

London at night: an evidence base for a 24-hour city Executive report

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Contents

Foreword from the Mayor of London	2
Foreword from the London Night Time Commission	3
Foreword from the Night Czar	4
1 Executive summary.....	5
2 Introduction	10
3 What Londoners do at night.....	12
4 What visitors do at night	18
5 Opportunities and barriers.....	20
6 London’s economy at night.....	24
7 London’s transport at night	27
8 Safety at night	29
9 Data issues.....	32

Foreword from the Mayor of London

This report marks a step change in our understanding of London at night. It is the most comprehensive research of its kind and reveals that between 6pm and 6am, London buzzes with social, cultural and economic activity. The evidence outlined in this report not only challenges some of the myths and perceptions around our city at night, but also shows the huge opportunity we have to make London work better for Londoners around the clock.

A third of London's workers usually work evenings and nights – that is 1.6 million people, from nurses and office workers to technicians, drivers and hospitality staff. Within the culture and hospitality sectors, night time workers represent more than half of the workforce, but far too many are being paid below the London Living Wage. The London Night Tube, Overground and Night Buses are helping night time workers get to and from work safely and quickly, but there's still much more that can be done to ensure their welfare. That's why I'm calling on London's night time employers to join my Good Work Standard, which promotes fair pay and the London Living Wage as well as excellent working conditions.

London is a city of night owls, with a quarter of Londoners regularly going to bed after midnight. They are using their time to run personal errands, shop, socialise, take part in a cultural activity, play sport or go to a community group. London's culture and nightlife is also attracting record numbers of tourists from around the world who love the diversity and vibrancy of our city.

This report highlights that you are actually no more likely to be a victim of crime at night than during the day. Nevertheless, some groups, particularly women, still have a greater fear of crime at night, which is concerning. That's why my Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime and my Night Czar have launched the first Women's Night Safety Charter, which is supported by night time venues, boroughs, transport providers and employers across the capital.

I want all Londoners to reap the benefits of living in a 24-hour city. That's why I set up an independent Night Time Commission that is looking at how London can develop as a 24-hour city for all. I'm grateful to the Chair, Kate Nicholls, the Vice Chair, Rommel Moseley, and the members of the Night Time Commission for their expert input into this landmark research.

This report and new evidence will be invaluable to the Night Time Commission. It will support my Night Czar and the Night Time Borough Champions Network that she leads. Partnership with London's local authorities, businesses, residents and public authorities is at the heart of creating a vibrant night time culture. Together, our aim is to make London a city that responds to the needs and interests of all residents, businesses and visitors at night.

Sadiq Khan
Mayor of London



Foreword from the London Night Time Commission



The London Night Time Commission was set up to provide independent advice to the Mayor. Our role is to recommend how London can become one of the most progressive cities in the way it plans for the night. To do this we needed a strong evidence base to inform our work.

The Night Time Commission was instrumental in commissioning this research. We are grateful to the members of our Research and Data Working Group who have worked

with the Greater London Authority (GLA) to guide the research and establish this evidence base over the last year. It includes qualitative research that has helped us to understand the views of Londoners and visitors to the capital. Quantitative research has also uncovered a wealth of data that reveals a new picture of London at night.

We have defined ‘night’ as everything that happens in the city between 6pm and 6am. This is the first time a city has adopted such a broad and ambitious definition. It will allow us, in making our recommendations, to consider not just the traditional night time industries such as culture, leisure and hospitality, but to look at the many interweaving aspects of life in London at night.

The report provides a portrait of London at night; a first for any global city. It presents a fascinating insight into what Londoners do at night. That includes the substantial number of people who work at night across all industries. The report looks at how visitors perceive our city and analyses trends in London’s growing economy at night. It sets out the challenges that people face such as the cost of going out. What is also clear from all the data collected is that London starts from a position of strength.

As with any new research we have discovered gaps in the data. There are areas where future research and data-sharing partnerships can deepen our understanding. However, this compendium of insight and analysis is a major achievement and a big step towards London seizing the opportunities of being a 24-hour city. We hope that this will be used by policy makers, academics and planners to support the sustainable development of London at night.

Kate Nicholls
Chair of the London Night Time Commission

Rommel Moseley
Chair of the London Night Time Commission Research and Data Group

Foreword from the Night Czar

London's night time culture has always been full of opportunity; it is what attracted me to move here over 25 years ago. From world class music venues like the Roundhouse and 100 Club, to the pop-up rooftop cinema Roof East in Stratford; from South London's Battersea Arts Centre to Diwali, St Patrick's Day and Pride in Trafalgar Square, London buzzes with culture and variety after dark.

Our city is dynamic and changing for the better. The Night Tube and Night Overground have been warmly welcomed by those who work or go out at night. Night Buses are also as popular as ever. But there are still many challenges.

Until now, there has been little research into what Londoners and visitors do at night and what Londoners think about the capital's life at night. The creation of this evidence base was initiated in partnership with the Night Time Commission. It gives us, for the first time ever, the data and analysis that will help us realise the Mayor's Vision for London as a 24-Hour City.

This report shows that Londoners care about diversity and opportunities to meet different people. We want to ensure that London celebrates diversity, strives for equality and is known as a friendly and welcoming city at night. The welfare of night time workers, the safety of women at night and reports of racial discrimination by some London venues remain serious concerns.

That's why this research is welcome and why we will continue to protect and promote a wide variety of things to do at night. We have already helped over 300 diverse culture and community spaces to survive and thrive.

Making London better at night relies on everyone playing their part. We want to ensure that London is fit for the future as a 24-hour city. The Night Time Commission has made a valuable contribution to advancing this ambition and I look forward to their recommendations later this year.

This ground-breaking report will underpin and inform my role as Night Czar to ensure London is a safe, welcoming and vibrant city at night for all Londoners.

Amy Lamé
Night Czar



1 Executive summary

This report brings together a range of research and data on London at night. It reveals that, between 6pm and 6am, the city is buzzing with social, cultural and economic activity. London is a leading global city. Visitors come from around the world to experience the culture on offer in London. Yet we can still do more to make London at night an even better place for people to work, rest or play.

1.1 Highlights

1. A third of everyone working in London works at night – that is 1.6 million people.
2. Of this group, 191,000 work in Health and 178,000 in Professional services. There are 168,000 in Culture and leisure, representing 50 per cent of all workers in the sector.
3. But night work does not pay well for everyone. Over half – 53 per cent – of night time employee jobs in Culture and leisure pay less than the London Living Wage hourly rate.
4. And almost twice as many employee jobs in night time occupations earn below the London Living Wage – 531,000 – compared to employee jobs across all other occupations – 275,000.
5. Employee jobs in night time industries are growing faster than employee jobs in London’s wider economy. Between 2001 and 2017, the sector grew by 2.2 per cent a year compared to 2 per cent overall.
6. Two thirds – 65 per cent – of Londoners are regularly active at night. People do lots of different things, like personal errands, socialising, and enjoying cultural facilities.
7. Cost is the main barrier to enjoying culture and leisure activities at night. This is the case across all income groups of Londoners. Over a third of Londoners say it is too expensive to go out at night.
8. Londoners are drinking alcohol less regularly too. The number of people who drank alcohol in the last week in England has dropped from 67 per cent in 1998 to 58 per cent in 2016. Proportionately fewer Londoners consume alcohol than people across Britain.
9. Alcohol-related offences fell by 51% between 2010/11 and 2017/18, and now make up just 4.3 per cent of all crime at night.
10. This means there is relatively little health service activity due to things happening at night. For instance, there are fewer hospital A&E attendances for assault than there are for road traffic accidents or sports injuries.

Night time industries and occupations are parts of an economic category with a higher than average representation of night workers. The definition has been developed for this research, and a sub-category is Culture and leisure.

1.2 Main results

London is a diverse and dynamic city at night. It can rightly claim to be a city that never sleeps. Workers in offices, hospitals, depots and venues, keep the city running 24/7. Londoners and visitors revel in the city’s food, culture and public spaces at night. And millions of people are busy with household errands, attending classes and community groups and socialising well after dark.

The demand for night time activities in London looks set to increase over the next 20 years. London is a growing city, with the population expected to reach 10.8 million by 2041 – up from 8.8 million in 2017. At the same time London remains one of the most visited cities in

the world. Demand for visitor accommodation in London is projected to reach 196.4 million nights by 2041, up from 138.5 million nights in 2015. The number of people who enjoy London's nightlife is increasing and London's jobs market is growing as fast at night as during the day¹.

London is not a city that follows a single rhythm. People work, rest and play whatever time it is. As some go to sleep, others are starting work. As those coming off a shift look for somewhere to get a hot meal, others are going to a cinema, museum late or club.

