



Halloween on State Street: Problem Solving with SARA for Continuous Improvement

Submitted to the Center for Problem Oriented Policing

Noble Wray, Chief of Police
Madison, WI Police Department

June 1, 2008

For consideration in the
2008 Herman Goldstein Award for
Excellence in Problem-Oriented Policing

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Noble Wray, Chief of Police

City-County Building
211 S. Carroll Street
Madison, Wisconsin
53703
608 266 4022
(TDD) 608 266 6562

June 1, 2008

Rob T. Guerette, PhD
School of Criminal Justice
Florida International University
University Park, PCA 366B
1120 S.W. 8th Street
Miami, FL 33199

Dear Dr. Guerette:

On behalf of the City of Madison, Wisconsin, the Madison Police Department wishes to submit the attached entry for consideration of the 2008 Herman Goldstein Award for Excellence in Problem-Oriented Policing.

Our agency has been committed to the principles and ideas of problem-oriented policing for decades. As you will see with this submission we have applied the problem-solving concept with the SARA Model in a unique way to our evaluation and execution of special events.

Please accept our submission of *Halloween on State Street: Problem Solving with SARA for Continuous Improvement*

All requested information has been included. Please contact my office directly if necessary. Specific questions pertaining to our entry should be directed to Captain Mary Schauf of the Central Police District (mshauf@cityofmadison.com).

Respectfully submitted,

Noble Wray
Chief of Police

Attachment: 2008 Goldstein Award entry

Summary

Halloween on State Street, Madison, WI: Problem Solving with SARA for Continuous Improvement

This problem-solving project has been in progress since the 2002 State St. Halloween riot. The MPD has conducted analysis, implemented responses, and assessed the effectiveness toward three basic goals, to prevent injury, to prevent damage, and to end the event peacefully. The SARA model has cycled using effective responses as the foundation to continue to build. There has been consistent improvement through the years, with all goals being met in 2006-07.

Scanning: The problem was presented with an exclamation point with a series of disorderly behaviors and criminal acts culminating in a riot with extensive criminal damage, fights, injured officers, and looting of businesses. It was also the first time that Madison Police used tear gas to disperse an unruly crowd, in approximately 30 years. The event had existed since approximately 1977 on State St. in downtown Madison. State St. essentially connects the University of Wisconsin campus with the State Capitol.

Analysis: Several types of repeated analysis were used including:

- Video analyses and officer observations to highlighted the role of crowd movement.
- Geographic information analysis by the problem analyst.
- Review of yearly arrest data showed the arrestees were 18-25 year old males from Wisconsin and surrounding states. Most had a university affiliation and over two thirds of those arrested were legally intoxicated.

Response: Research was conducted on what had been used in other locations experiencing similar problems, and models of crowd behavior and theory explored. After basic stability was restored with policing responses, the tipping point for success was reached with changes to a fully gated event area with a fee assessed for admission, and entertainment on several stages. At the conclusion of the event the fencing was adjusted to direct the attendees away from the problem area of the past. Comprehensive policing strategies were also used to facilitate crowd movement away from problem areas.

Assessment: Halloween related arrests have decreased significantly over the past two years, most notably for alcohol and disorderly conduct. Crowd attendance has stabilized at safe levels. Injuries to attendees and officers have all but disappeared. Little to no property damage has occurred, and the impacts to the surrounding neighborhoods have decreased. Most importantly, the event has concluded peacefully around 2:00 a.m.

Description

Halloween on State Street, Madison, WI: Problem Solving with SARA for Continuous Improvement

Scanning

According to historical archives maintained by the Wisconsin State Journal, the first “unofficial” Halloween on State Street celebration took place in October 1977. A crowd of approximately 5,000 participated in a 3-day celebration of Halloween. A total of 10 officers were sent to State Street that year to monitor the celebration after young adults used cardboard boxes to construct a large bonfire in the 500 block of State Street (<http://www.madison.com/wjs/archives>, 05/25/2008). In the following year, 1978, a similar “unofficial” and spontaneous Halloween celebration occurred. This time drawing nearly 10,000 young adults, more bonfires, and “lamppost climbing” becomes the popular past time for revelers. Madison police are again summoned to maintain order.

