MAYOR OF LONDON

London Plan Town Centres Research (roles and functions)

July 2026

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Executive Summary

Purpose and content

This report provides evidence to support policy development for the Mayor's London Plan. It is prepared in the wider policy context of the Government's National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF).

The report looks at key trends in the roles and functions of London's town centres over the past decade including the impact of new Planning Use Class E and permitted development rights. It also explores residential and non-residential development trends and identified future capacity to accommodate new employment-related development. Finally, the report sets out the methodology and recommendations for the review of the London Plan town centre network and night-time economy classifications.

Key findings

Retail, leisure and other commercial uses:

- London's town centres are **evolving** and **adapting.**
- **Comparison goods retail** and **service use** floorspace in London's town centres increased prior to the pandemic (2019/20) but has declined since.
- **Convenience goods retail** and **leisure** uses floorspace showed an upward trend over the whole period 2014 to 2024.
- CAZ retail clusters witnessed the largest increases in their **shares of leisure** uses floorspace, followed by the Major, Metropolitan and International centres.
- **Class E use floorspace** in London's town centres declined in aggregate over the period 2014 to 2024, primarily due to **loss of Class E(g)(i) office space** and **Class E(c) financial and professional services**.
- **Class E(b) cafes/restaurants**, **E(d) indoor sport** and **E(e) health-related uses** increased in town centres over the 2014 to 2024 period.
- Retail, leisure and service floorspace in locations **outside of the CAZ, town centres and high streets** increased by 1.2 million sq.m between 2014 and 2024, increasing its share of the London total from 26 per cent in 2014 to 29 per cent in 2024.

Cultural infrastructure and night-time uses:

- In 2023, 15 per cent of London's **cultural consumption infrastructure** and 14 per cent of **cultural production infrastructure** was located within London's town centres (outside of the CAZ).
- **Inner London's** town centres account for 69 per cent of **cultural consumption** infrastructure in London's town centres (outside CAZ), **Outer London** town centres 29 per cent and **future potential town centres** 2 per cent.
- **Inner London's** town centres account for 68 per cent of **cultural production** infrastructure in London's town centres (outside CAZ), **Outer London** town centres 26 per cent and **future potential town centres** 6 per cent.
- **Cinema and theatre** floorspace in town centres increased between 2014 and 2024.

- **Nightclub** floorspace increased in the CAZ retail clusters and the West End, but decreased in overall terms in Metropolitan, Major and District town centres.
- **Public house and bar** floorspace increased in aggregate across all town centre classification types, except District centres which had a marginal decline.

Gambling and hot food takeaway uses

- **Bookmaker** and **casino floorspace** declined in town centres between 2014 and 2024.
- In 2024, **bookmakers** and **casinos** comprised 2 to 3 per cent of total occupied town centre units in 53 town centres, 3 to 4 per cent in 16 centres, and above 4 per cent in four town centres.
- **Hot food takeaway floorspace** in London's town centres increased by over 130,000 sq.m between 2014 and 2024.
- In 2024, **hot food takeaway outlets** accounted for between 10 and 15 per cent of all occupied units in more than 50 town centres and between 15 and 20 per cent in seven town centres.

Employment:

- In 2024, London's town centres accounted for **1.25 million workforce jobs**, **19.6 per cent** of London's total.
- Annual average **growth rates in employment** were higher in the pre-pandemic period compared to the post-pandemic period across all town centre classification types apart from the **CAZ retail clusters**, which experienced strong growth over the whole 2014 to 2024 period.
- Centres with the **highest estimated workforce job totals** in 2024 included the West End, Canary Wharf, Croydon, Hounslow and Elephant and Castle/Walworth Road.

Vacancy:

- **Vacant retail, leisure and service floorspace** increased from 1.19 million in 2021 to 1.24 million in 2024.
- In 2024, the London town centre average floorspace **vacancy rate** was 11.1 per cent, compared to the average for all locations in London (9.1 per cent) and the UK (9.4 per cent).
- London's **International centres** had an average vacant floorspace rate in 2024 that was below the London and UK average. **District centre** vacancy rates were close to the UK average
- **Metropolitan centres** and **outer London Major centres** had the highest average floorspace vacancy rates in 2024.

Development trends:

- There were **net gains to retail, food and drink, non-residential and assembly and leisure uses** through completed developments over the period 2014 to 2024.
- There were **significant net losses of office space** through development completions, and particularly in the period 2014 to 2020.
- Over the period 2014 to 2024, just over **4,000 net additional hotel bedrooms** were completed in town centres, almost two-thirds of which were in the International centres and CAZ retail clusters.

Future capacity to accommodate employment-related development:

- London's town centres (including those in CAZ and future potential town centres) had an estimated **employment capacity of 450,000 jobs** for the period 2024 to 2050, **39 per cent** of the total for London as a whole.
- **Town centres outside of the CAZ** accounted for **234,000 jobs capacity**, or **20 per cent** of the London total.
- **Office employment** accounts for the highest proportion of total employment capacity in London's town centres.

Housing approvals and completions:

- More than **250,000 units were approved** in town centres between 2004/5 and 2023/24, averaging **12,600 units per annum**, and accounting for **19 cent of all housing approvals** in London over this period.
- Over the same period more than **116,000 units were completed** in town centres, averaging **5,800 units per annum**, and accounting for **19 cent of all housing completions** in London.
- **Major town centres** accounted for 33 per cent of net housing units in completed developments over this period, **District centres** 31 per cent and **Metropolitan centres** 25 per cent.

Impact of permitted development rights:

- **0.6 million square metres of office floorspace was converted** to residential in London's town centres between 2014 and 2024, equating to **43 per cent** of the London total office space converted through PDR.
- **Offices** accounted for **98 per cent** of all commercial floorspace that was converted to residential via permitted development in London's town centres between 2014 and 2024.
- **Retail, food and drink and other service use** conversions accounted for **1.8 per cent** of commercial floorspace converted and **light industrial** conversions accounted for **0.3 per cent**.
- **12,000 net residential dwellings** were completed in such PDR conversions in town centres over the period 2014-2024, **42 per cent** of the London total.
- **Croydon town centre** was the most impacted by commercial to residential permitted development, followed by Wembley, Hounslow, Sutton, Harrow and Romford.

London Plan town centre network review recommendations:

- The 2021 London Plan town centre network classifications are **confirmed** for the majority (187) of town centres.
- **Changes to the 2021 London Plan town centre network classifications** are recommended for 24 centres, including:
  - **Metropolitan town centre** status for Camden Town, Clapham Junction, Lewisham and Wembley
  - **Major town centre status** for Acton, Colliers Wood, Edmonton Green, Finsbury Park, Greenwich, Green Lanes, Green Street, Leytonstone, New Malden, Swiss Cottage/ Finchley Road and Twickenham.
  - **District (and future potential Major) centre status** for North Greenwich
  - **District centre status** for Church End (Brent), Crossharbour, Hackbridge, Lower Belvedere, North Tottenham, Old Kent Road North, Old Kent Road South and Tottenham Hale.
- Changes are recommended to the CAZ Retail Clusters in the 2021 London Plan, re-defining these as **CAZ Class E/experience economy clusters**, and a new designation for Oxford Street/Regent Street/Bond Street (within the wider West End) as an **International experience economy destination.**
- **Future potential town centres** are identified at Brent Cross, Old Oak, Beckton Riverside (formerly Gallions Reach), Three Mills Lane (formerly Bromley-by-Bow), Barking Riverside and Hackney Wick.

London Plan night-time economy classification recommendations:

- The 2021 London Plan night-time economy classifications for 77 centres are **confirmed**.
- **Changes are recommended** to the 2021 London Plan night-time classifications for 52 centres.
- 120 centres are recommended for a **new classification (NT4)** denoting a night-time economy of local significance.

1. Introduction

1.0.1 This report provides evidence to support policy development for the **Mayor's London Plan**. It is prepared in the wider policy context of the Government's **National Planning Policy Framework** (NPPF)[1] which states that planning policies and decisions should support the role that town centres play at the heart of local communities, by taking a positive approach to their growth, management and adaptation.

1.0.2 The NPPF requires development plans to define a network or hierarchy of town centres and promote their long-term vitality and viability by allowing them to grow and diversify in a way that can respond to rapid changes in the retail and leisure industries, allowing a suitable mix of uses (including housing) and reflecting their distinctive characters.

1.0.3 The London Plan 2021 defines the hierarchy of London's town centres (see Figure 1 overleaf) in line with the NPPF. The functions and typical characteristics of each town centre classification (International, Metropolitan, Major and District) are explained in Annex A of this report[2].

1.0.4 This report seeks to address, at a strategic level, the following research questions:

A: How have the roles and functions of London's town centres changed over time?

B: What has been the impact of Use Class E on town centres?

C: How much development (residential and non-residential uses) has been delivered in town centres over the past decade and how much capacity has been identified to accommodate new employment-related development?

D: What has been the impact of permitted development rights on town centres?

E: What are the current roles/functions of town centres in the London town centre network?

1.0.5 The Government's **planning practice guidance**[3] highlights the importance of a range of indicators, and their changes over time, that may be relevant in assessing the roles, functions and health of town centres, and planning for their future. Several of these indicators are considered at a strategic level in this report including:

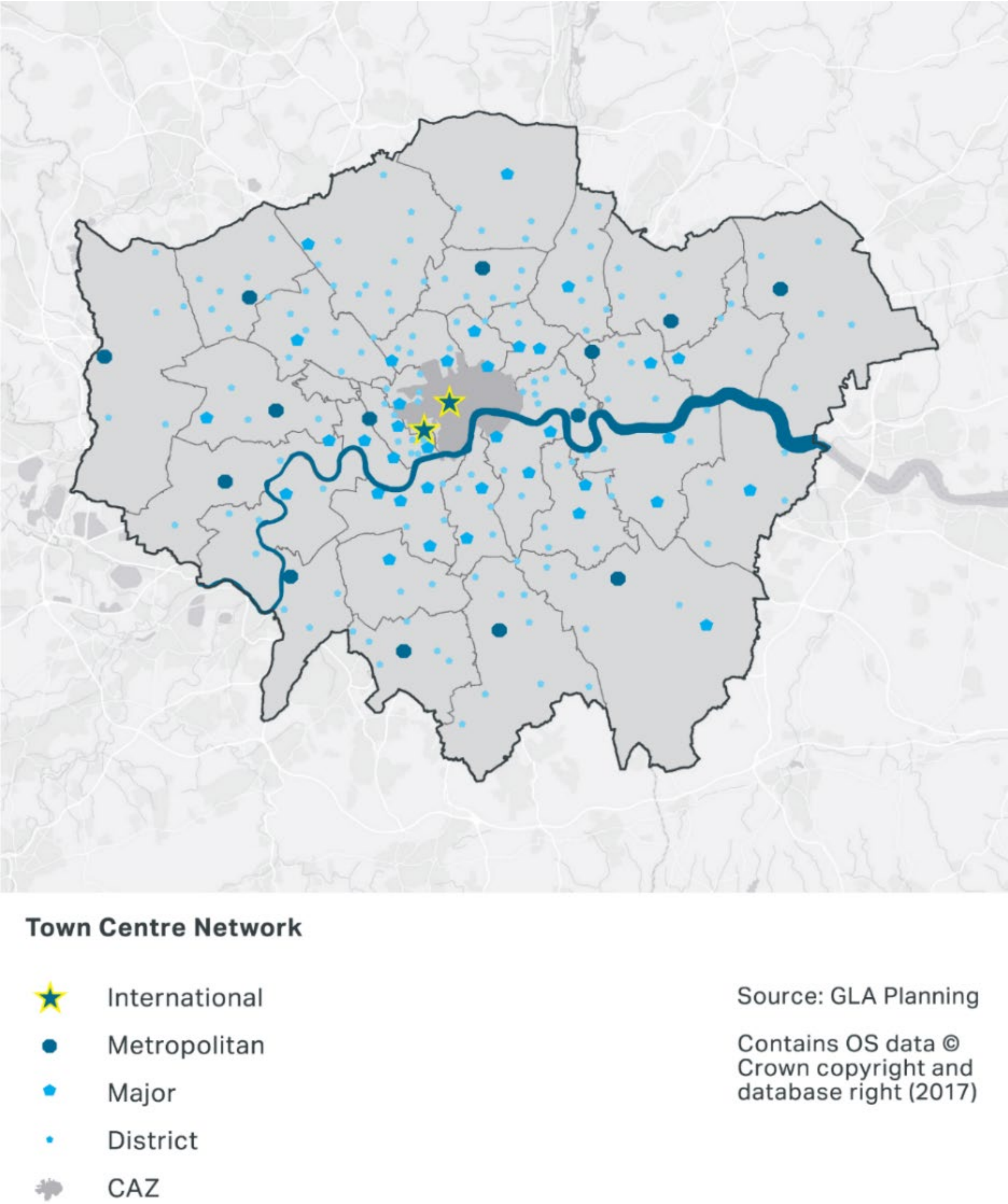
- diversity of uses
- proportion of vacant street level property
- pedestrian flows or 'footfall'
- accessibility
- evening and night-time economy.

[1] National Planning Policy Framework - GOV.UK
[2] This report focuses on strategic town centres identified in local plans. For interrelationships with GLA High Streets please see Annex D.
[3] Planning Practice Guidance: Town centres and retail - GOV.UK Para: 006 Ref ID: 2b-006-20190722

1.0.6 Section 2 of the report responds to research questions A and B above and considers key trends in the roles and functions of London's town centres over the past decade. This section also looks at the impact of Class E. Section 3 addresses research question C and looks at development trends and capacity in town centres.

1.0.7 Section 4 responds to research question D and presents evidence on the impact of permitted development rights. Section 5 responds to research question E and sets out the methodology and recommendations for the review of the London Plan town centre network and night-time economy classifications.

Figure 1 London Plan 2021 Town Centre Network



2. Town centre roles and functions – key trends

2.0.1 This section of the report explores how the roles and functions of London's town centres have changed over the period 2014 to 2024. Trends are illustrated for London as a whole and for the London Plan town centre network classifications (see Annex A for details). It is important to note that these are general trends and may not reflect the trends for individual town centres within each town centre network classification.

2.1 Retail, leisure and service uses

Key points:

- **London's town centres are evolving and adapting.**
- **Comparison goods retail** and **service use** floorspace in London's town centres increased prior to the pandemic (2019/20) but has declined since.
- **Convenience goods retail** and **leisure** uses floorspace showed an upward trend over the whole period 2014 to 2024.
- **The share of comparison goods** retail declined across all London town centre classification types and most significantly among the Major centres.
- CAZ retail clusters witnessed the largest increases in their **shares of leisure** uses floorspace, followed by the Major, Metropolitan and International and centres.
- Retail, leisure and service floorspace in **out-of-centre locations and outside high streets** increased by 1.2 million sq.m between 2014 and 2024, increasing its share of the London total from 26 per cent in 2014 to 29 per cent in 2024.

2.1.1 This sub-section examines trends in four broad categories of town centre uses including retail (split by comparison goods[4] and convenience goods[5]), leisure[6], service[7] and miscellaneous/non-retail[8] uses. It is divided into five parts:

- Total town centre floorspace by category
- Share of total town centre floorspace by category
- Total town centre floorspace by town centre classification and category
- Share of town centre floorspace by town centre classification and category
- Competition from out-of-centre retail, leisure and service uses.

[4] **Comparison goods** include things like clothes, electrical items, household and leisure goods which are bought relatively infrequently, so consumers usually evaluate prices, features and quality before making a purchase.

[5] **Convenience goods** include everyday essential items like food, drink, newspapers and confectionery

[6] **Leisure uses** here include cafes, restaurants, takeaways, pubs and bars, sports facilities, museums, art galleries, night clubs, other entertainment and serviced visitor accommodation.

[7] **Service uses** include banks and building societies, employment and postal services, automobile services, estate agents and auctioneers, hairdressing, health and beauty, household and home, laundrettes and dry cleaners, locksmiths, clothing and shoe repairs, travel agents and other miscellaneous services.

[8] **Miscellaneous/non-retail uses** include civic, social and community infrastructure uses, hospitals, emergency services, public and private transport uses and delivery hubs. It does not include offices.

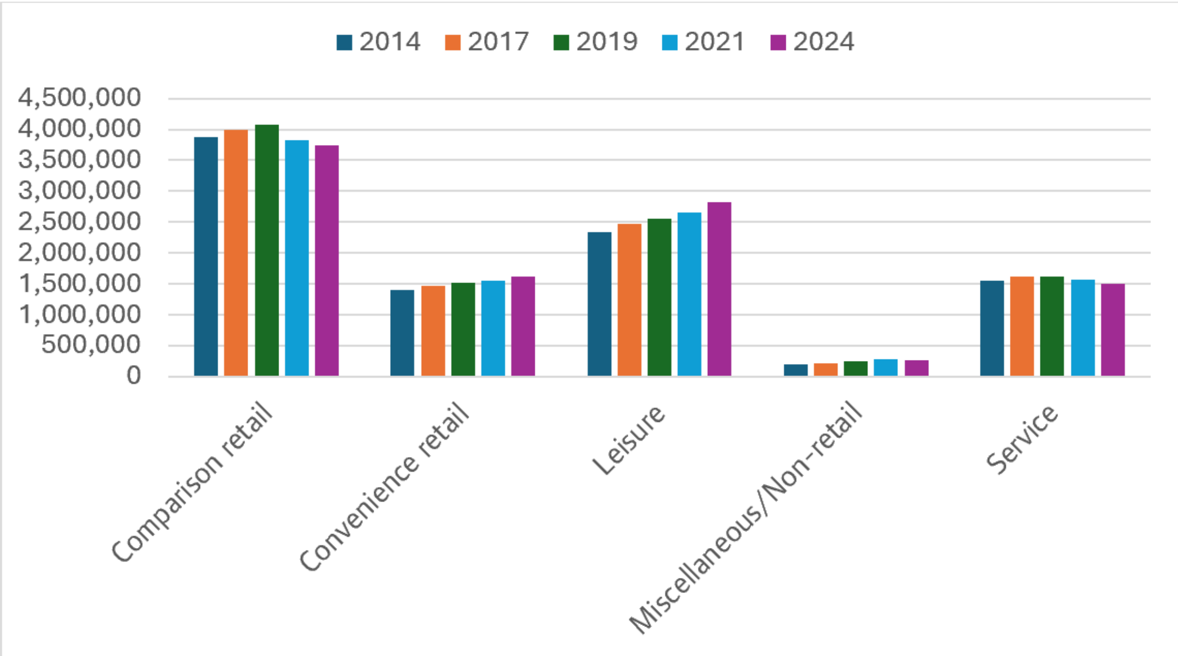
2.1.2 The charts in this section demonstrate that London's town centres have been **evolving and adapting** to wider trends and challenges over the past decade including the increase of online retailing[9], the pandemic and competition from out-of-centre forms of development.

Total town centre floorspace by category:

2.1.3 **Comparison goods retail** and **service use** floorspace in London's town centres (in aggregate) showed an upward trend prior to the pandemic (2019/20) but have declined since (see Figure 2.1a). Both categories have a compound annual growth rate (CAGR)[10] of -0.4 per cent over the period 2014 to 2024.

2.1.4 **Convenience goods retail** floorspace in town centres showed a steady upward trend over the whole period 2014 to 2024 (+1.5 per cent CAGR). **Leisure** floorspace showed the strongest total growth of all categories over the period 2014 to 2024 with a net increase of almost half a million square metres (sq.m) of floorspace (+1.9 per cent CAGR). **Miscellaneous/non-retail** uses account for a smaller proportion of total town centre floorspace in London but increased positively over the same period (+2.8 per cent CAGR).

Figure 2.1a London town centres total floorspace sq.m (excluding offices) 2014-2024



Source: Local Data Company/Green Street/HSDS/GLA analysis

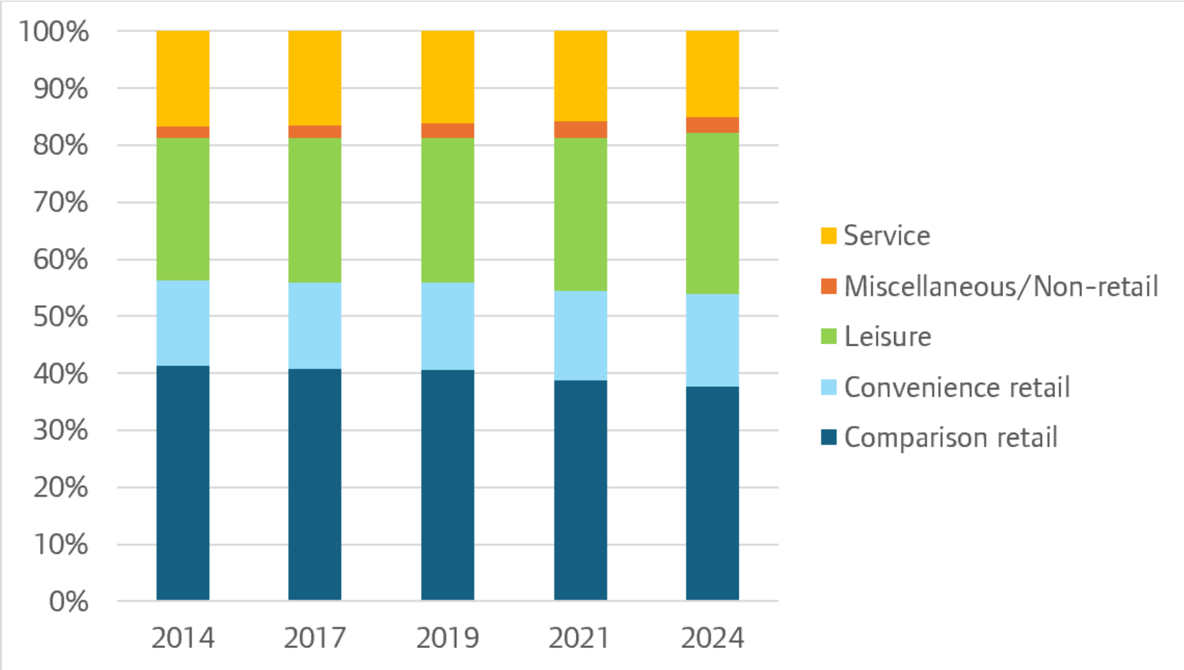
Share of total town centre floorspace by category:

2.1.5 Looking next at the shares of total floorspace in each category in London's town centres, comparison goods retail has been **declining as a share** of total town centre

[9] Internet sales as a percentage of total retail sales (ratio) (%) - Office for National Statistics
[10] Compound annual growth rate (CAGR) calculates the smoothed annual growth rate over time.

floorspace (excluding offices) from 41 per cent in 2014 to 38 per cent in 2024 (see Figure 2.1b). In contrast, leisure and convenience retail uses have been **increasing** their shares of total town centre floorspace, reaching 28 per cent and 16 per cent respectively in 2024. The share of convenience retail in London's town centres overtook the share of service use floorspace (recorded at 15 per cent) to become the third largest of these categories in 2024.

Figure 2.1b London town centres - share of total occupied floorspace (excluding offices) 2014-2024



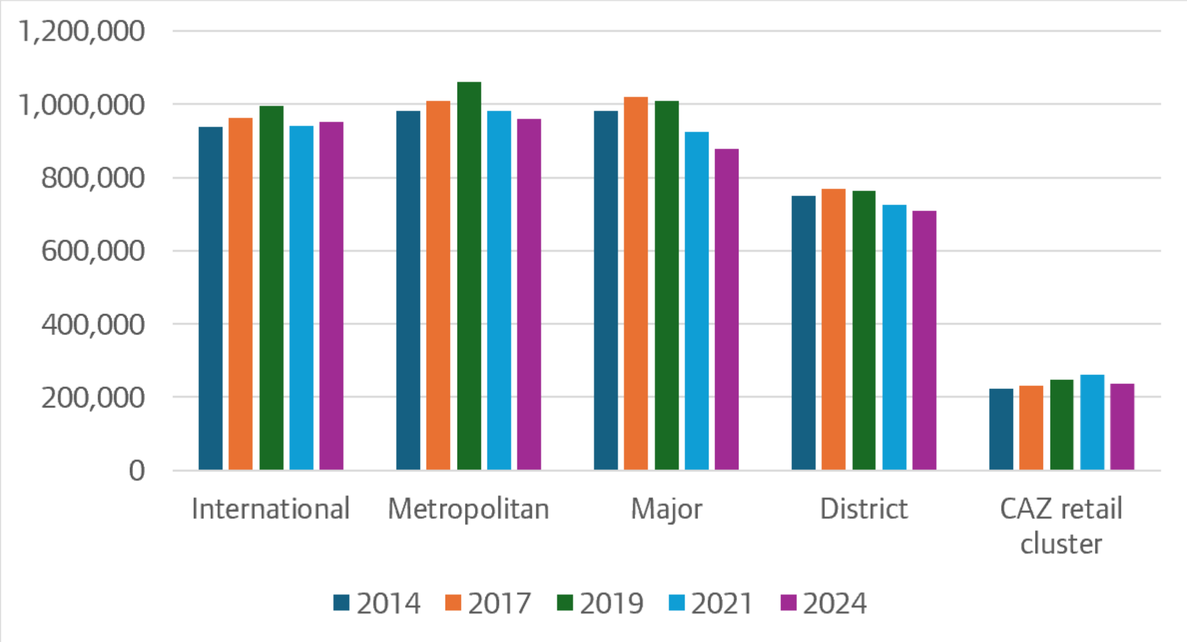
Source: Local Data Company/Green Street/HSDS/GLA analysis

Total town centre floorspace by town centre classification and category:

2.1.6 Over the period 2014 to 2024, **comparison goods retail** floorspace increased in the International centres and CAZ retail clusters with CAGRs of 0.2 per cent and 0.5 per cent respectively (see Figure 2.1c). By contrast, there were declines in comparison retail floorspace in the other town centre classifications (in aggregate) and most notably across the Major centre classifications (-1.1 per cent CAGR) compared to District centres (-0.6 per cent) and Metropolitan centres (-0.2 per cent).

2.1.7 All London town centre classification types witnessed a **decline in comparison goods retail** floorspace over the pre- to post-pandemic period **2019 to 2024** (Figure 2.1c) with the greatest declines among the Major centres (-2.7 per cent CAGR), Metropolitan centres (-2.0 per cent) and District centres (-1.5 per cent). In contrast to the other town centre classifications, the International centres (West End and Knightsbridge) and CAZ retail clusters witnessed **modest gains in comparison goods retail** floorspace over the more recent period **2021 to 2024** with a net addition of 5,400 sq.m of space in the West End and 5,900 sq.m in Knightsbridge.

Figure 2.1c Comparison goods retail floorspace sq.m, by town centre classification 2014-2024

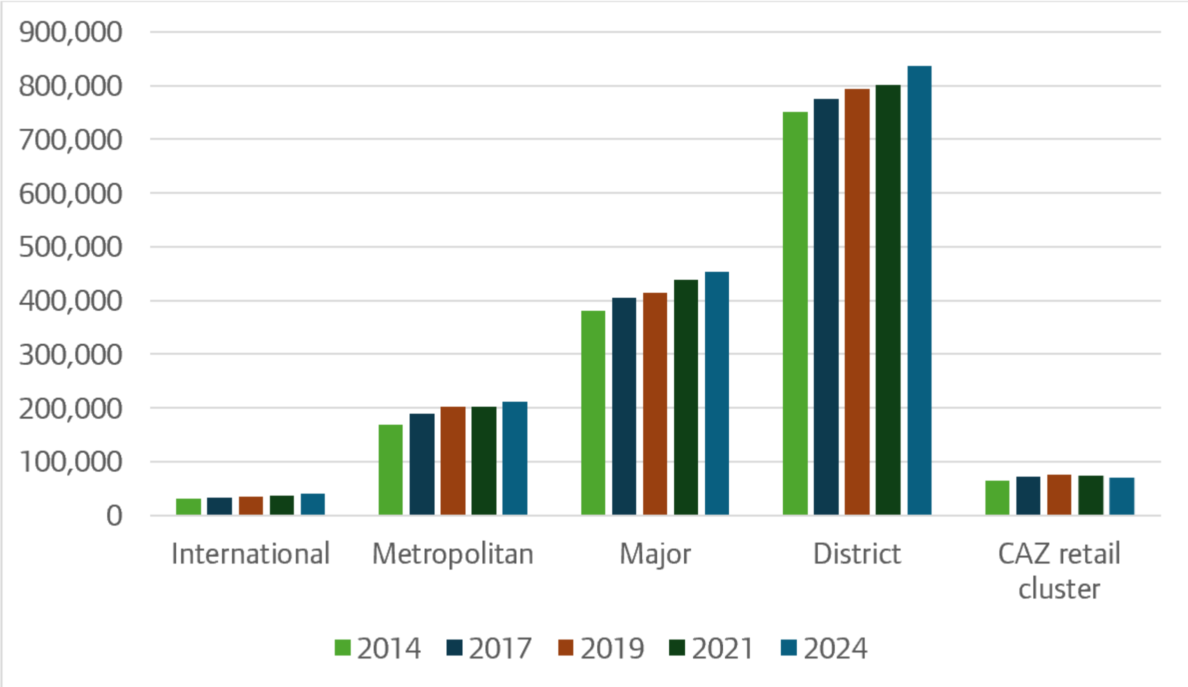


Source: Local Data Company/Green Street/HSDS/GLA analysis

2.1.8 **Convenience goods retail floorspace** showed an **upward trend in Metropolitan, Major and District** town centre classifications over the whole period 2014 to 2024 (Figure 2.1d) with CAGRs of +2.3, +1.8 and +1.1 per cent respectively. Whilst convenience retail in the International centres appears to be less significant in terms of total floorspace, it nevertheless grew at a strong rate of +2.7 per cent CAGR over the same period, attributed entirely to growth in convenience floorspace in the West End (+9,400 sq.m). The CAZ retail clusters also experienced growth, but at a more modest level (+0.7 per cent CAGR).

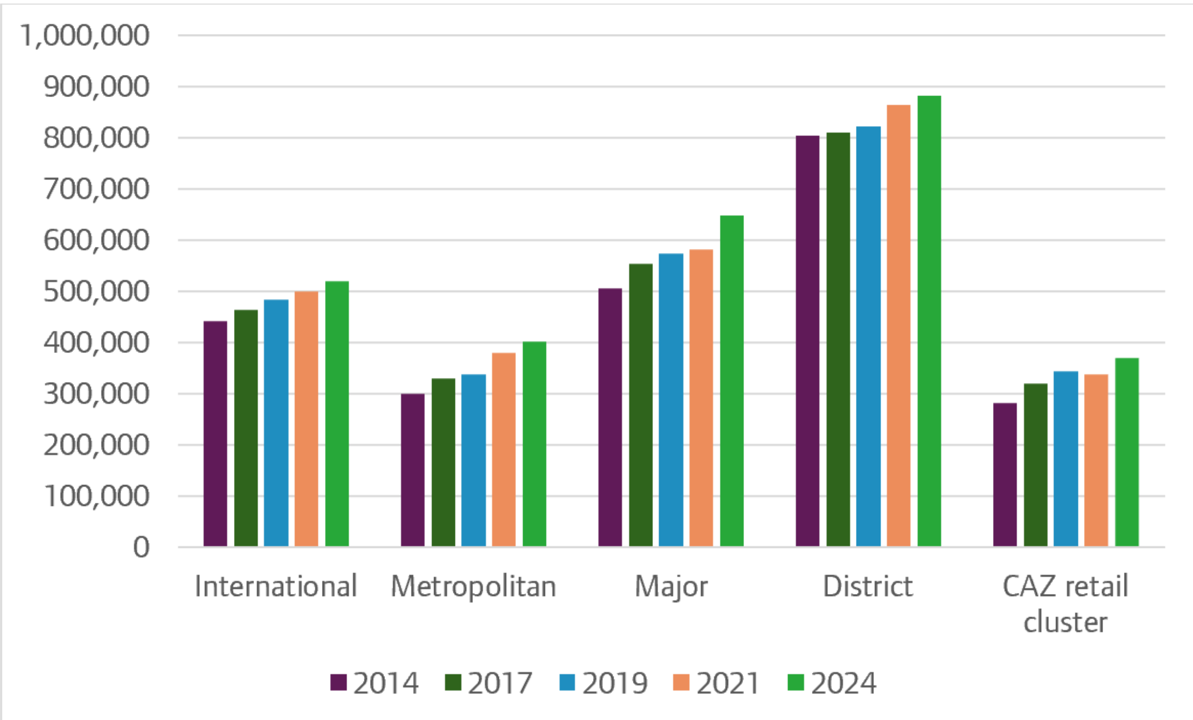
2.1.9 **Leisure floorspace** has shown a notable upward trend across all town centre classifications (see Figure 2.1e) over the period 2014 to 2024 with growth strongest across the Metropolitan town centres (+3.0 per cent CAGR), CAZ retail clusters (+2.8 per cent) and Major town centres (+2.5 per cent). Leisure floorspace in District centres grew more modestly at +0.9 per cent CAGR and the International centres at +1.6 per cent almost entirely due to net growth in the West End which gained 78,000 sq.m of leisure related floorspace over this period.

Figure 2.1d Convenience goods retail floorspace sq.m, by town centre classification 2014-2024



Source: Local Data Company/Green Street/HSDS/GLA analysis

Figure 2.1e Leisure floorspace sq.m, by town centre classification 2014-2024



Source: Local Data Company/Green Street/HSDS/GLA analysis

Share of town centre floorspace by town centre classification and category:

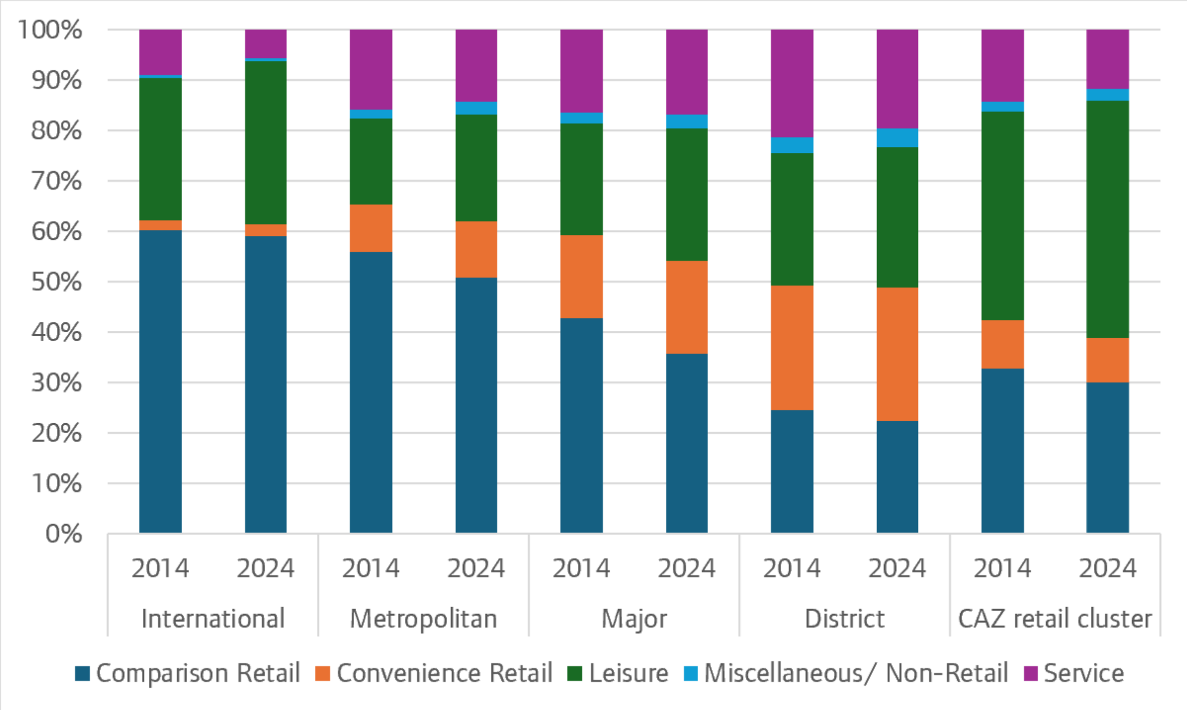
2.1.10 Figure 2.1f illustrates how the shares of town centre floorspace by town centre classification and category have changed over the period 2014 to 2024. In both 2014 and 2024, International centres had the highest amounts (around 60 per cent) of **comparison goods retail floorspace as a share of total occupied floorspace** (excluding offices), followed by the Metropolitan centres (56 per cent in 2014, declining to 51 per cent in 2024) and the Major centres (43 per cent in 2014, declining to 36 per cent in 2024). The CAZ retail clusters in aggregate had a comparison goods retail floorspace share of 33 per cent in 2014, declining to 30 per cent in 2024, and District centres had a 25 per cent share of comparison retail in 2014 declining to 22 per cent in 2024.

2.1.11 By contrast, District town centres typically have a higher level (26 per cent in 2024) of **convenience goods retail floorspace as a share of total occupied floorspace** (excluding offices) compared to Major (18 per cent), Metropolitan (11 per cent) and International centres (just 2 per cent). This reflects the roles of District town centres in the London town centre network in providing access to convenience goods for Londoners and this role strengthened over the period 2014 to 2024 increasing by one percentage point from the 2014 share of 25 per cent.

2.1.12 A similar picture is presented by **service retail floorspace**, with District centres again having a higher share (20 per cent in 2024) as a share of total occupied floorspace (excluding offices) compared to Major (17 per cent), Metropolitan (14 per cent) and International centres (6 per cent). But unlike the shares of convenience retail floorspace, those for service retail declined marginally over the period 2014 to 2024 for all town centre classification types apart from Major centres where the share remained broadly the same.

2.1.13 Over the period 2014 to 2024, all town centre classification types witnessed a **growing share of leisure uses** (Figure 2.1f). CAZ retail cluster shares grew strongest (by six percentage points) compared to the Major, Metropolitan and International (all increasing shares by four percentage points) and District centres (by two percentage points). CAZ retail clusters and the International centres continue to display higher levels of leisure uses as a share of total occupied uses (47 per cent and 32 per cent respectively) compared to the other town centre classification types.

