

# London Borough of Camden

Research project to  
support the Statement  
of Licensing Policy  
Review 2015-2016

Summary of key  
findings



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## Summary of key findings

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# Summary of key findings

## 1. Background to the evening and night-time economy

The Evening and Night-time Economy (ENTE) is an increasingly important subject of interest to local government, private businesses and public agencies, as well as to the media and to the wider community. Within Camden, this economy is concentrated in the south-west corner of the Borough; in parts of Holborn, Covent Garden and Kings Cross, and further north in Camden Town and Kentish Town.

The Council's Statement of Licensing Policy adopts the term 'Special Policy Area' (SPA) to refer to what the Guidance accompanying the Licensing Act 2003 calls a 'Cumulative Impact Area' (CIA), regulated in accordance with a 'Cumulative Impact Policy' (CIP). CIPs apply where a Licensing Authority has identified that there is a consistently high incidence of crime, disorder and public nuisance over time, related to the sale and consumption of alcohol, and relative to other areas within the Authority's jurisdiction. There are currently two SPAs within Camden: the Seven Dials SPA and the Camden Town SPA.

Both SPAs in Camden apply only to a very small geographical area as a proportion of total land use within the Borough. These areas, together with Camden's other nightlife areas, contain richly attractive and creative aspects of the Borough's leisure industry. They form the economic heart of licensed entertainment businesses within Camden. The most recent 'Night-Mix Index League Table' places Camden as the sixth-largest ENTE in the UK, with a turnover of £955.9 million (2.3% of the Borough's total economy) in 2011<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, the ENTE undoubtedly helps shape Camden's reputation and visitor appeal across London, and more broadly.

Nonetheless, in public policy terms, given the concentrated focus on alcohol-centred leisure, SPAs and other nightlife areas in Britain almost invariably become 'victims of their own success' to some degree. The relatively high crime and disorder levels recorded typically relate directly to the outstanding success of particular locations as local leisure economies, rather than being a reflection of poor standards of management amongst particular clusters of licensed premises. The numbers of visitors attracted and the subsequent amount of human activity has an almost inevitable effect of increasing the numbers of crimes recorded (although 'crime rates' may remain low). Thus, crime and nuisance occurs often alongside the more desirable aspects of social behaviour, with most visitors enjoying their nights out<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> TBR Observatory (2014) *Night-Mix League Table – Urban LAs 2011*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Trends Business Research Ltd.

<sup>2</sup> Brantingham, P. L. and Brantingham, P. J. (1995) 'Criminality of Place: Crime Generators and Crime Attractors,' *European Journal of Criminal Policy and Research*, 3: 5-26. Felson, M. (2008) 'The Routine Activity Approach' in R. and L. Mazzerole, (eds.), *Environmental Criminology and Crime Analysis*. UK: Devon Press.

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As explained below, Camden's two SPAs are not the central foci of this study - although repeated reference will be made to them. Attention is paid to other important ENTE locations in Camden. Some of these areas abut one or other of the SPAs; others represent quite separate, rapidly developing, locations for commercial nightlife in the Borough.

## 2. Study rationale

**The purpose of this research is to provide a unique and valuable source of evidence to inform the drafting of the London Borough of Camden's (the 'Council's') Statement of Licensing Policy<sup>3</sup>, which was revised by the Council in 2011, following a period of consultation, research and data analysis.**

The Camden Licensing Authority has a duty to promote the four national statutory Licensing Objectives:

- The prevention of crime and disorder;
- Public safety;
- The prevention of public nuisance;
- The protection of children from harm

The Licensing Authority is required by Central Government to obtain a detailed understanding of local issues and evidence concerning these issues and objectives. The gathering of evidence 'on-the-ground' concerning the impacts of Licensable Activities forms an essential component of this exercise. The analysis of local evidence allows the development of licensing policies that are nuanced, targeted and justified, in the manner required by the Home Office<sup>4</sup>. Carefully-targeted and proportionate licensing initiatives also represent value-for-money: resources are expended in the most efficient and effective ways and costs are reduced in related areas, such as in enforcement, legal fees and litigation.

**The origins of this research lie in the mapping of police-recorded crime and disorder and ambulance call-out statistics for four areas of Camden, where there appeared to be emergent problems of alcohol-related crime, disorder and emergency health demand at night over a 24-month period.** For the existing SPAs, the Camden Community Safety Partnership had found a continuation of established patterns of crime and disorder. However, the data indicated four newly-identified locations, outside of the two existing SPAs, where crime and disorder at night appeared to have increased. These areas had not previously been subject to detailed examination as part of a review of licensing policies; at least, not to a degree that might inform evidence-led practice. Readers are referred to the 24-month period data mappings produced by the Camden Partnership as a source of cross-reference to this research. These mappings provide an overview of recorded crime and ambulance data

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<sup>3</sup> London Borough of Camden (2011) *Statement of Licensing Policy 2011*. London: Borough of Camden.

<sup>4</sup> Home Office (2015) *Revised Guidance issued under section 182 of the Licensing Act 2003*. March. London: Home Office.

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hot-spot analyses in the two-year period prior to this current review of licensing policies in the Borough.

**This research was commissioned as an independent view, which looks in detail at the public usage of the four areas identified in the crime and emergency health statistics.** Using the statistical mappings as an initial reference point, the project provides further insight into localised problems within the Camden ENTE. **Specifically, it provides intelligence, derived from close observation of the four areas over a six-month period, as to why these concentrations of alcohol-related harms are occurring in the places and times they are.** This examination of the public functions of the areas is set against descriptions of the licensing landscape, the built environment, utilities and services, and pipeline developments in each area.

## **Aims and objectives**

The specific aims and objectives of this research are to:

1. Examine and explain, through fresh independent data collection, the most likely causes / contributory factors behind the recent rises in alcohol-related crime and disorder in the four locations as recorded by the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) in the evening and night-time economy hours (18.00-06.00).
2. To report on issues contributing to 'public nuisance', 'public safety' and 'the protection of children from harm' in these areas at night. Duties to prevent these matters are set out (alongside 'the prevention of crime and disorder') in the Licensing Act 2003 as the four Licensing Objectives. We take particular note of how different combinations of issues relating to the four licensing objectives may be effecting the four locations in various and divergent ways.
3. To draw recommendations as to the regulatory and place management tools available to the Licensing Authority to make strategic interventions and take practical action to alleviate alcohol-related harms, as occurring in the public realm. These options include the possible establishment of new, or amended SPAs.

## **Research design**

In order to do this, the following approach was adopted:

Fieldwork for the project began on the evening of 19 February 2015, stretching over six months to the early morning of 12 July 2015.

The sample framework for the research was as follows:



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Six weekends (second weekends of each month), running from Thursday night to Sunday morning (18 nights / 138 hours in total).

Full coverage of the 21.00 – 04.00 period (126 hours).

Additional evening sample periods between 18.00 and 20.59 (12 hours).

Each area visited six times: twice on each of the nights, Thursday evening / Friday morning, Friday evening / Saturday morning and Saturday evening / Sunday morning.

Structured (repeatedly replicated) observational methods were used. Visits across six months, with different seasons and weather conditions, helped the research team to gain deeper understandings of how the areas 'worked' at night.

**Six visits to each location were made in order to reduced the possibilities of the observations being conducted at particular times which were not generally representative of the areas in question** (eg., when weather conditions were unusually bad or good).

It was also necessary to include some aspects of the 'events' calendar and these were subject to specific analysis. For example, the influence of Premiership football fixtures in London and the South East on the activities of travelling fans in and around Kings Cross. The concentrated research focus across six weekend periods allowed opportunities to incorporate aspects of the events calendar and to compare these time-periods with the more general social environments that pertained.

Following interim progress meetings with council officers involving the discussion of current licensing themes in the four areas it was decided that research team would also conduct **a number of test purchases of alcohol at off-licensed premises. This activity allowed the research team to gain insight into compliance with late-night alcohol sales restrictions in local shops and stores and therefore the potential accessibility of alcohol for night-time street drinking** in certain key locations.

We did not count and statistically analyse the 'numbers' of crimes and public nuisance incidents observed in the four areas. To do so would have provided an additional source of numerical information to the existing Camden Community Safety Partnership data sources. It would have required the addition of a survey element to the research.

A survey audit of ENTE public behaviours was not considered appropriate to the Council's needs due to the project's necessarily limited timescale and budget. Survey research would have added substantially to the cost of the project.

Furthermore, surveys of public behaviour in the ENTE are particularly sensitive to changing conditions on-the-ground. Street survey approaches lack validity unless of sufficient duration to cover changes in weather conditions and the events calendar across a period of 10-12 months. This has been underlined by the findings of a larger study by the author in Westminster (Hadfield, et al.,

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2015)<sup>5</sup>. Investment by Camden in a ‘snapshot’ survey of public behaviour was not felt to represent value for money as concrete supporting evidence for the Statement of Licensing Policy.

Our methodology for the research is explained in more detail in our Full Technical Report<sup>6</sup>.

### 3. Profile of the study areas

Section 3 of our Full Technical Report provides a detailed sense of the location, primary functions and trading hours of the licensed premises that comprise the ENTE of the four study areas. This includes a full audit of the licensed premises found to be operating in these areas at the time of our research. The premises are listed as they appear spatially next to their neighbours and numbered in order to illustrate the size and density of the ENTE in each area. Both on-licensed and off-licensed premises are included. Hotels are included only if they offer licensed facilities that are advertised as available to non-residents. Cafes and takeaways which do not serve alcohol, or require a Late-Night Refreshment (LNR) Licence (for the service of hot food and drink between 23.00 and 05.00), are included only if they operate in the 20.00-22.59 period and therefore form part of an area’s night-scene.

The trading hours listed are those hours of operation that the premises advertise to the public. These hours will not necessarily be the same as those listed on the Premises Licence (they may be shorter in duration). We believe the listing of advertised and actually-used hours gives more of a sense of the ‘lived experience’ of the areas than that which might be obtained by simply reviewing the Licence of each premises and extrapolating the trading hours artificially.

Section 3 also reports observations of people’s behaviour where the customers or staff of identified licensed premises were involved in activities relating directly to their attendance at those premises (drinking on pavements outside specific pubs or off-licences, for example).

In Section 4, we report on how public spaces are used and specifically the behaviours of people present within the four areas at night when occupying the public realm of streets and pavements, transport termini, public squares and highways etc. A photographic appendix, containing images captured in the course of our observational fieldwork, can be found in the Supplementary Materials to the Full Report

The four locations are seen as ‘natural areas’ for nightlife, with human activity and routines surrounding clusters of licensed attractions. In three of the four areas there are important interactions occurring with clusters of premises that are licensed by other Licensing Authorities, but which sit adjacent to clusters of premises licensed by Camden. Due to the importance of these issues they are

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<sup>5</sup> Hadfield, P., Sharples, S., Bevan, T. and Measham, F. (2016) *Westminster Evening and Night-time Behaviour Audit 2013-14. Final Report to the West End Partnership Group and the City of Westminster*. London: [www.philhadfield.co.uk](http://www.philhadfield.co.uk).

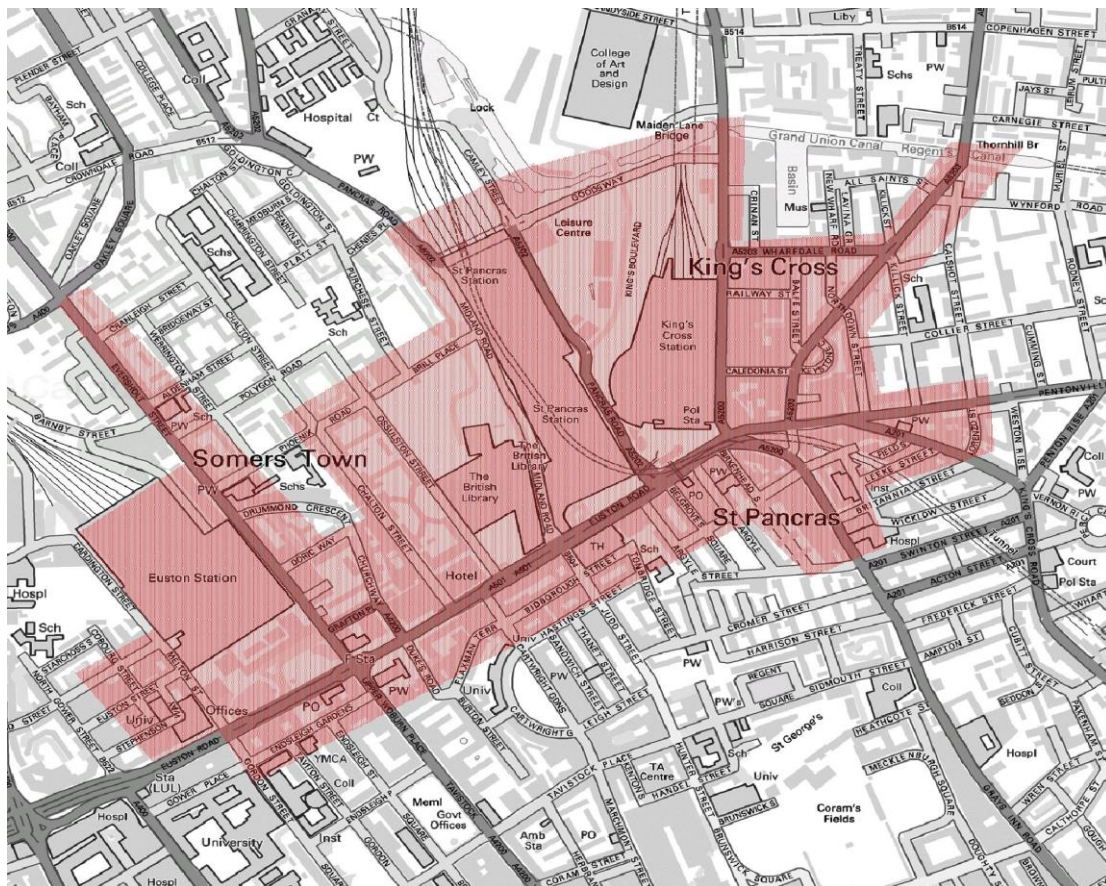
<sup>6</sup> Hadfield, P. (2016) *Research project to support the London Borough of Camden Statement of Licensing Policy Review 2015-2016: Full Technical Report*. London: [www.philhadfield.co.uk](http://www.philhadfield.co.uk).

flagged at a number of points within the report. Premises licensed by other boroughs are clearly indicated in Section 3, but are otherwise treated similarly in their depth of description.