Beginning in 1979 a student organization on the University of Wisconsin campus, the Wisconsin Student Association, took responsibility for sponsoring the Halloween on State Street celebration. While rain and poor weather impacted the first WSA Halloween events, attendance continued to grow. In 1980 alcohol sales become a significant and attendance reached 30,000. Halloween became a significant public safety issue for the MPD in 1981 and 1982 when the WSA unveiled large-scale entertainment plans. Crowds soared to an estimated 100,000.

In the mid to late 1980’s, sponsorship continued, however, the celebration began to wane. In fact by the mid 1990’s, Halloween on State Street was not much of an event at all, and WSA lost money on the event for several years in a row. WSA eventually backed away from any sponsorship of the Halloween event. In 1998 Halloween on State Street re-emerged as a “non-sponsored” event similar to the 1970’s.

This non-sponsored status continued on State St., generally on the closest Saturday to Halloween. The 2002 Halloween on State Street event would later be viewed as a significant turning point. It was in this year the event was considered a “problem” that needed attention. The problem consisted of numerous criminal acts of violence, creating a storm commonly referred to as riot. The problem was defined by a specific time period and located in a specific area of Madison. There were numerous complaints of discomfort/injury from the deployment of chemical agents by police, twelve businesses sustained approximately \$24,000 in damaged property, approximately \$8,300 was lost to looting after shop

windows were broken, a police squad sustained approximately \$2200 in damage, and thirteen officers reported injuries. There were very few arrests. (Halloween After Action Report, December 2002).

Based on the totality of this series of incidents the need for change was obvious to all.

SARA as a Cycle: Analysis.Response.Assessment

While the problem was identified after the 2002 event, the analysis, responses and assessment were completed over the course of the next several years, with intervening responses and assessments rolled into the next year's analysis, until the goals were achieved. The approach was to build on the responses that worked well while analyzing new information and restructuring the responses for continued improvement. Some of the changes in response allowed for additional data collection and analysis. In addition new analysis resources became available when MPD hired a problem analyst in June of 2004.

In the initial years much of the impetus for planning and analyzing the problem fell to the police department. While other community groups and city entities provide staff on committees to evaluate and propose responses, the leadership for the planning was from the police. Over time it became evident that a citywide approach would be needed to drive key changes, thus turning Halloween from a riot to an event the City of Madison community could embrace. While the goals grew and changed over the years the primary success measures were considered to be:

- Minimize potential for injury.
- Minimize potential for property damage throughout the expanded event area.
- Peaceful disbursement of the crowd without the need for police deployment of chemical agents.

Refer to the example of success measures from various stakeholders developed in 2005 titled *Success Indicators Worksheet 2005* in the appendices.

At the end of 2002 the numerical data that existed was an accounting of the damage and costs. While it put an exclamation point on the problem, it provided little insight into what was driving the offenders, or what factors about the environment added to the problem. The analysis was focused on observations of officers who participated in the 2002 event, and the work of a committee comprised of a cross section of community members. Attention was also turned to various media reports and other information sources such as the student media who often provide a unique perspective.

The 2002 analysis indicated that highly intoxicated persons who carried alcohol into the area were responsible for the most aggressive behavior. It was recognized early in the analysis that the taverns on State St. were not the main supplier of the intoxicated persons, since the number of available seats paled in comparison to the number of intoxicated persons. It was also noted that carry-in alcohol was prevalent. Arrest statistics do not bear this out since arrests were discouraged due to logistical issues in 2002.

The analysis also showed that the lack of presence of law enforcement resources or another capable handler for the offenders, contributed to a situation where property damage and personal injury could occur. Offenders were not removed from the environment, and thus allowed to continue with behavioral problems. This emboldened the violators due to the lack of consequence. Arrestees were not removed from the event area, and those who should have been subject to arrest for their behavior were not arrested. The law enforcement strategy to remove the aggressive violators from the area was to use a line of officers to “push” offenders and onlookers from the area. This line of officers stagnated and stopped due to lack of officer resources to continue. The crowd then focused aggression on the police line, throwing objects and injuring officers. Chemical agents were then used to disperse the aggressors, an estimated 400-500 persons, and the crowd scattered, damaging property as they fled the area. There were not adequate law enforcement resources to apprehend offenders, and there were no other guardians in place to protect targeted property.