There are 1.6 million night time workers in London. That is a third of all who work in the city. This includes 191,000 workers in Health, and 178,000 in Professional services. Cultural and leisure activities has 168,000 night workers, representing 50 per cent of all in the sector.

Over half – 53 per cent - of employee jobs in Cultural and leisure industries pay less than the London Living Wage hourly rate. These industries are a sub-category of night time industries, and are industries with an above average number of night time workers.

Almost twice as many employee jobs in night time occupations earn below the London Living Wage – 531,000 – compared to jobs across all other occupations – 275,000. Night time occupations are those with an above average representation of night time workers and have been defined for this report.

The night time category, of night time industries and occupations, has more shift working, and part-time work. Alongside low pay, these are risk factors for individual wellbeing, health and lifestyle.

There has been higher growth in employee jobs throughout the city in night time industries. Between 2001 and 2017, the sector grew by 2.2 per cent a year compared to 2 per cent overall.

Outside of work, 65 per cent of Londoners are regularly active at night. Of these, 42 per cent are shopping or doing personal errands. The same proportion are taking part in social or wellbeing activities. Londoners are more likely to be night owls than the rest of the UK population. Over half - 54 per cent - of Londoners say they usually go to bed after 11pm (the UK figure is 48 per cent). A quarter often go to bed after midnight. Younger people tend to be most active at night too. Almost half of all night time trips in London, whether by foot, in a car, or by public transport, are made by people aged 25-44.

Londoners' changing lifestyles brings more demand for London's economy and infrastructure to work 24/7 and diversify. Londoners like how the city's night time offer has developed. There are more things to do at night, with, for example, more places offering food. Across all groups, most Londoners are active at night. Only 27 per cent say they are not particularly interested in going out then. Demand for night time activities looks set to increase over the next 20 years. Current trends suggest there will be a further drop in alcohol bought in pubs and restaurants, and further demand for a wide range of amenities at night.

However, relative to its large population, there are fewer cultural facilities in London than many other European cities. Some town centre areas may have little in terms of certain

¹ This is based on the trend in the numbers of workers and night workers. Growth in employee jobs in night time industries has been faster than for London as a whole, but the classification of these industries also includes day workers.

types of venues, such as cinemas or theatres. There has also been a big drop in LGBT+ venues, grassroots music venues (GMVs), night clubs and pubs over the last ten years.

- In 2017 there were 53 LGBTQ+ venues, down from 125 in 2006
- In 2016 there were 94 GMVs, down from 144 in 2007
- In 2017 there were 570 clubs, down from 880 in 2001
- In 2017 there were 3,530 pubs, down from 4,835 in 2001

Numbers are however starting to stabilise for LGBT+ and grassroots music venues. At the same time, the number of pubs continues to decline. However employment in pubs is growing. This may be because they are diversifying their offer to include food and other activities.

Four out of five visitors to London say culture and heritage is the main reason for their trip. London is the third most visited city in the world for international visitors. Most visitors remain in the centre of London where most hotels are found, and there is a concentration of cultural and leisure venues. Visitors mainly experience nightlife in places like the West End and London Bridge. Only 9 per cent have been to areas such as Clapham, Brixton and Peckham. London's main competitor is New York. Other international cities that rate highly with visitors include Hong Kong, Paris, Berlin and Sydney.

Alcohol is becoming less important. There has been a long-term fall in alcohol consumption when out at night, and a long-term move towards less frequent drinking. For all adults in England, the number of people who drank alcohol in the last week dropped from 67 per cent in 1998 to 58 per cent in 2016. For those aged 16-24, the drop has been even bigger - from 65 to 46 per cent.

Police figures also show a falling role for alcohol at night. Across London, the number of alcohol-related recorded offences at night fell by 51 per cent between 2010/11 and 2017/18. Alcohol-related reports make up only 4.3 per cent of all recorded offences at night. Likewise, only a small proportion of health service activity is due to things happening at night. For example, there are fewer hospital A&E attendances for assault than there are for road traffic accidents or sports injuries.

Over a third of Londoners say it is too expensive to take part in activities at night.

This is the top issue for all Londoners, regardless of how much they earn. The cost of some night time activities, like visiting a restaurant or attending a cultural activity, has been rising faster than inflation. Visitors' experience shows that London can do better in terms of value for money and inclusivity. 51 per cent agree that London's nightlife is good value. Under half - 45 per cent - believe it is easy to find free evening and night time events in the city.

Improvements in night travel are a key priority for those Londoners who go out most at night. Around a quarter of journeys on public transport take place during the night. Tube and bus services are seeing large growth at night for both work and leisure travel. Across the week, the use of public transport after 10pm and from 4-7am has grown. The launch of the Night Tube on Friday and Saturday nights in late 2016 has boosted public transport provision. However, 47 per cent of visitors were unaware of the Night Tube service when surveyed in September 2017.

Recorded crime is concentrated in similar areas of London whatever the time of day.

This is because people gather in these areas, like central London and town centres throughout the day. However, we cannot say if the prevalence of crime is more likely at night. This is because we lack footfall data to tell us how many people are in an area at any one time.

Alongside the big drop in alcohol-related offences at night, there is less violent crime at night in London than during the day. Indeed, there is less recorded crime altogether at night than during the day. However, despite the overall safety of London at night, some groups feel that London is less safe than it is. Around one in five – 19 per cent – of Londoners say they feel unsafe in London at night. This figure jumps to 23 per cent for women and people in households on less than £20,000 a year, and to 27 per cent for disabled people.

Around the world, there is a growing trend to plan for the economy, culture and liveability of cities at night. At least 19 cities now have independent bodies to represent the night time industries; Night Czars or Night Time Mayors; or night time offices within government.

There is also more academic research on cities at night, particularly around the culture and leisure economy. However, there are big gaps in the data - not just in London - but around the globe. This is a challenge for researchers. Some cities have started to address this. For example, Berlin is mapping and auditing its nightlife venues, while San Francisco has set up a Late-Night Transportation Working Group.

London boroughs², including Hackney and Westminster, have commissioned cost-benefit analyses of their night time economies. However, there are major limitations in data specific to night time hours, and a very limited evidence base on what works. Boroughs have not had, for example, available to them the range of data used in this report. So, studies currently provide limited insights. In particular, there is a lack of cost-benefit evidence to compare the relative merits of schemes like Best Bar None, the Late Night Levy, Business Improvement Districts, and Cumulative Impact Zones. At present, we have a limited evidence base on how best to reduce alcohol-related harm and maintain the night time offer.

Indeed, at present there are limited examples of monitoring and evaluating night time policies worldwide. A further example of a major data gap is a lack of a robust measure of night time economic output. As the study of cities at night develops, we expect more data will be gathered and analysed, and policies developed. For example, the use of anonymised ‘big data’ such as card payment data, could enable a much deeper understanding of the night time population. This includes demographic information, what people are doing, and where they’re travelling to and from.

The Office for National Statistics (ONS) has set up a Data Science Campus to analyse new data sources in fresh ways. A joint workshop with the Greater Manchester Combined Authority looked at a range of non-traditional data sources to better understand the night time economy. A joint team from ONS and Barclays will carry out analysis to see if we can come up with new economic indicators using a range of Barclays’ data³. If successful, there might be an opportunity to develop the analysis of card payment data in ways to make it more relevant to studying cities at night.

Another opportunity might be to conduct and publish an evaluation of the Night Tube to understand better night time travel patterns.

Finally, we lack evidence on how well different groups feel able to contribute to London’s nightlife, and take part in it. For example, there are media stories about how gigs by BAME

² This report uses the term borough to include the City of London, which is a local authority

³ See [The month that was – May 2018 | Data Science Campus](#)

(black and ethnic minority) artists have been cancelled without due reason. Also, that some BAME groups have been denied entry to certain night clubs because of their skin colour.

In summary, further research into London at night will benefit London's vision to become a 24 hour leading global capital.

2 Introduction

2.1 Research overview

This evidence base offers a broad overview of what happens in London at night and how this has changed - and is changing - over time. It also considers what people do at night, their concerns, how they'd like future night time London to look, and the impact of London's changing population. The main report which accompanies this executive report provides the evidence in full.

Since October 2016, we've carried out the following research:

- GLA City Intelligence, Opinion Research
 - Qualitative research: focus groups, interviews and guided online discussions⁴
 - Quantitative research: November 2016 and March 2018 representative polling of 1,000 Londoners
- GLA City Intelligence, Economic Research
 - Desktop research into several areas: workers, residents and visitors, industries, travel, safety, externalities and international comparisons

The Opinion Research has been published alongside this report⁵, and the main findings have also been incorporated here.

This evidence base has supported the work of the Night Time Commission, and the Night Czar. The Commission has been running a consultation process and collected data via its partner organisations. We have incorporated some of this evidence into this report.