The maps displayed in the following section of this Summary Report illustrate the areas that were covered by our research, as indicated by shading in red.

## 4. Key findings and recommendations for each area

### 4.1 Kings Cross (inc. St Pancras/Somers Town/Euston)



**Key Statutory Licensing Objectives** for the area:

**Crime and Disorder**

**Public Safety**



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## Key features of the social environment

This area contains a large and rapidly growing concentration of licensed premises: it comprises a new ENTE destination within Central London.

Kings Cross has a **historical reputation** as being a somewhat lawless and 'edgy' area at night. Some elements of this history remain in long-standing venues on Caledonian Road and in the continued presence of organised street prostitution, begging and homeless drinkers. The current climate, however, is of an area in ascendancy; rapidly developing economically and slowly gentrifying. In comparison with our other areas there are comparatively few residential properties in close proximity to licensed premises.

The area is a **major night-time transport hub** for visitors to Central London. It provides a first impression of London and the UK for international arrivals. This is 'Camden on view to the world' and therefore a priority location for active place management. The area - containing three major national mainline / regional rail stations - is particularly affected by large public events occurring across London and the South East. More locally, events at the Scala live music / nightclub venue on Pentonville Road can attract over 1000 (mostly additional) people to the area and often run up to 06.00 in the morning.

There are five **backpacker hostels** in close proximity to Kings Cross Station, including two on Caledonian Road. This means that the area attracts and retains a high number of young international visitors. These travellers are very apparent in the area late at night and many attend the late-night refreshment premises and the convenience stores, particularly those on Pentonville Road, where they purchase alcohol. In general, these visitors are often looking for activity and excitement, although many do not attend the on-licensed premises, which appear to be mostly populated by UK nationals. These **young travellers from around the world** are often new to London and the UK. A high proportion come from European countries in which unsupervised alfresco drinking in public squares is the norm<sup>7</sup>. At the same time, they may not be 'street wise' to the extent that they are not necessarily attuned to localised risk on the streets late at night.

The area is also an important first-stop location for **UK business travellers and also leisure bookings at weekends**, including group bookings such as hen and stag parties. At night, weekend visitors are often heading for the West End, although Thursday nights see more retention of business travellers who can be seen, often in large male-only groups, attending restaurants on Gray's Inn Road and Euston Road and the pubs on Euston Road and Caledonian Road, in particular.

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<sup>7</sup> Basanta, A.R. (2009) 'Spain', in Hadfield P. (ed.) *Nightlife and Crime: Social Order and Governance in International Perspective*, pp. 153–65. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Demant, J. and Landolt, S. (2014) 'Youth Drinking in Public Places: The Production of Drinking Spaces in and Outside Nightlife Areas', *Urban Studies*, 51/1: 170-84.

Selmini R. and Nobili G.G. (2009) 'Italy' in P. Hadfield (ed.) *Nightlife and Crime: Social Order and Governance in International Perspective*, pp. 139–52. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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The area contains a number of hostels for the **homeless and homelessness services**. This may be one reason why instances of begging and rough sleeping seem especially prominent in the area, particularly around Kings Cross Station. Although the homeless were a constant presence, there were only a few occasions on which homeless people could be seen drinking alcohol.

**Street prostitution** and the activity of pimps have a long history in Kings Cross. This was not apparent on our winter visits, even in the later hours. From May onwards however, this was apparent and members of the research team were solicited.

The area is an especially sensitive location for the policing of **travelling football fans** and their drinking in and around the transport hubs and in local pubs. It is the key entry and exit point via the East Coast and West Coast Mainlines for travelling fans from locations north of London. A number of pubs in the area, particularly on Euston Road and Caledonian Road, provide large-projection screenings of live sporting events and tailor their offer to the sports fan market. Whilst this is a perfectly acceptable case of supply meeting demand in predominately well-managed premises, there can, of course, be an unruly element to the spectator population. As detailed in our Full Report, a large incident of hooligan violence and disorder occurred at 18.00 at a pub on Caledonian Road (licensed by Islington) during the months of our research.

It was notable that **music fans** could also swamp the area for short periods of time. In July 2015, the musician Ed Sheeran held a three-night residency at the Wembley SSE Arena, Thursday 9 - Saturday 11 July. This event brought 80,000 (mostly additional) people per night into the Capital, which had a clearly apparent effect on road traffic congestion, the occupancy levels of tube services, as well as on mainline services departing Euston and Kings Cross until well beyond midnight.

**Mainline rail services at all three stations in the area are used extensively by ENTE patrons on their journeys into and out of Camden.** At present (pre-night tube), a number of local and regional mainline services provide additional options for late-night travel homeward after the closure of the tube services that would otherwise be available. Rail services are, of course, much more rapid than the Night Bus options; albeit serving a much more restricted set of destinations.

**There is not simply an outflow of ENTE customers using the mainline rail services after midnight.** We also noted large numbers of people entering Euston, for example, en-route to a late-night out. The 02.00 Watford Junction (outbound) service is the last activity at Euston overnight and the station closes soon after, re-opening at 05.00, Kings Cross is locked at around 01.45, reopening at 05.00. St Pancras concourse remains open throughout the night.

## **Profile of licensed premises**

29 premises were seen to be operating until 02.00 or later in our patrol area on Friday and Saturday nights (with reduced numbers on all other nights).

17 of these late-night premises are licensed by Camden (five bars/pubs, five café/restaurants, and six off-sales shops (although none of these are licensed

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to sell alcohol after 01.00) and one snooker club).

12 are premises licensed by Islington. Islington's late-night premises are more spatially concentrated, all being in or around Caledonian Road. Islington's late-night premises comprise: six bars/pubs, four café/restaurants and two off-sales shops. **Islington therefore have a higher concentration of on-trade bars within a smaller geographical area (all adjoining one street); Camden's late-night premises are more mixed in function and more geographically spread. Islington also appear to permit comparatively later off-sales of alcohol (in Camden areas, off-sales conclude by 01.00 in all local outlets).**

**Camden, however, has the largest capacity on-trade premises in the area;** these being Scala, The Big Chill House and The Camden Centre. All three premises appear well-managed (based on external features such as queue supervision, dispersal management, and noise breakout), although they deal with large numbers of customers so some environmental impacts are inevitable. In the case of Scala and The Camden Centre (as with The Forum in Kentish Town) these impacts may differ markedly depending upon the type of event that is hosted.

### **New public spaces and unsupervised alfresco drinking**

There are three recently-developed public squares with street furniture seating in the area at Euston Station Piazza, Kings Cross Station Piazza and the Battle Bridge Place Piazza (located between Kings Cross and St Pancras). Similarly to the re-development of Leicester Square in recent years these public facilities encourage unsupervised outdoor drinking. High levels of evening and night-time occupation of the Kings Cross and Euston piazzas was notable from April onwards; June and July saw day-time temperatures of over 20 degrees, falling to no less than 15 degrees C overnight.

During these warmer months the new public spaces at the stations retained people as meeting places and areas for socialising; often accompanied by outdoor drinking to late-hours and further encouraged by easy direct access to off-sales alcohol. Our field notes record routine activities such as, groups of middle-aged men drinking from tins of lager and singing at the tops of their voices, young women being physically sick and in tears (Saturday 11 April 23.40, Euston Station Piazza).

Litter is picked regularly on the piazzas during the day - but not at night; when waste bins become overflowing.

The noise footprint of licensed premises also increased in the warmer months from persons occupying terraces, beer gardens, pavement seating and vertical drinking / smoking outside licensed premises. This effect was notable in Kings Cross / Euston and across all our study areas.

### **Supervision of the streets by licensed venues**

The most prominent instances of private sector policing of the late-night scene occurred in relation to **Scala**, the large live music venue / nightclub located at the junction of Pentonville Road and Kings Cross Bridge. Scala employ Sabre Security ('Sabresecurity.co.uk') to provide SIA-registered door supervisors.

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Scala contain and monitor their queues behind high-sided temporary barriers stretching along Kings Cross Bridge and on occasions also provide a static guarding function at the junction with Gray's Inn Road.

### **Islington Nightsafe scheme**

Scala's security appear to work closely with the 'Islington Nightsafe' team who were on occasions seen to patrol Caledonian Road and Pentonville Road in a logo-emblazoned silver 'people-carrier' type vehicle. The 'Nightsafe' team are a partnership initiative, introduced in December 2014 and funded by the Islington Late-Night Levy (which is an additional charge placed on licensed premises selling alcohol between the hours of midnight and 06.00 in Islington). The Nightsafe team comprises four patrol officers accredited by the MPS. They patrol every Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday from midnight until 06.00.

Our experience of observing the Nightsafe team at work was that they were regular visitors to Caledonian Road and Pentonville Road. They generally kept themselves within the Islington boundary, apart from occasions in which they worked alongside the Scala security team. On one occasion in April we saw Nightsafe officers attending to visitors who were slumped, apparently incapacitated through drink, on the pavement of Caledonian Road.

### **Other notable venues in the area:**

#### **The Big Chill House**

The Big Chill House on the southern flank of Pentonville Road (Camden section) is notable for being the second-largest capacity, regularly trading, on-licensed premises in the area. The venue operates to 03.00 on Fridays and Saturdays; also making it also one of the latest opening, with customer departures from the area lasting until around 03.50 on occasions. There were three door supervisors in attendance outside the premises on the nights of our visit. This reflects the fact that this is one of the busiest licensed premises in the area. There is considerable movement of customers to-and-fro from The Big Chill House and the northern flank of Pentonville Road, where there are two late-night convenience stores licensed by Islington. Mini-cabs often collect customers of The Big Chill House outside these stores.

#### **McDonald's Restaurants on York Way and Euston Road**

There are two McDonald's restaurants open in the late-night period that both attract large numbers of customers, although their styles of operation are somewhat different.



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McDonald's Restaurant at 13-21 Euston Road is licensed by Camden and open until 05.00 on Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays and until 01.00 on all other nights. The premises comprise the largest late-night refreshment premises in the area, with extensive seating across two floors. The premises employ two door supervisors in the evening and at night.

There is a further McDonald's restaurant on York Way at the junction with Pentonville Road (302-304 Pentonville Road). These premises are licensed by Islington and are open until 05.00 on Fridays and Saturdays, until 04.00 through the week, and until 03.00 on Sundays.

In the York Way premises, the first floor (main) seating areas and the toilets are partitioned from the counter service area after 01.00 so that the areas that remain open to the public have little or no available seating from then on. The York Way restaurant employs two door supervisors at night and was consistently more crowded than the McDonalds on Euston Road on the nights of our visits. At York Way, customers could be seen in large numbers standing and consuming their purchases in front, or just to the side of, the service counter. Euston Road, by contrast, continues to offer sofa seating and tables on the ground floor throughout its late-night operations. It was notable that many of the customers of Euston Road had luggage and appeared to be travellers awaiting early-morning rail services. By contrast, the vast majority of York Way customers were ENTE patrons who visited the premises after leaving on-trade premises and ahead of seeking public transport on their homeward journeys. This suggests that, even in the winter months, **revelers seeking fast-food will proceed immediately to the outlet that is most proximate to the on-licensed premises they have attended**, rather than seeking additional standards of comfort in premises that are also nearby.

### Starbucks on St Pancras Station concourse

Starbucks have a coffee shop on the ground floor of the station near to the exit onto Pancras Road. This premises is licensed for late-night refreshment 23.00-05.59 seven days a week. The premises operate for almost 24-hours-a-day, closing only briefly at around 04.30, before re-opening at 05.00. Starbucks is often used as an unofficial waiting room in which as many as fifty people can be found spending several hours waiting (and sometimes sleeping next to their luggage) ahead of catching early-morning rail services. As one of the latest-opening facilities in the area the premises are also attended by police officers seeking refreshment on their shifts. It was notable that **ENTE users on their way home tended not to use these facilities**. The research team used these premises for their late-night refreshment breaks and very few instances of drunken behaviour were observed amongst other customers.

### The Camden Centre

This venue is located directly opposite Kings Cross station on the south flank of Euston Road, next to the old Council offices. The Centre was active at night, with its entrance onto Euston Road illuminated and guarded by a door

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supervisor on several occasions. The venue is available for private hire and has a large function room with a stage and a capacity of up to 1,000 people. The **potential impact of late-night functions at the Centre** was underlined for us on Saturday 11-Sunday 12 July by a large 'Urban Music' event. This event increased the usual footfall of people along the south pavement of Euston Road / Gray's Inn Road and on Bidborough Street. There appeared to be a strong crossover audience for an event at Scala on the same night. Groups of people leaving the Camden Centre at around 01.00 were seen to walk along the road to join the queue for Scala on Kings Cross Bridge (which still comprised around 200 persons at this time). There were also a number of alcohol purchases by event attendees from the convenience stores on Gray's Inn Road at around this time.

### **Licensed convenience stores, late-night refreshment premises, and late-night restaurants on Gray's Inn Road / Euston Road**

Gray's Inn Road merges into Euston Road just to the south of Kings Cross Station. Along the southern pavement of these two roads, in a section beginning at the junction of Gray's Inn Road and St Chad's Street, running west to the junction of Euston Road with Argyle Street, there are: five licensed convenience stores, six late-night refreshment premises, and seven late-night restaurants (18 licensed premises overall). All are licensed by Camden. **These premises present as the most densely clustered in the area.**

**Licensing records indicate there should be no off-sales in Camden premises around Kings Cross / St Pancras and Euston Stations beyond 01.00.** We made test purchases in convenience stores on Gray's Inn Road in July and recorded two instances of failure to comply with these restrictions. **Regardless of the potential opportunities for 'stockpiling' alcohol, it is likely that having a cut-off point for alcohol sales contributes to safer late-night scenes.** This was further indicated by our observation that, after 01.00, some homeless street drinkers were seen to transfer from Gray's Inn Road / Euston Road to Pentonville Road, where alcohol could still be purchased at two off-sales premises licensed by Islington.

**Violent incidents in public spaces** in Central London at night remain, thankfully, rare and therefore not always apparent to street-level observational research. Instances of low-level disorder, anti-social behaviour / pro-social behaviour, discreet noise events and public safety issues, by contrast, are commonplace. Two instances of physical violence were noted in this patrol area, one being of a serious nature and potentially life-threatening. These incidents are described in our Full Technical Report.

