# NEW EVENTS IN HISTORIC VENUES

# A CASE OF LONDON

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#### Abstract

Capitals of Culture and other historic cities face several challenges to maintaining and expanding their cultural tourism resources and visitor economies. Global and interregional competition, a heterogeneous and discerning visitor, and tensions between heritage preservation and «edutainment», have together demanded a more creative use of historic venues and sites and their promotion to new audiences. The paper outlines responses in the form of late night and nuite blanche events and festivals, which are extending the heritage tourism offer temporally, spatially and socially in a growing number of cities. At the same time, this late night events strategy is making areas of these cities both safer and more attractive to visitors.

#### INTRODUCTION

Historic venues in major cities face a number of challenges today, not limited to the traditional tension between conservation and consumption; and curatorship and marketing and promotion, symbolically characterised as the conflict between «tourism» (the ubiquitous «visitors») and heritage protection. This conflict is more acute in religious sites (e.g. cathedrals, churches) or where the fabric is fragile and under threat from wear and tear. Overcrowding is also a factor in popular and blockbuster exhibitions in venues, that can make the visitor and cultural experience (and value) degenerate. Public (i.e. subsidised) museums and heritage sites are required to meet public access goals as part of their wider edu-

cation and cultural mission, and financially to generate income from visitors (even if core exhibitions and site access is «free»), sponsors and merchandising. This is the mixed cultural and political economic situation of much cultural heritage in our cities. Maintaining and expanding visitors is therefore an economic and cultural policy imperative, including widening access to social and age groups traditionally poorly represented in what can be typified as a professional middle class activity heavy with cultural capital (Evans 1998). Historic venues also compete within the expansive heritage and cultural tourism sector itself, as well as with other forms of visitor activity and consumption, as revealed in the profile of visitor activities to London (*Tab. 1*).

	%
Shopping – clothes, accessories, fashion, design, antiques	52
Going to a Pub	42
Visiting castles, churches, monuments, historic houses	33
Museums, Art galleries	32
Parks and Gardens	31
Socialising with locals	30
Exploring other locations	20
Theatres, Ballet, Opera, Concert	16
Walk in countryside	11
Nightclubs	10

Tab. 1 Activities undertaken during visit to London in 2007.

These activities are not of course exclusive and city visitors will undertake a range of core («must see») and incidental activities, although leisure shopping is now a prime activity and trip generator in its own right. In London this has been fuelled by the low rate of the Pound against the Euro and other currencies, as well as a wide retail offer from major shopping streets, urban villages, major stores and chains, as well as specialist retailing and «cool» areas such as the East End, street and crafts and antique market such as Camden Lock, Portobello Road and Petticoat Lane and a growing range of ethnic quarters promoted as such through food, markets and events/festivals (e.g. Brick Lane). This cosmopolitan, creative city image now forms part of the key narrative of cities such as London, alongside their traditional historic and heritage attractions. Indeed the World City rankings, dominated by economic and power league tables have incorporated culture since the early 1990s (LPAC 2001; Comedia 1991; Evans 1993) revisited periodically through cultural city audits which stress the comparative advantage of cultural assets (*Tab. 2*).

	5	5			
Indicator (n)	London	New York	Paris	Shanghai	Токуо
National museums	22	16	19	6	8
Other museums	162	55	138	100	7
Public libraries	395	255	303	248	369
UNESCO World Heritage Sites	4	1	2	0	0
% of land green space and water	66%	5%	n/a	36%	36%

Tab. 2 Audit of Global City Cultural Assets.

Source: London, A Cultural Audit (GLA 2008).

Cultural assets and cultural infrastructure therefore form an important part of a contemporary competitive city that relies on all year round tourism – business, education, leisure, culture and visiting friends and relatives (VFR). Historic venues have to find and maintain their place and visibility within this dynamic flow – domestic and diaspora. Day visits are of course the mainstay of city tourism, far outstripping tourist numbers, but without the impact on hotel occupancy, but moreso on transport. Over 1 million people commute into London each day in addition to the c. 8 million residents. Local and domestic visitor activity is therefore important particularly when recession or other shocks impact on tourism, as has occurred during the recent global (or rather first world) recession – visits to London were down by 13% in the 4<sup>th</sup> quarter of 2008 as the credit crunch took effect and core visitor markets such as the USA rapidly declined. However, domestic tourist visits and