The historical roots of this event in Madison seem to be the draw to the area at a time near the date of Halloween. The environmental plans in 2002 did not prevent the numerous instances of aggressive criminal behavior, or property damage. Aggressive offenders pulled anything they could find or break free and used these objects against law enforcement, or to damage property

One issue that surfaced in the planning was the attempt to predict when the Halloween celebration might occur. In the after action report, it was noted that no less than five different dates were considered for increased police staffing due to the probability of a spontaneous Halloween celebration. October 31, 2002 fell on a Thursday. Police staffing was increased, to varying levels, the weekend before, the day of and weekend after. The after action report stated that Central District patrol officers were providing information during the pre-event period that students were planning to celebrate Halloween on Saturday, November 2, “*this information (from patrol officers) was not solicited and was not considered in the staffing decision, (Halloween After Action Report, December 2002).*” As the bar time hour approached on Saturday night, November 2, 2002, the Madison Police Department simply was not prepared or staffed

to handle the size of the crowd or the disobedient and increasingly violent behavior being manifested by the crowd. The analysis showed that people attended in groups and walked up and down the street interacting with the other attendees.

There were parallel analyses done by several distinct groups. Much of the planning was completed and led by law enforcement. The two main law enforcement groups included the Central District and the Special Events Team. The Central District team was tasked with working with the external community stakeholder group, the expanded city staff, supporting law enforcement strategies such as traffic control and arrest processing, and the poling of the greater event area. The Special Events team focused on improved tactical responses, helping to define the law enforcement needs for the State St. portion of the event area, and crowd management strategies.

The stakeholder group explored many potential responses. Many of the response ideas were generated through a review of material available at the time from other areas experiencing similar problems including LaCrosse, WI; Penn State; Michigan State; and Arizona. As ideas were posed they were examined to see if they met the basic criteria of being lawful alternatives, acceptable to the Madison community, and within reasonable cost parameters. No one from the community, or any other government entity wanted to assume responsibility for this spontaneous event. Therefore the Madison Police coordinated the main planning elements.

The responses chosen addressed the issues that rose to the top during the analysis.

- Enhanced efforts to determine the date of the event. This was followed by communication of the date with the community.
- Dramatic increases in law enforcement staff.
- Change in arrest policy, and logistical support to remove offenders from the event area.
- Expanded event area preparation with removal of numerous objects that could potentially be used as weapons.
- The City adopted a resolution for a glass ban in the event area. This ban was limited to a specific area and time, and subject to a forfeiture for violations.
- An entertainment stage was placed at the University end of State St. Music was provided that ended at 1 a.m. with the plan that people would disperse after the music concluded. The thought behind this was that through a planned activity the event would become more structured.

- Increased attempts for police to communicate with the community before the event regarding behavioral expectations.

Overall the event improved when compared with the previous year, however not all problems were resolved. Property damage was decreased with reports of only 7 businesses having damage. There was no looting, no reported officer injuries, and no people reported injuries as a result of the event on State St. The Madison Fire Department reported that they estimated that 85% of their ambulance calls were directly related to alcohol consumption. The event again ended with a group that included aggressive offenders that formed in essentially the same area on State St. After the band ended people in the hotel rooms near Frances and State St. began to “flash” body parts at the crowd. This drew people into the already congested area. The group stagnated and began to “mosh” or intentionally ram into other people. This action was extremely aggressive and fights began to break out. Police officers working to thin the crowd density were directed to disengage because offenders began to target officers with projectiles. An order was given for the crowd to disperse based on unlawful assemble and officers in protective equipment then moved in to clear the street. Pepper spray was delivered through jets that send the material up to 75 feet.

The various planning groups resumed after the event to assess, analyze and propose responses for the future. The glass ban, communication efforts before the event, increases to law enforcement staffing, efforts directed at selection of the date, and the pro-arrest stance with removal from the event area for offenders were all considered areas that contributed to the improvements of the event. A concern came from the community that the police response to clear the street of offenders who may cause property damage was too slow. In addition complaints were received regarding the removal of bicycle racks from the event area and the impacts to other users of the area.