Figure 2.1f. Share of total occupied floorspace (excluding offices) by town centre classification 2014 and 2024



Source: Local Data Company/Green Street/HSDS/GLA analysis

Competition from out-of-centre retail, leisure and service uses

2.1.14 London's town centres and high streets are often in competition with retail, leisure and service uses in out-of-centre locations. Figures 2.1g and 2.1h below illustrate trends associated with the following broad locations:

- Town centres (outside CAZ)
- CAZ International centres and CAZ Retail Clusters
- Other CAZ locations (excluding the Northern Isle of Dogs)
- High street[11] locations outside of designated town centres
- Out-of-centre and outside high streets

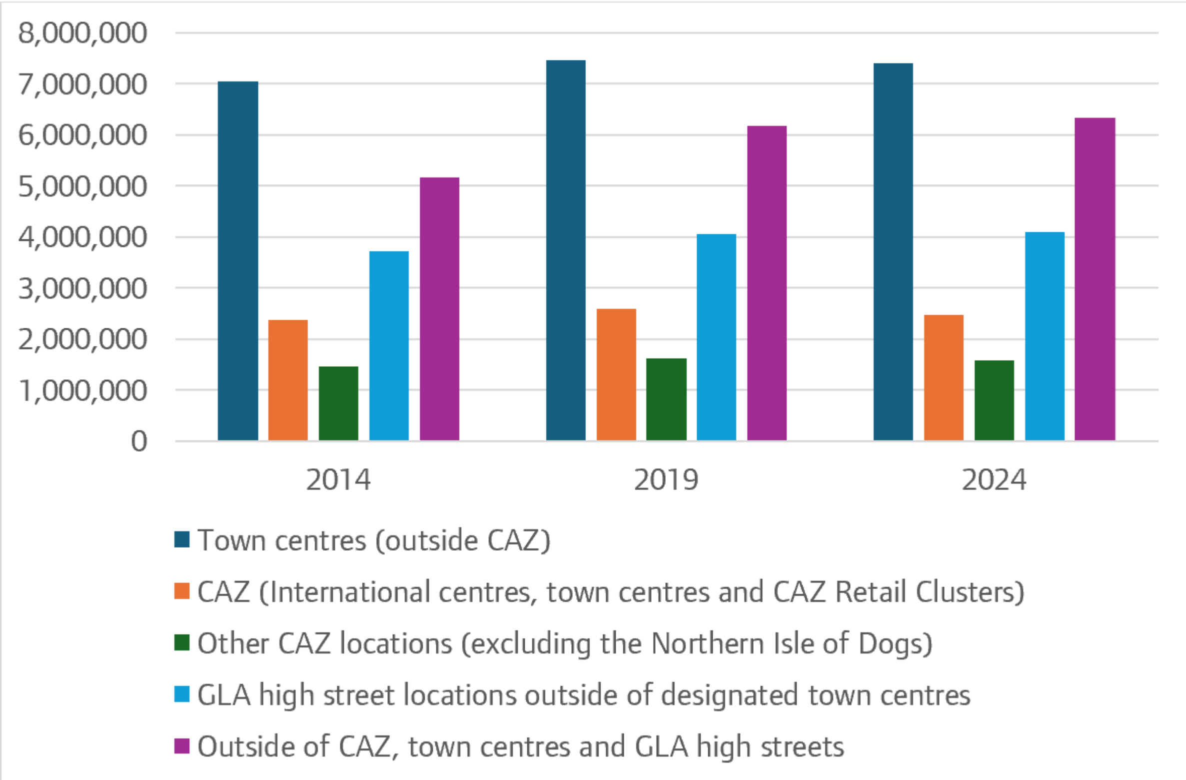
2.1.15 The charts show that total occupied retail, leisure and service floorspace in **London's town centres (outside CAZ)** increased by 346,000 sq.m between 2014 and 2024 (Figure 2.1g) but its share of the London total declined from 35.7 per cent in 2014 to 33.8 per cent in 2024 (Figure 2.1h). Total occupied retail, leisure and service floorspace **in the CAZ** increased by 236,000 sq.m but its share also declined, from 19.4 per cent in 2014 to 18.6 per cent in 2024.

[11] The GLA has identified more than 600 high streets in London, several of which fall outside of the town centres identified in the London Plan and defined in Local Plans (see Annex D of this report). Some high streets will be closely linked to neighbourhood and local centres. For further details please see: GLA High Street Boundaries - map | London Datastore

2.1.16 Total occupied retail, leisure and service floorspace in **high streets that are not designated as strategic town centres** increased by 378,000 sq.m between 2014 and 2024 and they accounted for 18.8 per cent of London's occupied retail, leisure and service floorspace in 2014 with little change by 2024 (18.7 per cent).

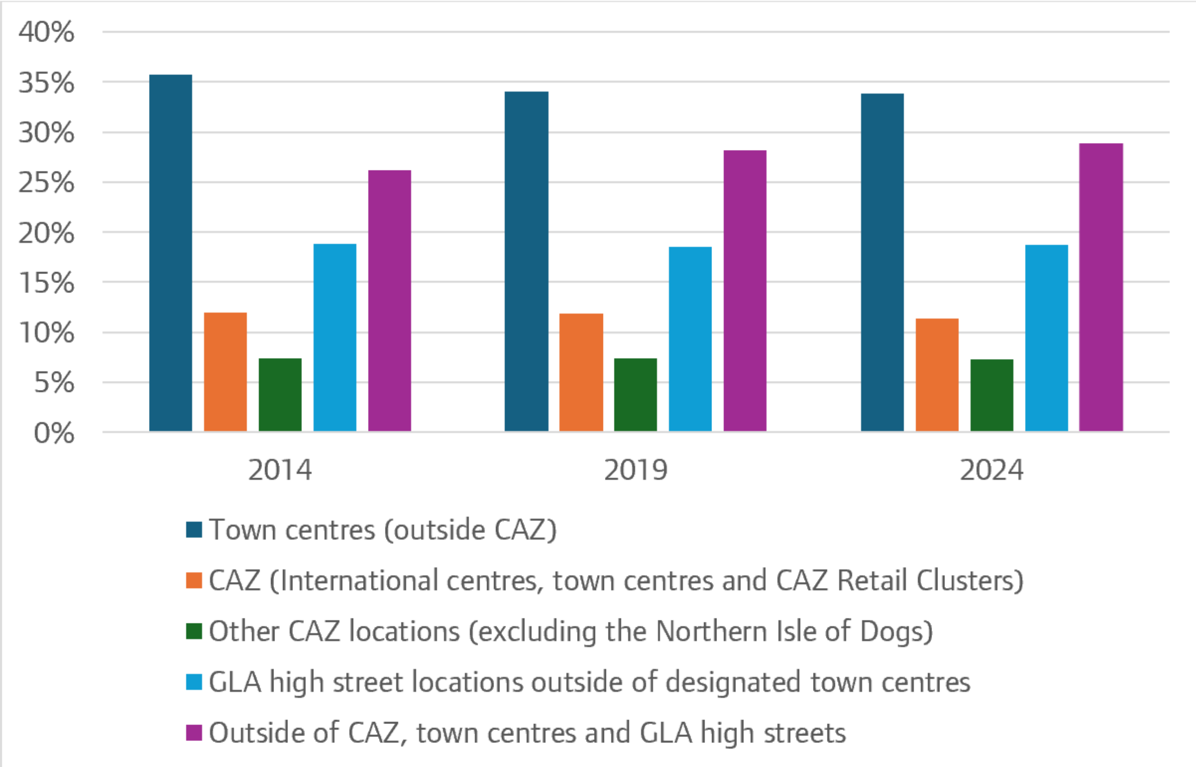
2.1.17 Of concern is the finding is that total occupied retail, leisure and service floorspace in locations **outside of CAZ, town centre and high streets** increased by 1.2 million sq.m increasing its share from 26.1 per cent in 2014 to 28.9 per cent in 2024. These out-of-centre locations are in competition with town centres and high streets in particular and often dominated by private car-based modes of transport.

Figure 2.1g Occupied retail, leisure and service floorspace (sq.m) in London by broad location 2014 – 2024



Source: Local Data Company/Green Street/HSDS and GLA analysis

Figure 2.1h Share of total occupied retail, leisure and service floorspace in London by broad location 2014 – 2024



Source: Local Data Company/Green Street/HSDS and GLA analysis

2.2 Commercial, business and service uses (Class E)

Key points:

- **Class E use floorspace** in London's town centres increased in aggregate prior to the Use Class change in 2020 but has declined since.
- **Class E(a) retail** use floorspace mirrored the above pattern.
- **Class E(b) cafes/restaurants**, **E(d) indoor sport** and **E(e) health-related uses** increased in town centres over the 2014 to 2024 period.
- **Class E(g) Office** and **Class E(c) financial and professional service** uses declined in town centres in aggregate over the 2014 to 2024 period.

2.2.1 This sub-section examines trends in town centre uses in the Planning Use Class E (Commercial, business and service uses)[12]. This Use Class was introduced in 2020. The analysis below explores the trends in Class E as a whole and its component uses over the period 2014 to 2024[13].

[12] For details please see: Use Classes - Change of use - Planning Portal
[13] Except offices which is 2014 to 2023

2.2.2 **Offices (Class E(g)(i))** and **retail uses (Class E(a))** in London's town centres make up the majority of floorspace in Class E as a whole (52 per cent and 33 per cent respectively – see Figure 2.2a). Across all Class E uses, floorspace in London's town centres increased from 16.6 million sq.m in 2014 to 17.0 million sq.m in 2020 (a CAGR of +0.4 per cent) but then declined to 16.0 million sq.m in 2024 (a CAGR of -1.5 per cent).

2.2.3 **Office floorspace**[14] in town centres in aggregate declined by 77,000 sq.m or -0.1 per cent CAGR during the 2014 to 2020 period, and then by a further 670,000 sq.m or -1.9 per cent CAGR between 2020 and 2023 (see Figures 2.2a and 2.2b).

2.2.4 Between 2014 and 2020, **retail use floorspace** increased by over 300,000 sq.m in London's town centres, growing by an average CAGR of +0.9 per cent. Between 2020 and 2024, retail uses declined in overall terms in London's town centres by more than 230,000 sq.m or -1.1 per cent CAGR.

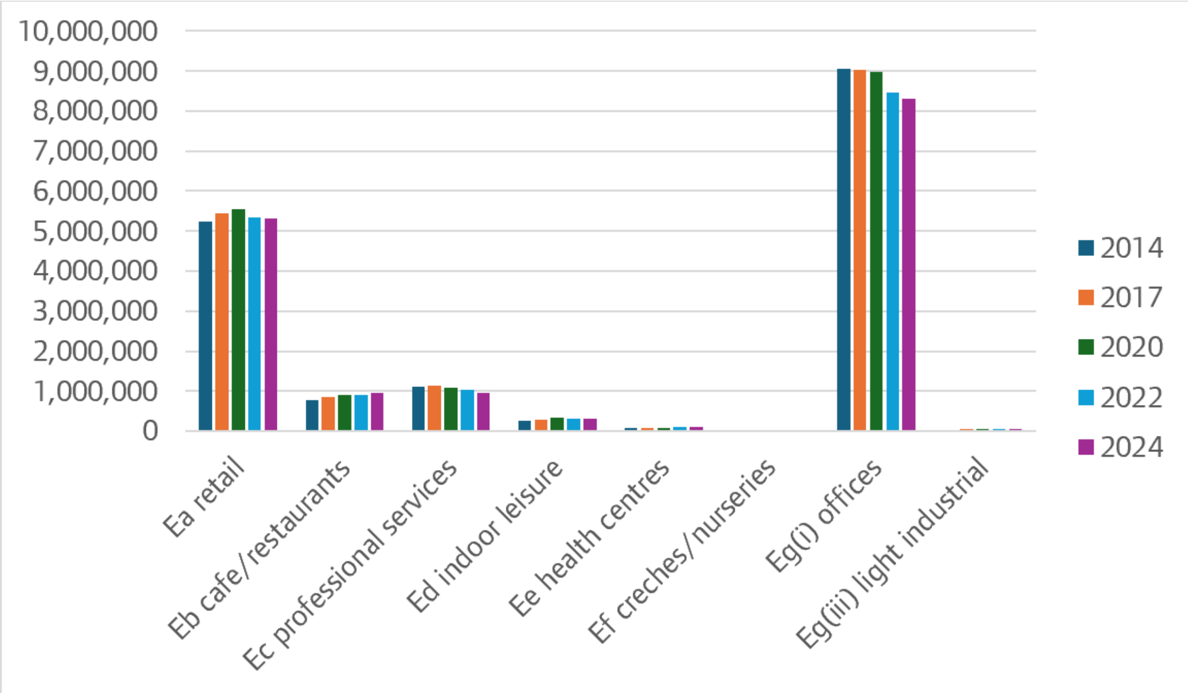
2.2.5 **Cafe and restaurant** floorspace (Class E(b)) in town centres increased over the whole 2014 to 2024 period and more strongly during the early period 2014 to 2020 (+2.5 per cent CAGR) compared to 2020 to 2024 (+1.1 per cent) (see Figures 2.2a and 2.2b). By contrast **high street professional services** (Class E(c)) declined over the whole 2014 to 2024, and particularly in the latter 2020 to 2024 period (-3.3 per cent CAGR).

2.2.6 **Indoor leisure use floorspace** (Class E(d)), whilst accounting for just 2 per cent of total London town centre floorspace, experienced strong growth (+4.8 per cent CAGR) over the period 2014 to 2020, which was offset partly by a decrease in space over the period 2020 to 2024 (-1.3 per cent CAGR). Across the whole period 2014 to 2024 this amounted to total growth of 26 per cent.

2.2.7 **Health related use floorspace**, including GP surgeries, dentists, health centres and health clinics, grew by more than 40 per cent over the period 2014 to 2024 (+3.6 per cent CAGR), accounting for just less than 1 per cent of total town centre floorspace by 2024.

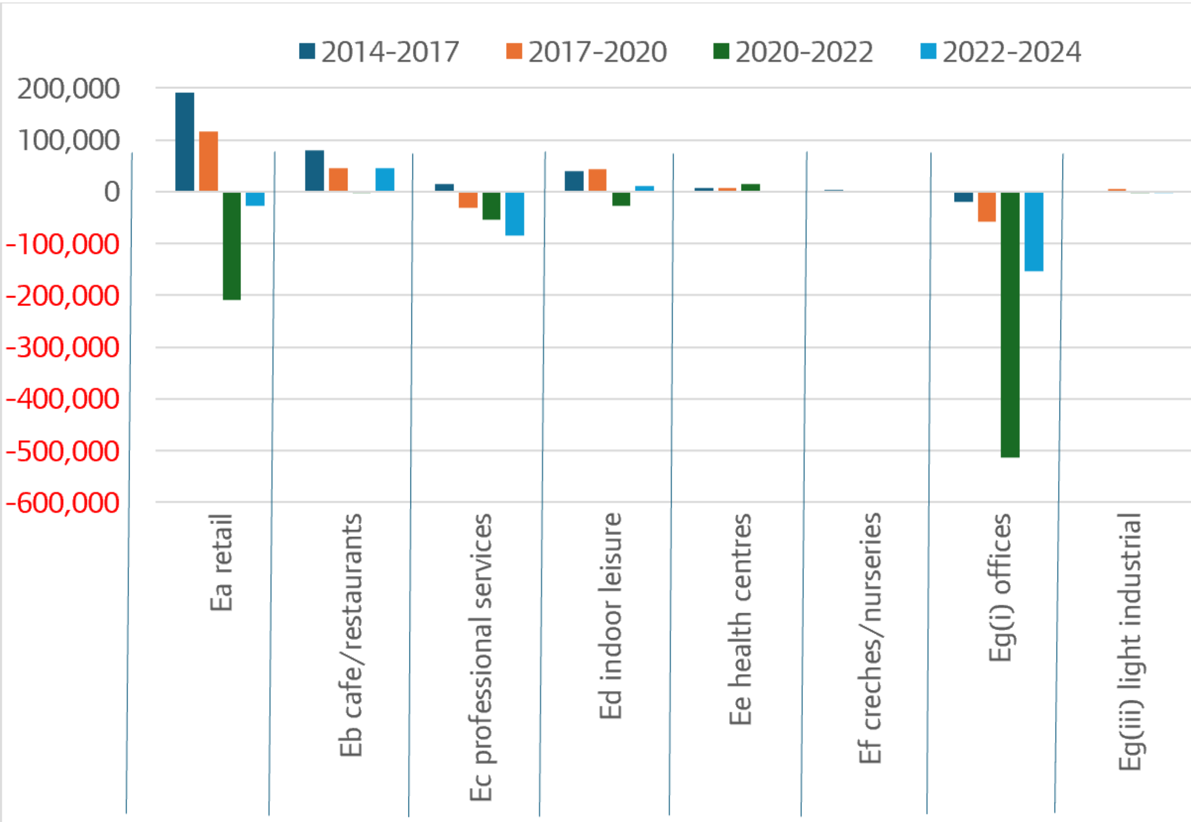
[14] Please note: In December 2025, the VOA published updated commercial floorspace estimates at local authority level. At the time of the assessment Lower Super Output Area (LSOA) data was not available and the town centre office floorspace estimates here are based on analysis of the VOA 2023 commercial floorspace statistics.

Figure 2.2a London town centres total floorspace (sq.m) in planning use class E, 2014-2024*



Source: Local Data Company/Green Street/HSDS/VOA/GLA analysis. *except offices (2014-2023)

Figure 2.2b Change in London town centres total floorspace (sq.m) in planning use class E 2014-2024*



Source: Local Data Company/Green Street/HSDS/VOA/GLA analysis. *except offices (2014-2023)

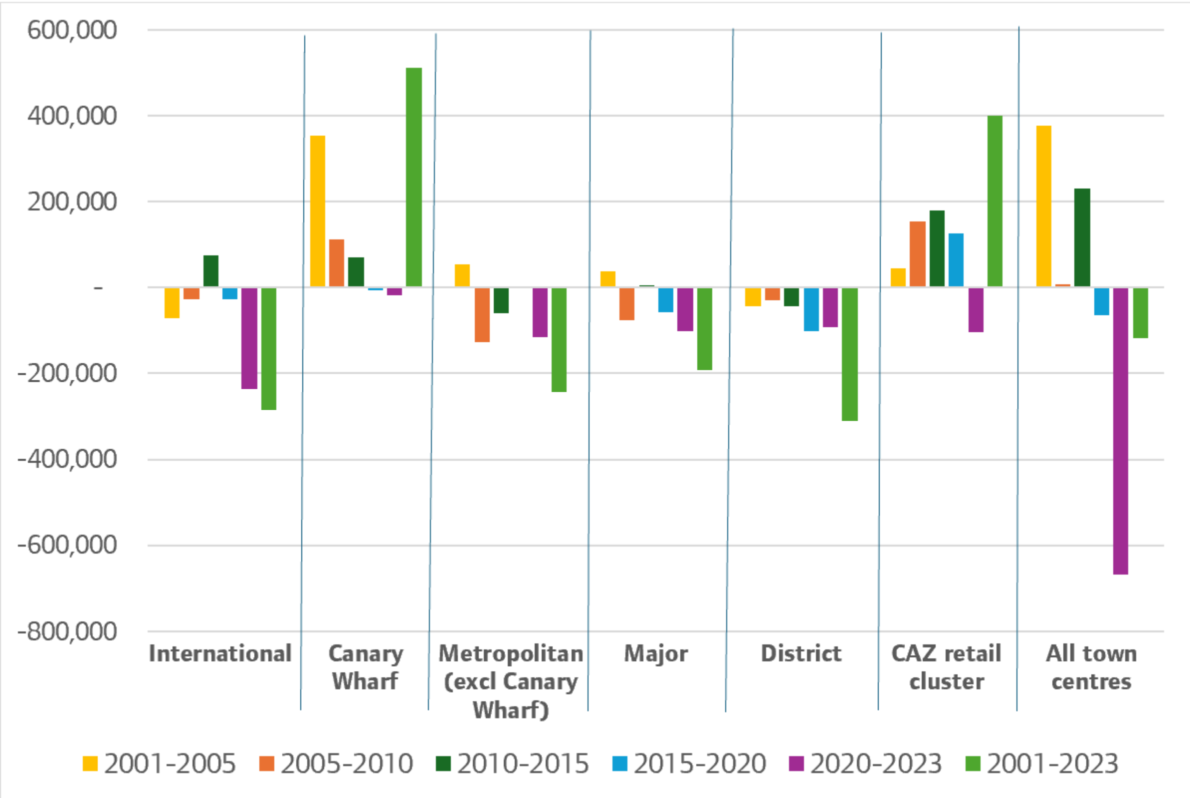
Office floorspace trends by town centre classification

2.2.8 The preceding analysis of London's town centres in aggregate does not reflect the differences in trends among different classifications of town centre in the network. Figure 2.2c below identifies **office floorspace trends 2001 to 2023** based on the GLA's spatial matching of VOA 2023 data to London's town centres. In the period 2001 to 2005 there were significant gains to office floorspace at Canary Wharf with modest gains in London's other Metropolitan town centres (as classified in the 2021 London Plan), Major town centres and CAZ retail clusters.

2.2.9 From 2005 onwards however, the net change in office floorspace across all of London's town centre classification types was broadly negative, with the notable exceptions of Canary Wharf and the CAZ retail clusters.

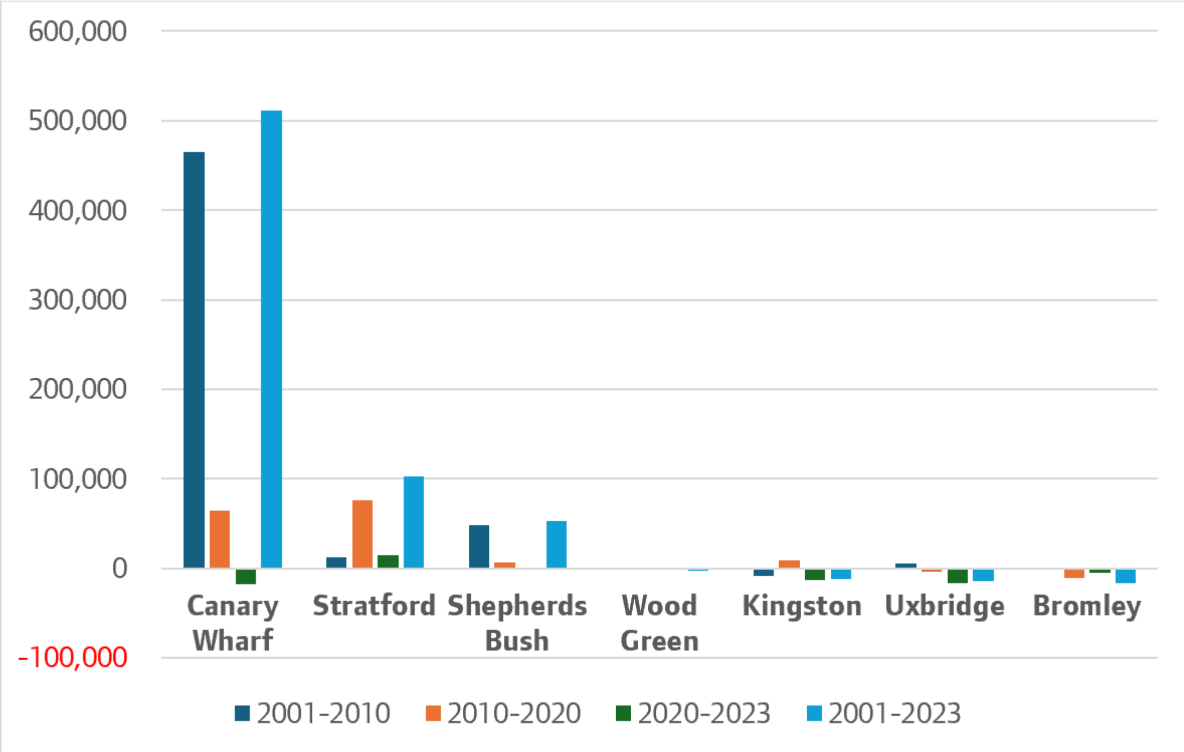
2.2.10 Further detail of these trends for individual Metropolitan town centres is provided in Figures 2.2d and 2.2e. Alongside Canary Wharf, the data suggests that Stratford and Shepherd's Bush are the only Metropolitan town centres that witnessed a net increase in office floorspace over the period 2001 to 2023. Croydon and Harrow are notable in experiencing a significant net overall loss of office space over this period.

Figure 2.2c Change in London town centre office floorspace (sq.m) by town centre classification 2001-2023



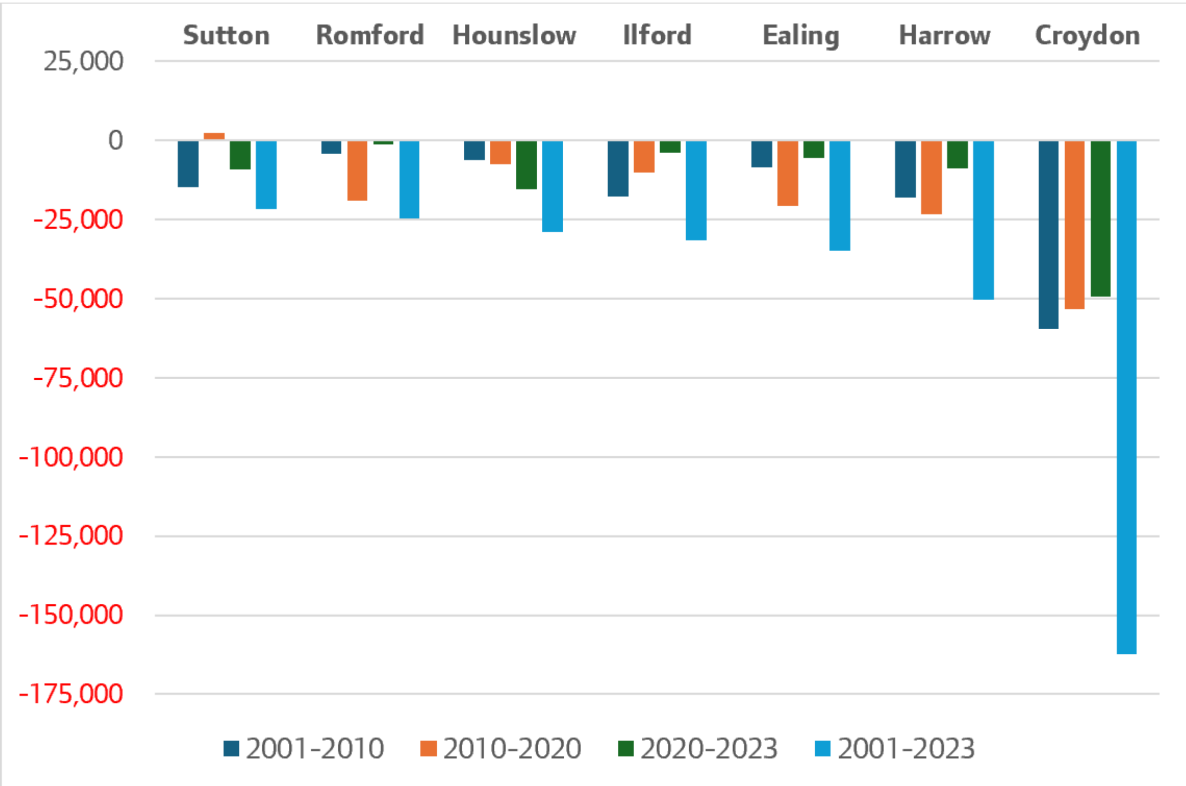
Source: VOA/GLA analysis

Figure 2.2d Change in London's metropolitan town centre office floorspace (sq.m) 2001-2023 (chart 1 of 2)



Source: VOA/GLA analysis

Figure 2.2e Change in London's metropolitan town centre office floorspace (sq.m) 2001-2023 (chart 2 of 2)



Source: VOA/GLA analysis

Light industrial floorspace trends by town centre classification

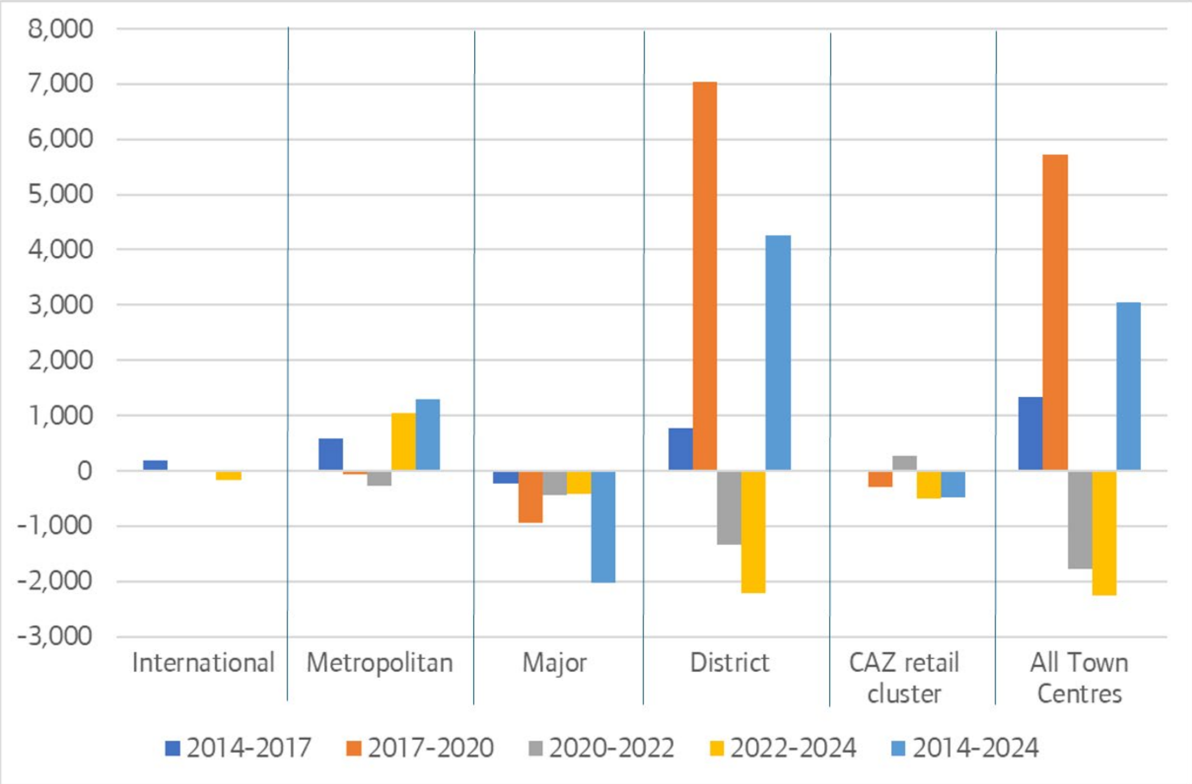
2.2.11 According to the premises datasets, **light industrial (Class E(g)(iii)) floorspace** makes up only 0.3 per cent of total London town centres floorspace in 2024 and there was a net increase of this space across all town centres between 2014 and 2020 (+2.8 per cent CAGR). Since the introduction of Class E in 2020, light industrial floorspace recorded in the premises dataset had declined across all town centres in aggregate by -2.2 per cent CAGR by 2024 (see Figure 2.2f).

2.2.12 The net gains in light industrial using this measure appeared to have been focused on Metropolitan centres (post-2020) and District town centres (pre-2020), and the net losses focused on Major centres (pre- and post-2020) and in District centres post-2020.

2.2.13 It is important to note that the premises datasets analysed above and in Figure 2.2f include selected light industrial use categories[15]. In the analysis of development completions in Section 3 we will see that around 114,000 sq.m of light industrial space was lost in town centres in completions over the period 2014 to 2024, which is vastly different to the estimated net gains of 3,000 sq.m of light industrial identified through the premises dataset. This anomaly may be explained by the selected range of light industrial categories picked up in the premises dataset, resulting in an under-estimate of the true amount of loss within this category of use via that method.

[15] Including Antiques (Repairing & Restoring), Builders, Car Body Repairs, Car Breakdown & Recovery Service, Carpet, Curtain & Upholstery Cleaners, Caterers, Garage Services, Gas Suppliers, Hydroponics, Joiners, Livery Companies, MOT Testing Centres, Recording Studio, Shop Fitters and Stonemasons.

Figure 2.2f Change in London town centre light industrial floorspace (sq.m) by town centre classification 2014-2024



Source: Local Data Company/Green Street/GLA analysis

Class E conclusions

2.2.14 In overall terms, Class E floorspace in London's town centres declined by more than 0.5 million sq.m between 2014 and 2024. Whilst the preceding analysis indicates that Class E floorspace increased in aggregate before the 2020 Use Class change and then declined post-2020, it remains difficult to draw any firm conclusions on the impact of Use Class E given that the Use Class change coincided with the global pandemic. Many of the component Class E uses experienced losses in the period 2020 to 2024 and in particular offices, retail (driven by losses in comparison goods retail which outweighed gains in convenience goods retail) and professional services. In contrast, cafes and restaurants and indoor leisure uses showed some growth in the period 2022 to 2024 and it is expected that this growth absorbed some of the losses from retail and professional services.

2.2.15 Permitted development rights (see section 4) are also responsible for some of the losses of Class Eg(i) offices (to residential) during the period 2020 to 2024, accounting for around 63,000 sq.m, or 9.4 per cent of the overall losses of office space in town centres (670,000 sq.m) during that period. Losses of retail, food and drink, and professional services through permitted development were much more modest (see section 4 for details).

2.3 Hotels, social infrastructure and distribution uses

Key points:

- **Hotel floorspace** in town centres increased strongly over the period 2014 to 2024 with strongest growth in the International and Metropolitan town centres and CAZ retail clusters.
- Floorspace associated with **residential institutions**, **learning** and **non-residential institutions** and **community uses** also increased over this period.
- **Storage or distribution** floorspace increased according to the premises datasets but there is uncertainty about this trend when compared with development data.

2.3.1 This sub-section looks at trends in hotels (Use Class C1), social infrastructure (including C2 Residential institutions, F1Learning and non-residential institutions and F2 Local community uses) and Storage or distribution uses (Class B8) in London's town centres.

2.3.2 Analysis of Local Data Company data (see Figure 2.3) suggests that **hotel floorspace** in town centres increased strongly over the period 2014 to 2024 (+4.2 per cent CAGR) with higher rates of growth in the Metropolitan centres and CAZ retail clusters (both +4.9 per cent) and the International centres (+4.3 per cent) compared to District centres (+2.9 per cent) and Major centres (+3.5 per cent). These findings are further sense checked against the development completions data in section 3.

2.3.3 **Residential institutions** (including residential care, nursing homes and hospitals) comprise only small amounts of floorspace in London's town centres (see Figure 2.3), the majority of which is in District town centres and CAZ retail clusters. Across all town centres, floorspace in this category increased by 2.0 per cent CAGR over the period 2014 to 2024.

2.3.4 **Learning and non-residential institutions**[16] floorspace increased in London's town centres by 2.4 per cent CAGR over the period 2014 to 2024, and most strongly across District centres (2.9 per cent CAGR). **Local community uses**[17] floorspace also grew strongly (5.5 per cent CAGR). District town centres contain more floorspace in aggregate compared to the other town centre classifications but growth in floorspace in this category over the period 2014 to 2024 was strongest in the Metropolitan centre (+13.9 per cent CAGR) and Major centre classifications (+9.4 per cent CAGR).

2.3.5 According to the premises datasets, **Storage and distribution**[18] use floorspace increased by 12,000 sq.m or 4.5 per cent CAGR across London's town centres in aggregate between 2014 and 2024. This general trend was not reflected across all

[16] Within this category the Local Data Company records Universities, Colleges, Language Schools, Training Centres, Student Unions, Museums, Art Galleries, Libraries, Exhibition Centres and Conference Centres

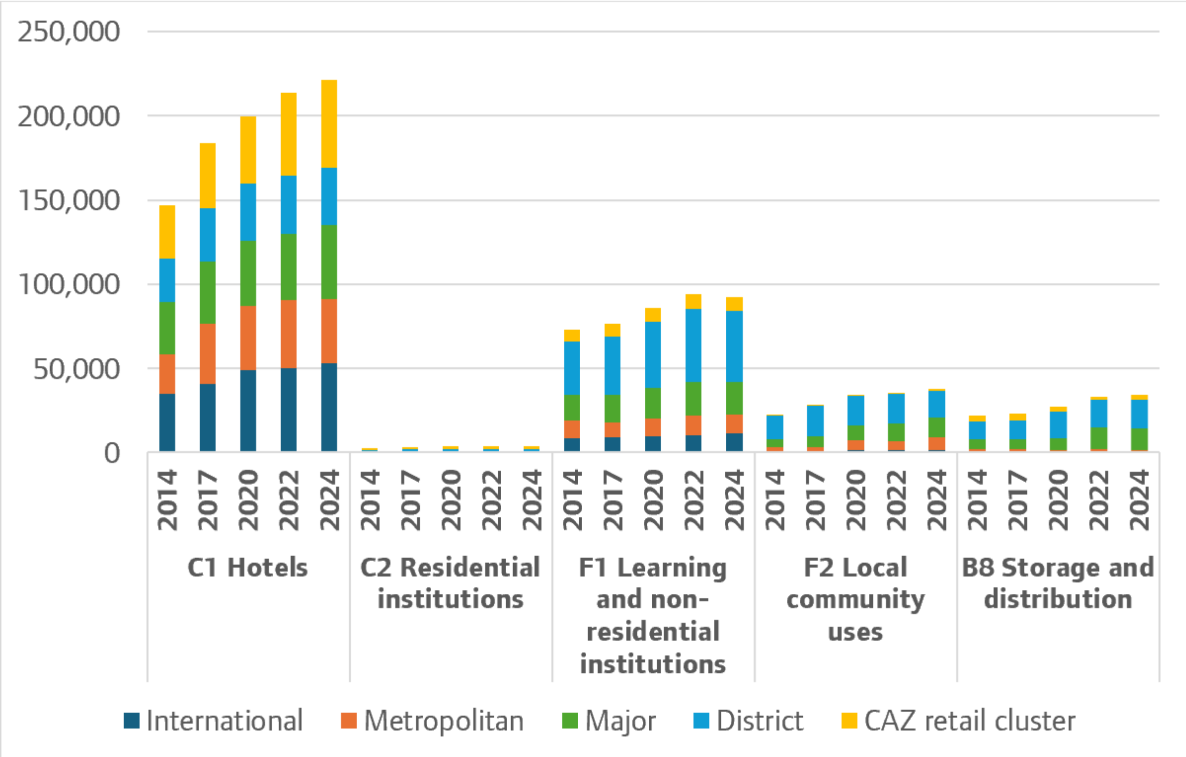
[17] Within this category the Local Data Company records Community Centres, Leisure Centres, Swimming Baths, Sports Grounds and Stadiums

[18] Within this category the Local Data Company records Delivery Hubs, Depots, Postal, Packing & Shipping, Royal Mail Delivery Offices, Storage & Removals and Delivery Services.

classification types however. Floorspace in this category increased in the Major centres (+8.5 per cent CAGR) and District centres (+4.7 per cent CAGR) but decreased in aggregate across the Metropolitan centres (-3.2 per cent CAGR), International centres (-2.5 per cent CAGR) and CAZ retail clusters (-1.2 per cent CAGR).