Tab. 3 Tourist visits to London 2002-2008.						
Year visits (m)	2002	2004	2006	2007	2008	
Domestic	16.1	12.8	10.96	10.1	11.3	
Overseas	11.6	13.4	15.6	15.3	14.8	
Total visits	27.7	26.2	26.6	25.4	26.1	
Nights (м)						
Domestic	35.4	29.7	24.6	23.4	27.4	
Overseas	75.4	90.2	101.1	95.8	90.9	
Total nights	110.8	119.9	125.7	119.2	118.3	
Spend (£bn)						
Domestic	2.8	2.8	2.3	2.2	2.35	
Overseas	5.8	6.4	7.8	8.2	8.16	
Total spend	8.6	9.2	10.1	10.4	10.5	

overnight stays in London increased, maintaining overall visitor spend at pre-recession levels (*Tab. 3*).

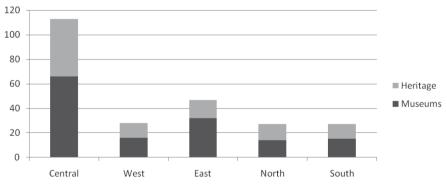
Tab 2

Source: Visit London.

Another challenge to historic venues is an over reliance on these core markets and particularly older age group visitors – not least «fixed» or static heritage sites that lack the variety provided by touring and special exhibitions in galleries and museums. Many national museum displays represent small proportions of their overall collections and archives, allowing for rotating exhibitions not available to smaller, specialist venues and heritage sites. This puts greater emphasis on interpretation, special events and animation of existing buildings and collections (below). Capturing repeat visits – a high element in city tourism – will depend on renewing the visitor experience.

Tourism and wider cultural policy in cities has also looked to widening the geographic spread of visitor activity (Evans 2000). This has

been in response to overcrowding and «crowding out» of other activity in tourist hotspots, which are highly concentrated in hotel guarters and areas of higher scale cultural and retail premises. In London as in other major cities, tourist activity is highly concentrated in central zones and in and around airport and transport hubs. Tourism development has therefore looked to diversifying hospitality provision and promoting alternative tourism to areas that are less well known, with the twin goals of local economic development and the reduction of congestion. Cultural diversification has also embraced a more eclectic tourist experience, from food, fashion architecture to events and festivals, drawing on the city's multicultural and ethnic quarters and histories (Shaw 2008). Nonetheless, the majority of major heritage venues and museums are located in the central and better-off western parts of the city (*Fig. 1*), including those with highest visitor numbers. A strategic policy and marketing response to these challenges has looked to temporal, spatial and experiential changes and development of the traditional cultural tourism cycle and flow. In particular, this has reflected changes in social and economic use of city space around the evening or night time economy and breaking down barriers to closed or inaccessible heritage venues, notably for young people and more cultural diverse communities.



*Fig.* 1 *Heritage and museums in London sub-regions.* 

#### 1. Night time economy

This aim of reclaiming the city/town centre in the evening is an important one in the UK, where such centres have been seen to have been occupied and dominated by one user group and activity, notably alcoholic («binge») drinking in bars/pubs and clubs, fuelled by the liberalisation of licensing (2003 Act) and a growing late night/evening economy. This has caused increasing problems of crime and anti-social behaviour, particularly for city residents and other users, with the effect that large elements of the community feel excluded or exclude themselves from evening activities in these centres. Several organisations such as the Civic Trust (2006) and government departments have reviewed policy and impacts from this phenomenon (Roberts 2004, 2005; HoC/ODPM 2003).

A survey of local authorities conducted in 2004 highlights the factors and issues arising from this trend, with 100% of Outer London and 91% of Inner London authorities reporting a significant growth in evening/late night activities. Applications for liquor licences increased by 45% between 1983 and 2003, the majority of these located in pubs and bars (71%) and restaurants (19%), and concentrated in central London but also in Outer London. In Westminster City Council for example, the capacity of premises with late licenses in their «Stress Areas» of the West End, Edgware, Queensway/Bayswater was 64,000 with a closing time of 1 am; 20,000 with a closing time of 4 am and 12,000 closing at 6 am. The development and management of evening/late night activities are therefore considered a major issue in Outer London (91%), but less so in Inner London authorities (64%), where late night licensing has been longer established, less residential conflicts arise and public transport (including taxis) is more available. Particular problems cited by local authorities therefore include insufficient public transport at night, rubbish/litter on streets, fouling of streets/lack of public toilets, and areas becoming unsafe and noisy.

