both in the evening up to closing time and afterwards when the clubs stay open. There are many people on the streets at night, especially at weekends and especially around Hoxton Square and Rivington Street.

After the collapse of manufacturing in Shoreditch, Hackney Council encouraged entertainment and other uses to try to help revive the area. However, the planners also think that given the economic pressures and the great growth of clubbing in the 1990s the changes would have happened anyway. Crime and drug dealing have also increased, and the Council does not have the manpower to undertake extensive enforcement of licensing conditions.

### 3. Issues

The late-night life has definitely put Shoreditch on the map, and the area has been greatly hyped by the press. This has brought advantages and disadvantages and it has certainly taken the 'development cycle' on to a new stage. Apart from putting up rents, the crowds of people have made it difficult for some firms to keep working in the evening. Again the pioneers are starting to move on. Also now that young professional people from the City have visited the area and found it fun, and very central, there is a huge demand for stylish housing. While Hackney is keen to maintain employment in the area, there is a suspicion that Live-Work developments will in fact be used as residential. This will certainly change the character of the area, and as has been seen elsewhere could lead to conflicts between residents and late-night activities in the future, unless great care is taken.

In fact there are already some problems for residents, with disturbance, urination in the streets, drugs and crime. There is a high level of public housing (67%) in Shoreditch and high unemployment among 16-24 year olds. There is said to be a large scale heroin and cocaine problem among local young people and it is also said that many people visiting the area from outside also buy drugs. The gentrification of the area has led to changes in the patterns of offending. There has been an increase in thefts which is believed to be linked to drug use.

Late-night transport in Shoreditch is poor, especially as the great majority of the clubbers come from out of the area. The night bus system does not seem to have caught up with the increase in late-night activity nor tied in with the closing times of the major venues. This leads to people hanging around in the streets, and disturbing residents if they are close to residential areas - as does the honking of horns by mini cabs.

One fear is that the night life will continue to grow by taking over existing traditional pubs located further into residential areas. Converting them into trendy bars will attract

noisy crowds and create other noise - for example that of bottles being emptied into rubbish bins late at night - which will inevitably lead to more disturbance to residents.

Another important issue is that the new night life and its customers are basically being imported from other places. It is nice for some local people to have a wider range of entertainment venues to go to, but otherwise the industry does not engage with the local communities many of which are quite deprived. Fortunately Shoreditch is now being supported under the New Deal for Communities Programme, and the Shoreditch New Deal Trust is trying to increase the economic and other ties between the existing communities and the newer sources of wealth that have moved into the 'empty' area. The Trust is establishing a local employment agency, called Talent, with New Deal funding, which will not only broker jobs for local people but will ensure that they get proper training and support. This will not only make sure that more of the success of the area's new entertainment industry is shared by local people, but will also help reduce resentment from older residents against what can be seen as an alien world moving in with no regard for what was already there. In time, perhaps, the employment of local people could be built into local licensing agreements along with other conditions to safeguard the interests of the area.

#### 4. Conclusions

Shoreditch/Hoxton has undergone an astonishing transformation in little more than a decade. First, artistic people moved in to take advantage of cheap space in large buildings (some of which were "wonderful"). They were followed by designers and creative industries, including information technology. Then leading-edge clubs came (again attracted by cheap space). Then the area was discovered and hyped by the media. More and more clubs, bars and restaurants moved in. More people wanted to live in Shoreditch, and institutional development began to take over. Some of the pioneers found themselves being priced out, but the area continues to attract investment.

This is a great success story. However, it also brought with it the usual problems - litter, noise, increased crime - and did little to engage with largely deprived local communities. The public realm still looks run-down, and there are many social problems. There has been no mechanism to link the successful new activities with the wider community - even though those activities have brought additional problems with them, like increased disturbance to residents and increased drug dealing. The Shoreditch New Deal Trust may provide a vehicle for ensuring that more of the benefits of the area's booming night life reach local people and that it is properly serviced. But how can this be done in areas that do not have such Trusts?

