The use of social media amongst the LGBT+ population and its effect on the decline of LGBT+ night time venues in London Is there a connection

by Philip Williams

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON

FACULTY OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

BARTLETT SCHOOL OF PLANNING

The use of social media amongst the LGBT+ population and its effect on the decline of LGBT+ night time venues in London: Is there a connection?

By Philip Williams BSc.

Being a dissertation submitted to the faculty of The Built Environment as part of the requirements for the award of the MSc Spatial Planning at University College London:

I declare that this dissertation is entirely my own work and that ideas, data and images, as well as direct quotations, drawn from elsewhere are identified and referenced.

Signed: Date:

Main body: 10231 words   Appendices: 2714

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank everyone who took part in the study as well as my project supervisor Professor Stephen Marshall, for his guidance and advice throughout.

I would also like to thank the academics within the Bartlett School of Planning who helped shape the initial ideas for this dissertation.

Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Abstract

Drawing on existing planning research, this dissertation investigates the link between social media usage and the amount of time residents go out to LGBT+ night-time venues in London as identified on the Mayor of London's Cultural Infrastructure Map.

678 people who identify as LGBT+ and have lived in London for over five years completed a short online survey; the survey focused on social media usage, the frequency people go out and their views about these LGBT+ spaces. 1049 individual comments were received in response to individual questions and over 530 responses were received on Facebook providing qualitative data on the rationale behind responses.

The responses demonstrate that there is no simple correlation between the amount of time people online and the amount of time people go out. Two groups of people were identified; the first group use social media to complement going out to LGBT+ spaces and the second group use social media as a substitute for going out to these spaces; Within the latter group social media is viewed both as a separate alternative space, or as a tool to facilitate going out to private, rather than public spaces.

The report concludes that social media is likely to have a limited effect on the decline of LGBT+ spaces, suggesting that other factors including those within the field of planning, are likely to be causing the decline of these spaces.

Further work is needed to fully understand the linkages between technological developments and space. To that end 67 people have volunteered to help with further study in this area.

1

Chapter 1: Introduction

London's LGBT[1]+ population is increasing (ONS, 2019), acceptance of the LGBT+ community is rising (Huchet-Bodet et al, 2019) but the number of dedicated LGBT+ night-time venues is decreasing (Campkin and Marshall, 2017).

Threats of closures have led to protests both on and offline (Booth, 2019; Huck, 2019) as well as intervention from planners to protect venues from development (BBC, 2015; Corner, 2017; Perry, 2017; Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, 2018).

For over 19 years commentators have argued that technological change is playing a role in the loss of LGBT+ space (Wakeford, 2000); it has been suggested that social media usage and online dating are both directly contributing to closures of LGBT+ night-time venues (BBC, 2015b; Ghaziani, 2014:57-61; Visser, 2015:88).

Empirical research project will assess the validity of these claims. It will ask if *social media usage led to a decrease in dedicated LGBT+ spaces in London*. This work will help planners understand the relationship between physical space and virtual space, as well as assist with the evaluation of whether intervention should take place to protect venues which are under threat.

In order to fully answer this question, the following objectives have been identified:

- To develop an insight into the amount of time London's LGBT+ population spend on social media and the frequency they go out to LGBT+ night-time venues;
- To identify if people are going out less because they are spending more time socialising online;
- To understand if people are socialising differently because digital communication leads to new opportunities.

New survey work will complement existing research; it will identify peoples' social media usage and the amount of time they go out and attempt to draw links between the two. In order to be consistent with cultural studies it will also consider the underlying views of LGBT+ residents (Williams, 1990).

The report will question whether social media usage is having a direct impact "how much people go out" to LGBT+ night time venues. It does not attempt to suggest that specific

---

[1] LGBT+ is an abbreviation for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer. I use the term interchangeably with LGBTQ+ and queer in line with the literature (see Avery, 2016; Doan & Higgins, 2011; Liu, 2017) as well as documentation from the Mayor of London which refers to both LGBT+ and LGBTQ+ venues.

venues closed as a result of specific applications, but instead offers a method of identifying specific trends across a large diverse community; this work could form the basis further studies in different regions of the UK as well as studies which consider the impact of technology outside the LGBT+ population.

Critical questions, which hitherto haven't been asked in depth, will suggest further avenues of research and indicate whether planners should intervene to protect venues – after all if venues are protected but have less value than they once did then they will increasingly serve as empty shells.

1.1. What is a dedicated LGBT+ night-time venue?

There are currently 52[2] dedicated night-time venues identified within the Mayor of London's Cultural Infrastructure Plan (GLA, 2019) which are listed in Appendix 1. They consist of bars, clubs and an LGBT+ theatre.

The venues are principally located in central London although some exist within the outer boroughs. Of the venues, 29 have signed up to the Mayor of London's LGBTQ+ Charter[3] which states:

- A visible rainbow flag should be displayed on the outside of the venue
- The venue should be marketed as an LGBTQ+ venue
- The venue will provide a welcoming, accessible and safe environment
- Management and staff should be LGBTQ+ friendly
- Programming should be LGBTQ+ focused

The Cultural Infrastructure Map also illustrates an additional 23 venues, which offer LGBT+ nights. These are considered part of a general group of establishments, which this report refers to as non-dedicated LGBT+ venues.

---

[2] This figure includes XXL in Southwark, which is due to close later in the month.
[3] The Charter is based on representations from Campkin & Marshall (2017) and Queer Spaces Network (2017).

Chapter 2: Literature Review & Theoretical Framework

2.1. Theoretical Context

LGBT+ spaces can be categorised as permanent or ephemeral (Doan, 2011:12); they can also vary according to peoples' sexuality (Hemmings, 2002; Namaste, 2000; Doan, 2007), age group (Nash, 2012), and identity (Liu, 2017).

Planning hasn't sort to create LGBT+ places (Doan, 2015:1); they are rarely mentioned in planning documents (Binnie & Skeggs, 2004). Instead, these spaces are seen to have emerged to contest a heterosexual norm (Goh, 2018; Hubbard, 2012:3; Bettani, 2015:240).

The simple act of holding hands in public, which many people who identify as LGBT+ feel uncomfortable with (Government Equalities Office, 2018), is one consequence of the heteronormativity that exists in our society according to Bell & Valentine (1995). Under this axiom heterosexuality is considered 'normal' and other sexualities are considered 'repressed.' While changes to the law and attitudes towards sexual difference have improved, research suggests that discrimination persists (Stonewall, 2018), has evolved (Young, 2011) and disproportionately effects persons marginalised groups through intersectionality[4] (Young, 2011; Irazabal & Huerta, 2015).

Frisch (2002) argues that planning creates and sustains heteronormative spaces through three core dualisms. These are order/disorder, family/household and public/private (Lui, 2014:4). The literature also includes examples of institutions taking purposeful action to 'de-gay' neighbourhoods (Doan & Higgins, 2011) including using licensing rules (Woods, 2004), zoning (Frisch, 2002) as well as street scene 'improvements (Browne, 2008).

LGBT+ spaces can be seen both as positive symbols diversity or as undesirable places which need to be removed; bars and clubs (Bell and Binnie, (2000).

There are current debates surrounding the value of these places overall and the extent to which they should be protected. To that end there are debates surrounding the economic contribution of the LGBT+ community and the extent to which LGBT+ spaces are safe places (Formby, 2018).

Within the literature there is a strand of thinking that emphasizes economic value of LGBT+ dedicated spaces. Florida (2005) highlights the link between the LGBT+ population and his

---

[4] Intersectionality is based on the premise that the impact of oppression varies in degree and nature depending on the intersection of subordination sources such as race and gender (Irazabal & Huerta, 2015).

creative class, which he suggests are key to success within a city. The term pink pound, has also become enshrined into business text books as it describes the high economic value of LGBT+ customers.

While Florida has re-written his books and accepted some of the drawbacks from this approach (Florida, 2012; Florida, 2017), much of this thinking is still very prevalent today. Indeed, in categorising culture as a form of infrastructure, the Mayor of London is supporting the viewpoint that these spaces have economic value.

The decision to focus on protecting commercial night time venues, rather than all LGBT+ spaces, can be criticised for its narrow and economic focus; while Campkin and Marshall (2017) argues that a focus on LGBT+ night-time venues is representative of LGBT+ spaces in general theorists highlight that the economic value of the "pink pound" is overstated (Formby, 2018), they question whether commercial venues are welcoming to the whole community (Campkin and Marshall, 2016; Hemmings, 2002; Namaste 2000; Doan and Higgins 2011; Nast 2002; Oswin 2008).

The decision to protect LGBT+ spaces can be seen as a manifestation of LGBT+ power in the city (Knopp, 1995; Dubrow, 2015; Nash, 2015). London has the largest concentration of residents who identify as LGBT+, organisations such as Stonewall and out planning are based in the city. There are also a number of institutions, for example UCL, who have done a great deal of research into this area.

The theoretical basis for this report is derived from a number of disciplines in addition to planning these include politics (Young, 2011), geography (Binnie et all, 2006), cultural studies (Bell & Kennedy, 2000), literary studies (Colebrook, 2014; Graham, 2016) and sociology (Ghaziani, 2014; Wakeford, 2000).

2.2. Research base

The potential reasons for the decline in dedicated LGBT+ night-time venues in the research are shown in the diagram below.

Figure One: Reasons for the decline of LGBT+ night-time venues in London

Multiple factors
- Became Non-LGBTQ specific (30%)
- Development (21%)
- Lease renegociations (9%)
- Business issues (6%)
- Licensing dispute (5%)
(Campkin and Marshall, 2017)

Research technique: A variety of techniques including interviews with venue operators, 239 surveys, archival work and case studies.

Limitations: Detailed study. Focus is on the supply side. Little expanation as to why venues are becoming non-LGBT. Only a small number of survey respondents. Questions are designed to contextualise study rather than reveal finsings (e.g. are people were unhappy with closures) rather than establishing data on usage, value etc.

Regeneration
(Collins, 2004)

Research technique: Secondary research in Soho, London

Limitations: No empirical data

Gentrification
(Doan & Higgins, 2011)

Research technique: Analysis of 2000 Census data and planning documents. 20 Interviews in Atlanta.

Limitations: Interviews sampling technique

Multiple factors
(Campkin et al, 2019)

Research technique: Interviews and archival material provide visual and in-depth material regarding the impact of regeneration and funding cuts primarily.

Limitations: Case study specific data

Constant evolution of LGBT+ spaces based on price of venues and Government policy
(Curt Winkle, 2015).

Research technique: Mapped the location of bars in Chicago. Conducted a small number of interviews.

Limitations: Useful but theoretical

Supply
Demand

Potential reasons for the decline in the number of dedicated LGBT+ venues in London

Supply
Demand

Changes in taste
Brown (2008)

Research technique: Observational research carried out in Spitalfields.

Limitations: Highly subjective as it is largely based on one persons' view.

Taste and the influx of heterosexual people
(Lewis, 2011)

Research technique: Interviewed 24 Gay Men living in Washington DC

Limitations: Not necessarily applicable to UK

Collectivity & Neoliberalism leads to a rise in Chemsex.
(Hakim, 2018)

Research technique: 15 semi-structured interviews with gay and bisexual men

Limitations: Small sample. Focus on dating.

Dating technology
(Gudemulmas, 2012)

Research technique: 6 focus groups and intercept interviews with gay and bi-sexual men in Vauxhall, London.