2.2 Acknowledgements

We would like to thank those people who have contributed their time and expertise in the creation of this report. They include: the Chair of the London Night Time Commission Kate Nicholls; the Steering and Research and Data Groups of the London Night Time Commission, comprising Hannah Barry, Paul Davies, Jan Hart, Angela Harvey, David Luton, Shakira Martin, Alan Miller, Rommel Moseley, Lucy Musgrave, Jo Negrini, Alex Williams, Andrew Cooke, John Larson, Marion Roberts, Colin Shepherd and Tony Sophoclidis; the former Chair of the Night Time Commission Philip Kolvin QC; ONS London statisticians; London & Partners; Transport for London and University College London.

2.3 Definition of 'night'

GLA defines the 'night' as everything that happens between 6pm and 6am. London's 'nightlife', what people do for culture and leisure, is an important part of this. However, for the first time, this study considers all industries and occupations – from healthcare to culture and hospitality to logistics – that operate at night.

⁴ There were six focus groups with 46 participants in total between December 2017 and January 2018

⁵ See [London Datastore](#)

To understand better night working, GLA Economics⁶ has established a night time category of industries and occupations with relatively high proportions of night workers. It includes the sub-categories of:

- Cultural and leisure activities
- Activities which support night time cultural and leisure activities
- 24-hour health and personal services
- Activities which support wider social and economic activities

As in every part of the economy, the night time category includes day and night time workers. It is not possible to come up with a definition which only identifies night time workers. However, the definition captures 67 per cent of London's night time workers.

The Main Report provides the definitions and methodology of the night time category. This analysis has been done using the Labour Force Survey (LFS). It is the only ONS survey with information on working hours for individuals or businesses.

To see if there is further scope to identify night time activity, the GLA City Intelligence Unit has been looking at using Big Data. If realised, this could allow a much deeper understanding of the night time population. For example, including demographic information, what sort of things people are doing, and where they're travelling to and from.

The methodology to define the night time category applies both London and UK-wide. An advantage of a UK-based approach is that it can be, and has since been, adopted more widely. The ONS has recently produced analysis for the Greater Manchester Combined Authority on this basis.⁷ It provides estimates for the night time category which can be directly compared with London's analysis in this document.

⁶ The economics research arm of GLA City Intelligence

⁷ Office of National Statistics, '[Night Time Economy businesses and employees in Greater Manchester boroughs and MSOAs, 2001 to 2017](#)', 2018

3 What Londoners do at night

3.1 Night time workers⁸

There are 1.6 million night-time workers across occupations and industries in London. This is 31 per cent of London's 5.3 million workers, slightly above the UK figure (29 per cent).

To reach this number, we looked at the available data by industry, and by occupation. Some industries and occupations are clearly linked, like Manufacturing and Process, plant and machine operatives. Some are harder to match up. For example, not every security worker is employed in the security services industry. This is because a security worker might work for a pub, rather than being hired by a pub via a security services firm. Further, there will be people who work in a security services firm but whose role is managerial or administrative. This analysis therefore considers both industries and occupations to capture the breadth of activity in the economy. For the same reason, the night time category has been defined in terms of industries and occupations.

The number of night time workers has increased in proportion with the number of workers in London's wider economy between 2007 to 2017.

Since 2009⁹, the strongest growth in night time workers in absolute numbers has been in Accommodation and food services, and Administration and support services.

The workforce in some industries is made up of a high proportion of night time workers. This includes Accommodation and food services (57 per cent work at night), Transportation and storage (54 per cent) and Arts, entertainment and recreation (44 per cent).

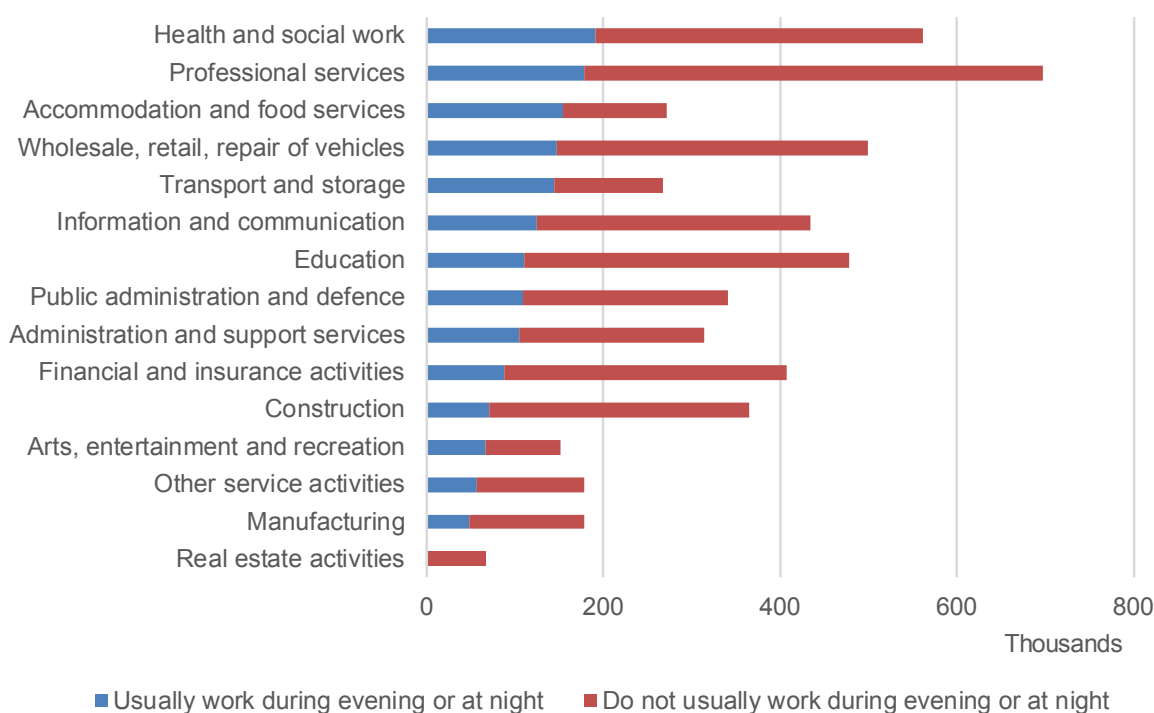
In Cultural and leisure activities, part of the night time category defined for this report, half – or 168,000 people – work at night.

Other industries employ large numbers of people at night. However, because they are large industries, night time workers make up a smaller proportion of the overall workforce. They include Health, with 191,000 night-time workers (34 per cent), and Professional services, with 178,000 night-time workers (26 per cent), (Figure 1).

⁸ The data in this section on workers comes from the ONS Labour Force Survey, and for employee jobs and earnings from the ONS Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings. Over 99% of workers are either an employee or self-employed. An individual may hold more than one job.

⁹ When the current classification of industries, SIC2007, came into effect

Figure 1: Workers in major industry groups in London by usual work pattern, 2017



Source: Labour Force Survey, April-June 2017

The corresponding findings for occupations are:

- Professional occupations; Caring, leisure, and other service occupations; and, Sales and customer service occupations had the fastest growing numbers of night time workers over the period 2007-17
- The occupation with the highest proportion of night time workers is Process, plant and machine operatives, at 49 per cent
- Professional occupations, Associate professionals and technical occupations and Managers, directors and senior officials are the largest occupations in London. Together they account for 59 per cent of the total 1.6 million night-time workers.

Night time workers have different characteristics to the wider working population.

Of those in work, men are more likely to work at night, as are people aged 45-49, BAME Londoners, and residents of inner London:

- Some 62 per cent of night time workers in 2017 were men. This percentage has remained constant since 2007
- Around a third - 34 per cent - of BAME workers are night time workers. This compares to 31 per cent of all workers
- The number of BAME night time workers has grown faster, at 33 per cent than for all night time workers (25 per cent)
- The number of female BAME night time workers increased by 73 per cent between 2011 and 2017, compared to 34 per cent for all female night time workers
- Some 35 per cent of in work 45-49 year olds work at night. This is the group most likely to work at night, alongside working 65-69-year olds

- For the UK, it is in work 25-29-year olds who are most likely to work at night
- A third of in work inner London residents and 29 per cent of working outer London residents work at night

Conversely, women, disabled Londoners, white Londoners, and outer London residents, are less likely to work at night.

If you work, your social grade makes little difference to how likely you are to work at night¹⁰.

Almost twice as many employee jobs in night time occupations earn below the London Living Wage – 531,000 – compared to jobs across all other occupations – 275,000.