2.3.6 These findings from analysis of the premises data for storage and distribution use trends in town centres should however be treated with caution. This is because the development data (which is explored further in section 3) shows significant overall losses of floorspace associated with storage and distribution uses in town centres.

Figure 2.3 Hotels, Residential institutions, Local Community and Learning, Storage and Distribution floorspace (sq.m) by town centre classification 2014-2024



Source: Local Data Company/Green Street/HSDS/GLA analysis

2.4 Culture and night-time uses

Key points:

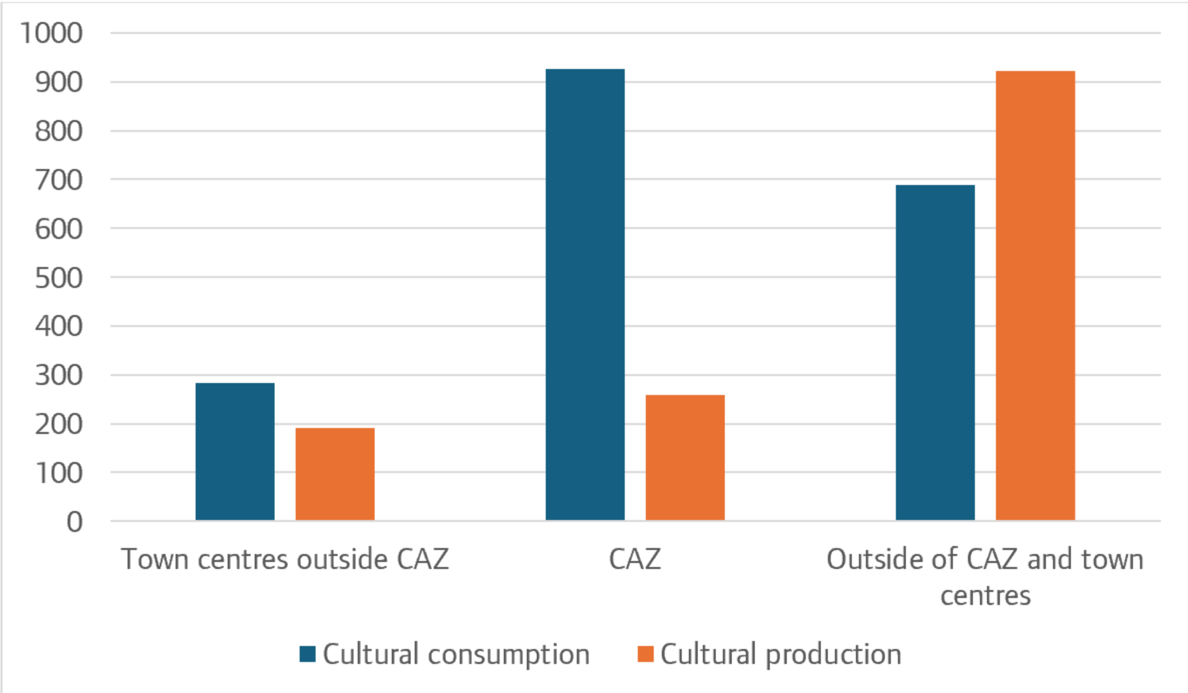
- In 2023, 15 per cent of London's **cultural consumption infrastructure** assets and 14 per cent of **cultural production infrastructure** assets were located within London's town centres (outside of the CAZ).
- **Inner London's** town centres account for 69 per cent of **cultural consumption** infrastructure in London's town centres (outside CAZ), **Outer London** town centres 29 per cent and **future potential town centres** 2 per cent.
- **Inner London's** town centres account for 68 per cent of **cultural production** infrastructure in London's town centres (outside CAZ), **Outer London** town centres 26 per cent and **future potential town centres** 6 per cent.
- **Cinema** floorspace in town centres increased strongly over the period 2014 to 2024 and **Theatre** floorspace increased also, but more modestly.
- **Nightclub** floorspace increased in the CAZ retail clusters and the West End, but decreased in overall terms in Metropolitan, Major and District town centres.
- **Public house and bar** floorspace increased in aggregate across all town centre classification types, except District centres which had a marginal decline.

2.4.1 London's town centres contain a wide range of cultural and night-time uses. Based on analysis of the GLA's Cultural Infrastructure Map (CIM)[19] data (2023), there were approximately 1,900 premises associated with **cultural consumption uses**[20] in London in 2023, of which 283 were located in town centres outside of the CAZ, around 15 per cent of the London total (see Figure 2.4a). The CAZ (including the West End) accounts for a further 49 per cent and the remaining 36 per cent is found in out-of-town locations.

2.4.2 The CIM (2023)[21] data identifies around 1,400 counts of **cultural production infrastructure**[22] assets in London, 14 per cent of which is located within town centres outside of CAZ, 19 per cent in the CAZ and 67 per cent in out-of-town locations (see Figure 2.4a).

[19] Cultural Infrastructure Map | London City Hall.
[20] **Cultural consumption infrastructure** categories in this report include Archives, Arts centres, Cinemas, Commercial galleries, Dance performance venues, Museums and public galleries, Music venues (includes all music venues, nightclubs, LGBT venues and grassroot music venues) and Theatres.
[21] Cultural Infrastructure Map | London City Hall. Data for 2025/26 for cultural production infrastructure has been published recently at Cultural Infrastructure Map 2025 | London Datastore.
[22] **Cultural production infrastructure** categories in this report include Artist workspaces, Creative workspace (including creative co-working space and makerspace), Dance rehearsal studios, Design, making and manufacturing (including making and manufacturing, prop and costume making, set and exhibition building), Fashion, jewellery and textile design/finishing (including Fashion and design, Jewellery design and Textile design), Large scale media production, Music production/ rehearsal (including Music recording studios and Music rehearsal studios) and Theatre rehearsal studios.

Figure 2.4a Number of cultural consumption and cultural production assets, London by broad location, 2023

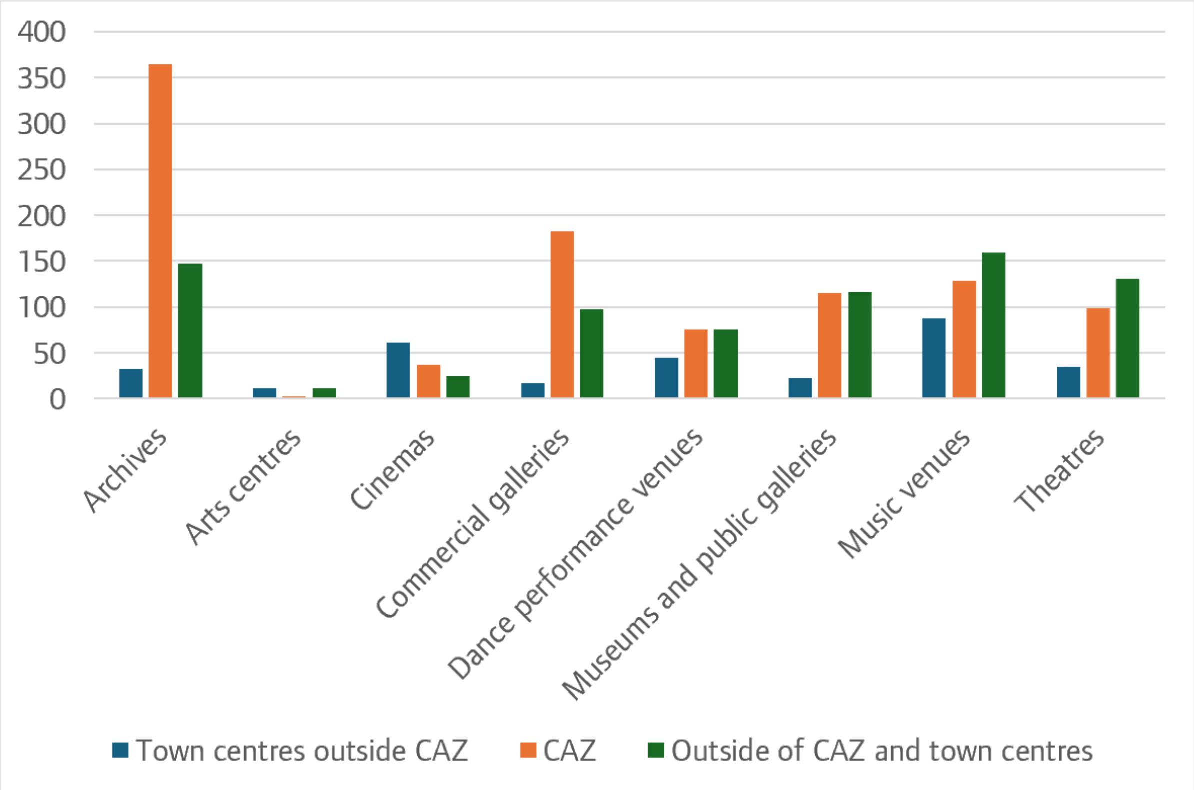


Source: GLA Cultural Infrastructure Map (2023) / GLA analysis

2.4.3 Looking at specific **cultural consumption infrastructure** categories[23], there were 88 music venues in town centres outside of CAZ which accounted for 23 per cent of all London's music venues, compared to 34 per cent in CAZ and 42 per cent in out-of-centre locations (see Figure 2.4b). Cinemas and arts centres are more prevalent in town centre locations (50 per cent and 46 per cent respectively) compared to the CAZ and in out-of-centre locations

[23] Note that cultural consumption (and production) assets can perform one of more of the functions or categories listed in footnotes 20 and 22 so the sum totals of the category analysis will be greater than the total number of cultural consumption (and production) assets shown in Figure 2.4a.

Figure 2.4b London's cultural consumption infrastructure (counts by category) in town centres, CAZ and in out-of-centre locations (2023)



Source: GLA Cultural Infrastructure Map (2023) / GLA analysis

2.4.4 Figure 2.4c illustrates the counts of cultural consumption infrastructure in town centres outside of the CAZ in inner and outer London by town centre classification.

2.4.5 Inner London's town centres[24] account for 69 per cent of cultural consumption infrastructure in London's town centres (outside CAZ)[25], with much of this focused in inner London's Major and District town centres (and notably in Angel, Camden Town, Elephant and Castle/ Walworth Road, Dalston, Greenwich, Peckham, Brixton, Brick Lane and Deptford. Outer London's town centres[26] account for 29 per cent of cultural consumption infrastructure in London's town centres (outside CAZ), with much of this focused in the outer London's Metropolitan town centres (notably Croydon and Ealing). Future potential town centres (and notably North Greenwich) account for the remaining 2 per cent.

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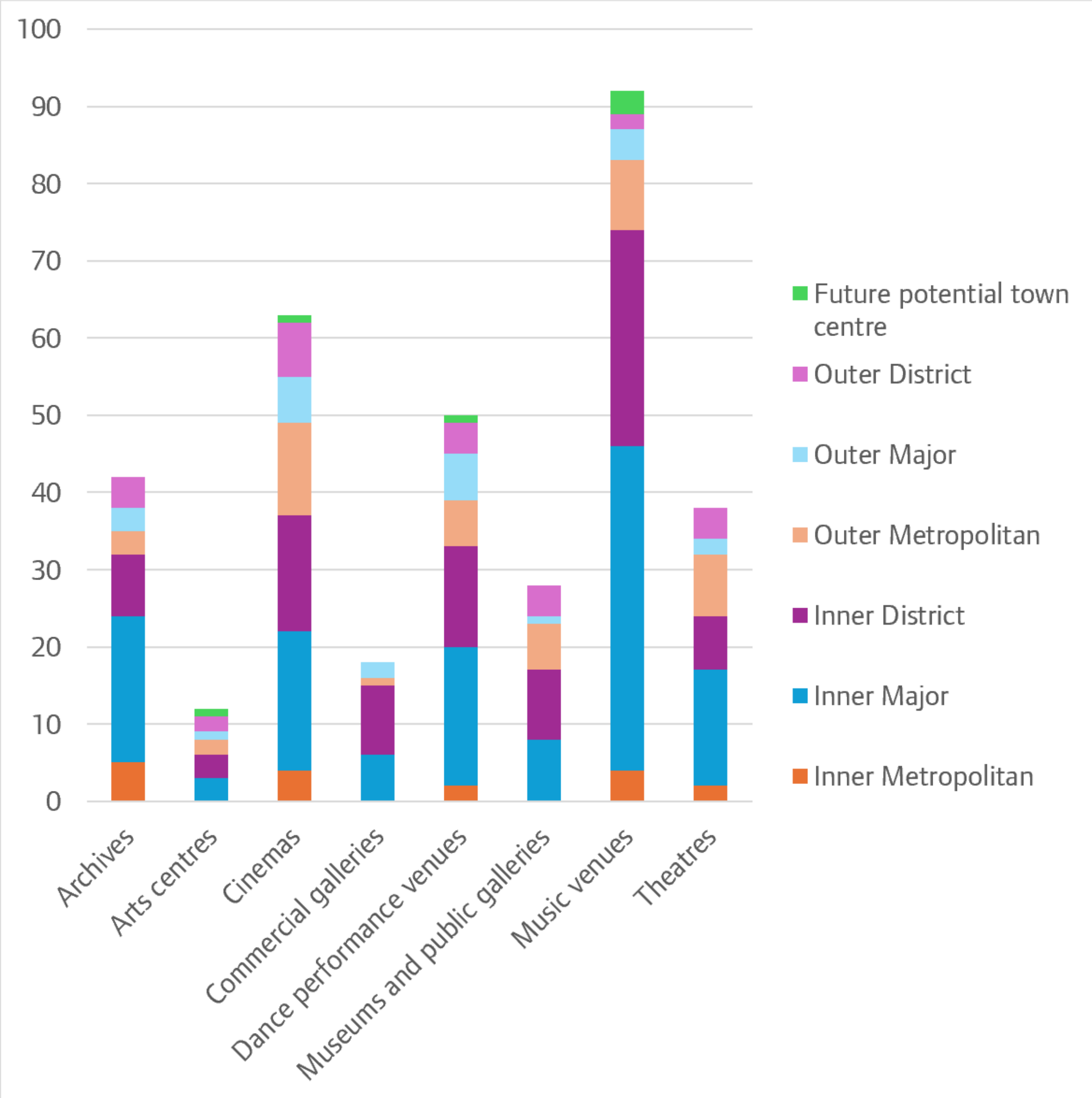
[24] **Inner London** includes town centres (outside the Central Activities Zone) in the boroughs of Camden, Greenwich, Hackney, Hammersmith and Fulham, Islington, Kensington and Chelsea, Lambeth, Lewisham, Newham, Southwark, Tower Hamlets, Wandsworth and Westminster. The City of London is wholly within the Central Activities Zone.

[25] Note that Angel, Edgware Road/Church Street, Elephant and Castle/Walworth Road and Whitechapel town centres partly overlap the CAZ boundary and are treated as inner London town centres for the purposes of Figures 2.4c and 2.4e.

[26] **Outer London** includes town centres in Barking & Dagenham, Barnet, Bexley, Brent, Bromley, Croydon, Ealing, Enfield, Haringey, Harrow, Havering, Hillingdon, Hounslow, Kingston, Merton, Redbridge, Richmond, Sutton and Waltham Forest.

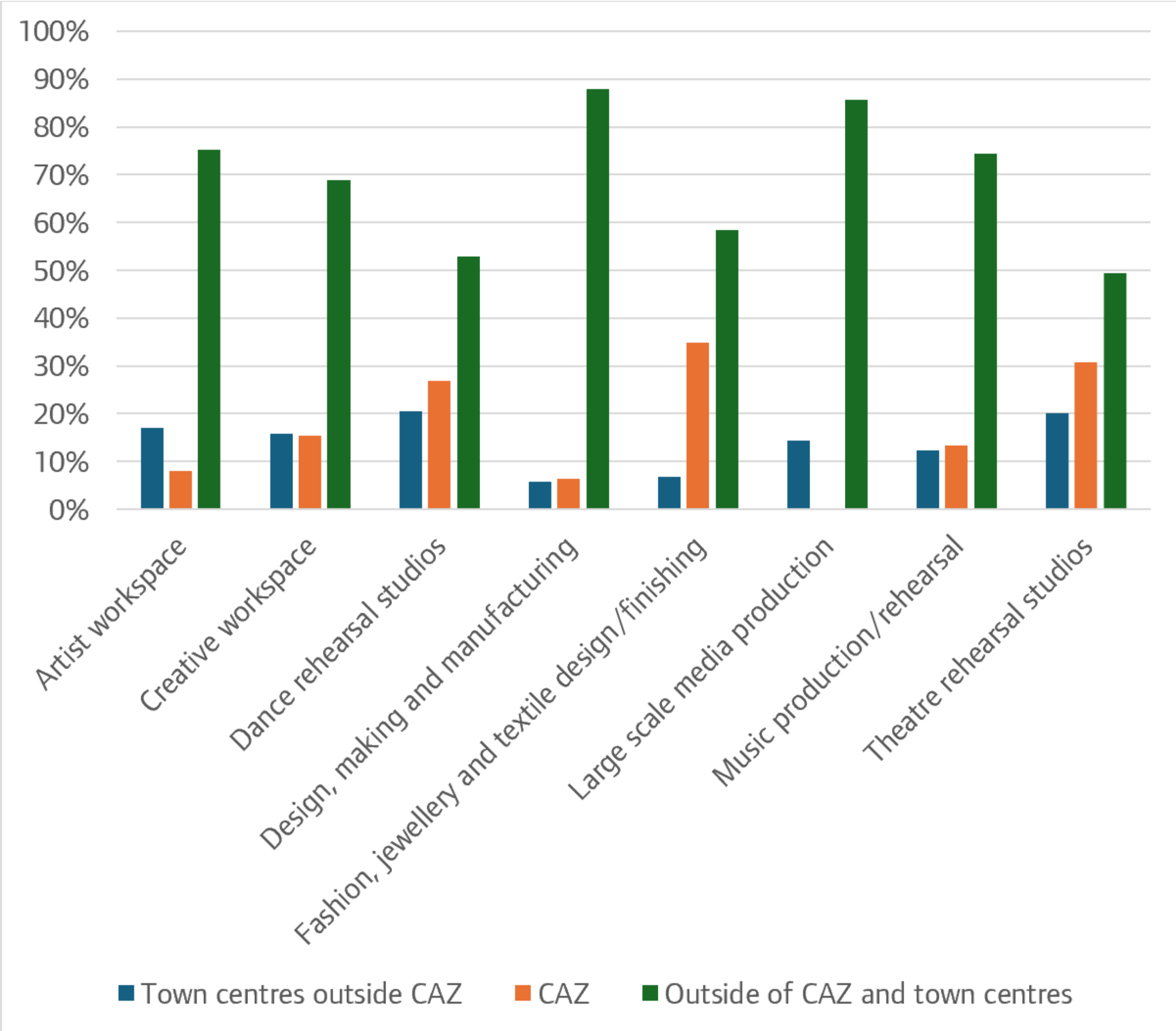
Figure 2.4c Number of cultural consumption infrastructure assets, by category and town centre classification, 2023



Source: GLA Cultural Infrastructure Map (2023) / GLA analysis

2.4.6 The proportions of all **cultural production infrastructure** categories are higher in out-of-centre locations higher compared to both the CAZ and town centres (see Figure 2.4d). A higher proportion of dance rehearsal and theatre rehearsal studios are prevalent in town centre locations outside of the CAZ (both 20 per cent) compared to the average across all cultural production infrastructure (14 per cent).

Figure 2.4d. Proportion of London's cultural production infrastructure (counts) in town centres, CAZ and in out-of-centre locations (2023)

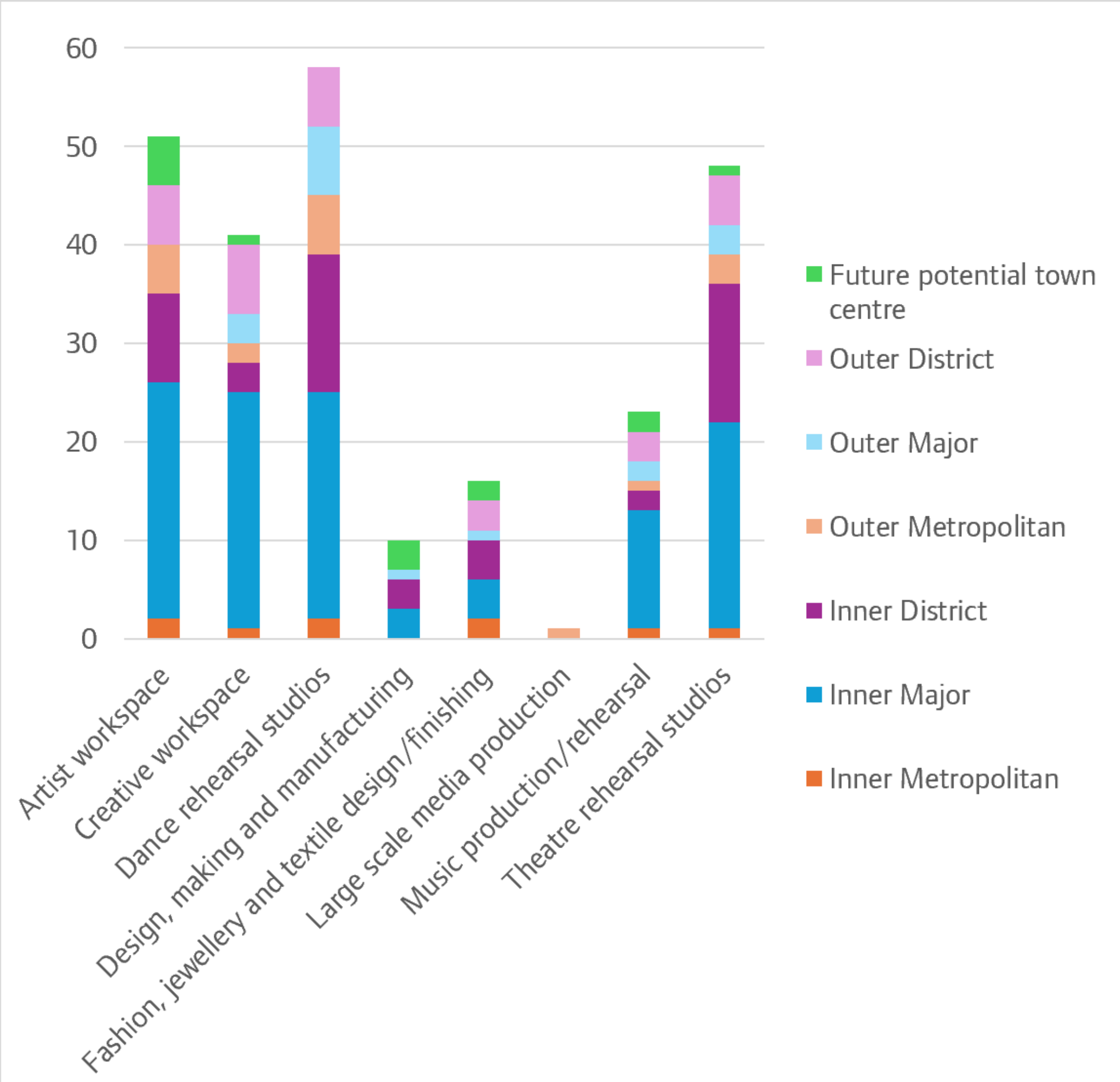


Source: GLA Cultural Infrastructure Map (2023) / GLA analysis

2.4.7 Inner London's town centres account for 68 per cent of cultural production infrastructure in London's town centres outside CAZ (see Figure 2.4e), particularly in artist and creative workspace, dance and theatre rehearsal, and music production and rehearsal. Much of this infrastructure is focused on inner London's Major and District town centres and notably Elephant and Castle/ Walworth Road, Dalston, Peckham, Brixton, Angel, Camden Town, Angel and Woolwich.

2.4.8 Outer London's town centres account for 26 per cent of cultural production infrastructure in London's town centres outside CAZ, with notable examples including North Finchley, Croydon and Richmond. Future potential town centres account for the remaining 6 per cent, and notably Old Kent Road North and Old Kent Road South.

Figure 2.4e Number of cultural production infrastructure assets, by category and town centre classification, 2023



Source: GLA Cultural Infrastructure Map (2023) / GLA analysis

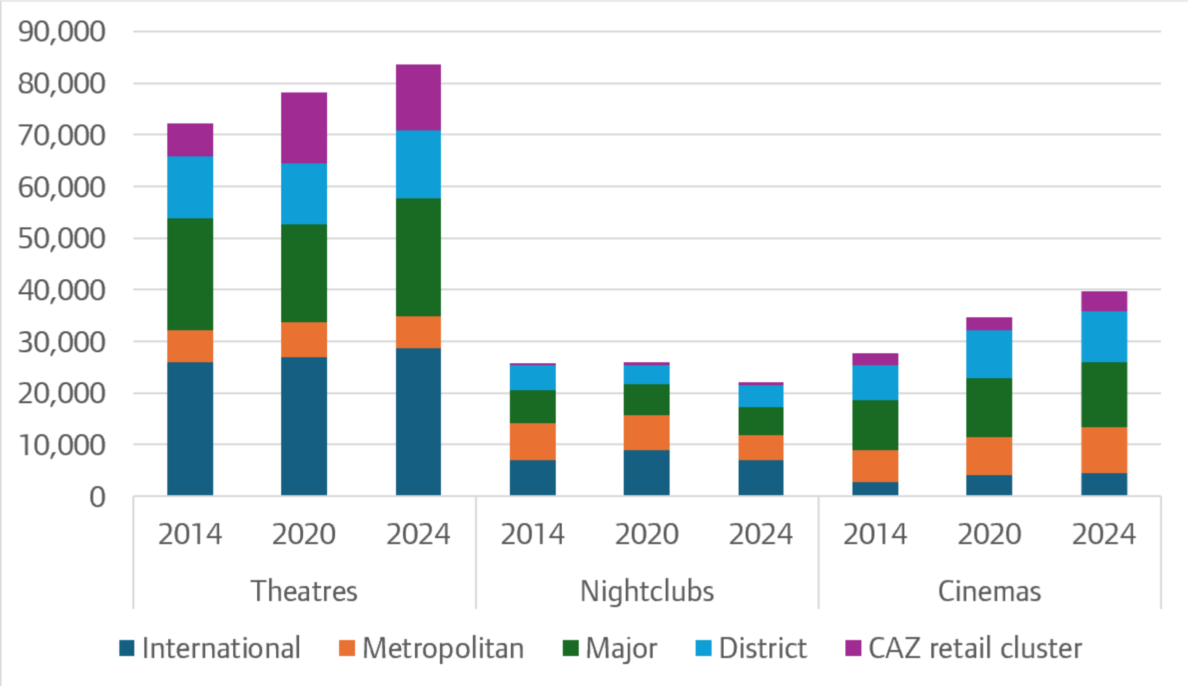
2.4.9 The following charts explore trends in selected cultural and night-time uses including theatres, nightclubs, cinemas, public houses and bars drawing on data from the Local Data Company.

2.4.10 **Theatre space** increased at a modest 1.5 per cent CAGR in town centres over the period 2014 to 2024 (see Figure 2.4f), with growth across all town centre classifications and strongest total floorspace and percentage growth in the CAZ retail clusters (+7.3 per cent CAGR) and the International centres (+1.0 per cent).

2.4.11 The Local Data Company data for **nightclubs** indicates at different trend, with growth in the CAZ retail clusters (+3.1 per cent CAGR) and the International centres (+0.1 per cent) and outweighed by losses in the Metropolitan (-4.1 per cent), Major (-1.4 per cent) and District town centres (-1.1 per cent), resulting in an overall net floorspace loss across all town centre classifications of 1.5 per cent CAGR for the period 2014 to 2024.

2.4.12 **Cinema floorspace** increased strongly across all town centre classifications, and in particular the CAZ retail clusters (+4.7 per cent CAGR), the International centres (+4.6 per cent), District centres (+4.0 per cent) and Metropolitan centres (+3.8 per cent).

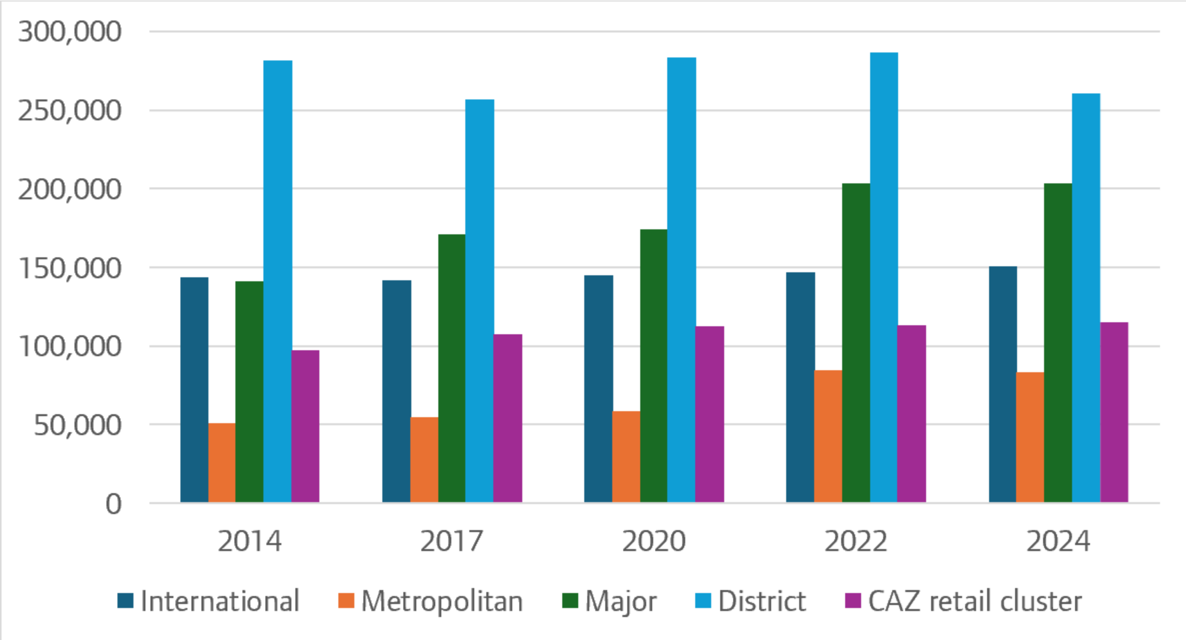
Figure 2.4f Theatre, nightclub and cinema floorspace (sq.m) by town centre classification 2014 to 2024



Source: Local Data Company/Green Street/HSDS/GLA analysis

2.4.13 Floorspace in **public houses and bars** in London's town centres (see Figure 2.4g) increased in overall terms by around 98,000 sq.m between 2014 and 2024, representing a CAGR of +1.3 per cent. Growth was strongest among the Metropolitan town centres (+5.0 per cent) and Major town centres (+3.7 per cent). Only the District centre category in aggregate recorded an overall loss (-0.8 per CAGR) over the ten-year period.

Figure 2.4g Public houses and bars floorspace (sq.m) by town centre classification 2014-2024



Source: Local Data Company/Green Street/HSDS/GLA analysis

2.5 Bookmakers, casinos and hot food takeaways

Key points:

- **Bookmakers** and **casino floorspace** declined in town centres over the period 2014 to 2024.
- In 2024, **bookmakers** and **casinos** comprised 2 to 3 per cent of total occupied town centre units in 53 town centres, 3 to 4 per cent in 16 centres, and above 4 per cent in four town centres.
- **Hot food takeaway floorspace** in London's town centres increased by over 130,000 sq.m between 2014 and 2024.
- In 2024, **hot food takeaway outlets** accounted for between 10 and 15 per cent of all occupied units in more than 50 town centres and between 15 and 20 per cent in seven town centres.
- These findings **do not necessarily reflect concentrations** of bookmakers, adult gaming centres, casinos and hot food takeaways **in specific parts** of town centres and high streets.

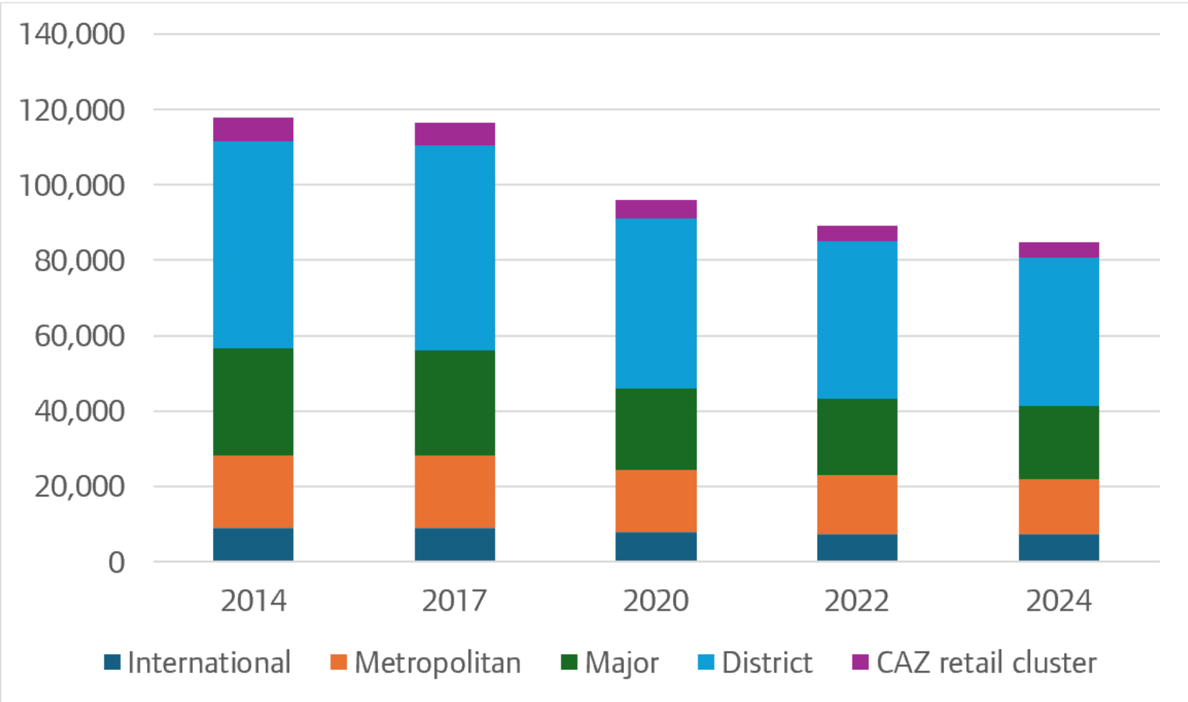
2.5.1 In 2024, the London Assembly published a report[27] highlighting gambling related harms, and concentrations of betting shops and adult gaming centres is a matter of concern in many town centres and high streets in London[28]. Likewise, concentrations of hot food

[27] London Assembly. Gambling-related harms in London (2024)
[28] Brent Council. Strategic Needs Assessment on Gambling (2024)

takeaways can also be a matter of concern in some town centres and high streets in the capital. This sub-section of the report looks at high-level trends in bookmaker, casino and hot food takeaway floorspace in London's town centres.

2.5.2 Total floorspace associated with **bookmakers and casinos**[29] in London's town centres has followed a declining trend (see Figure 2.5a) from 118,000 sq.m in 2014 down to 85,000 sq.m in 2024, a rate of -3.3 per cent CAGR. In 2024, Metropolitan town centres averaged 1,000 sq.m per centre associated with these uses, Major centres averaged 540 sq.m per centre and District centres 270 sq.m per centre. CAZ retail clusters witnessed the greatest rate of decline (-4.8 per cent CAGR) over the period 2014 to 2024.

Figure 2.5a Bookmaker and casino floorspace (sq.m) by town centre classification 2014-2024



Source: Local Data Company/Green Street/GLA analysis

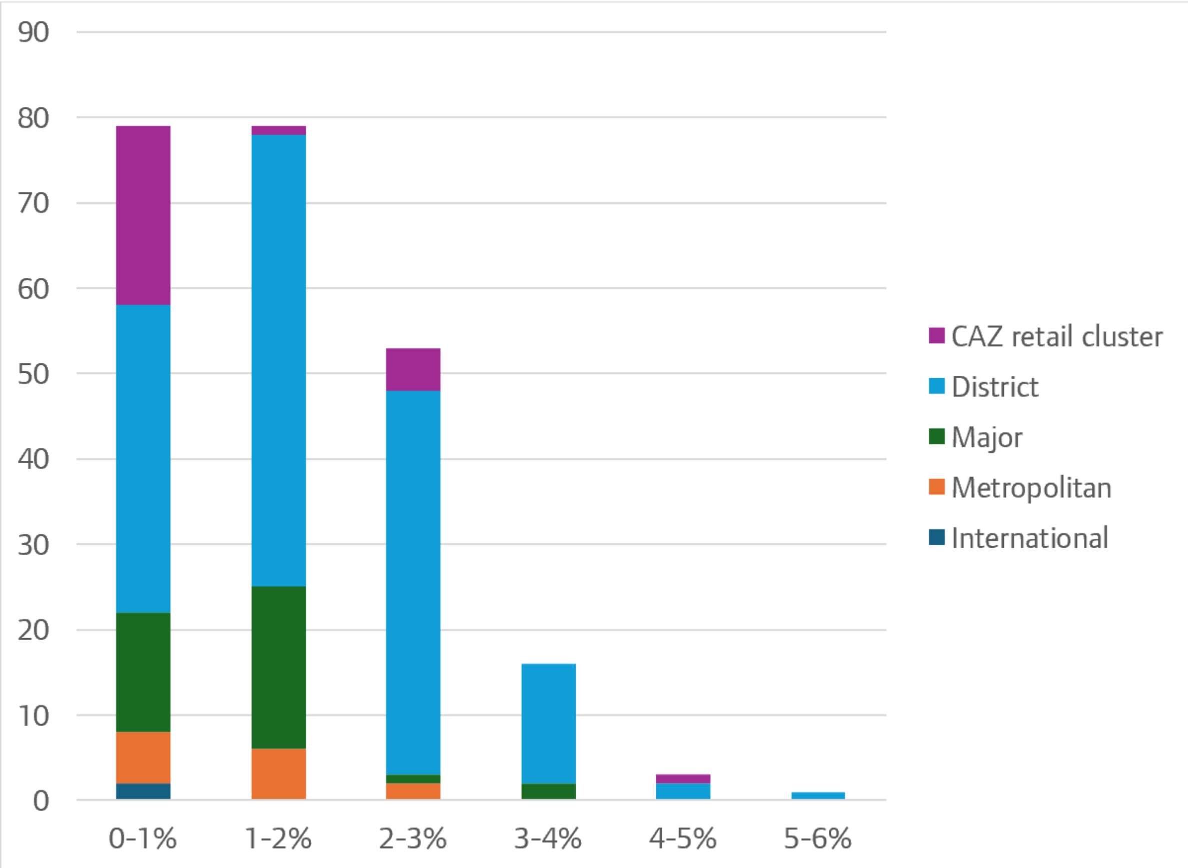
2.5.3 The total floorspace figures above do not reveal the **relative levels of concentration of bookmaker and casino uses** in London's town centres. Figure 2.5b illustrates data on the number of bookmaker and casino club units expressed as a percentage of total occupied units, by town centre classification in 2024. Bookmaker and casino units in 2024 comprised 2 to 3 per cent of total occupied town centre units in 53 town centres, 3 to 4 per cent in 16 centres, 4 to 5 per cent in three centres and 5 to 6 per cent in one

[29] Local Data Company data records floorspace in bookmaker and casino uses. The data does not distinguish adult gaming centres which are considered here to be synonymous with bookmakers and casinos.

town centre. Figure 2.5b shows that the higher levels of concentration by this metric are particularly prevalent in District town centres.