On the other hand, the main benefits of expanding the night-time economy from the perspective of local authorities were as follows:

- 1. Improvement in vitality of the area.
- 2. Increased number of jobs.

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- 3. Attraction/expansion of leisure venues (cinemas, theatres, gyms, cyber cafes).
- 4. Greater number of tourists.
- 5. New residents moving in.
- 6. Inward investment in other businesses.

The Greater London Authority study of the Leisure Economy (2003) found that on average each Ward had gained 20 bar jobs between 1995 and 2000 (an increase of 12%) and restaurant jobs increased by 28%, presenting one of London's «best sources of employment growth». Attendance at non-alcohol based venues also recorded an increase of 25%. In a survey of four London authorities (Camden, Lambeth, Newham, Southwark) the responsibility for events varied – from Parks, Leisure, and Performance Policy & Projects departments (Pugh and Wood 2004). In Southwark, the coordination of events between Leisure and Communications departments was seen to promote objectives of city positioning by the borough which has been undergoing major regeneration and image improvement, and where: «events do support wider social outcomes such as economic regeneration and social inclusion». The strategic planning of events was seen to be advantageous in meeting Council objectives in the Olympic borough of Newham: «a place where people want to live and visit, to put Newham on the map, and to work in partnership to add diversity and value». In all boroughs, an increase in events activity and their significance was observed. In some cases larger events had displaced smaller ones, and the policy goal was of achieving financial self-sustainability. On the other hand, the need for events for children and families was stressed. Events activity and planning was generally allied with Leisure and particularly Cultural Strategies, and featured in Best Value (service performance) Reviews. However, evaluation and post-event research was generally lacking and there is little evidence or data on the economic and social impacts of these events, many of which are free and involve open air venues.

### 2. New London Festivals

London plays host to a growing number of cultural and special events, making up a year round calendar of festivals. These range from established cultural events such as the Notting Hill Carnival (August bank holiday), Diwali Festival of Lights (October) and major international arts festivals (dance, drama, film, music etc.) based in central venues to numerous local (e.g. City of London, More London, Thames) and community festivals. Events focusing on the built environment include Open House London which was first held in 1992, held over a weekend in September, and the London Festival of Architecture (previously the London Architecture Biennale) which was first held in the Clerkenwell historic quarter in 2004, then expanded its scope in 2006 and again in 2008 when six boroughs participated. The 2010 Architecture festival (June-July) took the theme of *The Welcoming City*, a reference to the design of cities which are amenable, tolerant and engaging, as well as to the Olympic slogan for 2012 that «London welcomes the world». The 2010 Festival takes place across London although there will be three focus areas - Nash Ramblas (West End), High Street 2012 (City, East End and Olympics) and Bankside Urban Forest (Southbank Cultural Quarter).

The 2012 Architecture Festival is to be held just prior to the London 2012 Summer Olympics which starts on 27 July (Evans 2010). London's Cultural Olympiad leading up to the Summer and Paralympic Games, includes a World Cultural Festival. Barcelona in particular has used its Olympic legacy buildings including the Montjuic Stadium and nearby cultural facilities as the centrepiece of its *Nit Blanca* event (below), with late night, open air swimming and light shows. Brussels incorporates sports events, whilst races (run/walks) are promoted in several city events, which promote pedestrian access and linked itineraries and tours. London heritage venues and sites which will host Olympic events include Hyde and Greenwich «Royal» Parks (Triathlon and Equestrian), Horseguards Parade (Beach Volleyball), Buckingham Palace (Cycling) and with rowing at Eton.

Both *Open House* and *LFA* events feature routes, trails and tours, including event sites, installations, events and access to architects studios. This draws on the successful *Hidden Art* programme which

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started in Hackney in 1994 (by 43 local craftspeople), which then spread to Tower Hamlets and East/South East London and now to Cornwall (south west England), giving the public access to artists and designermakers studios, as both a promotional, sales and cultural touristic experience. *Open House 2009* incorporated over 600 buildings and free events (although some talks and events are charged for), These include a *London Night Hike* where up to 2,000 people walked a 20 mile route through the capital past lit buildings and landmarks. Open House carried out research amongst 3,000 members of the visiting public in 2008, and found that:

- 70% were surprised by the architecture they saw.
- 66% said that Open House London made them think differently about London.
- 24% found out more about sustainable/green design through the event.
- Visiting buildings was cited as the most informative and enjoyable way of finding out more about architecture.