The primary analysis tools continue to be observations of staff, review of video material collected during course of the event, examination of the arrest database, and community stakeholder observations. The renewed analysis found that the environment still allowed for offenders to engage in unlawful behavior and the lack of a specific ending time was driving up the costs for law enforcement. The patrons of a hotel on State St. were also cited as a contributor to the problem, since it was believed that it was the behavior from the windows that drew spectators to become stagnate in the 500 block of State St. where the most aggressive offender behavior started. Tactics that used officers to diminish crowd density were of limited value, since there was no way to preserve the gains. Once a group was thinned, more of the crowd just filled into the vacated space. While arrest data from the event area was now available, it confirmed the

underlying contribution of alcohol consumption and carry in alcohol. We found a gap in our data collection for persons arrested, as we did not attempt to measure blood alcohol concentration of arrestees, so the impact of alcohol was not fully understood. The analysis of arrested people also began to show a significant regional draw from universities through out Wisconsin system schools, other Big Ten schools, and private colleges and Universities. Many of the persons arrested for violations were not of legal drinking age. The alcohol consumption was occurring at locations other than the taverns on State St.

The responses deemed effective, based on post event assessment, were maintained as the foundation for layering of future problem solving responses. After continued analysis the following new responses were added:

- Mounted patrol was added for law enforcement to better identify offenders within the crowd. The vantage point of mounted officers and special tactics they employed were all considered advantages.
- Stadium lighting was added to improve the environmental situation. The plan called for activation in case of emergency. The lights were used at the end of the event to signal that it was time to leave the State St. area.
- The Central District began to focus on the illegal taverns/house parties that were supplying the groups of younger intoxicated persons entering the State St. area.
- Data gathering improved as blood alcohol levels of arrested persons were measured.

The 2004 event built upon the improvements of the previous year with continued decreases in property damage and injury. Overall the event was a success, but the event did not end with participants leaving the event area peacefully. Participants were asking officers “What time does the riot start?” The crowd stagnated in essentially the same area on State St. with “moshing” and jumping in the crowd. A fire was started in the street and objects were thrown at responding officers. Once the lights were activated people gravitated to the area illuminated, the area of previous problems, to see what would happen next. The lights actually attracted more people to the area, providing human cover for offenders who threw objects at officers from the midst of the crowd. Pepper spray from jets and police officers in protective equipment again cleared the streets.

During 2004 the problem analyst was in the command post as an observer. The problem analyst contributed with additional analysis tools and skills with the planning for 2005. Map based analysis was important as we realized that the law enforcement changes alone were not enough to change the State St.

behavior. Increased analysis time was spent on examination of various theories and ideas. The cause of the crowd stagnation in the lower State St. corridor was also examined in greater depth. The analysis showed that university students from Wisconsin and the regional university community were supplying the attendees that were represented in the arrest statistics. These party attendees tended to stay with college aged friends residing in Madison, or spend the remainder of the night sleeping in their vehicle. Alcohol continued to be prevalent.

During the analysis and response considerations for 2005 a document from the police chief and city attorney was presented to the mayor. The document is contained in the appendices.

The next series of responses were focused on reducing and controlling the congestion in the State and Frances area, which was the starting point for the previous problems. Video examination showed large groups entering the event area from a cross street, Frances St. When viewed on maps it is the obvious route for pedestrians arriving from the student housing areas. These groups would tend to stop and examine the “street scene” before proceeding. This would cause the pedestrian flow to bubble out around the stagnated pockets. Others would stop and eventually the area would become so congested that the natural flow on State St. would grind to a halt. It became clear that strategies to control and maintain the flow of people might pose a reasonable response.

The response adjustments for the next event in 2005 included:

- A partial gating plan that did attempted to control pedestrian movement through State and Frances area.
- Increased law enforcement emphasis on keeping the crowd moving, and the quick dispersal of “moshing” behavior.
- Specialized tactical analysis in the command post to use real time GIS mapping to identify potential “hot spots”, and direct resources to address the issue.
- Stadium lighting throughout the event in the problem area.
- Enhanced district wide enforcement of alcohol violations at illegal taverns.
- The University prohibited guests in university housing facilities.
- Messaging continues with strong personal responsibility message.

The partial gating plan generated significant discussion related to the ability of rescue and fire personnel to access the area, and fire/personal safety concerns. Materials and deployment were determined after extensive discussion with many stakeholders.

