Reducing Alcohol-Related Crime and Disorder in Clarendon

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Report prepared for the Arlington County Police Department

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The Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy (CEBCP) in the Department of Criminology, Law and Society at George Mason University seeks to make scientific research a key component in decisions about crime and justice policies. The CEBCP carries out this mission by advancing rigorous studies in criminal justice and criminology through research-practice collaborations, and proactively serving as an informational and translational link to practitioners and the policy community. Learn more about our work at http://cebcp.org and about the Department of Criminology, Law and Society at http://cls.gmu.edu.

Charlotte Gill is Deputy Director of the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy and Assistant Professor in the Department of Criminology, Law and Society at George Mason University. The co-authors of this report were undergraduate students in George Mason University’s Department of Criminology, Law and Society who were enrolled in CRIM 491 and CRIM 492, the department’s Honors Seminar, in the 2016-17 academic year. The Honors Seminar is a one-year, research-intensive course in which students develop independent research projects under the instructor’s guidance. The students collaborated directly with the Arlington County Police Department to develop the research questions for this report and independently conducted the surveys, interviews, and focus groups on which our findings are based. Their names are listed in alphabetical order on the front page of this report.

The opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the Arlington County Police Department.
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Summary of Findings

This report describes the findings from a year-long collaboration between the Arlington County Police Department and the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy in the Department of Criminology, Law and Society at George Mason University to address alcohol-related crime and disorder problems in the Clarendon restaurant district. Research for this report was conducted by the six students enrolled in the Department of Criminology, Law and Society’s Honors Seminar in the 2016-17 academic year. We examined activity log data collected by Clarendon detail officers to understand the nature of alcohol-related problems in the area and consulted with the police department to develop research questions that would assist them in developing and expanding the department’s Restaurant Liaison Unit and associated Clarendon Alcohol Safety Initiative. Our key findings are as follows:

• The majority of incidents occurring in Clarendon on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday nights are lower-level problems that do not result in arrest. However, taken together, they present significant public safety challenges. This supports the need for a proactive problem-solving approach involving both the police department and bars rather than a reactive approach after problems have already escalated.

• Based on our data, we suggest that Clarendon detail officers may be most effective if they focus on community engagement early in the evening, fake ID enforcement and security staff support from 2300 to 0100, and crowd control and safe dispersal from 0100 onwards.

• Police and community members agree on which characteristics are most desirable for officers working the Clarendon detail: approachability, community orientation, professionalism and patience, accountability, integrity, and reasoning skills. These characteristics can be used to identify the most appropriate officers to work the detail.

• Small and inexpensive changes to the physical environment can reduce problems and promote safety both inside and outside the bars.

• Social media-based PSAs, particularly targeted at young women and social drinkers, may help to reduce fake ID use.

• Bars would benefit from mandatory standardized training on safety and compliance for management and security/serving staff. Training should developed through collaboration between the police department and local establishments, followed up and reinforced regularly, and based on information sharing about best practices.

• The recommendations in this report may help improve customer confidence and profitability for bars as well as public safety and crime prevention.

The following page summarizes our recommendations for the police department and bar management. More detail and context for each of these recommendations can be found at the end of each chapter.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>ACPD</th>
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<th>Training</th>
<th>Environmental Change</th>
<th>Relationship Building/Communication/Outreach</th>
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<td></td>
<td>• Recruit Clarendon detail officers according to identified characteristics</td>
<td>• Collaborate with bars to develop mandatory standardized training for DIP patrons, fake ID identification</td>
<td>• Continue to implement and expand rideshare lanes and road closures</td>
<td>• Continue the restaurant liaison unit/supervisor</td>
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<td>• Make Clarendon detail optional</td>
<td>• Regularly review best training practices from other jurisdictions</td>
<td>• Collaborate with Uber/Lyft and taxi companies to develop rideshare lane idea</td>
<td>• Create a “hotline” or other method of communication with bar managers/staff</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Create mission statement for Clarendon detail</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Continue to assess other external design features that create public safety hazards; address in collaboration with county</td>
<td>• Encourage engagement with patrons in early evening and follow-up with bars at end of night</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Incorporate rewards for Clarendon detail in performance management</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Explore development of bar safety rating/compliance certification</td>
<td>• Engage in public consultation and outreach about environmental changes</td>
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<td>Bar Management/</td>
<td>• Focus on hiring of security staff and ensure they are deployed across all areas of the bar</td>
<td>• Collaborate with ACPD to develop mandatory standardized training</td>
<td>• Assess furniture, signage, walkways, and lighting inside bars to improve accessibility and crowd control</td>
<td>• Develop and disseminate fake ID education and prevention efforts for young social drinkers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff</td>
<td>• Partner new employees with experienced, effective employees for on-the-job learning</td>
<td>• Emphasize staff training on strategies for crowd control and facilitation of movement; sexual assault awareness; criminal and civil liability; fake ID detection</td>
<td>• Ensure security staff are clearly visible and identifiable to patrons</td>
<td>• Increase public outreach and communication with officers</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Compile information on best practices for detecting fake ID; work with ACPD to share information across establishments</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Create goal statement/MOU with ACPD promoting Clarendon relationship and commitment to safety</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Develop record keeping/information sharing strategies within the bar to ensure protocols for dealing with incidents are followed and troubleshoot problems</td>
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1 Background to This Report

This report is based on a year-long collaboration between the Arlington County Police Department (ACPD) and the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy (CEBCP) in the Department of Criminology, Law and Society at George Mason University. ACPD and CEBCP began collaborating in 2015 when CEBCP Deputy Director Charlotte Gill and the undergraduate students in her Crime and Place class developed evidence-informed recommendations to address long-standing problems of theft and other issues at the Fashion Centre at the Pentagon City Mall at the request of then-2nd District Community Policing Team Captain Kamran Afzal. That partnership led to the creation of a police sub-station located inside the mall. In May 2016, Captain Afzal introduced Dr. Gill to ACPD’s newly-appointed Restaurant Liaison Officer, Corporal Jim Mastoras, who oversees the Clarendon Detail officer team and was in the process of creating the Clarendon Alcohol Safety Initiative, a comprehensive approach to managing alcohol-related disorder and training bar staff in the busy Clarendon district of Arlington County. This led to the development of a two-semester research-intensive Criminology, Law and Society Honors Seminar class at George Mason University in which six of the department’s top students conducted independent research projects under the supervision of Dr. Gill and Cpl. Mastoras to develop evidence-informed approaches to support and expand the Clarendon Alcohol Safety Initiative. This report summarizes the research projects conducted by the students and presents the recommendations they developed for both ACPD and the bars.

There is a substantial body of research linking aggression and violence at places to the presence of alcohol-serving establishments (e.g. Branas, Elliott, Richmond, Culhane, & Wiebe, 2009; Burgason, Drawve, Brown, & Eassey, 2017; Groff, 2011; Madensen & Eck, 2008; Ratcliffe, 2012; Roncek & Bell, 1981; Roncek & Maier, 1991). However, from a policing perspective, we can use a similar approach to the one taken at the mall to respond to these problems, even though the specific conditions that lead to the problems are different. The key evidence-informed principles for policing in Clarendon are: focus on small places and clearly defined problems; develop a systematic, data-driven approach to identifying, prioritizing, and responding to problems; draw upon partnerships with the community; and emphasize strategies for blocking opportunities for crime.

Some of the strongest evidence we currently have for police effectiveness shows that police can control crime by focusing on small places, or “hot spots,” where a majority of crime is happening (e.g. Braga, Papachristos, & Hureau, 2014). Research shows that crime and disorder problems tend to be highly concentrated at very specific places (as small as single addresses or street blocks) where local conditions are conducive to crime problems (e.g. Weisburd, 2015; Weisburd, Groff, & Yang, 2012). This is not new information for police officers—it is obvious that there will be more alcohol-related crime in the high-density restaurant district on Wilson and Clarendon Boulevards than on a residential street a mile away from any bars. However, as we discuss below, this research also discusses the numerous ways in which the interactions between people and the social and physical environments within these places shape opportunities for both crime and crime prevention.

See Appendices A, B, and C for details of the Restaurant Liaison Officer position, ACPD’s Restaurant Liaison Unit, and the Clarendon Alcohol Safety Initiative respectively. The MOU between ACPD and CEBCP is included in Appendix D.
Despite the popularity of the hot spots policing concept, it is increasingly recognized that what the police do at hot spots matters (e.g. Groff et al., 2015). This involves striking a balance between crime control and police-community relations. In Clarendon specifically, this is a very important consideration as the police must maintain public order and control crime while also recognizing the rights of restaurant owners to conduct their business and the rights of law-abiding citizens to patronize those establishments. Striking this balance is even more important in the current environment of general distrust of the police and racial tension. Officers in Clarendon report that they have been treated with hostility by intoxicated citizens of all races and backgrounds in recent years even though ACPD has not been involved in any high-profile incidents such as those seen in Ferguson, Baltimore, Minneapolis, and elsewhere. The research shows that police can effectively address crime at places without resorting to what might be perceived by the community as “heavy-handed” tactics such as crackdowns or busts, by being proactive and addressing the underlying causes of crime rather than simply responding to incidents after they occur. There is promising evidence for the effectiveness of problem-oriented policing or problem-solving, in which police use data to identify the nature and extent of a problem, explore potential strategies to solve it, implement these strategies, and adjust approaches as required using evaluation and outreach (e.g. Braga et al., 1999; Weisburd, Telep, Hinkle, & Eck, 2010). This reflects the approach of the Clarendon Alcohol Safety Initiative.

The police know—and it is important for the community to understand—that the police cannot resolve all these problems alone. Community involvement goes beyond simply support for what the police do. Effective problem-solving includes the community as active partners and collaborators in crime prevention efforts. In Clarendon the “community” includes bar owners and managers, staff, and patrons as well as the residents in the surrounding neighborhoods. The police cannot control how a private business is run and have limited options when patron behavior starts to threaten public safety but does not yet rise to the level of a crime where an arrest can be made. Thus, bar owners and managers also have to play a role in creating safe conditions that facilitate patron compliance, and they bring a different type of expertise compared to a primarily law enforcement approach. From a business perspective, bar managers can be encouraged to participate on the basis that promoting public safety may also show their establishment in a positive light and attract more customers. Again, these partnerships are supported by research: multi-agency partnerships in which the police draw on the resources and expertise of government, service, and business partners are promising for addressing crime problems (e.g. Kelling & Coles, 1996; Mazerolle & Ransley, 2005), and community-oriented policing—in which police and community members collaborate to identify and address problems—can help to increase community satisfaction with and trust in the police (Gill, Weisburd, Telep, Vitter, & Bennett, 2014).

“Opportunity” theories of crime describe how features of places and the people within them interact to increase or decrease opportunities for potential offenders to commit crime (e.g. Cohen & Felson, 1979; Eck, 1994; Felson & Boba, 2010; Sampson, Eck, & Dunham, 2010). These theories assume that regardless of a potential offender’s unique set of risk factors for crime, the decision to commit a specific crime at a specific moment in time is determined by his or her assessment (correct or otherwise) that the rewards of crime will outweigh the risks. In turn, the offender’s perception of risks and benefits, as well as the opportunity to commit a crime itself, are shaped by contextual factors such as the immediate physical and social environment and the behavior of others. In summary, opportunities for crimes to occur at a specific place and time are determined by the presence or absence of:

1. **Motivated offenders.** Individuals who, for whatever reason, are likely to determine that the benefits of committing the crime outweigh the risks;

2. **Suitable targets.** People or property with characteristics that may make them vulnerable to vic-
timization (such as a person talking on an expensive cellphone or an unattended cash register); and

3. **Controllers.** Controllers prevent crime by acting on one or more of the necessary conditions for crime (motivated offenders, suitable targets, and places). In order to reduce opportunities for crime controllers must be not only present but also “capable.” For example, a bartender who continues to serve an intoxicated customer is not a capable place manager (see below) because his or her decision to keep serving increases rather than decreases the likelihood of that customer becoming involved in an alcohol-related aggressive incident. Controllers address the conditions of crime as follows:

   a) **Handlers.** People who encourage potential offenders to avoid the temptation to commit crime (for example, a family member or other role model whom the offender fears upsetting if s/he is caught for the crime).

   b) **Guardians.** People or processes that protect targets from victimization and/or deter potential offenders from committing crime. Guardians can be human or mechanical and formal (specifically tasked with acting as a guardian) or informal. For example, a police officer is a formal human guardian and a security camera is a formal mechanical guardian. An example of an informal guardian is a passer-by whose unexpected presence in a dark alley deters an offender who is about to rob a woman walking alone.

   c) **Place managers.** People who control the place itself. They are similar to informal guardians but indirectly affect the safety of the whole space rather than just the potential targets within it. Their behavior can determine whether the place overall is conducive to or protected against crime. Bar managers and staff are good examples of place managers: their job is to run a business and serve customers, but their policies and decisions impact how other people behave in the bar.

These ideas are illustrated by the “crime triangle” or “problem analysis triangle” in Figure 1.1. The crime triangle is analogous to the “fire triangle” in that the presence of effective controllers (handlers, managers, or guardians) can remove one or more of the three factors required for a crime to happen. In this report we draw heavily upon opportunity theories and the crime triangle to understand the problems that occur in Clarendon and recommend strategies for preventing them.
Figure 1.1: The “Problem Analysis Triangle”

2 Analysis of Police Activity in Clarendon

One challenge of capturing the nature and extent of alcohol-related problems in Clarendon is the fact that few of the incidents ACPD deals with on the Clarendon detail rise to the level of a crime for which an arrest can be made. Policing Clarendon is primarily a public safety exercise, involving traffic control—especially managing the large numbers of taxis and rideshare services dropping off and picking up along the same narrow sections of Clarendon and Wilson Boulevards and preventing people from stumbling into the road—and assisting the bars and restaurants with crowd control and moving drunk patrons out of the area. In order to better understand the problem, the Clarendon detail began collecting activity logs in 2016 to capture information about all contacts between police and citizens on the busiest nights (typically Thursdays, Fridays, and Saturdays as well as holidays and special events that attract bar crawls or large crowds, such as St Patrick’s Day and Cinco de Mayo), regardless of whether or not a formal incident report was written. Officers on the detail tallied the number and type of contacts they had with citizens. In May 2016 the activity log template was revised to collect additional information about the nature and location of the contact and basic demographic information about individuals involved.