**Minor instances of disorder, drunken antics, inebriation / physical incapacity through drink, shouting, and lurching/staggering gait were apparent on all our visits to the area.** It was apparent that some **after-work drinking occasions** involved heavy consumption. We witnessed 'the stragglers' on frequent occasions; people still in their work clothes, appearing tired, vulnerable and sometimes isolated as they slowly made their way along Euston Road to the later-night rail services. Not all of these persons would have attended on-trade premises in the immediate area.

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A notable issue for ENTE patrons who are drunk and tired - or equally, those who are exuberant, disinhibited and oblivious to normal precautions - is **road traffic safety**. This is generally prominent on the local environmental agenda due to the very high levels of vehicular traffic on Euston Road, which at night flows at greatest speed and volume into Pentonville Road and Kings Cross Road. At the same time, one finds narrow and crowded pavements and many persons making journeys by bicycle, who often move quietly and at speed, whilst poorly-illuminated.

The Red Route status of Pentonville Road does not deter minicab picks-ups from creating dangerous road traffic situations. It was routine to witness minicabs waiting to collect customers of the Big Chill House and Scala venues in front of the late-night convenience stores on the northern flank of this road. This practice prompted customers of the venues, who were often in-drink, to negotiate fast-moving traffic on Pentonville Road so as to cross at the most direct point, in front of the venue entrances.

At the time of writing, the area's roads have not been selected for inclusion in Transport for London's 20 miles-per-hour speed limit pilot; a measure being introduced in a number of other areas (the nearest being more southerly sections of Kings Cross Road).

There is continued concern, as reported in print, broadcast and social media, regarding the number of cycling deaths and injuries on London's roads, together also with poor air quality; these concerns being particularly apparent on and around the busiest routes and junctions, including Euston Road and the Kings Cross Gyratory. The ENTE is not typically highlighted in these conversations; however, in this location the connections were very apparent. One finds large numbers of fast-moving vehicles in areas where drunken revellers are crossing roads. **During the course of our research near misses were witnessed on several occasions, some ENTE patrons being seemingly oblivious to the dangers in crossing the roads in front of and between fast-moving traffic.**

A further environmental feature of the area linked to vehicular traffic is the **high ambient noise levels**. Residents and hotel guests are subject to unusually high levels of background noise from traffic throughout the night. Yet, it was apparent to us that the permanent residential presence was proportionately smaller than that to be found in our other patrol areas in the Borough. This means that instances of Public Nuisance and noise disturbance are likely to affect comparatively fewer people; this may be counterweighed to some extent by the large numbers of short-duration hotel and hostel guests that stay nightly in the area and the number of day-time businesses that may have to deal with the aftermath of occasional overnight street fouling and property damage.

### **Cross-Borough boundary effects**

Kings Cross is an area in which licensed premises located within two different boroughs form a 'natural area' of attraction for ENTE visitors. Islington have created a Special Policy Area (Cumulative Impact Zone) along the strip of Caledonian Road in order to gain greater control over further licensed development. In comparison with the Camden areas of Kings Cross (and Euston), Caledonian Road has a higher concentration of on-licensed drink-led premises with post-02.00 closure times. Camden is developing its ENTE in and around Kings Cross / St Pancras at a faster rate than Islington, with investment

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moving into formerly undeveloped or industrial/commercial locations. Development in the Camden areas is increasingly food-led, of high quality and in comparative terms, it is more spatially dispersed. The new Camden food-led premises often feature alfresco dining. Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CEPD) research commends 'active frontages' of this nature within urban design. This is because seated diners and table service increases the natural surveillance of an area, thus contributing to the deterrence of crime and disorder.

There is **some displacement of crime, disorder, public nuisance and public safety issues into Camden from the Caledonian Road area of Islington**, where the shifts towards more upmarket ENTE development are occurring more slowly. Furthermore, it is possible that Islington's high profile Nightsafe initiative may help push the negative externalities of the Caledonian Road ENTE towards Camden. What can be said categorically is that when licensed premises on Caledonian Road close there is a natural pattern of pedestrian movement towards Kings Cross Station and Euston Road in search of transport and fast food. Following introduction of the night tube services, the impacts of these pedestrian flows are likely to extend more often to later hours of the night<sup>8</sup>.

## Recommendations

The re-development of Camden areas of St Pancras and Kings Cross is moving in a positive direction creating more appealing, well-used, economically prosperous, and potentially safer public spaces. The licensing and planning policies of the London Borough of Camden and the activities of the wider Camden Community Safety Partnership must continue to play an important role in shaping, supporting and encouraging these trends.

A useful mid-term step may be to support the establishment of a night-time-focused Business Improvement District (BID) for Kings Cross and Euston which would introduce a clear programme of sustained place management (similar to that applied by the Heart of London BID to Leicester Square); an obstacle to this is that few Camden premises remain open during the late-night hours when such supervision is most clearly required.

Some practical measures that could be taken include:

- Encourage dining with alfresco waiter/waitress service to help preserve dining as the key function of premises, promote active frontages and enhance natural surveillance of public spaces.
- Encourage extensions of hours for alcohol-free cafes in order to increase the options for night-time visitors through the diversification of leisure offers.
- Encourage the extension of hours for retail uses to promote day-time levels of diversity and mixed-use vibrancy into the evening and beyond.
- Monitor the number of new on-licence applications / licence variation applications for late-night drink-led uses in order to track any gradual shifts away from the current high proportion of food-led offers.

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<sup>8</sup> Bromley, R. and Nelson, A. (2002) 'Alcohol-related crime and disorder across urban space and time: evidence from a British City,' *Geoforum*, 33: 239-54.



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- Work with private sector partners to extend further into the night services such as litter picking / collection and uniformed guardianship of the public spaces around the three Mainline Rail Stations. Ideally, this would extend as far as the 01.00-04.00 period.
  - A Public Spaces Protection Order (PSPO) exists in respect of the whole Borough. This affords Police Officers and Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) greater powers in response to public drinking when it is associated with anti-social behaviour. We would recommend greater enforcement of the Camden PSPO in the piazza areas around the three stations, along Gray's Inn Road and on Euston Road.
  - The conduct of regular intelligence-led licensing compliance operations in off-sales premises on Gray's Inn Road and Euston Road.
  - 'Action Plans' for non-compliant premises, pending the option to Review specific Premises Licences.
  - Work with services for the homeless to discourage static street drinking and begging in the area.
  - Consider the installation of pavement barriers along Pentonville Road, at Kings Cross Bridge and on York Way to improve public safety for ENTE patrons and road users.
  - Increase partnership working with the London Borough of Islington regarding all of the above and most specifically: licensing compliance, crime and disorder and public nuisance on Caledonian Road and the north pavement of Pentonville Road.
  - In partnership with Islington, create cross-borough hot-spot mappings to provide fuller insight into crime patterns at night and issues of cross-borough displacement requiring immediate, mid-term and long-term strategic responses.

### **Gray's Inn Road / Euston Road (Off-sales and Late Night Refreshment)**

Along the southern pavement of Gray's Inn Road, as it merges into Euston Road, there are: five licensed convenience stores, six Late-Night Refreshment (LNR) premises, and seven late-night restaurants (18 licensed premises overall). All are licensed by Camden.

**These premises present as the most densely clustered in the area.** We assess this density of supply to have a cumulative impact on the Licensing Objectives in three ways:

- 1.) It provides ready access to off-sales alcohol, thereby facilitating unsupervised street drinking, including on the Kings Cross Station Piazza. The facilitation of street drinking encourages increased and unregulated alcohol consumption, street fouling and detritus, and increases the risk of negative crime and disorder, emergency health and public safety outcomes.
- 2.) Access to late-night off-sales and takeaway food encourages delayed departures from the area amongst groups of people who have already consumed large amounts of alcohol.
- 3.) Access to off-sales alcohol after and before attending on-trade premises increases overall levels of consumption amongst some visitors, leading

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to more problems in and around on-trade premises and on pathways, public transport and local and outlying residential communities late at night<sup>9</sup>.

**Our research on Gray's Inn Road and Euston Road found that non-compliance with hours-of-sale restrictions on alcohol off-sales remains a concern. With full compliance, sales of alcohol in this location would cease at 01.00. This would usefully reduce the plentiful supply of alcohol otherwise available locally to persons minded to drink to excess in a public place.**

**In order to prevent further deterioration of the street scene to the detriment of the Licensing Objectives, we recommend that sustained licensing enforcement action be taken in relation to licensed premises operating in the late-night period along the southern pavement of Gray's Inn Road and Euston Road. There is a small and specific section of concern that runs from the junction of Gray's Inn Road and St Chad's Street, west to the junction of Euston Road with Argyle Street.**

**This report does not recommend the application of a SPA to any part of Kings Cross/St Pancras/Euston at this time.**

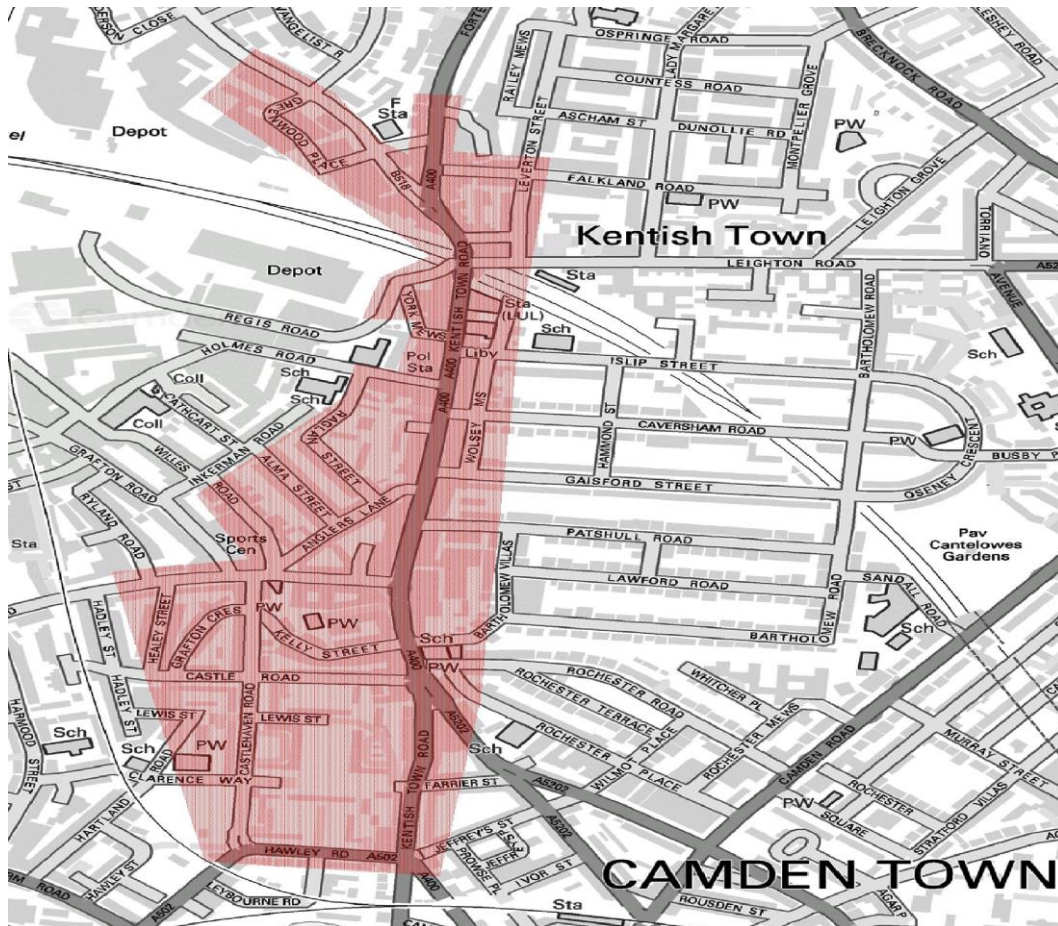
**We do recommend that Camden consider the possible future creation of a SPA which applies to off-sales and Late-Night Refreshment (LNR) premises-only within the small and clearly-designated area noted above. This action may be considered appropriate if it is found that the negative cumulative impacts of Licensable Activities cannot be resolved in other ways; primarily through sustained enforcement action and advice to licensees.**

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<sup>9</sup> Bellis, M. and Hughes K. (2011) 'Getting Drunk Safely?: Nightlife Policy in the UK and its Public Health Consequences', *Drug and Alcohol Review*, 30: 536-45.

Hadfield, P. (2004) 'The Prevention of Public Disorder' in P. Kolvin (ed.), *Licensed Premises: Law and Practice*. 1<sup>st</sup> edition. Haywards Heath: Tottel.

## 4.2 Kentish Town



**Key Statutory Licensing Objective** for the area: **Public Nuisance**

### **Key features of the social environment**

Kentish Town contains a **growing concentration of licensed premises based around food offers and also a music and sports-centred pub and bar scene**. During the six-month course of our fieldwork, three new on-licensed premises opened on Kentish Town Road and one further venue was extensively re-furnished. These investments indicate that the area's ENTE may be undergoing further, quite rapid, development.

Several of the licensed premises on Kentish Town Road are of large physical capacity and are young adult and music-focused, attracting a similar clientele to many of the venues within the Camden Town SPA. Saturday nights were not always the busiest nights of the week in the area. Thursday nights appeared popular with a local audience who attend events such as comedy nights and live music nights at the various public houses. The ENTE serves this local population, particularly on weeknights and in the evening period, thereby adding

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to the array of local shops and services which afford the area an ‘urban village’ feel. Although the ENTE has tangible local amenity benefits, the high density of residential properties along the strip of Kentish Town Road and directly to either side of this thoroughfare make the area **especially sensitive to public nuisance impacts**.

**In comparison with our other study areas, we found less evidence of an ‘after-work’ drinking and dining culture on Kentish Town Road.** This is most likely to be a simple case of the area being more peripheral and not sitting amongst large centres of employment in the same way as the other three locations.

**Seven premises were seen to be operating until 02.00 or later** in our patrol area on Friday and Saturday nights (with reduced numbers on other nights of the week). All of these late-night premises are licensed by Camden (one pub, four takeaway restaurants, one health spa, and one live music venue). There are two convenience stores with unrestricted closing times, although these premises, and all other shops in the area, are licensed to sell alcohol no later than 23.00.

Pubs and bars traded on occasions (for example, over Bank Holiday periods) until 03.00 hours. Checks with the client’s Licensing Team create doubt as to whether Temporary Events Notices (TENs) permitting late-night trading were obtained in all the instances of occasional later trading we noted at premises in the area.