The assessment of the effort showed that the trend toward minimal property damage and no injury continued. The levels were consistent with any other weekend night on State St. Toward 2 a.m. objects were again thrown at officers, a small fire was quickly extinguished. Officers in protective equipment did clear the street using pepper spray with jets, however the street was cleared sooner than previous years. GIS based assessments showed a wider area of fights and disturbances, essentially breaking some of the problem behavior into smaller units that were more quickly handled by officers. Throughout the continued efforts toward achieving all the goals for the event the costs of staff and materials continued to mount. Successes came at a price. The change in guest policy for university housing was reported to have decreased property damage, and improved safety in university housing. This change was considered to have an impact on the attendees of the party, who viewed this as a college drinking type party.

In 2006 there was a city discussion on how to recoup costs associated with the event. One was a property tax assessment to owners in a defined area, for added protection of personal property; the other was the charging of a fee to enter a gated State St. area, with entertainment being provided. At the same time the analysis for the next year had started. Analysis of the fencing found it to be a positive addition to the plan, with support for additional fencing to aid in the control of crowd movement in the event area. This represents a change in the general community attitude and approach, with the cost issue now focusing on how to pay for the increased coverage in the area, not the cost of damage and destruction seen in late 2002.

The mayor's office took a more active role with police in the planning for the event. After much community input the gating/entertainment option was selected. This required a legal opinion from the City Attorney since the city was gating off a public street and charging admission. There were numerous issues to work through because people lived and worked within the gated area. This shift toward a shared leadership model, between police and the mayor's office, was needed to bring potential entertainment providers to the planning table. The limited gating plan of 2005 showed that gating could be done safely and used to direct crowd movement. The full gating plan was developed based on the analysis of all the previous years' observations, reviews, GIS and video. Based on this framework the analysis was used to study and recommend gating, timing, and changes to the plan at the proposed end time of the event. The

analysis highlighted the need to regulate access at the conclusion of the event to prevent participants from moving to the area of the previous problems. A police line prohibiting reentry sends a very different message than a gate tended by security. The crowd needed to be channeled away from State St. and then not be allowed to return until the area was cleaned, and the tavern patrons were allowed to exit into a reasonably clear street scene, helping to maintain appropriate crowd density levels. The response called for the fencing to be adjusted at the conclusion of the entertainment to keep people from moving into the area of past problems. As this response was discussed the concept of “rebranding” the event was a major topic. The idea was to market the event entertainment, and take the focus away from the confrontations with the police. The concept was to change the question from, “What time is the riot?” to “When does the band I like start to play?”

Some students of the university attempted to challenge the response and move Halloween to Langdon St. Early discussion with students, alders and university staff averted this challenge.

While the fencing and officer line was approached, it was not breached. The event ended peacefully with attendees leaving the State St. area at the conclusion of the entertainment. Officers did not use protective equipment or pepper spray. Arrests for disorderly conduct, which had increased steadily from 2002, peaking in 2005, now began to drop. Alcohol violations also dropped dramatically. The ability of staff to screen participants upon entry was significant. This can be done by event security and relieve law enforcement of the burden. This screening at the gate allowed for interventions before those incapacitated by alcohol could enter the event. Potentially dangerous costume props and alcohol were screened out of the event area. The city advertised strict limits on capacity of the area. The focus of police was quick interdiction in disorderly behavior, and the maintenance of crowd movement. There was significant discussion before the gating that it would cause mass displacement. Police staffing plans were maximized and ready to respond, however there was no mass displacement of the event.

The assessment and subsequent analysis to plan for 2007 had identified a potential winning formula. The next steps toward improving the response were related to the city handing of more plan elements to the private sector for entertainment planning, basic event type security, and getting more quality entertainment worthy of the nominal fee charged to enter State St. The post entertainment plan was adjusted. The final stage with the headliner was at the top of State St. near the 100 block. This pulled the crowd willingly away from the problem area of the past. At a set time the fencing was adjusted so as the crowd moved down toward the 500 block they were diverted away from State St. at several points. Cleaning the area

started shortly after. The cost portion of the equation was now being addressed. The successes continued with no injuries, minimal to no damage, and decreases in arrests. Alcohol arrests continued to drop, and disorderly conduct arrests stayed stable compared to the drop in 2006. Refer to arrest charts in the appendices.