Table 2.1 summarizes ACPD records of monthly contacts, arrests, and other police actions such as bannings, moving on drunk in public (DIP) pedestrians and restaurant patrons, and addressing obstructions by taxis and rideshare services such as Uber. The number of contacts and other incidents increases substantially in the last six months of the year, reflecting increased use of the activity logs and attention to data collection as well as typically busier months (summer, “back to school” when college students return in August and September, and Halloween, Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Year holidays). Poor weather conditions at the beginning of the year also contributed to lower numbers of both patrons and officers on the detail. Figure 2.1 shows the total contact rate per officer by month. Reflecting the increased recording of contacts, the rate almost quadruples between June and July, but remains high for the rest of the year, with between 10 and 14 contacts per officer on the detail per month. Figure 2.2 shows the percentage of all contacts that resulted in arrest, and illustrates the earlier point that very few of the incidents occurring on the Clarendon detail result in arrest. From July to December an arrest was recorded in only about 1 percent of all contacts. The higher percentages in the beginning of the year may reflect the period before officers got into the habit of logging all contacts, including non-criminal incidents—at the start of the data collection efforts they may have been more likely to record only incidents that were more serious or significant.
<table>
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<th>Days of Data</th>
<th>Total Contacts</th>
<th>Number of Officers</th>
<th>Assaults/Disputes</th>
<th>DIP/SOW</th>
<th>DIP Pedestrians</th>
<th>Uber/Taxi Pedestrians</th>
<th>Bannings</th>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Collection of data on DIP pedestrians and Uber/taxi obstructions did not begin until July 8 (4th data collection day in July). Data are missing for 3 days in January, 1 day in February, and 1 day in April. On 2 other days in January there was no Clarendon detail due to snow.
The George Mason University team also entered and analyzed data from the officers’ handwritten activity detail sheets filled out between May and December 2016. As noted above, these sheets capture a subset
of the contacts recorded by the police department and provide more detail about the nature and location of the incident and the characteristics of people involved. Analysis of these logs allow us to provide context to the overall contact rates shown in Figure 2.1 and show the types of incidents or contacts officers were involved in. We coded a total of 1,692 detailed reports, which represent 1,692 individual contacts between officers and citizens (each officer was expected to fill out a log, so there should be two logs for the same incident if two officers dealt with it). An arrest was recorded in approximately 10 percent (N = 147) of these contacts. This is higher than the percentage of arrests noted overall; again, this may reflect the possibility that officers only took more detailed notes when incidents were more significant.

2.1 Types of Contacts

Figure 2.3 shows the nature of the contacts officers recorded. Over 40 percent of these contacts (N = 687) were “drunk in public” incidents, which typically involved officers intervening to assist bar security staff in removing drunk patrons from the bar and/or requesting taxis or other means of transportation to remove excessively intoxicated individuals from the Clarendon area. An arrest was made in 61 of these incidents (just under 9 percent). The descriptions of the incidents indicate that arrests typically occurred when patrons were non-compliant with efforts to move them on; for example, by refusing to leave, returning later to the same bar after being kicked out, or becoming combative with officers. Assisting bar security staff with ID checks for potentially underage patrons were the next most common contact type. This includes contacts where the ID turned out to be legitimate as well as those where it was not. The “Traffic” category includes traffic and parking violations, traffic stops, and towing; other incidents such as driving under the influence and traffic accidents occurred less frequently and are included in the “Other” category. The “Other” category also includes citizen assistance and community policing (for example, taking photos with bar patrons) as well as various forms of order maintenance and a few more serious crimes, such as sexual offenses (N = 3), robberies (N = 3), and wounding (N = 2).
2.2 Month, Day, and Time Trends

We also examined trends in contact reports by month, day of the week, and time of day. Note that while the activity logs were dated by shift, we examined contacts according to the actual date they happened, so we consider a contact that occurred at 0030 on the Saturday night detail to have occurred on Sunday. Thus, the incidents occurring on Saturday in Figure 2.4 may have occurred in the early hours of Saturday morning on the Friday night shift, or before midnight on the Saturday night shift. Similarly, the 22 incidents occurring in January in Figure 2.5 occurred in the early hours of January 1, 2017 on the New Year’s Eve shift. Overall, we found no clear patterns of activity by month (Figure 2.4). July had the largest number of contacts, but October and November were also relatively high, perhaps reflecting major drinking days around Halloween and the night before Thanksgiving (in addition to Halloween itself, a Halloween bar crawl took place in Clarendon in early November). Our analysis by day of the week shows a large number of contacts taking place on Sunday, indicating that Saturday nights into the early hours of Sunday morning are the busiest times for the Clarendon detail (Figure 2.4). The handful of contacts taking place on Mondays and Wednesdays reflect other contacts relating to the Clarendon detail that were included in the activity logs, such as daytime meetings and outreach to bar owners outside of the busiest times. Figure 2.6 shows that the number of contacts begins to rise sharply from around 2100 onwards, peaking at 0100 before declining sharply after this. These times coincide with bar closing times as well as Metro closing times (note that Metro suspended its late-night service in June 2016; the last train used to run at around 0300 but this was pushed back to 0000). Again, the handful of logs from daytime hours reflect
contacts with local businesses and other Clarendon detail-related outreach.

**Figure 2.4: Patterns of contact by day of the week, May-December 2016**

![Histogram showing contact by day of the week]

**Figure 2.5: Patterns of contact by month, May-December 2016**

![Histogram showing contact by month]
2.3 Characteristics of Suspects and Victims

Officers also recorded basic demographic information (age and sex) of the individuals with whom they had contact. Some officers also recorded the individual’s race, but this was not often filled out and is subjective so we have not included any analysis of race data here. Demographic information was recorded separately for suspects and victims. Some officers recorded demographic data for “suspects” in non-crime or disorder contacts such as accidents, community policing, and citizen assistance; we have included these records in our analysis as sometimes non-crime contacts resulted in an incident being discovered (for example, a “welfare check” might reveal a domestic dispute, but the officer still recorded it as a welfare check). However, note that in a handful of contacts the “suspect” might simply be a person who asked an officer for assistance. Finally, we note that the numbers of victims and suspects listed are likely to be unreliable: officers did not always record this information, some incidents are duplicated, and many reports did not include the total number of people involved (for example, in a large fight involving multiple people, the officer may have simply recorded “large group of males in their 20s”). In the following analysis we focus on describing the broad patterns in the data rather than the specific numbers.

Overall approximately three-quarters of suspects recorded by police were males. The majority of suspects (73%) were in the 21-29 age group, with 10 percent aged under 21 and 14 percent aged 30-39. Only 4 percent of suspects were 40 or older. Figure 2.7 shows individuals listed as “suspects” where both sex and age were recorded. For both sexes the majority of suspects were in the 21-29 age group (73 percent of males and 70 percent of females). However, 19 percent of female suspects were under 21, whereas only 7
percent of males were in this age group—male suspects were typically between 21 and 39 years old. This difference reflects the high prevalence of fake ID use among young women—the vast majority of cases (65 of 69, or 94 percent) where the suspect is listed as female and under 21 involved ID check contacts (see also Chapter 5). There were few details about victims because few of the contacts recorded involved crimes or other incidents involving a “victim.” Females were more likely to be recorded as victims than suspects. Forty percent of victims were female, while 60 percent were male. As with suspects, victims were most likely to be 21 to 29 years old (81 percent), but less likely to be under 21 than suspects. This difference is likely explained by the focus on ID checks in this age group (thus, individuals who were under 21 were much more likely to be listed as suspects than victims). Figure 2.8 shows that there were few differences between male and female victims in terms of age group.

Figure 2.7: Characteristics of suspects in Clarendon, May-December 2016
Figure 2.8: Characteristics of victims in Clarendon, May-December 2016
3 Identifying Optimal Officer Characteristics for the Clarendon Detail

A key issue of interest for ACPD was how the Clarendon detail should be staffed, and in particular what types of officer characteristics are best suited to working in this setting. Clarendon is a unique environment in which the demands of policing change rapidly as the community shifts from office workers and shoppers during the day to bar and restaurant patrons—some of whom are underage and many of whom are intoxicated—on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday evenings. At the same time, officers must balance the interests of legitimate patrons, business owners, and residents while walking the fine line between maintaining public order among individuals who have a right to use the space and enforcing the law when boundaries are crossed. While every ACPD officer brings his or her own unique experience and skill set to the department, not all officers are well-suited to this type of environment. Using a list of 30 traits and skills highlighted in prior research and drawn from police recruitment materials, we examined which police characteristics are viewed as most important by bar patrons, staff, and ACPD officers and supervisors.

Matching officer skills and traits to the specific context in which they are working is crucial for maintaining police effectiveness. Modern policing demands more complexity than simply writing large numbers of tickets or responding to calls (Fyfe, 1999; Henson, Reyns, Klahm, & Frank, 2010). For example, a large body of research indicates that when officers treat citizens with dignity and respect, listen to their concerns, and act impartially, citizens are more likely to be satisfied with the police and trust their authority. In turn, this may lead to increased compliance with the law (e.g. Mazerolle, Bennett, Davis, Sargeant, & Manning, 2013; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2017; Tyler, 1990, 2004; Tyler & Huo, 2002). While most officers strive to follow these principles regardless of the setting in which they are working, it is very likely that the immediate environment affects their success. We imagine it is much more challenging to treat an intoxicated, belligerent individual with the same level of respect as a compliant and polite individual during a traffic stop. Some officers are better than others at managing these difficult situations due to their personal characteristics and experiences. For example, Sanders (2010) found in interviews with police chiefs that top performing officers are mature, empathetic, enjoy and care about working with people, and have life experience that enables them to effectively use discretion where necessary and appropriate.

In addition to improving citizen perceptions of the police, placing officers on details where their individual skill sets are best utilized is important for maintaining officers’ job satisfaction. The attitudes of individual officers are also among the most important predictors of successful implementation of community-oriented policing, an approach that closely aligns with the goals of the Clarendon detail (Allen, 2002). Community-oriented policing activities can also increase job satisfaction when it is implemented well, possibly by broadening officers’ skills, offering autonomy, and providing more and varied ways for them to see the value of their work (Ford, Weissbein, & Plamondon, 2003; Greene, 1989; Johnson, 2012; Lurigio

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1Dennis Almaraz conducted the research, analysis, and some of the writing for this chapter.
3.1 Research Methodology

We conducted surveys and interviews to understand which characteristics officers, patrons, and bar managers valued most in officers on the Clarendon detail. Patron surveys were conducted on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday nights during February and March 2017. The researcher approached patrons who were standing in line waiting to get into bars and either asked them the questions directly or provided a link to an online survey if they chose to respond later. Patrons were asked to rank the top 10 characteristics (from a list of 32; see Figure 3.1) they believed officers working the Clarendon detail should possess. They were also asked several questions about their perceptions of and satisfaction with ACPD. We conducted an online survey of ACPD officers and supervisors. ACPD personnel were asked to rank their top 10 from the same list of 32 characteristics, describe (anonymously) the characteristics of officers they believed to be high and low performers, and list any general improvements that could be made to the detail. Finally, we interviewed bar managers using similar questions to provide additional context on their perceptions of police and ideas about how to improve collaboration between ACPD and the bars.

Figure 3.1: List of potential officer characteristics included in patron and police surveys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>accepts criticism constructively</th>
<th>loyalty/trustworthiness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>accountable/responsible/dependable</td>
<td>multitasker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>applies best current practices</td>
<td>mature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approachable</td>
<td>open-minded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attention to detail/detail oriented</td>
<td>organized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>community oriented</td>
<td>patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>constant learner</td>
<td>perseverance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>effective written/communication/interpersonal/oral skills</td>
<td>problem solver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>empathetic</td>
<td>professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emotional stability</td>
<td>resourceful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>energetic/enthusiastic/motivational</td>
<td>respect for diversity/individual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ethical/honesty/integrity</td>
<td>self-restraint/control/tolerance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intelligent</td>
<td>sense of service to others/community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leadership skills</td>
<td>strong work ethic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>learns from mistakes</td>
<td>takes initiative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>logic or reasoning skills</td>
<td>team player</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2 Research Sample

The patron survey consisted of 40 participants, sixty percent of whom were female and 40 percent male. The vast majority (95 percent) were between the ages of 18 and 29, with 5 percent aged 50 or older. Sixty-five percent of respondents were white. The sample was highly educated: three-quarters of respondents had either a bachelor's degree or a masters/doctoral degree. The police survey had 30 respondents. One-quarter were part of the supervisor/command staff, while 62.5 percent reported that they were officers who worked the detail. The remaining respondents were detectives. Finally, we interviewed two bar managers, both of whom were male and had been managing the bar for at least one year.

3.3 Findings

We found considerable overlap between the top ten ranked officer characteristics across the patron and police surveys. Figure 3.2 shows the top ten characteristics among patrons and Figure 3.3 shows the characteristics most often selected by the officers. Figure 3.4 shows the seven overlapping traits from both samples. Both patrons and officers considered approachability to be the most important trait for officers working the Clarendon detail. Both groups also recognized a need for community orientation, professionalism and patience, accountability, integrity, and reasoning skills. Among the characteristics that did not overlap, patrons tended to select traits that reflect the specific emotional and behavioral demands of working the Clarendon detail, such as emotional stability, ability to accept criticism, and intelligence. On the other hand, the remaining characteristics reflected by police represent skill sets that are important for a range of policing tasks, including effective communication skills, problem-solving ability, and application of best practices.

Figure 3.2: Officer characteristics identified by patrons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>approachable</th>
<th>professional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>community oriented</td>
<td>accountable/responsible/dependable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emotional stability</td>
<td>intelligent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ethical/honesty/integrity</td>
<td>logic or reasoning skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accepts criticism constructively</td>
<td>patient</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.3: Officer characteristics identified by police officers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>approachable</th>
<th>professional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>accountable/responsible/dependable</td>
<td>community oriented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>effective written/communication/interpersonal/oral skills</td>
<td>logic or reasoning skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patient</td>
<td>problem solver [tie]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self-restraint/control/tolerance</td>
<td>ethical/honesty/integrity [tie]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>applies best current practices [tie]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Reducing Alcohol-Related Crime and Disorder in Clarendon

Figure 3.4: Officer characteristics identified by both patrons and police officers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patrons</th>
<th>Police</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) approachable (1)</td>
<td>7) accountable/responsible/dependable (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) community oriented (7)</td>
<td>4) logic or reasoning skills (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) ethical/honesty/integrity (=9)</td>
<td>9) logic or reasoning skills (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) professional (6)</td>
<td>10) patient (4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Numbers on the left of each item denote the patron ranking. Numbers on the right denote the police ranking.