LATE-NIGHT LONDON  
Planning and Managing the Late-Night Economy

**APPENDIX D**

**Report of Round Table Seminar**

## REPORT OF SEMINAR

### "Where to Encourage Late-Night Entertainment in London"

As part of its research for the Greater London Authority on 'Locating and Managing the 24-hour City', URBED (Urban and Economic Development Group) held a seminar "Where to Encourage Late-night Entertainment in London" on the afternoon of October 29<sup>th</sup> 2001 at the GLA's headquarters at Romney House. The overall study aims to identify the key issues which the so-called 24-hour economy raises for London and how the Mayor might address them in his strategies. 53 people participated in the seminar (see attached list), drawn from a wide variety of backgrounds, including local authority officers, entertainment venue operators, property professionals, representatives of Transport for London and the Metropolitan Police, town centre managers, GLA staff and other experts.

The seminar was organised as a 'round table conference' with the participants seated in groups of 10-12 around tables. Each table had an experienced convenor (from the consultants' team) and a reporter (from the GLA or related organisations like TfL). The main part of the session was devoted to structured discussion, lasting an hour and a half, with each table focussing on a particular theme. Two tables each focussed on *Planning the right places* and *Mechanisms and resources* and the fifth table covered *Minimising nuisance through design and management*. A background paper outlining some of the issues had been sent out to all participants in advance (see attachment). Three brief presentations were given at the start of the session to set the scene (see below), and at the end of the discussion period the reporter from each table summarised the discussion and answered questions from the floor. The symposium was chaired by Dr. Nicholas Falk and in the absence of the Deputy Mayor, Alex Bax, Strategy Co-ordinator at the GLA, gave a final response to the meeting. The GLA provided refreshments, and informal discussions continued for a considerable time after the session had officially ended.

#### 1. Introductory Presentations

**Christopher Cadell** (URBED) welcomed the participants, and outlined the background to the study and the emerging issues. Late-night entertainment in London had grown spectacularly in the past 10 years. It attracted mainly young people, particularly at weekends. It had become a hugely successful industry, but because it was fuelled by alcohol it caused problems - noise, anti-social behaviour and crime. It also created a need for additional services such as transport, policing, maintenance and management of the public realm. The West End was London's main late-night hotspot with over 250,000 people passing through Leicester Square on a Saturday, and the peak occurring around midnight. This was putting enormous pressure on a small area, resulting in complaints from residents and an environment that was well below the standards expected from a World City. The main issue for discussion was whether more late-night activities could not be developed elsewhere in London to help take the strain off the West End, and to bring some of the economic and other benefits to other areas which were closer to where

most people lived. The question was how this might be done successfully, while avoiding the well-known problems.

There were three main aspects

- **Planning** - so that late-night entertainment zones would be in the right places
- **Designing and managing** late-night entertainment zones - so as to minimise nuisance
- Developing appropriate **mechanisms and resources** - so as to make things happen.

These would be the three topics on which the discussion groups would focus.

**Mark Thurstain-Goodwin** of the Centre for Advanced Spatial Analysis, University College London, showed that it was possible with computer-based Geographic Information System (GIS) techniques to bring together London-wide data to map the late-night, or at least the evening, economy. He had taken information from the Government's Annual Employment Survey (ONS) and plotted the numbers of people employed in the sectors most closely associated with evening entertainment, according to the post codes of their place of work. The latest data currently available was for 1999, which clearly showed a number of concentrations of evening activity in various parts of London, with much the greatest concentration being in the West End. Unfortunately from employment data it was not possible to separate out activity by time, but many of the activities covered - e.g. cinemas, restaurants, pubs, bars - were part of the late-night economy.

Other datasets were available that could be related to time. These included crime statistics from the Metropolitan Police, which could show where street crimes were concentrated between midnight and 7 a.m. This was another indicator of places where people were congregating late at night. Other potentially useful sources existed but could not be analysed within the scope of the current study. Transport data could give information on where people were boarding night buses - although this would cover only a part of those travelling in London after midnight. The Underground system stopped serving central London at about half past midnight, and the data clearly showed a surge of usage at central stations shortly before then.

The most useful data of all would have been licensing data. Information on liquor licences was available from individual magistrates' courts, but only to personal visitors who had written in and made appointments in advance. Information on public entertainment licences was available from each borough, but not in electronic form. Furthermore, the data was not in a standardised form which could easily be made compatible with GIS. Nevertheless from the data that was available it could be seen that while the West End was the overwhelming centre of London's evening economy, other places were popular destinations too. (See attachment).