The response from the public has been positive as chronicled by the Madison media, which included the comment, “Halloween Not a Horror” (Sunday October 28, 2007, State Journal Staff, Wisconsin State Journal On-line, Madison.com). Refer to full articles in the appendices.

There is a significant body of supporting material that was not presented in this format. Selected materials have been added to the appendices as examples of the work done related to this long-term collaborative problem solving effort.

Agency and Officer Information

This initiative was initiated with the entire agency and extended to the City level to achieve the success sought after the problem was identified.

The Madison Police Department has had a long-standing commitment to problem solving theory and practice. Training for all department staff occurred in 1997, and continues as a portion of the pre-service academy.

Numerous resources were used throughout the years of this project. Information was examined from crowd psychology and theory, related problem solving guides, and reports from other agencies experiencing what has been termed the student party riots.

Our project represents a somewhat unique application of the SARA model, combining the model with other practices of continuous improvement for performance. This project represents a major commitment by the Madison Police Department, and the City of Madison to achieve the project goals. Many stakeholders contributed countless hours to analyze the issues, then research and recommend responses. This is a success for the City of Madison, and the police department that serves this dynamic community.

Project Contact Person:

Name:	Mary Schauf
Position/Rank:	Central District Captain
Address:	211 S. Carroll Street
City/State/Zip:	Madison, WI 53710
Phone:	608-261-9274
Fax:	608-267-1117
E-mail:	mschauf@cityofmadison.com



City of Madison Police Department

Appendices

**Halloween on State Street:
Problem Solving with SARA for Continuous Improvement**

Scanning: The Problem Identified in Photos
Halloween 2002



Scanning: The Problem Identified in Photos
Halloween 2002



Table 1: Summary of Responses and Assessments by Year

Year	Analysis	Responses	Assessment
2003	Need to identify date.	Intelligence monitoring for date confirmation.	These changes were highly effective toward decreasing the injury and property damage levels. Police in protective gear still needed to clear the area, so all goals were not achieved with just law enforcement changes.
	Offenders needed to be removed from the event area and have a consequence for the behavior	Significant increases in officers.	
		Arrest Processing-mechanism to arrest and remove violators from the area.	
	Removal of all items that had been used as weapons in the past.	Glass ban resolution from City Council.	While effective it created problems for other uses around the time of the removal. Trash receptacles were made of concrete (they had been broken and used as weapons in 2002) so they were difficult for City staff to remove.
	Stricter removal of potential environmental factors. More bike racks moved, Cement trash receptacles removed.		
	If the event were not as spontaneous people would have a reason to attend and then leave the area.	Band for entertainment on lower State St.	This was thought to actually contribute early to the “moshing” behavior. When the music ended it was theorized that the crowd displaced to the 500 block and continued to mosh, eventually becoming more hostile.
2004	Offenders needed to be removed from the event area and have a consequence for the behavior	Changes to police tactics to more quickly deal with aggressive behavior in crowds.	Significant improvement to helping to keep the crowd moving. Crowd density continues to be an issue that appears to contribute to disorderly behavior at the end of the night.
		Horse mounted officers added to the staffing plan.	Some attendees are very obviously attending the event to engage the police at the end of the night.
	Legal standard, and attempt for voluntary crowd compliance.	Commercial grade public address system in the event area to improve communication with the crowd.	While the address system could be used to notify the crowd of the unlawful assembly, it was not effective in getting the problematic element of the crowd to leave.
	Since this was a attraction for bad behavior, the rooms were no longer rented to participants in the event.	Building (hotel) in event area used as police staging area. This had been a attraction for behavior as participants engaged the crowd from the windows.	This is effective as the building is not targeted or damaged, however the crowd behavior occurs in essentially the same area as last year. This was not the only factor driving the behavior.
	Improve environmental area with enhanced lighting.	Stadium style lighting was used to better identify violators and improve feeling of safety.	The plan called for the lights to come on at the end, or if trouble started. When the lights came on it improved visibility, but also served as a beacon to come down and see what the issue was. It attracted people to the problem area.
Address the alcohol component- participants were extremely intoxicated.	Enforcement resources were sent to focus on illegal taverns and house parties, which provided the alcohol to the young adult participants.	Highly effective, but needed more staffing in this area since it is labor intensive.	