Patrons also answered questions about their perceptions of and satisfaction with police in Clarendon (Figures 3.5 - 3.12). A majority of the patrons agreed that the police did a good job getting people home safely (55 percent agreed or strongly agreed), considering the viewpoints of others before making decisions (74 percent agreed or strongly agreed), and communicating with the public (57 percent agreed or strongly agreed). However, a majority of respondents did not feel the police did a good job preventing people from walking into traffic in the Clarendon area (58 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed). A majority of patrons also believed that police on the Clarendon detail were likely to intervene if people were intoxicated in public (75 percent agreed or strongly agreed), using drugs in public (74 percent agreed or strongly agreed), or urinating in public (74 percent agreed or strongly agreed). Overall, a slight majority of patrons (56 percent) reported that they were satisfied or very satisfied with the Clarendon detail.

Figure 3.5: The police in Clarendon get people home safely
Reducing Alcohol-Related Crime and Disorder in Clarendon

Figure 3.6: The police in Clarendon prevent people from walking into traffic

- Strongly Agree: 42%
- Agree: 31%
- Disagree: 17%
- Strongly Disagree: 10%

Figure 3.7: The police in Clarendon consider viewpoints of others before making decisions

- Strongly Agree: 57%
- Agree: 17%
- Disagree: 17%
- Strongly Disagree: 9%
Figure 3.8: The police in Clarendon communicate with the public

- Strongly Agree: 11%
- Agree: 14%
- Disagree: 32%
- Strongly Disagree: 43%

Figure 3.9: The police in Clarendon would intervene if they saw people using drugs in public

- Very Likely: 6%
- Likely: 20%
- Unlikely: 37%
- Very Unlikely: 37%
Figure 3.10: The police in Clarendon would intervene if they saw public intoxication

Figure 3.11: The police in Clarendon would intervene if they saw public urination
While we were not able to conduct more detailed interviews with patrons to obtain context for these results, two patrons did share stories about negative experiences with the police with our researcher. It is important to note that these stories are not verified and may not have occurred in Clarendon or even in Arlington County. However, they illustrate the importance of the characteristics identified above in terms of public perceptions of the police. One patron told us about an experience where an officer who was not approachable or community-oriented refused to help when she requested assistance for an intoxicated friend. Eventually the woman was able to persuade a security guard to help carry her friend to a cab. Another man explained that he had been tackled and permanently scarred in a physical altercation with an officer. He accepted that he was intoxicated and showed poor judgment by climbing onto a parked vehicle; however, he felt that the officer was impatient and used force before attempting to resolve the situation another way.

Some ACPD officers and supervisors who responded to our survey took the time to provide written comments about their views of high- and low-performing officers. Their descriptions closely aligned with the survey findings and stories we heard from bar patrons. Officers felt that their colleagues who were best suited to the Clarendon detail were patient, took the initiative to solve problems in creative ways rather than resorting to arrest or force (but also knew when these actions were necessary), intervened before problems escalated, had a “thick skin,” and saw the bigger picture. In contrast, they felt lower-performing officers frequently complained, were unapproachable, lacked patience, and engaged negatively with the public. Several respondents also noted external factors that create challenges for the Clarendon detail and its officers, including zoning decisions that allow multiple bars to be opened in small locations where large numbers of people disperse at the end of the night, resulting in overcrowding, and the small pro-
portion of officers relative to patrons.

The qualitative interviews with bar managers also revealed similar results. One manager felt that the best officers on the Clarendon detail were those who were open-minded, understood the unique conditions and characteristics in each bar, and understood the effects of alcohol. The other manager also valued officers who were patient, organized, dedicated, understood the customers and bars, and gets to business right away. He believed many of these skills developed with experience. Reflecting the comments of the officers and patrons, he also believed the best officers knew when to use discretion to either make an arrest or let an issue go. Both managers were very grateful for the presence of the detail and felt they responded quickly when there was a problem and understood the conditions very well. However, they both expressed concern that they did not always know the detail officers as they often rotated. They stressed the importance of good communication between the police and the bar managers and felt that direct communication was not always as strong as it could be. One manager suggested having a direct contact number for detail officers so that he did not always have to go outside and ask the officers to come in if there was a problem. The managers also noted that the officers were welcome to come into the bars and help out if there were any incidents.

Our results suggest a number of characteristics that ACPD should screen for when identifying officers for the Clarendon detail. These include approachability, patience, community orientation, ability to see the bigger picture, and flexibility. Officers must be able to take initiative and engage the public. In particular, increasing public engagement early in the night may help to defuse problems later. A simple smile, gesture, or “hello” may remind patrons that the police are watching them. However, these gestures also provide an opening to de-escalate tension if patrons who begin to cause problems remember a positive interaction with the officers earlier in the evening. Engagement and communication can also help to manage crowds, disperse people effectively and safely, and reduce Clarendon’s burden on the surrounding residential neighborhoods, as well as improving the public image of the police department. Helping an intoxicated patron into a cab or to find their friends may lead to one less public safety challenge.

The following limitations are important to consider when interpreting these results. Our sample size for the surveys was small and we were constrained in our ability to reach out to Clarendon patrons—we often had to interview them while they were already slightly intoxicated. This may affect the reliability of their responses. We only collected data on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday nights, so we were not able to gather more data from different types of patrons, such as office workers and older people who visit the restaurants earlier in the evening. We only interviewed two bar managers, whose perceptions and opinions may not be representative of other bar staff in the area. Nonetheless, our surveys and interviews provide some useful data on the types of officer characteristics that are most valued by patrons, bar managers, and the police themselves and also show a high level of congruence between what these different communities value the most. Below we summarize our recommendations to both ACPD and bar managers.

### 3.4 Recommendations

#### 3.4.1 For ACPD

- Include the key officer characteristics from Figure 3.4 in recruitment materials and outreach when staffing the Clarendon detail.
• Do not make the Clarendon detail mandatory. Officers are likely to perform best when they want to do this type of work.

• Create a mission/goal statement for the Clarendon detail.

• Reward high performing officers through performance evaluations, priority shift/overtime options, leadership opportunities and other forms of recognition as appropriate.

• Create a long-term Clarendon supervisor detail that is motivated, works closely together, understands each other, and takes the time to learn more about the area, including patrons, bar owners, managers, staff, and residents.

• Create a hotline or other method of communication so that bar managers and staff can easily contact detail officers.

• Increase or streamline training for bars and officers to address DIP/SOW patrons.

• Encourage public engagement—have officers meet with patrons early in the night and meet with bar staff at the end of the night to follow up on issues.

3.4.2 For bar managers

• Increase public outreach.

• Increase communication with officers

• Create a goal statement or MOU with ACPD promoting the Clarendon relationship and commitment to public safety.

• Increase security and bar staff training to improve collaboration with detail officers when responding to incidents.
4 Addressing Crowding and Aggressive Behavior through Environmental Design

4.1 Reducing Overcrowding on Wilson and Clarendon Boulevards

In the previous chapter, results from our survey of ACPD officers showed that overcrowding on the streets of Clarendon and the need to dispersing large numbers of people safely when restaurants closed are crucial challenges for the Clarendon detail. Narrow sidewalks, heavy road traffic, and high volumes of pedestrians can be a catalyst for problems—ACPD estimates that there can be up to 6,000 people on Clarendon and Wilson Boulevards on a Friday or Saturday night. Public safety can be compromised when large numbers of people are competing for limited numbers of cabs or ride-share services along narrow streets, or crowding into restaurants for late-night food. The issue is compounded by intoxication—on our ride-alongs in Clarendon we frequently saw drunk patrons stumbling into the road or into other people on the sidewalks. In addition to the personal risk of injury and inconvenience to business owners, drivers, and residents, there is a substantial body of prior research showing the impacts of alcohol consumption, crowding, and competition for resources such as food and transportation (such as cabs or ride shares) on aggression and violence (Clancey, Lee, & Fisher, 2012; Finney, 2004; Marselle, Wootton, & Hamilton, 2012; Saraiva & Pinho, 2011; Townsley & Grimshaw, 2013).

As we described in Chapter 1, crime incidents occur when offenders and victims or targets converge in time and space and there is an absence of capable controllers (such as the police, security guards, or other “place managers” who control how people behave in a certain environment, such as bar managers). It follows that these incidents can be prevented by blocking opportunities for offenders, protecting potential targets, and/or increasing guardianship and surveillance. Situational crime prevention and Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) are two broad approaches to crime prevention that focus on reducing opportunities for crime by changing the physical environment in various ways in order to achieve one or more of these three goals (e.g. Brantingham & Brantingham, 1995; Clarke, 1997). In addition to preventing crime, redesigning the environment can also help make it easier to maintain compliance and move people around safely, regardless of the likelihood that they will become aggressive with others. In this section we explore how ACPD can apply these techniques in the outdoor areas of Clarendon to increase pedestrian safety and reduce the risk of aggression that may arise from overcrowding and resource competition.

---

1 Research for this chapter was conducted by Matthew Carter and Jessica Kim.
2 Matthew Carter conducted the research, analysis, and some of the writing for this section.
4.1.1 Research Methodology

We examined the current street layout and pedestrian/driver activity along the short but busy stretch of Clarendon Boulevard and Wilson Boulevard between Washington Boulevard and North Highland Street. This area is an excellent illustration of the challenges of managing large crowds, pedestrian and road traffic, and resource competition. There are four bars along Wilson Boulevard to the north (Liberty Tavern, Clarendon Ballroom, Spider Kelly’s, and Don Tito), as well as a 24-hour CVS store, a 7-Eleven, and a late-night takeout pizza restaurant. To the south on Clarendon Boulevard is a large building complex containing two bars (Mad Rose and Mister Days, the entrance to which is on North Highland Street) and another pizza restaurant. There is a seventh bar, the Clarendon Grill, on North Highland Street opposite Mister Days. Wilson and Clarendon Boulevards are separated by the Clarendon Central Park and the Metro station. Large crowds of people cross the park on weekend nights to travel between bars or pick up cabs; it is not uncommon to see cabs and ride shares stopped on both sides of the street, particularly on Wilson, creating unsafe conditions for pedestrians and other drivers.

We conducted two nights of observations from 10pm to 2am on a Friday and Saturday in February 2017. Our researcher walked around the area or stood in the park and recorded the time, location, and nature of aggressive or pedestrian/traffic incidents he observed. On the same nights, ACPD implemented a pilot rideshare lane on Wilson Boulevard where Ubers, Lyfts, and personal vehicles could safely pick up and drop off passengers in a designated area. Our researcher also observed how ACPD officers managed the lane and how it was utilized by drivers. We also examined the activity logs recorded by ACPD officers between May and December 2016 (described in Chapter 2) to look for longer-term trends in violent and traffic incidents on the same street sections. We focused specifically on assaults and fights, woundings, public order and “drunk in public” offenses, disorderly conduct, traffic incidents and accidents, and pedestrian obstructions.

Both the ACPD activity logs and the researcher’s observations were geocoded and mapped in ArcGIS to visually represent the locations of these incidents on the streets. We used Google Maps to obtain the X-Y coordinates of the address or establishment name recorded in the activity log and geocode the incidents.

4.1.2 Findings

Figure 4.1 shows the location and number of aggressive and pedestrian/traffic incidents recorded in the activity logs from May to December 2016. The color of the dot corresponds to the number of incidents occurring at that location, with green indicating a smaller number of incidents and red indicating the highest numbers. The blue dots on the map correspond to incidents our researcher observed and documented during his observations in February 2017. As expected, incidents were highly concentrated along the crowded northern section of Wilson Boulevard outside the four bars.
Figure 4.1: Location and concentration of aggressive and pedestrian/traffic incidents in Clarendon, May-December 2016

Table 4.1 breaks out the activity log incidents by type. Fights and altercations made up the largest category of incidents (41 percent), followed by disorderly conduct (35 percent) and assaults (11 percent). In addition to this 2016 data, our researcher observed 9 issues in the same area in February 2017, including two fights, four traffic jams and blockages, two instances in which pedestrians (one of whom was jaywalking) were almost hit by cars, and an uneven pavement near a crosswalk between the park and bars that represented a safety hazard for intoxicated pedestrians. The researcher also made one positive observation where pedestrians utilized open space on North Hudson Street (which was closed as part of the rideshare pilot) to reduce crowding on the sidewalk.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incident Type</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fight/Altercation</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disorderly Conduct</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedestrian Obstruction</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic Incident</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Order</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunk in Public</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic Accident</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wounding</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>219</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The rideshare lane pilot area is shown as a blue rectangle in Figure 4.1. The lane was designated using traffic cones, and cars could drive through to the front as directed by a police officer in order to pick up and drop off patrons. The pilot began at 10pm and ran until 3am. The specific location was chosen to relieve pressure at one of the high volume areas, while also maintaining the existing taxi stand outside the four bars. The area is also easily accessible—other locations would force large numbers of pedestrians to cross the street or move onto smaller side streets, potentially causing traffic congestion elsewhere. As part of the pilot ACPD also blocked off North Hudson and North Herndon Streets (highlighted with red rectangles in Figure 4.1) to open up crowded corners and sidewalks for pedestrians and reduce traffic congestion by preventing cars from blocking traffic on Wilson Boulevard while waiting to turn. Figure 4.2 shows the setup of the rideshare lane on Wilson Boulevard and Figure 4.3 shows North Hudson Street closed to traffic outside Don Tito.

Figure 4.2: Rideshare lane designated with cones, February 25, 2017

Photograph from @ArlingtonVaPD Twitter account
Our analysis shows a clear association between high pedestrian and traffic density areas, incidents of aggression, and threats to pedestrian and traffic safety. The implementation of the pilot rideshare lane illustrates how simple, inexpensive environmental modifications have the potential to alleviate crowding and improve safety. While we were not able to evaluate the effect of the pilot on aggressive incidents, our researcher did observe people being able to move around in the rideshare space more easily and spread out from the sidewalks onto the closed roads. We expect that this would reduce the risk of fights and aggression resulting from people bumping into each other and competing for space. The pilot also received positive feedback from the public, which we observed both in person and on Twitter after the pilot was publicized. There were also some criticisms: some people found it inconvenient and did not want to walk further away from the bars to be picked up, while one cyclist noted that the rideshare lane cut off the bike lane. As ACPD moves forward with this idea it will be important to weigh the benefits to public safety with the cost of inconveniencing citizens. In this case, it is likely that many of the complaints simply reflected a learning curve and resistance to new procedures.

ACPD can also work with the bars to implement more simple environmental changes. For example, the density of pedestrians on the corner of Wilson Boulevard and North Hudson Street could potentially be
Reducing Alcohol-Related Crime and Disorder in Clarendon

reduced further through improvements to crowd control at the bars closest to that intersection. For example, a designated smoking area could be set up so that patrons who have come out of the bar to smoke are not crowding the roadway or the lines of people waiting to get into the bar. Lines can also be managed to ensure they remain orderly and do not restrict the walking path of other sidewalk users. Food establishments may also consider adding outdoor seating to reduce crowding inside the restaurant after the bars close.