**Dr. Andy Lovatt**, Director of the Cultural Industries Development Service in Manchester (who had written his PhD thesis on the 24-hour economy) emphasised that there were two important facets of the late-night economy which were often in opposition



- regulation and regeneration. Regulation could be social, cultural, economic and legal, and in parts of London there was evidence of moves to tighten legal regulation and indeed economic regulation (as large corporations became more dominant in certain areas). But in many other places moves towards less regulation were more in tune with social and economic trends, and were indeed helping to bring vitality and creativity back to the cities.

In Manchester, for example, relaxation of licensing hours for specific events and festivals, starting in 1994, had led to a reduction in late-night crime and alcohol-related incidents. But it was also recognised that much more could and should be done to manage the late-night environment in a way that encouraged creativity. Lessons could also be drawn from other cities like New York where they had late-night licensing, but careful entertainment zoning, a 24-hour subway system, round-the-clock street cleaning where needed, and where they made a special point of keeping cultural venues (museums, schools, galleries, followed by bookshops etc.) open late to attract a mix of people to the relevant areas. In Melbourne in Australia they now had 24-hour licences and emphasised the importance of having a variety of small, owner-run establishments in a range of decentralised centres too. In Glasgow, which in recent years had had a different licensing regime from that in England (although there were now plans to move towards the Scottish system in the near future), they had been able to experiment. They found that there was increased street violence when opening was restricted, and that more success had come with smaller venues, a variety of provision, extended licensing and care in separating residential and late-night entertainment uses. An on-going dialogue between the local authority, the police and the club and bar owners was now considered essential.

In his opinion the current licensing system was a recipe for maximising public disorder. Cities had changed from places of production to places of consumption, and choice was sovereign in the consumer society. The challenge was how to manage choice! Experience had shown that there was a need to move from "Regulation" to "Management-through-Dialogue", with the aim of producing safe, animated cultural spaces where night-time activities can take place without harm to others. There was a need to work to change the general drinking culture in Britain and there was a need to find ways for excluded groups to participate more in the night-time economy. We needed to learn and change. Finally as a way of helping to open up people's thinking for the discussion he put forward ten ideas for consideration:

1. Greater London Night-time Strategy Group
2. Transport and Parking Management
3. Pro-Active Licensing - Experiment and Review
4. Drink Tax rather than Entertainment Tax
5. Temporal Zoning
6. Creative Lighting Schemes
7. Late Opening of Cultural venues
8. Design Out Crime - Permeability of Space
9. Hygiene - More and Better Maintained Toilets, Constant Street Cleaning

## 10. Local Night-time Planning Forum.

### 2. Discussion Groups

The discussion groups were each asked to give their vision for what a successful entertainment zone (away from the West End) would be like and to focus on one key aspect of what would be required to make it happen. Each table was made up of people with different experience, some but not all being professionals in the field concerned, or some part of it.

**Discussion Groups 1 and 2** (convened by Christopher Cadell and Andy Lovatt, and reported by Rosy Greenlees, GLA and Chris Hyde, TfL) focussed on **Planning the right places**.

The vision was widely agreed, although the point was raised that there was little real research into what types of late-night entertainment and other activity people in different areas might want (and which planners should be seeking to encourage); a place as large as London should have diversity and cater for many interests. However there were many practical problems to be overcome and by no means all of them were "planning" issues. Some issues too were strategic (transport, licensing law, policing, funding) while others were practical (environmental improvements, cleaning, noise control).

As far as planning was concerned, the sub-division of the A3 Use Class (distinguishing between large and small venues and between those that focus primarily on drinking as opposed to eating) would give greater control over the type and range of facilities and help support independents. Also planning decisions could have a major impact on how much disturbance there was to residents. Mixed-use development might not always be a good thing and this had to be thought through in advance, especially if the entertainment area might expand in the future.

Transport was seen as a major issue. In the short term parking might be improved and there were moves to encourage more taxis at night, but because of the size of the problem, extended public transport was essential. Why could the Underground not stay open much later on Thursday/Friday/Saturday nights. Buses could have clearer directions on their routes. Mini-cabs and taxi ranks could be better supervised, and 'directional taxis' could be experimented with.

On a strategic level the Mayor could take the lead by encouraging late-night entertainment in centres outside the West End; in promoting flexibility and diversity; by bringing all the interests round a table (through a London-wide forum); and by co-ordinating licensing policies across the city. He should also champion late night opening of cultural and other venues in entertainment areas, better street lighting, more management and, of course, better late-night public transport. In the short term he could also encourage experimentation, with better local co-ordination of all the interests involved and, say, increased policing - to see whether these did indeed reduce the problems.