## **Notable licensed premises in the area**

### **The Forum**

The Forum is a renowned live music venue, which attracts large crowds to Kentish Town at night on an ad-hoc basis relating to its events calendar. **The Forum is by far the largest capacity on-trade premises in the area;** these premises appear well-managed (based on external features such as queue supervision, dispersal management, and noise breakout), although they deal with large numbers of customers, so some environmental impacts are inevitable.

Large events at The Forum occasionally brought many more people into the area, with associated noise and congestion. The majority of event attendees proceeded to walk south when leaving The Forum and many then attended the late-night refreshment premises on Kentish Town Road. A high proportion walked south along the whole length of Kentish Town Road to enter the Camden Town SPA in pursuit of further entertainment.

These impacts differed markedly depending upon the popularity and type of event that was hosted. Some crowds attending music events may be themselves vulnerable to predation due to their early-teenage status and not of an age to be served alcohol. The young adult ‘clubbers’ who were seen to attend some of the other events at the premises presented quite different security and safety management challenges.



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The Forum is operated on an irregular basis in accordance with its events listing. This complicates matters. Most events close by around 23.30; a few extend to 03.00, and one event on Friday 8 May extended to 06.00. It is reasonable to expect faster dispersal of the later-night events following the introduction of 24-hour weekend tube services. However, this assumption is based upon the continuation of current licensing arrangements at surrounding premises. The impacts of night tube require careful monitoring here and indeed across the Borough.

### **The Abbey Tavern**

The Abbey Tavern at 124 Kentish Town Road is a large capacity public house located on the eastern side of the street at the corner with Bartholomew Road. The premises trade until 01.00 on Fridays and Saturdays with midnight closure on all other nights, including Sundays. The Abbey Tavern consistently presented as the busiest night-time licensed venue on Kentish Town Road. The premises have a heated and covered beer garden and roof terrace. DJ-nights and live bands are a feature of the offer. The premises attract a young adult music-loving crowd.

### **Late-night takeaways (several independents)**

**Kentish Town Road has four late-night takeaway outlets that attract people who have been drinking and thereby delay dispersal from the area when pubs, bars and events close.** Some of these LNR premises, most notably Kentish Delight, were seen to attract significant additional business when customers left The Forum.

### **McDonalds**

A McDonald's restaurant is positioned at the corner of the western side of Kentish Town Road and Holmes Road at number 295. These premises are open until 01.00 daily and due to their consistently later trading hours often presented as the hub of activity on Kentish Town Road in the evening and at night. Despite their late-night-hub status, it was not apparent that the premises employed door supervisors. Security duties, when required, appeared to be performed by the Duty Manager.

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## Particular environmental features of the area:

### Street drinking and alcohol off-sales

There is a small public square with bench seating located at the junction with Leighton Road, just north of the Kentish Town LU station and directly opposite The Assembly House pub. This is the only public space that might potentially accommodate static street drinking by individuals and groups in our patrol area and no evidence of this was found. We noted prominent warning signs in the square to deter street drinking. These notices, attached to the framework of the palisade shelter, inform the public that the area is part of a “controlled drinking zone” supported by fines from the police (this notice refers to the Borough-wide PSPO). In general, **Kentish Town Road presents as a thoroughfare rather than a gathering point.**

Persons, including customers of the licensed premises on Prince of Wales Road, were seen moving south-to-north and north-to-south between Prince of Wales Road and Kentish Town Road via **Anglers Lane. This route is used as a pedestrian shortcut** between the two streets; entering or leaving Kentish Town Road near to Nandos (227-229 Kentish Town Road). On occasions, we saw pedestrians carrying bags containing off-sales alcohol on Anglers Lane, sometimes swigging directly from bottles and cans. These were the street drinking behaviours of persons on the move; those destined for private parties, homes and on-licensed premises. We found no evidence of street drinkers congregating in the residential streets adjacent to Anglers Lane, such as Alma Street, Raglan Street and Willes Road, or on Anglers Lane itself.

**Up until 23.00 there is much availability of relatively cheap alcohol from shops and supermarkets.** This offer is used by ‘pre-loaders’ on their way to on-licensed premises in the Camden Town SPA, others who appear to be en-route to parties in private dwellings and occasionally by more static homeless street drinkers. **Many people were seen carrying and/or drinking from bottles and cans of alcoholic beverages on the street.** By far the majority of these street drinkers were groups of young adults engaged in the nightlife of the area, or on their way into Camden Town.

**Violent incidents in public spaces** in this part of North London at night remain, thankfully, rare and therefore not always apparent to street-level observational research. Instances of low-level disorder, anti-social behaviour / pro-social behaviour, discreet noise events and public safety issues, by contrast, form the staple of such endeavours.

**We found large unruly gangs of youths to be a sporadic presence in and around the takeaway premises on Kentish Town Road, some of whom had also been drinking.** McDonalds was a particular draw for these groups as it offers a more sizable indoor social space than the independent takeaways, which typically have little or no accommodation for seated customers. In one instance, we witnessed a group smashing one of the large glass windows to the frontage of McDonalds (this is described further in our Full Technical Report).

Minor instances of disorder, drunken antics, inebriation / physical incapacity through drink, shouting, and lurching/staggering gait were apparent on all our visits to the area. Kentish Town Road has high levels of vehicular traffic and is

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subject to congestion due to large lorries parking to make deliveries of stock to supermarkets. As in Kings Cross, **road traffic safety was notably placed at risk in some instances of pedestrian drunkenness.**

## **Police activity**

Kentish Town Police Station is located close to Kentish Town Road at 12a Holmes Road, a street that stretches west from the western flank of Kentish Town Road, just south of the LU station and directly behind McDonalds. The proximate location of the police station goes some way to explain why officers were seen at regular intervals, mostly in pairs, walking up and down Kentish Town Road. We did not witness any static police guarding of particular locations in Kentish Town, nor did we see more than half-a-dozen responses to incidents. Most of the police officers we saw on the street appeared to be on their way either too, or from, the Camden Town SPA.

## **Residential amenity**

The area has **a big residential population** with a wide-range of housing types, including large social housing schemes, a large private rental market (particularly flats) and streets adjacent to Kentish Town Road containing high-value owner-occupied period terraced properties. As noted, Anglers Lane is a small interconnecting road and pedestrian cut-through which links Prince of Wales Road and Kentish Town Road. It contains potentially noise-sensitive low-rise period terraced housing with traditional bay windows and single glazing on Alma Street, Raglan Street and Willes Road. Kelly Street has similar architecture and is also directly accessible from the western flank of Kentish Town Road. **Although we often saw Anglers Lane used by individuals and groups carrying drinks - sometimes open drinking vessels - we found no evidence of street drinkers congregating here, or on the surrounding residential streets.**

Kentish Town is particularly **well connected to public transport late at night.**

Recent licensed premises openings and re-developments suggest that Kentish Town Road may be emerging as a new ENTE destination within North London for drinking, as well as for dining. Despite this notable investment, the area retains a somewhat edgy, down-at-heel feeling. This is accentuated by the number of day-time businesses that draw metal shutters in the evening; thereby presenting a **blank face to the street.** Apart from outside two of the larger public houses (The Oxford and the Assembly House), which occupy corner plots and can therefore offer bench-seating, there are no active frontages at licensed premises in the area. Unfortunately, the dimensions of the street and available pavement space preclude many opportunities to increase the proportion of active frontages.

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## Summary

Kentish Town Road has a low-key ENTE, mostly serving local residents, with the occasional influx of much larger visitor footfalls relating to events at The Forum. The area's proximity to the Camden Town SPA, with its cluster of late-night attractions, encourages journeys on foot along Kentish Town Road. These journeys were often seen to involve 'pre-drinking' (when southbound) and 'post-drinking' (when northbound).

The ENTE appeared to have particular attraction value for local residents on Thursday nights (when several venues ran special promotions such as 'comedy nights' and live music events). Weekend evening use of venues in the area was more prominently as 'pre-drinking destinations' ahead of later transfers on-foot, by tube, or bus, into the Camden SPA. **The clearest evidence to suggest that Kentish Town has a significant attraction value for ENTE patrons from other areas of London is the 'swamping' of the area that occurs when large numbers of people disperse from live music / club night events at the area's largest licensed venue, The Forum.** These scenes arise on a sporadic basis relating to The Forum's events' calendar. There is evidence, however, that Kentish Town is developing its drinking and dining offer and may, in the future, begin to experience a greater influx of people from outside of the immediate area on a more routine basis. Kentish Town certainly has extensive public transport provision at night to facilitate any such expansion.

Only one on-licensed premises at 65 Kentish Town Road (Quinn's public house) at the very south of the area, trades routinely beyond 01.00. **Post-01.00 trading is limited to occasional events at The Forum, four fast-food takeaways, and bars/public houses that have (or should have!) applied for TENs.** None of the off-sales outlets are licensed to sell alcohol beyond 23.00. We found no direct evidence of non-compliance with these trading hours, although checks were conducted on one night only in July.

**Licensed premises in Kentish Town, therefore, close relatively early compared with premises in the current Camden SPAs.** When one walks south from Kentish Town into the Camden Town SPA from 01.00 onwards, the difference in activity levels and observable negative impacts of licensed premises is quite dramatic.

Despite venue closing times being quite restrained in comparison with our other research sites, **conflicts of amenity between the Kentish Town ENTE and local residents are likely to be chronic.** This is due to the extent of residential presence in upper floor flats on Kentish Town Road itself and also in the many wholly residential streets to the east and west of the Kentish Town Road, along its entire length. The area is predominately residential in nature; Kentish Town Road being an anomaly in having a strip of commercial premises.

**There is certainly some displacement of public nuisance into Kentish Town from the Camden Town SPA.** The area suffers from the displacement effects of noise / nuisance, street fouling and street drinking detritus associated with the Camden Town SPA, as pedestrians walk up and down Kentish Town Road to access and exit the SPA. The most prominent issue is people who



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have been drinking losing their inhibitions and being thoughtlessly noisy as they make their way home through residential streets. In comparison with our other sites, it is more a case of local people from within the Kentish Town community annoying their neighbours, rather than influxes of transient visitors. The most likely exception to this would be in the case of popular late-night events at The Forum. Also, as a result of recent venue openings and re-developments, we may be on the cusp of Kentish Town achieving enhanced status as a North London ENTE destination.

Kentish Town is an 'urban village' within North London, with a high proportion of residential properties and with commercial high street-style amenities found predominately on the single strip of Kentish Town Road. Different communities, including residential communities, have different views and different tolerance levels with regard to alcohol-related anti-social behaviour at night<sup>10</sup>. However, any general shifts towards later hours for licensed premises and increased numbers of such premises in what is a long-standing, generally quiet neighbourhood, may be of understandable concern to local residents if the attraction value of the area's ENTE grows.

## Recommendations

**Currently, the key Licensing Objective at stake in Kentish Town appears to be Public Nuisance and particularly noise-related nuisance.** A difficulty faced in this case is that of attributing the harms of public nuisance to the customers of licensed premises operating within Kentish Town itself. Local licensed premises are not that great in number and few operate beyond 00.30. **The main theme of the late-night noise nuisance is that of pedestrian movements into and out of the Camden Town SPA to the south.** To this extent, Kentish Town suffers from the negative externalities of the Camden Town ENTE, which draws in much higher numbers of people than its own night-time attractions. Kentish Town's proximity and easy access to the Camden Town SPA results in the negative effects on residential amenity that are commonly recorded on the routes and pathways in and out of popular destination locations for nightlife. Where what is recorded is displacement activity from a neighbouring area, the attribution of negative effects of Licensable Activities to the customers of specific licensed premises becomes extremely difficult; if not impossible.

Nonetheless, there are alcohol-related and licensed premises-related issues in and around Kentish Town Road and particularly in the section of our patrol area north of Prince of Wales Road. This is supported by the MPS hot-spot crime mappings and ambulance call-out data. **To the extent that these problems can be attributed to local premises, it would most likely be off-sales premises – those supplying the street drinkers – which would be the relevant outlets for regulatory attention.** It seems most likely that the contribution of locally-purchased alcohol to local levels of alcohol-related crime and disorder occurs in relation to the activities of mobile street drinkers and

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<sup>10</sup> Taylor, J., Twigg, L. and Mohan, J. (2015) 'Understanding neighbourhood perceptions of alcohol-related anti-social behaviour', *Urban Studies*, 52/12: 2187-202.

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**also in the case of large influxes of persons attending late-night events at The Forum.**

Licensing Authorities and their partner agencies have, of course, many powers that can be applied in the case of any problems arising at individual licensed premises. These controls can be applied on a case-by-case basis as the need arises. This is likely to be a preferred approach in Kentish Town, where the creation of an area designation that applies to all existing and proposed licensed businesses in the area might be only weakly justified.

A key opportunity in the case of noise control measures would be the ability of the Licensing Authority to impose relevant Conditions on a Premises Licence in the case of a Review. Such opportunities would equally arise in the deliberation of new licence applications and licence variation applications. Local residents or residents' associations who made Relevant Representations would have the opportunity to have their concerns heard and considered as part of deciding the package of measures applied to certain premises.

**In terms of active place management we would recommend the following actions be considered:**

- Careful scrutiny by the Environmental Health Team (and the MPS) of Temporary Event Notice (TENs) applications by on-trade premises, particularly regular and repeated TENs applications.
- In respect of off-sales. Currently, no premises are permitted to sell alcohol beyond 23.00. Where intelligence suggests there is non-compliance, premises may be subject to regular monitoring to ensure that they are not conducting after-hours sales.
- One of the core local issues is people drinking from open bottles and cans whilst walking the streets. Kentish Town Road, Anglers Lane and Prince of Wales Road would benefit from Police Officers and PCSOs making greater use of their powers under the Borough-wide PSPO to confiscate alcoholic drinks from persons on the street in the case of anti-social and disorderly behaviour.
- Kentish Town would benefit from the development of a food or non-alcoholic beverage-based café culture with active frontages, where possible. Such uses might be encouraged in circumstances and at hours that do not impact negatively on residential amenities. In Central London, Charlotte Street, Great Titchfield Street and Marylebone High Street might be cited as examples of areas where something akin to this situation already pertains.