Limitations: Describes how technology is used but it is difficult to link it to the decline of specific LGBT+ spaces.

Taste and technology
(Ghaziani, 2014)

Research technique: Interviews, Census and newspaper clippings in Chicago, USA.

Limitations: Focuses on community rather than venues. Subjective as reliant on small numbers of people.

Virtual space is a substitute to physical space
(Wakeford, 2000)

Intersectionality - LGBT+ POC shying away from Soho
(Liu,2017)

Research technique: 15 semi-structured interviews of LGBT+ POC residents. In the USA Irazabal and Huerta (2015) explored this issue as well. They visited LGBTQ landmarks and conducted 25 semi structured interviews

Limitations: Hard to quantify impact to venues. Dependent on sampling tehnique for surveys.

Key

▢ Research carried out in London

▢ Research carried out in USA

····· Divide between research which focuses on supply of LGBT+ venues and the demand.

The diagram shows that there is a large body of research which focuses on LGBT+ dedicated night-time venues, principally in London, but also the USA. The research uses a variety of techniques to present findings including maps (Winkle, 2015; Campkin and

6

Marshall, 2017), interviews and artefacts presented as an exhibition (Campkin, 2019) as well as traditional reports (Collins, 2004; Doan & Higgins, 2011).

Regeneration is often cited as a common reason for the decline in LGBT+ spaces (Collins, 2004; Campkin & Marshall, 2017). However, the diagram illustrates that there are a variety of additional and potentially competing reasons why venues maybe closing. This includes taste (Browne, 2008), technology (Ghaziani, 2014) intersectionality (Liu, 2017; Irazabal and Huerta, 2015) and the influx of heterosexual people (Lewis, 2011).

The individual limitations for each piece of research are highlighted in the table but overall there are a series of weaknesses.

- There is a concentration on the demand of LGBT+ venues rather than the supply - A potential gap within the research is the lack of a large-scale focus on residents' tastes and attitudes. The survey from Campkin and Marshall (2017) and the Open Barbers session they conducted were used as a method of 'contextualising findings' and demonstrating the strength of opposition to closures.

  The small-scale survey (239 members of the LGBT+ community) identifies strong feelings about night-time venue closures; it provides a powerful mechanism to frame the report however, the report doesn't explain the extent to which the LGBT+ are exercising a choice to go to other venues. A further, and related aspect to this, which the report doesn't consider is why LGBT+ venues aren't emerging to replace the venues lost; surely if there is a demand for LGBT+ commercial venues, then new bars would open, just as non-dedicated LGBT+ venues are in Camden (Mayor of London Cultural Infrastructure Plan, 2019).

- Research Methodology – There is a reliance on small scale interviews which are phenomenological in nature within the research. This could potentially lead to subjective conclusions.

- The research into the relationship between social media usage and the amount people are going out is an undeveloped area of research - The majority of existing research into technology usage within the LGBT+ community focuses on sexual activity (Shaw, 1997; Edwards, 1994; Gudelunas, 2012; Mowlabocas, 2016; Hakim, 2019). It focuses on "how" people use technology rather than developing theories about the linkages between the two factors. Wider research investigations into the linkages between technology and spaces also draw mixed conclusions. For example, research by Hirsch (2018) struggles

to demonstrate a link between the rise of Amazon and the number of independent book stores operating.

- The research is generally criticised for its focus on gay men (Doan, 2016), large cities (Brown, 2008; Formby, 2017:86; Taylor and Falconer, 2015) and Western countries (Visser, 2015:89).

Research by Campkin and Marshall (2017) provides a basis to undertake future work; this is because the methodology is rigorous, it was created using a variety of research techniques and the map provides a useful tool for framing analysis. That said, the work could be criticised because data is not known for a 25% of venues, there is a limited sense of scale is given to the key drivers for closures (e.g. 21% were influenced by development) and little explanation is given for 30% of venues who continue to operate as non-LGBT+.

Chapter 3: Methodology & Ethics

3.1. Introduction

This empirical research is designed to bridge the gap between existing planning research, which focuses on the impact of regeneration, infrastructure schemes on LGBT+ spaces, to include research into the choices the LGBT+ community are making. The key difference is the focus on the 'demand' for LGBT+ spaces rather than the 'supply' which has been rigorously explored by UCL's Urban Laboratory.

London has been chosen because there is a great deal of research that has taken place, particular concerning the impact of regeneration policies on LGBT+ spaces. By utilizing the existing network of spaces that Campkin and Marshall (2017) have identified, the individual usage of LGBT+ residents can be considered.

3.2. Participants and Sampling

Purposive sampling was used to identify respondents.

The survey was targeted at the LGBT+ community who have lived in London over the past five years and are over 18 years of age. This survey excludes heterosexual people who may use LGBT+ venues and tourists to ensure the survey can focus directly on the relationship between social media and space.

Facebook was chosen to distribute the survey as this is the most popular application – currently 71% of UK adults have a profile (Battisby, 2019). The functionality within the programme allows users to be approached easily. Given LGBT+ users use a variety of social media applications interchangeably (Gudelumas, 2012) this application is also likely to capture the highest number of responses.

3.3. Survey: Content

The principal mechanism for answering this question was an online survey. The decision to produce a survey, rather than semi-structured interviews or focus groups, was taken as this work was exploratory in nature and it was important to choose a large sample size. Future work could be carried out, using the existing survey to compare the responses to different areas of the country (E.g. rural and urban) or different countries. Semi structured interviews or focus groups could be used to further investigate patterns within the data.

This report differentiates itself from the work identified in the literature review because it asks a combination of questions designed to establish whether there is a correlation between social media usage and the amount people go out to LGBT+ dedicated night-time venues.

Questions were separated into two sections. The first section, entitled "about you" established inclusion criteria (six questions) and the second section presented ten questions designed to answer the report objectives.

The decision to focus on LGBT+ spaces identified by the Cultural Infrastructure Plan enabled respondents to understand the venues that the report focused on. The use of examples within the questions ensured that respondents understood the questions.

A copy of the survey is available in Appendix 2.

3.3.1. Survey: Pilot study and analysis

A pilot study took place between 17th July – 26th July where a broad range of people from different age groups and with different sexualities were surveyed. In response to their feedback changes were implemented to ensure the questions could be fully understood, the check boxes were appropriate, and the questions weren't leading or misleading.

The survey took place between 27th July and 11th August on Facebook using online digital advertising directly to LGBT+ community using keyword and geographical targeting took place throughout this period. The advantage of digital advertising is that the target audience could be targeted directly. The disadvantage is that there was a cost to advertising the survey.

Figure 2: Facebook LGBT+ audience

Location: London   Age: 18-65+

People who match Interests: Rainbow flag (LGBT movement), LGBT rights by country or territory, Gay pride, LGBT parenting, Out (magazine), LGBT history, Gay Times, LGBT culture, Gay Times Magazine, LGBT community, Gay News, Gay bar, Lesbian Pride, LGBTQ Nation, LGBT social movements or BuzzFeed LGBT

Originally the plan was to post the survey to eleven large Facebook groups to increase the sample size however, despite posting this survey at peak times (Read, 2019), the response rate was not large enough to make meaningful conclusions. Moreover, some groups

restricted posting. The decision was therefore taken not to include responses from any of the groups but to focus on the responses from the Facebook advertising campaign.

Survey Monkey was chosen to conduct the survey; this is because the program is compliant with GDPR legislation and allows a consistent approach with UCL research policies. SPSS and Excel was chosen to analyse the data; these programmes enabled the exploration of patterns within the data, cohorts of users to be identified and ensure high levels of confidence in the data could be maintained.

3.3.2. Methodology weaknesses and the steps taken to minimise them

Developing a strong model for correlating social media usage with the decline in LGBT+ venues is incredibly difficult. Four key challenges were identified at the outset:

- The survey is targeted at Facebook users only. This represents 71% of the adult population in the UK (Battisby, 2019) and the survey therefore will not be reaching everyone.

- The principal weakness of this methodology is that it doesn't track social media usage and the amount of time people spend going out over time, instead it relies on the perception within the community. This could be inaccurate, as people aren't fully aware of the time spent online or going out. Efforts were made to minimise this by asking a variety of different questions about usage. This included the amount of time people go out now, the amount of time they went out five years ago and their perception about the link between social media and going out.

- During the pilot exercise, the challenge of how people define 'socialising online' and what a 'dedicated LGBT+ space' was highlighted. Efforts were made to modify the survey using better terminology, giving examples as well as information to ensure consistent responses. The survey used the term dedicated LGBT+ night-time venue as this was the term used in the Cultural Infrastructure Report however, the reverse of this term *non-dedicated LGBT+ venue*, which was used as a control group, was harder to define.

- The Facebook advertising platform didn't allow many words in the advert or text on the images. As a result, the bulk of the information about the research criteria, ethical guidelines from UCL was at the top of the Survey Monkey questionnaire. This ensured that everyone saw the guidelines before they completed the survey, but it would have been ideal to have had this information within Facebook. One method to get around this would have been to use a video message from the researcher. The use of a promotion

11

video on the platform would have given respondents more information and allowed more people to see the group post (Facebook Business, 2015).

3.3.4. Validity and reliability of survey

Attention has been given to ensure both the sample size was sufficiently large to make valid conclusions and the questions weren't weighted to generate biased responses. Standard deviation and confidence levels were calculated to help measure validity.

During the design and implementation phase the number of options people could answer was reduced to improve validity. A question on disability was also removed as the sample size was unlikely to be sufficient to draw meaningful conclusions.

3.4. Ethical considerations

This research has been designed in accordance to the research standards set out by UCL (UCL, 2013). The questionnaire was anonymous, responses were securely held. The use of Survey Monkey ensured compliance with GDPR and legislation on the use of data.

Issues regarding gender, sexuality and ethnicity are handled sensitively and were discussed with the dissertation supervisor before research was carried out. Questions on gender and sexuality were taken from the National LGBT Survey to ensure sensitivity with the community (Government Equalities Office, 2018).

The decision was taken to exclude data from Facebook Groups ensuring the administrators didn't hold undue influence over respondents.

The report avoided directly dealing with online dating, cruising and drug taking. While these issues have been identified as potential areas where there maybe a link between social media usage and space, they have been excluded within this report for ethical reasons.

The online questionnaire ensures that individual safety is guaranteed.

Chapter 4: Background Information

The origins of LGBT+ spaces in London can be traced back to the late 19th century (Cook, 2003; Houlbrook, 2005; Graham, 2016) however, it wasn't until 30-40 years ago that dedicated LGBT+ spaces started to emerge in London (Collins, 2004).

UCL's Urban Laboratory have charted the emergence and disappearance of these venues over the past 30 years (Campkin and Marshall, 2017). This research indicates that overall the number of LGBT+ dedicated night time venues peaked at 125 in 2006 (Campkin and Marshall, 2017) but has subsequently reduced by just under 60%.

The timeline below, shows key events and wider legislative context, from 1986. It brings together material from the UCL archive (Campkin et al, 2019) as well as other sources.

Figure three: Timeline illustrating changes to planning policy and key events

---

Timeline

1986   Disbanding the Greater London Council (Campkin et al, 2019)

2005   Westminster Council bans businesses for flying rainbow flag (Barkham, 2005).

2006   The number of dedicated LGBT+ venues peaked at 126 (Campkin & Marshall, 2017)

2007   Soho Action Plan launched (City of Westminster, 2007).

2011   Localism Act enshrined into law. This gave councils the ability to register buildings as *Assets of Community Value* and residents the power to produce *Neighbourhood Development Plans*.