**Discussion Group 3** (convened by Francesca King and reported by Siwan Hayward, GLA) focussed on the topic of **Minimising nuisance through design and management**. There was no disagreement about the objectives - to sort out problems between pleasure-seekers and residents, to overcome the current, rather unpleasant monoculture associated with late-night entertainment in London and to lessen the role of alcohol (and other drugs). Furthermore, based mainly on experience elsewhere, there was a huge range of actions that could be taken - or at least experimented with. In other countries including Germany, where they drink more than in UK, towns like Munich, Dusseldorf, Hanover concentrate on late night activities, usually in an old market square and along a beautifully lit corridor to the main railway station (transport hub). Residential density is low immediately around the noisy '24-hour' stretch, but increases as the noise level predictably falls off.

*Specific ideas included:*

- Need to upgrade/professionalise the entertainment sector, e.g. insist on qualifications in key posts
- Need for clubs, theatres, cultural venues, to be open later, not just alcohol. Important to encourage facilities that appeal to groups other than the young.
- Unplanned/unforeseen growth has led to inadequate sanitation, transport, lighting, design. Fast growth in Croydon, Romford has not been matched by adequate management, dialogue or education. Control is lost.
- BIDs provide a potential model, but focus on design, prevention education first. Wardens cannot be expected to solve everything, and deal with trouble. They can be management's/police's eyes and ears.
- Good environmental standards are important. People must be encouraged to take pride in/respect the environment - including mini-cab drivers etc.
- Sanitation is also important. In Disneyland it is part of the entertainment. High standards again.
- Area management (reinforced town centre management with powers and budget). All this is expensive. Money should come from liquor licence, and from requirements attached to licences (e.g. keeping street clean).
- The police, too, are under-funded - and encouraged to focus on other priorities. Resources and standards are key to managing the public realm.
- Greater thought should be given to location of residential uses and entertainment venues - through planning and licensing. Good management can improve matters but not solve all underlying conflicts. Better management systems are required.

Alternatively self-contained, out of centre 'pleasure domes' might be considered (c.f. Tivoli Gardens in Copenhagen).

- Noise is a key issue. Design, early warning noise monitors, enforcement of conditions (including fines perhaps related to a points system) can each play a part - but you need someone to be responsible.
- Finally there was an unresolved discussion of the need to balance the commercial drive to sell more alcohol and the harm that excessive consumption of alcohol brings (underage drinking, binge drinking by 10-24 year olds, cirrhosis of liver in later life). It was really important to try to change the overall 'drinking culture'.

It was not always clear what powers the Mayor had to make all this happen. He could articulate a vision for late-night London, with a diversity of activities in safe, accessible and well-managed areas - which contrasted with to-day's alcohol-dominated, unpleasant monoculture, and in which the potential conflicts between residents and pleasure seekers were actively addressed. He could encourage better design, increase policing/wardens, promote proper area management and try to start bringing about a change in the 'drinking culture'. In the longer term he should make sure that the right management structures were in place - with the right powers and resources.

*Two final points were made:*

- Do not rush into licensing deregulation without being prepared for the consequences
- Why not consider out-of-town late-night centres (but this was not particularly popular with the full body of participants).

**Discussion Groups 4 and 5** (convened by Nicholas Falk and Esther Caplin and reported by Alex Bax, GLA, and Jo Prentice, GLA) focussed on the **Mechanisms and resources**. Again the objectives were very similar to the previous groups: "Creating a theatre where people can come and enjoy themselves, which is safe, clean and friendly, but which does not cause nuisance to those who do not wish to join in". Again a choice of activities (to attract a diverse mix of people); an attractive, well policed environment, good transport links and venues that do not all close at 11 p.m. or 1 a.m., were all stressed.

*For diversity of activities:*

- Encourage later retail opening in/around entertainment areas.
- Differentiate A3 uses.
- Use planning briefs to guide redevelopment of sites.
- Share experience through a 'Late-night London' network.

*Safety and security (or impressions of them) were important, these could be tackled in a number of ways:*

- Encourage the continental culture towards going out and drinking (older as well as young)
- Having staggered pub/bar closing times
- Friendlier - better designed and managed - environment.
- More policing, but also use others to provide information to customers, to clean the streets and to give warnings of problems. (However, too great a police presence could suggest a dangerous place - so having wardens was a good idea).
- Involve young people (potential customers) in any management forum.
- Use education to try to alter attitudes to drinking.
- Produce guidelines for all concerned with management of entertainment areas, drawing on successful experience elsewhere.
- Establish codes of conduct - not just for venue operators, but for customers. Take photographs of nuisance makers.
- Work in partnership. It was imperative to co-ordinate what is going on, and to agree on enforcement priorities.