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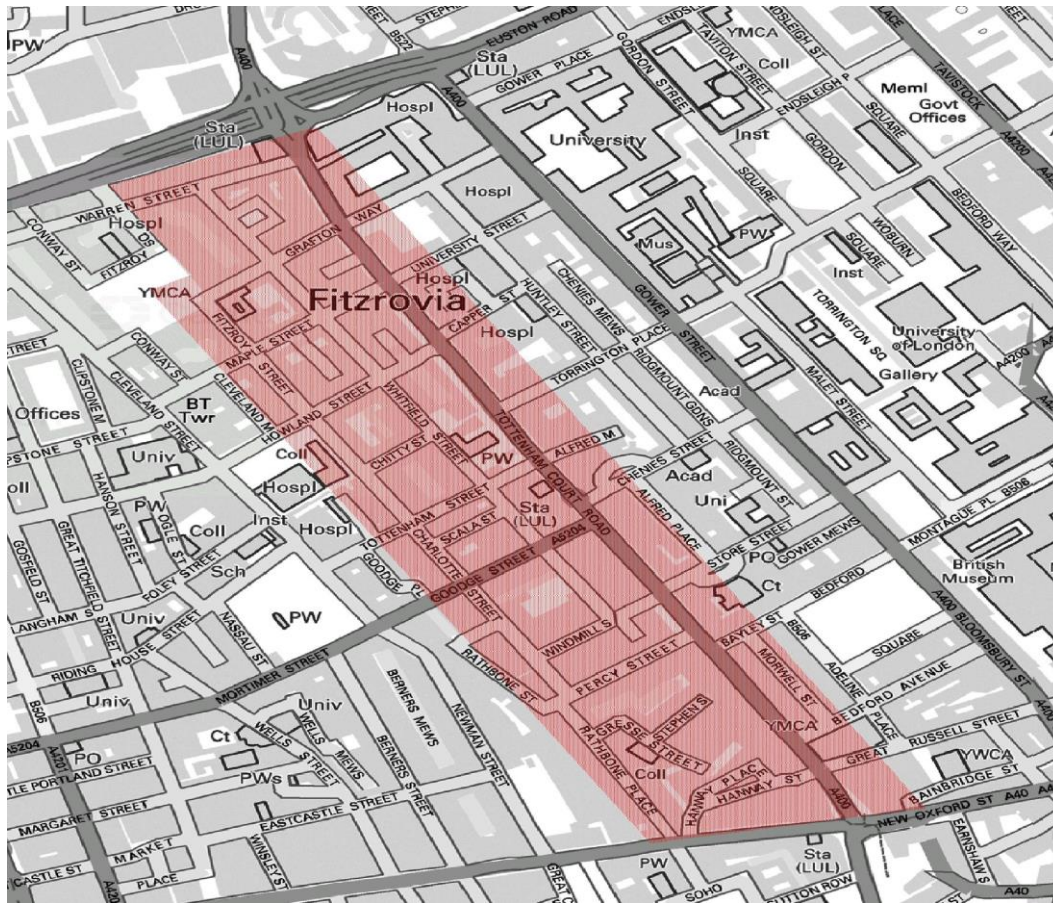
**This report does not recommend a SPA designation to any area of Kentish Town at this time.**

We would advise that the number of licensed premises - taking into account the whole strip of Kentish Town Road, from a patrol area starting from Hawley Crescent, north to the Forum on Highgate Road - is most likely insufficient to present a robust evidential basis for such a designation.

In the case of localised impacts from within Kentish Town, we did not find evidence to suggest that problems were arising as a result of the number or density of licensed premises. In Statutory Guidance to the Licensing Act 2003, these are the only relevant criteria for the demarcation of a SPA.

Licensing records indicate there should be **no off-sales on Kentish Town Road beyond 23.00**. Regardless of the potential opportunities for 'stockpiling' alcohol, **it is important to maintain and enforce these hours in contributing to the management of Public Nuisance, given the highly residential nature of the area.**

## 4.3 Tottenham Court Road / Charlotte Street / Goodge Street



**Key Statutory Licensing Objectives** for the area:

**Public Nuisance**

**Crime and Disorder**

**Key features of the social environment**

### 1. Tottenham Court Road

**Tottenham Court Road is primarily a thoroughfare for ENTE activity, being a key entry and exit point for visitors to the West End.** Its natural gathering points are at Burger King to the very south, at northbound night bus stops on the western flank of the road and outside a small number of licensed premises; those with outdoor tables and chairs. There is a small public square with bench seating just to the north of Tottenham Street which is used by homeless

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persons at night for rough sleeping, some of whom were seen drinking alcohol whilst seated in this location. This square is only dimly-illuminated and was not observed as a congregation point for persons involved in nightlife leisure activity. **The road traffic restrictions due to occur on Tottenham Court Road will improve pedestrian accessibility during the day-time, but will not apply after 19.00. As a result, we do not anticipate any significant changes in the public use and functions of Tottenham Court Road at night; although Crossrail 1 is widely predicted to create a large upturn in localised footfall.**

30 licensed premises were recorded on or directly-around Tottenham Court Road. These premises were mixed in nature and functions and spatially dispersed. **There is no discernable cluster of ENTE premises on Tottenham Court Road based on current development patterns.**

Seven premises were seen to be operating until 02.00 or later in our patrol area on Friday and Saturday nights (with reduced numbers on all other nights). These comprise: three LNR premises, one café/restaurant with table service, one casino bar, one hotel bar and one Gentleman's Club. A further four premises close as late as 01.00-01.30 on Fridays and Saturdays; these comprise two pubs, one bar, and one lounge bar attached to a restaurant. **There are no premises licensed to serve off-sales alcohol beyond midnight** (although the research team obtained a failed test purchase at one of the two stores that remain open at late at night).

## **Notable licensed premises in the area**

### **Spearmint Rhino**

The most prominent larger licensed premises on Tottenham Court Road are the Spearmint Rhino Gentleman's Club. These premises are also notable for being one of the last to close, with operations routinely proceeded into the early hours of the morning. We noted one isolated incident of public nuisance involving a group of customers of Spearmint Rhino.

### **Other notable issues**

Where street drinking was apparent in the area this was mostly the case of **individuals and groups drinking from bottles and cans as they walked southbound in the pre-midnight period.**

Saturday 6 June was the evening of a football Champions League match between Barcelona and Juventus at Berlin's Olympic Stadium. This game was shown on large screens at several pubs and bars in our Tottenham Court Road/Charlotte-Goodge Street patrol area. This sporting event had the notable effect of significantly increasing the numbers of persons attending these premises in comparison with our other visits. The evening in question was also warm and dry. This combination of factors gave rise to an increased amount of noise nuisance in the two areas, particularly after completion of the game and at



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premises' closing times. We did not, however, witness any more serious incidents of crime and disorder associated with the additional activity from sports fans.

During the period of our observations we became aware of the **re-emergence of mobile hot-dog vendors on the streets late at night**. These vendors had been largely absent from the West End for a number of years following earlier enforcement activity. Hot dog vendors were apparent only in our Tottenham Court Road and Holborn patrol areas. In all instances, these street traders chose to stand near to Night Bus stops; these being the locations containing the largest congregations of static persons on the streetscape. In the case of Tottenham Court Road, a vendor was noted consistently from midnight onwards, on the western pavement, adjacent to the junction with Hanway Street, which lies just below the southernmost bus stop.

## **2. Charlotte Street / Goodge Street**

57 licensed premises were recorded on or directly around the Charlotte Street / Goodge Street cluster. 34 of these premises are licensed by Camden and 23 are licensed by the City of Westminster.

The Camden premises comprise: five bars/pubs, 23 restaurants, four restaurants with bars, one off-sales shop and one late-night refreshment takeaway.

The Westminster premises comprise: seven bars/pubs, ten restaurants, six restaurants with bars and no off-sales shops or late-night refreshment takeaways.

Across the cluster, therefore, **dining is the primary function in 43 out of the total of 57 licensed premises. Only four on-trade premises are entirely drink-led. There does, however, appear to be a shift towards restaurants developing separately-branded and spatially-distinct cocktail bars within their premises. Only one store in the area supplies alcohol off-sales and these sales conclude no later than 23.00.**

The local food and drink scene in these streets is, in fact, even busier than our listings suggest as there are many other cafes which do not serve alcohol but which operate into the evening period, together with outdoor seating (a particular feature of this area). As noted above, our listings cover only those premises that operate beyond 20.00.

Three premises in the area operate beyond 01.30 (two are licensed by Westminster, one by Camden) and these lie on the outskirts of the cluster. Most premises in the cluster operate no later than 23.30. At the time of writing, Camden are considering an application for an extension of hours from midnight to 01.00 for one of the four drink-led bars in the area. All other premises close by 00.30 at the latest.

There are **fewer variations in advertised closing hours across the week** in comparison with our other three areas. **This reflects the focus on customers who attend after-work**, Monday-Friday.

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**The cluster is unusual in having so many premises with active frontages, primarily achieved through seated outdoor drinking and dining.** The relatively slow movement of road traffic on the two main streets compliments this use, thereby assisting the creation of a vibrant but relaxed atmosphere.

The après-work socialising theme, combined with extensive use of outdoor tables and chairs, is comparable to the social scene found in and around Marylebone High Street, an area of the City of Westminster which lies approximately 1-mile to the west.

**There are no notable larger-capacity licensed premises** within the cluster, such as live music venues or nightclubs. **Nonetheless, the combined capacity of the 57 licensed premises is undoubtedly considerable.** It is understandable that local residents may express concern about the scale and speed of investment by licensed businesses (it appeared that many of the premises were recently developed or re-vamped) into this small geographical location.

On the basis of our observations, it appeared that premises within the cluster were generally well-managed (based on external features such as door supervision and noise breakout). We did not observe incidents of violence, street crime, or serious disorder in the area. **The noise impacts we encountered related to alfresco dining and drinking to the frontage of various licensed premises and to the departure of customers from the pubs and bars at closing time.**

The former issue was more apparent from April onwards than in the earlier, colder, months of our study. The latter issue may be considered in the context of what is typical for Central London. In general terms, **premises in this cluster close earlier than their counterparts** in Seven Dials. They also close earlier than what we found to be the norm in our other study areas. We found **little evidence of street drinking and associated detritus** in the vicinity of this cluster. This is likely due to the high levels of natural surveillance afforded by the active frontages, residential flats, and the general absence of immediately-accessible off-sales alcohol and fast-food.

## **Cross-borough boundary effects**

**The licensed premises in this area cluster at the cusp of the Camden-Westminster boundary.** Premises across both boroughs form a 'natural area' of attraction for ENTE visitors. The City of Westminster's 'West End Stress Area' (WESA) Cumulative Impact Zone stretches as far north as the southern section of Rathbone Place, a street immediately south of Charlotte Street. Restrictions on new premises' openings and licence variations in this nearby section of Westminster may have encouraged a displacement of investment into the Charlotte Street / Goodge Street nightlife hub: that is, into streets within Westminster and Camden that lie outside of the SPAs of both Licensing Authorities.

The cluster is so integrated across the two boroughs (with the boundary lines dissecting the main thoroughfares) that it is not possible to identify displacement effects relating to public behaviour and the use and functions of specific premises. At present, **the premises within Westminster trade to a similar,**

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mostly food-led, format as their Camden neighbours.

## Recommendations

### a) Tottenham Court Road

Our patrol area encompassed Tottenham Court Road in its entire length, together with adjoining streets to the west and east where licensed premises were visible from Tottenham Court Road. 30 licensed premises were recorded on or directly-around Tottenham Court Road. These premises were mixed in nature and functions and due to the length of this major thoroughfare, spatially dispersed.

There is no discernable cluster of ENTE premises on Tottenham Court Road, based on current development patterns. **The number and location of premises located in and around Tottenham Court Road itself do not create the conditions wherein these premises, in and of themselves, generate negative cumulative impacts within the surrounding public realm. For this reason, we cannot commend Tottenham Court Road as a suitable candidate for SPA designation.**

It should be noted that this is not to say:

1. That the area does not suffer the effects of the cumulative impact of Licensable Activities. We found evidence to suggest that it does. However, the impacts are 'displacement effects' from other areas to the south. These occur on Tottenham Court Road as a result of it being a key 'pathway' for ENTE patrons dispersing from areas across the West End late at night.
2. That licensed premises operating on Tottenham Court Road do not sometimes impact negatively on the Licensing Objectives, as a result of their management styles and the behaviour of their customers. We noted such instances. These were, however, premises-specific effects, not cumulative impacts arising as a result of the premises forming part of a cluster of similar premises.
3. That premises' developments and commercial re-positioning will not give rise to the generation of cumulative impacts specific to Tottenham Court Road in the future. Such is the speed of Central London's re-development that this must be considered a distinct possibility.

We do believe that, to help improve community safety at night, some other actions should be considered:

**Public square: Improved lighting.** The area contains a public square with bench seating just to the north of Tottenham Street. This space is directly visible and accessible from Tottenham Court Road. We noted that the square was poorly illuminated at night and was occupied by homeless street drinkers and on some occasions by other static persons who exuded a somewhat menacing presence. Much brighter illumination of the area at night, so that activities

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therein come 'under-the-spotlight', would, we believe, be a simple but highly effective target-hardening measure that would also help reduce the fear of crime.

**Night Bus stops: Improved lighting and CCTV.** Given the very high levels of customer usage at night and their status as key congregation points we would also recommend improved lighting and the installation of CCTV at Tottenham Court Road's Night Bus Stops.

## **b) Charlotte Street / Goodge Street**

We recorded 57 licensed premises on Charlotte Street / Goodge Street and a small number of adjoining streets. It was clear therefore, that this area of Fitzrovia, just to the west of Tottenham Court Road, contained a high density of licensed premises, even by Central London standards. This is a location in which the 'urban village' effect crosses jurisdictional boundaries (34 of the premises noted were licensed by Camden, with the remaining 23 licensed by the City of Westminster).