   Boris Johnson also launched a new London Plan with a focus on economic development (Liu, 2017).

2012   National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) approved

2014   Royal Vauxhall Tavern listed as an *Asset of Community Value* (Lambeth Council, 2015)

2015   The Black Cap & Joiners club announce closures (Campkin and Marshall, 2017). This triggered local campaigns designed to these protect venues through the planning system (Campkin et al, 2019).

2015	The Royal Vauxhall Tavern was given Grade II listed building status (Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, 2015).
2017	Tower Hamlets introduces planning obligations to ensure an LGBT+ space was provided on the site of the Joiners Club (Neate, 2017).
2018	Consultation launched to extend permitted development rights (Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2018)
2019	The Mayor of London launches the Cultural Infrastructure Plan (GLA, 2019). This suggests land value increases, national planning system, business rate increases, licensing restrictions and funding reductions have all contributed to declines in London's cultural infrastructure (GLA, 2019). The Cultural Infrastructure Plan also includes measures designed to monitor the number of dedicated LGBT+ night-time venues and plans to work with venues to enhance the capital's cultural offering (GLA, 2019) however given that this was only introduced this year it cannot have had any significant affect to date.
	'Planning Out' launch LGBT+ Toolkit (Planning Out, 2019) - This is a detailed and comprehensive document. It explains the relevant planning powers related to dedicated LGBT+ spaces and rainbow flags.
	Westminster City Council launch their draft City Plan 2019 – 2040 which explicitly recognises the unique cultural, artistic and historical significance of Soho (Planning Out, 2019).

Throughout the thirty-year period venues have opened as well as closed. For example, this year Merton's first LGBT+ venue has opened (Krause, 2019) and XXL, a gay club in Southwark announce its closure (Huck, 2019). This is significant as a number of venues[5] closed before Facebook, Grindr and other social media applications suggesting there are a variety of factors causing closures.

The timeline shows that the number of dedicated night-time venues peaked the year Facebook was created (2006). Since that time there has been an increase in internet usage

---

[5] London Lesbian and Gay Centre and Black Lesbian and Gay Centre both closed before this time (Campkin et al, 2019)

(ONS, 2018) as well as the continued growth of social media (Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, 2016).

There have been a vast number of political, economic, social and other technological changes in this period. In terms of the planning system, the period after 2006[6] can be seen as one of largely deregulation after the banking crisis. The creation of the National Planning Policy Framework and the London Plan under Boris Johnson, were designed to encourage development. This is significant as, the vast majority of the people who run dedicated LGBT+ night time venues do not own the sites they run their businesses from (Avery, 2016). Extensions to permitted development rights can also be seen as a mechanism to make it easier to convert venues, into residential premises, allowing landowners to make planning gains.

That said, the changes introduced by the coalition Government cannot be seen as being universally hostile to LGBT+ dedicated night-time venues since the measures put the emphasis on local councils to bring forward policies.

The Localism Act also gave council's the power to designate *Assets of Community Value* and the power to create *Neighbourhood Development Plans*. The Royal Vauxhall Tavern has been saved using the former mechanism. While Neighbourhood Plans haven't yet been used to safeguard community spaces, there is the potential in the Bill for this to be used as a mechanism to give residents the power to shape their communities for the better.

---

[6] 2006 is the period when the number of dedicated LGBT+ venues was at its peak in London (Campkin and Marshall, 2017).

Chapter 5: Survey Results

5.1. Demographic characteristics of the sample

The table opposite shows the key demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the 678 respondents who met the inclusion criteria.

- 47% of the respondents were under 30 years old – this is higher than the population as a whole (ONS, 2019b) but is in line with a survey of this kind.
- 60% of the respondents describe their gender as male and 28% identify as female. Over 10% of the respondents categorised themselves differently. The percentage of men was slightly higher than the gender breakdown for the LGB community (ONS, 2019).
- 371 respondents identify themselves as gay. Of those, 355 people identified themselves as male, 5 identified themselves as female, 4 people identified themselves as trans-male and 7 as non-binary.
- 81% of the survey identify as white.

The decision has been taken to amalgamate ethnic minority categories into a single group called 'BME' as well as combining transgender, queer, pansexual asexual and other into a single category to improve statistical validity within the analysis. Research also took place for each of the five age categories but the data is presented as three categories because there was little variation between the 24-49 age category.

Table 1: The demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the sample (Total = 678)

Age	%	Freq
18 – 23	27	185
24 – 29	20	133
30 – 39	24	160
40 – 49	14	93
Over 50	16	106
Prefer not to say	0	1

Gender	%	Freq
Female	28	192
Male	60	404
Trans woman	1	
Trans man	2	14
Non-binary	6	42
Don't know or won't say	1	8
Other	2	12

Sexual Orientation	%	Freq
Lesbian	13	91
Gay	55	371
Bi-Sexual	15	99
Transgender	1	4
Queer	7	49
Pansexual	5	35
Asexual	1	10
Other (please specify)	3	19

Ethnicity	%	Freq
Asian/Asian British	4	27
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British	3	19
Mixed/Multiple ethnic groups	7	49
White	81	552
Other ethnic group	4	25
Prefer not to say	1	6

5.2. Key trends emerging from the data

5.2.1. Social media usage

The amount of time respondents spent on social media is consistent with recent trends on usage (Battisby, 2019; Statistica, 2019). 1 hour 30 minutes – 2 hours 29 minutes was the most popular category selected. The 0 – 29 minutes category was the least popular category notwithstanding its smaller size.

Table 1: Breakdown of how much time respondents spent on social media each day

Amount of time spent on social media	%	Frequency
0 – 29 minutes	4.42%	30
30 minutes – 1 hour 29 minutes hours	24.34%	165
1 hour 30 minute - 2 hour 29 minutes	29.94%	203
2 hour 30 minutes - 3 hours 29 minutes	20.80%	141
Over 3.5 hours	20.50%	139

Within the data there were important differences in the frequency different demographic groups spend on social media (See Figure 4 below).

Figure 4: Social media usage across demographic groups
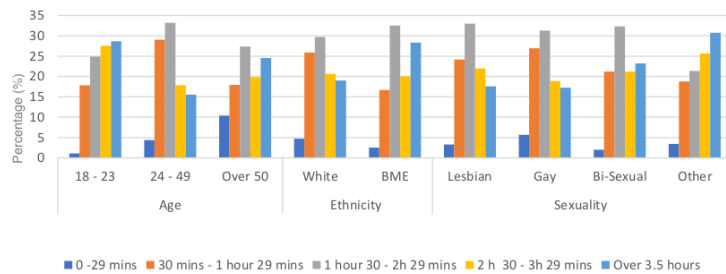
Respondents aged 18-23 spend more time on social media, with their usage continuing to rise across the five categories; social media usage for respondents aged 24-49 years, peaks in the 1 hour 30 minute – 2 hours 29 minutes category before dramatically falling off and there is a greater spread of usage across each of the categories for the over 50s.

Social media usage was higher for BME respondents overall. The bi-modal distribution potentially represents differences among different ethnic groups however, the sample sizes within these categories are too small to draw definitive conclusions.

Social media usage is similar for respondents who identify as lesbian, gay and bi-sexual. People who identify as transgender, queer, pansexual, asexual and other are spending more time online than other categories.

5.2.3. Amount of time spent going out

The amount of time respondents go out to dedicated LGBT+ spaces and non-dedicated LGBT+ spaces is shown in the graph below.

Figure 5: The amount of time spent going out to night-time venues
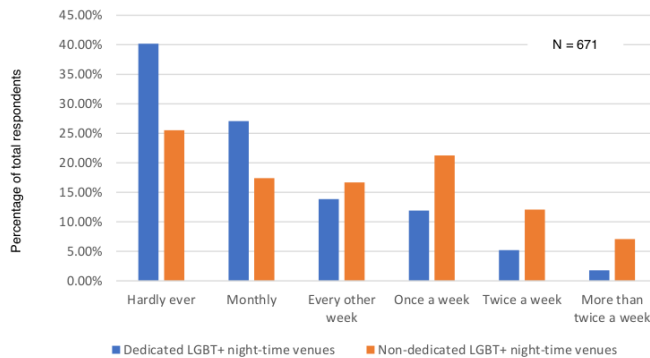
The diagram shows that 67% of respondents (452 people) 'hardly ever' or go out monthly to LGBT+ dedicated venues. Just 18% of respondents visit an LGBT+ dedicated venue more than once a week. Respondents are more likely to go out to a non-dedicated LGBT+ night-time venue, with just under 40% going out to a non-dedicated venue once a week.

The exact breakdown of how respondents divided their time between dedicated and non-dedicated is shown in the frequency diagram in Appendix 3. It confirms that 51% of the population (342) go out to non-dedicated LGBT+ venues more than non-dedicated venues whereas just 19% of people (129) go out to LGBT+ venues more. There are a small group of

people (34) who go out relatively infrequently to non-dedicated LGBT+ night-time venues but who go out to dedicated LGBT+ venues over once a week.

There were differences in the amount of time respondents from different age groups spent going out to dedicated LGBT+ venues (See figure SSS).

Figure 6: Differences in the frequency people go out by demographic group
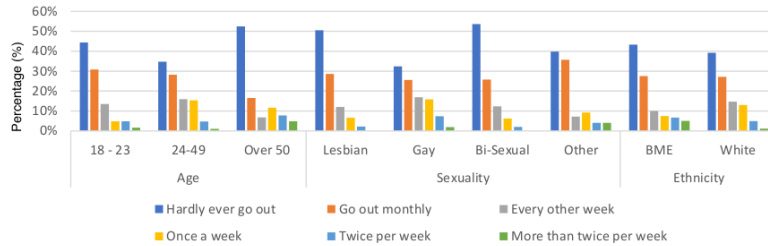
52% of the respondents who were over 50 hardly ever go out; this compares to 44% for 18 – 23-year olds and 35% for 24 - 49-year olds. The 18-23 years old category seem to be going out to LGBT+ venues less than the 24-49 years old category.

Gay people are far more likely to go out to LGBT+ dedicated spaces than all other groups; People who identify as lesbian or bi-sexual have a similar distribution to each other. Respondents who identify themselves within the remaining categories (transgender, queer, pansexual, asexual and other) are marginally more evenly spread across each of the categories. For example, a higher percentage of people go out more than twice a week, than people who identify as gay. Further research is needed to explain this pattern.

The amount of time BME respondents said they spent going out varied, compared to the rest of the population. There was an increased percentage of people who went out more and an increase percentage of people who went out less. This could indicate that some people within this category feel excluded where as others go out more.

Outside, these demographic groups a difference also emerged between the people who were married and those within other categories – this revealed that married people were significantly less likely to attend LGBT+ dedicated venues (84% rarely go out).

5.2.4. Changes in the amount people go out compared to five years ago

The amount people went out[7] now compared to five years ago and associated rank for analysis comprised of 'go out considerably less' (1), 'go out a bit less' (2), 'go out about the same' (3), 'go out a bit more' (4) and 'go out considerably more' (5). The mean and standard deviation of responses for both dedicated LGBT+ venues and non-dedicated LGBT+ venues were calculated; the mean results were then plotted below.