Employees in Cultural and leisure activities, and Activities which support cultural and leisure activities have working patterns and low rates of pay which can risk their individual wellbeing, health and lifestyle:

- Many night time workers earn below the London Living Wage. This applies to over half – 53 per cent – of employees in Cultural and leisure industries, and 34 per cent in Activities which support cultural and leisure industries. By comparison, only 15 per cent in other industries outside the night time category face such low pay.
- Even fewer part-time night time workers get the London Living Wage. Some 72 per cent of part-time employees in Cultural and leisure activities and 73 per cent in Activities which support cultural and leisure activities earn less. The figure for other industries outside the night time category is 40 per cent.
- Around 30 per cent of night time workers in each of Cultural and leisure activities, Activities which support night time cultural and leisure activities, and 14 per cent of workers in activities outside the night time category work part-time.
- Shift work is done by around 30 per cent of night time workers in Cultural and leisure activities and Activities which support cultural and leisure activities. Around 2 per cent of night time workers outside the night time category work shifts.

3.2 Outside of work¹¹

Londoners are more likely to be night owls than the rest of the UK population. Over half – 54 per cent – say they usually go to bed after 11pm (the UK figure is 48 per cent). Some 24 per cent regularly go to bed after midnight.

Outside of work, 65 per cent of Londoners are active at night, at least once a week, (Figure 2), doing the following:

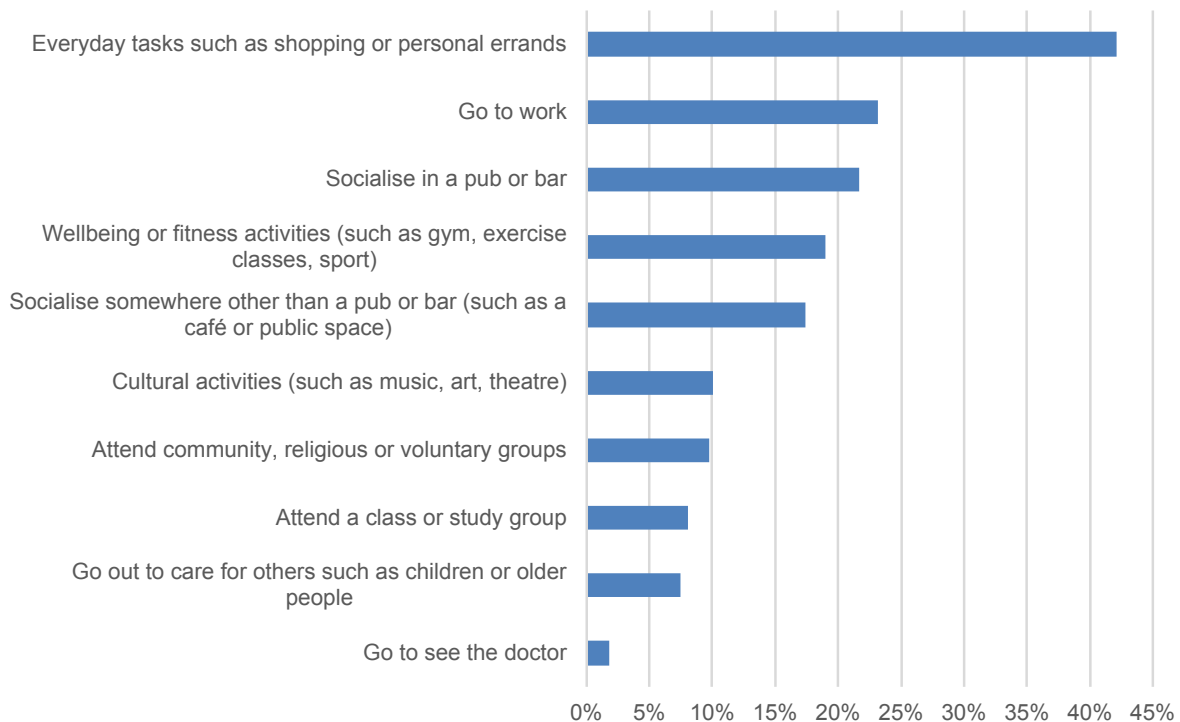
- 42 per cent regularly do personal errands
 - Such as go to the shops or the doctor
- 42 per cent engage in social and wellbeing activities
 - 22 per cent socialise in a pub, bar, café, or some other public space
 - 19 per cent go to a gym, exercise classes, or do a sport
 - 10 per cent enjoy cultural activities, such as music, art, or theatre

¹⁰ For these figures see the GLA City Intelligence Opinion Research accompanying this report at [London Datastore](#)

¹¹ The figures in this section on what people do at night, and barriers to going out, come from the GLA City Intelligence Opinion Research accompanying this report at [London Datastore](#)

- 10 per cent attend community, religious, or voluntary groups
- 31 per cent work, study, or provide care at night¹²
 - 23 per cent go to work
 - 8 per cent attend a class or study group
 - 8 per cent go out to care for others such as children or older people

Figure 2: Proportion of London residents who engage in various activities at night at least once a week



Source: GLA City Intelligence Unit March 2018 GLA/YouGov poll

Those groups who are more active at night includes: inner London residents, people in the ABC1 social grade, aged under 50, non-disabled people, and men.

- 49 per cent of residents of inner London, and 38 per cent of residents of outer London do everyday tasks such as shopping or personal errands
- 47 per cent of ABC1s, and 35 per cent of C2DEs do everyday tasks such as shopping or personal errands
- 44 per cent of 18-24-year olds, 45 per cent of 25-49- year olds, 38 per cent of 50-64 year olds, and 33 per cent of 65+ do everyday tasks like shopping or personal errands
- 25 per cent of non-disabled Londoners, and 17% of disabled Londoners, socialised in a pub or bar
- 28 per cent of men, and 16 per cent of women socialise in a bar

Those groups less active at night include: outer London residents, people in the C2DE social grade, older people, disabled Londoners and women.

¹² These are Londoners' self-reported activities. The percentage who work at night is of all Londoners, and not people who work in London, as reported in the labour market analysis in the previous section.

3.3 Socioeconomic developments

How London's population is changing and what it does affects what it wants to do at night.

3.3.1 Demographic trends

London has a comparatively young, ethnically diverse, and highly qualified population:

- For ages 18 to mid-20s there are around 8,000 migrants a year to London from other parts of the UK¹³
- 43 per cent of Londoners, and 80 per cent of the UK population, are white British¹⁴
- The growth in highly qualified people has been faster in London, and is linked with Londoners' higher earnings
- 52 per cent of Londoners, and 32 per cent of the UK population, have higher education qualifications¹⁵

3.3.2 Alcohol consumption

There has been a long-term national trend towards less frequent drinking. This is pertinent to London, as it is common in younger people and ethnic minorities:

- Amongst all adults in England the proportion who did not consume alcohol in the last week has jumped from 33 per cent in 1998 to 42 per cent in 2016. For 16-24 year olds the increase has been from around 35 per cent to around 54 per cent¹⁶
- 51 per cent of ethnic minorities, and 16 per cent of white people, in Britain in 2017 had not consumed alcohol in the last week¹⁷
- 27 per cent of Londoners, and 20 per cent of people in Britain, in 2017 did not consume alcohol in the last week¹⁸

Younger people and ethnic minorities in London are less likely to want to drink alcohol when out at night:

- 20 per cent of 18-24-year olds, 14 per cent of 25-49-year olds and 10 per cent of 50-64-year olds / 65+, think too many places revolve around alcohol.
- 17 per cent of BAME Londoners, and 10 per cent of white Londoners, think the same
- BAME Londoners are less likely to socialise in a pub or bar. However, they are more likely than white Londoners to socialise elsewhere, take part in wellbeing, educational or community activities or look after others.

There has also been a major shift towards buying alcohol for home consumption¹⁹:

- Sales in England and Wales of alcohol (as measured by units of pure alcohol) per adult have remained almost unchanged between 1994 and 2017

¹³ This is from the ONS internal migration series, average of years 2007-16

¹⁴ See [Research report on population estimates by characteristics - Office for National Statistics](#)

¹⁵ Source is ONS Labour Force Survey

¹⁶ Source is NHS Digital, Health Survey for England, question is maximum alcohol use on any day in the last week

¹⁷ Source is ONS, Opinions and Lifestyle Survey, question is volume of drinking in last week

¹⁸ Source is ONS, Opinions and Lifestyle Survey, question is volume of drinking in last week

¹⁹ Figures on alcohol sales are from the Monitoring and evaluating Scotland's Alcohol Strategy monitoring report

- In 1994, the on-trade in pubs and restaurants accounted for 58 per cent of sales of units. By 2017 this had almost halved (30 per cent). The remaining sales were by the off-trade, such as supermarkets and off-licenses.

4 What visitors do at night²⁰

London welcomed 32 million overnight visitors in 2016²¹.