**The cluster was observed to have a particular character. Unlike many - indeed most - clusters of licensed premises in London, the primary function of the majority of premises was found to be seated dining with table service.** A large number of premises also featured open-air dining on tables and chairs to the frontage of the premises; often accompanied by canopies and heaters to encourage year-round use. These operational features afforded the area a more continental ambience, whilst also adding significantly to natural surveillance of the streetscape. In addition to being food-led, the large majority of licensed premises in the area close before midnight. We saw no evidence of off-sales-supplied street drinking in these streets (the only off-sales store in the area closes by midnight). For this combination of reasons, **we do not see the area as a candidate for SPA designation at this time.**

We would add a note of caution, however: given the combined capacity of the 57 licensed premises now trading within this confined geography. It is important to consider how **negative cumulative impacts could arise in the circumstances of the operators of licensed premises making commercial decisions to trade to later hours and adopt a more drink-led business format.** There are some signs of a trend towards the restaurants developing cocktail bars with DJ-entertainment / dancing / vertical drinking space, in areas of their premises that are spatially divided from the dining area and separately branded. Further trends in this direction may become apparent in the case of licence variation applications. We recommend that Camden Licensing Officers track and monitor such applications with care, whilst also seeking to consider the comments of local people in particular detail. **Due to the size of the existing licensed estate it is especially important that the right balance be struck between potentially competing interests in this location. It will only be through maintaining such balance that the unique attractions of the area will be sustained.**

The sharing of jurisdiction with Westminster concerning the regulation of premises in this cluster undoubtedly means that Camden lacks the tools to shape the area as a whole in the ways it might wish to. **It is unclear if**

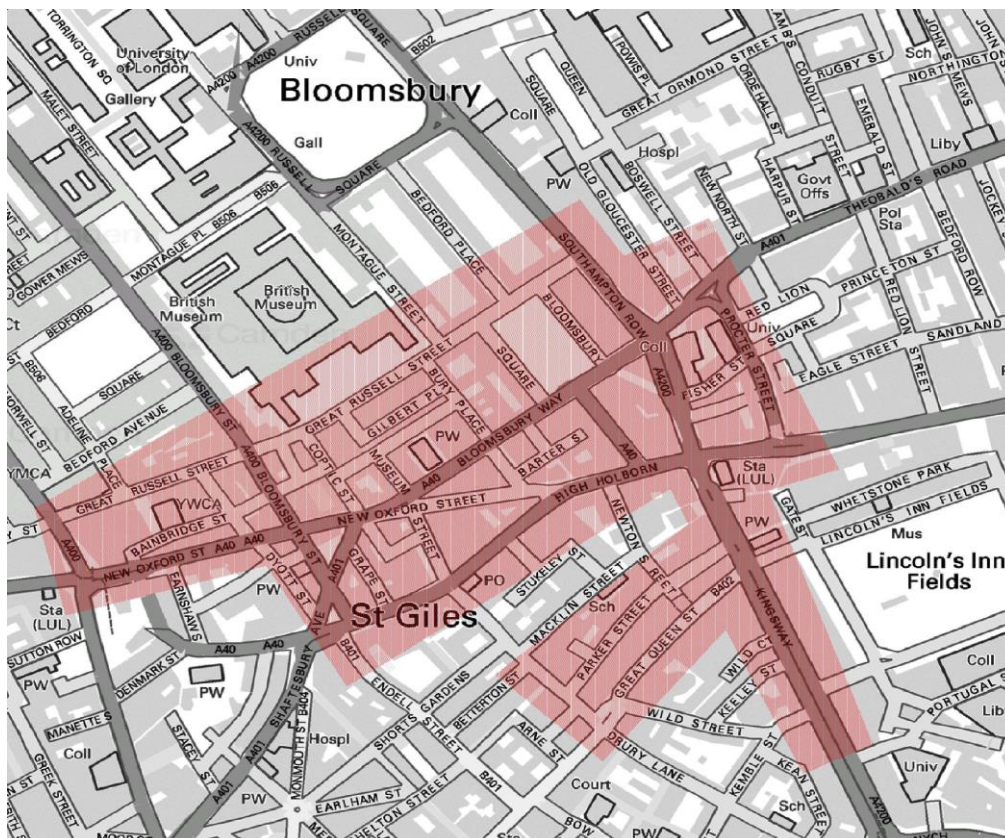
© Phil Hadfield 33



**Westminster have identified Charlotte Street / Goodge Street as an emergent ENTE cluster.** The cluster lies just to the north of Westminster's WESA CIZ, the boundary of which cuts across the mid-section of Rathbone Place. One might speculate as to whether some of the development of the cluster has occurred as a result of the displacement of entrepreneurial energy and investment from the WESA and possibly other CIZs, including Camden's own Seven Dials.

**We would recommend establishing dialogue with Licensing Officers at Westminster concerning issues arising within the Charlotte Street / Goodge Street cluster.** This dialogue would concern the cluster's future governance, including monitoring the direction of further development and close evaluation of data measures (on a cross-borough basis) relating to the Licensing Objectives.

## 4.4 Holborn



**Key Statutory Licensing Objectives** for the area:

**Crime and Disorder**

**Public Nuisance**



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This patrol area comprised of three distinct sections:

**1. High Holborn (west):** The section of this street to the west of Kingsway that forms part of the Seven Dials SPA.

**2. New Oxford Street / Bloomsbury Way:** These two streets lie within the Seven Dials SPA, with the exception of the northern flank of New Oxford Street, west of the junction with Bloomsbury Way. The streets in question include junctions with Shaftesbury Avenue and Bloomsbury Street which provide direct access to Covent Garden to the south.

**3. Kingsway / Southampton Row / High Holborn (east):** The western flanks of Kingsway/Southampton Row are within the Seven Dials SPA, between the junctions with Kemble Street to the south and Bloomsbury Place to the north. The eastern flanks of these streets, together with that section of High Holborn that lies east of the junction with Kingsway, are outside of the SPA boundaries.

### Key features of the social environment

**Late-trading hours for licensed premises are more prevalent in this location than in our other patrol areas (with the exception of Tottenham Court Road).** This reflects the area's more central location, with concentrated commercial, retail and leisure uses and **observably larger ENTE visitor footfalls**. In comparison with the other areas, we also found more **direct displacement of visitor activity from an existing Camden SPA**: the Seven Dials SPA (and also, in the case of New Oxford Street, from Westminster's 'WESA' Cumulative Impact Zone).

**New Oxford Street and Kingsway are key exit points by Night Bus for visitors to the West End.** They are also proximate to Tottenham Court Road and Holborn LU stations respectively. These are major exit points for theatregoers and after-work ENTE patrons, up until 00.30. Following the introduction of night tube services the LU stations will, of course, share a proportion of the post 00.30 exits of visitors, licensed premises staff and other night workers.

### High Holborn (west)

**A number of cafes and casual-dining restaurants have opened in the vicinity of Holborn LU station, particularly along High Holborn, in recent years. This expansion has emerged mostly to serve local office workers in the day-time and after-work evening period.** On High Holborn it has not translated, thus far, into a late-night pub/bar/club scene. There are two bars /

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pubs operating to 01.00 or later on High Holborn and two LNR takeaways operating through the early morning hours. There is no off-sales alcohol provision after 23.00; although we recorded a test purchase failure after midnight at one of the three nearby outlets.

The most prominent premises operating into the late-night on High Holborn at the time of writing was the bar and restaurant of the 'Hoxton Holborn Hotel'. These facilities were in-vogue and attracting large numbers of non-resident patrons.

## **New Oxford Street / Bloomsbury Way**

**There are two bus stands on the northern flank of New Oxford Street close to the junction with Tottenham Court Road. Both bus stands attract large crowds of people late into the night;** the crowds primarily consist of young adults who have attended licensed entertainment and LNR venues in the West End (both Camden and Westminster). There is a propensity for people to run, often whilst shouting and screaming, from west-to-east along New Oxford Street, as they attempt to arrive at the bus stops in time to catch soon-departing Night Buses.

**When observing these bus stops we consistently encountered large amounts of littering, comprising of fast-food packaging and street drinking detritus.** Also observed on New Oxford Street near to the bus stops, from around midnight onwards, was a man running a mobile hot dog stand, hoping to attract custom from those attending the bus stops. **This immediate location, although just outside the Seven Dials SPA boundary, was found to contain the most consistently intense late-night usage by ENTE patrons of all areas researched within this study.**

There are four on-licensed premises operating to 01.00 or later on New Oxford Street / Bloomsbury Way, together with one LNR takeaway operating to 04.00. The two convenience stores with off-sales in the area trade late at night, although they are not licensed for the Sale of Alcohol beyond 23.00. Our investigations suggest non-compliance with these time restrictions arising in respect of both these premises. Furthermore, there appears to be a link between alcohol sales from these outlets and street drinking. Street drinking involving groups that were static and groups and individuals on the move, was noted at frequent intervals.

**A key location for street drinking is the terraced area occupying the triangular block formed by the junctions of Shaftesbury Avenue, Bloomsbury Street and New Oxford Street. This fully-paved public space lies directly opposite the two licensed convenience stores.** We found the area to be heavily littered with street drinking detritus on each occasion we visited. Groups of persons were seen drinking alcohol whilst seated in this location on several occasions from May onwards.

**The most prominent premises in the post-midnight period is the British Luxury Club (BLC) at 55-59 New Oxford Street** on the southern side of the street, at the corner with Dyott Street. Alcohol service hours on the Premises

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Licence run until 06.00, making this venue a potential draw for after-hours clientele moving from other premises in the early hours of the morning (in 2014 the premises were marketing themselves as an after-hours club, operating Tuesday-Saturday, 03.30-07.00). Our experience was that the premises began operating from around 22.00, closing at around 03.30-04.00. The premises were especially popular with young adult clubbers, a large proportion of whom appeared to be from South East Asian communities. Queues formed outside the premises on Dyott Street and were a constant presence throughout our observation periods. Dyott Street was also used as the premises' outdoor smoking area. These activities were heavily policed by a team of door supervisors and our impression was that the venue was selective as to who was permitted entry, based upon the gender-mix of groups (all male groups denied entry) and levels of prior intoxication.

### **Kingsway / Southampton Row / High Holborn (east)**

There are two pubs / clubs operating to 01.00 or later in the immediate vicinity of Kingsway / Southampton Row, two LNR cafes/takeaways and one unlicensed (no-alcohol) café/restaurant operating into the early morning hours. We found no off-sales alcohol outlets within this micro-location of our patrol area (apart from Sainsbury's on the junction with High Holborn (west), which closes no later than 23.00).

A key feature of the night-time scene in Kingsway, on both sides of the street, is the proximity of the Seven Dials SPA. **Kingsway, much like Tottenham Court Road, is an important exit point for visitors leaving the West End by Night Bus.** Late at night, the pedestrian flow on streets such as High Holborn (west), Parker Street and Great Queen Street is notably west-to-east, as the customers of licensed premises located within the Seven Dials SPA walk towards the bus stops on the west and east flanks of Kingsway, located just south of Holborn LU Station.

Great Queen Street, in particular, is a popular direct-exit route for visitors to Covent Garden. Moreover, the street itself has a cluster of popular high-capacity licensed premises, including Sway, the Grand Connaught Rooms and the Red Rooms lap-dancing club, whose customers naturally feed into Kingsway as the most convenient exit route.

Patrons of the Seven Dials SPA are also drawn to Kingsway and High Holborn (east) by the area's three late-night cafes / takeaways; these premises are often attended by visitors ahead of their homeward journeys.

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## Notable licensed premises

### The Shakespeare's Head

The Shakespeare's Head is a large public house on the eastern side of the street at Africa House, 64-68 Kingsway, opposite the junction with Parker Street. The premises are operated by national pub chain J. D. Wetherspoon Plc; operating hours are to 01.00 Friday and Saturday and to midnight on all other days, including Sundays. The premises are located very close to a Night Bus stop. This was seen to create something of a bottleneck on the pavement, wherein customers who were stood outside the pub mingled in close proximity to persons waiting at the bus stop.

**Several important ENTE facilities in this location are to be found just outside the SPA, on the eastern flank of Kingsway and on High Holborn (east).** High Holborn (east) stretches from the crossroads junction of Kingsway/Southampton Row and High Holborn. In these locations east of the SPA, one finds a bus stop providing four Night Bus services, The Shakespeare's Head, Holborn LU station (soon to provide 24-hour services at weekends), a McDonalds restaurant which operates 24/7, and an unlicensed Lebanese restaurant/takeaway with outdoor shisha smoking, that operates into the early hours.

The presence of a mobile hot dog vendor, who positioned himself from midnight onwards next to the Night Bus stop on the eastern flank of Kingsway, served to underline the importance of this location as a major exit point for ENTE visitors. Hot dog vendors choose their locations with care and on the nights of our research chose only three locations: these being, the Night Bus stops on Tottenham Court Road (south, western pavement), New Oxford Street (west, northern pavement) and Kingsway (north, eastern pavement).

## Recommendations

### 1. Action on street drinking

Unsupervised street drinking was found to take place on the terraced area occupying the triangular block formed by the junctions of Shaftesbury Avenue, Bloomsbury Street and New Oxford Street. This public space lies directly opposite two licensed convenience stores. We found the area to be heavily littered with street drinking detritus and often occupied by groups of persons stood or seated whilst drinking in this location. These activities occur despite a warning sign indicating that police have the power to confiscate alcohol from persons drinking in this area and to impose an associated fine of up to £500. The presence of the sign indicates that the area is subject to a Public Spaces Protection Order (PSPO); a power which, in fact, applies to the whole of the Borough of Camden.

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We recommend:

**PCSO / Police enforcement of the PSPO in response to anti-social behaviour associated with drinking at this location. Even in the absence of anti-social behaviour, large drinking gatherings in this space should be discouraged by regular police disruption and dispersal.**

**Intelligence-led licensing compliance operations in nearby off-sales premises.**

**'Action Plans' for non-compliant premises, pending the option to Review specific Premises Licences.**

## **2. Action on improved street lighting**

Levels of illumination on New Oxford Street are notably lower than that found on other roads in Central London that have higher levels of vehicular traffic. New Oxford Street, by comparison, has routinely higher levels of pedestrian usage at night than many of these comparable thoroughfares. Pedestrians entering New Oxford Street encounter a comparatively gloomy environment. Low lighting adds to the feeling of the area being more neglected, unsupervised and potentially dangerous than its nearby surroundings. This atmosphere is compounded by the presence of overflowing waste bins, broken glass and urine staining in the vicinity of the Night Bus stops late at night.

Much brighter illumination of New Oxford Street at night, so that activities therein come 'under-the-spotlight', would, we believe, be a simple but effective target-hardening measure that would also help reduce the fear of crime.

## **3. Extensions to the Seven Dials SPA boundaries**

### **a) New Oxford Street**

**We recommend that the northern flank of that section of New Oxford Street that lies to the west of the junction with Bloomsbury Way be brought within the boundaries of the Seven Dials SPA.** The justification for this suggestion is that many of the cumulative impacts of Licensable Activities that may be attributed to the cluster of premises in Seven Dials are experienced at this location; indeed, more so than on the south flank of the street which already lies within the SPA.