Figure 7: Mean attendance of venues compared to five years ago
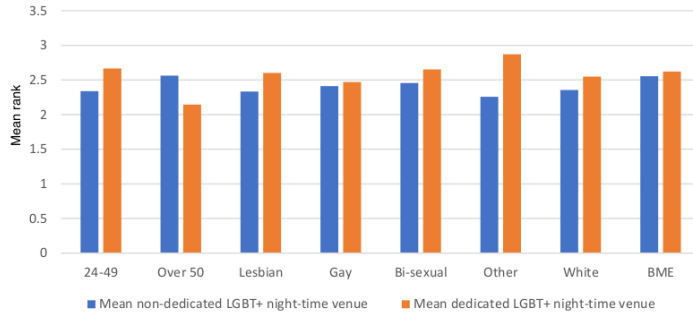
Table 3: Changes to the frequency different demographic groups go out compared to five years ago

	N	Mean non-dedicated LGBT+ night-time venue	Std. Deviation	Mean dedicated LGBT+ night-time venue	Std. Deviation
24-49	369	2.3388	1.2188	2.6667	1.48544
Over 50	96	2.5625	1.3124	2.1458	1.1606
Lesbian	63	2.3333	1.16398	2.6032	1.6018
Gay	294	2.4116	1.2187	2.4694	1.3791
Bi-sexual	46	2.4565	1.27726	2.6522	1.49395
Other	62	2.2581	1.4018	2.8710	1.4875
White	389	2.3548	1.2046	2.5476	1.3981
BME	74	2.5541	1.4156	2.6216	1.6610

Graph 7 highlights that on average respondents are going out less than they did five years ago. The decline in usage varies slightly across the eight groups, with people above the age

---

[7] Excluding people who were less than 23 years old and therefore couldn't go out.

of 50, showing the steepest decline in the frequency they go out, and people within the category labelled other (transgender, queer, pansexual asexual and other) showing the smallest decrease in the frequency they go out to LGBT+ venues. There was a higher variation within the categories labelled BME and other (standard deviation) suggesting there maybe some significant differences within these larger groups.

There also appears to be a movement from non-dedicated LGBT+ night time venues to LGBT+ dedicated venues for most categories. This is confirmed in Appendix 4, which shows the breakdown of responses between dedicated and non-dedicated venues.

Analysis has been carried out for the qualitative reasons people gave for their change in use. This is found in the table below.

Table 4: Reason for the change in the frequency people go out

Categories of responses	Reason for the change in frequency people go out
People who go out less to all venues	Age (48 comments) and relationship status (29 comments) were the two most common reasons cited. Social media was cited 4 times as a reason why people go out less.
People who go out more to all venues	Coming out (16 comments), new friendships (6 comments) and money (5 comments) were the most common reasons.
People who go out more to LGBT+ venues but less to non-dedicated	Coming Out (26 comments), friends (20 comments) and acceptance of sexuality (11 comments).
People who go out less to LGBT+ venues but more to non-dedicated	Venue closures (9 comments), age (8 comments) and people were fed up of LGBT+ dedicated venues (7 comments) were all cited as potential reasons.

The overriding position is that peoples' usage appears to be changing, but many people don't perceive it down to social media. Instead people see age, relationship status, friendships all determining changes of usage. A small number of people also reported to go out less because of venues closing and an equal number stated frustration with existing venues which put them off going out more.

Taking current going out patterns and previous going out patterns together, people appear to see going out to an LGBT+ venue as a rare occurrence, suggesting it is potentially hard to link people going every day to something that they go to on special occasions.

5.2.5. Perception of dedicated LGBT+ night-time venues

The diagram below plots the mean rank of London's LGBT+ dedicated night time venues and non-dedicated night time venue (Very Poor = 1 Poor = 2 Acceptable = 3 Good = 4 Very Good = 5). The graph shows that dedicated LGBT+ venues are rated significantly higher amongst the LGBT+ community than non-dedicated venues for inclusivity, events, atmosphere and a sense of security.

<u>**Figure 8:**</u> <u>How venues are rated against 11 key criteria</u>
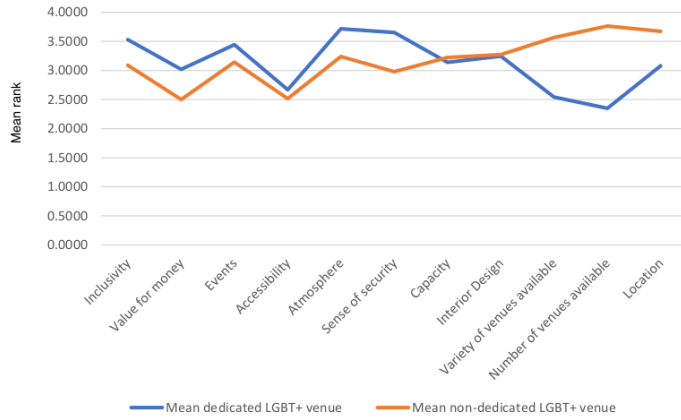
The graph highlights that LGBT+ dedicated venues receive a rating of lower than 3 for the number and variety of venues. This highlights the issue and underlines the strength of feeling amongst the LGBT+ community.

Figure 9: How different groups rate dedicated LGBT+ night time venues
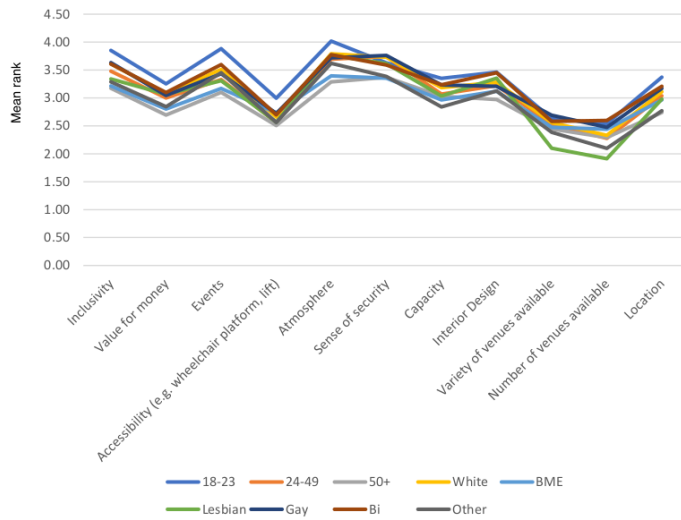
Three key trends emerge from the data:

- On average 18-23-year olds rated dedicated LGBT+ venues higher than people within other categories.
- BME respondents rate LGBT+ dedicated venues lower for inclusivity than other groups (3.21) but importantly the BME respondents rate the inclusivity of venues higher than for non-dedicated venues (2.97).
- Lesbians are rate LGBT+ dedicated venue particularly poorly for the number and variety of venues suggesting that its this group of people who are particularly aggrieved with the current set of venues.
- The results were fairly consistent across each of the categories (Standard Deviation was less than one in the majority of cases) however, the category labelled other had a slightly larger spread than other results (standard deviation = 1.23 for inclusivity and 1.3 for the number of venues) suggesting there maybe some key differences within this group.

5.3. Establishing whether there is a link between social media usage and the frequency people go out in the evenings

In order to establish whether there is a link between the amount people spend socialising online and the amount respondents go out, analysis took place against three factors. These were the total amount people go out to both venues, the amount people go out exclusively to LGBT+ venues and peoples' change in use over a five-year period. Separate analysis was also taken within each demographic group.

Figure 10: Comparison between social media usage and the total amount of time people spend going out to both types of venues
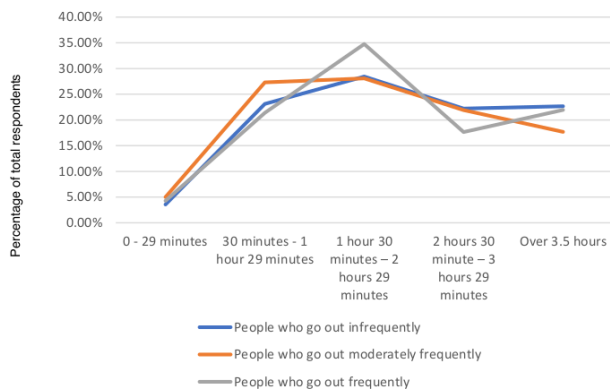
Categories

- People who go out infrequently - Respondents who go out monthly or hardly ever to both LGBT+ and non-LGBT+ venues. There were 225 respondents within this category.
- People who go out moderately frequently – People who go out more than once a month but less than twice a week to either venue type. There were 260 respondents within this category.
- People who go out frequently - People who twice a week or more to either venue types. There were 187 respondents within this category.

The graph shows that there is no simple correlation between the amount of time people go out and the length of time people spend on social media. In particular the graph shows that the people who go out a considerable amount (high) and those who don't go out very much (low) have a very similar percentage of people in three of the five categories for social media. 41 of the 187 people who go out the most also spend over 3.5 hours on social media each day. At the same there are 51 people who don't frequently go out but use social media for over 3 hours 30 minutes each day. If there was a relationship between social media usage and going out, you might expect high social media users to be going out a lot less than lower social media users; conversely, if socialising online was leading to people going out more you would expect people to go out more than they did five years ago (if all other factors were the same). This is not the case.

Figure 11: Comparing the amount of time people spend on social media with the frequency they go out to LGBT+ dedicated night-time venues[8]

The diagram confirms the theory that social media usage is not a good indicator of how much people are likely to go out to LGBT+ venues. With the exception of people who go out once a week or more, the frequency people go out in the evenings doesn't vary dramatically

---

[8] In order to ensure statistical validity, the categories of once a week, twice a week and over twice a week have been combined.

by social media usage. In terms of the people who go out once a week or more social media usage is also consistent with overall usage.

The table below shows social media usage against the change of usage compared to five years ago.

Table 5: Comparing the amount people go out with their social media usage

	People who go out a lot less than five years ago		People who go out about the same or a bit less		People who went out a lot more than five years ago	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
0 - 29 mins	3	4	13	9	3	6
30 Mins - 1 hour 30 mins	17	21	43	31	6	13
1h 30 m - 2h 29	22	27	45	33	12	25
2h 30 mins - 3h 29 mins	20	24	21	15	16	33
Over 3.5 hours	20	24	16	12	11	23
Total	82	100	138	100	48	100

While it reveals some variation between the categories, this is could be because it is not comparing social media usage with the total amount people go out five years ago. There also isn't any logic to the variations.

Comparing different demographic categories

Analysis took place to establish if there was a link within the different demographic groups. It explored whether there was a relationship within different demographic groups. For example, was there a relationship for older people or young people.

While it is difficult to present this work, and its harder to draw conclusions given the relative sizes of the different demographic groups, the graph overleaf plots the social media usage of people who hardly ever go out to LGBT+ dedicated venues.

Figure 12: Social media usage of people who hardly ever go out to dedicated LGBT+ night-time venues
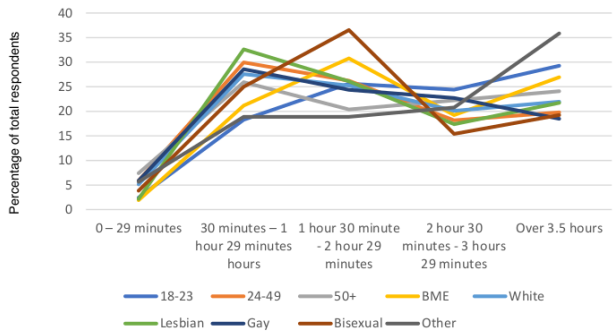
The graph shows that there is a wide variation in social media usage across these categories. If there was a correlation between the amount people go out and the amount of time people spend online, you would expect less of a variation between each of the categories.