The following limitations should be considered when interpreting these results. First, the activity logs kept by the Clarendon detail officers were not always specific about the location of the incident, so some of the incidents we mapped may be misplaced and data may be missing. One significant challenge for mapping based on addresses recorded by the officers is that in parts of Clarendon multiple establishments can all share the same street address, even though they are on different sides of the building. It was not always possible to map the exact location of incidents occurring at these addresses. The Clarendon detail also has several specific patrol areas on this part of the street, so it is possible that higher concentrations of activity in certain areas simply reflect greater police presence and likelihood of detection. Our observations and the rideshare pilot were also limited in that they were conducted on just two days, both of which were in late February when the weather was cold and there were likely fewer patrons on the street compared to busier summer months. However, this study provides a useful illustration of the relationship between crowding, traffic, and aggressive incidents and how these problems can be alleviated using environmental strategies.

4.1.3 Recommendations

- Continue to implement and refine the rideshare lane on busy nights
- Continue to block off and pedestrianize North Hudson Street at Wilson Boulevard on busy nights
- Publicize changes and the reasons for changes so that patrons are aware of the new system
- Collaborate with Uber and Lyft to develop strategies for making transportation in Clarendon more efficient
- Work with the County to put up permanent signs for the rideshare lane
- Create an additional rideshare lane for the 3100 block of Clarendon Boulevard so that patrons visiting that side of the street do not have to cross traffic while intoxicated to pick up their ride
- Continue to assess design features in the area that could create public safety hazards
- Engage in public consultation to obtain opinions and feedback about the changes
- Analyze the impact of the rideshare lanes on pedestrian/traffic and aggressive incidents
- Consider eliminating the taxi stand outside the bars on Wilson Boulevard and turning this into a taxi/rideshare pickup area (requires consultation with the County, taxi representatives, and the public)
4.2 Bar Design and Customer Perceptions of Safety

The previous section explored how ACPD can improve safety in the outdoor, public areas of Clarendon by making changes to the environment. These principles can also be applied by bar owners and managers to the design and layout inside Clarendon’s bars to prevent similar problems of overcrowding, frustration, and aggression and increase customers’ perceptions of safety.

Several research studies have examined the environmental factors that predict aggression in nightlife settings. Graham, Bernards, Osgood, and Wells (2006), in a study of 118 bars in Toronto, Canada, examined the relationship between barroom aggression and the layout and capacity of the bar, comfort levels, crowding, noise, characteristics of patrons, and the extent to which bar and security staff were permissive of inappropriate behavior and were themselves aggressive toward patrons. They found that the strongest predictor of both the severity and frequency of aggression in bars was the indoor environment—untidy and unclean interiors, overcrowding, high noise level, competition for resources, and severely intoxicated patrons. Similar to the “broken windows” theory of crime, which suggests that ignoring minor examples of disorder can lead to the escalation of more serious crime, Graham et al. (2006) noted that when bars fail to address these environmental problems it sends the message that inappropriate behavior is tolerated. The frequency of aggressive incidents in bars (but not the severity) was also related to sexual competition, whereby intoxicated patrons made unwanted overtures toward other patrons.

Using the same Toronto data, Graham, Bernards, Osgood, and Wells (2012) conducted another study examining the locations within bars where aggressive incidents were most likely to occur. They found that the most common “hot spots” for aggression were the dance floor, near the tables and serving bar, and in areas of heavy movement such as hallways, aisles, stairways, the entrance area, and near pool tables. The dance floor, bar, and coat check areas were typically highly crowded. Incidents happened most commonly on the dance floor in bars with security staff, overcrowding issues, more young and female patrons, higher levels of sexual competition, and higher numbers of patrons hanging around outside after closing. Aggression near the serving bar happened more frequently if the bar had poorly trained staff. The researchers also found a high correlation between areas of frequent aggression and overcrowding.

Madensen and Eck (2008) found in a study of bars in Cincinnati that aggressive incidents in bars are not simply a product of high crime rates in the surrounding neighborhood. Thus, they conclude that barroom aggression is affected by place management—the ability of staff members to maintain order, provide guardianship and surveillance, and protect potential targets from harm. In other words, business decisions about how bars are operated and managed can escalate or de-escalate violence. The researchers found that violent behavior is more likely to occur in areas of the bar with a smaller number of staff, which is consistent with the idea cited above that crime occurs when motivated offenders and potential victims converge in the absence of guardians, or people who can keep watch for potential trouble and intervene if necessary. Bars that were successfully able to manage violence and aggression used a number of different business practices, including training staff on responsible serving, posting rules of conduct throughout the bar, and some more specific approaches such as keeping pool cues in plain sight to reduce the risk that they could be used as weapons.

In this section we explore another possible outcome of improved bar design and environment: the potential impact on customer perceptions of safety. Taking steps to reduce the risk of violence and aggres-

3Jessica Kim conducted the research, analysis, and some of the writing for this section.
4.2.1 Research Methodology

We conducted in-person surveys and interviews with a range of participants in three different Clarendon bars to assess their attitudes to safety and their opinions on how environmental design affects safety. We asked bar patrons to rate the importance of different elements of bar design and layout, including lighting, table layout, restroom waiting area, entrances and exits, presence of security staff, and outdoor or rooftop drinking areas, to their overall perceptions of safety. To provide context to the findings we also asked patrons to define what safety means to them in the context of a night out. For example, if a person feels “safe” in a particular bar, does that mean they perceive a low risk of violence, sexual assault, or theft and pickpocketing? Finally, we asked patrons if they felt there were any “hot spots” or problem areas in the bar they were patronizing, and whether they had seen any good practices in terms of safety in their current bars or others they had visited.

We also conducted interviews with bar security staff to understand their perceptions of potential problem areas within the bar and whether the bar had implemented any changes to the layout and environment to discourage aggression. In addition, we asked their opinions on whether safety could be improved through future changes to the layout and design. While visiting the bars to conduct interviews and surveys, our researcher also conducted observations to record her own opinions about the layout and design of each one. Interviews were conducted in February and March 2017 and the patron surveys and observations were conducted in March 2017.

4.2.2 Research Sample

We surveyed 29 customers across the three bars (9 in Bar A and 10 each in Bars B and C). About 55 percent of the customers were female and 45 percent were male. Half of the sample was 25 or younger, 36 percent were between the ages of 26 and 30, and 14 percent were between 31 and 35 years old. Patrons in Bar A tended to be slightly younger than patrons in Bars B and C. Five security staff members were interviewed, all of whom were male. We did not record the age of the interviewees.

4.2.3 Findings

Figure 4.4 shows the results of the observations conducted by our researcher. The observations indicate some variability between the bars in the presence of both positive (e.g. sufficient signage, good lighting) and negative (tables too close together, narrow walkways) design elements. None of the security staff we interviewed indicated any problems with hot spots or systematic problems with the interior design of the bar, although the interviewee from Bar B noted that they had a side bar that sometimes had problems because no security staff are posted there—this aligns with the prior research reviewed above. In all three bars, the interviewees explained that the security staff wear all black clothing with the bar name
The security staff from Bars B and C described the strategies they used to maintain order in more detail. According to the interviewee, Bar B had no specific strategies, but the staff generally focus on keeping customers and/or logo on their t-shirt so that they are easily identifiable. The interviewee from Bar A noted that security personnel were deployed in different high-traffic areas around the bar, including at the entrance, on stairways, and by the outdoor area, to check IDs and ensure safety. He said there is generally enough light in these areas to do the job effectively, a feeling that was also shared by the interviewees from Bars B and C.

Figure 4.4: Environmental observations at three Clarendon bars

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Interior</th>
<th>Bar A</th>
<th>Bar B</th>
<th>Bar C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Are there areas that are too narrow for customers to walk through?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are table seats too close to one another?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is the bar at a fitting/comfortable temperature?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does the air feel clean?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does the bar feel too crowded?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serving Bar</th>
<th>Bar A</th>
<th>Bar B</th>
<th>Bar C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Is the serving bar counter (staff only) clearly defined?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is the bar area open and easily approachable by customers?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lighting</th>
<th>Bar A</th>
<th>Bar B</th>
<th>Bar C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Are there areas that are too dark?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is the general lighting of the bar set at a comfortable level?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is the outdoor drinking area properly lighted?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outdoor Drinking Area</th>
<th>Bar A</th>
<th>Bar B</th>
<th>Bar C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Are staff able to easily monitor the area?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are there clear boundaries between the bar property and the public walkway?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Restroom Area</th>
<th>Bar A</th>
<th>Bar B</th>
<th>Bar C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Are there signs within the bar defining the restroom area?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is there enough waiting area by the restrooms?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is there a clear boundary defining the restroom waiting area?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is the restroom area in sight of staff?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entrance and Exits</th>
<th>Bar A</th>
<th>Bar B</th>
<th>Bar C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Can the staff easily monitor who is entering and leaving?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are the entrance and exit clearly identifiable by customers?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Security</th>
<th>Bar A</th>
<th>Bar B</th>
<th>Bar C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Is the security staff easily identifiable and visible to customers?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are there CCTV cameras that are visible to customers?</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rooftops</th>
<th>Bar A</th>
<th>Bar B</th>
<th>Bar C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Is security staff present and identifiable to customers?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are table seats too close to one another?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does the rooftop feel too crowded?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a steady flow of patrons throughout the different areas of the bar. Some changes have been made to post security staff to areas of the bar that were previously not monitored. This bar makes use of CCTV cameras, but the interviewee felt these were not helpful as customers were typically not aware of them, so they offer no deterrent effect. The interviewee believed complaints from patrons about overcrowding had decreased over the years, but customers are still concerned about a limited number of restrooms.

Bar C used more concrete safety strategies, including requiring the bar staff to be on alert for intoxicated patrons and to notify security staff if a patron comes back to the serving bar multiple times. This bar also has a managed line for customers who want to move up and down the stairs; the interviewee noted that keeping customers in the line has the added benefit of providing an opportunity to sober up. The interviewee felt that these tactics had helped prevent disputes and fights, and did not have any suggestions for improving existing safety measures.

In Bars B and C we also had an opportunity to ask the bar managers to rate the importance of 8 different design features on bar safety. Figure 4.5 shows the rating for Bar B and Figure 4.6 shows the rating for Bar C. Managers rated importance on a scale of 1-5, where 1 is not important and 5 is very important. The manager of Bar B considered the design of entrances and exits and the presence of security staff as most important. In Bar C, the manager felt all 8 features were very important to safety.

Figure 4.5: Management ratings of importance of design features, Bar B
We began our bar patron surveys by asking respondents to define safety in the context of going out to a bar. Three-quarters of patrons defined safety as the absence of physical or verbal aggression, overly drunk people, or sexual advances (Figure 4.7), which aligns with the safety challenges that have been associated with poor environmental design in prior research. Patrons in all three bars noted these issues; patrons in Bar C also highlighted good lighting as a key aspect of safety. Figure 4.8 shows how patrons in each bar rated the importance of each environmental feature to their feelings of safety. The presence of security staff was the top rated feature among patrons in Bars A and C, and was also highly rated in Bar B. Patrons in Bar B rated the design of entrances and exits as slightly more important than security staff. The design of the outdoor and rooftop areas were rated as least important to safety by patrons of Bar C; Bar A patrons rated the table layout as least important and Bar B patrons rated the outdoor area as least important (note that according to Figure 4.4 Bar C does not have an outdoor area and Bar B does not appear to have an outdoor area or a rooftop). On average, levels of satisfaction with each bar were high: on a scale of 1 to 10, where 10 is most satisfied, Bar A scored 8.4, Bar B scored 9.3, and Bar C scored 9.2.
Figure 4.7: Patron definitions of safety

- absence of physical/verbal aggression (31%)
- absence of overly drunk people (7%)
- absence of sexual advances (10%)
- enough staff (4%)
- being aware of your surroundings (3%)
- having a good time with friends (28%)
- other (17%)
We asked survey respondents some open-ended questions about potential problem areas in the bars and whether they had suggestions for improving safety. In Bar A, most patrons felt the bar area, rooftop,
and the restaurant and entrance areas were too crowded. They felt that controlling the number of people entering the bar would help most, as well as adding more seating and signage, improving lighting, and increasing surveillance. About half of respondents in Bar A felt that it was safer than other bars in the area, and the other half felt it was about the same. In Bar B respondents also felt that crowding around the entrance and restrooms were problems, and they also suggested increased surveillance to ensure overly intoxicated patrons were removed, as well as removing some tables to expand space. Most Bar B respondents felt that safety in this bar was comparable to other bars in Clarendon. Two rated it as safer and one rated it as less safe. In Bar C participants typically found no problems with safety, although one felt the dance floor was too small. Since participants already felt safe they did not offer many suggestions for improvement, but one suggested controlling the crowd at the serving area. The majority of respondents believed this bar was safer than others; two believed it was about the same.

Finally, we looked at the survey results by patron characteristics—age, gender, and how frequently they visited Clarendon—to see if this affected their responses. Figure 4.9 shows the importance of each design element by frequency of visit. “Most frequent” refers to patrons who go to Clarendon bars four or more times per month. “Frequent” refers to 2 or 3 times per month, and “least frequent” means one or fewer times per month. All categories of respondents rated the design outdoor drinking area as least important to safety, but there was some variation in the most important feature. Both the most frequent and least frequent group rated security staff as most important, while the “frequent” group rated lighting as most important. Lighting was one of the least important features for the highest frequency group. Males and females rated the importance of design features similarly, except for the rooftop, which was more important to safety for males than females (Figure 4.10). Both males and females rated security staff highly, but their presence was most important to females. Finally, there were some differences by age group (Figure 4.11). Respondents aged 25 and under rated security staff as most important and the outdoor drinking area as least important. Respondents aged 26-30 rated entrance/exit design as most important and table layout as least important. Conversely, the oldest participants we surveyed, in the 31-35 age group, felt table layout was the most important. Like the younger participants they also rated the outdoor drinking area as least important.
Figure 4.9: Patron ratings of importance of design features, by frequency of visit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Most Frequent</th>
<th>Frequent</th>
<th>Least Frequent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lighting</td>
<td>3.71</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>4.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table Layout</td>
<td>3.83</td>
<td>3.80</td>
<td>2.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restroom Waiting Area</td>
<td>4.14</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>3.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar/Service Area</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>3.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrance/Exits</td>
<td>4.14</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outdoor Drinking Area</td>
<td>3.71</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>2.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rooftop</td>
<td>4.14</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security Staff</td>
<td>4.29</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>4.86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 4.10: Patron ratings of importance of design features, by sex

- Lighting: Male 3.69, Female 3.63
- Table Layout: Male 3.62, Female 3.13
- Restroom Waiting Area: Male 3.77, Female 3.88
- Bar/Service Area: Male 3.62, Female 3.75
- Entrance/Exits: Male 4.00, Female 4.00
- Outdoor Drinking Area: Male 3.31, Female 3.07
- Rooftop: Male 4.38, Female 3.20
- Security Staff: Male 4.00, Female 4.53
Our findings show that overall, safety is not a serious concern for customers or security staff in Clarendon. Patrons we surveyed rated the bars as very safe. Nonetheless, our research highlighted some areas for improvement. Some are more challenging given the existing space, or would require a financial investment,
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but others could be relatively easy to implement. Overcrowding was highlighted as a key challenge in most of the bars; this could be reduced through additional crowd control, both in terms of the number of customers allowed into the bar and management of the ways in which they move around (for example, Bar C’s strategy of using a controlled line for patrons who wish to move between floors). As our research showed, security staff play a vital role in maintaining order and providing surveillance, guardianship, and place management. The survey shows that their presence is seen as positive by most patrons, rather than as an indication that the bar is unsafe. This reflects the prior research by Madensen and Eck (2008), which also emphasizes the important role security staff play in effectively controlling problems and discouraging inappropriate behavior.