A further advantage would be the increased ability to control the development of this section of the street by licensed businesses. We would stress that **this location, due to the positioning of the Night Bus stops and various surrounding licensed premises, was found to have the most intensive late-night usage recorded across the four patrol areas as a whole.**



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## **b) Kingsway / High Holborn (east)**

As a result of the above considerations **we recommend:**

- a) That the eastern flank of that section of Kingsway that lies between the junctions with Sardinian Fields to the south and High Holborn/Southampton Row to the north, be brought within the boundaries of the Seven Dials SPA.**
- b) That both flanks of High Holborn, east of the junction with Kingsway/Southampton Row, be brought within the boundaries of the Seven Dials SPA, as far as the junction with Proctor Street only.**

The justification for these suggestions is that many of the cumulative impacts of Licensable Activities that may be attributed to the cluster of premises in Seven Dials are also experienced in these locations, just to the east of the current boundary. The customers of premises within the Seven Dials SPA were observed to move towards the facilities on Kingsway (east) and High Holborn (east) late at night.

Moreover, these locations east of the current boundary have themselves licensed premises and transport facilities that form an intrinsic part of the Holborn ENTE and its interactions with the Seven Dials SPA. These are not therefore ‘displacement effects’; rather they suggest that **the pattern of development and externalities of the Seven Dials SPA has involved expansion slightly to the east since the last evaluation of the SPA boundaries was conducted. These conclusions are likely to go some way toward explaining the slight movement eastwards in crime patterns, as recorded by the MPS** and illustrated in the hot-spot mapping analysis conducted by the Camden Community Safety Partnership.

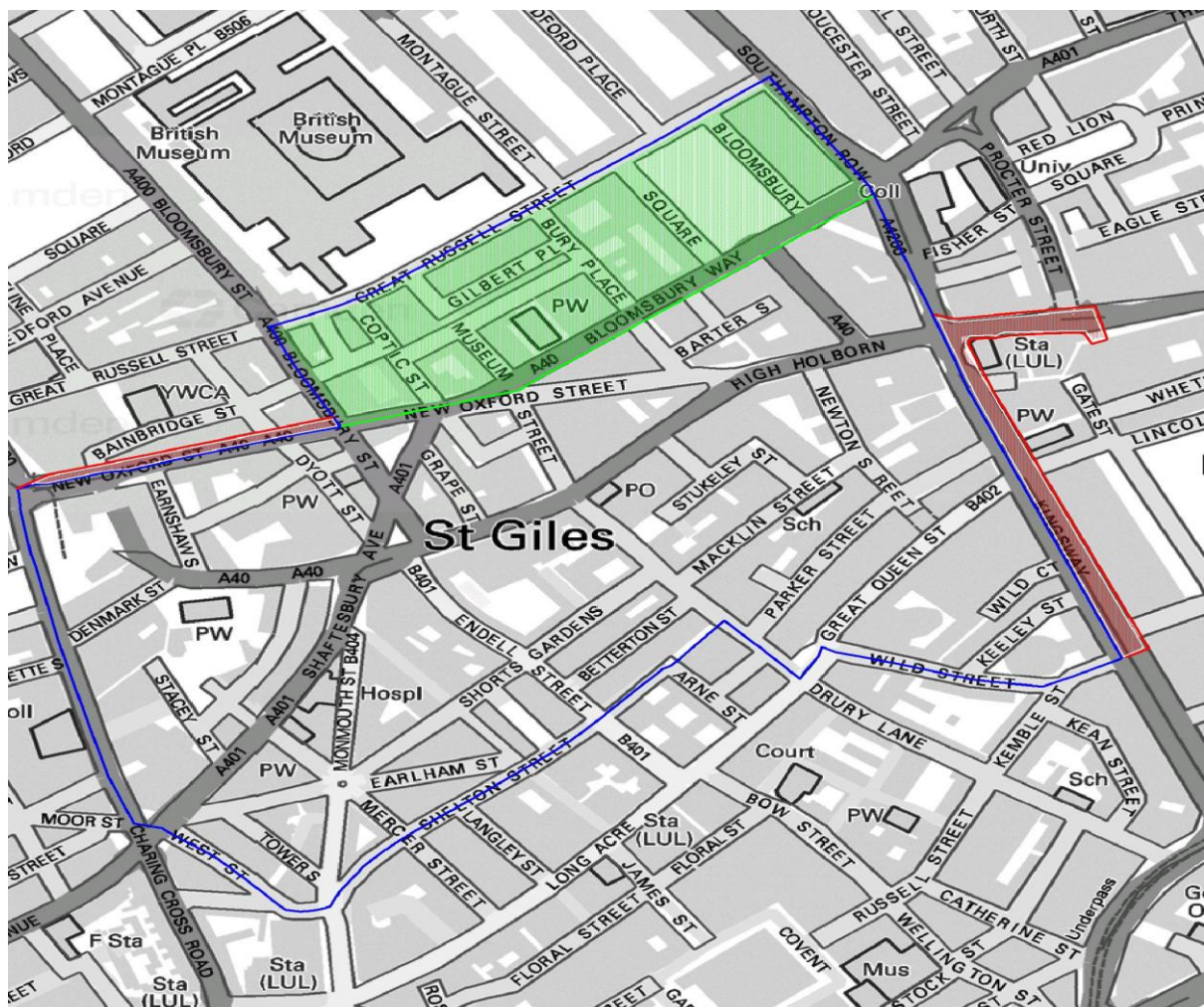
Our suggested adjustments to the SPA boundary, although small, would afford Camden more ability to control the development of licensed businesses in those locations where this matters most: areas of intensive late-night usage that form part of the established social and economic life of the Seven Dials SPA.

## **4. Reductions to the Seven Dials SPA boundaries**

In reviewing the current Seven Dials SPA boundaries proximate to our patrol area **we identified a further location where it may be justified to reduce geographical coverage.** This area lies to the north of Bloomsbury Way, stretching as far as the south pavement of Great Russell Street, just below the British Museum. This northern section of the SPA is bounded by Bloomsbury Street to the west and Southampton Row, to the east, thus forming an oblong block when highlighted on a map. Within the streets in question, we did not find a concentration of licensed premises, nor did we observe much movement or interaction between this area and areas of the SPA to the south of Bloomsbury Way, where most of the Seven Dials ENTE is located.

At present, Bloomsbury Square is encompassed by the SPA, although it contains no licensed premises. The most prominent premises within the SPA block in question are Salvador and Amanda on Vernon Place, the Museum Tavern on Great Russell Street, The Plough (public house) on Museum Street, Pizza Express on Coptic Street and Wagamama on Streatham Street. There are a few other small independent restaurants within the area, one off-licensed convenience store, and additional cafes open during the day-time. Outside of the SPA, just to the north and west, on Bloomsbury Street and Great Russell Street, there are further restaurants with night-trade. Apart from Salvador and Amanda, which is an outlier, located on the very edge of the area, none of the premises within this section of the SPA trade beyond midnight on any night of the week. A further factor we consider important is that the premises listed above are not bunched; they are spatially dispersed.

**Our suggested amendments to the Seven Dials SPA boundary are illustrated in the following map. Current boundaries of the Seven Dials SPA are indicated by the blue line; the locations shaded red illustrate the two geographies we propose for consultation on extensions to the Seven Dials SPA boundaries; the area shaded green indicates the geography we recommend for consultation regarding its removal from the SPA:**



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## 5. Crosscutting recommendations for the four research areas

### 1. Enforce: enhance and sustain current Premises Licence arrangements

As part of this research, test purchases were made at late-trading supermarkets and convenience stores in the four areas to check if some premises were serving alcohol beyond the times permitted by their Premises Licence. Sales-of-Alcohol time restrictions are, of course, a long-standing mechanism to control the availability of alcohol at key hours and locations where public drunkenness (as measured by volume of alcohol consumed) is at its highest levels. National evidence and local evidence - for example, the on-street visitor drinking surveys conducted by this research team in the Seven Dials and Camden Town SPAs in 2010<sup>11</sup> – suggests that, **on-average, unit consumption of alcohol amongst those ENTE visitors that remain in-situ, increases hour-by-hour up until 03.00 and beyond. It is important therefore that a general culture of compliance with permitted trading hours is achieved.** The results of our test purchases – made at random times in late-trading premises – indicate currently high levels of non-compliance amongst smaller independent off-trade outlets.

The alcohol availability issue has greatest resonance for the most committed of drinkers; those ENTE patrons who seek out off-sales sources after leaving on-trade premises and alcohol-dependant street drinkers from the homeless population. **Non-compliance with licensing hours by off-sales outlets provides access to additional consumption opportunities for these ‘hard-drinking’ sub-groups; fuelling public drunkenness on public transport and pedestrian journeys in the course of exits from central locations**<sup>12</sup>. As a general rule, it is important to enforce existing licensing controls before imposing new ones<sup>13</sup>.

### 2. Finance: assess the Late-Night Levy and its suitability for Camden

The Late-Night Levy (LNL) provides a framework to derive private sector financial contributions to the costs of policing and other crime prevention interventions in the ENTE, as directed by councils and local police forces. The levy is set out in Chapter 2 of Part 2 of the Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act 2011 (the 2011 Act). In March 2016, the Home Office ‘Modern Crime Prevention Strategy’ announced plans to amend the law concerning LNLs in order to make the power “more flexible for local areas”. This followed a nationwide survey to obtain the views of Licensing Authorities on the “use and reform of the late-night levy” in 2015.

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<sup>11</sup> Hadfield, P., Noga, H., Large, J. and Jones, R. (2010) *Visitor drinking, late-night refreshment and transportation in the Camden Special Policy Areas: Final Report to the London Borough of Camden. August 2010*. London: [www.philhadfield.co.uk](http://www.philhadfield.co.uk).

<sup>12</sup> Bellis, M. and Hughes K. (2011) ‘Getting drunk safely? Nightlife policy in the UK and its public health consequences’. *Drug and Alcohol Review*, 30: 536-45.

<sup>13</sup> Hadfield, P. and Measham, F. (2010) *Lost Orders? Alcohol and law enforcement in England and Wales: Final report to the Portman Group*. London: The Portman Group.



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Camden Council consulted on the suitability of the LNL to the Camden context in 2015 and the introduction of the power was approved in January 2016, for implementation from April 2016. The findings of the LNL consultation were not informed by this report and the author did not have access to consultation responses. The author is of the opinion that the local consultations provide the most appropriate weighing of considerations in relation to LNL. **This research was conducted wholly independently of the LNL consultation and the author does not seek to offer recommendations specific to this particular place management mechanism, based on the findings of this study alone.**

### **3. Monitor: track the general direction of development within the ENTE**

We recommend that Policy Officers at the Council, with the findings of this report and other evidence in mind, **monitor the number and location of new Premises Licence applications and licence variation applications for late-night drink-led uses and for LNR, across the four areas.** We would suggest that all new applications / variations for post-midnight Sales-of-Alcohol and LNR are flagged, recorded, and the resulting statistics reviewed, on a six-monthly basis. **This will enable the Camden Community Safety Partnership to identify and track emergent ENTE development trends that are not always apparent when processing large numbers of disparate applications from locations Borough-wide.**

### **4. Think across boundaries: place management requires cross-borough collaborations**

Nightlife in Central London is a cross-borough phenomenon and from the point of view of the consumer, the borough boundaries are an irrelevance. In the case of Camden **this involves Islington in relation to Kings Cross, and Westminster in relation to Charlotte/Goodge Street, Tottenham Court Road, and New Oxford Street.** The integrated nature of the areas in question, when viewed in terms of their attraction to ENTE visitors, involves making use of premises and services in ways that crisscross borough boundaries. As a result, **any hot-spot mapping of alcohol-related incidents occurring within Camden boundaries-only will not show the full picture. There will always be elements of cross-borough spatial displacement involved in any true assessment of the ENTE and its social impacts.** It is important for our clients to view these cross-border influences in terms of the limits of Camden's jurisdiction and to consider how the Licensing Policy and general place management approach of adjoining Authorities may be impacting on Camden. **These factors require an insight into how different parts of the Borough function as 'places', rather than as abstract spaces on a map. The observational research reported here provides some insight into these underlying qualitative factors and indicates potential parameters for cross-borough mapping and collaboration on ENTE themes; particularly, in key areas such as Kings Cross and Charlotte Street/Goodge Street.**

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## 5. Enhance: supportive services by extending ENTE partnership working and generating new income streams for integrated place management

**We are rapidly entering an era in which urban place management is delivered through a network of providers and organisational collaborations:** from wholly-voluntary private sector Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) schemes at one end of the spectrum, through to wholly public delivery at the other. The fiscal cuts for councils and their public sector partners, together with the dubious track-record of branded CSR policy transfers involving 'big business' backers, externally-imposed KPIs and weak local leadership<sup>14</sup> would suggest that the best, most accountable and politically palatable approach in the near future will be that of novel public-private sector partnerships led by the 'city vision' of councils, rather than the more narrow concerns of the police or business community. **There is an opportunity for Camden to provide leadership, especially on matters of public accountability and standards of evaluation, as they apply to those partnership measures and initiatives to be applied to the public streets and other shared spaces<sup>15</sup>.**

There are several examples of the Borough and the wider Camden Community Safety Partnership working collaboratively with private sector stakeholders, emergency health services and NGOs conducting 'outreach' work on alcohol and drug issues in the areas examined by our research.

a) Pub Watch. The Euston Pubwatch, for example, provides a forum for the exchange of intelligence between the MPS, Camden Council and the pubs located in and around the three mainline stations in Euston/Kings Cross/St Pancras. The aim of Pubwatch is to encourage a safe and secure social drinking environment in all licensed premises and help to reduce drink-related crime. Licensees from pubs, bars, restaurants and cafes meet every couple of months to discuss common issues. These meetings are supported and attended by Licensing Officers from the Council and representatives from the MPS. Information shared will relate, for example, to football fixtures, football hooliganism, and potential overcrowding pressure from other major public events across London and the South East. **Effective engagement of Pubwatch provides opportunities to cut the costs of policing and licensing enforcement / litigation by encouraging licensees to be proactive; operating their premises so as to prevent the occurrence or recurrence of crime and disorder (for example, by closing early on police advice in the case of high-risk football fixtures).**

**We would recommend that the many new and recent entrants to the leisure market in the Kings Cross / Euston area, including restaurateurs, be encouraged to participate in Pubwatch, or alternatively to establish their own, differently-branded and constituted forum to agree standards of**

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<sup>14</sup> Home Office / KPMG LLP (2008) *Review of the Social Responsibility Standards for the Production and Sale of Alcoholic Drinks*, Birmingham: KPMG LLP.