Over 250,000 people visited *Open House* and *London Festival of Architecture* events respectively in 2008. London also hosts an increasing number of trade shows in the creative industries, including end of year student shows in design and fashion. College and art & design shows are often held in unusual venues and redundant historic buildings, and attract a wide audience – tourists, businesses, students. Examples include *Designers Block, Hidden Art* and *100% Design*. Art fairs have also proliferated, including the *Frieze Arts Fair* which attracts over 50,000 to Regent's Park each year.

#### 3. Late night opening

London cultural venues already operate extended opening times on one or more nights of the week, some daily (e.g. Barbican 11 am -8 pm) including the British Library and Museum (8.30 pm), Hayward, National/Portrait and Whitechapel Galleries (9 pm), Royal Academy, V&A and Tate Modern (10 pm). On the first Thursday of each month

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over 100 museums and galleries in the East End stay open until 9 p.m. (www.firstthursdays.co.uk). Some cinemas have traditionally shown late night films, for instance the Curzon Soho holds a midnight movie night with films produced by experts.

In May 2009, museums in the UK joined with French museums in hold a late night opening weekend. Paris started its *Nuit des Musees* in 2007 with Museums of Modern Art, Bourdelle, Victor Hugo's house and several others opening from 6 pm to midnight, with talks, installations (e.g. deckchairs in galleries), writing and drawing workshops. Since 2006 the Secretary General of the Council of Europe has promoted the *Museums Open Night* which takes place concurrently in the signatory countries of the European Cultural Convention, including the UK. The initiative promotes Europe/European cultures and provides the opportunity to attract a wider public, particularly young people. The Council of Europe celebrated its 60th anniversary in May 2009.

Over the weekend of 15-17 May 2009 *Museums at Night* was held in the UK, promoted by the Museums, Libraries & Archives (MLA) Council and organised by Culture24 (www.culture24.org.uk) with museums and heritage attractions from Bolton to Bath opening until midnight: «For us it was a really successful way of promoting the Gallery to new audiences and those who cannot normally visit during the day» (National Gallery London), where a talk by the Velvet Underground's John Cale and a late opening of the popular Picasso exhibition attracted more than 300: «The noticeable arrival of a more fresh-faced bunch than museums normally welcome was a particular trend. Generally we noticed a much younger crowd were in throughout the night». In some cases museums stayed open throughout the night e.g. Tate Modern from 5 pm to 5 pm the next day. More than 120 people visited Florence Nightingale House in London.

Berlin's established biannual «Long Night of Museums» adopts a thematic approach – in January 2009 *Worldviews*, and in August 20 Years *After the Wall*. Over 100 venues participate, including major government offices, public readings and concerts. Opening from 6 pm to 2 am, between 30,000 and 40,000 attend, with a single ticket entry to all participating venues. The ticket includes free travel on shuttle busses between 3 pm and 5 am. Three zones of public transport are free, but

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only for getting to the event and departing from the event. The event is organized by the Berliner Museum association in cooperation with the Berlin City Council's *Kultur Projekte*.

# 4. Lates

In 2007 the Greater London Authority (GLA) launched its *Lates* festival and brand, with leaflets, website (www.lates.org), calendar of events and a media partnership with thelondonpaper (free paper). A Lates e-bulletin is circulated to over 4,000 subscribers. This late night festival of after-hours art and culture was developed by GLA's (London Mayor) Cultural campaigns Team with the following objectives:

- 1. Demonstrating how the cultural sector contributes significantly to London's late night economy.
- 2. Encouraging London's world-class organisations to work together to present audiences with an integrated and unified offer.
- 3. Encouraging and developing audiences in the 20-35 age range by providing them with extended opening hours and encouraging this audience to regard these venues as places to meet, socialise and think.
- 4. Ensuring that *Lates* events imaginatively re-vision this content for the 20-35 year old target audience.
- 5. Using *Lates* as a flagship project to stimulate the cultural sector into providing more late openings and «late night activity».

Venue partners in the *Lates* programme included several historic and heritage venues, including the Barbican, British Museum, ICA, Museum of London, National Gallery, National Portrait Gallery, South Bank Centre, Tate Britain and Modern, V&A and the Royal Academy of Art. Museums and galleries were specifically identified as they wished to build their late night attendances.