Consider these limitations when interpreting the results. First, the number of people surveyed and interviewed is small and may not be fully representative of all security staff or customers in Clarendon. Our sample was also drawn from a small number of bars, which again may not be representative of all bars in the area. We conducted more interviews with security staff at other bars, but did not have sufficient time to also conduct patron surveys in those bars for comparison. We were also only able to conduct interviews on Thursday and Friday nights; patrons and bar conditions may differ on Saturday. Finally, we cannot guarantee that the customers in each bar were exclusively thinking about the bar they were currently in when answering our questions about design features. However, our findings provide a useful first look at how bar patrons take environmental design into account in their perceptions of safety, and the different strategies security staff in Clarendon use to maintain order.

While it is important for bars to collaborate with ACPD to help reduce the risk of crime and disorder, we also recognize that the primary concern of bar owners and managers is to promote business. The relationship between bar design and aggression/violence has been well documented in prior research. In this study we examined the relationship between design and customer perceptions of safety. These findings may offer an incentive to bar managers to collaborate with ACPD and make improvements to their design and security practices—as well as reducing crime, these changes could help secure the bar’s reputation as a safe place and attract more (and more desirable) customers. In turn, this could have a knock-on effect on overall safety in Clarendon—if customers believe the bars are safe, and these beliefs are disseminated to other customers through word-of-mouth or advertising by bars (for example, through social media or the development of some kind of safety rating or certification—similar to sanitation ratings—posted in the window), their overall feelings of safety in Clarendon will be reaffirmed. In the opposite process to the “broken windows” theory, as the reputation of Clarendon as a safe place grows the frequency of aggression and other crime and disorder may decrease in the long term.

4.2.4 Recommendations

4.2.4.1 For bar owners and managers

• Consider moving or removing some furniture on busy nights to accommodate the larger crowds

• Provide clear signage directing customers to restrooms, stairways, gaming areas etc.

• Create defined walkways behind or around areas that are prone to crowding, such as serving bars and gaming area

• Adjust lighting to create a balance between ambience and safety
• Assign security personnel across multiple floors and drinking areas to maintain surveillance in all areas of the bar

4.2.4.2 For security staff

• Focus efforts on crowd control

• Maintain space around restroom and stairway areas and create clear boundaries for customers standing in line

• Keep entrances and exits clear to avoid crowding and bumping, which can lead to frustration and aggression

• Ensure you are clearly visible and identifiable to patrons as security personnel

4.2.4.3 For ACPD

• Consider developing a bar safety rating or compliance certification as part of the Clarendon Alcohol Safety Initiative, which can be displayed in bar windows or at the bar to reassure customers and encourage participation by other establishments. This should be developed in collaboration with bar owners and managers.
5 Understanding and Preventing the Use of Fake ID

Our analysis of police activity data (Chapter 2) indicated that ID checks and dealing with individuals using fake IDs were the second most common contact type with citizens in Clarendon after “drunk in public” incidents. ACPD obtained 595 fake operator permits and other ID types confiscated by bar security staff from underage drinkers in the area in 2016. We conducted a survey of college students and interviews with bar security staff to understand the characteristics of people who are most likely to use fake ID, what motivates them, and what efforts are already under way to address underage drinking in Clarendon. By better understanding the nature and extent of the problem, ACPD and bar management can better target prevention efforts to deter young people from attempting to use fake ID to unlawfully enter the bars.

Underage drinking is a common problem across the United States. In 2014 the National Survey on Drug Use and Health (Center for Behavioral Health Statistics and Quality, 2015) found that 1 in 9 adolescents between the ages of 12 and 17 reported using alcohol within the past 30 days. Underage drinking poses a public safety risk as well as an individual health risk; (Beckson, 2005) notes that young adults are more likely than older adults to drink more on a single occasion, believing they have a high tolerance for alcohol. Excessive drinking in a public setting creates challenges for the police, including disruptive and disorderly behavior, violence, and aggression (Allen & Jacques, 2014; Baldwin, Stogner, & Miller, 2014; Newbury-Birch et al., 2016). Several studies suggest that young people drink underage to fit in with their peers, have a good time, and/or out of boredom or curiosity. When enforcement of underage drinking laws by bars and other alcohol vendors is lax, the perceived benefits of drinking often outweigh the costs (Allen & Jacques, 2014). However, police departments can attempt to shift the balance through increased enforcement and education, collaboration and intervention with establishments that sell alcohol, and helping bars to identify and prevent the use of fake IDs (Mosher, Hingson, Bunker, & Bonnie, 2004).

5.1 Research Methodology

We conducted an online survey of college students aged 18 to 21 to assess attitudes to alcohol, actual alcohol use, social behavior, and attitudes and knowledge regarding fake ID. Survey respondents were primarily students at George Mason University, who were contacted by emailing the survey link to professors teaching classes in the Department of Criminology, Law and Society; we also distributed the survey via social media to reach students elsewhere in the US. We also conducted interviews with security staff from several of the most popular bars in Clarendon to understand security staff experiences with identifying fake IDs and the behaviors associated with underage drinking that they recognize from their work.

1 Carrie Johns conducted the research, analysis, and some of the writing for this chapter.
2 Although this was our target age group for the survey, we received a number of responses from individuals aged 21 and older due to the procedures used for distributing the survey (including some of the professors who chose to participate in the survey themselves!)
Finally, we conducted a more in-depth analysis of the officer activity logs reviewed in Chapter 2, focusing on the incidents classified as ID checks or false ID cases.

5.2 Research Sample

The online survey was completed by 216 people. Approximately 70 percent of respondents were female and 29 percent were male (1 percent selected “other”). A slight majority of respondents (54%, N = 111) were between 18 and 20 years old, 54 respondents were 21 (26 percent), and 41 were over 21 (20 percent). The average age of respondents was 21 years old. We interviewed six security staff, all of whom were male and ranged in age from 23 to 45.

5.3 Findings

Overall, 76 percent of survey respondents said that they drank alcohol. Females were slightly more likely to say they drank than males (77 percent of females drank compared to 73 percent of males). Among respondents who stated they were under 21, 66 percent said that they drank; there was no difference by gender. Among both males and females, and in both the full sample and the 18-20 age group, respondents were most likely to say they drank sometimes (3-5 times per month). A majority of all respondents (83 percent) said that members of their immediate family also consume alcohol. About one-third of both men and women in all age groups said they prefer to go out to bars to socialize. Women were more likely than men to say they only drink in the presence of other people (71 percent of all women compared to 63 percent of men; 77 percent of women aged 18-20 compared to 63 percent of men in that age group). Finally, almost all of the respondents in the 18-20 age group said they had older friends (92 percent overall; 88 percent of men and 92 percent of women).

Among the 18-20 age group, only 14 percent said they had ever owned or used a fake ID (the percentage was the same for the full sample). Males were more likely than females to say they had used a fake ID (19 percent compared to 13 percent). However, 84 percent of all respondents said they knew someone who owned or used a fake ID. In addition, a majority (58 percent) of the 18-20 age group believed it is not difficult to obtain a fake ID and almost half (46 percent) felt it was easy to use a fake ID without consequences. Interestingly, males were more likely than females to agree with the latter statement (54 percent compared to 44 percent), but more males than females in this age group (92 percent versus 84 percent) agreed that underage alcohol use is punished by law, a question we included to assess knowledge of the potential consequences of underage drinking. Most respondents in this age group agreed that it is not difficult to obtain alcoholic beverages (83 percent; no differences by gender), but we found some indication that enforcement methods are effective. Only 23 percent of respondents in this age group agreed that alcohol vendors such as bars, clubs, and ABC stores do not closely check ID. Note that we cannot verify whether respondents had these experiences in Clarendon specifically.

The vast majority of respondents in the 18-20 age group use social media (95 percent overall; 88 percent of males and 98 percent of females). Social media usage was high in the overall sample as well, with 83 percent of males and 97 percent of females of all ages saying they used some social media platform. Facebook, Instagram, and Snapchat were the most popular social media platforms in this age group: 99 people (89 percent of respondents aged 18-20) said they used Facebook, 97 people (87 percent) used
Snapchat, and 92 people (83 percent) used Instagram. Twitter was used by a smaller number of respondents in this age group (54 people, or 49 percent). These patterns of usage were consistent across the full sample of respondents as well. It is not possible to draw any conclusions about gender differences in usage because so many more females than males responded to the survey overall.

We asked the bar security staff how they detect fake ID, and about their experiences of who uses fake ID, when, and why. Staff reported that they typically bend the ID card slightly when it is presented. Fake cards that have been laminated by a non-DMV printer tend to crease or air bubbles appear when bent. Staff also reported that they studied the demeanor of the person or asked questions to verify their address or birth date in order to detect suspicious behavior. Other methods included the use of a flashlight or black light to examine the background design or hologram on the card, studying the photo for signs of editing, and general knowledge of what operator permits from different states look like.

Security staff believed that women aged 17-20 were most likely to use fake IDs and get caught. This differs slightly from our survey, which showed that men were slightly more likely than women to own or use a fake ID, but aligns with our finding that women are slightly more likely to drink overall and the findings from our analysis of ACPD activity log data. The staff noted that fake IDs were most often used during holidays with college breaks, such as Thanksgiving, Christmas, and summer, as well as during happy hour when drinks are sold at a reduced price. When asked why patrons under 21 used fake IDs, one of the most common responses from security staff was that a lot of these patrons have older friends who go to bars, and they use fake ID so they can join them. This closely aligns with our survey findings indicating that the younger respondents typically had older friends, especially younger women. Security staff also believed that many underage patrons simply want to partake in the social atmosphere of bars and don’t want to wait until they are old enough. They also mentioned that some people feel peer pressure to drink and socialize. One security staff member noted that in his bar the fake ID problem was related to non-US citizens attempting to use expired visas or green cards to enter the bar, rather than underage patrons.

We also examined the 181 police contacts (11 percent of all activity logs) that related to ID checks in more detail. Of these contacts, the majority (146, or 81 percent of all ID-related logs) were described as possession of fake ID, sometimes along with other incidents such as possession of alcohol or disputes. The remaining 19 percent were described as ID checks or verifications, which sometimes revealed fake IDs but could also turn out to be legitimate. Only 11 ID checks resulted in arrest (7 percent of the 169 ID check logs where the presence or absence of an arrest was clearly recorded). In all of these cases, the person arrested was under the age of 21. Six were female, four were male, and one person’s gender was not recorded. The most common month for ID checks was October (18 percent of all checks), followed by Jun (15 percent) and August (14 percent), reflecting the relationship of fake ID use to holidays and summer breaks reported by the security staff. The majority of ID check activity took place between 2300 and 0059, reflecting the time period where bars in Clarendon start to become busy and patrons may be moving between establishments.

The goal of this research was to provide ACPD with insights into the characteristics and motivations of individuals who use fake ID. This knowledge can help to inform prevention and deterrence efforts, such as the development of educational materials and public service announcements (PSAs). We found several patterns across the activity log data analysis, online survey of young people, and interviews with bar

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3 It is possible that our survey respondents—women in particular—were unwilling to own up to using fake ID themselves, even though the survey was anonymous.

4 As a reminder, activity logs were only collected between May and December so we do not know the likelihood of ID check incidents during January-April (a period that includes other key holidays such as Spring Break and St Patrick’s Day).
Reducing Alcohol-Related Crime and Disorder in Clarendon

security staff. Overall, it appears that young women are more likely to use a fake ID in Clarendon. While we did not find this in our survey, consider that our survey is not specific to Clarendon and the characteristics of underage patrons may differ in other areas. Our survey did indicate that young women are slightly more likely than young men to consume alcohol and are slightly less aware of the legal consequences of being caught drinking underage and using a fake ID. Thus, prevention and education efforts could be designed to appeal specifically to women in the 18-20 age group. Our survey and interviews also showed that underage individuals of both genders tend to have older friends who may pressure or encourage them to go to bars, and prefer to drink socially with other friends around. This information could be used to design fake ID PSAs that are more appealing to this age group; for example, a YouTube video showing older friends encouraging younger friends to come out drinking with them and facing the consequences may resonate more with young people than a PSA showing an underage person trying to buy alcohol at the liquor store to drink alone at home. The extensive use of social media among this age group presents an opportunity to disseminate PSAs and information in innovative ways. ACPD is already active on Facebook and Twitter; our survey suggests that Snapchat and Instagram could also be effective methods of reaching young people.

From a law enforcement perspective, the activity logs show that most attempted fake ID use occurs during a relatively short time period from 2300 to 0059, and most often during early and late summer and around fall holidays. ACPD could use this information to streamline the deployment of Clarendon detail officers during peak times for different types of incidents. For example, on busy Thursday, Friday, and Saturday nights officers could engage in community policing efforts prior to 2300 as patrons are coming into the Clarendon area (see Chapter 3), emphasize fake ID enforcement and security staff support from 2300 to 0100, and then focus on crowd control and safe dispersal from 0100 onwards (see Chapter 4, Section 4.1). Our interviews also showed that bar security staff learn from experience how to effectively identify fake IDs. The techniques and information they use can be distilled into brief training programs that would be provided by ACPD and/or bar managers to transfer this knowledge across bars in the area to ensure consistent high standards of detection.