*On transport:*

- A way must be found of keeping the Underground running longer - all night at week-ends.

*Funding was seen as the great issue:*

- Section 106 agreements could be used to pump prime or fund increased services such as better late-night transport.
- The BID concept should specifically address late-night management, with extra funding from property owners/licence holders towards extra cleaning, possibly through an extra fee on licenses.

### 3. Summary

From the report backs it was clear that there was a great deal of agreement about what sorts of places London should provide for those wanting to go out at night.

- Late-night entertainment areas should be pleasant and enjoyable. (There were bound to be problems - because of alcohol and other drugs - but these should be foreseen and managed)
- There should be people of all ages on the streets - so areas will have to provide a range of things for people with different interests to do
- This should include keeping cultural venues open longer, as well as having a range of restaurants, cafes, bars and other forms of entertainment to go to. (There was no one solution, each place should have its own character).
- The streets should feel attractive and safe - probably well lit, with 'uniformed' people in authority around (who could include waiters, door staff, street cleaners, wardens, transport staff etc. as well as police).
- Entertainment should not depend entirely on alcohol (or drugs). Non-alcohol related activities should be encouraged.
- Transport was a key issue. People had to be able to get home without hassle or delay, and had to know how to do so.
- There was a need to get lots of practical things right, to ensure safety, cleanliness, reduction of noise, anti-social behaviour, to get the transport (buses, taxis, underground?, cars) sorted out etc.
- There was need for management. "Somebody should know what is going on" - but who would pay for it. It was like Town Centre Management, but probably more complicated.

Overall participants found the seminar useful and informative. There was a great deal of agreement on the wisdom of trying to encourage late-night activities in a range of places outside the West End. There was widespread agreement on the types of place that needed to be created and on the problems that needed to be overcome. The key ingredients were:

- Properly co-ordinated, and resourced, management of entertainment areas (including increased policing)
- Careful attention to detail in planning, licensing, enforcement and 'management through dialogue'

- Improvements to night-time public transport (with many participants hoping that some way could be found of running the Underground later - preferably all night - at week-ends)
- Taking care to keep residential developments separate from late-night entertainment zones, and taking steps to minimise noise nuisance where this is unavoidable
- Using education, and other means of persuasion, to start to change the drinking culture and so help reduce the effects of too much alcohol.

It was not, however, clear precisely how the Mayor could intervene in all these areas, given limited powers and resources. He could, however, articulate a clear London-wide vision, point out that all sides could benefit from improved and co-ordinated management of entertainment areas, and encourage the spread of good practice.

C.J. Cadell, URBED  
November 2001

Dear

Where to Encourage Late-Night Activities in London

**Monday 29<sup>th</sup> October, 2.00-5.30 pm**

**The Greater London Authority,  
Romney House, Marsham Street, London SW1P 3PY  
Room AG23**

I am delighted that you will be participating in this seminar, and attach the programme and a background paper. The seminar will take place in **Room AG23** at the GLA's headquarters at Romney House. A map showing where to find it is also attached.

Please note that the structured discussion session takes place from 2.45 pm to 4.15 pm. Participants will be allocated to discussion tables in advance, so it is important that you let us know beforehand if you are unable to attend.

I greatly look forward to seeing you on Monday.

Christopher Cadell



# Where to Encourage Late-Night Activities in London

Monday 29<sup>th</sup> October, 2.00-5.30 pm  
The Greater London Authority,  
Romney House, Marsham Street, London SW1P 3PY  
Room AG23

## PROGRAMME

**1.30 Registration** and coffee

**2.00 Welcome** by Dr Nicholas Falk, Director of URBED (Urban and Economic Development Group), Chair of the seminar, followed by three introductory presentations:

- *Background to the study and emerging findings* - Christopher Cadell, Director, URBED
- *Where the hotspots appear to be* - Mark Thurstain-Goodwin, Centre for Advanced Spatial Analysis, University College London
- *How they manage elsewhere* - Andy Lovatt, Director, Cultural Industries Development Service, Manchester