An evaluation of the *Lates* launch in May 2007 and in October 2007 and June 2008 (68 events? 12 highlight events) found that most partner organizations had achieved their most successful late night events in terms of audiences:

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- The British Museum reported a 100% uplift in audiences compared to their May light night events in 2006 and their biggest turn out for a late night event in 2008, with 6,600 people.
- The V&A had over 4,500 people attend their surrealist ball.
- The Hayward Gallery achieved over 3,000 attendees at their Saturday night event for Anthony Gormley, 50% higher than the following Sunday (normally their best day).
- The National Portrait Gallery's *Fashionista Friday* was their second busiest Friday ever.
- 90,000 visitors came to the Tate Modern and Tate Britain from 25-28 May.
- In 2008 over 120,000 people attended, with many events sold out.
- 95% of respondents felt the event they had attended met or exceeded their expectations.
- 88% of respondents said that they would return to the venue as a result of attending a *Lates* event there.
- Over 50% of respondents said that the *Lates* festival had improved their perception of London's late night offer.
- Over 25% of visitors reported that as a result of *Lates* visit they spent more than they normally would across the whole sample this represented an uplift of £24 extra spend per head.
- For the 12 highlight events this had a consequent economic benefit of £2.6m.

## 5. «Nuit Blanche» - Light Night events and festivals

Whilst late night opening of museums and light or white night events and festivals have been established since the 1990s, notably in Berlin and St. Petersburg, the *Nuit Blanche* event originated in 2002 with Paris, and has been quickly adopted and emulated in European and North American cities and further afield over the past ten years (*Tab. 4*). In many cases there has been a rapid build up of activity, scope and attendances at these events in only a few years. The *Nuite Blanche* concept and brand has therefore been a successful vehicle to develop a

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unique cultural event and a vehicle for city promotion and achieving local community objectives (Jiwa *et al.* 2009). Late night events have been associated with religious and cultural festivals (e.g. Lisbon, Lyon, Montreal), predominantly held in the early autumn (September/October). Since Paris inaugurated the *Nuit Blanche* in 2002, a network and movement of such festivals has developed and gained momentum. The majority of subsequent events reference Paris, use the Nuit Blanche brand and in several cases French cultural organisations are active in funding, sponsorship and event promotion. Others use the late night opportunity to promote general cultural festivals and contemporary art events.

Сіту	Late Night event	Year started		
Atlanta	Le Flash	2008		
Barcelona	Nit Blanca	2008		
Berlin	Lange Nacht	1997		
Brussels	Nuit Blanche	2001		
Chicago	Looptopia	2007		
Copenhagen	Culture Night	1995		
Dublin	Culture Night	2006		
Lisbon	Luzboa	2004		
Lyon	Fête des Lumiere	1989		
Madrid	La Nocha en Blanco	2006		
Montreal	Nuit Blanche / High Lights	2003		
Paris	Nuit Blanche	2002		
Rome	Notte Bianca	2005		
Specchia	Notte Bianca	2004		
Toronto	Nuit Blanche	2006		
UK	Light Night (6 cities)	2008		

Tab. 4 Light night events and festivals.

Source: Evans and pmpgenesis (2010).

Particular features of these night time events are illuminations on historic buildings and light installations (including fireworks displays), late night opening of museums and galleries and in some cases performing arts venues, parks & gardens, sports facilities, and live events in major squares, stadia and waterfront sites. Public transport – normally free/low cost – is extended into the early hours along festival routes and to venues, with additional bus and tube/tram services to cope with the extra demand. This festival event is also increasingly a vehicle for new artists and award schemes, including biennales, and in some cases children and young people's events and participation, as well as community and local area development. The events are normally free, although in some cases a combined ticket is purchased for a series of museums or galleries.

This evolution of *Nuit Blanche* events has spawned a European network with common aims (below), and this reflects their cooperative nature and a celebration of the European Project, for instance the «twinning» of Paris and Rome, European Museum Nights, and networks of national events across several cities, e.g. in Ireland (Dublin – Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Galway); France (Paris – Amiens, Brison, Metz) and the UK *Light Nights* cities of Belfast, Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, Nottingham, Sheffield, Kirkaldy and Perth. A *Nuits Blanches* Europe Charter provides an indication of this:

- 1. Nuit Blanche is a free cultural event that is open to all, held annually at the end of summer or the beginning of autumn and which will of course go on all night.
- 2. Nuit Blanche gives pride of place to contemporary creativity in all its forms: visual art, projections, installations, music, stage and street performers, circus and fairground arts.
- 3. Nuit Blanche presents all the different aspects of public space: places that are usually closed or abandoned, outlying areas, prestigious locations or places that form part of the city's cultural heritage, revisited in an unusual way by the artists.
- 4. Nuit Blanche enables cities organising the event to reflect together upon current developments for urban nights, to implement suitable services and means of organisation (city economy, signs, lighting, security, services).