5.4 Recommendations

5.4.1 For ACPD

- Focus education and prevention efforts around fake ID on young social drinkers, especially women
- Use social media, especially Facebook, Instagram, and Snapchat, to reach the 18-20 age group
- Collaborate with local universities to distribute PSAs and educational/informational materials to the 18-20 age group
- Encourage individuals who come into contact with police for fake ID use to share educational materials through their social media accounts
- Focus on fake ID enforcement from 2300-0059. The presence of police officers near the entrances of busy bars may deter people from trying to use fake ID there.
- Work with bar managers on developing training programs to help security staff detect the use of
5.4.2 For bar managers

- Gather information from security staff on best practices for detecting fake IDs
- Work with ACPD to disseminate this information and develop standardized detection techniques across all bars
6 Improving Training for Bar Staff and Management

6.1 Assessing Training Knowledge and Practice in Clarendon

Collaboration between ACPD and bar owners and managers in Clarendon is crucial to reducing alcohol-related disorder and improving safety. One way in which ACPD has already collaborated with Clarendon establishments is by providing training for servers and managers to improve fake ID detection, reduce over-serving, and share best practices for maintaining order. However, it can sometimes be a challenge to encourage bars to participate in these collaborations, and it is not always clear what training is already offered or which training strategies are most effective. In addition, many entertainment and service establishments experience a high turnover of staff, meaning that it is difficult to keep employees up to date with the latest approaches. Knowledge of existing training strategies would help ACPD to better structure its training programs to maximize effectiveness, address key gaps, avoid overlap, and ensure widespread participation.

Existing research provides some guidance on designing training programs. Graham (2000) found in a review of eight studies that training bar staff to prevent aggression increases knowledge in the short term, but this knowledge does not translate into actual intervention in violent incidents and it deteriorates over time. She did find that mandatory and hands-on training approaches were most effective in changing actual behavior rather than just knowledge, although the effects were not statistically significant in this study. However, Dresser (2000) also found that mandatory server training was more effective at reducing over-serving than incentive-based and optional training. The most effective training strategies were management training (which is also supported in studies by Howard-Pitney, Johnson, Altman, Hopkins, and Hammond (1991) and Lang, Stockwell, Rydon, and Beel (1998)), use of a live trainer, and role-play activities. Their study suggests that while mandatory training (in this case, implemented at the state level) may not be well-received by bars at first, it can have a positive impact on safety in the long-term. Interestingly, incentive-based training was even less effective than optional training. Finally, Buka and Birdthistle (1999) found that training needs to be consistent and repeated multiple times in order to be effective. Servers in that study received a single five-hour training course and were followed up for five years. Knowledge remained high for the first year but dropped significantly thereafter. Buka and Birdthistle (1999) also found that training was most impactful for young and new employees, and in establishments that did not have pre-existing training techniques. This suggests that when both bars and their servers have open minds training is likely to be more effective, which ACPD can take into account for each bar when designing training programs.

Research for this chapter was conducted by Kaitlyn Ries and Muneeba Azam.

Kaitlyn Ries conducted the research, analysis, and some of the writing for this section.
6.1.1 Research Methodology

The prior research suggests that training programs and strategies for servers are highly variable. There is no standardized training for bar managers or servers in Clarendon. This research explores how Clarendon bar staff are trained to handle alcohol-induced aggression and overconsumption, and whether the training they receive is effective in changing knowledge, attitudes, and behavior (i.e. the likelihood that a server will intervene in an aggressive incident).

We conducted this research in three bars, designated as Bar A, Bar B, and Bar C. We examined training manuals provided by these three establishments, as well as the programs offered by the Virginia Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control (ABC) to see if bar personnel were aware of these programs and/or had used them. We also surveyed managers and servers about their training and how qualified they felt to handle certain situations related to overconsumption of alcohol. In addition to the survey, we interviewed the owner and manager of each bar about their experiences of training employees; specifically, what training was provided and required at their bar, who created the training, what types of situations staff were trained to address, and their own involvement in the training.

6.1.2 Research Sample

We surveyed a total of 30 people; 10 from each bar. In Bars A and B one of the respondents was a manager and the remaining 9 were servers. In Bar C three managers and seven servers were surveyed. Employee experience varied across the bars (Figure 6.1). Bar A’s staff were most experienced, with a majority (56 percent) having worked in the profession for more than five years. One-third of Bar B employees had worked for the same amount of time, while no employees at Bar C had been employed for more than five years. Among non-manager respondents, experience was dispersed evenly (one-third of respondents had been employed as servers for less than two years, one-third for 2-5 years, and one-third for more than 5 years). Only 12 percent of non-manager employees were full-time. We did not collect demographic information such as age or gender on the survey, as employees were somewhat reluctant to participate so we wanted to reduce the number of questions they might perceive as potentially identifying them. The managers we interviewed in depth had a wide range of experience managing that specific bar: 17 years at Bar A, 10 years at Bar B, and just over a year on average for the three managers at Bar C. Bar A is one of the older bars in Clarendon and attracts an older crowd, while Bar C is a newer bar that attracts a younger audience. The manager of Bar B stated that the establishment aimed to attract a broad and varied crowd and had a mixture of newer and more established employees.

Note that these designations do not necessarily align with the Bar A, B, or C studied in Chapter 4 or in Section 6.2 of this chapter.
We asked survey respondents about the length of the training program they undertook for their current position. There was no consistency in responses in any of the three bars. According to the training manuals provided by the bars, Bar A requires a two-week transitional training period, Bar B says that employees must complete five shadow shifts over the course of about two weeks, and Bar C has a 30-day trial period. Forty percent of respondents from Bar A correctly noted that their training lasted two weeks. In Bars B and C, only about 20 percent of respondents correctly recalled the length of their training. There was no correlation between length of experience and ability to correctly recall the length of training. Note that the managers we interviewed clarified that while the standards in their manuals were generally required, they had the discretion to vary training depending on the employee’s prior experience, so it is possible that respondents who answered “incorrectly” may actually have been correct about the specific training they received. When asked about their own training, the managers had very different responses. Manager A had been with the bar since it opened and learned from the owner. Manager B could not fully recall, but had been slowly transitioned into the role by shadowing others. The three managers from Bar C, despite being the least experienced in terms of time on the job, had received the most systematic training—they were trained by a senior manager and had to pass an evaluation before assuming the role.

According to materials from the ABC, servers in Virginia must be licensed. The state offers a free three-hour certification course called the Responsible Sellers and Servers Virginia Program (RSVP). It is offered online or in a classroom setting, and is suggested for all employees, not just those serving alcohol. ABC
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also offers a free manager training course three times a year called Managers’ Alcohol Responsibility Training (MART), and advises that bar owners also take this course along with managers. ABC also offers ten other approved training courses, which are linked on their website. Bars can also submit their own training programs to ABC through the Seller/Server Training Approval Program (STAP). There are significant incentives to undergoing training: the ABC website states that “the Virginia code provides for a reduction in the length of any suspension and a reduction in the amount of any civil penalty for any retail licensee where the licensee can demonstrate that it provided to its employees alcohol server or seller training certified in advance by Virginia ABC.” However, three of the five managers we interviewed had not heard about these trainings and the other two managers had not sought more information about them. Four of the five managers had heard of another training program called Training for Intervention Procedures (TIPS), but had not partaken in the program.

Our survey asked servers to rate how qualified they felt to assess various problems that could arise in the bar, including a violent incident, a customer’s level of intoxication, and a sexual assault or harassment encounter. Respondents rated their level of qualification on a six-point scale, where 1 is very unqualified and 6 is very qualified. Results are shown in Figures 6.2-6.4. Overall, respondents felt relatively well-qualified to handle these situations, particularly customer intoxication levels. However, the servers appeared less confident in their qualification to assess a sexual assault situation, particularly in Bar A. This could be an important area for further training development, as data shows 50 percent of sexual assaults nationally involve consumption of alcohol by the perpetrator and/or the victim (Abbey, Zawacki, Buck, Clinton, & McAuslan, 2004). On the whole, servers reported that they were relatively unlikely to intervene themselves in problematic situations. Figure 6.5 shows that servers rarely intervened in alcohol-related situations in general (rated on a five-point scale where 1 is “never” and 5 is “every day”). Servers in Bar C intervened slightly more frequently than those in Bars A and B. However, servers from Bar B said they were fairly likely to personally intervene if a situation became aggressive (Figure 6.6). Servers from Bar A and C were less likely to do so. Servers from all three bars were likely to ask security staff to intervene instead of (or as well as) handling an aggressive situation themselves (Figure 6.7).
Figure 6.2: How qualified do you feel to handle a violent situation?
Figure 6.3: How qualified do you feel assessing a customer’s level of intoxication?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bar</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bar A</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar B</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar C</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 6.4: How qualified do you feel to assess a sexual assault/harassment situation?
Figure 6.5: How often do you intervene in alcohol-related situations?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bar</th>
<th>1 = Never</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bar A</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar B</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar C</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Figure 6.6: How likely are you to personally intervene in an aggressive situation?
One takeaway from our findings is that the training servers are currently receiving may not be salient enough to be remembered by employees. This aligns with the prior research showing that employees tend to forget about the training over time. Also consistent with prior research indicating that incentive-based training is not effective, we found that the managers we spoke to were not interested in incentives and had no ideas for any incentives that would persuade them to sign up for training. One manager said that if someone needed to provide additional benefits, the training must not be enough of a benefit in itself and therefore was not worth the time and effort. This indicates that despite the substantial benefits such as reduced liability for violations offered by ABC, different strategies are needed to bring bars on board with training programs. Based on the prior research, it appears mandatory training would be most effective and this could perhaps be incorporated as a required part of the Clarendon Alcohol Safety Initiative.

Another interesting point from our findings is that years of experience do not necessarily prepare servers for challenging situations. We found that Bar A’s employees had the most extensive work experience, but were comparable to the other bars’ employees in their perceived qualification to assess problems. Conversely, according to a manager of Bar C, employees from that bar are typically younger and there is high staff turnover. However, their perceptions were not particularly different from employees at the other bars. We note that Bar C does have the most systematic training and the longest training period, which may explain these findings.

Consider the following limitations when interpreting the findings of this research. Our sample sizes were very small, and it was difficult to reach servers in particular to conduct the surveys. Many servers were
reluctant to participate or give critical answers about their place of work, despite our reassurance that the survey was confidential and taking steps to ensure managers could not see who filled out the surveys. There were also practical challenges—we needed to conduct the surveys on the busiest business days in order to reach a representative sample of servers, but this meant employees had very limited time to take a break from work and fill out our survey. We had to collect data over multiple days and at pre-arranged times. We studied large bars that can have as many as 50 staff members working at a given time, so the 10 employees we were able to reach at each location may not be representative of all the servers. However, our study provides a useful insight into questions about training that have not previously been explored in Clarendon.

6.1.4 Recommendations

6.1.4.1 For ACPD

- Collaborate with bars to create a standardized training program for Clarendon facilities as part of the Clarendon Alcohol Safety Initiative
- In the long term, work with the county to explore the establishment of a mandatory ordinance requiring bar employees to pass a training course once every six months
- Work with bars to develop a manual of recommended protocols for specific alcohol-related situations (e.g. what to do if a fight breaks out)
- Regularly review the field for new training programs that are being offered nationally or locally and align with prior research on effective practices

6.1.4.2 For bar owners, managers, and employees

- Managers should keep owners appraised with regular updates about alcohol-related incidents and any deviations from established response protocols
- Managers should work with ACPD and colleagues from other establishments to update and standardize training manuals
- Regularly review the field for new training programs that are being offered nationally or locally and align with prior research on effective practices
- Explore options for mandatory sexual assault/harassment awareness training programs for employees
- Collaborate with ACPD to create a standardized training program for Clarendon facilities as part of the Clarendon Alcohol Safety Initiative
6.2 The Impact of Training on Customer Confidence

In Chapter 4, Section 4.2 we discussed the role of guardianship and place management in protecting bars against crime and disorder. Training and management practices play a key role in improving place management. The presence of guardians and place managers is not enough; it is what they do that matters, and what they do must be effective. As we discussed in the previous section, training for effective place management may have the added benefit of increasing customer confidence and feelings of safety in addition to reducing the risk of crime and other problems.

Recall from Chapter 1 the difference between guardians and place managers—guardians protect potential victims by taking steps to reduce the risk that they will be targeted by offenders. Place managers, on the other hand, are responsible for maintaining overall order at a location and controlling/reducing opportunities for offenders and potential targets to converge. As the previous section illustrated, security personnel at bars play a dual role as guardians who maintain the safety of patrons in the bar and place managers whose presence contributes to the overall environment of the establishment. If security staff are inadequately trained, it will be difficult to maintain order and customers’ experience in the bar will be less pleasurable (Fox & Sobol, 2000; Roberts, 2009). Roberts (2009) describes key topics on which security staff should be trained, including ethics, recruitment, conflict resolution, civil and criminal law relating to public order, licensing, major incidents and emergencies, and incident reporting.

Servers in bars also play a role in place management. They are on the “front lines” of ensuring the bar’s legal responsibilities as a seller of alcohol are met (returning again to the “broken windows” idea, a lack of attention to everyday rules and regulations by bar staff may send a signal that the establishment tolerates increasingly problematic behavior). Research by Gursoy, Chi, and Rutherford (2011) underscores the fact that it is in the interest of the bar itself to maintain order and safety to provide the best social environment for its patrons and profitability for itself. The researchers highlight a number of signs of overconsumption and visible intoxication that servers can be attentive to, including slurred speech, swaying, staggering or stumbling, inability to sit straight, bloodshot and glassy eyes, loud speech, or drinking too fast.

6.2.1 Research Methodology

In this study we reviewed the training and management practices at four different bars, referred to as Bar A, B, C, and D, and surveyed patrons to understand how those practices affect customer confidence and whether there are differences across bars. We conducted interviews with bar owners and managers to learn about their training strategies, methods for dealing with aggressive situations, and how servers are trained to recognize fake ID and address problems with intoxicated patrons before they get out of control. We also surveyed patrons in each of the four bars to assess their feelings of safety in and satisfaction with the establishment and whether they had seen any problems in the bar. Finally, we conducted approximately 9 observations on Friday and Saturday nights between September 2016 and April 2017 to understand the nature of the environment and behavior in Clarendon.

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4Muneeba Azam conducted the research, analysis, and some of the writing for this section.
5Note that these designations do not necessarily align with the same labels used elsewhere in this report (Sections 4.2 and 6.1).
6.2.2 Research Sample

We interviewed four bar managers (one at each establishment). All four were male and had at least two years of experience in the nightlife industry. The managers were selected because they were normally present throughout the busiest times at the bars on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday nights and were extremely familiar with the bar environment at those times.