2.5.4 Whilst this provides some high-level insights for town centres as whole entities, it does not necessarily reflect concentrations of bookmakers, adult gaming centres and casinos in **specific parts of town centres and high streets**. Any of the town centres that are accounted for in Figure 2.5b could display high concentrations of these uses in certain high street frontages. This analysis is not included in this strategic report and is a matter for more local assessment.

Figure 2.5b Count of centres with bookmaker and casino club units as a percentage of total occupied units, by town centre classification, 2024

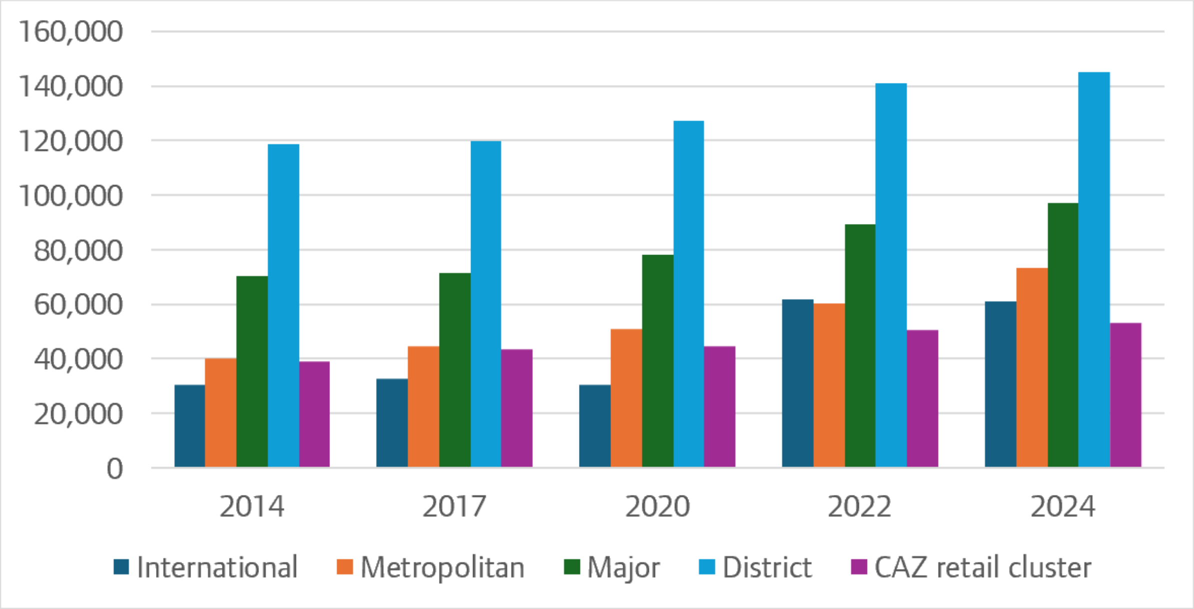


Source: Local Data Company/Green Street/HSDS/GLA analysis

2.5.5 **Hot food takeaway floorspace** in London's town centres increased by over 130,000 sq.m between 2014 and 2024, or 3.7 per cent CAGR (see Figure 2.5c). About three-quarters of this growth occurred in the post-pandemic period of 2020 to 2024 with a 6.7 per cent CAGR (compared to 1.7 per cent in the pre-pandemic period).

2.5.6 The highest rates of growth in hot food takeaway floorspace over the 2014 to 2024 period were witnessed in the International centres (+7.1 per cent CAGR, almost entirely associated with the West End) and the Metropolitan town centres (+6.2 per cent). In 2024, individual Metropolitan town centres averaged 5,200 sq.m of hot food takeaway floorspace, the Major town centres averaged 2,700 sq.m and District town centres averaged 970 sq.m.

Figure 2.5c Hot food takeaway floorspace (sq.m) by town centre classification 2014-2024

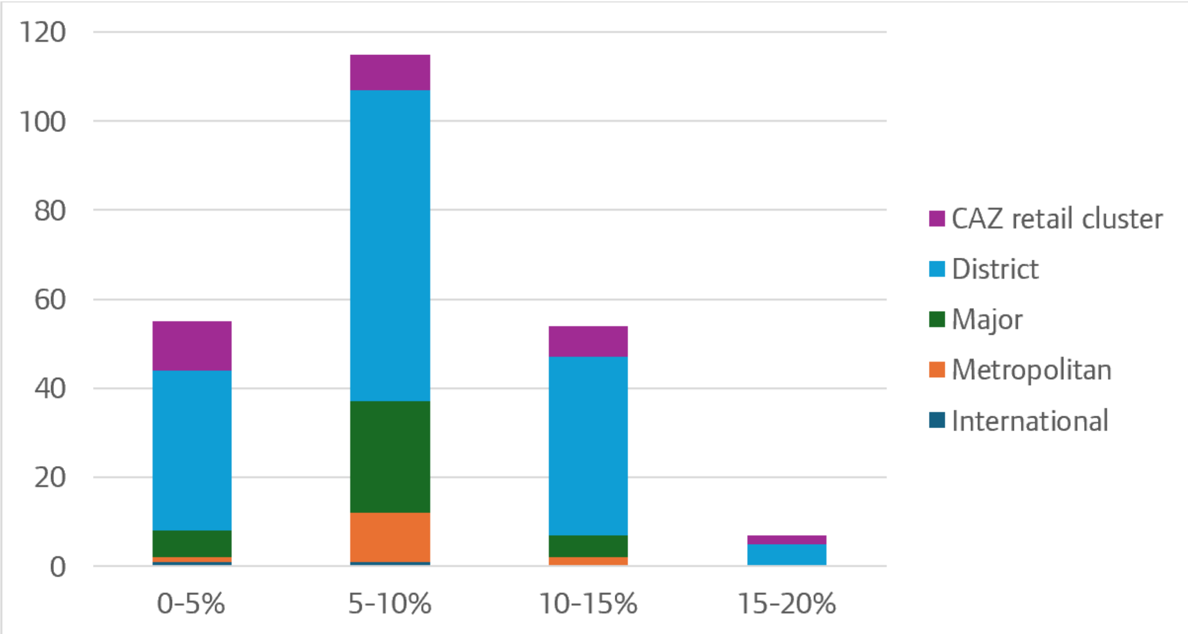


Source: Local Data Company/Green Street/HSDS/GLA analysis

2.5.7 The number of **hot food takeaway outlets as a percentage of all occupied units** in 2024 is illustrated in Figure 2.5d. The range 5 to 10 per cent is the most prevalent for hot food takeaways as a percentage of all occupied units in a town centre, accounting for half of all town centres. Almost a quarter of town centres (23 per cent) have hot food takeaway outlets that account for between 10 and 15 per cent of all occupied units and the prevalence is higher among District town centres compared to other town centre classification types. Seven town centres (five Districts and two CAZ retail clusters) had hot food takeaway outlets accounting for between 15 and 20 per cent of total occupied units.

2.5.8 As with the preceding analysis on bookmakers and casinos, the hot food takeaways analysis provides some high-level insights for town centres as whole entities but does not necessarily reflect concentrations of these uses in specific parts of town centres or high streets.

Figure 2.5d Count of centres with hot food takeaway units as a percentage of total occupied units, by town centre classification, 2024



Source: Local Data Company/Green Street/HSDS/GLA analysis

2.6 Catchment distances

Key points:

- **Catchment distances** for domestic visitors are highest among the International centres and CAZ retail clusters.
- **Metropolitan** and **Major** town centres have relatively large average domestic catchment distances compared to **District** town centres.
- **Knightsbridge** and the **West End** had the highest numbers of international visitors as a proportion of total visitors.

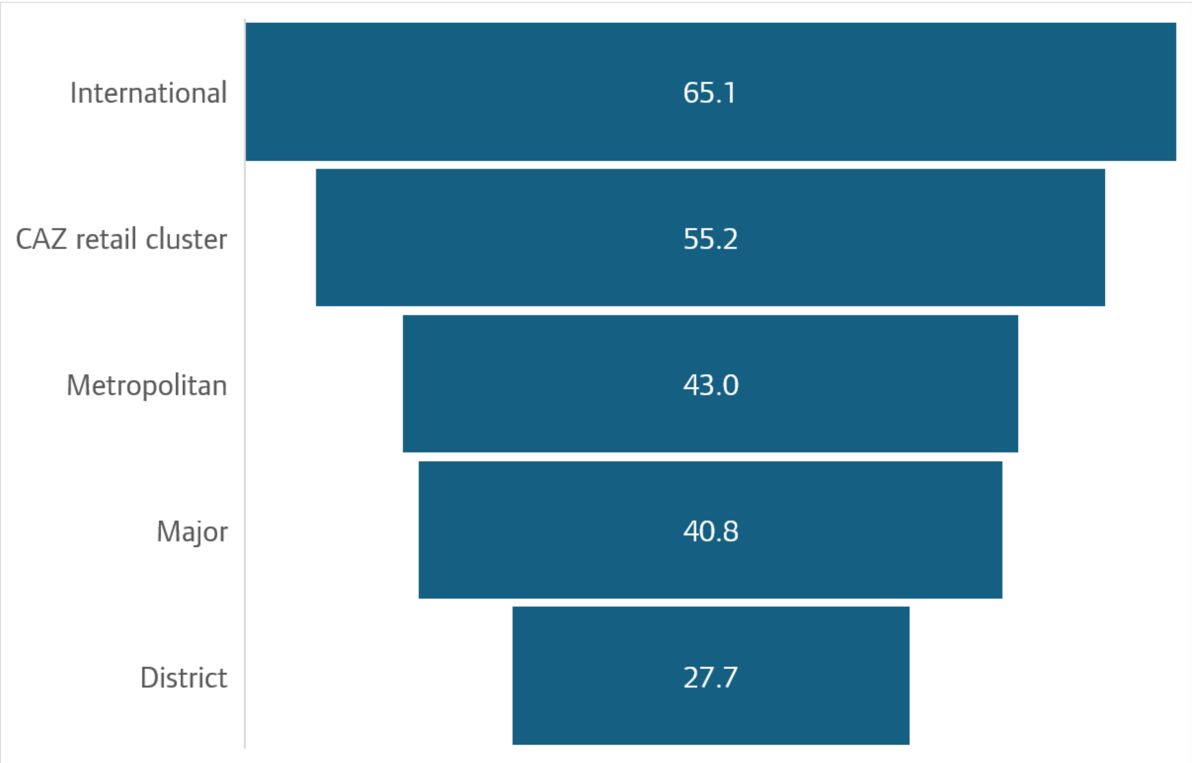
2.6.1 **Town centre catchment area distances** provide an indication of how far domestic UK visitors travel on average to a particular centre. There are different ways to define town centre catchment areas. In this report, we calculate the weighted average catchment distance as the sum of 'distances' multiplied by the 'catchment proportion', where 'distance' is the distance from each Lower Super Output Area (LSOA) in England in the catchment to the town centre centroid, and the 'catchment proportion' is the proportion of the catchment that comes from that LSOA.

2.6.2 The analysis is based upon data for a 12-month period (2023/24). The data is anonymised and aggregated by BT, via the High Streets Data Service. Figure 2.6a illustrates that on average, **catchment distances for domestic residents, commuters and visitors** are highest among the International centres (including the

West End and Knightsbridge) and the retail clusters in the Central Activities Zone (some of which have high levels of commuting to workplaces).

2.6.3 Metropolitan and Major town centres also have relatively large average catchment distances for domestic residents, commuters and visitors. District town centres on average have lower catchment distances compared to International, Metropolitan and Major town centres.

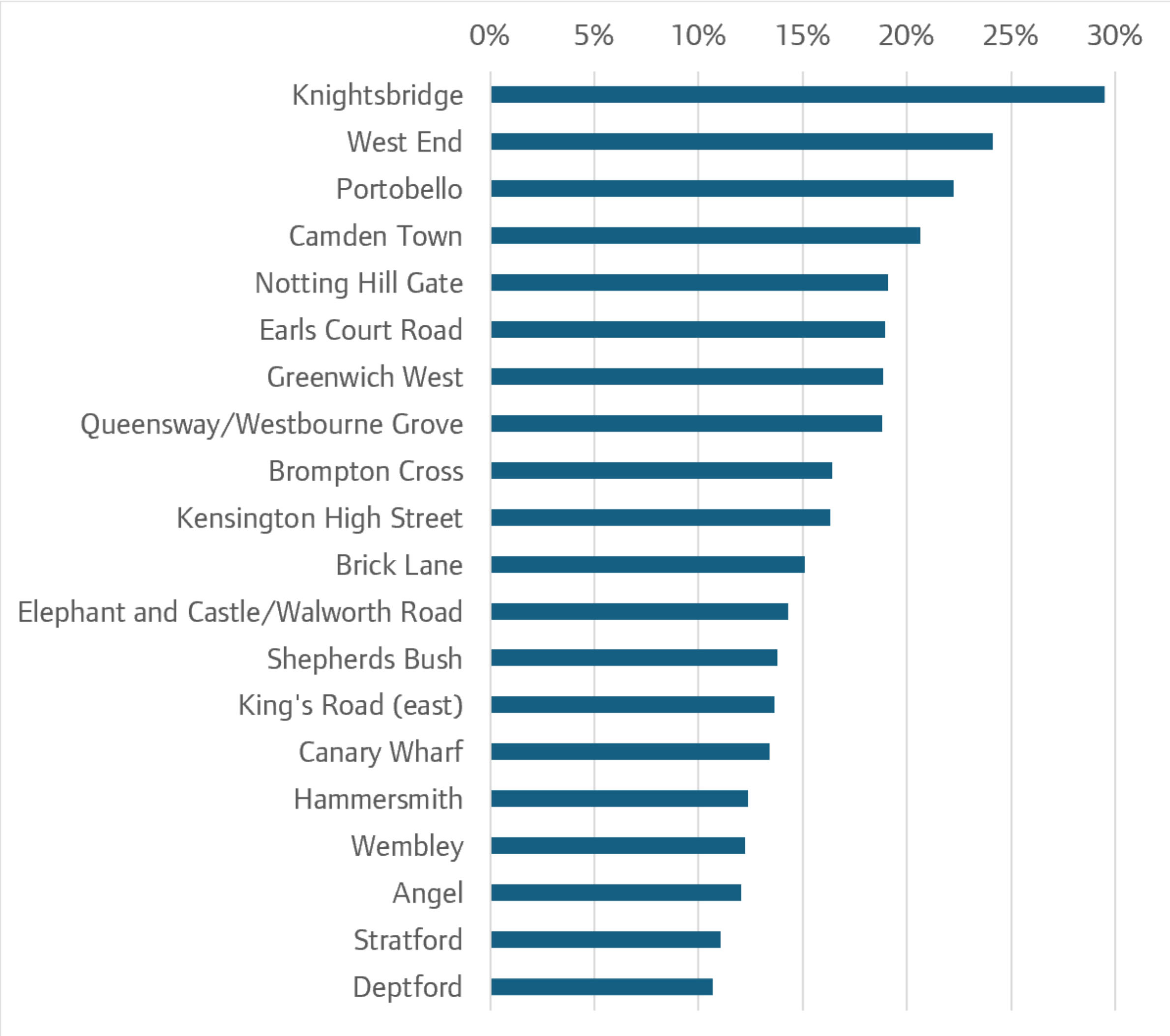
Figure 2.6a Mean of weighted average domestic catchment distance (miles) by town centre classification



Source: BT via High Streets Data Service/GLA analysis

2.6.4 In addition to domestic residents, commuters and visitors, London's town centres also receive international visitors. London's town centres with the highest number of **international visitors as a proportion of total visitors** is set out in Figure 2.6b. Knightsbridge and the West End had the highest proportions of international visitors (29 and 24 per cent respectively) followed by Portobello (22 per cent), Camden Town (21 per cent) and Notting Hill Gate (19 per cent).

Figure 2.6b Average number of international visitors as a proportion of total visitors, 20 highest ranked London Plan town centres (September 2024 to August 2025)



Source: BT via High Streets Data Service/GLA analysis

2.7 Employment

Key points:

- In 2024, London's town centres accounted for **1.25 million workforce jobs**, **19.6 per cent** of London's total.
- Annual average **growth rates in employment** were higher in the pre-pandemic period compared to the post-pandemic period across all town centre classification types apart from the **CAZ retail clusters**, which experienced strong growth over the whole 2014 to 2024 period.
- Centres with the **highest estimated workforce job totals** in 2024 included the West End, Canary Wharf, Croydon, Hounslow and Elephant and Castle/Walworth Road.

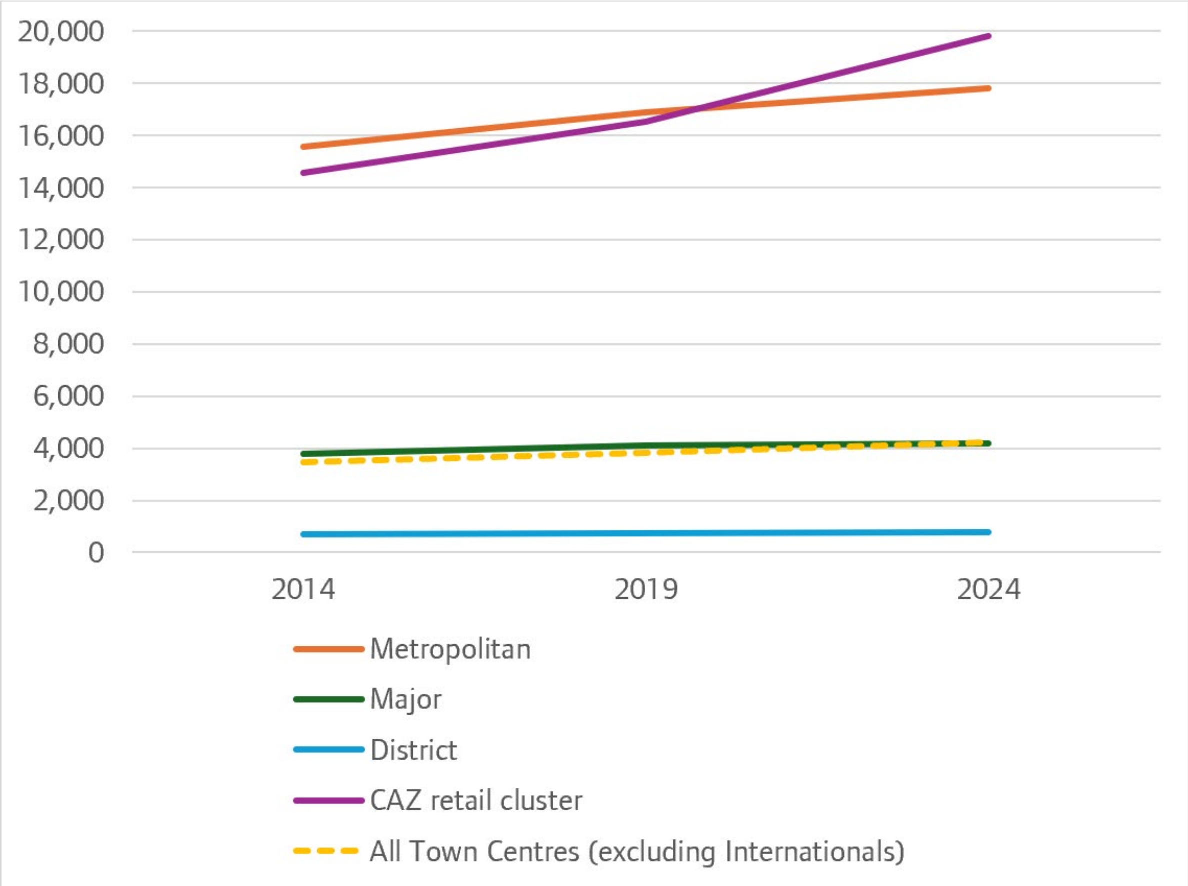
2.7.1 London's town centres provide access to employment opportunities and for this research the GLA has produced **town centre-based workforce jobs estimates** by ascribing proportionate shares of employment in Lower Super Output Areas (sourced from the ONS Business Register and Employment Survey) to London's town centres in 2014, 2019 and 2024.

2.7.2 In 2024 the International, Metropolitan, Major, District and CAZ retail clusters together accounted for **1.25 million** workforce jobs, **19.6 per cent** of London's total. The **West End** International centre accounted for more than 316,700 of those jobs in 2024, growing by 42,600 since 2014, a CAGR of 1.5 per cent per annum. **Knightsbridge** International centre accounted for a further 4,200 jobs in 2024, and increase of 130 since 2014, or 0.3 per cent CAGR.

2.7.3 The average employment totals for London's Metropolitan, Major, District and CAZ retail clusters for the years 2014, 2019 and 2024 are illustrated in Figure 2.7a. The **Metropolitan** town centres averaged 15,600 jobs in 2014, rising to 17,800 in 2024, a 1.4 per cent CAGR. **CAZ retail clusters** averaged 14,600 jobs in 2014, rising to 19,800 in 2024, a 3.1 per cent CAGR.

2.7.4 **Major** centres averaged 3,800 jobs each in 2014, increasing to 4,200 in 2024, close to the average of all town centres (excluding the Internationals) and a CAGR of 0.9 per cent. **District** centres are typically smaller in scale and serve small catchment areas compared to the other town centre classifications and in 2014 averaged 700 jobs each, rising to 780 by 2024, a CAGR of 1.1 per cent.

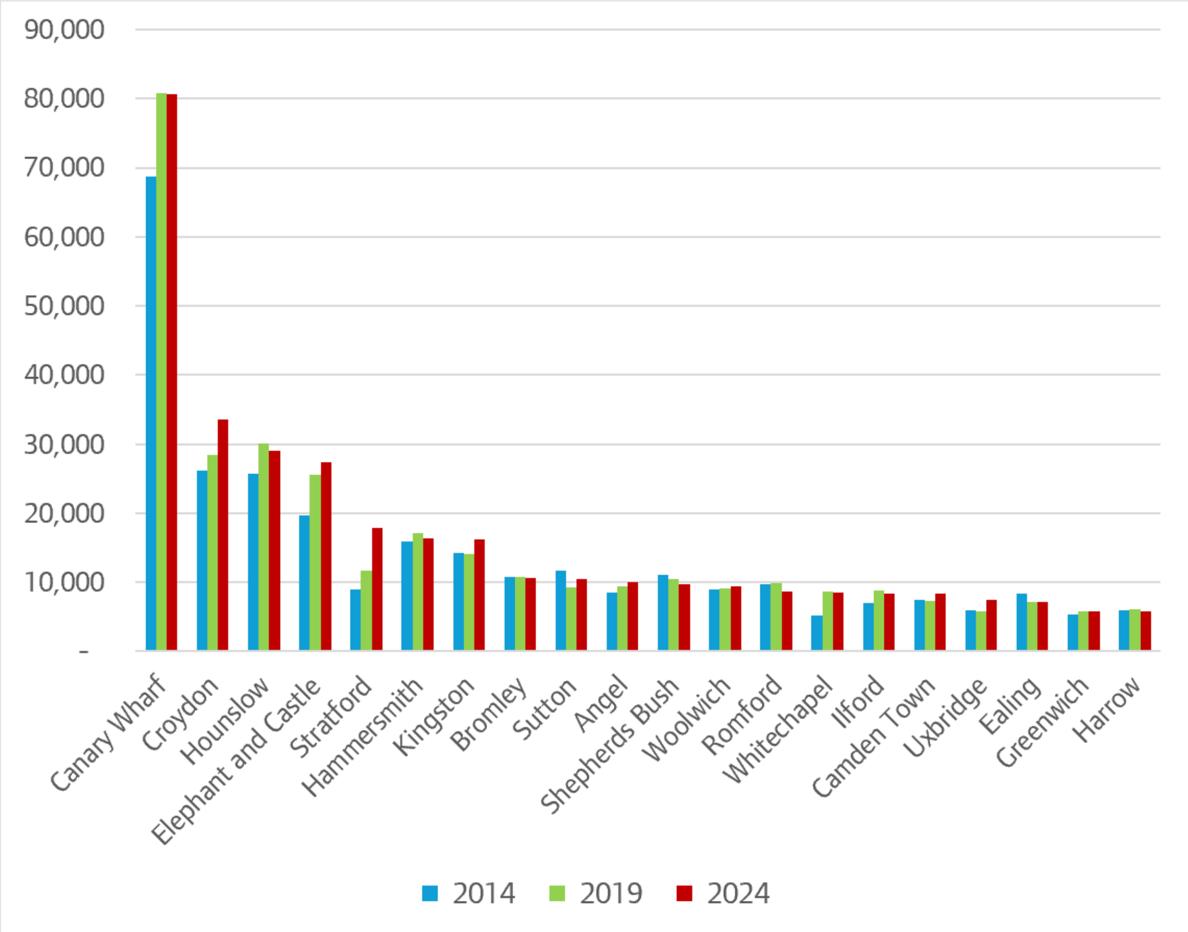
Figure 2.7a Average employment totals 2014 to 2024, by town centre classification



Source: GLA Economics/GLA analysis

2.7.5 Figure 2.7b shows estimated employment totals in 2014, 2019 and 2024 for the **highest 20 ranked town centres** (excluding International centres and CAZ retail clusters). Canary Wharf had an estimated 80,600 jobs in 2024, increasing from 68,700 in 2014. Estimated employment totals in 2024 for Croydon (33,600), Hounslow (29,000) and Elephant and Castle/Walworth Road (27,400) are also significant. Thirteen of the 20 highest ranked centres in Figure 2.7b are Metropolitan town centres, five are Major town centres and two are Districts (Whitechapel and Greenwich).

Figure 2.7b Employment totals 2014 to 2024, ranked highest 20 town centres (excluding International centres and CAZ retail clusters)



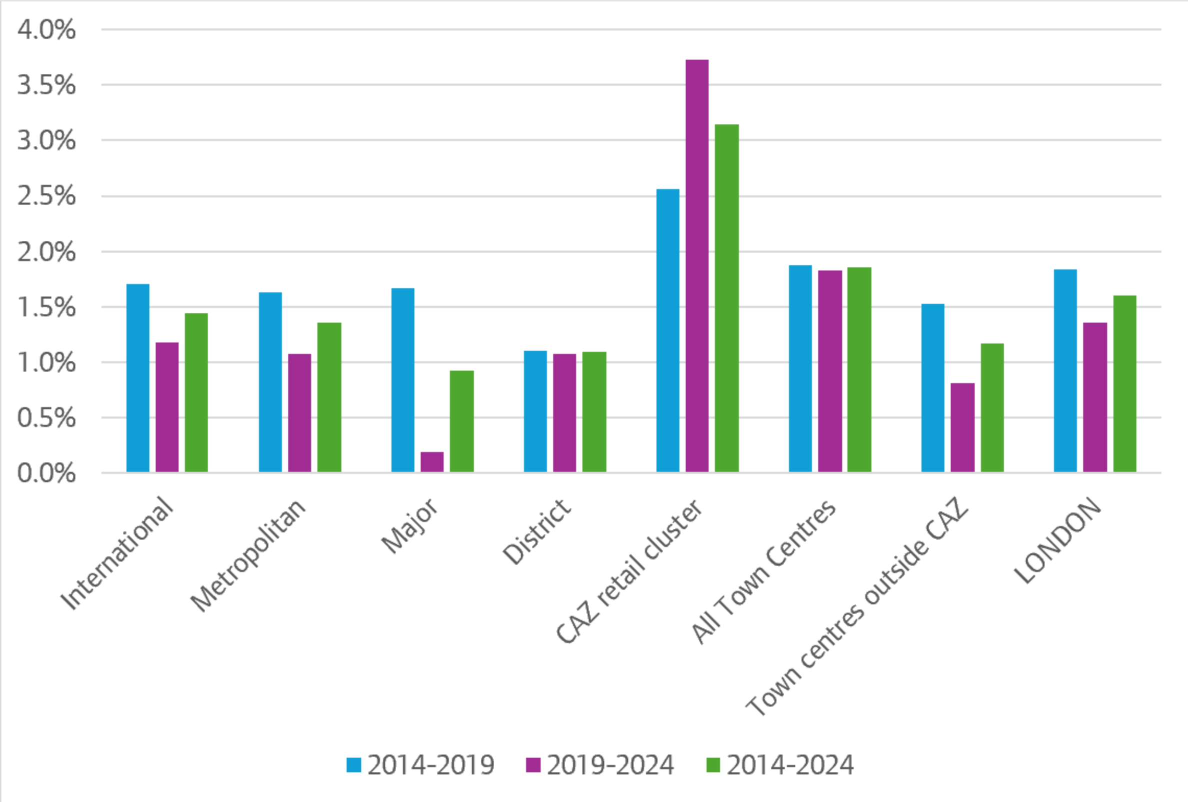
Source: GLA Economics/GLA analysis

2.7.6 Figure 2.7c provides a comparison of compound annual average growth rates (CAGR) for employment in each town centre classification type for the pre-pandemic period 2014 to 2019, the post-pandemic period 2019 to 2024 and for the whole 10-year period 2014 to 2024.

2.7.7 Annual average growth rates in employment were (on average) higher in the pre-pandemic period compared to the post-pandemic period across all town centre classification types apart from the CAZ retail clusters, which experienced strong growth in employment in both the 2014 to 2019 period and the 2019 to 2024 period, and well above the whole of London average.

2.7.8 Town centres (outside of CAZ) on average experienced growth across both the period 2014 to 2019 (1.5 per cent CAGR) and the period 2019 to 2024 (0.8 per cent CAGR) but at lower growth rates compared to the London average (see Figure 2.7c).

Figure 2.7c Annual average employment growth rates 2014 to 2024, by town centre classification



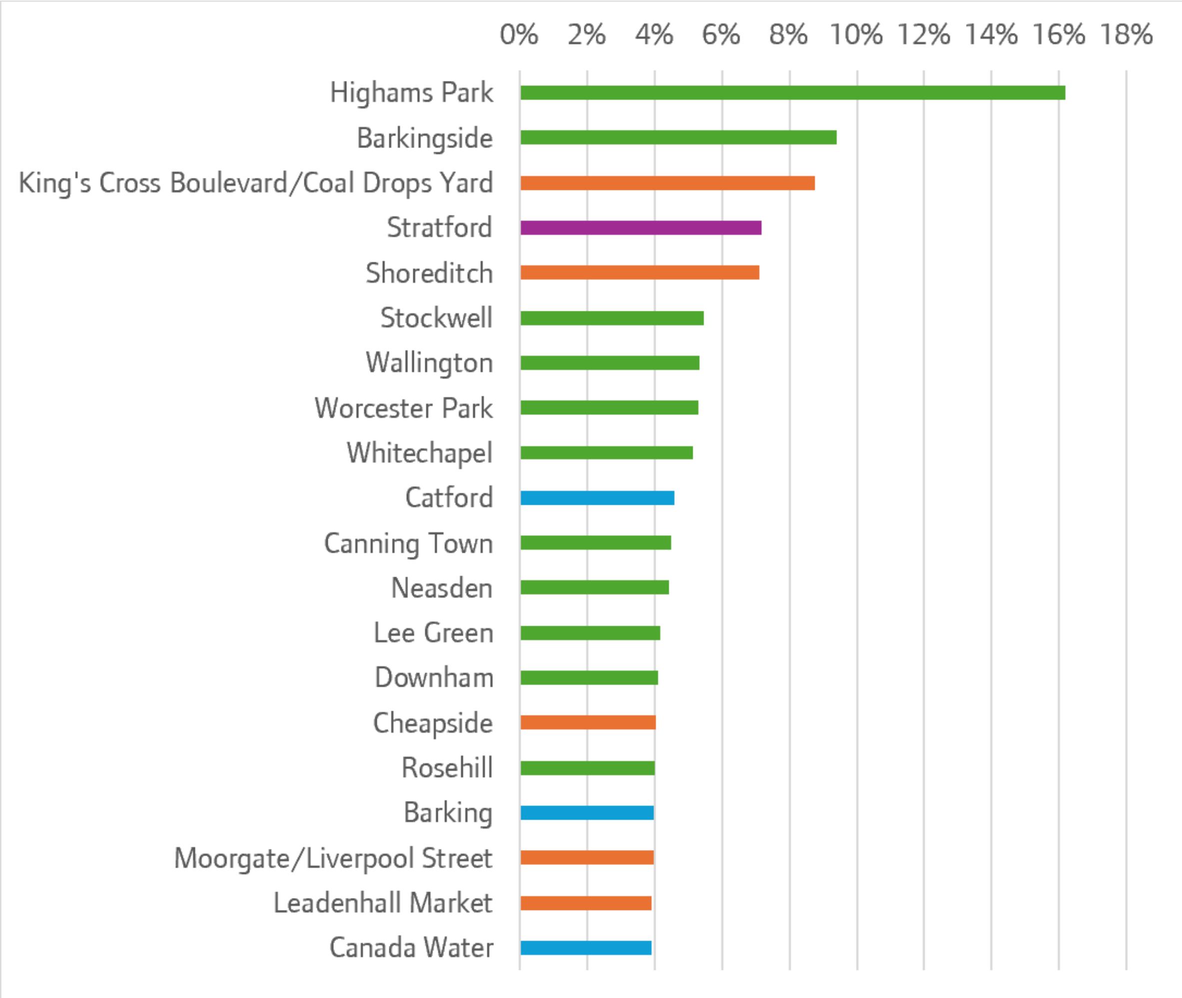
Source: GLA Economics/GLA analysis

2.7.9 Beneath these averages, there was wide variation at town centre level. In total, 141 of London's town centres experienced positive employment growth in the 2019 to 2024 period (about 64 per cent of town centres) compared to 121 town centres experiencing positive employment growth in the period 2014 to 2019 (about 55 per cent of town centres).

2.7.10 The twenty town centres with the highest annual average employment growth rates between 2014 to 2024 are shown in Figure 2.7d. Highams Park in Waltham Forest and Barkingside in Redbridge (both District town centres) had the highest compound annual average growth rates of all town centres (16.2 and 9.4 per cent respectively) albeit in both cases growing from a relatively low base.

2.7.11 King's Cross Boulevard/Coal Drops Lane witnessed strong employment growth (8.8 per cent CAGR), as did Stratford (7.2 per cent) and Shoreditch (7.1 per cent). Eleven of the town centres in the top 20 highest employment growth rates 2014 to 2024 were District town centres.

Figure 2.7d Annual average employment growth 2014 to 2024, ranked highest 20 town centres



Classification key

Metropolitan
Major
District
CAZ retail cluster

Source: GLA Economics/GLA analysis

2.8 Vacant retail, leisure and service floorspace

Key points:

- **Vacant retail, leisure and service floorspace** increased in London's town centres from 1.19 million in 2021 to 1.24 million in 2024.
- In 2024, the London town centre average floorspace **vacancy rate** was 11.1 per cent, compared to the average for all locations in London (9.1 per cent) and the UK (9.4 per cent).
- London's **International centres** had an average vacant floorspace rate in 2024 that was below the London and UK average. **District centre** vacancy rates were close to the UK average
- **Metropolitan centres** and **outer London Major centres** had the highest average floorspace vacancy rates in 2024.

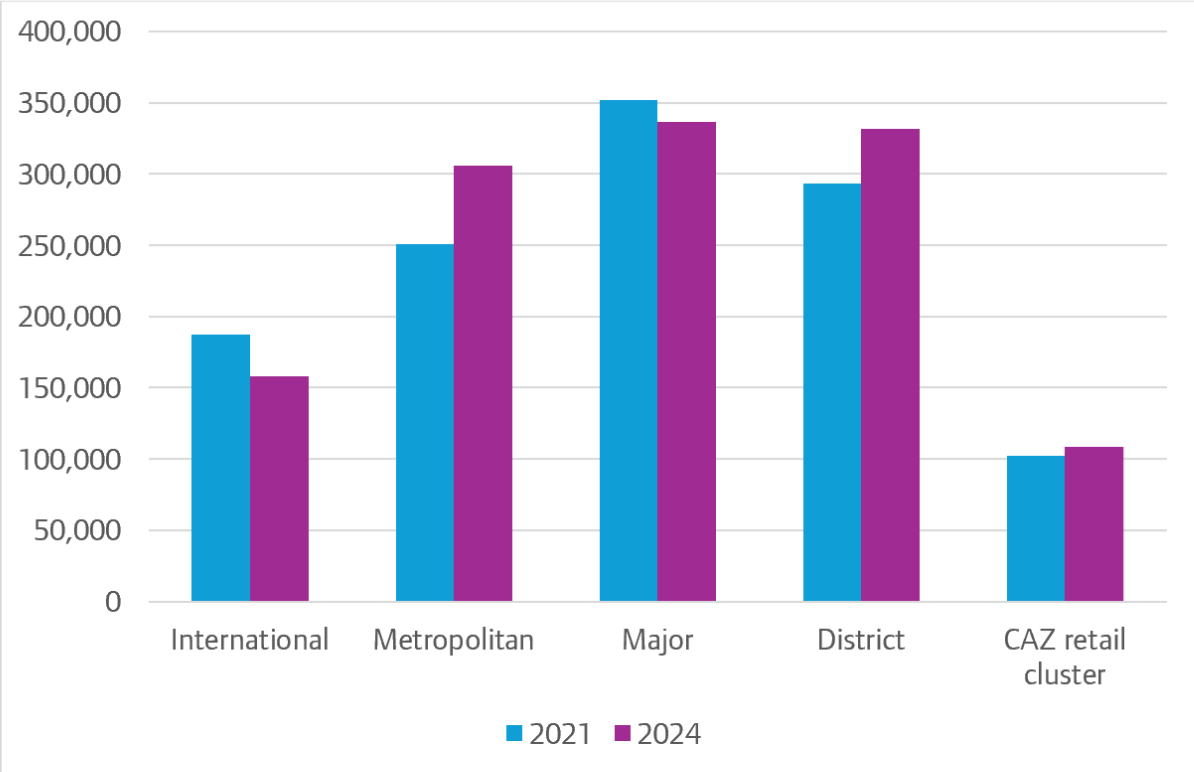
2.8.1 This sub-section looks at trends in vacant floorspace and vacancy rates associated with retail, leisure and service uses, including comparisons with London and UK averages over the period 2021 to 2024[30].