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- 5. Nuit Blanche provides a perfect opportunity to promote «soft» forms of mobility: encouraging cycle paths, the use of trams, public transport, river shuttles.
- 6. Nuit Blanche fosters exchanges between city centres and peripheral areas.
- 7. The Nuit Blanche Europe partner cities have decided that a joint artistic project will be carried out each year, with the aim of developing exchanges between the cities and between European artists and audiences

In the words of the UK Light Nights network:

Light Night gives the general population the chance to «take back» the city from the demographic group that normally occupies the city in the evening and at night. Because there are different ways that local, national and international companies to get involved there are strong, varied opportunities to attract advertising, sponsorship and also media attention to the city.

Total attendances at these events range from 40,000-100,000, to 1 million (Lisbon, Lyon, Toronto) and 2 million (Paris, Rome). Their scale has developed rapidly on an annual basis. Paris first attracted 500,000 in 2002 and now attracts 2m; 40,000 visited Dublin's first all night Culture Festival in 2006 and over 100,000 in 2008; Rome saw 1m in 2005 and receives 2m today; Toronto attracted 425,000 in 2006 and over 1m in 2008. This expansion reflects the growing number of events, venues and geographic area covered, but also the success in marketing and generation of excitement around what has become a «must see» event. Some visitor surveys have been undertaken, including Rome and Dublin. Satisfaction with the quality of the Rome event was high – 90%: 42% «Excellent», 48% «Good» (Armenia, Fiorani and Meneguzzo 2008; Cherubini and Iasevoli 2006). Nearly half of visitors to this event participated in two or more activities and nearly 80% travelled by foot or public transport.

Several events form part of longer cultural festivals, running the whole weekend, for 3 or 4 days and even up to 10 days. Late/Light nights tend to fall on a Saturday evening/Sunday morning in September or early October. This timing sometimes coincides with cultural or religious

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festivals, but this is also a post-Summer/pre-Winter event opportunity, after the peak holiday and «closed city» summer season (July/August). In some cities the event therefore seeks to spread tourism (domestic and overseas) into a lower season, including hotel occupation. In the case of London, with so many events and festivals and a mixed business, education and leisure tourist market, this is a less of an issue with hotel occupancy traditionally quite high during September/October.

#### 6. Conclusion

Extending the temporal availability of historic and cultural venues has clearly tapped latent demand and enabled access to parts of the city in a way that is not replicated in the traditional day time experience. New audiences and events have opened up venues in innovative ways without increasing the conflicts of overcrowding and damage to the historic fabric. In particular, younger visitors have been attracted and citv residents who would otherwise be put off by the touristic experience and crowds at other times of the day. By combining contemporary and popular cultural events in museums and heritage venues, new audiences have been reached and engaged, and buildings used more optimally. The Lates, Light Night, museum and culture nights also provide a more positive alternative to the mono-use and problematic occupation of the city that represents a major barrier to evening and night economic activity for most resident and tourist visitors. In this sense, new events in historic venues can offer the opportunity to «reclaim the night» and reposition historic venues in the contemporary city.

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#### Riassunto

Le città capitali della cultura e le altre città storiche devono fronteggiare numerose sfide per mantenere ed espandere le risorse del loro turismo culturale e dei flussi economici correlati. La competizione globale e interregionale, un flusso di visitatori eterogenei e selettivi, e le tensioni tra la necessità di tutela del patrimonio e il «divertimento educativo' hanno insieme richiesto la necessità di un uso più creativo delle risorse e dei siti storici e la loro promozione presso un nuovo pubblico. Il saggio approfondisce il caso delle «notti bianche» che hanno ampliato in numerose città l'offerta del turismo culturale nel tempo, nello spazio e a nuovi gruppi sociali. Allo stesso tempo la strategia della organizzazione notturna degli eventi culturali ha reso le aree di queste città più sicure e più attraenti per i visitatori.