Year	Analysis	Responses	Assessment
2005	Improve visibility in event area, without creating an attraction.	Stadium lights left on throughout the event time.	Effective for safety, did not bring event to a peaceful end.
	Ability to analyze event as it unfolds may have a value for police commanders	Problem analyst monitored issues and used GIS mapping and other software to identify problems in the greater event area.	Extremely valuable. Problem neighborhoods were identified early and resources could be allocated to address issues.
	Attempt to control crowd movement and density near the problem area.	Partial gating plan at Frances St.	Crowd control tactics still needed, but problem ended earlier. The concept of gating is proved to be safe in the event area.
		Adjustments to police tactics directed at controlling crowd movement.	
	Attempt to achieve voluntary compliance-make violating with disorderly behavior less appealing.	Significant increases to pre-event communication. Letters, and materials for student papers.	The increases in communication did not totally end the problem, but were well received and continued into the future.
	There is a regional draw of 18-25 year old college students.	University has a no guest policy in housing.	Effective reduction in damage to these areas. Considered to contribute to attraction to the young adult regional college draw of the event. Less of a student party atmosphere.
Role of alcohol for the attendees is still pronounced.	Additional law enforcement directed at house parties and illegal taverns in student housing areas off-campus.	Extremely successful based on feedback from officers. A needed component to address.	
2006 (All goals met.)	Cost remediation became an issue for the city.	Admission was charged and the event area was fully gated. Entertainment was provided since a fee was charged.	This changed the tone of the event. Full gating allowed for screening of participants at the gate. The spontaneous portion did not displace to another street.
	Need to prevent the crowd from pooling in the problem area, after the stages end the entertainment.	At a predetermined time the gating was adjusted so many areas were exit only.	This was highly effective and allowed for street cleaners to enter the area, further signaling to the crowd that it was time to leave. Detail of the fencing plan during and after needed some adjustments to improve crowd flow.
		Police directed to move people off of the street, so it could be closed for cleaning.	Police presence was needed to "usher" people away from the area. Problem pockets were smaller and more easily disperse and move.
2007 (All goals met.)	Need to move event toward private sponsorship, and longer-term stability.	Private promoter handles all aspects of the entertainment and private security for stage areas. More of an entertainment atmosphere.	Highly effective. Quality entertainment worth the admission fee. Reinforces entertainment/concert atmosphere.
		Public address system tied into the stage systems.	Effective communication maintained, no longer tied to a city cost.
	Need to continue to prevent pooling in other parts of the event area.	Fencing changes at the end of the event to divert people away from the event area.	Effective and did not create a displacement. Crowd leaves without major police intervention.

Success Indicators Worksheet Halloween 2005

Mayor's List:

- 1) No serious physical injury or death to anyone.
- 2) No serious or widespread physical damage.
- 3) No mass deployment of pepper spray.
- 4) No need for police to transition to protective gear.
- 5) Orderly dispersal of people at the conclusion of the event.

Business Improvement District Board List:

- 1) No serious physical injuries or deaths to anyone.
- 2) No serious or widespread property damage.
- 3) Orderly dispersal of persons at evening's conclusion.
- 4) Businesses are able to conduct business as usual during their regular hours of operation.

Capitol Neighborhoods List:

- 1) No violence.
- 2) Residential neighborhoods are not subjected to event "spillover" and loud house parties.
- 3) Trash is removed from neighborhoods within 24 hours. Those who do not clean up their area are subject to citations.
- 4) No acts of vandalism and destruction of private or public property.
- 5) The event ends with everyone leaving in an orderly fashion.
- 6) Neighborhood residents participate and present a positive role model for students.
- 7) Partygoers show respect and do not intrude on the lives of downtown residents.
- 8) The event crowds would be in a specific area with noise limited to that area.
- 9) No bonfires.

State/Langdon District List:

- 1) No broken windows, storefronts, or property.
- 2) Happy, satisfied State Street vendors the day after the party.

MATC List:

- 1) Fewer arrests of MATC students than last year, specifically.
- 2) Students have fun and remain safe before and after event, in general.

Associated Students of Madison List:

- 1) No person is critically injured or dies.
- 2) Vandalism on State St. and in campus neighborhoods is minimal.
- 3) Students report no instances of police brutality.
- 4) Halloween 2006 is allowed to occur.