We surveyed 50 patrons in each bar, for a total of 200 surveys. To ensure our sample was as representative as possible, our researcher approached larger groups of mixed males and females, or spoke to a group of males and then a group of females, and tried to approach people who appeared to represent a range of ethnicities. The sample contained approximately equal numbers of males and females and was about 50 percent White, with the remaining 50 percent split evenly between Black, Hispanic, Asian, and Middle Eastern.

6.2.3 Findings

Our interviews with the bar managers revealed a number of similarities in management and training practices across the bars. All four managers noted the TIPS training previously mentioned, which is local to the county, as the preferred approach for training bar staff to recognize overly intoxicated patrons and serve responsibly. This is an interesting difference from the managers interviewed in Section 6.1, where the managers did not appear to have taken up this training (recall that the bars studied here are not necessarily the same bars that were studied in other chapters in this report). The managers also noted the basic signs of intoxication their servers look out for, which align with those described in the prior research (e.g. slurred speech, staggering etc.). The managers noted that they as well as their servers were trained to recognize these signs and instructed all their staff (including security, door staff, and other team members) to constantly scan the bar to make sure patrons were drinking responsibly. All of the managers made it a point to let us know that teamwork in their establishments was crucial to helping servers on busy nights. They all also mentioned that their bartenders had been working at the establishments for long periods of time and had considerable experience with the Clarendon environment. All of the managers stated that they enforce a strict policy with their employees that includes not getting physical with patrons and tend to hand over physical incidents to ACPD. They had all also engaged with ACPD on training to recognize fake IDs.

The interviews also indicated some differences in how the bars handled incidents. Overall, Bar A appeared to have the most comprehensive approaches and training. Both Bar A and Bar B mentioned encouraging servers to engage with customers to figure out their sobriety level (for example, by asking their name or a simple question about the game on the television). Servers at these bars also offered their patrons water and gave them time to cool off before allowing them to get another drink. Bar A’s manager specifically mentioned training with ACPD to learn about the bar’s criminal and civil liability for problems, and described the bar’s training and shadowing system for new security and door staff, which involved pairing new personnel with more experienced staff for hands-on training on identifying and addressing overconsumption and fake ID use. Bar B mentioned an initial management training for fake IDs but did not want to provide further details, and Bar D described their training manual, which provided comprehensive information on identifying fake IDs, and their use of cameras and incident logs to document occasions where patrons have to be removed for being too intoxicated or causing other problems. Bar C did not provide much information about training, but noted that many of their patrons “pregame,”
or drink before they come out to the bar.

All of the patrons we interviewed felt very safe in Clarendon overall (Figure 6.8), with an average rating of 4.59 on a 5-point scale where 1 is very unsafe and 5 is very safe. Patrons reported that fights and aggressive behavior by security and door staff were infrequent (an average of 1.69 on a 4-point scale from 1 = never to 4 = often for fights and an average of 1.48 for security staff aggression), although patrons in Bar D reported seeing these issues at that bar slightly more often than those at the other bars (Figures 6.9 - 6.10). We also asked patrons for their opinions on whether bar staff would cut them off if they looked intoxicated, whether security staff would look out for them if there was a fight in the bar, and whether door staff were able to identify fake IDs ((Figures 6.11 - 6.13). Again, all the bars were ranked relatively high on a five-point agreement scale (where 1 = strongly disagree with the statement and 5 = strongly agree). For being cut off the average across all bars was 3.5, for security staff looking out for patrons 3.69, and for identifying fake ID 3.77. Patrons at Bar A agreed most strongly that the bar staff would cut them off if intoxicated, and also believed door staff were able to identify fake IDs (Bar B received a slightly higher rating for the latter statement). Patrons in Bar C agreed most strongly that security staff would look out for them in a fight. Although Bar B patrons agreed most strongly that door staff there could identify fake IDs, they were least likely to agree that servers would cut them off or that security staff would look out for them.

Figure 6.8: How safe do you feel when you’re out at night in Clarendon?
Figure 6.9: How often have you seen a fight in this bar?
Figure 6.10: How often have you seen door staff acting aggressively at this bar?
Figure 6.11: Bar staff at this bar would cut me off if I looked clearly intoxicated
Figure 6.12: Door staff at this bar would look out for me if there was a fight in the bar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bar</th>
<th>Rating</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Bar B</td>
<td>3.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar C</td>
<td>3.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar D</td>
<td>3.70</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1 = Strongly disagree, 5 = Strongly agree
Overall, while the differences between bars were small, there appears to be a slight correlation between the managers’ self-reported training and management practices and better customer perceptions. For example, Bar A ranked relatively high across all the measures, and seemed to have the broadest training practices, including TIPS training for servers and training with ACPD. The manager of Bar A also noted that they discussed training with their staff on a regular basis and consistently “troubleshoot” situations as they arise to figure out what works well and what does not. One individual we surveyed also told stories about experiences where he had seen staff at Bar A handle situations effectively and professionally. However, the differences between the bars are not strong, and Bar C (for example) was still rated highly even though we had limited information about their practices. A key limitation of this study is that we relied on managers’ self-reports to develop a profile of their management practices. It is likely that the managers would want to paint their establishments in the best possible light; on the other hand, some of the managers were reluctant to discuss their practices with outsiders.

Following on from Section 6.1, this research raises more questions about which training practices are most effective. More collaboration between ACPD and the bars, as well as research, are needed to develop clear and consistent practices that take the best approaches from each bar and combine them into a systematic program that is regularly reinforced. The benefits of doing so would likely include reduced crime and disorder, better neighborhood conditions for businesses, patrons, and residents alike, and a more comfortable environment in the bars that may in turn increase their profitability.
6.2.4 Recommendations

6.2.4.1 For ACPD

• Continue the Restaurant Liaison position to collaborate and improve relationships with the bar owners and managers

• Work with bar managers and the county to develop a mandatory, standardized training for Clarendon bars

6.2.4.2 For bar managers

• Increase training and awareness of criminal and civil liability for bar staff and security personnel

• Use a shadowing system to give new employees hands-on training from more experienced and effective staff

• Work with ACPD to train staff on identifying fake IDs

• Retrain staff regularly

• Troubleshoot problems as they occur and take a few minutes before each shift to remind staff about their responsibilities and reinforce training
References


APPENDIX A: ACPD Restaurant Liaison Position
Executive Summary

The mission of the Arlington County Police Department is to reduce the incidence of crime and improve the quality of life by making the county a place where all people can live safely and without fear.

The Clarendon area and the large number of restaurants that serve alcohol has become a difficult issue for the police department to manage. Crimes such as: assault, malicious wounding, sexual assault, theft, public intoxication, assault of police, DUI, disorderly conduct, and rape.

There is a direct correlation between cooperation of the restaurant owners and the police department in bringing quality of life issues to an acceptable level. Increased police involvement through patrols and enforcement is not needed at a high degree if there is sufficient community, peer, and pressure on owners to manage restaurants responsibly. The police are not able to regulate every aspect of restaurant management, but they can encourage, support, and insist on responsible management policies and practices.

One of the many solutions has been to increase staffing around the areas where these types of calls are being generated. However, this has not had an impact on driving down calls for service. A heavy police presence outside bars with regular on-duty patrols through the bars or off-duty police officers produces a result of increased rates of reported and recorded offenses, if for no other reason than the police witness offenses that might otherwise go unreported.

As cited in the U.S. DOJ Office of Community Oriented Policing Services there are many factors to consider when looking to improve police department response and make the Clarendon area safer. Some of the contributing factors directly relate to Clarendon include:

Alcohol

Alcohol consumption is an obvious factor contributing to aggression and violence in bars, but the relationship is not as simple as it might seem. Alcohol contributes to violence by limiting drinkers’ perceived options during a conflict, heightening their emotionality, increasing their willingness to take risks, reducing their fear of sanctions, and impairing their ability to talk their way out of trouble.

Aggressive Bouncers

Many security employees and bouncers lack the skills to defuse violence. Bouncers’ very presence may subconsciously signal to some patrons that physical confrontation is an acceptable way to resolve disputes in that bar.

Continued Service to Drunken Patrons

Drinkers report that the most common reaction to their drunkenness in bars is continued alcohol service. In part, this occurs because staff has difficulty determining whether patrons are drunk, particularly when customers obtain drinks from several sources within the bar. Determining whether patrons are drunk is more difficult in overcrowded bars, as servers are under pressure to serve customers quickly. Refusing service to drunken patrons often makes them angry. Bartenders and wait staff who do not want this aggression directed at them, and who also may not want to risk losing tips, often continue to serve obviously drunken patrons.
Crowding and Lack of Comfort

Poor ventilation, high noise levels, and lack of seating make bars uncomfortable. This discomfort increases the risks of aggression and violence. Crowding around the bar, in restrooms, on dance floors, around pool tables, and near phones creates the risk of accidental bumping and irritation, which can also start fights.

Low Ratio of Staff to Patrons

Inadequate staffing increases the competition for service and the frustration of patrons, and reduces opportunities for staff to monitor excessive drinking and aggression.

Solution Overview

In order to meet the mission statement specifically in regards to the quality of life in the Clarendon area, a Clarendon Liaison Officer position should be considered in being created. The specific role of the position would be to enlist community support, implement multifaceted strategies, gain cooperation from restaurant owners/managers, educate restaurant staff, and utilize all county agencies that could have a role in improving the problems. Understanding that the issues that challenge the police department involve many people and organizations to find a solution that is viable and sustainable for a long period of time.

This position would require the officer to establish relationships with the stakeholders beyond responding to complaints and problems. The following groups have an interest in and want to contribute to creating solutions:

- Risk managers/liability insurance agents for the restaurants
- Lease holders/Banks holding mortgages on these establishments
- Neighboring business and their staff
- Neighborhood residents/Civic associations
- ABC/Licensing
- Commonwealth Attorney’s Office
- Arlington County Fire Department EMS/Fire Marshal’s Office
- Arlington County Sheriff’s Office
- Arlington County Police Department
- Arlington County Public Works
- Cab companies

The main purpose of the Clarendon Liaison Position is to lessen the burden on existing personnel such as the Community Policing Teams. Their core function is to address community needs, attend community meetings, develop relationships with the youth in the district, provide safety presentations, and build trust between the department and the community it serves.

The Clarendon area produces a large number of complaints and concerns from neighboring residents and businesses. The amount of time needed to focus on the solutions in Clarendon take away from the main mission of the district team.

The biggest issue facing the Executive leaders is staffing and budgeting. With an overall shortage of manpower for patrol operations, staffing an increased number of officers each
weekend will not be sustainable. Officer fatigue in dealing with the challenges of drunk and disorderly subjects will occur, if the focus is solely on enforcement rather than creating solutions that lessen the need for the amount of officers working.

Once a complete analysis has been completed, specific responses can start to be implemented. In order to meet the goal of the mission which is reduce crime and incidents in the Clarendon area, the Clarendon Liaison Officer will be in charge of managing multifaceted responses. Some of the responses include:

- Enlisting training or re-training for beverage service staff from ABC
- Monitor drinking to prevent drunkenness, promote slower drinking rates, and enforce server liability
- Train security staff to handle patrons nonviolently
- Implement the TIPS alcohol education program
- Maintain attractive, comfortable, and entertaining establishments
- Establish and enforce rules of conduct for patrons
- Reduce potential weapons and other sources of injury
- Involve Arlington County Fire Marshal, CA’s Office, and ABC in meetings with establishment owners
- Change sentencing/fines for being arrested for Drunk in Public to include alcohol education classes similar to ASAP and increasing the fine for conviction
- Establishing a community award of excellence given to those establishments that embrace and regularly show that they engage in the practices that make their restaurants safer
- Those restaurants that meet the standard to receive the community safety award are free to use that in their public relations and for insurance liability

There has been an increase in the number of establishments that serve alcohol and contribute to the overall problem. Areas such as Ballston and the east end of Columbia Pike are developing in the same way due to the financial success of the Clarendon area. In the future the duties and responsibilities of the Liaison Officer Position will grow as these area continue to expand.

Organization and Staffing

Eligibility

This position will be open to corporals and could be assigned as a detective position similar to the hack inspector.

Minimum Qualifications:

- Rank of Corporal
- Three (3) years experience with the Arlington County Police Department (education requirements must have been fulfilled).
- Evaluated as “Meets Expectations” or better on all key elements and complimentary factors during their most recent performance appraisal.
- A favorable recommendation from their chain of command.
- Knowledge of issues in the Clarendon area
- Ability to engage and solicit assistance from organizations, county departments, civic associations, courts, and restaurant owners

**Implementation and Training**

**Phased Approach**

An initial commitment of one year is what would be needed in order to forge the relationships, conduct analysis, implement a plan, and evaluate results.

**Support and Maintenance**

**Chain of Command**

The position would be assigned to and would report to office of the Operations Deputy Chief.

**Patrol Staffing**

Currently Patrol staffing levels are low. The amount of officers being used for back fill and overtime in Clarendon could be reduced if the causes of issues in Clarendon are dealt with rather than the symptoms. Ultimately Clarendon could be managed with fewer officers due to higher participation and involvement from restaurant owners and the community. This would result in fewer calls for service and fewer major incidents.

**Patrol Benefits**

The Clarendon Liaison officer will be able to provide training. Increasing the front line officers’ ability to conduct effective scene management and lessen the amount of calls for service, as well as, major incidents.
APPENDIX B: The ACPD Restaurant Liaison Unit
Restaurant & Entertainment Liaison Unit

Goals & Objectives

By: Cpl. Dimitrios Mastoras
From: 1st Sgt. Robert Wright
Overview

This is an addendum to the Restaurant & Entertainment Unit proposal submitted in August 2015 to Capt. Jim Daly to provide additional information about how other similar jurisdictions handle their bar districts. After gathering information from several police departments, it is clear that the most effective solution is having a dedicated unit of officers who have a working knowledge of the area and rapport with business owners. Additionally, alcohol education programs such as “Best Bar None” have been successful in reducing alcohol related crime.

As previously explained in the Restaurant & Entertainment Unit proposal, the objectives include implementation of a program that addresses the needs of both the police department and business owners. Currently there are several police departments in the U.S. and Europe that successfully address crime in and around bar districts.

Scotland Police

Best Bar None is a National Award Scheme supported by the Scotland Home Office and is aimed at promoting responsible management and operation of alcohol licensed establishments. It was piloted in Manchester UK in 2003 and found to improve standards in the nighttime economy, with establishments now competing to participate. It has since been adopted by 75 towns and cities across the UK and is now being taken up internationally.