The city is seen as a world leader for international overnight visitors. It is also an important destination for domestic overnight visitors:

- London is the third most visited city in the world in terms of international arrivals²²
- Overnight visitors spent £16.2bn in London in 2017, of which international visitors spent £13.5bn, and domestic visitors spent £2.7bn²³

London is also a global leader in terms of the range and scale of the cultural offer²⁴. Four out of five visitors say culture and heritage is the main reason for their visit²⁵. There is a marked concentration of Cultural and leisure activities in the West End²⁶. Most serviced accommodation is in central areas of London²⁷, and this is where visitors tend to remain:

- 79 per cent of visitors had experienced central London nightlife in places such as the West End, and London Bridge
- 25 per cent went out in west London
- only 9 per cent had been to south London areas such as Clapham, Brixton and Peckham at night

Eighty-one per cent of visitors agree London has a wide range of evening cultural experiences available, and 73 per cent felt satisfied with London's nightlife.

Visitors, as opposed to Londoners, have different habits when going out at night:

- 73 per cent go to restaurants
- 60 per cent go sightseeing
- 46 per cent drink at pubs
- 40 per cent watch theatre shows
- 36 per cent go shopping

Visitors travel mainly by Tube (81 per cent) or walking (75 per cent) after dark. They tend to find out what to do at night by just walking around (52 per cent) or searching the internet (50 per cent) although this rose to 64 per cent amongst 18-34 year olds.

London is around as attractive to tourists as New York. Twenty-two per cent say London's nightlife is more enjoyable and 27 per cent say New York's is more enjoyable. Other cities that rate highly with tourists when compared with London include Hong Kong, Paris, Berlin and Sydney, (Figure 3).

²⁰ The main data source for this section is the London & Partners, 'Visitor Voice London Nightlife Research'

²¹ Sources are the Great Britain Tourism Survey and the ONS International Passenger Survey

²² Source: Euromonitor International (2017), '[Top Cities Destination Index](#)'.

²³ Sources are the Great Britain Tourism Survey and the ONS International Passenger Survey

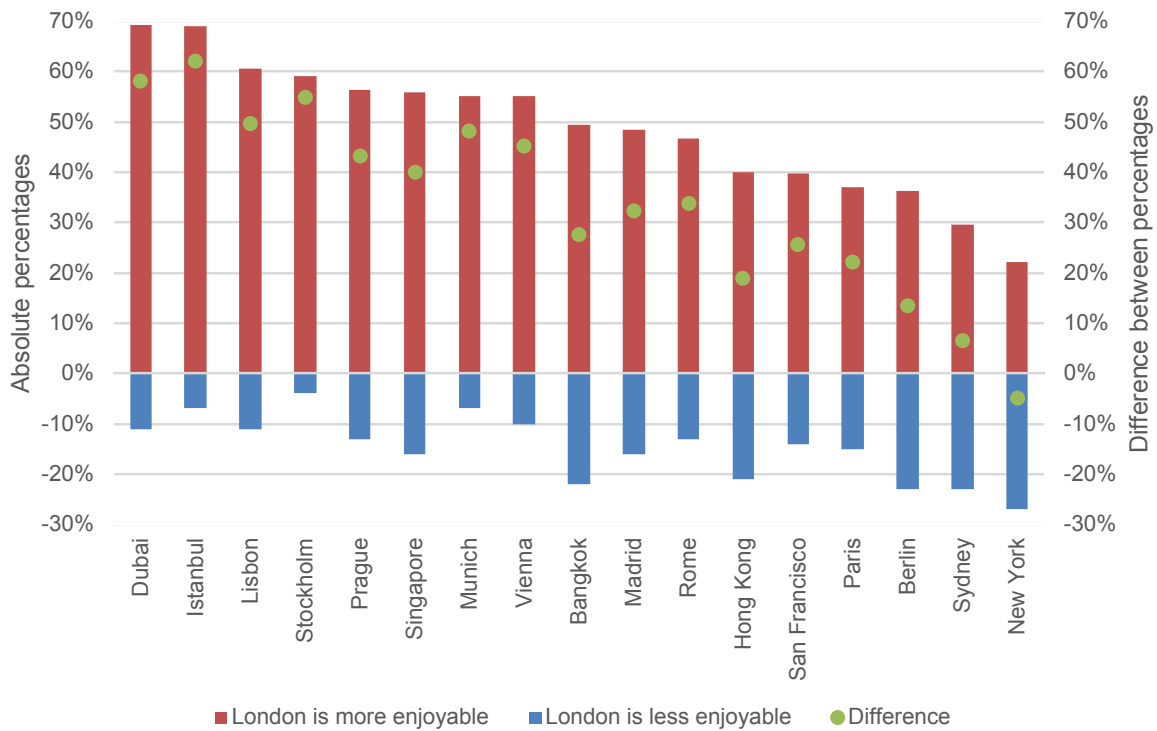
²⁴ Sources are Euromonitor International (2017), 'Top Cities Destination Index', and World Cities Cultural Forum database

²⁵ See [Cultural tourism vision for London | London City Hall](#), specifically Appendix 2

²⁶ Source is ONS Inter-Departmental Business Register

²⁷ See [Projections of demand and supply for visitor accommodation in London | London City Hall](#)

Figure 3: Percentage of London visitors who agree/disagree that London’s nightlife is more/less enjoyable than other major cities for visitors



Source: London & Partners (2017), 'Visitor Voice London Nightlife Research'. The surveyed visitors were users of the London & Partners website, and mostly come from English speaking countries.

5 Opportunities and barriers²⁸

5.1 Opportunities

It is likely that more people will be living in London, and visiting the city in the coming years. That means more people will be taking part in activities at night:

- London's population is set to reach 10.8 million by 2041, up from 8.8 million in 2017²⁹
- Demand for London visitor accommodation is projected to reach 196.4 million nights by 2041 – up from 138.5 million nights in 2015³⁰

Focus group³¹ participants said they like the way that London at night has developed in recent years. London's night time offer is seen to cater to all types of people, with lots of variety in terms of entertainment and culture.

They enjoyed London at night for its entertainment offer and opportunities to meet friends or spend time with families. Central London is seen as a good meeting spot for outer London residents, or those with friends or family scattered around London/UK.

Going out is seen as a good way to meet new people and learn about different cultures. The city is seen to be more sociable at night, including for those who are new to London.

On the focus groups few did personal chores at night (for example late-night shopping, GP, gym). Most could do this during the day or at the weekend. However, people across all groups said they'd like more amenities to stay open late – out of convenience, more than necessity. Having the option to do these after 6pm can help free up weekends and reduce the demand during the week. Some like doing these at night as it can be more enjoyable – quieter and less busy.

Participants said that better public transport (like the night bus and Night Tube), and more available near where they live, means it is easier to access and enjoy London at night. However, there were concerns that London is losing its authenticity and unique character. The loss of late night venues and earlier closing times is also seen as damaging to London's night time offer.

5.2 Barriers

The biggest barrier to going out at night is cost. This is a view shared across groups:

- 36 per cent of Londoners say it is too expensive to go out at night. Some 27 per cent are not particularly interested in doing so. Around 19 per cent do not have enough free time, and the same percentage do not feel safe in London at night
- Those who say it is too expensive include:
 - 35 per cent of women, and 37 per cent of men
 - 37 per cent of ABC1s, and 36 per cent of C2DEs
 - 36 per cent of those living in inner London, the same as outer London

²⁸ The main data sources for this section are the GLA City Intelligence Opinion Research at [London Datastore for London residents](#), and the London & Partners, 'Visitor Voice London Nightlife Research' for visitors

²⁹ See [Demography – London Datastore](#)

³⁰ See [Projections of demand and supply for visitor accommodation in London | London City Hall](#)

³¹ This is part of the GLA City Intelligence Opinion Research at [London Datastore](#). There were six focus groups with 46 participants in total between December 2017 and January 2018.