2.8.2 Vacant town centre floorspace (associated with retail, leisure and service uses) in London's town centres increased from 1.19 million sq.m in 2021 to 1.24 million sq.m by 2024.

2.8.3 Figure 2.8a below illustrates this trend by **town centre classification.** In the period 2021 to 2024, the total amount of vacant floorspace decreased by 29,000 sq.m in the International centres and by 15,000 sq.m across Major centres in aggregate. In contrast, total amounts of vacant floorspace continued to rise in Metropolitan centres (+55,000 sq.m), District centres (+39,000 sq.m) and CAZ retail clusters (+6,000 sq.m).

[30] There was uncertainty about vacant floorspace data in the premises dataset for the pre-pandemic period 2014 to 2019. Data is only presented here for the period 2021 to 2024.

Figure 2.8a Vacant floorspace (retail, leisure, service uses), by town centre classification 2021-2024



Source: Local Data Company/Green Street/HSDS/GLA analysis

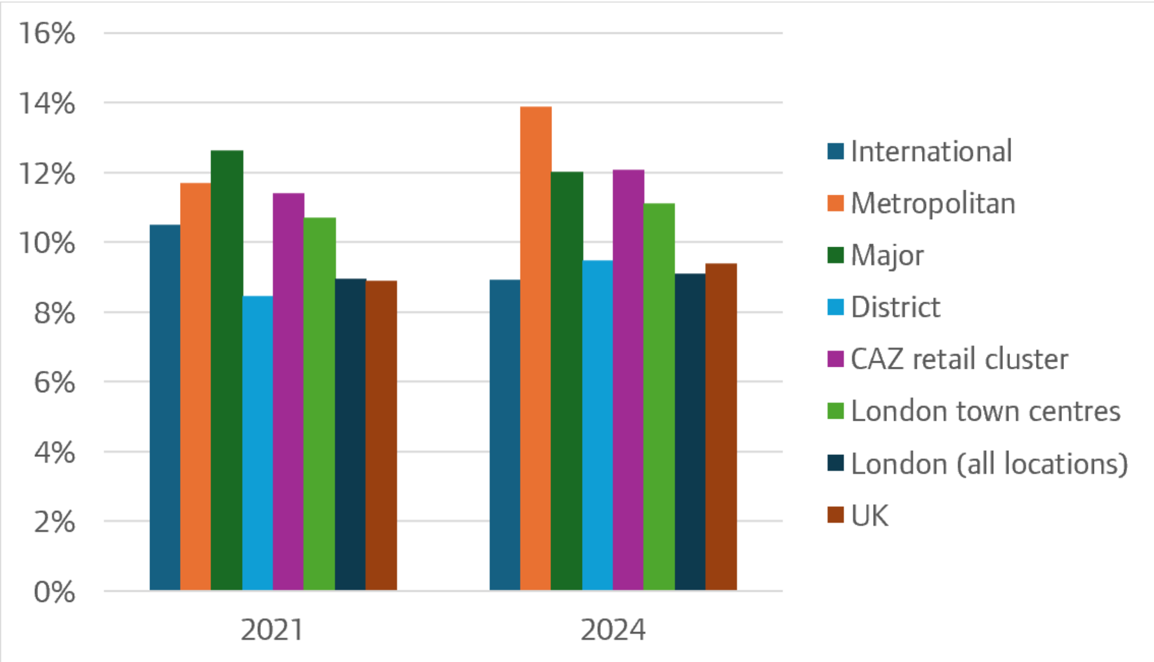
2.8.4 **Vacancy rates** for floorspace (associated with retail, leisure and services uses) by town centre classification are illustrated in Figure 2.8b including comparisons with the total London average (including all locations) and the UK average.

2.8.5 Average floorspace vacancy rates for the **International centres** (both in CAZ) were 10.5 per cent immediately following the pandemic in 2021 but had reduced to 8.9 per cent in 2024, the lowest of all London Plan town centre classification types. **CAZ retail clusters** had an average floorspace vacancy rate of 11.4 per cent in 2021 increasing to 12.1 per cent in 2024.

2.8.6 Across the **Metropolitan town centres**, average floorspace vacancy rates were 11.7 per cent in 2021 rising to 13.9 per cent in 2024. For **Major town centres** in aggregate, floorspace vacancy rates were 12.6 per cent in 2021, before falling back to 12.0 per cent in 2024. **District town centres** in aggregate had vacancy rates of 8.5 per cent in 2021. By 2024, this rate had risen to 9.5 per cent, above that for the International centres but below the averages for the Metropolitan and Major centres.

2.8.7 Average floorspace vacancy rates associated with retail, leisure and service uses for all of **London's town centres** combined was 10.7 per cent in 2021, above the average rate for **all locations in London** (8.9 per cent) and the **UK average** (also 8.9 per cent) (see Figure 2.8b). In 2024, the London town centre average floorspace vacancy rate was 11.1 per cent, compared to the average rate for all locations in London (9.1 per cent) and the UK average (9.4 per cent). In 2024, only London's International centres had an average vacant floorspace rate that was below the London and UK average. District centre rates were close to the UK average.

Figure 2.8b Vacancy rates (floorspace, retail, leisure, service), by town centre classification and comparison with London and UK average 2021-2024

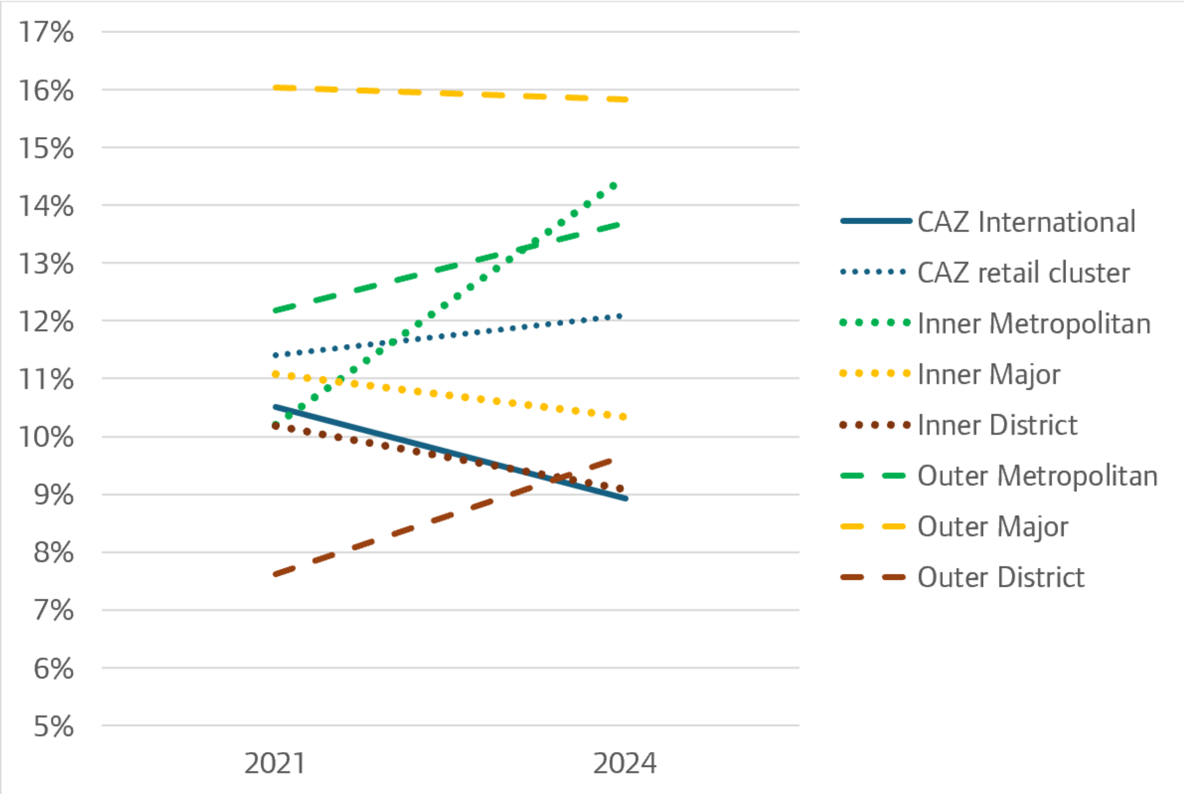


Source: Local Data Company/Green Street/HSDS/GLA analysis

2.8.8 Figure 2.8c illustrates how floorspace vacancy rates across London's town centre classifications vary between the CAZ, inner and outer London. In 2021, average vacancy rates were lowest among District centres (in outer and inner London), the inner London Metropolitan town centres and the CAZ International centres. In contrast average vacancy rates were much higher in outer London's Major and Metropolitan town centres.

2.8.9 Between 2021 and 2024, average vacancy rates had increased in London's Metropolitan town centres (inner and outer London) and in outer London District town centres and CAZ retail clusters. Average vacancy rates decreased in the International centres, Major town centres (both inner and outer London) and inner London District town centres. In 2024, average vacancy rates in the International centres and District town centres (both inner and outer London) remained below 10 per cent.

Figure 2.8c Vacancy rates (retail, leisure and service uses) 2021 to 2024, by town centre classification, CAZ, inner and outer London

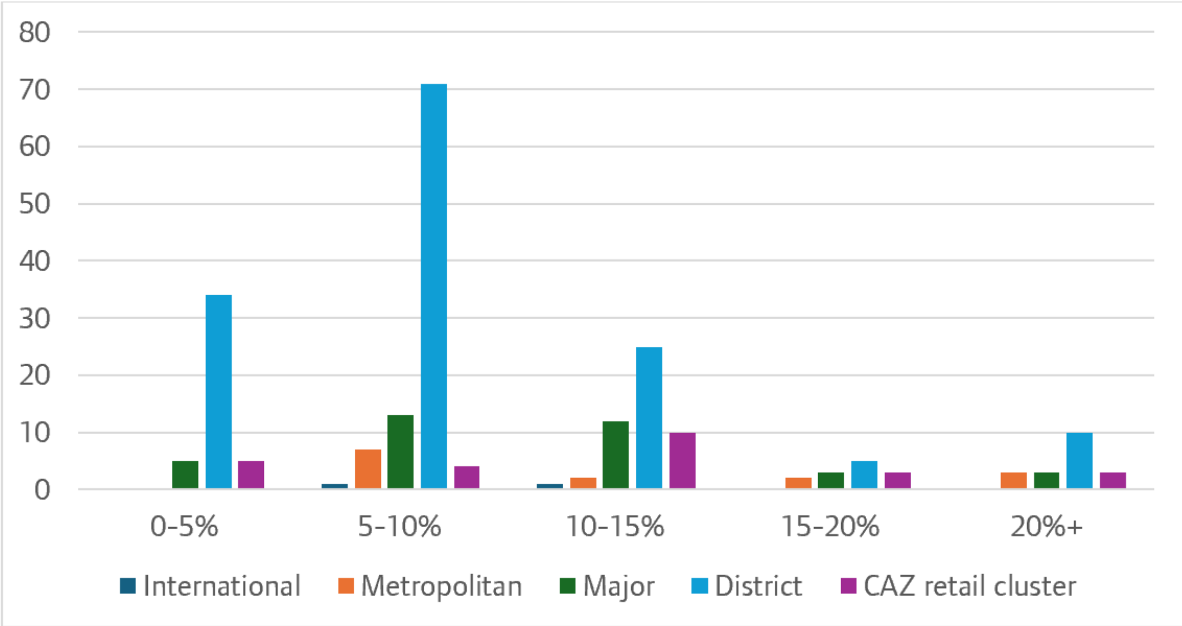


Source: Local Data Company/Green Street/HSDS/GLA analysis

2.8.10 The data in Figures 2.8a, b and c above do not reflect the **wide variation in floorspace vacancy rates** of individual town centres within these classifications. Figure 2.8d below illustrates the variation by showing the number of town centres, by town centre classification, that had floorspace vacancy rates in 2024 (associated with retail, leisure and service uses) within various ranges.

2.8.11 A total of 44 town centres (20 per cent of London's town centres) had a floorspace vacancy rate of 5 per cent or less in 2024. A further 140 centres (43 per cent of London's town centres) had a vacancy rate of between 5 and 10 per cent. Of more concern are the 82 town centres (37 per cent of London's town centres) with vacancy rates above 10 per cent, and of those 13 centres had a vacancy rate of between 15 and 20 per cent, and 19 town centres had a vacancy rate above 20 per cent.

Figure 2.8d Count of town centres and 2024 floorspace vacancy rates (retail, leisure, service uses), by town centre classification



Source: Local Data Company/Green Street/HSDS/GLA analysis

3 Development trends and capacity

3.0.1 This section of the report analyses development trends within London's town centres over the period 2014 to 2024, covering non-residential and residential uses. It then looks at the capacity of town centres to accommodate non-residential uses[31].

3.1 Non-residential development trends

Key points:

- There were **net gains to retail, food and drink, non-residential and assembly and leisure uses** through completed developments over the period 2014 to 2024.
- There were **significant net losses of office space** through development completions, and particularly in the period 2014 to 2020.
- Over the period 2014 to 2024, just over **4,000 net additional hotel bedrooms** were completed in town centres, almost two-thirds of which were in the International centres and CAZ retail clusters.

3.1.1 This sub-section looks at **non-residential development trends** in London's town centres. It draws on data from the Planning London Datahub and borough monitoring[32] of planning approvals and completions. In September 2020, the new Planning Use Class E was introduced[33]. This meant that changes of use within this new Use Class that did not include physical alterations that constitute 'development' under planning legislation, would not require a change of use planning application.

3.1.2 From an analytical perspective this makes it more difficult to record changes within this Use Class using development monitoring data[34]. During the data collection process Class E floorspace was allocated wherever possible to the relevant sub-categories within Class E including where the use was stated within the planning application description. Floorspace inputs associated with planning permissions for generic Class E use were typically divided pro-rata across the relevant component uses of Class E. Accordingly, the reader should treat the analysis in this section on Class E uses with some caution.

Non-residential floorspace completions (excluding offices and hotels)

3.1.3 Over the period 2014 to 2024, there were **net gains to retail, food and drink, non-residential and assembly and leisure use** through completed developments (see Figure 3.1a). Metropolitan town centres and CAZ retail clusters each accounted for 40 per cent of the net gains in retail space and the International centres 12 per cent. The net gains to food and drink floorspace and non-residential social infrastructure uses (former D2 use) were more evenly spread across all the town centre classification types.

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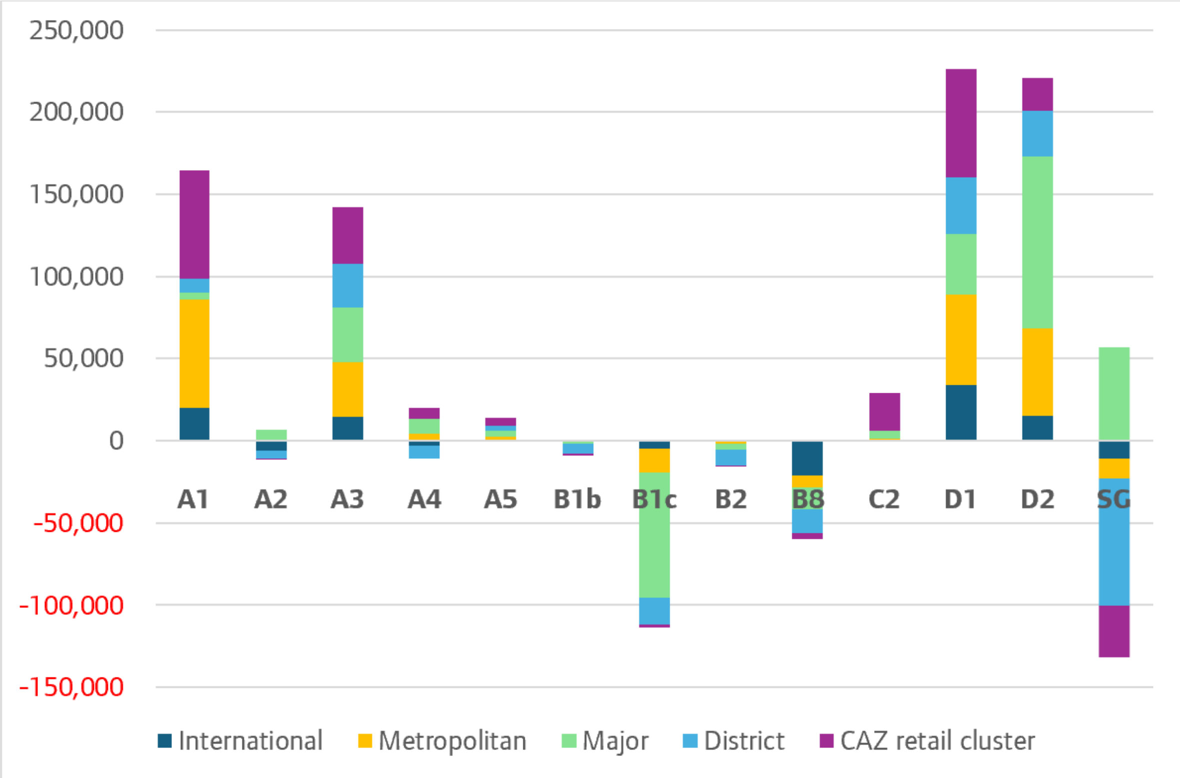
[31] Residential capacity in town centres is not considered in this report
[32] Data extracted from the Planning London Datahub in October 2024, reviewed, cleaned and supplemented with borough monitoring data for the London Employment Sites Database (2024).
[33] Use Classes - Change of use - Planning Portal
[34] Section 2 of this report uses High Streets Data Service premises data to analyse trends within Class E.

Figure 3.1a Development completions: non-residential* floorspace (sq.m) (excluding offices and hotels) by town centre classification, 2014-2024



Source: Planning London Datahub/LESD/GLA analysis

* Use Class codes provided below to assist interpretation of Figure 3.1a.

Use Class Pre-Sep 2020	Use Class Post-Sep 2020	Description
A1	Ea	Display or retail sale of goods, other than hot food
A2	Ec	Financial, professional or other appropriate services
A3	Eb	Sale of food and drink for consumption (mostly) on the premises
A4	SG p/q	Public houses, wine bars, or drinking establishments
A5	SG r	Hot food takeaways
B1b	Eg(ii)	Research and development
B1c	Eg(iii)	Light industrial processes
B2	B2	General industrial
B8	B8	Storage or distribution
C2	C2	Residential institutions
D1 Non-residential institutions	Ee Ef F1 F2b	Medical or health services Creche, day nursery or day centre Learning and non-residential institutions Community halls or meeting places
D2 Assembly & leisure	Ed F2c F2d	Indoor sport, recreation or fitness Outdoor sport or recreation Indoor or outdoor swimming pools or skating rinks
SG	SG	Sui generis uses

Comparison of development completions data and premises data estimates

3.1.4 The circa 150,000 sq.m of net gains in **retail space** (Class A1/Ea) in London's town centres over the period 2014 to 2024 suggested by the development completions data (in Figure 3.1a) is considerably higher than the 70,000 sq.m net gains to retail floorspace analysed using the premises datasets in section 2 (see Figure 2.2b in Section 2.2). This anomaly may be partly explained by the fact that some retail space (notably comparison goods) that was occupied prior to the pandemic either became vacant post-2019, or changed to other Class E uses which, as explained in paragraphs 3.1.1 and 3.1.2, does not get picked up in the development monitoring data.

3.1.5 In contrast, the 142,000 sq.m net gains to **food and drink** (Class A3/Eb) implied in the development data (Figure 3.1a) is not too dissimilar to the 165,000 sq.m net gains recorded in the premises dataset analysis in section 2. The difference here is likely to be explained in part by changes of use within Class E to food and drink uses that would not require planning permission in the post-September 2020 period.

3.1.6 Figure 3.1a suggests that there were net losses of **light industrial** (B1c/Eg(iii)) use through development completions of around 114,000 sq.m, two-thirds of which was associated with Major town centres. This figure is vastly different to the estimated net gain of 3,000 sq.m of light industrial floorspace identified through the premises dataset in section 2. There is uncertainty associated with the development data because light industrial falls within Class E (see paragraphs 3.1.1 and 3.1.2). The anomaly might also be explained by the limited range of light industrial categories picked up in the premises dataset, potentially resulting in an under-estimate of the true amount of loss of light industrial floorspace via that method. Given the divergence it is recommended that further investigation of light industrial floorspace in town centres is undertaken in the future.

3.1.7 Regarding B8 **storage or distribution** space, the development completions data suggests a loss of 60,000 sq.m in London's town centres over the period 2014 to 2024, particularly in the International, Major and District centre classifications. The premises data in Section 2 however suggest suggests a net gain of B8 space of around 12,000 sq.m. In this instance the development completions data is likely to be a more reliable estimate, as a loss of B8 space would trigger a planning permission. The development data shows overall losses associated with both light industrial, storage and distribution uses which resonates with the 14 per cent loss of all industrial, storage and distribution floorspace recorded in the VOA data for London for the period 2014 to 2024[35].

Office floorspace completions

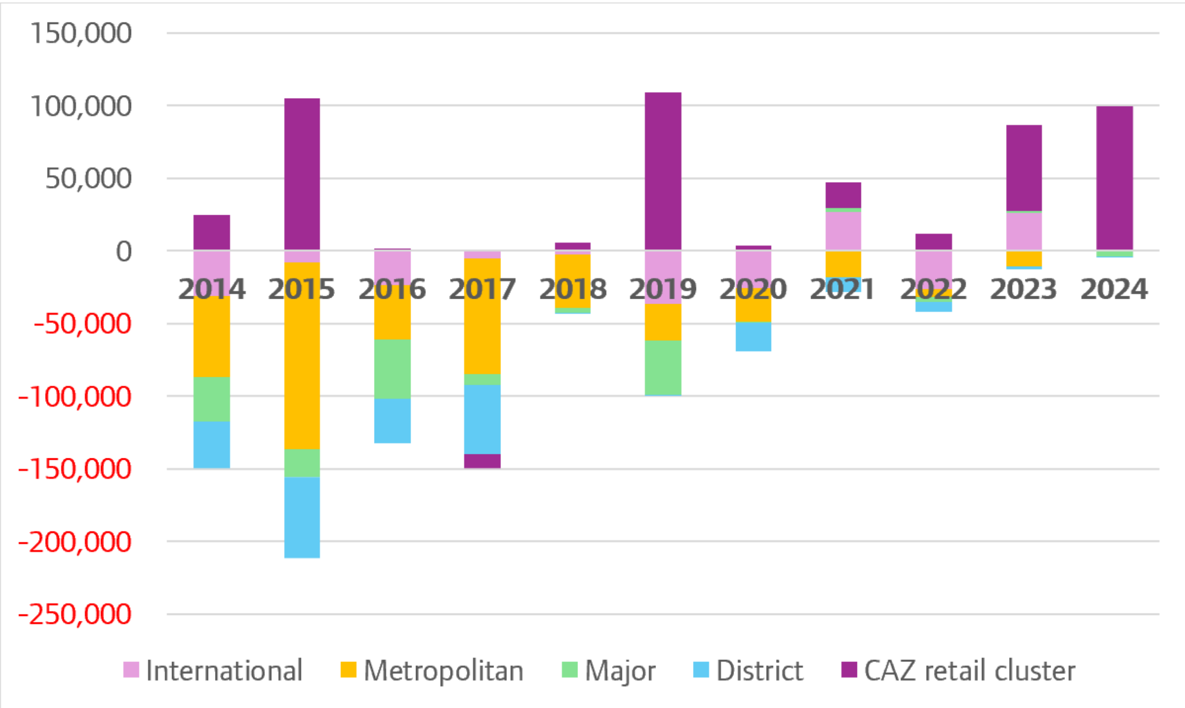
3.1.8 Office floorspace development completions in London's town centres over the period 2014 to 2024 are illustrated in Figure 3.1b. It is evident that there were significant net losses of office space through development in the period 2014 to 2020 driven in part by office to residential permitted development rights (which is explored further in section

[35] Non-domestic rating: business floorspace, March 2025 - GOV.UK

4). The heaviest losses (45 per cent of the total) were associated with the Metropolitan town centres, followed by District town centres (22 per cent).

3.1.9 Given that the majority of CAZ is covered by Article 4 Directions that remove office/Class E to residential permitted development rights it is not a surprise to see that most of the net gains to office stock were realised in the CAZ retail clusters. However, the data for the International centres (which suggests a net loss of office space between 2014 and 2020 equating to 132,000 sq.m) indicates that losses of office space were still occurring in these locations through completed development in conventional planning permissions. The data for the International centres for the period 2021 to 2024 however shows a modest reversal of this trend, with an overall net gain through completed developments of 26,000 sq.m.

Figure 3.1b Office floorspace completions (sq.m) by town centre classification 2014-2024



Source: Planning London Datahub/LESD/GLA analysis

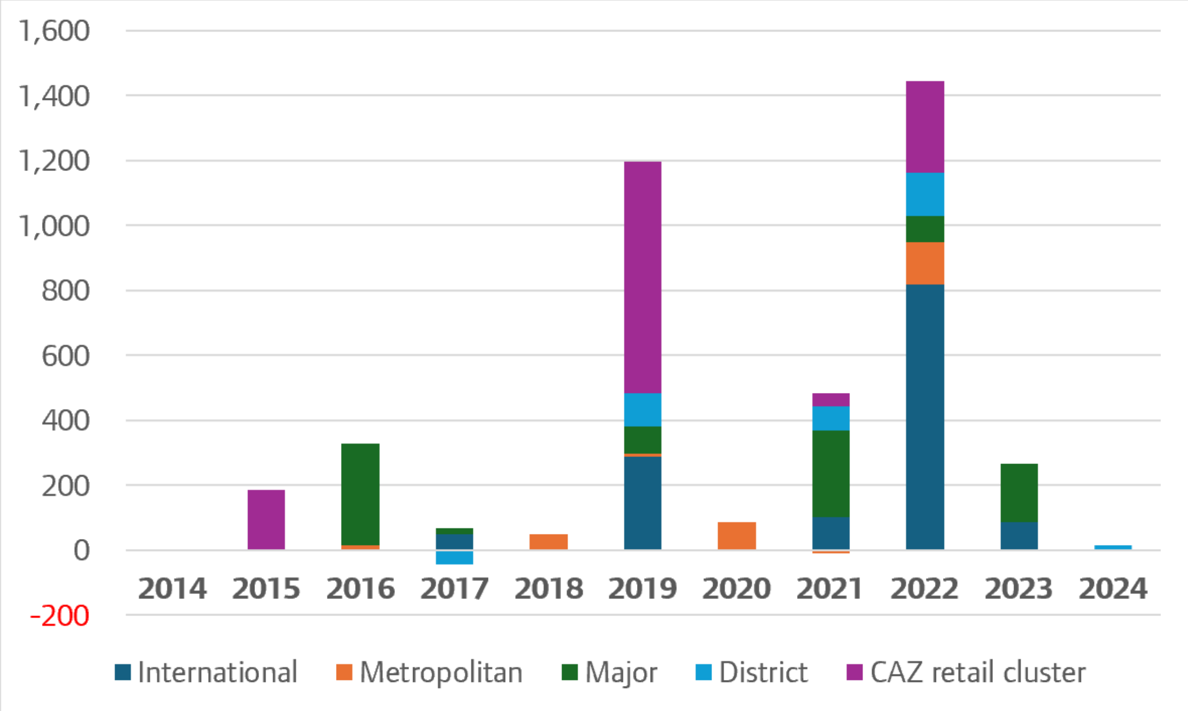
Hotel bedroom completions

3.1.10 Completions of hotel bedrooms in London's town centres for the period 2014 to 2024 are illustrated in Figure 3.1c. Over the whole period, just over 4,000 net additional hotel bedrooms were completed in town centres, of which 63 per cent were delivered in the International centres or CAZ retail clusters, 23 per cent in Major town centres, and 7 per cent in both the Metropolitan and District centre classifications.

3.1.11 In the **pre-pandemic period 2014 to 2019**, the data indicates that nearly 1,800 hotel bedrooms were completed in town centres, with a marginally higher proportion of hotel bedrooms (69 per cent) completed in either the International centres or CAZ retail clusters.

3.1.12 In the **post-pandemic period 2020 to 2024**, 58 per cent of hotel bedrooms completed were in the International and CAZ retail clusters, 23 per cent in Major town centres, 10 per cent in District centres and 9 per cent in Metropolitan centres.

Figure 3.1c Hotel bedroom completions, by town centre classification, 2014-2024



Source: Planning London Datahub/LESD/GLA analysis

Comparison of hotel development completions data and premises data estimates

3.1.13 Both the development completions data (Planning London Datahub/LESD) and the hotel floorspace data (Local Data Company – see section 2.4) indicate strong growth in hotel provision in town centres (4,000 net additional hotel bedrooms and 74,000 sq.m respectively). However, the implied floorspace per room ratio of 18.5 sq.m, even allowing for variations in different quality of hotels, is very much on the low side. Furthermore, the LDC premises datasets suggest stronger growth in the Metropolitan town centres, whereas the development data suggested that the International, CAZ retail clusters and Major centres experienced stronger growth. These anomalies are not to be unexpected given the very different nature of both datasets but it provides the reader with a note of caution when considering these datasets and associated findings.

3.2 Non-residential development capacity

Key points:

- London's town centres (including those in CAZ and future potential town centres) had an estimated **employment capacity of 450,000 jobs** for the period 2024 to 2050, **39 per cent** of the total for London as a whole.
- **Town centres outside of the CAZ** accounted for **234,000 jobs capacity**, or **20 per cent** of the London total.
- **Office employment** accounts for the highest proportion of total employment capacity in London's town centres.

3.2.1 The outputs presented in this section are drawn from the London Employment Sites Database (LESD) 2024[36] which is based on an October 2024 baseline. The LESD is a comprehensive database of sites (land and floorspace) with identified capacity to accommodate employment generating development. It records recently completed employment developments, those in the planning pipeline and future capacity identified by local planning authorities in their local plans. It provides a snapshot of employment capacity for the period 2024 to 2050 at the time of the assessment[37].

3.2.2 According to the LESD 2024, London's town centres (including future potential town centres) had an estimated employment capacity of 450,000 jobs for the period 2024 to 2050, which amounts to 39 per cent of the total employment capacity for London as a whole. The town centres outside of the CAZ (including future potential town centres) accounted for 234,000 jobs capacity, or 20 per cent of the London total.

3.2.3 The distribution of employment capacity across different town centre classification types[38] and planning status is illustrated in Figure 3.2a. CAZ retail clusters and Metropolitan town centres account for 32 per cent and 25 per cent of employment capacity respectively. Major town centres account for 16 per cent and future potential town centres[39] account for 15 per cent.

[36] Mayor of London. London Employment Sites Database 2024 (2026)

[37] Note: LESD jobs capacities are estimates based on a point in time. Not all planning permissions in the LESD will be implemented, and for those that are implemented, the actual employment totals and uses may vary from the assumptions used in the LESD. Similarly, final site allocation capacities may vary and new employment capacity will arise through planning applications and permissions in the future. For these reasons there is always a degree of uncertainty with employment capacity estimates.

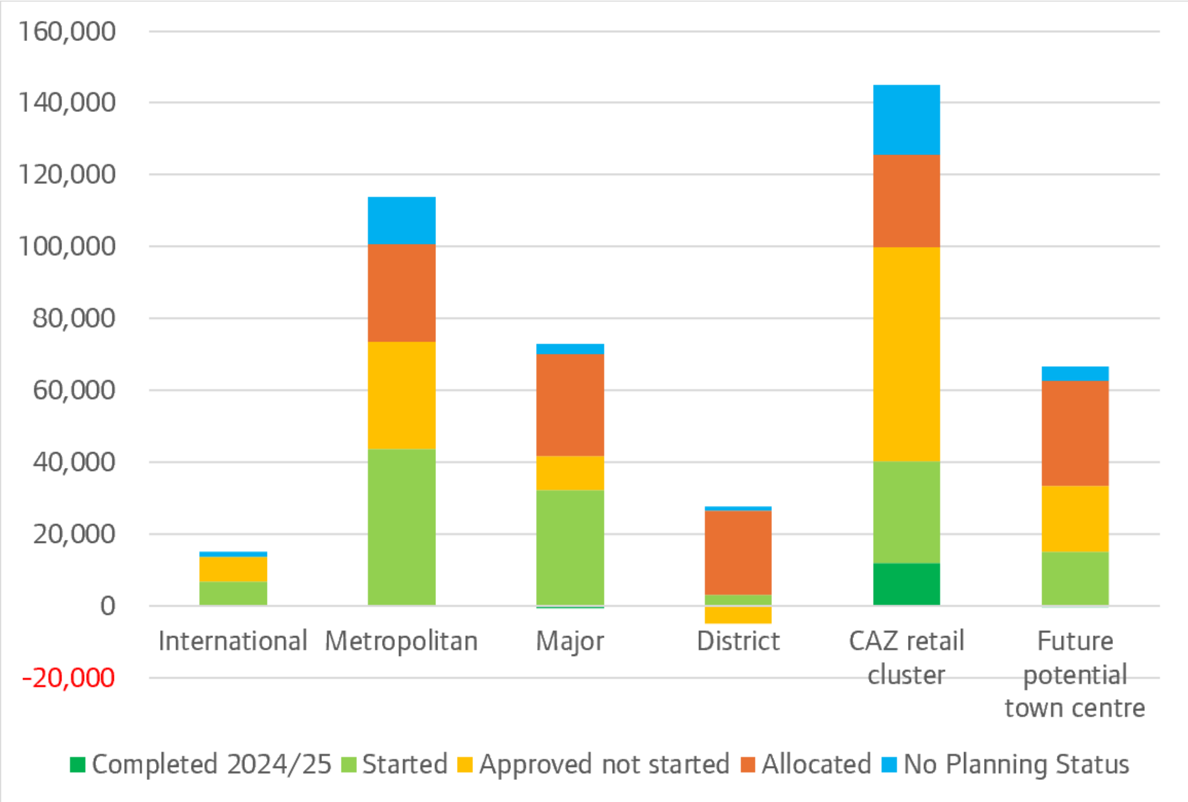
[38] Note that that the International centres fall entirely within the CAZ and Angel, Edgware Road/Church Street, Elephant and Castle/Walworth Road and Whitechapel town centres partly overlap the CAZ boundary.

[39] Future potential town centres are identified in the London Plan. Annex 1 - Town Centre Network (2021). They include locations that at the time of the Plan's publication were not functioning as a town centre but had the potential in the future to evolve to become town centres with a mix of town centre uses and formats supported by access and connectivity by public transport, walking, wheeling and cycling.

3.2.4 Of the CAZ retail clusters, Bankside and the Borough recorded more than 40,000 employment capacity, and Shoreditch, Waterloo and Leadenhall Market more than 20,000 each. Among the Metropolitan town centres, Canary Wharf recorded the highest employment capacity estimate (more than 60,000), followed by Croydon town centre (more than 20,000), Ealing and Stratford (both between 5,000 and 10,000). Of the future potential town centres, Brent Cross, Old Oak and Battersea all had more than 10,000 employment capacity.

3.2.5 Figure 3.2a also shows the planning status of the employment capacity estimates. Around 29 per cent of all town centre employment capacity was in schemes that had started, 28 per cent had planning approval but not started (in 2024) and 31 per cent was allocated in Local Plans.

Figure 3.2a Identified employment capacity (jobs), 2024 to 2050, by planning status and town centre classification

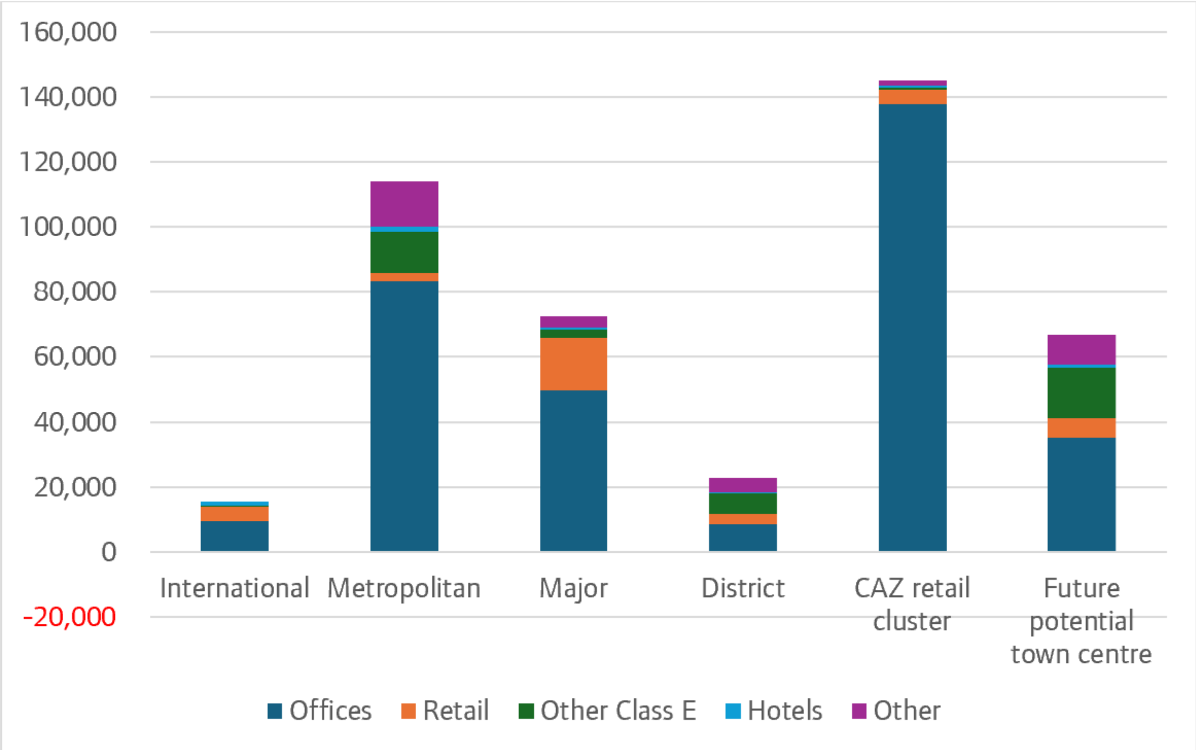


Source: LESD 2024 / GLA analysis

3.2.6 Figure 3.2b shows the distribution of employment capacity by town centre classification by broad category of use. Across all town centre classifications, employment capacity associated with office use accounts for the highest proportion of total employment capacity. The proportions in office use are highest among the CAZ retail clusters (95 per cent) and the Metropolitan town centres (73 per cent). Canary Wharf accounts for 60 per cent of the office employment capacity associated with the Metropolitan town centres.