- Best Bar None is an accreditation and award scheme adopted in 2005
- Over 400 licensed venues participate
- Supported by police and fire services as well as local government
- Sponsored by alcohol and beer distributors
- Objectives are in line with mission of preventing crime, protection of environment, and promotion of public safety
- Requires an application, inspection, and judging process
- Upon successful participation the establishment is invited to an awards ceremony and awarded with a plaque, which is displayed prominently in or outside the business to demonstrate the achievements of their staff to customers

In Scotland a comparison of figures from 2012 to 2014 saw a reduction of crime and anti-social behavior in and around Best Bar None. These accredited establishments promote a positive message in the public’s perception of crime and risk of being a victim. Initial findings for a new pilot area, over a one-year period:

- Decrease of 12% - serious assault
- Decrease of 9% - simple assault
- Decrease of 6% - abusive behavior
- Overall 19% drop of all injuries
- Public perception increased positively and patrons felt safer

(http://www.bbnuk.com)
Hoboken, NJ

Hoboken, NJ has well over one hundred bars or restaurants in multi-block sections along the Hudson River, which is comparable to Clarendon. The area is pedestrian friendly, has limited parking, and access to mass transit. The Hoboken Police Department allocates (2) two man patrol cars who are solely responsible to each area and (10) Class II officers, who work these areas part time from Thursday to Saturday. The Class II officers are spread throughout the patrol area on foot to provide an immediate response until the patrol car can provide support.

The patrol car officers are responsible for:
- Establishing relationships with the bar owners and staff
- Provide training to the bar and security staff
- Have the support of the ABC officers who will call an administrative hearing when needed
- Officers complete an additional tracking form called a “Tavern Report” whenever they are required to take police action. This allows the department to track crimes more efficiently and provides a history of incidents for an establishment when there is an ABC administrative hearing.

(Lt. Gino Jacobelli, Hoboken Police Department)

The city of Hoboken, NJ is just over 2 square miles, has a population of 50,000+, and has 138 full time officers. The median age of a Hoboken resident is 31 years old.
(www.city-data.com)

Chapel Hill, NC

Chapel Hill, NC also has a concentrated area of almost 40 restaurants/bars in their downtown area, called the Central Business District and is approximately eight blocks in size.

- The Chapel Hill Police Department has assigned (8) officers to a dedicated unit with a patrol sergeant
- The unit falls under the command of the patrol section and has officers in the unit assigned to fixed shifts
- The goal is have a continuous presence, forge relationships with the businesses, and maintain a point of contact for the businesses and town agencies
- The officers’ primary responsibility is reducing crime and disorderly conduct in the bar and restaurant section of the city

For large events, such as game days for UNC and bar crawls, the unit supplements with officers working overtime and works closely with agents from NC Alcohol Beverage Control. The unit also assists in administrative hearings and is responsible for helping restaurant owners and staff adhere to the law.
(Capt. Donnie Rhoades, Chapel Hill Police Department)

Chapel Hill, NC is 21.3 square miles, has a population of 57,000, and has 131 full time officers. The median resident age in Chapel Hill is 25 years old.
(www.city-data.com)
La Crosse, WI

The La Crosse police department has multiple colleges within the city and has a large number of bars and restaurants. A full time liaison officer was assigned to deal with an increase in the number of alcohol related crime and injuries. Because of a number of drowning deaths, the LCPD formed an internal action team to reduce binge drinking. Three officers were dedicated to the assignment in the entertainment district, working the hours when alcohol-related calls historically peaked. Later, this unit evolved into a dedicated team: the Alcohol Compliance and Education (ACE) team.

The city established an Alcohol Task Force representing diverse community perspectives. With input from the ACE team, the Alcohol Task Force established four primary objectives, as well as a timeline to achieve these objectives by 2010:

- Increase awareness of the dangers of excessive alcohol use and binge drinking
- Establish ordinances that address public safety and alcohol-related issues
- Assess and improve infrastructure and safety in the downtown and riverfront areas
- Assess community readiness for cultural change

As a result of the community’s focus on alcohol-related problems, ACE team members have been reassigned from all other direct patrol duties. ACE officers were given the flexibility to work any hours, freeing them to participate in community meetings, to conduct enforcement, and to provide education based on opportunity.

The ACE team also developed and delivered a curriculum for beverage server training, designed to enhance bar compliance with mandated sober-server rules, improved detection of underage persons, and prevention of service to visibly intoxicated persons. Furthermore, the team proposed a new ordinance that targeted individuals who were extremely intoxicated and were behaving in a manner contrary to public safety and order. They recognized that successful passage of the ordinance required community support from students, tavern owners, and the public at large. Many citizens were concerned that the police would use the public intoxication ordinance indiscriminately to target anyone who had been drinking.

To alleviate these concerns, ACE officers developed and provided an evidence-based training curriculum that gives violators an opportunity to participate in an alcohol education class in lieu of paying fines. This remedial option became crucial during the ensuing public debate about the proposed ordinance. Having a non-punitive, educational option for offenders validated the police department’s philosophy, which was to prevent the next offense from occurring.

One of the best examples of this support comes from persons charged under the ordinance who have subsequently attended alcohol education classes. In anonymous evaluations, attendees overwhelmingly praise the course and ACE instructors while reporting they have developed an improved awareness of alcohol-related issues and have acquired skills to change their alcohol consumption habits.
During the first year of ordinance enforcement the following was discovered:

- 171 violators attended alcohol education classes, only 1 has reoffended
- 22 of 78 violators who did not attend alcohol education reoffended
- Without alcohol education, offenders were 47 times more likely to repeat their offenses
- Departmental studies reflect a 50 percent improvement in compliance in the three years following the implementation of ACE team inspections.
- The ultimate goal is to improve compliance to 100 percent.

The department has permanently changed its operating procedures; the ACE team is a fixed, funded unit within the agency. As such, the team will continue to expand its knowledge and apply lessons learned in ongoing efforts to reduce the harm caused by aggressive alcohol consumption. (The Police Chief, vol. LXXVI, no. 4, April 2009. Copyright held by the International Association of Chiefs of Police, 515 North Washington Street, Alexandria, VA 22314 USA)

La Crosse, WI is 22.5 square miles, has a population of 51,000, and has 110 full time officers. The median resident age in La Crosse is 29 years old.
(www.city-data.com)

**Goals of the Restaurant & Entertainment Unit**

The ultimate goal of the unit is to provide a unified message from the police department to the owners of establishments serving alcohol and to facilitate education and training. A dedicated unit can focus their efforts on establishing enduring relationships with restaurant owners, address community concerns, and reduce alcohol related crime.

The problems in Clarendon continue to grow and the police response has not yet produced a solution. Each police department mentioned above responded to a similar problem by creating a dedicated unit of officers exclusively responsible for their bar districts. The dedicated unit can focus all its attention on education and changing policy to lessen alcohol related incidents. They can also take time to develop relationships and build trust with restaurant owners. Arlington County Police is under new leadership and has the opportunity to put forth new solutions to longstanding problems in Clarendon. Creating this unit would make ACPD the first jurisdiction in the DC Metro area with the mission of reducing alcohol related crime, using fewer officers, and providing education to business owners and offenders.

Areas such as Ballston and the east end of Columbia Pike are developing active bars and restaurants largely due to the financial success of the Clarendon area. In the future, the duties and responsibilities of the Restaurant & Entertainment Liaison Unit will grow as these areas continue to expand.

Ultimately, the goal is to manage Clarendon with fewer officers as a result of the collaboration between the Restaurant & Entertainment Liaison Unit, restaurant owners, and the community. This reduction in police presence in Clarendon would decrease calls for service, allow officers to work back fill on patrol, and regularly allow the department to reach operational goals.
3 Month Goals

- Establish a dedicated unit to specifically address alcohol related incidents in the Clarendon area
- Establish a program similar to Best Bar None, which trains staff, develops relationships with owners, and reduces crime
- Meet with owners of restaurants and business owners, to address needs and concerns
- Meet and establish relationship with VA ABC Office

6 Month Goals

- Establish an alcohol education program for offenders
- Meet with a dedicated prosecutor from the Commonwealth Attorney's office who is assigned alcohol related cases and can advocate for the program
- Meet with General District Judges to introduce them to an alcohol education program as a sentence in lieu of a fine and conviction
- Establish a tracking form which is completed if any police action is taken and which establishment it originated from
- Assign a person from R&D to assist in track and keeping statistics regarding all alcohol related offenses
- Collaborate with the 2nd District team to deal with issues relating to Clarendon and how the alcohol issues relate to surrounding neighborhoods
- Develop a training program such as TIPS which can be used to train restaurant staff and owners
- Assign a Fire Marshal from the Arlington Co. Fire Dept. to be assigned as a liaison to the unit
- Obtain relationships from alcohol distributors to sponsor an awards ceremony for those restaurants that participate successfully in the program
- Meet with the Arlington County Board and Manager to devise ways in which business could be rewarded for successful participation in the program
- Meet with the Arlington Chamber of Commerce and gain their support and sponsorship

12 Month Goals

- Develop and train security staff on how to handle intoxicated patrons non-violently
- Train security staff on how to identify fake identifications and indicators of intoxication
- Assist restaurant staff on how to procure PBTs and their use to keep intoxicated subjects from entering their establishments
- At the end of a twelve-month period conduct a full analysis consisting of collection of statistics and surveys of restaurant owners as well as patrons
- Use the PIO office to distribute public service announcements
- Use of social media and traditional media to educate the public about the goals and mission of the program
APPENDIX C: Clarendon Alcohol Safety Initiative
Arlington County Restaurant Initiative

- Voluntary Accreditation Program
- Improve best practices and restaurant accountability
- County and state agencies provide support, education, and guidance to restaurant owners and staff
- Reduce criminal and civil liability for restaurant owners
- Increase economic viability and increases stakeholder’s commitment
- Reduce the area’s need for county resources

Clarendon Alcohol Safety Initiative

Reducing alcohol related harm through partnerships

Department of Human Services

Public Health Office

Zoning Office

In cooperation with VA ABC Office
**Background**

- Clarendon identified as one of the best places to live for Millennials in the U.S. by *Forbes Magazine*
- Tremendous increase in nightlife patronage with an average of 6500 – 8000 patrons on Friday and Saturday nights
- Police staffing increased from 6 to 20 officers per shift to address unruly crowds
- Fiscally draining on county resources and increased staffing was unsustainable long term
- Increased community concern with alcohol related incidents

**Issues Identified**

- Overly intoxicated patrons resulting in risk to public safety
- Lack of formal training for management and staff
- Absence of cohesive strategies for business owners
- Overcrowding and violations of occupancy limits
- Underage drinking/Fake IDs
- Unruly behavior by patrons and hostility towards law enforcement

**Reduce Alcohol Related Harm**

- Unified strategy to decrease use of county resources
- Strengthen relationships with stakeholders
- GMU Center for Evidence Based Policing partnership
- Fake ID awareness campaign
- Community outreach events
- Alcohol Safety and Education Awareness Vehicle
- Bar Bystander Program to reduce sexual and domestic assault related to alcohol
APPENDIX D: Memorandum of Understanding between Arlington County Police Department and George Mason University
MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE ARLINGTON COUNTY POLICE DEPARTMENT (ACPD) AND THE CENTER FOR EVIDENCE-BASED CRIME POLICY (CEBCP) AT GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

A. PURPOSE.

1. This Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) is entered into by the Arlington County Police Department (ACPD) and the George Mason University Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy (CEBCP), for the purpose of establishing and maintaining an ongoing partnership to promote research on topics of mutual interest.

2. The Arlington County Police Department has a strong interest in expanding capacity in the areas of research of current best practices in the law enforcement profession, as well as conducting evaluations of current ACPD programs, practices and initiatives.

3. The Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy seeks to make scientific research a key component in decisions about crime and justice policies by advancing rigorous studies in criminal justice and criminology and proactively serving as an informational link to practitioners and the policy community. The CEBCP engages in a wide variety of projects, including primary research on criminological and criminal justice issues, as well as evaluations of interventions for outcome effectiveness.

4. The ACPD and the CEBCP will work jointly to identify and conduct appropriate research projects so as to produce effective evaluations of agency programs and initiatives, and to advance knowledge within the law enforcement and academic research professions.

B. POINTS OF CONTACT.

1. The points-of-contact for joint research initiatives will be Professor Charlotte Gill of the George Mason University CEBCP, and the Captain of the Second District Community Policing Team of the ACPD. Any questions or concerns that arise during the course of any research project will be addressed and resolved through the points-of-contact.

2. The points-of-contact will coordinate any and all resources from their respective organizations that are necessary to complete the identified research.
C. SELECTION OF RESEARCH PROJECTS.

1. The points-of-contact will meet periodically to identify research proposals and direction. Decisions as to which research projects to initiate will be by mutual consent of both parties, and will be based on the following criteria:

   - Academic research interest in a particular topic
   - Identified need for a specific study
   - Availability of funding
   - Logistical feasibility of conducting research

D. SHARING OF INFORMATION

1. ACPD will provide data to the CEBCP research team that is required to conduct the research, unless prohibited by Federal, state or county laws or departmental policy. The CEBCP research team will be approved by the ACPD point of contact.

2. Data provided by ACPD is considered proprietary, and shall not be disseminated outside of the CEBCP research team without the express written permission of the ACPD.

3. Any ACPD-provided data that contains personal identifiers (names, addresses, etc.) shall be treated as confidential by members of the research team. Personal identifier data shall not be further disseminated or disclosed and shall be maintained in a secure database to prevent unauthorized persons from accessing files. Any ACPD-provided hard-copy data received shall be secured in locked containers when not being used.

4. At the conclusion of each research project, ACPD data shall be returned to the ACPD. Any data received by CEBCP electronically and saved to a GMU server will be overwritten at the conclusion of the study. CEBCP guarantees that they would no longer retain any ACPD data at the conclusion of the project, written or electronic.

E. REPORTING RESULTS

1. The points-of-contact will meet as needed to review and discuss the progress of any current projects.

2. The CEBCP will advise ACPD of any preliminary results or findings which could support immediate or near-term corrective actions or improvements by ACPD staff.

3. Any final research reports and/or articles prepared by CEBCP will be forwarded to ACPD for review and comment prior to publication. Any comments provided by ACPD on the results of the research study will be incorporated into the published version of the report. No report or result of research findings will be publicly disseminated without the written approval of the ACPD Chief of Police.

4. Unless both parties decide otherwise, ACPD will normally be identified as the study agency within any research report published by CEBCP.
FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS

There shall be no amount of money exchanged for goods or services within the scope of this agreement, unless otherwise discussed and approved by both parties.

TERM OF AGREEMENT

The term of this Agreement shall commence on date of execution as signed by the Chief of Police, or designee, and shall expire 24 months after that date, or upon earlier termination.

M. Jay Farr, Chief of Police
Arlington County Police Department

Charlotte Gill, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor, Department of Criminology, Law & Society
Deputy Director, Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy

Date
8/6/15

Date
8/20/2015