- 50 per cent of 18-24-year olds, 38 per cent of 25-49-year olds, 31 per cent of 50-64-year olds, and 27 per cent of 65+

London is an expensive city, with many low income households, and slow earnings growth. Many households also face large housing or childcare costs, which may limit the money available for going out³²:

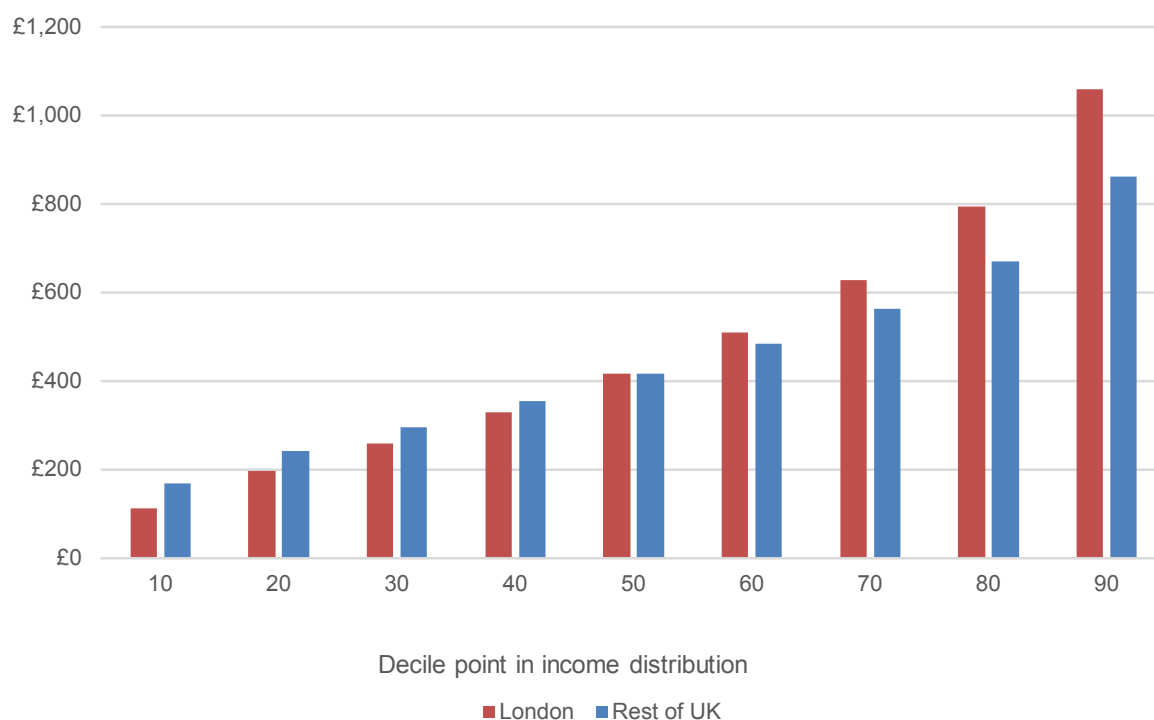
- 22 per cent of households receive gross income of less than £350 a week, and half receive less than £700
- Median gross earnings in London in 2017, after inflation, are below the 2002 level
- Median average housing costs were 21 per cent of median average net household incomes in London, and 10 per cent for the UK for 2014-16

London is also a city with a very wide income distribution, (Figure 4). The disposable income of the highest income households, that is income after tax and housing costs, compares favourably with the rest of the UK. This is perhaps because Londoners have more earning power and are relatively highly qualified. Yet at the same time, the income of poorest households in London compares unfavourably with the rest of the UK:

- The income distribution, after tax and housing costs, is wider in London than the rest of the UK
 - Income in the top decile, in London is 9.6 times the bottom decile
 - Income in the top decile in the rest of the UK is 5.1 times the bottom decile
- Income in the bottom decile of the household income distribution after tax and housing costs is lower in London than in the UK
 - Income in the bottom decile is up to £111 per week in London, and up to £169 per week in the rest of the UK
- It is only at the median point of income distribution that weekly income in London and the rest of the UK is the same (£416 per week)

³² Income data in this paragraph is from the DWP Family Resources Survey, and Households Below Average Income. The earnings data is from the ONS Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings

Figure 4: Distribution of household weekly income, after tax and housing costs, London and rest of the UK, 2014/15-2016/17, reported figures are by decile point in the distribution



Source: DWP Households Below Average Income

Notes: the top decile of households in the income distribution is the 10 per cent of households with the highest income. Income is equivalised. This process adjusts reported household income to account for variations in size and composition, and is a way to compare standards of living across households

The above analysis shows there are many Londoners who have too little income left after other costs to afford going out. The cost of some night time activities has also been rising faster than inflation:

- General inflation³³ rose by 27 per cent between 2006 and 2017 across the UK
- The cost of visiting a restaurant or cafe rose by 40 per cent
- The cost of attending cultural services rose by 43 per cent

Relative to its large population there are fewer cultural facilities in London than many other European cities³⁴. In some town centres, there is little in the way of certain types of venue, such as cinemas or theatres³⁵, and there has been a loss of some cultural provision:

- The number of LGBT+ venues, grassroots music venues (GMVs), night clubs and pubs has fallen
 - In 2017 there were 53 LGBT+ venues down from 125 in 2006³⁶

³³ Consumer Price Index

³⁴ Source is European Commission (2017), 'Cultural and creative cities monitor'

³⁵ See Greater London Authority (2018) [London Plan Town Centre Health Check 2017](#)

³⁶ See GLA (2017) [Rescue Plan for London's Grassroots Music Venues: Making Progress](#)

- In 2016 there were 94 GMVs down from 144 in 2007³⁷
- In 2017 there were 570 clubs³⁸ down from 880 in 2001
- In 2017 there were 3,530 pubs³⁹ down from 4,835 in 2001

Visitors' experience shows that there are ways in which London can improve, such as in value for money and inclusivity. 51 per cent believe London's nightlife is good value, while 45 per cent agree it is easy to find free evening and night activities here. Just 49 per cent of families with children agree that London's nightlife offers them plenty to do. People over the age of 35 are less likely to agree that London's nightlife caters for them.

³⁷ See: UCL Urban Laboratory (2017) [LGBTQ+ Cultural Infrastructure in London: Night Venues, 2006–present](#)

³⁸ ONS definition, source is Inter-Departmental Business Register

³⁹ Source is ONS Inter-Departmental Business Register

6 London's economy at night⁴⁰

6.1 Trends in night time industries

There are people working in all industries both during the day and the night. The industries with a higher than average representation of night time workers are becoming more important both in London and nationally:

- London night time industries had 1.6 million employee jobs in 2017. They account for 33 per cent of jobs in London, and 16 per cent of UK jobs in night time industries
- Between 2001 and 2017 employee jobs in night time industries in London grew at 2.2 per cent a year. For the UK night time industries this figure was 1.7 per cent, and for London's wider economy 2 per cent
- Cultural and leisure activities is the category with most employee jobs, at 594,000 in 2017. That is over a third – 37 per cent – of jobs in London night time industries. Between 2001 and 2017, London employee job numbers have increased at a faster rate than UK-wide in three of the four night time industry categories. These are Cultural and leisure activities, Activities which support cultural and leisure activities, and 24-hour health and personal social services.

Jobs in the night time industries are distributed across London, and have been growing in all parts of the city:

- All London local authorities (except Croydon) have seen growth in employee jobs in night time industries, and the four categories, over the period 2001 to 2017
- Across the categories of night time industries workplaces are found across London. However, Cultural and leisure activities are mainly concentrated in the centre, and around Heathrow airport, Map 1
- The town centres with the largest floorspace for night time Cultural and leisure activities are distributed around London. The amount of retail and leisure floorspace increased across all classifications of town centre between 2012 and 2016.

⁴⁰ The main source for this section is the ONS Inter-Departmental Business Register, and findings on town centres come from Greater London Authority (2018) [London Plan Town Centre Health Check 2017](#)

Map 1: Spatial distribution of London's Cultural and leisure activities workplaces, 2017



Source: ONS Inter-Departmental Business Register

Note: Reporting is by Middle Super Output Area

6.2 Development of the night time culture and leisure offer

Cultural and leisure activities have grown across London but are still concentrated in the West End. This means that some other areas may have little availability of certain types of venue as:

- 'Night time economy' floorspace is greatest by some margin in the international town centres, and particularly in the West End. This is followed by metropolitan and major town centres
 - Average night time economy floorspace⁴¹ in international centres is over three times higher than that for metropolitan centres. This is in turn over 50 per cent, higher than for major town centres
 - Night time economy floorspace in the West End is almost four times higher than Shepherds Bush, the next highest area
- Town centres vary in their night time offer, although some many have little in the way of venues like cinemas and theatres.