3.2.7 Office use accounts for 69 per cent of employment capacity across the Major centres in aggregate and a further 26 per cent in retail and other Class E uses. Across the International centres, 62 per cent of capacity is associated with offices, 30 per cent in retail and other Class E and 8 per cent is associated with hotels, the highest proportion among any classification type for this use. Across the future potential town centres in aggregate, office use comprises 53 per cent of total employment capacity associated with these locations and 32 per cent is in retail and other Class E uses.

Figure 3.2b Identified employment capacity (jobs), 2024 to 2050, by broad use and town centre classification



Source: LESD 2024 / GLA analysis

3.3 Residential development trends

Key points:

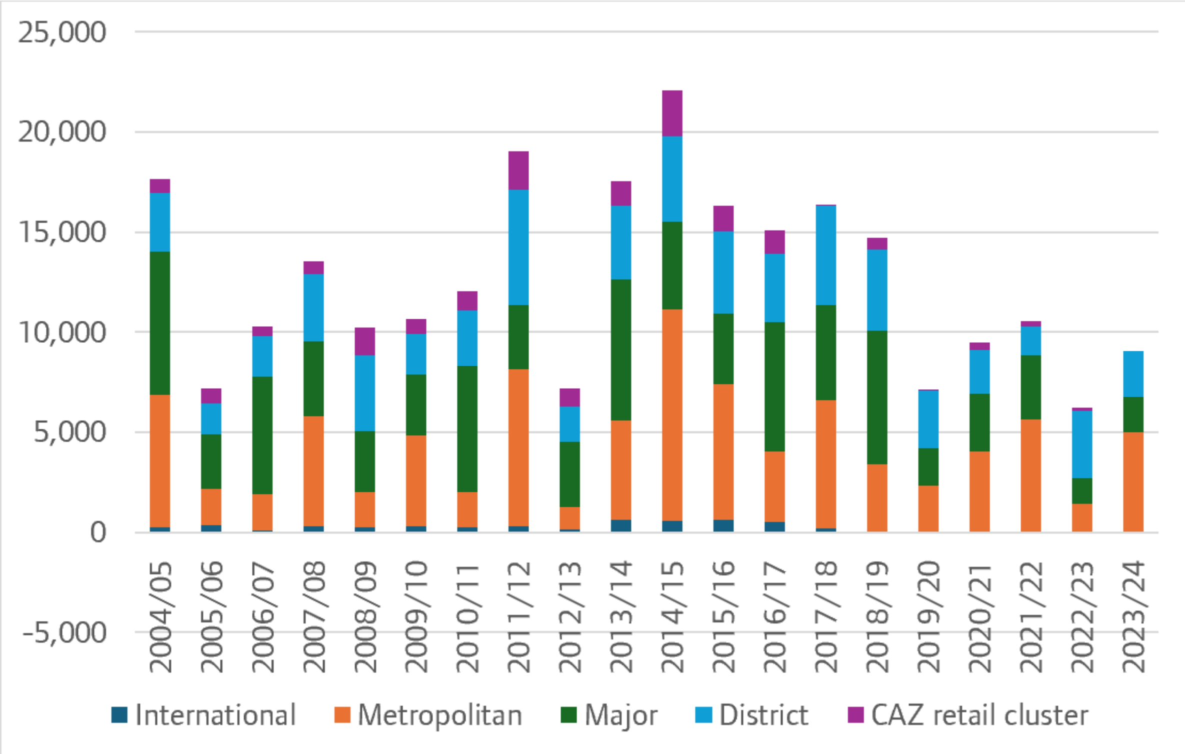
- More than **250,000 units were approved** in town centres between 2004/5 and 2023/24, averaging **12,600 units per annum**, and accounting for **19 cent of all housing approvals** in London over this period.
- Over the same period more than **116,000 units were completed** in town centres, averaging **5,800 units per annum**, and accounting for **19 cent of all housing completions** in London.
- **Major town centres** accounted for 33 per cent of net housing units in completed developments over this period, **District centres** 31 per cent and **Metropolitan centres** 25 per cent.

3.3.1 This sub-section focuses on residential development trends over the 20-year period from financial year 2004/5 to 2023/24.

3.3.2 Figure 3.3a below illustrates **net housing units in planning approvals** by town centre classification. Over the whole period more than 250,000 units were approved in town centres, averaging 12,600 units per annum, and accounting for 19 cent of all housing approvals in London. Metropolitan town centres accounted for 34 per cent of all town centre net housing units in planning approvals over this period, Major centres 33 per cent and District centres 25 per cent. The CAZ retail clusters accounted for 6 per cent and the International centres 2 per cent.

3.3.3 Net housing units in approvals in town centres peaked at just over 22,000 units in 2014/15 and averaged 14,000 units per annum during the pre-pandemic period 2015/16 to 2019/20, reducing to 8,800 units per annum during the post-pandemic period 2020/21 to 2023/24.

Figure 3.3a Town centre net housing approvals, by town centre classification 2004/5 to 2023/24

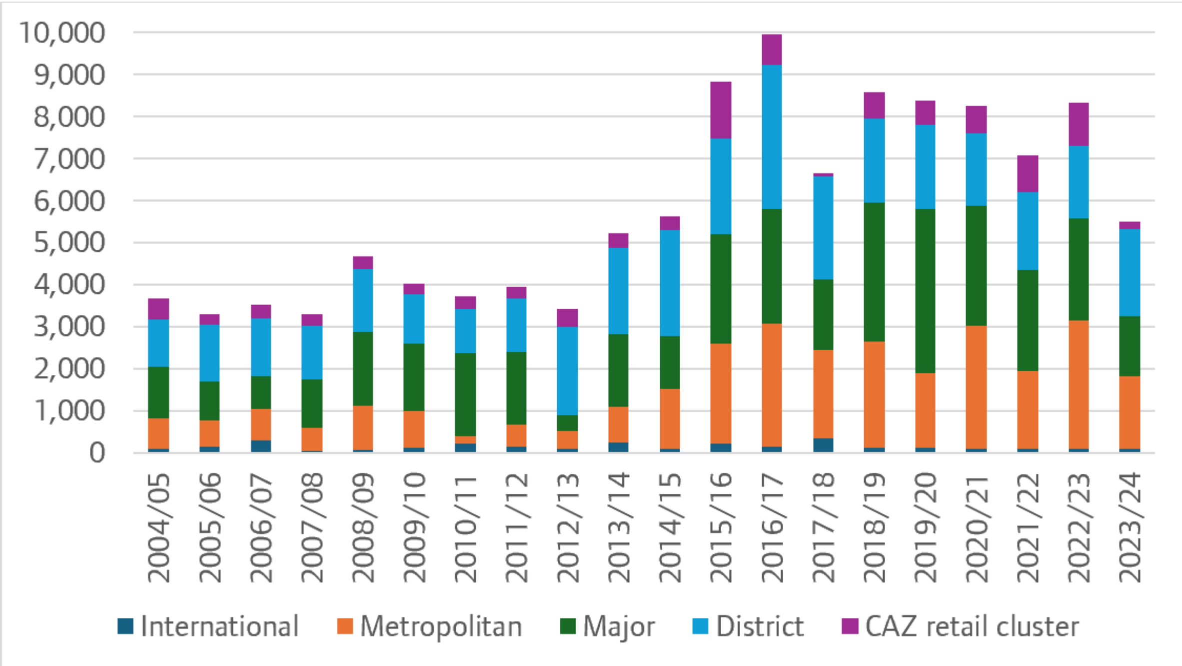


Source: Planning London Datahub (extract 6 August 2025)

3.3.4 Figure 3.3b presents net housing units in completed developments by town centre classification over the period 2004/5 to 2023/24. Over this period more than 116,000 units were completed, averaging 5,800 units per annum, and accounting for 19 cent of all housing completions in London. Major town centres accounted for 33 per cent of net housing units in completed developments over this period, District centres 31 per cent and Metropolitan centres 25 per cent. The CAZ retail clusters accounted for 8 per cent and the International centres 2 per cent.

3.3.5 Annual average net housing unit completions in the pre-pandemic period 2015/16 to 2019/20 (8,500 units per annum) and the post-pandemic period 2020/21 to 2023/24 (7,300 units per annum) were both well above the long-run 20-year annual average (5,800 units per annum).

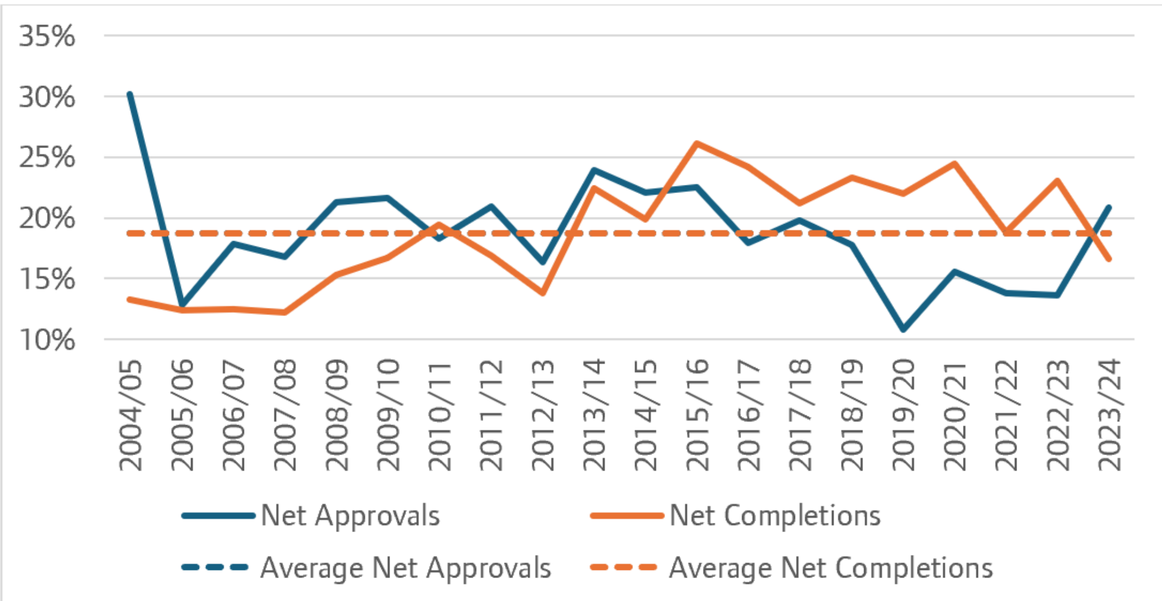
Figure 3.3b Town centre net housing completions, by town centre classification 2004/5 to 2023/24



Source: Planning London Datahub (extract 6 August 2025)

3.3.6 Figure 3.3c shows net housing approvals and completions in town centres as a percentage of London total over the period 2004/5 to 2023/24. As noted above, both net housing unit approvals and completions in town centres accounted for 19 per cent of the corresponding totals for London as a whole. Net completions of housing units in town centres accounted for a higher percentage of London's total net completions during the period 2013/14 to 2022/23 compared to the long-run 20-year average.

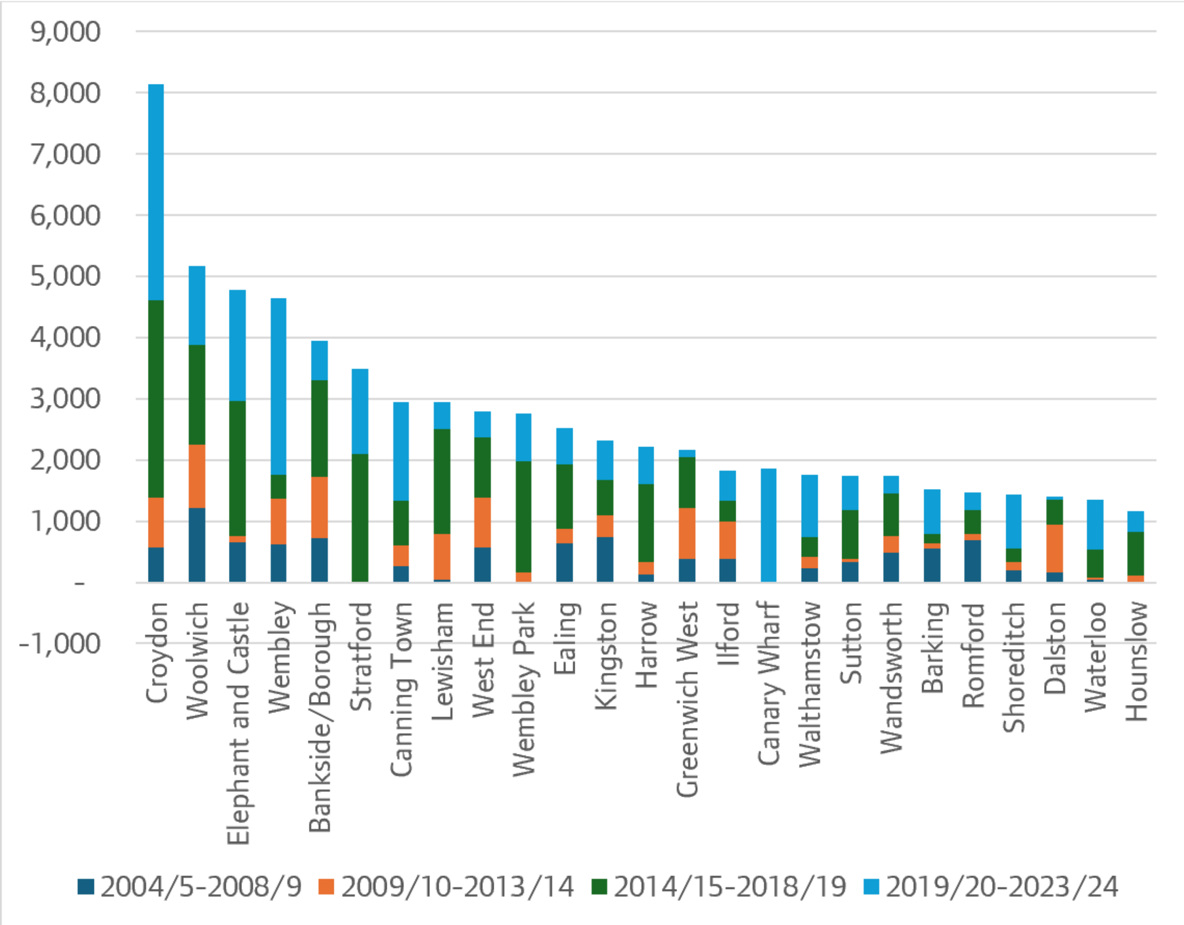
Figure 3.3c Net housing approvals and completions in town centres as a percentage of London total 2004/5 to 2023/24



Source: Planning London Datahub (extract 6 August 2025)

3.3.7 London's town centres with the highest net housing unit completions during the period 2024/5 to 2023/24 are illustrated in Figure 3.3d, with a 5-yearly breakdown. Croydon recorded the highest number of completions over the whole period (over 8,000 units), followed by Woolwich (over 5,000), Elephant & Castle and Wembley (over 4,000) and Bankside/Borough and Stratford (over 3,000).

Figure 3.3d Net housing unit completions 2004/5 to 2023/24, highest ranked 25 town centres



Source: Planning London Datahub (extract 6 August 2025)

4 Impact of permitted development rights in town centres

Key points:

- **0.6 million square metres of office floorspace was converted** to residential in London's town centres between 2014 and 2024, equating to **43 per cent** of the London total office space converted through PDR.
- **Offices** accounted for **98 per cent** of all commercial floorspace that was converted to residential via permitted development in London's town centres between 2014 and 2024.
- **Retail, food and drink and other service use** conversions accounted for **1.8 per cent** of commercial floorspace converted and **light industrial** conversions accounted for **0.3 per cent**.
- **12,000 net residential dwellings** were completed in such PDR conversions in town centres over the period 2014-2024, **42 per cent** of the London total.
- By a considerable margin, **Croydon town centre** was the most impacted by commercial to residential permitted development, followed by Wembley, Hounslow, Sutton, Harrow and Romford.

4.0.1 Permitted development rights (PDR) allow for certain types of work and changes of use without needing to apply for planning permission[40]. Office to residential use PDR were originally introduced by government in 2013 subject to arrangements that required 'prior approval' subject to certain conditions. At that time the Mayor of London secured an exemption for key business districts in and around central London. This was in recognition of their significance as nationally important office locations.

4.0.2 Most of London's town centres that are located outside of these areas in, and around central London were not exempt, and some London boroughs opted to introduce what are known as 'Article 4 Directions' to remove this specific PDR, often with the aim to protect their town centre office stock and associated employment, and to ensure that housing developments in such areas met planning policy requirements for affordable housing and quality. Not all boroughs introduced such Article 4 Directions, and many town centres were therefore subject to the PDR.

4.0.3 In 2014, another PDR was introduced by government, this time for changes of use from retail, and financial and professional services (then Use Classes A1 and A2 respectively) to residential, subject to prior approval and various conditions. In 2017, a PDR for light industrial uses to residential came into force.

4.0.4 Following the introduction in 2020 of a new Planning Class E Commercial, Business and Service uses (which includes retail, financial and professional services, certain food and drink uses, offices, light industrial and other uses[41]) the government at that time

[40] Permitted Development Rights - Planning Permission - Planning Portal.
[41] Full details of Class E can be found at: Use Classes - Change of use - Planning Portal

published legislation[42] in 2021 in England to introduce a new PDR for the change of use of properties in the new Class E to residential from 1 August 2021, subject to prior approval and a range of conditions and limitations. Under the transitional arrangements, where there was an existing Article 4 direction in place in respect of the change of use from offices to residential, it continued to have effect on equivalent development in respect of offices until 31 July 2022.

4.0.5 This new Class E to residential PDR had a much broader scope and several boroughs sought to introduce Article 4 Directions to cover this new PDR although government intervened and modified a number of these Directions making them much more geographically focused. Consequently, a large part of the CAZ (but not all) is covered by Class E to residential Article 4 Directions (so the PDR does not apply in these areas) and GLA monitoring indicates that 18 of the 33 London boroughs have Article 4 Directions covering either all or selected parts of their town centres.

4.0.6 This section of the report reviews analyses the impact of various commercial use to residential PDR in London's town centres between 2014 and 2024. It is based on monitoring evidence from the Planning London Datahub extracted in October 2024 and includes some data checking through work on the London Employment Sites Database.

4.1 Office to residential

4.1.1 Figure 4.1 illustrates the amount of office floorspace that has been converted to residential use via PDR in London's town centres over the period 2014 to 2024. Office to residential PDR (introduced in 2013), and subsequently Class E to residential (introduced in 2021), resulted in 0.6 million sq.m of office floorspace being converted in London's town centres between 2014 and 2024, equating to 43 per cent of the London total office space converted through PDR.

4.1.2 Offices accounted for 98 per cent of all commercial floorspace that was converted to residential via PDR in London's town centres between 2014 and 2024. Retail, food and drink and other service use conversions accounted for 1.8 per cent of commercial floorspace converted (covered in more detail in section 4.2 below) and light industrial conversions accounted for 0.3 per cent (covered in more detail in section 4.3 below).

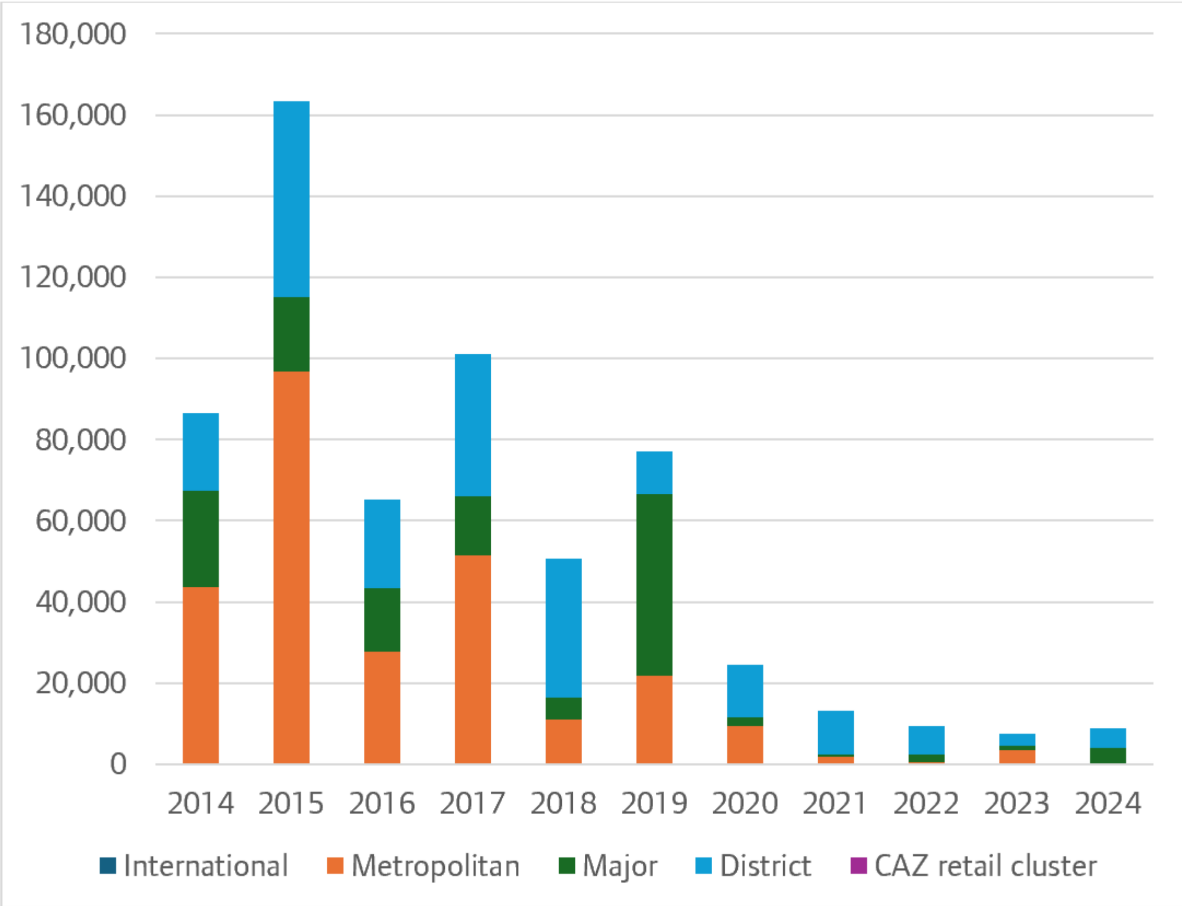
4.1.3 The loss of office space to residential via PDR was particularly high between 2014 and 2019, averaging over 90,000 sq.m per annum over this period. Metropolitan town centres accounted for 44 per cent of the office floorspace losses, District town centres 34 per cent and Major town centres 22 per cent.

4.1.4 No office floorspace was converted in the International centres and CAZ retail clusters as these were exempt from this PDR for part of the period and, when the exemptions were later removed, much of the CAZ was then covered by London borough Article 4 Directions which removed the PDR.

[42] Statutory Instrument 2021 No.428. The Town and Country Planning (General Permitted Development etc.) (England) (Amendment) Order 2021

4.1.5 The decline in the overall trend of office floorspace losses from 2020 onwards may be the result of several factors including several boroughs had introduced Article 4 Directions for all or parts of their town centres by this time and much of the office stock that was ripe for conversion had already been converted during the period 2014 to 2019. The pandemic may have also dampened uptake of this PDR in 2020 and 2021.

Figure 4.1 Permitted Development Completions: office floorspace (sq.m) converted to residential use 2014-2024, by town centre classification



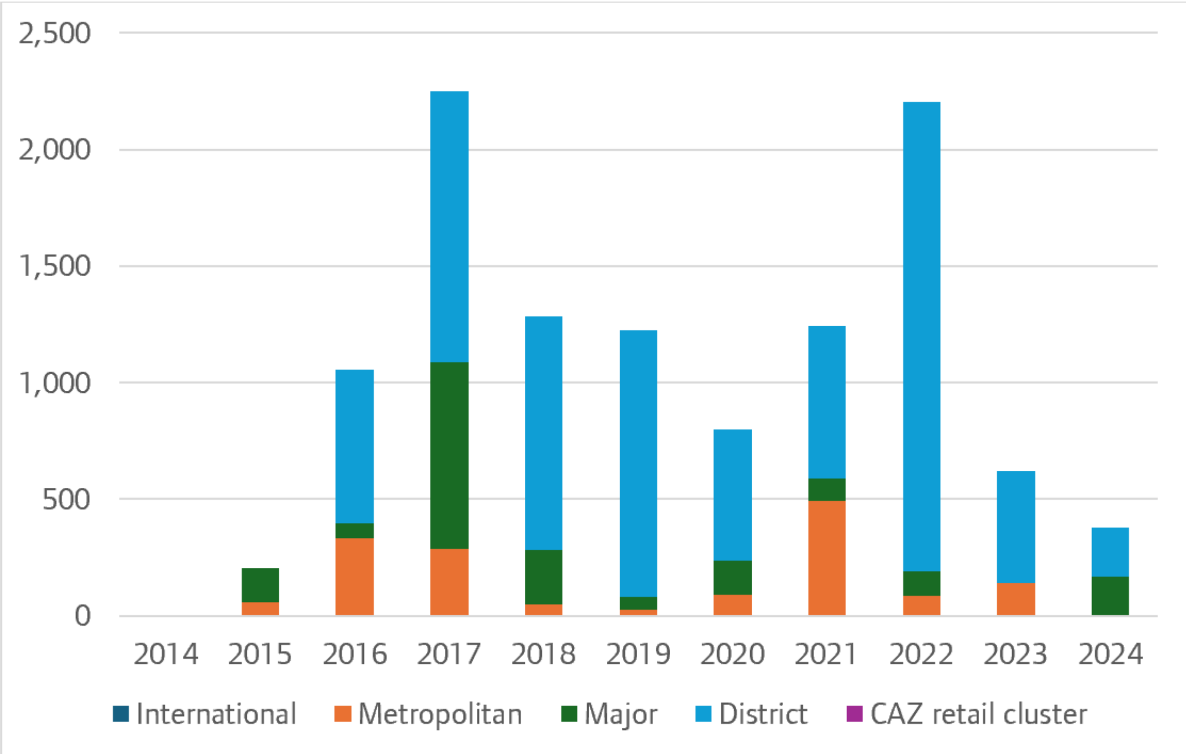
Source: Planning London Datahub/GLA analysis

4.2 Retail, food & drink and services to residential

4.2.1 Figure 4.2 illustrates the amount of retail, food and drink, and services floorspace that has been converted to residential use in London's town centres over the period 2014 to 2024. This PDR (introduced in 2014), and subsequently Class E to residential, resulted in a more limited amount of floorspace being converted (just over 11,000 sq.m) compared to offices in London's town centres between 2014 and 2024. Despite the relatively low floorspace figure, this PDR can be particularly impactful on town centres as it can sometimes result in a direct loss of an active commercial high street frontage, resulting in the fragmentation of town centre frontages and high streets.

4.2.2 The majority of floorspace (70 per cent) converted through this PDR was associated with District town centres, followed by Major town centres (16 per cent) and Metropolitan town centres (14 per cent). No retail, food and drink, and services floorspace was converted via this PDR in the International centres and CAZ retail clusters for the same reasons as noted for office to residential PDR in paragraph 4.1.4 above.

Figure 4.2 Permitted Development Completions: Retail, food & drink and services (Use Class Ea, b and c) floorspace (sq.m) converted to residential use 2014-2024, by town centre classification

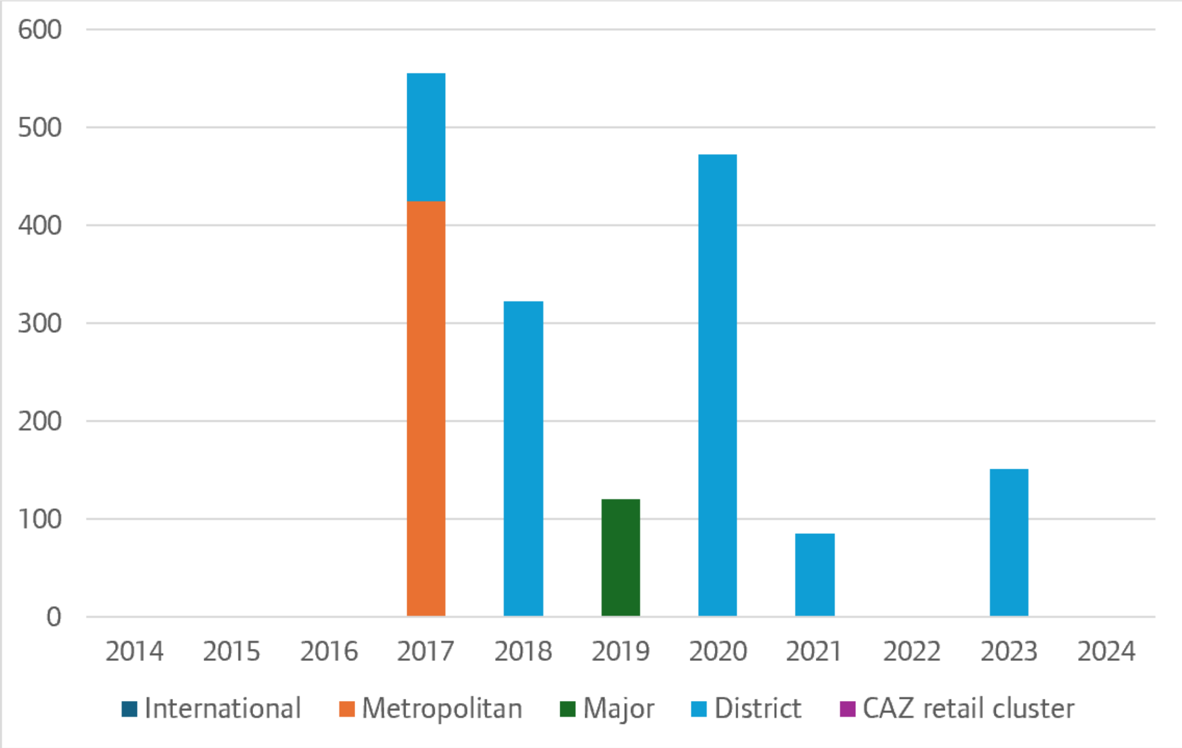


Source: Planning London Datahub/GLA analysis

4.3 Light industrial to residential

4.3.1 Figure 4.3 illustrates the amounts of light industrial floorspace that has been converted to residential use in London's town centres over the period 2014 to 2024, equating to 1,700 sq.m or 50 per cent of the London total floorspace converted. This PDR (introduced in 2017 and then becoming Class E to residential in 2021) mostly affected District town centres (68 per cent of floorspace lost), compared to the Metropolitan town centres (25 per cent) and Major town centres (7 per cent).

Figure 4.3 Permitted Development Completions: light industrial floorspace (sq.m) converted to residential use 2014-2024, by town centre classification



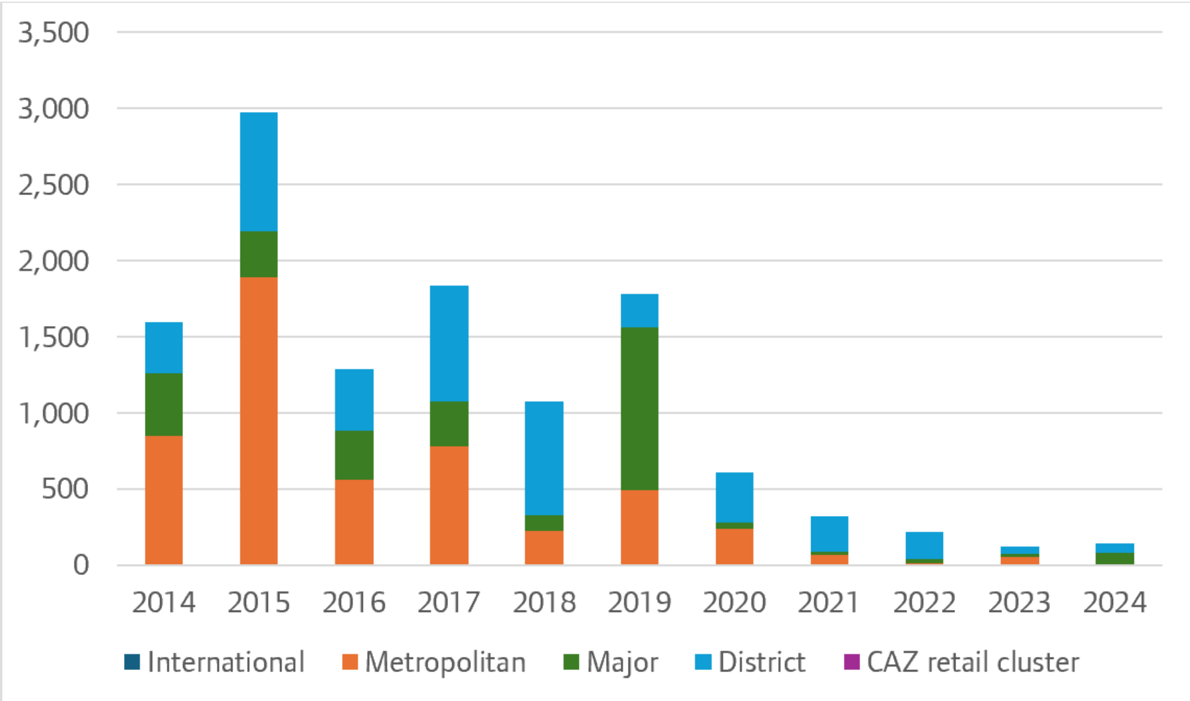
Source: Planning London Datahub/GLA analysis

4.4 Residential units from commercial to residential permitted development

4.4.1 Figure 4.4 shows the number of residential units completed through PDR conversions from various commercial uses. The totals include conversions from offices, retail, food and drink, service uses, light industrial and, from 2021, Class E uses combined. A total of 12,000 net residential dwellings were completed in such PDR conversions in town centres over the period 2014-2024, 42 per cent of the London total.

4.4.2 The total annual number of dwellings completed in PDR conversions in town centres peaked at almost 3,000 units in 2015 and has declined since. Metropolitan town centres accounted for 43 per cent of completed dwellings in town centres via PDR conversions over the period 2014-2024, 34 per cent were in District town centres and 22 per cent in Major town centres.

Figure 4.4 Net residential dwellings in town centres converted from commercial, business and service uses via permitted development (completions) 2014-2024, by town centre classification



Source: Planning London Datahub/GLA analysis

4.5 Town centre-level impacts

4.5.1 This sub-section looks at specific town centres that have been most impacted by the various commercial to residential PDR.

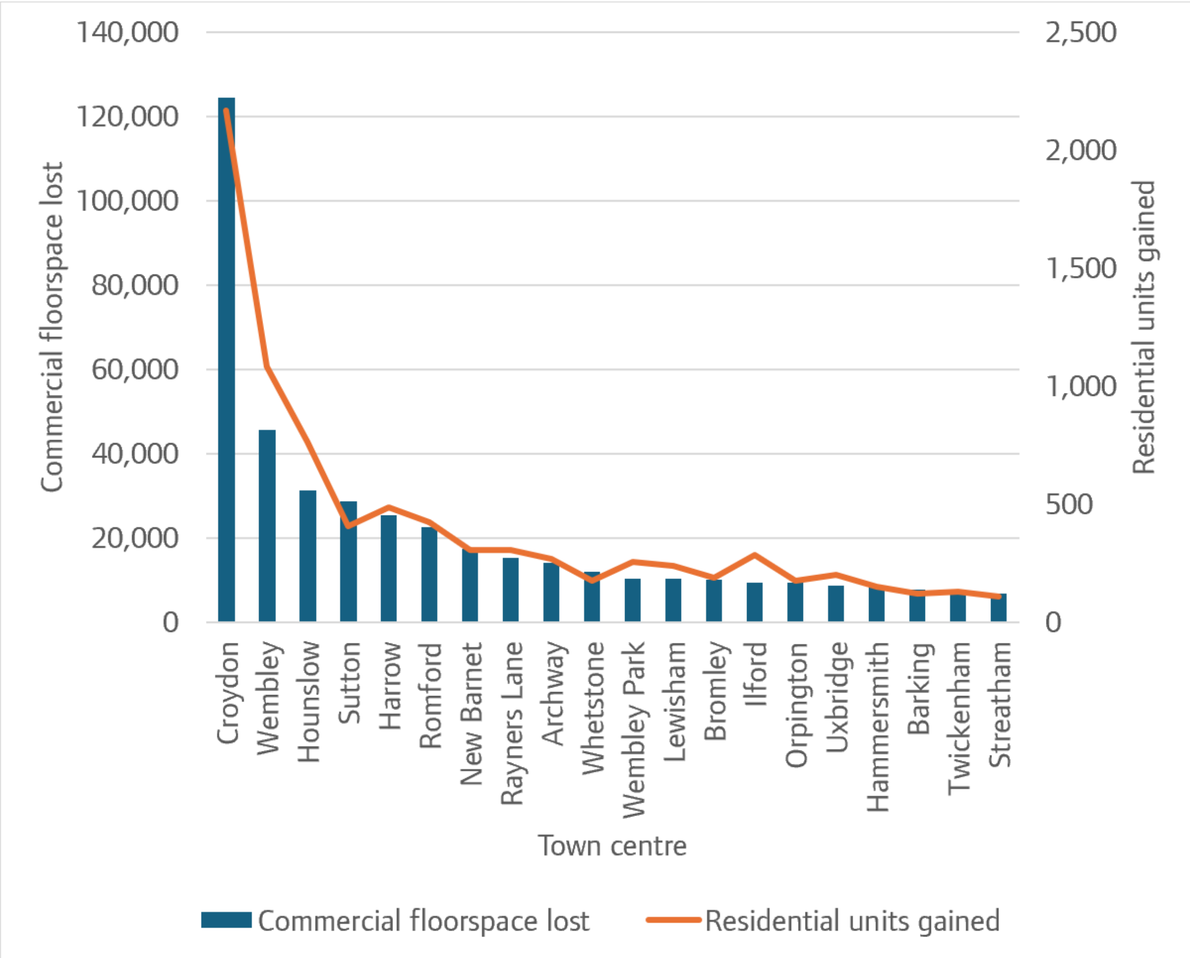
4.5.2 Figure 4.5 below shows the 20 town centres with the highest amounts of commercial floorspace that was converted to residential via PDR over the period 2014 to 2024. The left axis and left column for each town centre shows the total amount of commercial floorspace lost. The right axis and line for each town centre shows the net residential units gained through these PDR conversions. As noted in section 4.1 above the majority of commercial floorspace that was lost is from offices.