5.4. Assessing whether people go out differently because there are new opportunities

5.4.1 How people hear about events

Social media is the most popular communication channel for people within each demographic category to hear about events according to the diagram below.

Table 6: How respondents hear about events

Method of hearing about events	Age			Sexuality				Ethnicity	
	18-23	24-49	Over 50s	Gay	Lesbian	Bisexual	Other	White	BME
Word of mouth	70%	68%	54%	66%	65%	69%	66%	67%	65%
Flyers and leaflets	14%	12%	22%	16%	9%	12%	15%	14%	15%
E-mail	8%	18%	22%	18%	14%	14%	9%	16%	14%
Social media	84%	87%	68%	81%	82%	88%	86%	83%	82%
Paid digital advertising	22%	18%	12%	20%	9%	23%	16%	18%	20%
Online search	29%	26%	30%	28%	34%	21%	28%	27%	29%
Magazines and newspapers	6%	14%	19%	16%	4%	9%	9%	12%	17%

The numbers represent the percentage of total respondents within each of the categories (E.g. 18-23) who ticked the checkbox.

While the table shows there are differences in the way people hear about events, social media was the most popular mechanism people hear about events.

Social media can therefore be seen as a mechanism for providing new opportunities, and places to go within the physical world.

The significant differences in the responses between the over 50s may suggest that this group of people is less likely to hear, or act on opportunities they hear from social media. It shows that this group of people are more likely to hear about events through traditional channel. Word of mouth is also less common for this group of people.

The higher responses for bi-sexual as well as people who identify as transgender, queer, pansexual asexual and other reinforces the view that social media usage may affect different people in different ways.

28

5.4.2. Peoples' perceptions about the link with social media and going out

The graph below shows respondents perception of the impact of social media on the number of times they visit LGBT+ dedicated venues and non-LGBT+ spaces.

Figure 3: Effect of social media usage on the frequency people got out
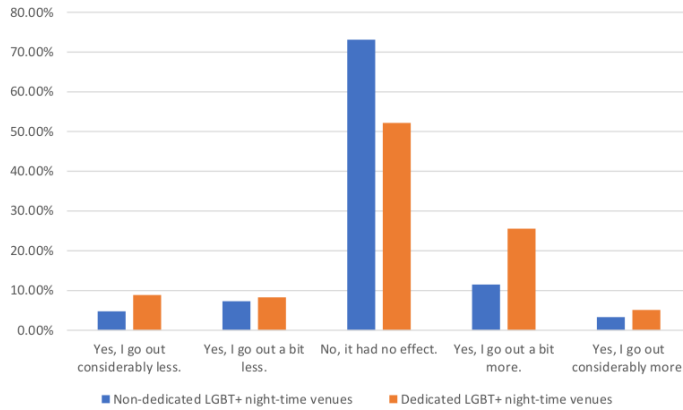
The graph reveals three key findings.

- **Most people don't believe there is a link between social media usage and the amount people go out** - 73% of respondents believe that social media usage has no effect on the amount of times they spend in non-dedicated LGBT+ spaces.
- **People believe the amount they go out to dedicated LGBT+ venues is affected by social media more than non-dedicated LGBT+ venues –** Just under half of residents believe there is a relationship between the amount they go out to dedicated LGBT+ night-time venues and the amount of time they spend on social media. This change of response is principally from the people who believe there was no effect for non-dedicated venues rather than overall changes between groups (see appendix 5 for the frequency diagram illustrating how people answered both questions.
- **Respondents see social media as a mechanism to go out more (complementary) as well as to go out less (substitute).**

5.4.3. Social media as a substitute activity

Analysis of the 58 comments from the 133 respondents who suggested social media means they go out less to LGBT+ venues revealed two key themes. The first was from people who suggested social media was a substitute for going out (12 comments) and the second was from people who used social media as a tool for going meeting up outside traditional LGBT+ spaces (15 comments). This was principally though dating applications (13 comments) but people also used social media to attend private parties (2).

A small number of people cited value for money as a key underlying benefit of social media (3 responses); 2 people also suggested cyber bullying had made them less likely to go out to LGBT+ spaces, which demonstrates the potential reach of this form of media.

5.4.4. Social media as a complementary activity

Analysis of the 78 qualitative comments from the 116 people highlighted in the table revealed that 48 people heard about events through social media, 12 people learnt about venues, 2 people believed social media helped them plan events and 3 people suggested they met people in LBGT+ venues as a result of social media messaging. Social media is seen as a tool for information gathering about non mainstream events. One respondent said:

"Without social media I would never hear about lesbian events, because they are completely absent from the mainstream media."

This was echoed by respondents who heard about transgender events through social media and was a common theme though-out. In addition to influencing personal behaviour social media was seen as a tool to influence others to attend events. Within this cohort of people that was friends or loved ones principally but also new people.

5.5.2. Developing a new paradigm

Analysing the clusters of people who believe social media enables them to go out more to LGBT+ spaces and those who believe social media results in people going out less reveals some key differences[9]. These include:

- Demographic and socio-economic difference – People who believe social media enables them to go out more tend to be younger and earn less money.
- Purpose – They are more likely to be using different applications (e.g. WhatsApp, Snapchat, Facebook Messenger and Instagram) suggesting they may be using social media for different purposes.
- Underlying views – People who believe social media makes them go out to dedicated LGBT+ venues more rate the venues more highly.

The clear difference between the way people view their relationship between social media usage and space start to change the way we perceive this issue. It indicates that this issue shouldn't be seen as one where there is a clear relationship between social media usage and space, but one where there are different issues impacting on peoples' usage of LGBT+ venues. Within this context, it could be argued that there is a link between social media and LGBT+ space for a group of people with the population.

Developing a theory about causation is a challenge; for example, while it is possible to suggest that people who go out more are more likely to use the Snapchat this does not mean that Snapchat itself is causing people to go out more; it also does not mean that downloading Snapchat ensures that people go out more; instead a picture is emerging of the type of person who appears to be going out more including the applications they use.

It makes sense that the people who believe social media results in them going out more to LGBT+ spaces, use applications where the focus is on direct messaging to known associates.

---

[9] These are available in Appendix 6.

Figure 14: How respondents' rate LGBT+ dedicated venues compared to how much they go out to them
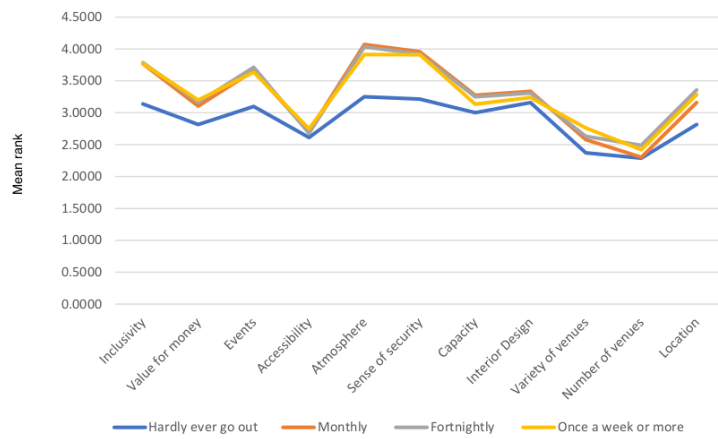
The graph shows how people rate LGBT+ dedicated venues compared to how much they go out to them. It illustrates that peoples' underlying values appears to be a factor for people who hardly ever go out but there is little variation between the remaining categories.

Chapter 6: Discussion

The high response rate, together with the large number of comments and likes on Facebook, confirm that this is a topical issue that people feel strongly about.

The debate on Facebook acted as a microcosm of the current discourses with the literature with posts questioning the value of these spaces, and by implication whether these places should be protected under planning.

The research set about testing the proposition that that social media was leading to LGBT+ night time venues closing (BBC, 2015b; Ghaziani, 2014:57-61; Visser, 2015:88).

In addition to confirming that there was no simple correlation between these two variables, the report also considered potential changes in taste (Lewis, 2011; Brown, 2008) and the impact of intersectionality that could have potential caused reductions in supply (Liu, 2017).

The research methodology and sample size were all robust indicating this relationship is potentially more complex than has previously been suggested and the proposition advocated by Wakeford (2000) is incorrect.

While perception errors are possible, it is unlikely that these would have a disproportionate impact on the results particularly given the fact this question was approached in three different ways (current frequency people go out, frequency people went out five years ago and perception of the links between going out and social media).

What appears to be happening is that people appear to be using social media for different purposes; some people perceive it as an alternative place, others see it as a method of networking with the aim of meeting more people. This could be in non-dedicated or dedicated LGBT+ night time venues.

The amount of time people spend on social media is far likely to exceed the amount of time most people going out in the evening; while that isn't surprising as people can go on social media at any time, it does indicate the power of these places to shape behaviour – a fact most people acknowledge when they consider how they heard about key events.

There are large groups of people who spend a great time online but also who go out a lot; similarly, there are people who spend a long time online, but don't go out a lot.

The analysis of this report was contingent on their being a wide variation of people who went out to LGBT+ dedicated venues, but what this investigation revealed was that there was a

considerable percentage of the respondents who rarely used these places suggesting LGBT+ dedicated venues may have more of a symbolic meaning for some people.

Those people below the age of 23, who you might expect to be going out more to LGBT+ venues do appear to be shying away from traditional dedicated venues, but given this is something they have grown up with its hard to categorically state what is causing this pointing the need to further research.

Effort within this report was taken to ensure that the confidence levels were high. It was accepted that analysis of small groups of respondents is harder and therefore grouped people into larger categories; this was true in terms of the amount people went out to venues as well as the socio-economic categories (sexuality and ethnicity) where there were a small number of groups who took part.

Today, social media companies are devising new and innovative mechanisms to keep us online more without us realising – this improves their bottom line through increased data capture and adverting revenues – however, it makes answering this question harder.

Given that tracking peoples' social media usage and the amount of time they go out to night-time venues without altering behaviour wouldn't be ethnical, this dissertation represents a solid basis for understanding peoples' behaviour.

6.2. The implications for planning

While the Mayor of London suggests the number of LGBT+ night-time venues is stabilising, the closure of XXL this month (Huck, 2019) suggests that the issue of whether to protect LGBT+ spaces is likely to remain topical for planners.

The findings of this report suggest that there hasn't been a reduction in the demand for these venues as a result of social media and they are valued by the LGBT+ community suggesting that it's a reduction in the supply of venues that is causing the issues. Pressure to conserve these sites if further venues announce their closure.

With the redevelopment of the site of XXL reportedly having an economic value of over £1 billion pounds (Huck, 2019), the stakes of this matter couldn't be higher.

The high economic value of sites mean that it should be possible to re-provide spaces in new development however it isn't clear to what extent this would be accepted by the LGBT+ community. Afterall, large developments clearly have long lead times, and four years following the closure of the Joiners club in London, this space hasn't been re-provided.

The decision about whether planners should protect dedicated night-time venues from closure is related to a variety of factors including their existing economic and social value as well as the opportunity cost of a potential redevelopment.

This survey touches on the social value of LGBT+ dedicated night-time venues. The results showed that the LGBT+ community value these venues – respondents rate them significantly better than non-dedicated spaces. It also confirmed dissatisfaction with both the number and variety of venues within some of the recent campaigns to protect venues from closure.