⁴¹ See Greater London Authority (2018) [London Plan Town Centre Health Check 2017 and London Datastore. This explains the Town Centre Network Classification, and characterisation of floorspace mentioned here.](#)

Changes in the size and make-up of London's population, and their habits, may be influencing trends for a more diverse night time offer. Indeed, the range of Cultural and leisure activities has improved across London. It has become more diverse with an expanded food offer, and the growth of low/no alcohol provision

- For the whole city, the growth in the number of licensed restaurants has more than offset the fall in the number of pubs. The growth in the number of pubs with more employees may indicate that some have expanded by providing a food offer
 - In 2017 there were 7,990 licensed restaurants, an increase of 2,535 since 2001
 - In 2017 there were 3,530 pubs, a fall of 1,305 since 2001
 - In 2017 there were 1,850 pubs with 10 or more employees, a rise of 405 since 2001
- The offer is also diversifying through the growth in unlicensed restaurants and cafes
 - In 2017 there were 5,785 unlicensed restaurants and cafes, an increase of 3,505 since 2001
- There has also been growth in takeaway food shops. Evidence shows these shops can be a flashpoint for violence at night⁴²
 - In 2017, there were 5,300 takeaway food shops, an increase of 1,330 since 2001

There has been a loss of some cultural provision, as noted earlier. Not all London boroughs have benefited equally from increased diversity

The number of premises licenses has been growing slowly. Requests for extensions to opening hours tend to be for up to an hour, and the number of reviews of premises licenses is low and falling⁴³

- There were 31,670 premises licenses in London at March 2017, up by 1,460 since the year to March 2013
 - Around half were for consumption on premises, and half of these could also sell off premises
 - There were 1,040 licenses for 24-hours, of which 66 per cent were for supermarkets or bars, and 7 per cent for pubs, public bars or nightclubs
- Most requests for license extensions are moderate increases (30-60 minutes)
- There were 180 reviews of premises in the year to March 2017, down from 220 in the year to March 2012

⁴² See, for example, [Working Paper 55: Alcohol consumption in the night-time economy | London City Hall](#), and Annex E of this paper

⁴³ The main source of data for this paragraph is the Home Office, Alcohol and late-night refreshment licensing survey

7 London's transport at night⁴⁴

Better travel options is a priority for Londoners who go out most at night. This includes men going to work and 18-24-year olds going out for leisure purposes⁴⁵:

- 18-24-year olds say better night time transport is their top priority to improve London at night. For men, it is their second priority
- 18 per cent of trips (which covers all modes of transport including walking) at night are made by 17-24-year olds, who account for 9 per cent during the day. Almost half of trips at night are made by 25-44-year olds
- Around a fifth of all trips made by London residents start between 6pm and 6am
- Around a quarter of journeys on public transport start between 6:30pm and 6:30am⁴⁶
- Almost two-thirds of trips by London residents at night are for leisure reasons
- The next highest category of trip at night is work related at 17 per cent. This compares to 18 per cent of trips in the day

The number of trips in London at all times of day has remained fairly constant. However, public transport is becoming more important. Public transport has grown particularly in early mornings (4-7am), as have tube and night bus journeys at night (10pm-4am) throughout the week:

- Between 2005/6 and 2016/17, the number of trips in London by Londoners increased by 1 per cent on weekdays
- Whether London Underground, DLR, bus, tram or rail, public transport is becoming more popular. Between 2005/6 and 2016/7, it increased from 27 to 30 per cent of trips
- Trips in a car, either as a driver or passenger, fell from 41 per cent to 32 per cent of trips over the same period
- Most trips or public transport journeys within London, including commuter journeys, remain either in inner London or outer London
- Only between 4:30am and 6:30am on a Wednesday, and 4:30am and 8:30am on a Saturday did more journeys on public transport start in outer London⁴⁷
- Early morning (4-7am) weekday trips increased by 21 per cent between 2005/6 and 2016/17 (although in 2016/17 only 3 per cent of trips started at this time)
- Tube journeys after 10pm more than doubled (over 2.5 times) between 2000 and 2011⁴⁸
- Night bus use grew by more than one and a half fold between 2000-2011, (Figure 5)
 - Over half of night bus journeys are to travel to work⁴⁹
 - Over half of night bus passengers use the night bus five days a week

⁴⁴ The source of data for this section is the TfL London Travel Demand Survey unless otherwise stated

⁴⁵ See the GLA City Intelligence Opinion Research accompanying this report at [London Datastore](#).

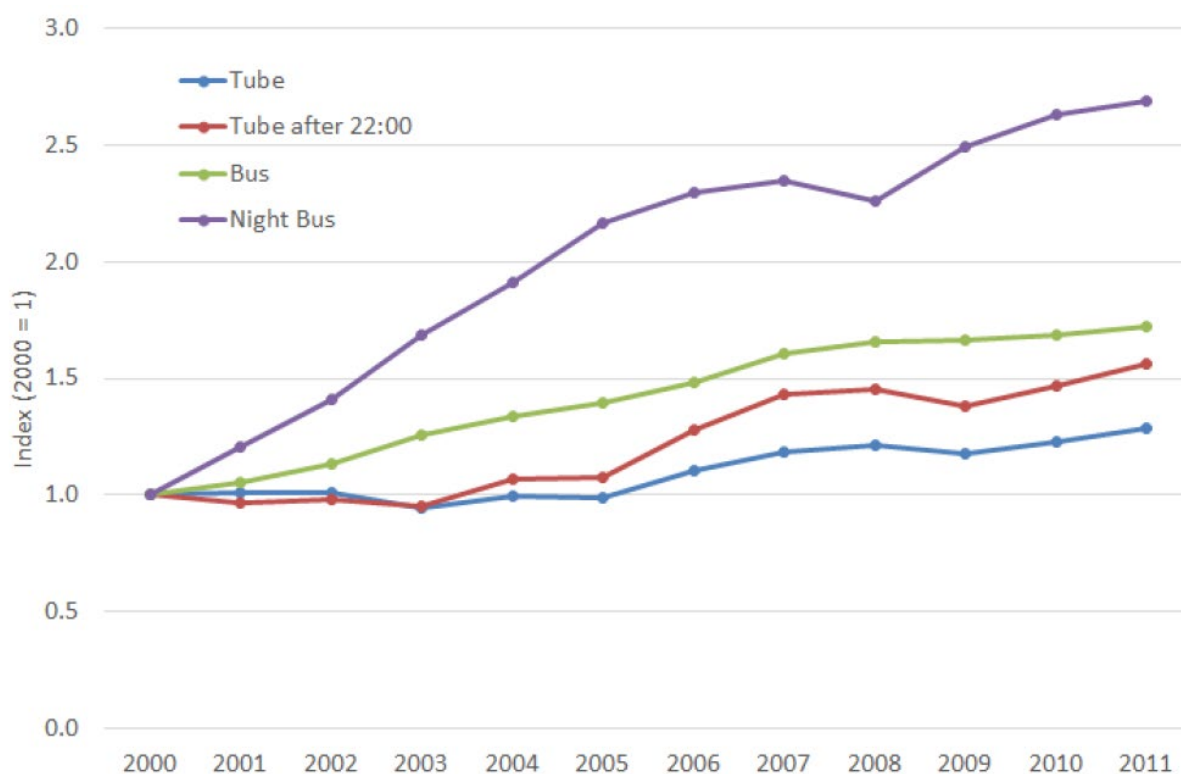
⁴⁶ Source is TfL Oyster and contactless card data

⁴⁷ Source is TfL Oyster and contactless data

⁴⁸ Same source as Figure 5

⁴⁹ Source for these two bullet points is the TfL bus users survey

Figure 5: Use of public transport 2000-11, index numbers 2000=1.0



Source: TfL, as reported in TfL 90993 – *Impact of the Night Tube on London’s Night-Time Economy*⁵⁰

The launch of Night Tube services on Friday and Saturday nights in late 2016 has notably increased night-time travel provision.

Visitors to London are positive that London’s public transport makes it easy to get around in the evening. However, they tend to remain in central London and had little awareness of the Night Tube when asked in September 2017⁵¹.

- 86 per cent of visitors were positive that London’s public transport made it easy to get around the city in the evening
- The night time activities of visitors tend to be heavily concentrated in central London (for example Soho, Oxford Street)
- After dark, 81 per cent of visitors used the Tube before midnight, and 75 per cent walked
- 14 per cent of visitors used the Night Tube after midnight
- 47 per cent of visitors were unaware of this service
- 38 per cent of visitors used black cabs or private hire vehicles to get around in the evening

⁵⁰ Available at [Impact of the Night Tube on London's Night-Time Economy](#)

⁵¹ Source is the London & Partners, ‘Visitor Voice London Nightlife Research’