4.5.3 By a considerable margin, Croydon town centre was the most impacted by commercial to residential PDR over this period, with a loss of more than 124,000 sq.m (all offices) accounting for 20 per cent of all office floorspace lost in London's town centres. Net residential unit gains in Croydon amounted to around 2,200 units.

4.5.4 Wembley town centre was the next most impacted with over 45,000 sq.m of commercial floorspace loss (again all offices) and almost 1,100 net residential units gained. Hounslow town centre lost more than 30,000 sq.m of commercial space, and Sutton, Harrow and Romford town centres all lost more than 20,000 sq.m. New Barnet, Rayners

Lane, Archway, Whetstone, Wembley Park, Lewisham and Bromley town centres all lost more than 10,000 sq.m.

Figure 4.5 Town centres with highest amounts of commercial floorspace (sq.m) converted to residential (units) via permitted development rights (completions) 2014 to 2024



Source: Planning London Datahub/GLA analysis

5 London Plan town centre network review

5.0.1 The London Plan town centre network (see Figure 1 in the Introduction to the report) is a key element of London's economy and plays an important role in meeting the needs of Londoners and of those who work in and visit the capital. It promotes a broad distribution of centres of different roles and sizes, allowing all parts of London to access employment, goods and services, supporting cultural and social interaction and enabling local economies to thrive.

5.0.2 The town centre network is dynamic and allows the role and function of centres to change over time. To inform the next London Plan, this section of the report reviews the London Plan 2021 town centre network classifications (Section 5.1) and the roles of town centres in the night-time economy (Section 5.2).

5.1 Town centre network classifications

5.1.1. The methodology for reviewing the London Plan town centre network classifications is illustrated in Figure 5.1a below.

Figure 5.1a Town centre network classification methodology

5.1.2 In **Step 1**, the default boundary used for each town centre is based upon adopted local plan policies maps. During the consultation in **Step 2**, some local planning authorities requested that emerging draft local plan town centre boundaries be used for the purposes of the assessment.

5.1.3 The indicators defined in **Step 3** are set out in Table 5.1a overleaf. Several of the indicators were used in the assessment for the 2021 London Plan town centre network including indicators A-D, F, G, J and K. To reflect the diversity of town centre uses that are open for some or all the night-time (6pm-6am) a new indicator 'Total occupied night-time economy uses floorspace' has been included in the current assessment.

5.1.4 A new suite of indicators (H and I) covering spend and footfall have been included in the current assessment. Indicator H1 is the relative index of total spend in the centre over the period March 2022 to December 2024, benchmarked to the average for all centres included in the analysis. Indicator H2 is the relative index of average spend per 350m hex[43] in the centre over the period March 2022 to December 2024, benchmarked to the average for all centres included in the analysis. Similarly, the indicators related to footfall include the relative index of total footfall (I1) and the relative index of average footfall per 350m hex (I2). Two additional footfall indicators are added, one to cover worker-related footfall (I3) and one to cover visitor-related footfall (I4).

5.1.5 In **Step 4**, data is collected for each town centre and each indicator. All floorspace related data was sourced from the Local Data Company/Green Street, aggregated by the High Streets Data Service (HSDS)[44]. Spend and footfall data was aggregated and anonymised by Mastercard and BT respectively and made available via the HSDS. Employment data was sourced from the Business Register and Employment Survey (BRES) and assigned to town centres by GLA Economics. Retail rent data was sourced from the CoStar database and Public Transport Accessibility Level data from Transport for London.

5.1.6 For each indicator, the data for each town centre was then ranked high to low (**Step 5**) and a judgement was made on natural break points between the four town centre network classifications (International, Metropolitan, Major and District). These break points were then assigned as thresholds for use in subsequent stages in the analysis. Table 5.1a below provides details of the thresholds used for each indicator.

5.1.7 To review the London Plan town centre network classifications, the data for each town centre was assessed against the indicators and thresholds in Table 5.1a (**Step 6**). For each town centre the number of indicators for which the data is 'above' each of the classification thresholds was quantified (**Step 7**). For indicator C (Total occupied convenience goods retail floorspace as a percentage of total town centre floorspace)

[43] 350 metre hexagons or 'hexes' are the standard geographical units available for spend and footfall data through the High Streets Data Service. The data is aggregated and anonymised for each hex.
[44] High Streets Data Service and Partnership – London Datastore

the indicator threshold is expressed as a range and the assessment considers whether the data for each town centre and classification type is 'within range'.

Table 5.1a Town centre network classification indicators and thresholds

	Indicator	International	Metropolitan	Major	District
A	Total occupied town centre floorspace (excluding offices) (sq.m)	500,000	88,000	40,000	5,000
B	Total occupied comparison goods retail floorspace (sq.m) as a percentage of total town centre floorspace	95%	50%	25%	5%
C	Total occupied convenience goods retail floorspace (sq.m) as a percentage of total town centre floorspace	0%-5%	5%-25%	5%-40%	15%-100%
D	Total occupied leisure floorspace (sq.m)	50,000	15,000	7,000	500
E	Total occupied night-time economy uses floorspace (sq.m)	100,000	12,500	5,000	500
F	Total office floorspace (sq.m)	100,000	50,000	10,000	100
G	Total employment	50,000	5,000	1,500	50
H1	Relative index of total spend (100 = average across all centres)	500	125	40	5
H2	Relative index of average spend per 100m grid (100 = average across all centres)	500	100	50	10
I1	Relative index of total footfall (100 = average across all centres)	500	150	100	10
I2	Relative index of average footfall per 350m hex (100 = average across all centres)	300	100	50	10
I3	Relative index of worker footfall (100 = average across all centres)	1,000	100	40	5
I4	Relative index of visitor footfall (100 = average across all centres)	300	100	50	5
J	Retail rents (£/sq.m)	£100	£40	£15	£0
K	Public Transport Accessibility Levels (PTAL) Maximum	6b	6b	6a	3

5.1.8 In **Step 8**, draft recommendations were made for each town centre based on the assessment in Steps 6 and 7. In addition to the quantified number of indicators for which the data is 'above' or 'within range' of the classification thresholds, indicator A

(Total occupied town centre floorspace (excluding offices)) is treated in the analysis as a core indicator and was given greater weight relative to the other indicators. Local planning authorities were then consulted on the draft town centre network classification recommendations for each town centre.

5.1.9 Following the local planning authority engagement, the town centre classification recommendations were finalised (**Step 9**) and the results are presented in the next section.

Town centre network recommendations

5.1.10 Following the methodology set out above the analysis confirmed the 2021 London Plan town centre network classifications for the majority (187) of centres. Changes to the 2021 London Plan town centre network classifications are recommended for 24 centres, details of which are provided in Table 5.1b below.

Table 5.1b Recommended changes to the 2021 London Plan town centre network classifications

Ref	Town centre	Local Planning Authority	London Plan 2021 classification	Next London Plan recommended classification
4	Camden Town	Camden	Major	Metropolitan
6	Clapham Junction	Wandsworth	Major	Metropolitan
13	Lewisham	Lewisham	Major	Metropolitan
19	Wembley	Brent	Major	Metropolitan
27	Swiss Cottage/ Finchley Road	Camden	District	Major
28	Acton	Ealing	District	Major
30	Edmonton Green	Enfield	District	Major
33	Greenwich	Greenwich	District	Major
38	Green Lanes	Haringey	District	Major
42	Finsbury Park	Islington/Hackney/ Haringey	District	Major
45	New Malden	Kingston	District	Major
49	Colliers Wood	Merton	Future potential town centre	Major
52	Green Street	Newham	District	Major
54	Twickenham	Richmond	District	Major
58	Leytonstone	Waltham Forest	District	Major
64	North Greenwich	Greenwich	Future potential town centre	District (future potential Major)
84	Lower Belvedere	Bexley	Future potential town centre	District
87	Church End (Brent)	Brent	Not classified	District
123	North Tottenham	Haringey	Not classified	District

Ref	Town centre	Local Planning Authority	London Plan 2021 classification	Next London Plan recommended classification
125	Tottenham Hale	Haringey	Future potential town centre	District
182	Old Kent Road North	Southwark	Future potential town centre	District
183	Old Kent Road South	Southwark	Future potential town centre	District
187	Hackbridge	Sutton	Future potential town centre	District
195	Crossharbour	Tower Hamlets	Future potential town centre	District

5.1.11 Four town centres are recommended for a change from Major to **Metropolitan town centre** classification:

- **Camden Town** is above the Metropolitan threshold in Core Indicator A (Total occupied town centre floorspace (excluding offices)) and above the Metropolitan threshold in 13 of the 15 indicators in total. Its catchment area (i.e. where the majority of visitors to the centre reside) extends across multiple boroughs.
- **Clapham Junction** is above the Metropolitan threshold in Core Indicator A (Total occupied town centre floorspace (excluding offices)) and above the Metropolitan threshold in 11 indicators in total. Its catchment area extends across multiple boroughs.
- **Lewisham** is above the Metropolitan threshold in Core Indicator A (Total occupied town centre floorspace (excluding offices)) and above the Metropolitan threshold in 6 indicators in total. Its catchment area extends well beyond the borough of Lewisham.
- **Wembley** is currently below the Metropolitan threshold in Core Indicator A (Total occupied town centre floorspace (excluding offices)) but it will be above the Metropolitan threshold upon completion of the current development pipeline. It is also above the Metropolitan threshold in 8 indicators in total. Its catchment area extends across multiple boroughs.

5.1.12 **Stratford** and **Shepherd's Bush** are designated in the 2021 London Plan as Metropolitan town centres with future potential to become International centres. Stratford currently only meets two of the 14 International centre indicators (office floorspace and the relative index of visitor footfall) and Shepherd's Bush just one International centre indicator (relative index of visitor footfall). The analysis in Section 2.6 above (Figure 2.6b) suggests that the average number of international visitors as a proportion of total visitors in Stratford (11 per cent) and Shepherd's Bush (14 per cent) is currently much lower than that for the two International centres of the West End (24 per cent) and Knightsbridge (29 per cent). The analysis confirms the Metropolitan centre classifications of Stratford and Shepherd's Bush and it is recommended that this status is kept under review (for potential to increase to International) in future town centre network assessments.

5.1.13 **Woolwich** is designated in the 2021 London Plan as a Major town centre with future potential to become a Metropolitan town centre. The centre is above the Major centre threshold for all 15 indicators and above the Metropolitan centre threshold for seven indicators (but not the core metric for total occupied town centre floorspace). The data suggests that Woolwich may exceed the Metropolitan centre core metric for total occupied town centre floorspace if the current development pipeline is built out. It is recommended therefore that Woolwich should retain its classification as a Major town centre with future potential to become a Metropolitan town centre.

5.1.14 Eleven town centres are recommended for a change from District or Future Potential Town Centre classification to a **Major town centre** classification:

- **Acton** is above the Major centre threshold in Core Metric A and above threshold in 11 indicators in total. Its catchment extends across multiple boroughs.
- **Colliers Wood** is above the Major centre threshold in Core Metric A and above threshold in 11 indicators in total. It has significant catchment that extends across much of the borough. Some existing development in the town centre comprises low density retail parks. Merton's adopted Local Plan (2024) contains policies to guide the redevelopment of single or two storey retail outlets to create new streets and public spaces, provide homes above shops. With this supportive policy approach, and based upon the evidence in this assessment, Major centre status is recommended.
- **Edmonton Green** is above the Major centre threshold in Core Metric A and above threshold in 8 indicators in total. Its catchment is not as large as Enfield (also a Major town centre).
- **Finsbury Park** is a cross-boundary town centre associated with three boroughs (Hackney, Haringey and Islington). When considered as a whole, it is above the Major centre threshold in Core Metric A and above threshold in 13 indicators in total. Its catchment extends across multiple boroughs.
- **Green Lanes** is marginally above the Major centre threshold in Core Metric A and above threshold in 8 indicators in total. Its catchment extends to neighbouring boroughs.
- **Green Street** is above the Major centre threshold in Core Metric A and above threshold in 10 indicators in total. Its catchment extends into neighbouring boroughs
- **Greenwich** town centre is above the Major centre threshold in Core Metric A and above threshold in 12 indicators in total. Its catchment extends across multiple boroughs.
- **Leytonstone** is above the Major centre threshold in Core Metric A and above threshold in 8 indicators in total. Its catchment extends into some neighbouring boroughs.
- **New Malden** is above the Major centre threshold in Core Metric A and above threshold in 6 indicators in total. It has a relatively local catchment.

- **Swiss Cottage/ Finchley Road** is above the Major centre threshold in Core Metric A and above threshold in 13 indicators in total. Its catchment is larger than most districts and extends into parts of Brent and Westminster.
- **Twickenham** is above the Major centre threshold in Core Metric A and above threshold in 11 indicators in total. Its catchment is not as large as Richmond (also a Major centre) but extends across the west of the borough.

5.1.15 The 2021 London Plan town centres annex also includes **CAZ Retail clusters** which are significant mixed-use clusters located within the Central Activities Zone with a predominant retail function and, in terms of scale, these are broadly comparable to Major or District centres. Many of the ground floor uses within these clusters fall within the new commercial, business and service Use Class E introduced in 2020 alongside cultural and experience economy related uses. It is therefore recommended that in the next London Plan, CAZ Retail Clusters should be referenced as **CAZ Class E/experience economy clusters** in recognition of these wider roles.

5.1.16 Recommended changes to the 2021 London Plan classifications for these clusters is provided in Table 5.1c below. Further details of the CAZ Class E/experience economy clusters is set out in a related London Plan evidence paper on the CAZ[45].

Table 5.1c Recommended changes to the 2021 London Plan CAZ retail cluster classifications

Ref	Town centre	Local Planning Authority	London Plan 2021 classification	Next London Plan recommended classification
217	Oxford Street/Regent Street/Bond Street	Oxford Street Development Corporation/ Westminster	Not classified	International experience economy destination
218	Barbican	City of London	Night-time economy cluster	CAZ cluster: Night-time economy
219	Southbank	Lambeth	Night-time economy cluster	CAZ cluster: Night-time economy
220	Holborn (High Holborn/Holborn/Kingsway)	Camden	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
221	King's Cross Boulevard and Coal Drops Yard	Camden	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
222	King's Cross/Euston Road	Camden	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
223	Tottenham Court Road/Charing Cross Road/New Oxford Street	Camden	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
224	Cheapside	City of London	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy

[45] Mayor of London. London Plan evidence – Central Activities Zone (functions and capacity) (2026)

Ref	Town centre	Local Planning Authority	London Plan 2021 classification	Next London Plan recommended classification
225	Fleet Street	City of London	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
226	Leadenhall Market	City of London	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
227	Moorgate/Liverpool Street	City of London	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
228	Shoreditch	Hackney	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
229	Waterloo	Lambeth	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
230	Vauxhall	Lambeth / Wandsworth	Future potential town centre	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
231	Bankside and The Borough	Southwark	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
232	London Bridge	Southwark	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
233	Wentworth Street	Tower Hamlets	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
234	Battersea	Wandsworth	Future potential town centre	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
235	Baker Street South	Westminster	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
236	Chiltern Street	Westminster	Not classified	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
237	Covent Garden/Strand	Westminster	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
238	Edgware Road South	Westminster	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
239	Great Portland Street	Westminster	Not classified	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
240	Jermyn Street	Westminster	Not classified	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
241	Marylebone High Street	Westminster	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
242	Marylebone Road	Westminster	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
243	Piccadilly	Westminster	Not classified	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
244	Praed Street/ Paddington	Westminster	District	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
245	South Audley/Mount Street	Westminster	Not classified	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
246	Victoria Street	Westminster	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
247	Warwick Way/ Tachbrook Street	Westminster	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy

Ref	Town centre	Local Planning Authority	London Plan 2021 classification	Next London Plan recommended classification
248	Wigmore Street	Westminster	Not classified	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
249	Charing Cross Road	Westminster / Camden	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy

5.1.16 A list of all centres and recommended classifications is provided in Annex B of this report. Further details of the assessment for each London Plan town centre are provided in a supplementary **Technical Annex**[46] to this report in Excel format.

Future potential town centres

5.1.17 The 2021 London Plan also indicates locations that are not currently functioning as town centres but are anticipated to evolve through new development to become town centres during the Plan period. These centres are known as '**Future potential town centres**'.

5.1.18 The review of the London Plan town centre network classifications found that several of the 2021 London Plan Future potential town centres are now considered to be part of the current town centre network including Colliers Wood, North Greenwich, Lower Belvedere, Tottenham Hale, Old Kent Road North, Old Kent Road South, Hackbridge and Crossharbour (see Table 5.1b above).

5.1.19 The review found that six locations are emerging as future potential town centres in the London town centre network including:

- **Brent Cross** – Location including the existing regional shopping centre with potential to evolve to become a new town centre of Metropolitan scale including land identified in Barnet's Local Plan (2025)[47] to the north and south of the A406 (Brent Cross North and Brent Cross Town) and forming part of the wider Brent Cross Growth Area.
- **Old Oak** - An emerging town centre at Old Oak with the potential to deliver a significant amount of commercial floorspace through comprehensive and coordinated development. It is promoted as a Major town centre in the Old Oak and Park Royal Development Corporation (OPDC) Local Plan (2022)[48] and Old Oak West Supplementary Planning Document and it will be reviewed through OPDC's Local Plan review. The town centre is planned to be focused around a multi-modal public transport interchange including the Elizabeth Line, Great Western Main Line and HS2.
- **Beckton Riverside** (formerly Gallions Reach) – Currently an out-of-centre shopping park, Newham's emerging draft Local Plan (2024)[49] identifies Beckton Riverside as expected to evolve to become a District town centre (with potential for a Major centre subject to policy) focused around a public transport hub.

[46] London Datastore: Technical Annex 1 – Town centre network classifications
[47] Barnet Local Plan 2021-2036 | Barnet Council
[48] OPDC_local_plan_2022_june_2022
[49] Newham Local Plan Reg 19 part-1

- **Three Mills Lane** (formerly Bromley-by-Bow) – The emerging Tower Hamlets draft Local Plan (2025)[50] envisages an appropriate mix and balance of uses at this location at Bromley by Bow (including Hancock Road / Three Mills Lane) that together have the potential to function as a District centre.
- **Barking Riverside** – Part of the Barking Riverside Transformation Area and identified in Barking and Dagenham's Local Plan (2024)[51] as a new District Centre, with implementation in progress.
- **Hackney Wick** – currently establishing as a new neighbourhood centre. The London Legacy Development Corporation Local Plan (2020)[52] and accompanying retail needs assessment[53] envisaged potential capacity for 10,000 sqm of retail and leisure floorspace, including night-time economy uses, which would exceed the indicative thresholds for a District centre.

5.1.20 A summary of the future potential town centres and their recommended next London Plan classifications is set out in Table 5.1d below.

Table 5.1d Recommended 'Future potential town centres' in the London Plan town centre network

Ref	Location	Local Planning Authority	London Plan 2021 classification	Next London Plan recommended classification
211	Brent Cross	Barnet	Future potential Metropolitan town centre	Future potential Metropolitan town centre
212	Old Oak	Old Oak and Park Royal Development Corporation	Future potential Major town centre	Future potential Major town centre
213	Beckton Riverside (formerly Gallions Reach)	Newham	Future potential town Major centre	Future potential District/Major town centre
214	Three Mills Lane (formerly Bromley-by-Bow)	Tower Hamlets	Future potential District town centre	Future potential District town centre
215	Barking Riverside	Barking and Dagenham	Future potential District town centre	Future potential District town centre
216	Hackney Wick	Hackney / Tower Hamlets	Not classified	Future potential District town centre

5.1.21 A map of the recommended London Plan town centre network classifications (strategic and future potential town centres) is provided in Figure 5.1b below.

[50] Tower Hamlets New Local Plan (Reg 19 consultation)
[51] Barking and Dagenham Local Plan
[52] Local Plan 2020 – 2036 | Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park
[53] LLDC Combined Economic Study – Retail Needs Assessment

Figure 5.1b Recommended next London Plan town centre network classifications (strategic and future potential town centres)

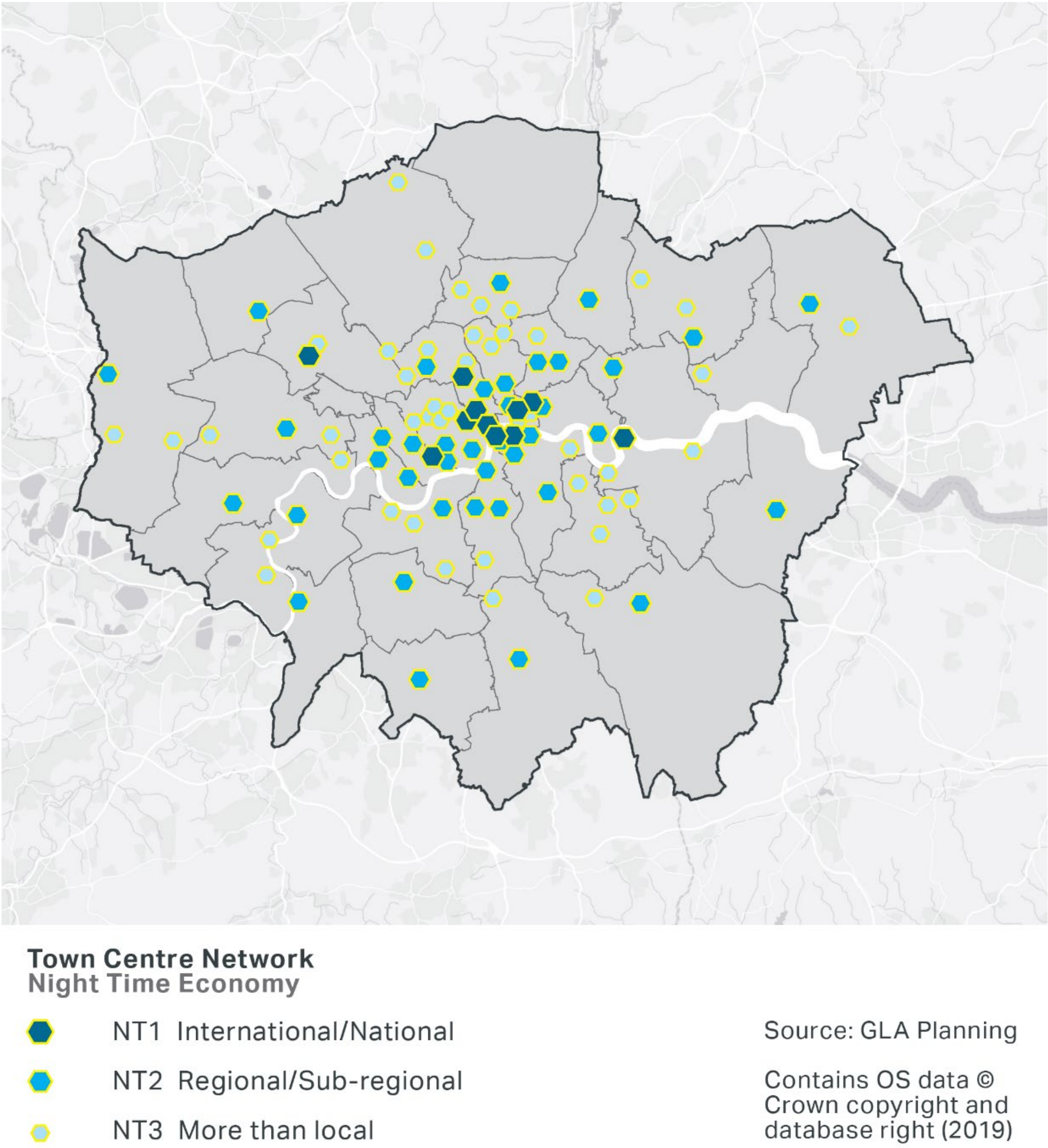
5.2 Night-time economy classifications

5.2.1 The 2021 London Plan recognises that town centres have a night-time function involving a broad mix of activity during the evening and at night (see Figure 5.2a). These activities may include for example culture, leisure, entertainment, hospitality, health services, shopping, transport services and logistics. In the 2021 London Plan, town centres are classified into three categories:

- NT1 – Areas of international or national significance
- NT2 – Areas of regional or sub-regional significance
- NT3 – Areas with more than local significance

5.2.2 This section of the report includes a review of the 2021 London Plan night-time economy classifications for town centres and selected locations in the CAZ.

Figure 5.2a London Plan 2021 Town Centre night-time economy classifications



Methodology

5.2.3 The review the London Plan town centre night-time economy classifications adopted the same method as that used for the town centre network classifications (see Figure 5.1a on page 70) but with a different set of definitions, classifications, indicators and classification thresholds.

5.2.4 Regarding **definitions**, the night-time economy refers to economic activities that take place during the hours of 6pm to 6am. For this review, night-time economy activities are included irrespective of whether they take place across all or part of the 6pm to 6am period. A list of the night-time economic activities included in the analysis is provided in

Table 5.2a below. These are based on the data categories available from the High Streets Data Service sourced from the data provider.[54]

Table 5.2a Night-time economy uses

• Accommodation (includes hotels, bed & breakfast, guesthouses, hostels, holiday flats, holiday accommodation/parks, serviced apartments) • Adult venues/services • Bingo Halls • Bowling Alleys • Casino Clubs • Cinemas • Comedy Clubs • Lounge Bars • Museums & Art Galleries	• Night Clubs • Party Venues & Function Rooms • Private Clubs • Public Houses, Bars & Inns • Restaurants • Snooker, Billiards & Pool Halls • Social Clubs • Sports Grounds & Stadiums • Takeaways • Theatres & Concert Halls • Ticket Outlets & Box Offices • Tourist Attractions

5.2.5 Regarding night-time economy **classifications**, the review adopted the three classifications that are used in the 2021 London Plan (that is: NT1, NT2 and NT3, see Table 5.2b below) and added a fourth classification NT4 for town centres with a night-time economy of local significance. This new classification has been included on the basis that most, if not all, town centres have some night-time economic activity after 6pm.

Table 5.2b Night-time economy classifications included in the review

- NT1 – Areas of international or national significance
- NT2 – Areas of regional or sub-regional significance
- NT3 – Areas with more than local significance
- NT4 – Areas with local significance

5.2.6 The night-time economy **indicators** and classification **thresholds** are set out in Table 5.2c. Several of the indicators were used in the assessment for the 2021 London Plan night-time economy classifications including indicators A1 to A6, but with amended classification thresholds derived from analysis of the ranked night-time economy data for each indicator (using the same method in Step 5 for the town centre network review – see Figure 5.1a). To reflect the broader diversity of night-time economy uses that are open for some or all the night-time (6pm-6am) a new indicator ‘Total occupied night-time economy uses floorspace’ is included in the current assessment, based upon the night-time uses listed in Table 5.2a above.

[54] Currently the Local Data Company / Green Street

5.2.7 Additional indicators (B and C) covering spend and footfall have been included in the current assessment. Indicator B1 is the relative index of total night-time spend in the centre over the period March 2022 to December 2024, benchmarked to the average for all centres included in the analysis. Indicator B2 is the relative index of average night-time spend per 350 metre hex in the centre over the period March 2022 to December 2024, benchmarked to the average for all centres. Indicator C1 is the relative index of total night-time footfall and C2 is the relative index of average night-time footfall per 350 metre hex. The other two additional footfall indicators cover night-time visitor-related footfall (C3) and night-time worker-related footfall (C4).

Table 5.2c Night-time economy classification* indicators and thresholds

	Indicator	NT1	NT2	NT3	NT4
A	Total occupied night-time economy uses floorspace (sq.m)	44,000	10,000	5,000	50
A1	Total cinema floorspace (sq.m)	3,000	300	100	20
A2	Total theatre and concert halls floorspace (sq.m)	1,500	800	500	20
A3	Total restaurant floorspace (sq.m)	10,000	4,000	1,500	20
A4	Total pubs and bars floorspace (sq.m)	35,000	3,000	1,200	20
A5	Total night clubs floorspace (sq.m)	5,000	100	75	20
A6	Hotel, bed and breakfast and other visitor accommodation floorspace (sq.m)	5,000	2,000	450	20
B1	Relative index of total night-time spend 6pm-6am (100 = average across all centres)	500	175	40	5
B2	Relative index of average night-time spend 6pm-6am per 100m grid (100 = average across all centres)	500	120	95	5
C1	Relative index of total night-time footfall 6pm-6am (100 = average across all centres)	250	135	100	5
C2	Relative index of total visitor night-time footfall 6pm-6am per 350m hex (100 = average across all centres)	300	110	75	5
C3	Relative index of total worker night-time footfall 6pm-6am per 350m hex (100 = average across all centres)	400	150	85	5
C4	Relative index of average night-time footfall 6pm-6am per 350m hex (100 = average across all centres)	225	160	130	5

* See Table 5.2a for definitions

5.2.8 All floorspace related data in the night-time economy classifications was sourced from the Local Data Company/Green Street, aggregated by the High Streets Data Service. Spend and footfall data was aggregated and anonymised by Mastercard and BT respectively and made available via the High Streets Data Service.

5.2.9 Adopting the same method as used to review the London Plan town centre network classifications (see Steps 6 and 7 in Figure 5.1a on page 70), the data for each town centre was assessed against the night-time indicators and thresholds in Table 5.2c.

5.2.10 Based on this assessment, draft night-time economy classification recommendations were made for each town centre. Local planning authorities were consulted on the draft recommendations. Following the local planning authority engagement, the town centre night-time economy classification recommendations were finalised and the results are presented in the next section.

London Plan night-time economy classification recommendations (town centres)

5.2.11 Following the methodology set out above, changes are recommended to the 2021 London Plan night-time classifications for 52 centres, details of which are provided in Table 5.2d below. The analysis confirmed the 2021 London Plan night-time economy classifications for 77 centres and in addition, 120 centres are recommended for a new NT4 classification (night-time economy of local significance). Figure 5.2b (which follows Table 5.2d below) provides a map illustrating the recommended night-time economy classifications for London's town centres. A summary for all centres is provided in Annex C to this report.

5.2.12 Further details of the assessment for each town centre are provided in a supplementary **Technical Annex**[55] to this report in Excel format.

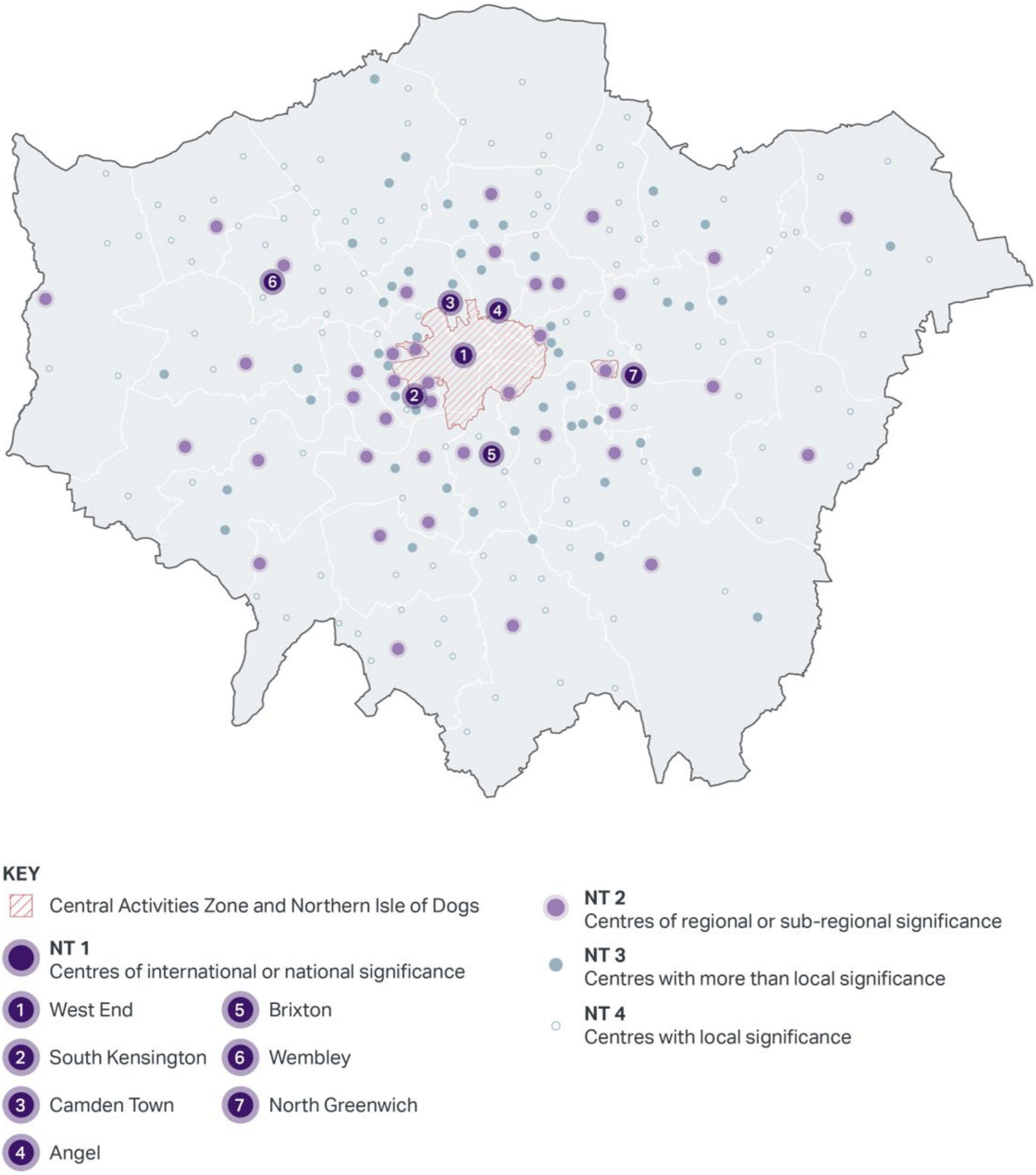
Table 5.2d Recommended changes to the 2021 London Plan night-time economy classifications (International, Regional/sub-regional and more than local significance)

Ref	Centre	Local Planning Authority	London Plan 2021 night-time economy classification	Next London Plan recommended classification
40	Angel	Islington	**NT2**	**NT1**
46	Brixton	Lambeth	**NT2**	**NT1**
229	Waterloo	Lambeth	**NT2**	**NT1**
217	Oxford Street/Regent Street/Bond Street	Oxford Street Development Corporation/ Westminster	--	**NT1**
249	Charing Cross Road	Westminster / Camden	--	**NT1**
243	Piccadilly	Westminster	--	**NT1**
21	Woolwich	Greenwich	NT3	**NT2**
13	Lewisham	Lewisham	NT3	**NT2**
60	Putney	Wandsworth	NT3	**NT2**
61	Tooting	Wandsworth	NT3	**NT2**
63	Queensway/ Westbourne Grove	Westminster / Kensington and Chelsea	NT3	**NT2**
92	Wembley Park	Brent	NT3	**NT2**
33	Greenwich	Greenwich	NT3	**NT2**
42	Finsbury Park	Islington / Hackney / Haringey	NT3	**NT2**
244	Praed Street/ Paddington	Westminster	NT3	**NT2**

[55] London Datastore: Technical Annex 2 – Night-time economy classifications

Ref	Centre	Local Planning Authority	London Plan 2021 night-time economy classification	Next London Plan recommended classification
220	Holborn (High Holborn/ Holborn/Kingsway)	Camden	--	**NT2**
227	Moorgate/Liverpool Street	City of London	NT3	**NT2**
238	Edgware Road South	Westminster	NT3	**NT2**
247	Warwick Way/ Tachbrook Street	Westminster	--	**NT2**
26	Orpington	Bromley	--	**NT3**
32	Eltham	Greenwich	--	**NT3**
47	Streatham	Lambeth	**NT2**	**NT3**
51	East Ham	Newham	--	**NT3**
71	Finchley Central	Barnet	--	**NT3**
101	West Hampstead	Camden	--	**NT3**
110	Upper Norwood/ Crystal Palace	Croydon / Lambeth / Bromley	--	**NT3**
149	Earls Court Road	Kensington and Chelsea	--	**NT3**
151	King's Road (west)	Kensington and Chelsea	--	**NT3**
152	Notting Hill Gate	Kensington and Chelsea	--	**NT3**
153	Portobello	Kensington and Chelsea	--	**NT3**
162	Deptford	Lewisham	--	**NT3**
52	Green Street	Newham	--	**NT3**
184	Camberwell	Southwark / Lambeth	--	**NT3**
192	Bethnal Green	Tower Hamlets	--	**NT3**
198	Watney Market	Tower Hamlets	--	**NT3**
199	Whitechapel	Tower Hamlets	--	**NT3**
206	Balham	Wandsworth	--	**NT3**
222	King's Cross/Euston Road	Camden	--	**NT3**
225	Fleet Street	City of London	--	**NT3**
226	Leadenhall Market	City of London	--	**NT3**
233	Wentworth Street	Tower Hamlets	--	**NT3**
235	Baker Street South	Westminster	--	**NT3**
211	Brent Cross	Barnet	--	**NT3**
49	Colliers Wood	Merton	--	**NT3**
182	Old Kent Road North	Southwark	--	**NT3**
183	Old Kent Road South	Southwark	--	**NT3**
234	Battersea	Wandsworth	--	**NT3**
248	Wigmore Street	Westminster	--	**NT3**
245	South Audley/Mount St.	Westminster	--	**NT3**
240	Jermyn Street	Westminster	--	**NT3**
239	Great Portland Street	Westminster	--	**NT3**
216	Hackney Wick	Hackney/Tower Hamlets	--	**NT3**

Figure 5.2b Recommended next London Plan Town Centre night-time economy classifications



Annexes

A. London Plan town centre classifications

Classification	Description
International	Globally recognised centres for business, culture, experience and tourism functions with significant amounts of the highest-order comparison goods retail and leisure floorspace and unparalleled levels of public transport connectivity.
Metropolitan	Very large town centres with significant employment, culture, retail, leisure and service functions and excellent public transport accessibility, serving wide catchments which often extend across over several boroughs and into parts of the Wider South East. Typically, they have a higher proportion of high-order comparison goods retail relative to convenience retail.
Major	Town centres with significant employment, culture, leisure and service functions (though tending to be smaller in scale compared to Metropolitan town centres). They typically have a relatively high proportion of comparison retail relative to convenience retail and excellent levels of public transport accessibility.
District	Town centres of smaller scale compared to Metropolitan and Major town centres and often providing a higher proportion of convenience goods retail and services, alongside employment, cultural and leisure uses. Typically, they serve parts of a borough catchment area and are accessible by public transport and active travel modes.
CAZ retail cluster	Significant mixed-use commercial clusters located within the Central Activities Zone, often with a predominant retail or leisure function.
Future potential town centre	Locations not currently functioning as a town centre but have future potential to become a town centre.