Hadfield, P. and Measham, F. (2015) 'The outsourcing of control: Alcohol law enforcement, private sector governance and the evening and night-time economy', *Urban Studies*. 52(3): 517-37.

<sup>15</sup> Hadfield and Measham, (*ibid.*)



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**operation and establish partnership working on security and safety issues.**

b) Business Improvement Districts (BIDs). The areas examined also contain BIDs. A BID is a defined geographical area within which local businesses have voted to invest collectively to improve their trading environment. BIDs operate usually for periods of five years, which can run successively. BIDs provide additional or improved services as identified and requested by local businesses. Services often include additional safety and cleansing and broader environmental measures. BIDs are business-led organisations, funded by members, who pay an agreed levy previously approved by ballot.

There are three BIDs currently operating in Camden that encompass some of the Borough's main ENTE areas:

'Camden Town Unlimited' (CTU) draws members that include bar/pub/restaurant owners. Established in April 2006 and now towards the end of its second term, CTU has taken an active interest in ENTE issues within central areas of Camden Town; these being of key concern to many of its members. CTU part-funded projects have so far included time-limited commitments to provide street marshal patrols at night (the 'Quiet Streets' initiative) and improvements to the streetscape of Camden High Street (the 'Naked High Street' initiative). The latter initiative helped introduce wider footways, narrower carriageways, level loading bays, new tree plantings and a public art installation.

'The Fitzrovia Partnership'. This BID includes sections of our Charlotte Street / Goodge Street patrol area. The Partnership Business Plan 2012-17 includes a commitment to: "develop an evening focus to better connect intelligence between restaurants and pubs and reduce illegal street activity and anti-social behaviour. A 'pub watch' scheme will be developed and an effective liaison and support maintained with the public authorities"<sup>16</sup>.

'In Mid-Town' (Bloomsbury, Holborn and St Giles). A large and potentially influential BID, running since April 2005, and now in its third term. The BID has over 300 business members, ranging from large international companies who have offices in the area to small independent traders. The BID membership contains a number of ENTE businesses; however, their presence is not so apparent as in CTU and The Fitzrovia Partnership. This reflects the more mixed-economy found within In Mid-Town's designated geographical boundary.

In Mid-Town has taken an active role in safety and security management and improvements to the streetscape environment of their area. They fund two dedicated Police Officers in the area's Special Tasking Team and a 'street ambassador' patrol which provides 'soft guardianship' in the form of a uniformed presence, advising visitors and being the 'eyes and ears' of the police with regard to criminal and disorderly behaviour. So far, In Mid-Town's projects appear to have focused on supporting the day-time retail, tourist and service economy, with no publicised initiatives in support of the ENTE.

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<sup>16</sup> <http://fitzroviapartnership.com/what-we-do/safety-security/> (as accessed 4 August 2015).

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We recommend the Council explore opportunities to engage more fully with the business community on ENTE issues through the vehicle of BIDs. Three BIDs already exist in important ENTE locations within the Borough. **The Council could play an important role in providing strategic leadership to the private sector on issues of place management. There would need to be ‘buy-in’ from the BIDs of the vision for ENTE areas devised by Camden and informed by the Council’s investment in public and stakeholder consultation, data analysis and research. We see a future where there is legislative change on BID governance, with BIDs being led by a multi-agency strategic board, with ultimate leadership direction by Borough/City Councils.**

## **6. Evaluate: Night tube**

The above measures, if sustained in combination, will undoubtedly support public safety and security on Camden’s soon-to-be-implemented all-night weekend tube services. Nonetheless, there are a number of important unknowns about how the service will impact on the social behaviour of ENTE users. It is too simplistic to assume that there will be a seamless transition to easier and more rapid dispersals late at night, immediately easing the pressure on public services<sup>17</sup>. It could be, for example, that a proportion of visitors use the new late-night tube services after 00.30 to attend late-night events in ENTE areas, having already ‘pre-loaded’ on alcohol (and drugs) in their home localities. This possibility, together with the impacts on residential noise nuisance, street cleansing services, and station security, for example, are matters of conjecture at present. Such issues were not considered in the research commissioned by TfL (which focused on economic benefits to late-trading businesses)<sup>18</sup>, in pilot trials of the service, or in detailed service planning discussions with the Boroughs (to the author’s knowledge).

We recommend that the Council’s licensing team monitor the effects of the night tube services across the Borough by collecting baseline crime figures for the areas around all central tube stations, and those stations such as Kentish Town, with proximate night-time crime hot-spots. Crime statistics collected on an on-going basis can then be used to map any changes in crime patterns: in particular, the numbers, locations and timings of incidents.

**We recommend that on-going evaluation of night tube be mentioned in the wording of the 2016 Statement of Licensing Policy. It should be emphasised that the Council’s Licensing Policies were devised on the basis of the current and recent historical evidence available prior to**

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<sup>17</sup> As highlighted in the following work, with respect to licensing hours:

Humphreys, D. and Eisner, M. (2010) ‘Evaluating a natural experiment in alcohol policy: the Licensing Act (2003) and the requirement for attention to implementation’. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 9/1: 41-67.

<sup>18</sup> Volterra, (2014) *Impact of the night tube on London’s Night-Time Economy: Report prepared by Volterra Partners for TfL and London First*. London: TfL and London First.

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**introduction of the night service.**

Robust evaluation of the night tube services and their (so far unknown) social and economic effects, together with the range of other activities mentioned above, will provide an improved evidential basis for consultation on any further necessary changes to Camden's Licensing Policies in 2020-21.

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## Appendix One: Author biography

**Dr Phil Hadfield** is a research consultant with 15 years' experience in the fields of urban cultural planning, evening and night-time economy policy development, community safety and mixed – methods research.

Phil is Associate Fellow of the Faculty of Education, Social Sciences and Law, Centre for Criminal Justice Studies, School of Law, University of Leeds. He is the author, co-author or editor of some of the leading books, scholarly collections and articles on UK, European and International evening and night-time economies. Phil works closely with clients to ensure the quality and relevance of research and advisory outputs. His work is client-centred and informed by the latest statutory developments, as well as knowledge and evaluations of best practice.

His work in licensing has occurred in the following areas:

- Independent evidence-gathering and policy development advice for LAs in relation to their Statements of Licensing Policy, most notably in respect of Cumulative Impact Policies.
- Assistance for LAs with public and stakeholder consultation exercises on licensing issues.
- Evidence-gathering and expert witness consultancy in cases of licensing litigation: contested variations, new premises' applications, licence reviews etc.
- Development of international comparative perspectives on alcohol and licensing matters / exchange of 'best practice' / urban governance and development, mostly through involvement in the EC – funded European Forum for Urban Security, but also through direct commissioning, eg. by the City of Sydney.
- Work on Research Council-funded academic projects, eg., ESRC, Alcohol Research UK, as well as Home Office projects.
- Publication of research in peer-reviewed journals and books.
- Desktop and empirical research commissioned by NGOs (IAS, Alcohol Concern).
- Empirical research commissioned by private sector CSR bodies (Community Alcohol Partnerships, Portman Group).
- Contribution to media and professional publications / public seminars in the UK and internationally.
- Contribution to the planning and execution of innovative evening and night-time economy 'Cost v Benefit' analyses.
- Alcohol Harm Reduction Programme evaluation.

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## **Appendix Two: Glossary**

### **BID (Business Improvement District)**

A Business Improvement District (BID) is a geographical area within which local businesses have voted to invest collectively to improve their environment. BIDs provide additional or improved services as identified and requested by local businesses. Services often include extra safety, cleaning or environmental measures. BIDs are business-led organisations, funded by a mandatory levy on all eligible businesses following a successful ballot.

### **CIP (Cumulative Impact Policy)**

In licensing law, “Cumulative impact” refers to the potential impact on the promotion of the four Licensing Objectives (1. prevention of crime and disorder, 2. prevention of public nuisance, 3. public safety and 4. the protection of children from harm) of a significant number of licensed premises concentrated in one area. Cumulative impact is the concept used to reflect how in some areas, alcohol-related social harms arise, not because of the activities of individual businesses, but because there are a large number of licensed premises within a small area.

Where local evidence exists to suggest that the number of licensed premises in an area is a problem, the Council can decide to control the numbers of new venues and variations to the licensing of existing venues in that area. This is known as a Cumulative Impact Policy (CIP) as set out in the Guidance accompanying Section 182 of the Licensing Act 2003, issued by the Home Office.

Before a Council can introduce a CIP policy it must undertake a consultation with local businesses and residents.

Once a CIP is in place, new licensing applications pertaining to areas within the boundaries of the CIP will need to provide evidence that they will not add to the problems that already exist in that area.

### **CSEW (Crime Survey for England and Wales)**

The Crime Survey for England and Wales (previously, the British Crime Survey) is a systematic victimisation study, currently conducted annually by BMRB Limited on behalf of the Home Office. The survey seeks to measure the amount of crime in England and Wales by asking a sample of people aged 16 and over, living in private households, about the crimes they have experienced in the last year.



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The Home Office asserts that the CSEW data provides a better reflection of the true level of crime than police statistics alone, since it includes crimes that have not been reported to, or recorded by, the police. The Home Office also claims that it measures crime more accurately than Police statistics since it captures crimes that people may not bother to report because they think the crime was too trivial or the police could not do much about it. It also provides a better measure of trends over time since it has adopted a consistent methodology and is unaffected by changes in Police reporting or recording practices.

## **ENTE (Evening and Night-time Economy)**

Most academic and policy research and related discussion around economic activity in towns and cities beyond 'normal office hours' has focused on the night-time and late-night periods, starting from around 21.00 onwards, up until when licensed premises close. Our research has an expanded focus and begins to record public behaviours and the social and economic profile of Camden from 18.00 onwards. We therefore refer to our subject of study as the 'evening and night-time economy' (ENTE) in order to more accurately reflect the scope of our enquiries.

## **'Kings Cross' CIA/CIZ**

The London Borough of Islington have a Cumulative Impact Policy within their Statement of Licensing Policy, 2013-17. This policy designates several parts of Islington as 'Cumulative Impact Areas / Zones'. The 'Kings Cross' CIA applies to the Caledonian Road area. The CIA boundary directly abuts areas of Camden in the vicinity of Pentonville Road.

## **Licence Review**

Licence Review is the mechanism under licensing law (the Licensing Act 2003) whereby a licensed premises may have its Premises Licence reviewed by the council's Licensing Authority if the authority receives a formal request for this (a Relevant Representation) from the Police (or other public agency on the list of Responsible Authorities), or from an Interested Party (such as a local resident or business owner).

Reviews can only be made in the case of a representation that the premises in question has breached the conditions of its licence and/or has operated in a way which resulted in crime and disorder, or otherwise acted against the Licensing Objectives (see CIP policy).

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## **Licensable Activities**

Under the Licensing Act (2003), certain activities, such as the Sale of Alcohol and Provision of Entertainment, cannot take place lawfully without authorisation from a Council Licensing Authority. Licensable Activities are permitted on a case-by-case basis, as listed with various conditions attached, on certain forms of licence, or notice (Premises Licences, Late-night Refreshment licences, Temporary Events Notices etc.).

### **LNL (Late-Night Levy)**

The Late-Night Levy (LNL) provides a framework to derive private sector financial contributions to the costs of policing and other crime prevention interventions, as directed by councils and local police forces. The levy is set out in Chapter 2 of Part 2 of the Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act 2011. Charges in respect of the LNL can be applied to those licensed premises operating between the hours of midnight and 06.00, subject to exceptions determined locally with reference to the national statutory guidance.

### **LNR (Late-Night Refreshment) Licence**

Late-Night Refreshment (LNR) licences are required under the Licensing Act 2003 by premises serving hot food and drink to the public between 23.00 and 05.00, for consumption on or off premises to which the public has access.

### **MPS (The Metropolitan Police Service)**

The Metropolitan Police Service (abbreviated to MPS and widely known informally as "the Met") is the territorial police force responsible for law enforcement in Greater London, excluding the "square mile" of the City of London, which is the responsibility of the City of London Police.

### **NTE (Night-time Economy)**

The term typically applied in recent years to the study and discussion of post-20.00 social and economic activity in towns and cities.

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## **PCSO (Police Community Support Officer)**

A police community support officer (PCSO) is a uniformed civilian member of police support staff in England and Wales. They cannot make arrests, but are provided with a variety of Police powers by the forty-three police forces in England and Wales, or the British Transport Police.

## **PSPO (Public Spaces Protection Order)**

The Public Spaces Protection Order (PSPO), introduced under the Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014, is a power allowing Police and local authorities to identify certain defined public places as areas in which specified activities are prohibited. PSPO powers have replaced those of the 'controlled drinking zones' (Designated Public Place Orders). PSPO powers include a prohibition against drinking alcohol in a public place when requested by a Police Officer or PCSO to desist. Camden is unusual in having a PSPO that applies across the whole of the Borough geography.

## **SIA (Security Industry Authority)**

The SIA (Security Industry Authority) is the body which licences, accredits and regulates the door supervisors employed at many licensed premises and also any companies and other organisations that supply them.

## **SPA (Special Policy Area)**

Special Policy Area is the term used by the London Borough of Camden to refer to those parts of the Borough that are designated under the Council's Cumulative Impact Policy. There are currently two areas, which are known as the Seven Dials SPA and the Camden Town SPA. Maps showing the boundaries of these two SPAs are included in Camden's Statement of Licensing Policy, 2011.

## **TEN (Temporary Event Notice)**

A Temporary Event Notice (TEN) can be used to temporarily extend the hours or activities permitted by a Premises Licence or Club Premises certificate. Individual licensed premises may obtain a TEN up to 15 times per calendar year. TENs can also be used to hold one-off licensable events at unlicensed premises without the need for a Premises Licence, Club Premises Certificate or the presence of a Personal Licence holder, provided certain criteria are met.

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## **TfL (Transport for London)**

Transport for London (TfL) is a local government body responsible for most aspects of the transport system in Greater London. Its role is to implement London's transport strategy and to manage transport services across London.

## **WESA (West End Stress Area)**

The 'West End Stress Area' (WESA) is the largest of three CIPs (see above) applied by the City of Westminster within its Licensing Authority area. The boundaries of the WESA are set out in the City of Westminster's Statement of Licensing Policy 2016. In some areas of Fitzrovia and Seven Dials, sections of the WESA directly abut parts of Camden.