The report identified that some groups found LGBT+ night-time venues to be less inclusive and safe places that others (on average) but importantly the responses suggest that these groups aren't disproportionately shying away from venues as suggested by (Liu, 2017). They also rate dedicated LGBT+ spaces more highly than non-dedicated LGBT+ spaces. This is significant as you don't want to create areas of city that are seen as exclusive or unwelcoming (Binnie, 2006).

Although the decision about whether to redevelop sites needs to be taken on a case by case basis this report presents findings that are difficult to dismiss suggesting that mechanism to conserve sites should potentially be used.

Chapter 7: Conclusions and Further Work

Describing the internet as cyberspace has instilled an association with physical space giving it a set of characteristics, that don't always apply.

The key trends from this survey indicate:

1. Respondents aged 18-23 spend more time online on average than other age categories.
2. LGBT+ dedicated spaces were ranked more highly than non-dedicated spaces, against key criteria, and amongst all key groups within this report.
3. Inclusivity ratings for dedicated LGBT+ night-time venues were lower for BME residents and lesbians, but this didn't necessarily translate to people going out less.
4. In extreme cases there is a relationship between how people rate venues and how frequently people go out to dedicated LGBT+ venues. However, this dissipates when people go out to a venue more than monthly.
5. People go out more to non-dedicated LGBT+ venues, but this is unlikely to be a reflection of greater tolerance since over the five years people are spending proportionately more time in dedicated LGBT+ venues compared to non-dedicated LGBT+ venues.
6. There is no simple link between the amount of time people spend on social media and the amount they go out.
7. Cyberspace isn't just a destination, but it is also a tool to get to a destination. Social media, as it is currently conceived, can be used as a mechanism to help people go out to commercial venues or private space more. The extent to which people go out under these circumstances is, albeit potentially subconsciously, is related to peoples' underlying tastes, friendship groups and the venues themselves.
8. While these results are reliant on personal perception, when combined with other research in the field, the overall conclusion must be that the use of social media isn't leading to the closure of LGBT+ venues. Instead, what appears to have happened is that personal viewpoint of researchers has led them to hypothesize links, potentially based on their behaviour, that don't apply universally.

Of the 67 people who offered to assist with further work 9 people identified as transgender, queer or pansexual and 12 people identified as BME. Future work, including focus groups or semi-structured interviews, could be used to test the validity of findings within this report and pursue further lines of testing including whether the reduction of the number of night-time venues is indicative of wider reductions to LGBT+ space.

As part of the Cultural Infrastructure Plan the Mayor of London established liaison group with venues. It would be useful to understand whether the potential for Neighbourhood Development Plans or a more bottom up approach has been considered. In particular one that would allow residents to come together and improve place shaping.

Currently, Westminster City Council's draft plan explicitly recognises the unique cultural, artistic and historical significance of Soho (Planning Out, 2019) but is it possible to go further than this at a local level. There is a plan to create a Neighbourhood Development Plan in Vauxhall, but that doesn't explicitly recognise the LGBT+ spaces. Work could be undertaken to explore whether this is a viable mechanism of creating stronger communities in Lambeth.

Bibliography

Avery, S. & Graham, K (2016) Sex, time and place : queer histories of London, c.1850 to the present / edited by Simon Avery and Katherine M. Graham., London ; New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic.

Barkham, P. (2005). Council bans gay firms from flying the flag. The Guardian. [online] Available at: https://bit.ly/2fzyBVh [Accessed 18 Aug. 2019].

Battisby (2019) The latest social media statistics for 2019. Avocado Social Media [online] Available at: https://bit.ly/2OXzUNo [Accessed 22nd Aug. 2019].

BBC (2015) LGBT venue Royal Vauxhall Tavern gets listed status. BBC. [online] Available at: https://bbc.in/2K4ZyRe [Accessed 22nd Jul. 2019].

BBC (2015b) Why are London's gay bars disappearing? BBC. [online] Available at: https://bbc.in/2ZfaQEN [Accessed 2nd Aug. 2019].

Bettani, S (2015) Straight subjectivities in homonormative spaces: moving towards a new dynamic heternormativity? Gender, Place & Culture. Vol. 22 PP 239-254. Routledge Publication.

Bell, D & Binnie, J (2000) The Sexual Citizen – Queer Politics and Beyond. Published by Polity Press in Association with Blackwell Publishers Ltd: Cambridge.

Bell, D & Binnie, J (2004) Authenticating Queer Space: Citizenship, Urbanism and Governance. Urban Studies, Vol 41, No. 9 1807-1820. Taylor Francis Group.

Bell et al (1995) Mapping desire: geographies of sexualities / edited by David Bell & Gill Valentine., London: Routledge.

Binnie et al (2006) Cosmopolitan Urbanism. Routledge: New York.

Booth (2019) London gay nightclub XXL faces closure to make way for flats. Guardian. [online] Available at: https://bit.ly/2Mhcvro [Accessed Friday 28th June].

Brown, G (2006) Cosmopolitan camouflage: Post gay space in Spitalfields, East London. In Cosmopolitan Urbanism, ed. J. Binnie, J. Holloway, J. Millington and C. Young, 130-45. London: Routledge.

38

Campkin et al (2019) Queer Spaces: London, 1980s – Today. Additional details available at: https://bit.ly/2NPezEZ 2 April – 25 August 2019. Whitechapel Gallery, 77-82 Whitechapel High Street, London, E1 7QX

Campkin and Marshall (2017) LGBTQ+ Cultural Infrastructure in London: Night Venues, 2006–present. UCL Urban Laboratory, 22 Gordon Street, London, WC1H 0QB.

City of Westminster Council (2007). Soho Action Plan. London.

Colebrook, C., 2014. Essays on extinction. Vol. 2, Sex after life / Claire Colebrook. First., Ann Arbor, Michigan: Open Humanities Press with Michigan Publishing - University of Michigan Library.

Cook, M (2003) London and the culture of homosexuality, 1885 – 1914. Cambridge University Press.

Corner, L (2017) Iconic LGBT+ venue the Royal Vauxhall Tavern granted protection, but it still needs saving. Published by Gay Times Magazine. London [https://bit.ly/2HYOPWS].

Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (2015) Royal Vauxhall Tavern receives listed status. Published online by the Gov.uk website, London [https://bit.ly/2YOZrww].

Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (2016) Taking Part focus on: social media. Published online by the Gov.uk website [online]. Available at: https://bit.ly/2KZUwnB [Accessed 28th.Aug 2019].

Doan, P & Higgins, H (2011) The Demise of Queer Space. Resurgent Gentrification and the Assimilation of LGBT Neighbourhoods. Journal of Planning Education and Research. Vol 31 pp 6 -25. Sage Publishers.

Doan, P (2011) Queering Planning – Challenging Heteronormative Assumptions and Reframing Planning Practice. Ashgate Publishing Ltd: Surrey.

Doan, P (2015) Planning & LGBTQ Communities. The Need for Inclusive Queer Spaces. Routledge: New York.

Dubrow et al (2015) Act up versus straighten up. In, Doan, Petra (ed.) Planning and LGBT Communities: The Need for Inclusive Queer Spaces. Abingdon, GB. Routledge, pp. 81-93.

Edwards, T (1994) Erotics & Politics: Gay Male Sexuality, Masculinity and Feminism. London: Routledge.

Facebook Business (2015) Value of video. Facebook [online]. Available online here: https://bit.ly/1x3FUIS. [Accessed 22nd Jul. 2019].

Farthing, S (2016) Urban Research Design in Urban Planning. Sage Publications: London.

Fincher, R & Jacobs, J (1998) Cities of Difference. Guildford Publications: New York.

Fincher & Iveson (2008) Planning and Diversity in the City Redistribution, Recognition and Encounter. Published by Palgrave MacMillan: Hampshire.

Florida, R (2005) Cities and the Creative Class. London: Routledge

Florida, R; Mellander, C; and Solarick, K (2010) Talent, technology and tolerance in Canadian regional development, Canadian Geographer, 54 (3): 271-304

Florida, R and Mellander, C (2010) There goes the Metro: how and artists, bohemians and gays effect housing values, Economic Geography, 10 (2): 167-188

Florida, R and Jackson, S (2010) Sonic City: the evolving geography of the music industry, Journal of Planning Education and Research, 29 (3): 310-321

Florida, R (2012) The Rise of the Creative Class Revisited. Basic Books, London.

Florida, R (2017) The New Urban Crisis – Gentrification, Housing Bubbles, Growing Inequality and What we can do about it. One World Publications

Formby, E., 2017. Exploring LGBT spaces and communities / Eleanor Formby.,

Fox (2019) Google shuts failed social network Google+. Published online by the BBC: London [https://bbc.in/2UahcaR].

Frisch, M (2002) Planning as a Heterosexist Project. Journal of Planning Education and Research Vol 21 P 254-266. Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning.

Ghaziani, A (2014). There goes the gayborhood. Princeton, New Jersey; Oxfordshire, England: Princeton University Press.

Government Equalities Office (2018) National LGBT Survey. Gov.uk website [online] Available at: https://bit.ly/2ZDmvSb. [Accessed April 6th 2019].

GLA (2019) Cultural Infrastructure Plan – A call to action. Published by Greater London Authority, City Hall, The Queen's Walk, More London, London SE1 2AA (https://bit.ly/2Thfj8S).

Glaeser, E (2012) The Triumph of the City. London: Pan

Graham, K (2016) Queer Temporalities, Queer Londons. In, Avery (ed.) Sex Time and Place. Queer Histories of Lonodon, c1850 to the Present. Bloomsbury, pp. 23-39.

Gudelunas (2012) There's an App for that: The Uses and Gratifications of Online Social Networks for Gay Men. Springer, Science and Business Media, USA.

Hakim, J (2019) The rise of chemsex: queering collective intimacy in neoliberal London, Cultural Studies, 33:2 249-27.

Houlbrook (2005) Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918 – 1927. University of Chicago Press.

Hubbard, P. (2008). Here, There, Everywhere: The Ubiquitous Geographies of Heteronormativity. Geography Compass, [online] 2(3), pp.640-658. Available at: https://bit.ly/30RcH4y [Accessed 18 Aug. 2019].

Hubbard, P. (2015). Law, sex and the city: regulating sexual entertainment venues in England and Wales. International Journal of Law in the Built Environment, [online] 7(1), pp.5-20. Available at: http://www.emeraldinsight.com/doi/pdfplus/10.1108/IJLBE-01-2014-0001 [Accessed 18 Aug. 2019]

Huchet-Bodet, A et al (2019) Attitudes to equalities: the British Social Attitudes Survey 2017. Government Equalities Office. Published online by the gov.uk website: London [https://bit.ly/2ONgZVt].

Huck (2019) Stop this major popular gay club from being bulldozed and turned into more luxury flats petition. Posted on Change.uk website (https://bit.ly/30pEeJS).

Hanhardt, C (2013) Safe Space. Gay Neighbourhood History and the politics of violence. Duke University Press. London.

Hildebrant (2012) Development and Division: the effect of transnational linkages and local politics on LGBT activism in China. Journal of Contemporary China. Routledge Publication.

Hirsch (2018) Why the Number Of Independent Bookstores Increased During The 'Retail Apocalypse'. Published online by NPR [https://n.pr/2pTdSiC].

Irazabal & Huerta (2015) Intersectionality and planning at the margins: LGBTQ youth of colour in New York. Gender, Place and Culture, [online] 23(5), pp.714-732. Available at: https://academiccommons.columbia.edu/catalog/ac:187875 [Accessed 14 Aug. 2019].