8 Safety at night⁵²

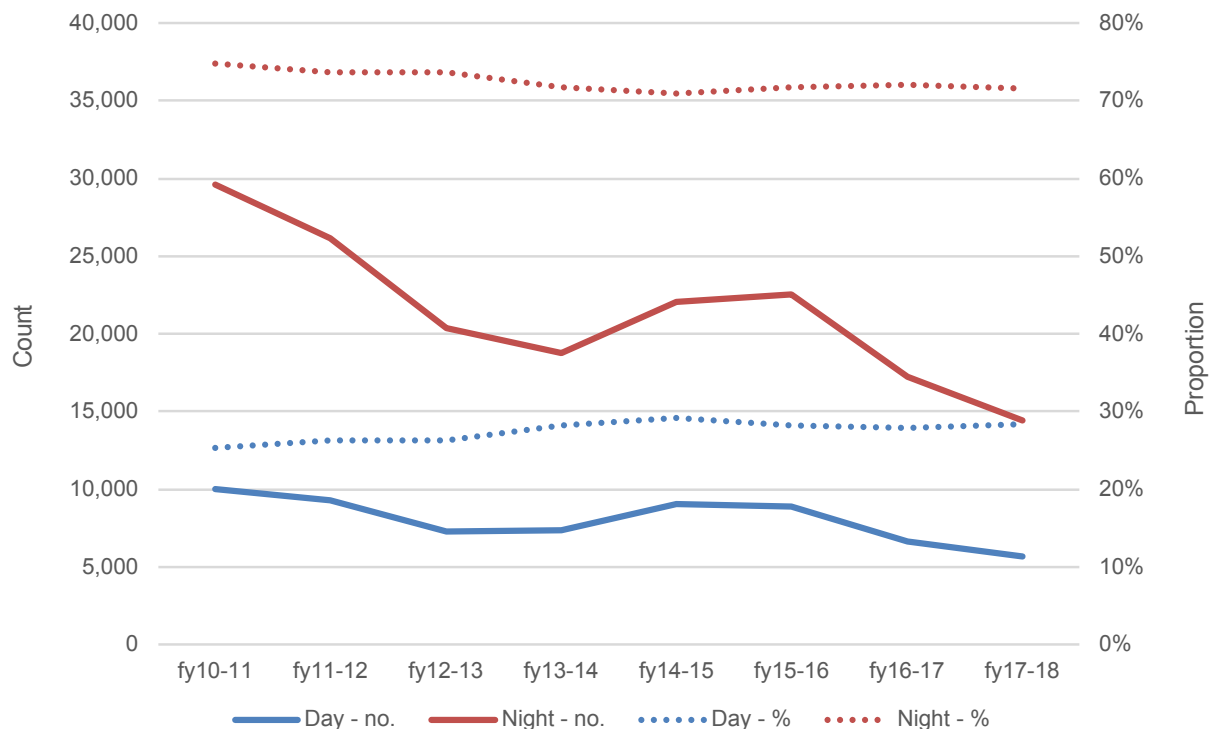
8.1 Offences

Notifiable offences tend to happen in the same parts of London whether it is day or night. This is because people tend to gather in these areas, like central London, town centres, and Heathrow airport, across the day. However, we cannot say if the prevalence of crime is more likely at night as we lack footfall data for populations in an area at any one time.

Recorded notifiable offences have been increasing since 2013/14, both during the night and day. This may in part be due to better reporting. There were, though, more recorded crimes during the day in 2017/18 at 475,350, than during the night at 338,880.

In contrast, night-time alcohol-related offences fell for all boroughs between 2010/11 and 2017/18. For London, numbers dropped from 29,590 to 14,430 (51 per cent), (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Alcohol-related total notifiable offences in London by night and day, count and proportion, 2010/11 to 2017/18



Source: Metropolitan Police

While the distribution of types of recorded crimes is similar over the course of a day, there is more violent crime during the day. Alcohol-related crime, while relatively small in numbers, is more likely to happen at night, and be serious crime:

- Around a quarter of recorded crime in the day, evening (6pm-10pm), and night (10pm-6am) is violence against the person
- 57 per cent of violent crimes against the person happen during the day

⁵² The source of data for this section is Metropolitan Police crime records unless otherwise stated. Reviews of police crime recording practices have found significant under-recording, although steps have been taken to address this. This means that recorded crime numbers have probably increased compared to what they might otherwise have been

- Alcohol-related recorded offences are around 4.3 per cent of offences during the night, and 2.5 per cent during the day
- 50 per cent or more of night time alcohol-related offences are violence against the person
- 13 per cent of alcohol-related offences between midnight and 6am are sexual offences. This compares to 2-3 per cent of all offences for the day, evening, or night

8.2 Feelings of safety

Disabled people, people in low income households, and women do not feel as safe in London at night as other Londoners⁵³:

- 19 per cent of Londoners do not feel safe
- 23 per cent of women do not feel safe
- 23 per cent of people in households on less than £20,000 a year do not feel safe
- 27 per cent of disabled people do not feel safe

Perceptions of safety are similar for people 50 and over, and 18-24 year olds (around 20 per cent feel unsafe). The figure for 25-49 year olds is 17 per cent⁵⁴.

People think that crime is far more likely to happen to them than it is in reality⁵⁵. Increases in public satisfaction with safety relate to experience⁵⁶. It is an issue because perceptions of safety can affect whether a person wants to go out at night despite London being safe:

- Over time, the public has consistently overestimated the likelihood that crime will happen to them. This is particularly the case for people aged 35 and over
- Actions like more visible policing, or better street lighting, are more likely to be favoured by those who might feel more at risk of crime. This includes women, and people over 50. These are also groups who have less interest in going out at night.
- These findings are not replicated for ethnic minorities. They are more likely to go out at night as they're more likely to be working then
- Secure transport and well-used streets can help people feel that the streets are safer, as this is more clearly linked to experiences
- 75 per cent of London residents and visitors report feeling safe walking alone in the dark⁵⁷
- A higher proportion of Londoners agree the city is safe when compared with those living in other European capitals⁵⁸

8.3 Use of public services

A small proportion of health service activity might be due to things that happen at night. There are few hospital attendances at A&E for assault than there are from events such as road traffic accidents, or sports injuries⁵⁹:

⁵³ See the GLA City Intelligence Opinion Research accompanying this report at [London Datastore](#).

⁵⁴ See the GLA City Intelligence Opinion Research accompanying this report at [London Datastore](#).

⁵⁵ Source is the ONS Crime Survey for England and Wales

⁵⁶ Source is the GLA Annual London Survey, 2015

⁵⁷ Source is the MOPAC Public Attitudes Survey quarterly report

⁵⁸ See European Commission (2015) [Quality of Life in European Cities 2015 – Flash Eurobarometer 419](#)

⁵⁹ Hospital accident and emergency attendance data is from Public Health England, and ambulance call-out data is from the London Ambulance Service

- Around 3 per cent of attendance at London hospital A&E departments is due to road traffic accidents, assaults, deliberate self-harm, sports injuries, or is not known. In 2016/17 there were:
 - 9,980 attendances at night from assault
 - 17,520 attendances from assault
 - 30,430 attendances from road traffic accidents
 - 30,770 attendances from sport injuries
- 59 per cent of assault-related ambulance call-outs are at night, and assaults account for 3.5 per cent of all call-outs
- 63 per cent of alcohol-related ambulance call-outs are at night, and alcohol-related incidents account for 5.9 per cent of all call-outs

9 Data issues

In developing this report, we encountered several data issues:

- We have been unable to produce an estimate of night time output that is the economic value of night time activities. This is because a large proportion of those in the night time category are shift workers who work both day and night. We do not know what proportion of their work is at night.
- The cost-benefit studies produced for boroughs are hard to interpret because there is no counterfactual. We have no clear sense of what would have happened otherwise. As such, we do not know what can be attributed to cultural night time activities
- A review of international evidence offers a tiny number of examples of evaluation of night time initiatives. There is no evidence base on what works in managing the night time economy
 - Specifically, there are no cost-benefit studies of initiatives such as Best Bar None, Business Improvement Districts, and Cumulative Impact Zones. We do not know their relative merits in reducing alcohol-related harm and maintaining the night time offer
- Boroughs have not had, for example, available to them the range of data used in this report.
- Police data on crime is widely available to local government public officials. However, you must make a special request for data by time of day
- There is no publicly available footfall data. That means it is impossible to compare day and night time activity, and particularly crime levels
- There has been no published evaluation of the introduction of the Night Tube. This would help us to better understand night time travel patterns
- There is no evidence at a granular level on how well different groups feel able to contribute to London's nightlife, and take part in it. Concerns remain that this may be an issue.

GLA City Intelligence Unit has been looking at how new urban data can give a complete picture of London's night time offer. It has identified four potential uses:

- 1) *Patterns of consumption* – there is incomplete information on expenditure in London at night, which is linked to the value of output
- 2) *Population mapping* – a key barrier to understanding the pros and cons of different parts of London's economy at night is gaps in population/footfall data for the city's night time areas.
- 3) *London's night time demographic* – the Mayor of London is committed to widening access to ensure all Londoners can take part in the city's night time offer. However, there are gaps in our understanding of who does and does not use different services at night.
- 4) *Patterns of night time activity* – there is limited data on travel patterns at night, where people go at night, and changes over time.

ONS has established a Data Science Campus to carry out innovative analysis using new data sources. One avenue to improve data provision for the study of cities at night is for a joint team from ONS and Barclays to explore the potential for additional economic indicators using a range of data held by Barclays⁶⁰. If successful, anonymised card payment data could be used to further our knowledge of the city's night time economy.

⁶⁰ See [The month that was – May 2018 | Data Science Campus](#)

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