**2.45 Discussion groups**

Participants will be allocated to discussion groups  
Convenors will facilitate discussion around a series of themes addressing issues of late-night activity

**4.10 Tea**

**4.30 Report-back** session and questions

*The Deputy Mayor has been invited to make a response to the discussion report-back*

**5.30 Conclusion** followed by informal discussion and refreshments

# Where to Encourage Late-Night Activities in London

## **Background Paper for 29.10.01 Seminar**

A great deal of London's late-night entertainment is concentrated in the West End (Soho and Covent Garden). The scale of activity is causing problems there and if it continues to grow (as forecast) the area will be overwhelmed. Are there other places in London where late-night activities can realistically be encouraged and what might the Mayor do to help this happen through his Strategies?

### Background

A city the size of London never sleeps; there is some economic activity going on all the time. What is new is that in some places this virtually 24-hour activity has reached a scale that it is having a substantial impact on the quality of the environment and on the lives of local residents. The main change has been the recent growth of late-night entertainment. More and more people, especially young people, are going out to bars and clubs, especially at weekends. It is estimated that around 500,000 young people regularly go 'clubbing' in London on a Saturday night. This is more than all the people that visit London's 'top ten' visitor attractions combined in an average week, or more than the total number who go to all the West End theatres in a week. Furthermore certain places have become evening and late-night 'hotspots', where it is fashionable for large numbers of people to congregate, and where an increasing number of trendy establishments (particularly bars and clubs - and increasingly club-bars which combine the attractions of both) are springing up to provide the entertainment.

This is most marked in the West End (Soho, Leicester Square and Covent Garden). Not only is there the greatest concentration of pubs, bars and clubs (as well as the theatres, cinemas, casinos and restaurants) in this area, but it is a well-established place for tourists to visit. It also has a substantial working population, much of which is in small businesses connected with the entertainment industry and which enjoys using the local entertainment facilities. Over the last few years the numbers of people using the area has risen dramatically. About 250,000 people pass through Leicester Square on a Saturday. The peak time is between 10 p.m. and 1 a.m. Surveys of the number of people arriving by underground clearly show a late evening surge. The number (and size) of drinking establishments has grown dramatically, sometimes within the existing A3 Use Class and so without needing planning permission. Late liquor licenses (issued by magistrates) and public entertainment licenses (issued by the local authority) have also increased. The licensed capacity for entertainment venues allowed to stay open until at least 1 a.m. is now nearly 130,000.

## Benefits

In many ways this is a welcome development. Entertainment - people enjoying themselves - is one of the great blessings of life. London has for centuries had a reputation as a great centre for entertainment, if of a somewhat less sophisticated nature than its main rival, Paris. Now - with people working longer hours, but doing less physically demanding work and wanting to get more out of life; with rising incomes, and women in particular having greater economic independence; and with many young people delaying taking on family responsibilities - there has never been a time when so many Londoners want to be out and about enjoying themselves.

*Having people on the streets - and not just in the West End— brings interest and vitality to places which might otherwise be dead at night. It helps make cities places where more people want to be, and so contributes to the urban renaissance which is a . It also creates new business opportunities and generates more jobs, often providing different opportunities from office employment. The entertainment industry encourages and supports a whole range of creative industries and skills.*

Furthermore, much of London's success comes from its position as a World City - a great financial and international business centre with a wide range of cultural attractions. However there are several competing European cities which would like to have more of that success for themselves, and so it is especially important that London attracts and holds young people of the highest calibre (tomorrow's leaders) if it is to maintain its position. London's new night-life, which draws on its unrivalled breadth of cultures, makes it hugely attractive to young people. It is known as the 'dance capital of Europe'. It is seen as being at the leading edge of a shift in values (away from authoritarianism towards excitement) that is taking place throughout the Western world. Thus an exciting night-life is extremely important for London, and 'hotspots' provide opportunities for people from many different backgrounds to mix and meet.

## Disadvantages

But night-life, with its hedonism and huge numbers, has disadvantages too. It is fuelled by alcohol and other drugs, and the British have a particularly bad reputation for getting drunk and indulging in rowdy, anti-social or even criminal behaviour. While only a small minority may cause any problems, there is always a risk of some incidents occurring in 'hotspots' because of the large numbers of people who are there.