Historic England (2016) A Guide to Understanding and Protecting Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer (LGBTQ) Heritage. Available online: https://bit.ly/2MOD7jU [Accessed 3rd August 2019]

Knopp (1995) Sexuality and Urban Space a framework for analysis. In Bell and Valentine (ed.) Mapping desire. London: Routledge.

Krause, R (2019) Wimbledon's 'first ever' LGBT bar is opening next month. Wimbledon Times [online] Available at: https://bit.ly/2Nvs66G [Accessed 24 Aug. 2019].

Lambeth Council (2015) Assets of Community Value – List of successful applications [online]. Available at: https://bit.ly/2LcYEki. [Accessed 31st August 2019].

Lewis, Nathaniel M. (2015) Fractures and fissures in 'Post-Mo' Washington, DC: the limits of gayborhood transition and diffusion. In, Doan, Petra (ed.) Planning and LGBT Communities: The Need for Inclusive Queer Spaces. Abingdon, GB. Routledge, pp. 56-76.

Linton, R (2019) Independent Bookstores Endure Despite Competition. University Wire; Carlsbad. San Francisco, Washington.

Liu, J (2017) (Re)queering London: Exploring transgressive production of urban space by LGBTQ+ persons of colour. UCL Bartlett School of Planning, London.

Mayor of London (2019) Figures reveal LGBTQ+ venue numbers remain stable for a second year. Press Release. Published online by the Mayor of London (https://bit.ly/2XtLuqX).

Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (2018) Planning Reform: Supporting the high street and increasing the delivery of new homes [online]. Available at: https://bit.ly/2Jp5K2J. [Accessed 28th August, 2019].

Miles, S (2017) Sex in the digital city: location-based dating apps and queer urban life, Gender, Place & Culture, 24:11, 1595-1610, DOI: 10.1080/0966369X.2017.1340874 Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2017.1340874 [Accessed 20th July 2019].

Minton, A (2017) Big Capital Who is London For? Penguin Random House Publishers.

Morgan, J (2018) London gay bar Royal Vauxhall Tavern 'saved': Lease signed for 20 more years. Published online by Gaystar News, London [https://bit.ly/2HXZpNW].

Mowlabocus (2016) Gaydar Culture Gay Men, Technology and Embodiment in the Digital Age. Routledge Taylor Francis Group: London and New York.

Nash, C (2006) Toronto's gay village (1969-1982): Plotting the politics of gay identity. The Canadian Geographer 50: 1-16.

Nash, C (2013) The age of the post-mo?' Toronto's gay village and a new generation. Geoforum 49:243-252.

Nash, C (2015) Lesbian spaces in transition. In, Doan, Petra (ed.) Planning and LGBT Communities: The Need for Inclusive Queer Spaces. Abingdon, GB. Routledge, pp. 81-93.

Neate (2017) Joiners Arms redevelopment must include LGBT nightclub, council rules [online]. Available at: https://bit.ly/2PwGb6n. [Accessed 31st August 2019].

ONS (2018) E-commerce and ICT activity, UK: 2017. Published online by the Office of National Statistics, London [https://bit.ly/2FYkmbm].

ONS (2019) Sexual orientation, UK: 2017. Published online by the Office of National Statistics, London.

ONS (2019b) Population Estimates for UK, England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland: Mid-2018. ONS [online]. Available at: https://bit.ly/2NmrGiZ [Accessed 2nd Aug. 2019].

Perry (2017) LGBT London: what venue closures mean for the capital's future. Published online by the Guardian Newspaper, London [https://bit.ly/2pVj8RQ].

Planning Out (2019) LGBT+ Placemaking Toolkit. Published by Fieldfisher [online]. Available at: https://bit.ly/32jiC2E. [Accessed 31st August 2019].

Read, A (2019) Best Time to Post on Facebook: A Complete Guide. Buffer [online]. Available at: https://bit.ly/2Vun2nq [Accessed 2nd Aug. 2019].

Shaw, D (1997) Gay men and Computer Communication: A discourse of sex and identity in cyberspace in Virtual Culture: Identity and Communication in Cyberspace edited by S.G. Jones. London Sage, 133-145.

Stonewall (2018) LGBT in Britain - Home and Communities. Published by Stonewall 192 St John Street, London EC1V 4JY. Available at: https://bit.ly/2KJhltq [Accessed: 1st August 2019]

UCL (2013) UCL Code of Conduct for Research. UCL [online]. Available at: https://bit.ly/2TVHdHH [Accessed 14 Aug. 2019].

Visser, G (2015) Gay Male Spatial Frames in the Developing World. In, Doan, Petra (ed.) Planning and LGBT Communities: The Need for Inclusive Queer Spaces. Abingdon, GB. Routledge, pp. 81-93.

Wakeford, N. (2000). Cyberqueer. In, Bell and Kennedy (ed.) The Cybercultures reader. London, GB. Routledge, pp. 403-415.

Williams, R (1990) Television: technology and cultural form. London: Routledge.

Winkle, C (2015) Gay commercial districts in Chicago and the role of planning. In, Doan, Petra (ed.) Planning and LGBT Communities: The Need for Inclusive Queer Spaces. Abingdon, GB. Routledge, pp. 21-38.

Young, I M (2011) Justice and the politics of difference (Reissue). New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Zolfagharifard, E (2019) The incredible rise of TikTok in the West raises questions for regulators. Published online in the Telegraph Newspaper: London [https://bit.ly/2CX7iiq].

Appendix 1: London's dedicated LGBT+ night-time venues

Name of night-time venue	Local authority
Above the Stag Theatre	Lambeth[1]
Admiral Duncan	City of Westminster
Central Station (King's Cross)	Islington
Circa	City of Westminster
Circa the Club	City of Westminster
Comptons of Soho	City of Westminster
Dalston Superstore	Hackney
Duke of Wellington	City of Westminster
Eagle London	Lambeth
East Bloc	Hackney
Fire and Lightbox	Lambeth
Freedom	City of Westminster
G-A-Y Bar	City of Westminster
G-A-Y Late	City of Westminster
Gays the Word	Camden
Halfway to Heaven	City of Westminster
Heaven	City of Westminster
Karoke Hole	Hackney
King William IV	Camden
Ku Leicester Sq/ Klub	City of Westminster
Ku Soho	City of Westminster
Molly Moggs	City of Westminster
Muse Soho	City of Westminster
New Bloomsbury Set	Camden
Pod Bar/Bar CMYK	Merton
Pulse	Southwark
Queen Adelaide of Cambridge Heath	Tower Hamlets
Retro Bar	City of Westminster
Rose and Crown	Greenwich
Royal Vauxhall Tavern	Lambeth
Rupert Street	City of Westminster
She Bar	City of Westminster
Ted's Place	Hammersmith and Fulham
The Apple Tree	Camden
The Backstreet	Tower Hamlets
The Bridge Bar	Lambeth
The Chateau	Camden
The City of Quebec	City of Westminster
The Cock Tavern	Lambeth
The George & Dragon	Greenwich
The Glory	Hackney
The King's Arms	City of Westminster
The Two Brewers	Lambeth
The Underground Club	Islington
The Vault	Camden
The White Swan	Tower Hamlets
The Yard	City of Westminster
Union	Lambeth
Village	City of Westminster
Vogue Fabrics Dalston	Hackney
West 5	EalingWest

---

[1] Above the Stag is listed as being located in Wandsworth on the map but it is located in Vauxhall.

Appendix 2 - Digital survey questions and Facebook advert image

---

Understanding the relationship between social media usage and the number of permanent LGBTQ+ spaces in London

Please help me complete my MSc in Spatial Planning at UCL by completing this quick anonymous survey on social media usage and LGBT+ dedicated night-time venues in London (e.g pubs, clubs and LGBT+ theatre) as identified on the Mayor of London's Cultural Infrastructure Map.

Individual responses are kept private, but if you want to receive a copy of the final dissertation or talk about your responses confidentially, you are welcome to complete your details at the end of the survey.

Please be aware that in order for you to complete this survey you must be **over 18 years of age**, have **lived in London for the past 5 years** and **identify as a member of the LGBT+ population.**

Section 1: About You[1]

1. What is your age?

   ☐ 18-23　　☐ 24-29
   ☐ 30-39　　☐ 40-49
   ☐ Over 50

2. What is your gender?[2]

   ☐ Female　　☐ Male
   ☐ Trans man　　☐ Trans women
   ☐ Non-binary
   ☐ Don't know or prefer not to say
   ☐ Other [Please specify].

3. How would you describe your sexual orientation?

   ☐ Lesbian　　☐ Gay
   ☐ Bi-sexual　　☐ Transgender
   ☐ Queer　　☐ Pansexual
   ☐ A-sexual
   ☐ Other [Please specify].

4. Do you currently live in London?[3]

   ☐ Yes　　☐ No

5. What is your ethnic origin?[4]

   ☐ Asian/Asian British
   ☐ Black/African/Caribbean/Black British
   ☐ Mixed/Multiple ethnic groups
   ☐ White
   ☐ Other ethnic group
   ☐ Prefer not to say

6. What is your current relationship status?

   ☐ Single
   ☐ Married/Civil Partnership
   ☐ In a relationship and living together
   ☐ In a relationship but not living together
   ☐ Divorced/Separated
   ☐ Widowed
   ☐ Prefer not to say

---

[1] Exclusion questions were added at the start as during the pilot some people didn't reach these questions.

[2] Categories identified in questions 2, 3, 4, 6 & 7 were based on those used in the National LGBT+ Survey 2019 to ensure that issues about gender identity and sexuality were handled sensitively (National LGBT Survey, 2019).

[3] This question was inserted following the pilot to ensure that people who didn't meet the inclusion criteria could be easily removed.

[4] The number of choices was reduced following the pilot study.

Section 2: Survey

7. How long do you spend using social media on average each day (e.g. chat/instant messaging, online forums, Facebook and other social media sites)?

- ☐ 0 – 29 minutes
- ☐ 30 minutes – 1 hour 29 minutes hours
- ☐ 1 hour 30 minute - 2 hour 29 minutes
- ☐ 2 hour 30 minutes - 3 hours 29 minutes
- ☐ Over 3.5 hours

8. How often do you go out in the evenings?

	Hardly ever	Monthly	Every other week	Once a week	More than twice a week
Non-dedicated LGBT+ night-time venues	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Please explain the reason for your choice ....

	Hardly ever	Monthly	Every other week	Once a week	More than twice a week
Dedicated LGBT+ night-time venues	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Please explain the reason for your choice ....

9. How often do you go out to **non-dedicated** LGBT+ night-time venues now, compared to 5 years ago? Please do not answer this question or select not applicable if you were under 18 at the time.

	Go out considerably less	Go out a bit less	Go out about the same	Go out a bit more	Go out considerably more	Not applicable
Non-dedicated LGBT+ night-time venues	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Please explain the reason for your choice ....

10. How often do you go out to **dedicated LGBT+ night-time** venues now, compared to 5 years ago? Please do not answer this question or select not applicable if you were under 18 at the time.

	Go out considerably less	Go out a bit less	Go out about the same	Go out a bit more	Go out considerably more	Not applicable
Dedicated LGBT+ night-time venues	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Please explain the reason for your choice ....