B. Town centre network classifications – recommendations

Ref	Town centre	Local Planning Authority	London Plan 2021 classification	Next London Plan recommended classification
1	West End	Westminster / Camden / Oxford Street Development Corporation	International	International
2	Knightsbridge	Kensington and Chelsea / Westminster	International	International
3	Bromley	Bromley	Metropolitan	Metropolitan
4	Camden Town	Camden	Major	Metropolitan
5	Canary Wharf	Tower Hamlets	Metropolitan	Metropolitan
6	Clapham Junction	Wandsworth	Major	Metropolitan
7	Croydon	Croydon	Metropolitan	Metropolitan
8	Ealing	Ealing	Metropolitan	Metropolitan
9	Harrow	Harrow	Metropolitan	Metropolitan
10	Hounslow	Hounslow	Metropolitan	Metropolitan
11	Ilford	Redbridge	Metropolitan	Metropolitan
12	Kingston	Kingston	Metropolitan	Metropolitan
13	Lewisham	Lewisham	Major	Metropolitan
14	Romford	Havering	Metropolitan	Metropolitan
15	Shepherd's Bush	Hammersmith and Fulham	Metropolitan	Metropolitan
16	Stratford	Newham	Metropolitan	Metropolitan
17	Sutton	Sutton	Metropolitan	Metropolitan
18	Uxbridge	Hillingdon	Metropolitan	Metropolitan
19	Wembley	Brent	Major	Metropolitan
20	Wood Green	Haringey	Metropolitan	Metropolitan
21	Woolwich	Greenwich	Major	Major (future potential Metropolitan)
22	Barking	Barking and Dagenham	Major	Major
23	Edgware	Barnet / Harrow	Major	Major
24	Bexleyheath	Bexley	Major	Major
25	Kilburn	Brent / Camden	Major	Major
26	Orpington	Bromley	Major	Major
27	Swiss Cottage/ Finchley Road	Camden	District	Major
28	Acton	Ealing	District	Major

Ref	Town centre	Local Planning Authority	London Plan 2021 classification	Next London Plan recommended classification
29	Southall	Ealing	Major	Major
30	Edmonton Green	Enfield	District	Major
31	Enfield Town	Enfield	Major	Major
32	Eltham	Greenwich	Major	Major
33	Greenwich	Greenwich	District	Major
34	Dalston	Hackney	Major	Major
35	Hackney Central	Hackney	Major	Major
36	Fulham	Hammersmith and Fulham	Major	Major
37	Hammersmith	Hammersmith and Fulham	Major	Major
38	Green Lanes	Haringey	District	Major
39	Chiswick	Hounslow	Major	Major
40	Angel	Islington	Major	Major
41	Nags Head	Islington	Major	Major
42	Finsbury Park	Islington / Hackney / Haringey	District	Major
43	Kensington High Street	Kensington and Chelsea	Major	Major
44	King's Road (east)	Kensington and Chelsea	Major	Major
45	New Malden	Kingston	District	Major
46	Brixton	Lambeth	Major	Major
47	Streatham	Lambeth	Major	Major
48	Catford	Lewisham	Major	Major
49	Colliers Wood	Merton	Future potential town centre	Major
50	Wimbledon	Merton	Major	Major
51	East Ham	Newham	Major	Major
52	Green Street	Newham	District	Major
53	Richmond	Richmond	Major	Major
54	Twickenham	Richmond	District	Major
55	Canada Water	Southwark	Major	Major
56	Elephant and Castle/ Walworth Road	Southwark	Major	Major
57	Peckham	Southwark	Major	Major
58	Leytonstone	Waltham Forest	District	Major
59	Walthamstow	Waltham Forest	Major	Major
60	Putney	Wandsworth	Major	Major

Ref	Town centre	Local Planning Authority	London Plan 2021 classification	Next London Plan recommended classification
61	Tooting	Wandsworth	Major	Major
62	Wandsworth	Wandsworth	Major	Major
63	Queensway/ Westbourne Grove	Westminster / Kensington and Chelsea	Major	Major
64	North Greenwich	Greenwich	Future potential town centre	District (future potential Major)
65	Dagenham Heathway	Barking and Dagenham	District	District
66	Chadwell Heath	Barking and Dagenham / Redbridge	District	District
67	Green Lane	Barking and Dagenham / Redbridge	District	District
68	Brent Street	Barnet	District	District
69	Chipping Barnet	Barnet	District	District
70	East Finchley	Barnet	District	District
71	Finchley Central	Barnet	District	District
72	Golders Green	Barnet	District	District
73	Hendon	Barnet	District	District
74	Mill Hill	Barnet	District	District
75	New Barnet	Barnet	District	District
76	North Finchley	Barnet	District	District
77	Temple Fortune	Barnet	District	District
78	Whetstone	Barnet	District	District
79	Colindale/ The Hyde	Barnet / Brent	District	District
80	Cricklewood	Barnet / Brent / Camden	District	District
81	Burnt Oak	Barnet / Brent / Harrow	District	District
82	Crayford	Bexley	District	District
83	Erith	Bexley	District	District
84	Lower Belvedere	Bexley	Future potential town centre	District
85	Sidcup	Bexley	District	District
86	Welling	Bexley	District	District
87	Church End (Brent)	Brent	---	District
88	Ealing Road	Brent	District	District
89	Harlesden	Brent	District	District
90	Neasden	Brent	District	District
91	Preston Road	Brent	District	District

Ref	Town centre	Local Planning Authority	London Plan 2021 classification	Next London Plan recommended classification
92	Wembley Park	Brent	District	District
93	Willesden Green	Brent	District	District
94	Kingsbury	Brent / Harrow	District	District
95	Beckenham	Bromley	District	District
96	Penge	Bromley	District	District
97	Petts Wood	Bromley	District	District
98	West Wickham	Bromley	District	District
99	Hampstead	Camden	District	District
100	Kentish Town	Camden	District	District
101	West Hampstead	Camden	District	District
102	Addiscombe	Croydon	District	District
103	Coulsdon	Croydon	District	District
104	New Addington	Croydon	District	District
105	Norbury	Croydon	District	District
106	Purley	Croydon	District	District
107	Selsdon	Croydon	District	District
108	South Norwood	Croydon	District	District
109	Thornton Heath	Croydon	District	District
110	Upper Norwood/ Crystal Palace	Croydon / Lambeth / Bromley	District	District
111	Greenford	Ealing	District	District
112	Hanwell	Ealing	District	District
113	Angel Edmonton	Enfield	District	District
114	Palmers Green	Enfield	District	District
115	Southgate	Enfield	District	District
116	East Greenwich	Greenwich	District	District
117	Plumstead	Greenwich	District	District
118	Thamesmead	Greenwich	District	District
119	Stamford Hill	Hackney	District	District
120	Stoke Newington	Hackney	District	District
121	Crouch End	Haringey	District	District
122	Muswell Hill	Haringey	District	District
123	North Tottenham	Haringey	---	District
124	Seven Sisters/ West Green Road	Haringey	District	District

Ref	Town centre	Local Planning Authority	London Plan 2021 classification	Next London Plan recommended classification
125	Tottenham Hale	Haringey	Future potential town centre	District
126	Tottenham High Road/ Bruce Grove	Haringey	District	District
127	North Harrow	Harrow	District	District
128	Pinner	Harrow	District	District
129	Rayners Lane	Harrow	District	District
130	South Harrow	Harrow	District	District
131	Stanmore	Harrow	District	District
132	Wealdstone	Harrow	District	District
133	Kenton	Harrow / Brent	District	District
134	Collier Row	Havering	District	District
135	Elm Park	Havering	District	District
136	Harold Hill	Havering	District	District
137	Hornchurch	Havering	District	District
138	Rainham	Havering	District	District
139	Upminster	Havering	District	District
140	Eastcote	Hillingdon	District	District
141	Hayes	Hillingdon	District	District
142	Northwood	Hillingdon	District	District
143	Ruislip	Hillingdon	District	District
144	Yiewsley/ West Drayton	Hillingdon	District	District
145	Brentford	Hounslow	District	District
146	Feltham High Street	Hounslow	District	District
147	Archway	Islington	District	District
148	Brompton Cross	Kensington and Chelsea	District	District
149	Earls Court Road	Kensington and Chelsea	District	District
150	Fulham Road	Kensington and Chelsea	District	District
151	King's Road (west)	Kensington and Chelsea	District	District
152	Notting Hill Gate	Kensington and Chelsea	District	District
153	Portobello	Kensington and Chelsea	District	District
154	South Kensington	Kensington and Chelsea	District	District
155	Surbiton	Kingston	District	District
156	Tolworth	Kingston	District	District
157	Clapham High Street	Lambeth	District	District
158	Stockwell	Lambeth	District	District

Ref	Town centre	Local Planning Authority	London Plan 2021 classification	Next London Plan recommended classification
159	West Norwood/ Tulse Hill	Lambeth	District	District
160	Herne Hill	Lambeth / Southwark	District	District
161	Lavender Hill/ Queenstown Road	Lambeth / Wandsworth	District	District
162	Deptford	Lewisham	District	District
163	Downham	Lewisham	District	District
164	Forest Hill	Lewisham	District	District
165	New Cross	Lewisham	District	District
166	Sydenham	Lewisham	District	District
167	Blackheath	Lewisham / Greenwich	District	District
168	Lee Green	Lewisham / Greenwich	District	District
169	Mitcham	Merton	District	District
170	Morden	Merton	District	District
171	Canning Town	Newham	District	District
172	East Beckton	Newham	District	District
173	Forest Gate	Newham	District	District
174	Barkingside	Redbridge	District	District
175	Gants Hill	Redbridge	District	District
176	South Woodford	Redbridge	District	District
177	Wanstead	Redbridge	District	District
178	East Sheen	Richmond	District	District
179	Teddington	Richmond	District	District
180	Whitton	Richmond	District	District
181	Lordship Lane/ East Dulwich	Southwark	District	District
182	Old Kent Road North	Southwark	Future potential town centre	District
183	Old Kent Road South	Southwark	Future potential town centre	District
184	Camberwell	Southwark / Lambeth	District	District
185	Carshalton	Sutton	District	District
186	Cheam	Sutton	District	District
187	Hackbridge	Sutton	Future potential town centre	District
188	North Cheam	Sutton	District	District
189	Rosehill	Sutton	District	District

Ref	Town centre	Local Planning Authority	London Plan 2021 classification	Next London Plan recommended classification
190	Wallington	Sutton	District	District
191	Worcester Park	Sutton	District	District
192	Bethnal Green	Tower Hamlets	District	District
193	Brick Lane	Tower Hamlets	District	District
194	Chrisp Street	Tower Hamlets	District	District
195	Crossharbour	Tower Hamlets	Future potential town centre	District
196	Roman Road (east)	Tower Hamlets	District	District
197	Roman Road (west)	Tower Hamlets	District	District
198	Watney Market	Tower Hamlets	District	District
199	Whitechapel	Tower Hamlets	District	District
200	Bakers Arms	Waltham Forest	District	District
201	Highams Park	Waltham Forest	District	District
202	Leyton	Waltham Forest	District	District
203	North Chingford	Waltham Forest	District	District
204	South Chingford	Waltham Forest	District	District
205	Wood Street	Waltham Forest	District	District
206	Balham	Wandsworth	District	District
207	Earlsfield	Wandsworth	District	District
208	Edgware Road/ Church Street	Westminster	District	District
209	Harrow Road	Westminster	District	District
210	St John's Wood	Westminster	District	District
211	Brent Cross	Barnet	Future potential Metropolitan town centre	Future potential Metropolitan town centre
212	Old Oak	Old Oak and Park Royal Development Corporation	Future potential Major town centre	Future potential Major town centre
213	Beckton Riverside	Newham	Future potential Major town centre	Future potential District/Major town centre
214	Three Mills Lane	Tower Hamlets	Future potential District town centre	Future potential District town centre
215	Barking Riverside	Barking and Dagenham	Future potential District town centre	Future potential District town centre
216	Hackney Wick	Hackney / Tower Hamlets	---	Future potential District town centre

Ref	Town centre	Local Planning Authority	London Plan 2021 classification	Next London Plan recommended classification
217	Oxford Street/Regent Street/Bond Street	Oxford Street Development Corporation/ Westminster	Not classified	International experience economy destination
218	Barbican	City of London	Night-time economy cluster	CAZ cluster: Night-time economy
219	Southbank	Lambeth	Night-time economy cluster	CAZ cluster: Night-time economy
220	Holborn (High Holborn/ Holborn/Kingsway)	Camden	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
221	King's Cross Boulevard and Coal Drops Yard	Camden	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
222	King's Cross/Euston Road	Camden	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
223	Tottenham Court Road/Charing Cross Road/New Oxford Street	Camden	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
224	Cheapside	City of London	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
225	Fleet Street	City of London	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
226	Leadenhall Market	City of London	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
227	Moorgate/ Liverpool Street	City of London	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
228	Shoreditch	Hackney	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
229	Waterloo	Lambeth	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
230	Vauxhall	Lambeth / Wandsworth	Future potential town centre	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
231	Bankside and The Borough	Southwark	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
232	London Bridge	Southwark	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
233	Wentworth Street	Tower Hamlets	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
234	Battersea	Wandsworth	Future potential town centre	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy

Ref	Town centre	Local Planning Authority	London Plan 2021 classification	Next London Plan recommended classification
235	Baker Street South	Westminster	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
236	Chiltern Street	Westminster	Not classified	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
237	Covent Garden/ Strand	Westminster	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
238	Edgware Road South	Westminster	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
239	Great Portland Street	Westminster	Not classified	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
240	Jermyn Street	Westminster	Not classified	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
241	Marylebone High Street	Westminster	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
242	Marylebone Road	Westminster	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
243	Piccadilly	Westminster	Not classified	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
244	Praed Street/ Paddington	Westminster	District	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
245	South Audley/ Mount Street	Westminster	Not classified	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
246	Victoria Street	Westminster	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
247	Warwick Way/ Tachbrook Street	Westminster	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
248	Wigmore Street	Westminster	Not classified	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy
249	Charing Cross Road	Westminster / Camden	CAZ retail cluster	CAZ cluster: Class E/ Experience economy

C. Night-time economy classifications - recommendations

Ref	Centre	Local Planning Authority	London Plan 2021 night-time economy classification	Next London Plan recommended classification
1	West End	Westminster/Camden/ Oxford Street Development Corporation	NT1	NT1
19	Wembley	Brent	NT1	NT1
4	Camden Town	Camden	NT1	NT1
223	Tottenham Court Road/ Charing Cross Road/New Oxford Street	Camden	NT1	NT1
218	Barbican	City of London	NT1	NT1
64	North Greenwich	Greenwich	NT1	NT1
228	Shoreditch	Hackney	NT1	NT1
40	Angel	Islington	NT2	NT1
154	South Kensington	Kensington and Chelsea	NT1	NT1
219	South Bank	Lambeth	NT1	NT1
46	Brixton	Lambeth	NT2	NT1
229	Waterloo	Lambeth	NT2	NT1
231	Bankside and The Borough	Southwark	NT1	NT1
217	Oxford Street/Regent Street/Bond Street	Oxford Street Development Corporation/ Westminster	--	NT1
243	Piccadilly	Westminster	--	NT1
237	Covent Garden/Strand	Westminster	NT1	NT1
249	Charing Cross Road	Westminster / Camden	--	NT1
24	Bexleyheath	Bexley	NT2	NT2
92	Wembley Park	Brent	NT3	NT2
3	Bromley	Bromley	NT2	NT2
220	Holborn (High Holborn/ Holborn/Kingsway)	Camden	--	NT2
221	King's Cross Boulevard and Coal Drops Yard	Camden	NT2	NT2
27	Swiss Cottage/ Finchley Road	Camden	NT2	NT2
227	Moorgate/Liverpool Street	City of London	NT3	NT2
7	Croydon	Croydon	NT2	NT2
8	Ealing	Ealing	NT2	NT2
33	Greenwich	Greenwich	NT3	NT2
21	Woolwich	Greenwich	NT3	NT2
34	Dalston	Hackney	NT2	NT2
35	Hackney Central	Hackney	NT2	NT2

Ref	Centre	Local Planning Authority	London Plan 2021 night-time economy classification	Next London Plan recommended classification
36	Fulham	Hammersmith and Fulham	**NT2**	**NT2**
37	Hammersmith	Hammersmith and Fulham	**NT2**	**NT2**
15	Shepherd's Bush	Hammersmith and Fulham	**NT2**	**NT2**
20	Wood Green	Haringey	**NT2**	**NT2**
9	Harrow	Harrow	**NT2**	**NT2**
14	Romford	Havering	**NT2**	**NT2**
18	Uxbridge	Hillingdon	**NT2**	**NT2**
10	Hounslow	Hounslow	**NT2**	**NT2**
42	Finsbury Park	Islington / Hackney / Haringey	NT3	**NT2**
43	Kensington High Street	Kensington and Chelsea	**NT2**	**NT2**
44	King's Road (east)	Kensington and Chelsea	**NT2**	**NT2**
2	Knightsbridge	Kensington and Chelsea / Westminster	**NT2**	**NT2**
12	Kingston	Kingston	**NT2**	**NT2**
157	Clapham High Street	Lambeth	**NT2**	**NT2**
230	Vauxhall	Lambeth / Wandsworth	**NT2**	**NT2**
13	Lewisham	Lewisham	NT3	**NT2**
50	Wimbledon	Merton	**NT2**	**NT2**
16	Stratford	Newham	**NT2**	**NT2**
11	Ilford	Redbridge	**NT2**	**NT2**
53	Richmond	Richmond	**NT2**	**NT2**
56	Elephant and Castle/ Walworth Road	Southwark	**NT2**	**NT2**
232	London Bridge	Southwark	**NT2**	**NT2**
57	Peckham	Southwark	**NT2**	**NT2**
17	Sutton	Sutton	**NT2**	**NT2**
193	Brick Lane	Tower Hamlets	**NT2**	**NT2**
5	Canary Wharf	Tower Hamlets	**NT2**	**NT2**
59	Walthamstow	Waltham Forest	**NT2**	**NT2**
6	Clapham Junction	Wandsworth	**NT2**	**NT2**
60	Putney	Wandsworth	NT3	**NT2**
61	Tooting	Wandsworth	NT3	**NT2**
238	Edgware Road South	Westminster	NT3	**NT2**
244	Praed Street/ Paddington	Westminster	NT3	**NT2**
246	Victoria Street	Westminster	**NT2**	**NT2**
247	Warwick Way/ Tachbrook Street	Westminster	--	**NT2**
63	Queensway/ Westbourne Grove	Westminster / Kensington and Chelsea	NT3	**NT2**

Ref	Centre	Local Planning Authority	London Plan 2021 night-time economy classification	Next London Plan recommended classification
22	Barking	Barking and Dagenham	NT3	NT3
211	Brent Cross	Barnet	--	NT3
69	Chipping Barnet	Barnet	NT3	NT3
71	Finchley Central	Barnet	--	NT3
76	North Finchley	Barnet	NT3	NT3
25	Kilburn	Brent / Camden	NT3	NT3
95	Beckenham	Bromley	NT3	NT3
26	Orpington	Bromley	--	NT3
99	Hampstead	Camden	NT3	NT3
100	Kentish Town	Camden	NT3	NT3
222	King's Cross/Euston Road	Camden	--	NT3
101	West Hampstead	Camden	--	NT3
224	Cheapside	City of London	NT3	NT3
225	Fleet Street	City of London	--	NT3
226	Leadenhall Market	City of London	--	NT3
110	Upper Norwood/ Crystal Palace	Croydon / Lambeth / Bromley	--	NT3
28	Acton	Ealing	NT3	NT3
29	Southall	Ealing	NT3	NT3
32	Eltham	Greenwich	--	NT3
120	Stoke Newington	Hackney	NT3	NT3
216	Hackney Wick	Hackney/Tower Hamlets	--	NT3
121	Crouch End	Haringey	NT3	NT3
38	Green Lanes	Haringey	NT3	NT3
122	Muswell Hill	Haringey	NT3	NT3
137	Hornchurch	Havering	NT3	NT3
39	Chiswick	Hounslow	NT3	NT3
147	Archway	Islington	NT3	NT3
41	Nags Head	Islington	NT3	NT3
149	Earls Court Road	Kensington and Chelsea	--	NT3
151	King's Road (west)	Kensington and Chelsea	--	NT3
152	Notting Hill Gate	Kensington and Chelsea	--	NT3
153	Portobello	Kensington and Chelsea	--	NT3
47	Streatham	Lambeth	**NT2**	NT3
48	Catford	Lewisham	NT3	NT3
162	Deptford	Lewisham	--	NT3
165	New Cross	Lewisham	NT3	NT3
167	Blackheath	Lewisham / Greenwich	NT3	NT3
49	Colliers Wood	Merton	--	NT3
51	East Ham	Newham	--	NT3
52	Green Street	Newham	--	NT3

Ref	Centre	Local Planning Authority	London Plan 2021 night-time economy classification	Next London Plan recommended classification
175	Gants Hill	Redbridge	NT3	NT3
176	South Woodford	Redbridge	NT3	NT3
179	Teddington	Richmond	NT3	NT3
54	Twickenham	Richmond	NT3	NT3
55	Canada Water	Southwark	NT3	NT3
182	Old Kent Road North	Southwark	--	NT3
183	Old Kent Road South	Southwark	--	NT3
184	Camberwell	Southwark / Lambeth	--	NT3
192	Bethnal Green	Tower Hamlets	--	NT3
198	Watney Market	Tower Hamlets	--	NT3
233	Wentworth Street	Tower Hamlets	--	NT3
199	Whitechapel	Tower Hamlets	--	NT3
206	Balham	Wandsworth	--	NT3
234	Battersea	Wandsworth	--	NT3
62	Wandsworth	Wandsworth	NT3	NT3
235	Baker Street South	Westminster	--	NT3
208	Edgware Road/Church Street	Westminster	NT3	NT3
239	Great Portland Street	Westminster	--	NT3
240	Jermyn Street	Westminster	--	NT3
241	Marylebone High Street	Westminster	NT3	NT3
245	South Audley/Mount Street	Westminster	--	NT3
248	Wigmore Street	Westminster	--	NT3
65	Dagenham Heathway	Barking and Dagenham	--	NT4
66	Chadwell Heath	Barking and Dagenham / Redbridge	--	NT4
67	Green Lane	Barking and Dagenham / Redbridge	--	NT4
68	Brent Street	Barnet	--	NT4
70	East Finchley	Barnet	--	NT4
72	Golders Green	Barnet	--	NT4
73	Hendon	Barnet	--	NT4
74	Mill Hill	Barnet	--	NT4
75	New Barnet	Barnet	--	NT4
77	Temple Fortune	Barnet	--	NT4
78	Whetstone	Barnet	--	NT4
79	Colindale/ The Hyde	Barnet / Brent	--	NT4
80	Cricklewood	Barnet / Brent / Camden	NT3	NT4
81	Burnt Oak	Barnet / Brent / Harrow	--	NT4
23	Edgware	Barnet / Harrow	--	NT4

Ref	Centre	Local Planning Authority	London Plan 2021 night-time economy classification	Next London Plan recommended classification
82	Crayford	Bexley	--	NT4
83	Erith	Bexley	--	NT4
84	Lower Belvedere	Bexley	--	NT4
85	Sidcup	Bexley	--	NT4
86	Welling	Bexley	--	NT4
87	Church End (Brent)	Brent	--	NT4
88	Ealing Road	Brent	--	NT4
89	Harlesden	Brent	--	NT4
90	Neasden	Brent	--	NT4
91	Preston Road	Brent	--	NT4
93	Willesden Green	Brent	--	NT4
94	Kingsbury	Brent / Harrow	--	NT4
96	Penge	Bromley	--	NT4
97	Petts Wood	Bromley	--	NT4
98	West Wickham	Bromley	--	NT4
102	Addiscombe	Croydon	--	NT4
103	Coulsdon	Croydon	--	NT4
104	New Addington	Croydon	--	NT4
105	Norbury	Croydon	NT3	NT4
106	Purley	Croydon	--	NT4
107	Selsdon	Croydon	--	NT4
108	South Norwood	Croydon	--	NT4
109	Thornton Heath	Croydon	--	NT4
111	Greenford	Ealing	--	NT4
112	Hanwell	Ealing	--	NT4
113	Angel Edmonton	Enfield	--	NT4
30	Edmonton Green	Enfield	--	NT4
31	Enfield Town	Enfield	--	NT4
114	Palmers Green	Enfield	--	NT4
115	Southgate	Enfield	--	NT4
116	East Greenwich	Greenwich	--	NT4
117	Plumstead	Greenwich	--	NT4
118	Thamesmead	Greenwich	--	NT4
119	Stamford Hill	Hackney	--	NT4
123	North Tottenham	Haringey	--	NT4
124	Seven Sisters/West Green Road	Haringey	--	NT4
125	Tottenham Hale	Haringey	--	NT4
126	Tottenham High Road/Bruce Grove	Haringey	--	NT4
127	North Harrow	Harrow	--	NT4
128	Pinner	Harrow	--	NT4

Ref	Centre	Local Planning Authority	London Plan 2021 night-time economy classification	Next London Plan recommended classification
129	Rayners Lane	Harrow	--	NT4
130	South Harrow	Harrow	--	NT4
131	Stanmore	Harrow	--	NT4
132	Wealdstone	Harrow	--	NT4
133	Kenton	Harrow / Brent	--	NT4
134	Collier Row	Havering	--	NT4
135	Elm Park	Havering	--	NT4
136	Harold Hill	Havering	--	NT4
138	Rainham	Havering	--	NT4
139	Upminster	Havering	--	NT4
140	Eastcote	Hillingdon	--	NT4
141	Hayes	Hillingdon	NT3	NT4
142	Northwood	Hillingdon	--	NT4
143	Ruislip	Hillingdon	--	NT4
144	Yiewsley/ West Drayton	Hillingdon	NT3	NT4
145	Brentford	Hounslow	--	NT4
146	Feltham High Street	Hounslow	--	NT4
148	Brompton Cross	Kensington and Chelsea	--	NT4
150	Fulham Road	Kensington and Chelsea	--	NT4
45	New Malden	Kingston	--	NT4
155	Surbiton	Kingston	--	NT4
156	Tolworth	Kingston	--	NT4
158	Stockwell	Lambeth	--	NT4
159	West Norwood/ Tulse Hill	Lambeth	--	NT4
160	Herne Hill	Lambeth / Southwark	--	NT4
161	Lavender Hill/ Queenstown Road	Lambeth / Wandsworth	--	NT4
163	Downham	Lewisham	--	NT4
164	Forest Hill	Lewisham	--	NT4
166	Sydenham	Lewisham	--	NT4
168	Lee Green	Lewisham / Greenwich	--	NT4
169	Mitcham	Merton	--	NT4
170	Morden	Merton	--	NT4
213	Beckton Riverside	Newham	--	NT4
171	Canning Town	Newham	--	NT4
172	East Beckton	Newham	--	NT4
173	Forest Gate	Newham	--	NT4
212	Old Oak	Old Oak and Park Royal Development Corporation	--	NT4
174	Barkingside	Redbridge	--	NT4
177	Wanstead	Redbridge	--	NT4

Ref	Centre	Local Planning Authority	London Plan 2021 night-time economy classification	Next London Plan recommended classification
178	East Sheen	Richmond	--	NT4
180	Whitton	Richmond	--	NT4
181	Lordship Lane/East Dulwich	Southwark	--	NT4
185	Carshalton	Sutton	--	NT4
186	Cheam	Sutton	--	NT4
187	Hackbridge	Sutton	--	NT4
188	North Cheam	Sutton	--	NT4
189	Rosehill	Sutton	--	NT4
190	Wallington	Sutton	--	NT4
191	Worcester Park	Sutton	--	NT4
194	Chrisp Street	Tower Hamlets	--	NT4
196	Roman Road (east)	Tower Hamlets	--	NT4
197	Roman Road (west)	Tower Hamlets	--	NT4
200	Bakers Arms	Waltham Forest	--	NT4
201	Highams Park	Waltham Forest	--	NT4
202	Leyton	Waltham Forest	--	NT4
58	Leytonstone	Waltham Forest	--	NT4
203	North Chingford	Waltham Forest	--	NT4
204	South Chingford	Waltham Forest	--	NT4
205	Wood Street	Waltham Forest	--	NT4
207	Earlsfield	Wandsworth	--	NT4
236	Chiltern Street	Westminster	--	NT4
209	Harrow Road	Westminster	--	NT4
242	Marylebone Road	Westminster	--	NT4
210	St John's Wood	Westminster	--	NT4
215	Barking Riverside	Barking and Dagenham	--	NT4
195	Crossharbour	Tower Hamlets	--	--
214	Three Mills Lane	Tower Hamlets	--	--

Notes:

Night-time economy classifications

- NT1 – Centres of international or national significance
- NT2 – Centres of regional or sub-regional significance
- NT3 – Centres with more than local significance
- NT4 – Centres with local significance

D. Interrelationship with GLA high streets

D.1 High streets are defined in the 2021 London Plan as "one of London's most characteristic urban features which play an important role in terms of local economic and social infrastructure, providing employment opportunities and promoting community and cultural exchange."[56]

D.2 The GLA's High Streets and Town Centres Adaptive Strategies document[57] takes a broad and inclusive look at high streets. It defines high streets as: "…complex and dynamic mixed-use urban corridors [which] ensure easy pedestrian access to everyday goods and services, places of work and leisure. They are typically characterised by a variety of premises that accommodate non-residential uses to support the wider neighbourhood."

D.3 The GLA has identified more than 600 high streets in London, all of which are located outside the CAZ (see Figure D.1 below). Many high streets stretch beyond the town centres identified in the London Plan and several will be closely linked to Neighbourhood and Local centres defined in Local Plans. Figures D.2 and D.3 provide an illustration of the strategic London Plan town centres, local plan town centre-related designations (indicative) and the GLA high street geographies that may not be covered by these town centre-related designations[58].

Figure D.1 London's high streets (GLA definition)

[56] London Plan (2021) Policy SD6 Town centres and high streets
[57] Mayor of London. High streets and town centres adaptive strategies (2019)
[58] For specific details always refer to the relevant local plan.

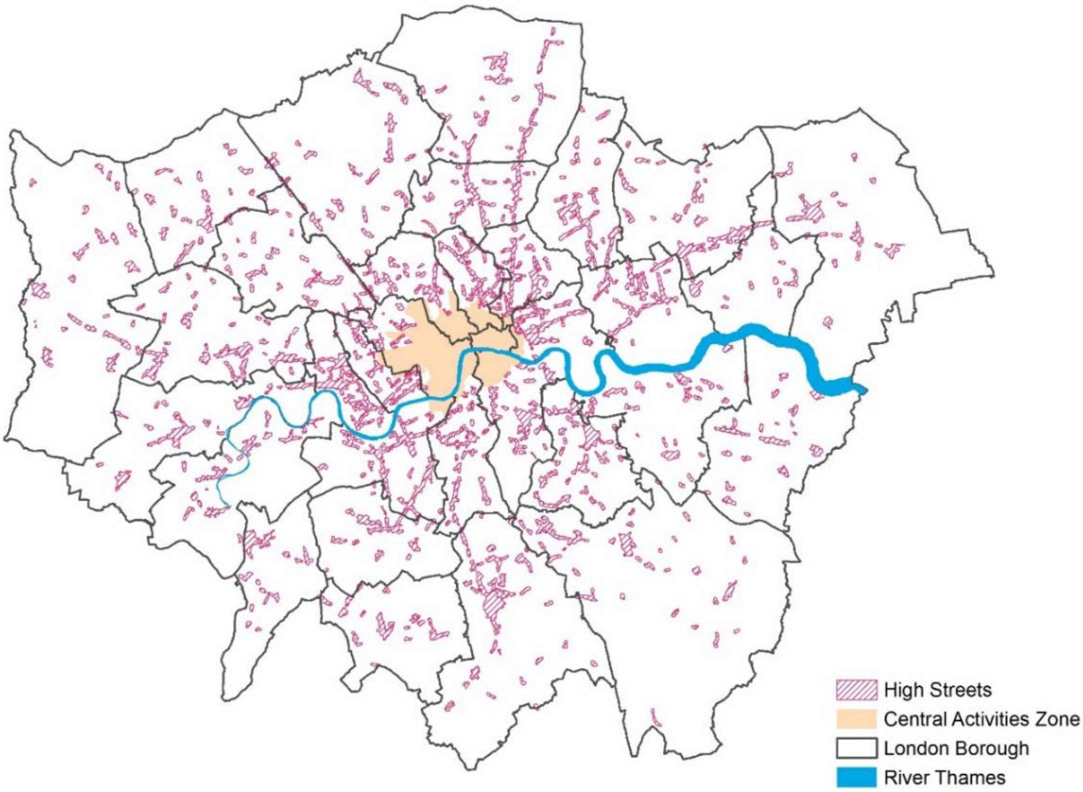


Figure D.2 Relationship between local plan town centre-related designations and GLA high streets (West London)

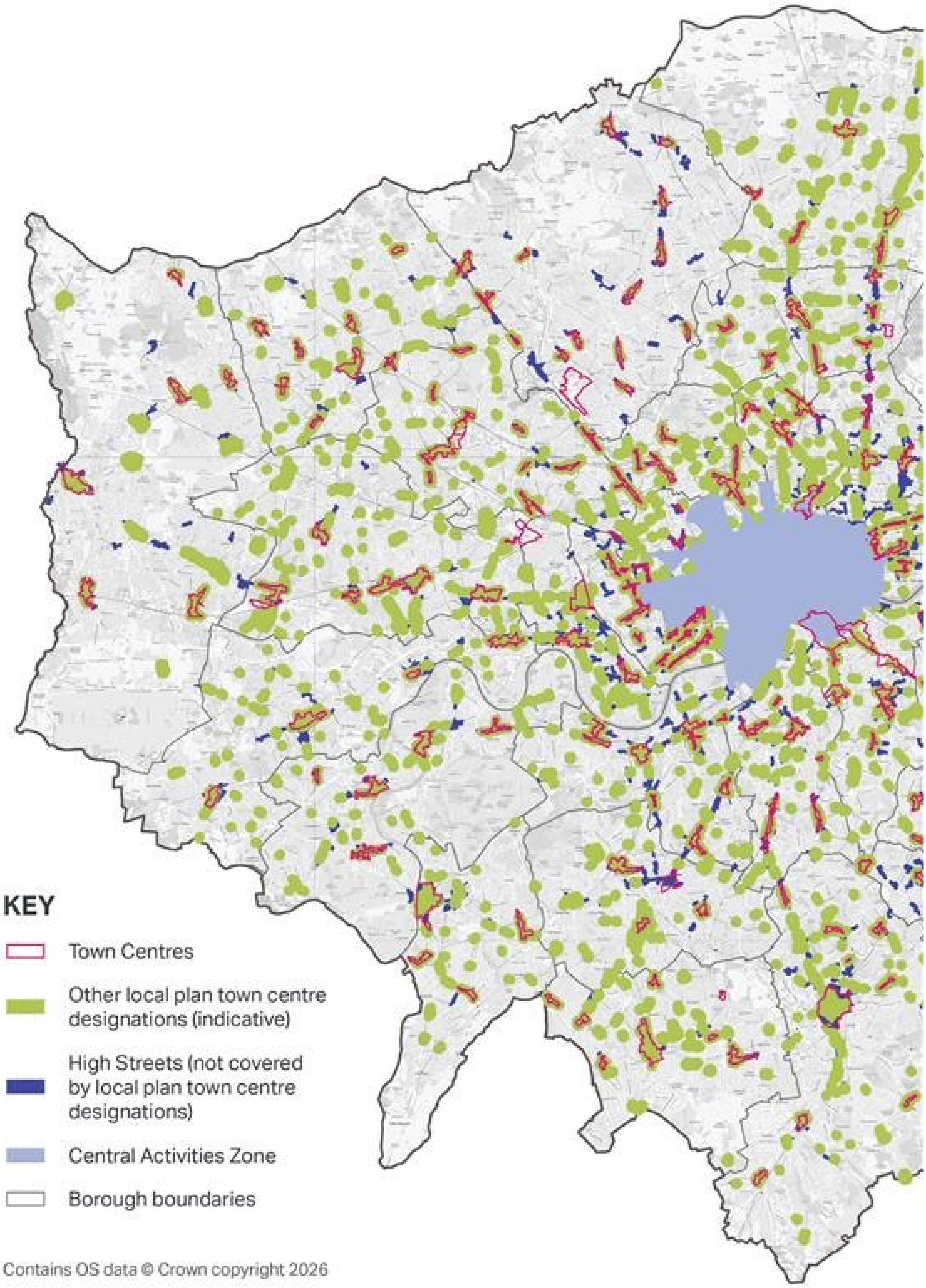

KEY
Town Centres
Other local plan town centre designations (indicative)
High Streets (not covered by local plan town centre designations)
Central Activities Zone
Borough boundaries

Figure D.3 Relationship between local plan town centre-related designations and GLA high streets (East London)