The types of problems that are most likely to occur are:

- Noise and/or rowdy behaviour in the streets near pubs, bars or clubs, particularly soon after closing time (but sometimes also at other times if, for example, people are refused entry to venues, or if there are disputes over mini-cabs or at bus stops). Late-night noise can be a serious nuisance for local residents, and rowdy behaviour can escalate into fighting and violence.

- Anti-social behaviour, such as littering, vomiting or urinating in the streets. Late-night cafes (mainly takeaways) to which many people go after leaving bars or clubs can be a focus for this type of behaviour. It is not only unpleasant and intimidating for other people, including visitors, but helps create an environment that falls far short of the standards expected of a World City. It also enrages local residents and requires extra effort to clear up before daytime activities begin in the morning - and early morning street cleaning and refuse collection can themselves generate more noise and disturbance.
- Other criminal behaviour, including drug dealing and robbery, which crowds and darkness encourage. Alcohol itself can be dangerous and late-night entertainment can encourage excessive drinking and the serious health problems associated with it.

## Issues

Late-night entertainment has advantages and disadvantages. The disadvantages, and therefore the need for more policing, management and servicing, seem to grow as the scale and concentration of activity increases. It is widely recognised that the West End has reached a point where much greater management of the night-time economy (involving all the stakeholders including the private sector) is required, and if at all possible other areas should be found in which to encourage the growth of London's late-night activities. Is this possible? How can it be done?

Clearly other entertainment 'hotspots' are developing, although not on the scale of the West End. These include places in both inner London (e.g. Angel, Brixton, Shoreditch) and outer London (e.g. Ealing, Sutton, Romford) and most boroughs are keen for late-night activities to locate in specific locations - mainly town centres. However, there would seem to be a number of issues which need to be addressed, including:

1. What planning, licensing and area management policies will attract venues without causing excessive problems? Should they be different in different types of place? (N.B. The current legal frameworks for both planning and licensing of entertainment uses are under review. The new licensing proposals are broadly aimed at liberalising controls, but giving Local Authorities responsibility for granting licenses.)
2. While many of the problems derive from drinking in pubs, bars and clubs their effects are mainly felt on the streets outside. What arrangements are required to manage late-night entertainment areas effectively, and where will the extra resources come from?

3. The problems are compounded where entertainment 'hotspots' are close to established residential areas. How can mixed-use development be made to work in this case?
4. Police resources in London are currently overstretched. Should late-night activities be concentrated in a small number of locations, or would it be better to spread them out?
5. Public transport is not geared up to the new late-night economy. Could the Underground or parts of it run later at weekends or, if not, run some additional night buses along the Underground routes? How far can taxis (and minicabs) meet the need? Is additional security required on public transport?
6. New entertainment activities often form around seedbeds of creative industry (e.g. Soho, Covent Garden, Shoreditch...) which originally depended on the availability of cheap space. However, these uses may well be driven out if the area becomes commercially successful. How can their interests be safeguarded?

Christopher Cadell, URBED  
October 2001

*Where to Encourage Late-Night Activities in London*  
Seminar, Monday 29<sup>th</sup> October, 2.00-5.30 pm

List of Participants

	Table No.
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<b>Mr Shaun Andrews</b> Associate Director Robert Turley Associates	2
<b>Ms Deirdra Armsby</b> Environmental Engineering Forward Planning and Transportation LB Newham	4
<b>Ms Kirsty Austin</b> Policy Planner Forward Planning and Projects LB Camden	2
<b>Ms Sarah Baden</b> L B Southwark	
<b>Mr Mark Balaam</b> London Tourist Board	1
<b>Ms Gillian Balfe</b> Romford Town Centre Manager	5
<b>Mr Alex Bax</b> Senior Policy Officer GLA	<b>Reporter</b> 4
<b>Mr Michael Begley</b> Environment and Leisure Westminster City Council	4
<b>Mr Hugh Bullock</b> Gerald Eve	1

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Ms <b>Julie Cosgrove</b> London Buses		<b>2</b>
<b>Mr Colin Davis</b> Colin Davis Associates Urban Design		<b>3</b>
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<b>Ms Lucy Dowsett</b> LDA		<b>5</b>
<b>Dr Nicholas Falk</b> URBED	<b>Convenor</b>	<b>4</b>
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<b>Ms Gillian Harwood</b> United House		<b>2</b>
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<b>Mr Chris Hyde</b> Transport for London	<b>Reporter</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Mr Jim Kelly</b> Cab Rank Division Public Carriage Office		<b>4</b>
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