11. Do you believe that your use of social media has changed the frequency of you going out to:

	Yes, go out considerably less	Yes, go out a bit less	No, it has no effect	Yes, go out a bit more	Yes, go out considerably more
Non-dedicated LGBT+ night-time venues	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Dedicated LGBT+ night-time venues	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Please explain the reason for your choice ....

12. What social media applications do you currently use (Please select all that apply)?

☐ Facebook   ☐ FB Messenger   ☐ Imgur
☐ Instagram   ☐ Kik Messenger   ☐ LinkedIn
☐ Pinterest   ☐ Skype   ☐ Snapchat
☐ Tik Tok   `   ☐ Tumblr   ☐ Twitch
☐ Twitter   ☐ Viber   ☐ Wechat
☐ WhatsApp   ☐ Youtube

☐ Other (please specify) ....

13. What social media applications do you currently use (Please select all that apply)?

☐ Word of mouth
☐ Flyers and leaflets
☐ E-mail
☐ Social media (e.g. Twitter, Facebook, Instagram)
☐ Paid digital advertising (e.g. Facebook, Google)
☐ Online search
☐ Magazines and newspapers

14. How do you rate London's non-dedicated LGBT+ night-time venues on the following factors?

	Very poor	Poor	Acceptable	Good	Very good
Inclusivity - places where people from different backgrounds are welcome	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Value for money	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Events	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Accessibility (e.g. wheelchair platform, lift)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Atmosphere	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sense of security	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Capacity	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Interior design	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Variety of venues available	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Number of venues available	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Location	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

15. How do you rate London's dedicated LGBT+ night-time venues on the following factors?

	Very poor	Poor	Acceptable	Good	Very good
Inclusivity - places where people from different backgrounds are welcome	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Value for money	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Events	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Accessibility (e.g. wheelchair platform, lift)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Atmosphere	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sense of security	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Capacity	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Interior design	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Variety of venues available	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Number of venues available	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Location	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

16. What is your approximate annual salary (Optional Question)?

☐ Under £12,500　　　　☐ £12,501 - £24,999
☐ £25,000 - £49,999　　☐ £50,000 - £99,999
☐ Over £100,000

17. If you would like to discuss your responses in detail or to receive a copy of the results in full, please provide your email address.

☐ I would like a copy of the results
☐ I would like to discuss my responses in detail

Please add your email address here (this will be kept securely and confidentially).

Email address [   ]

Facebook advert image

Bright artwork was created to support the dissertation and increase the response rate.

The advert conformed to Facebook's strict guidelines on the word count within the advert and on the image itself.

Critical information about the exclusion criteria and handling of data was within the survey.

Appendix 3: Frequency diagram showing current going out habits between both venue types

Figure SS: Frequency diagram showing the current differences in the amount of time spent going out between dedicated LGBT+ night time and non-LGBT+ dedicated night time venues.

		Non-dedicated LGBT+ venues					
		Hardly ever	Monthly	Every other week	Once a week	Twice a week	More than twice a week
LGBT venues	Hardly ever	95	51	33	45	31	15
	Monthly	39	40	37	41	17	8
	Every other week	13	16	27	18	13	6
	Once a week	14	6	10	2	13	8
	Twice a week	6	4	5	9	5	6
	More than twice	4	0	0	2	1	5

The total number of respondents who completed both questions was SSS.

Categories highlighted in red represent respondents who go out more to non-dedicated LGBT+ spaces. Categories highlighted in green represent respondents who go out more to dedicated LGBT+ spaces

Appendix 4: Frequency diagram showing differences in going out habits compared to five years ago

Figure SS: Frequency diagram showing the differences in going out patterns compared to five years ago

		Non-dedicated LGBT+ venues				
		Considerably Less frequently	A bit less frequently	Go out about the same	Bit more frequently	Considerably more frequently
LGBT venues	Considerably Less	82	18	30	15	16
	A bit less	18	36	39	13	4
	Go out about the same	10	20	43	9	4
	A bit more frequently	16	29	21	9	2
	Considerably more frequently	44	20	7	13	23

The table shows that people aren't simply going out less, more or the same but the amount of time they are spending in LGBT+ dedicated venues compared to non-dedicated LGBT venues is also changing. 26% of the people surveyed (179) reported going out less to both LGBT+ and non-LGBT+ venues. However, 17% of respondents (116) reported going out more to LGBT+ spaces and less to non-dedicated LGBT+ spaces. This is particularly significant given that people below the age of 23, who inevitably would have to say they go out more to LGBT+ venues have been excluded.

If assimilation was taking place within the LGBT+ community you might expect that there would be a movement away from LGBT+ venues but that appears not to be the case with many people reducing their usage of non-dedicated LGBT+ venues more than dedicated.

# Appendix 5: Frequency diagram showing the effect of social media on the amount of time they go out

Table SS: Peoples' perception about the relationship between social media usage and the amount of time they go out.

		Non-dedicated LGBT+ venues				
		Yes, considerably less frequently	Yes, a bit less frequently	No, go out about the same	Yes, bit more frequently	Yes, considerably more frequently
LGBT venues	Yes, considerably less	23	6	21	6	3
	Yes, a bit less	3	22	23	4	2
	No, go out about the same	1	5	309	24	4
	Yes, a bit more frequently	1	12	116	35	6
	Yes, considerably more frequently	4	2	13	8	7

The table demonstrates reveals that 60% answered the question the same for LGBT+ venues as non-dedicated venues, however 116 people who thought social media had no effect on the amount of time they went out to non-dedicated LGBT+ spaces thought it led them to go out more to LGBT+ night time venues more.

Appendix 6: The differences between the two cohorts of people

Demographic and socio-economic differences

Age Differences between the categories

Changes of income distribution and perception
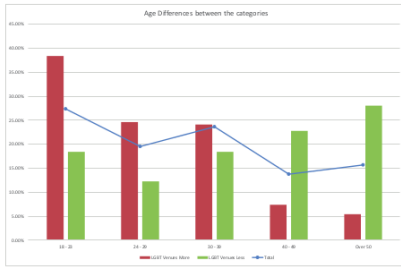
- There are dramatic differences in the age difference of these two cohorts compared to the population as a whole.
- People who believe social media makes them go out more are more likely to be younger and people who believe social media makes them go out less are far more likely to be older than the population as a whole.
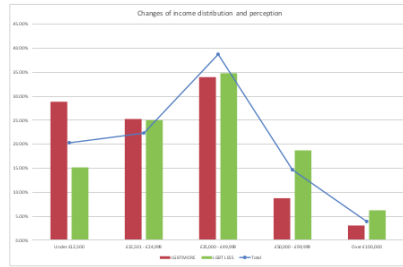
- People who believe social media makes them go out more are far more likely to be earning under £12,500 than the population as a whole.
- People who believe there is a negative relationship between social media usage and going out earn more on average than people believe the link is negative.

Differences in underlying perceptions


Inclusivity

Value for money
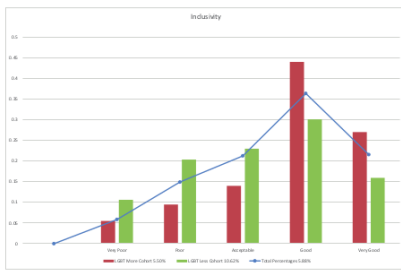
- Overall LGBT+ night-time venues are seen as inclusive places
- People who believe social media makes them go out more rate the venues more highly
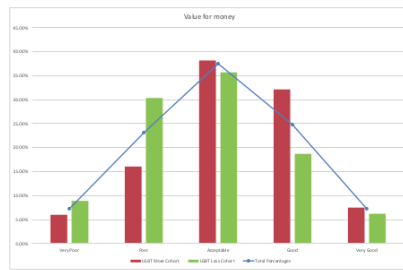
- Acceptable is the most popular ticked box.
- People who say social media makes them go out more see LGBT+ venues as offering better value for money.


Events

Accessibility of LGBT Venues
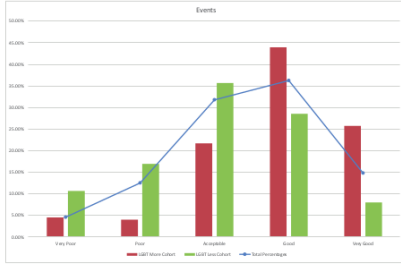
- On average the events are rated positively.
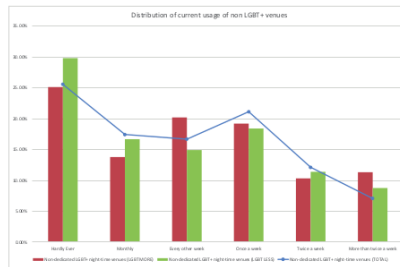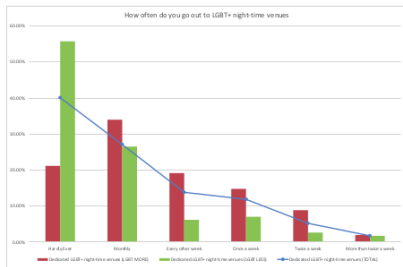- People who believe social media makes them go out more rate the events at LGBT+ venues far higher.
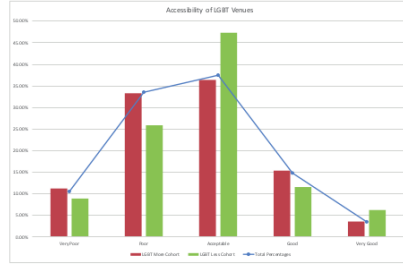
- People who go out less rate the accessibility higher than people who go out more. This suggests there might be differences in perceptions.
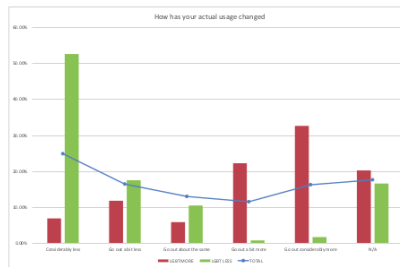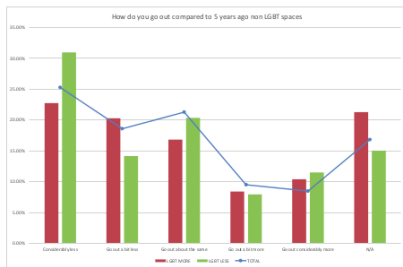
Differences in social media usage

Differences between how long people spend on social media
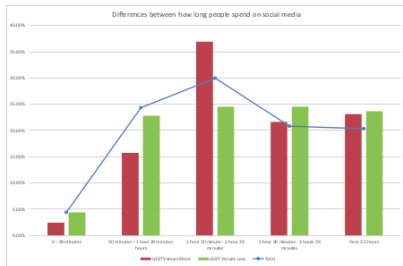
- People who believe there is a relationship between social media and usage of LGBT+ venues are spending more time online that the population as a whole.

Differences in current usage of LGBT+ and non LGBT+ venues

How often do you go out to LGBT+ night-time venues

Distribution of current usage of non LGBT+ venues

- People who believe there is a negative relationship go out far less to LGBT+ venues than those who believe there is a positive relationship.

- The differences in usage are far less stark for the usage of non-LGBT+ venues

Differences in usage of LGBT+ and non LGBT+ venues compared to 5 years ago

How do you go out compared to 5 years ago non LGBT spaces

How has your actual usage changed

- There are differences in usage between the categories.
- People who believe that social media makes them go out less are more likely to have ticked the box go out considerably less.

- Dramatic differences between the two cohorts of people.