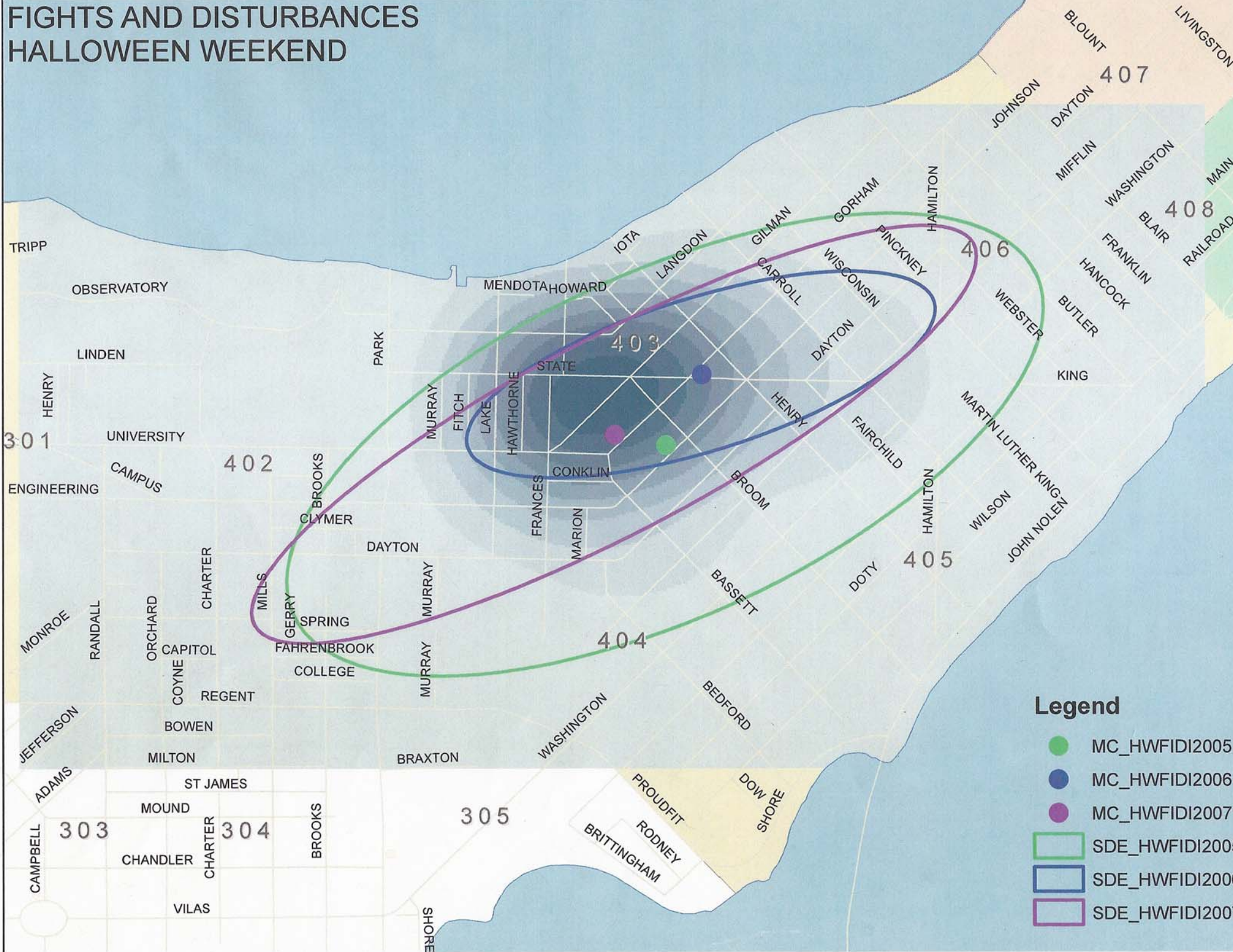
Madison Police Department List:

- 1) No serious injury or death to anyone.
- 2) No behavior from the crowd that would require the police to declare an unlawful assembly.
- 3) No reason for mass deployment of pepper spray or other chemical munitions.
- 4) No serious or extensive damage to public or private property on State St. or in the extended neighborhoods.
- 5) Orderly dispersal of the crowd at the conclusion of the event.
- 6) Maintain public safety service standards throughout the City.

UW-Madison List:

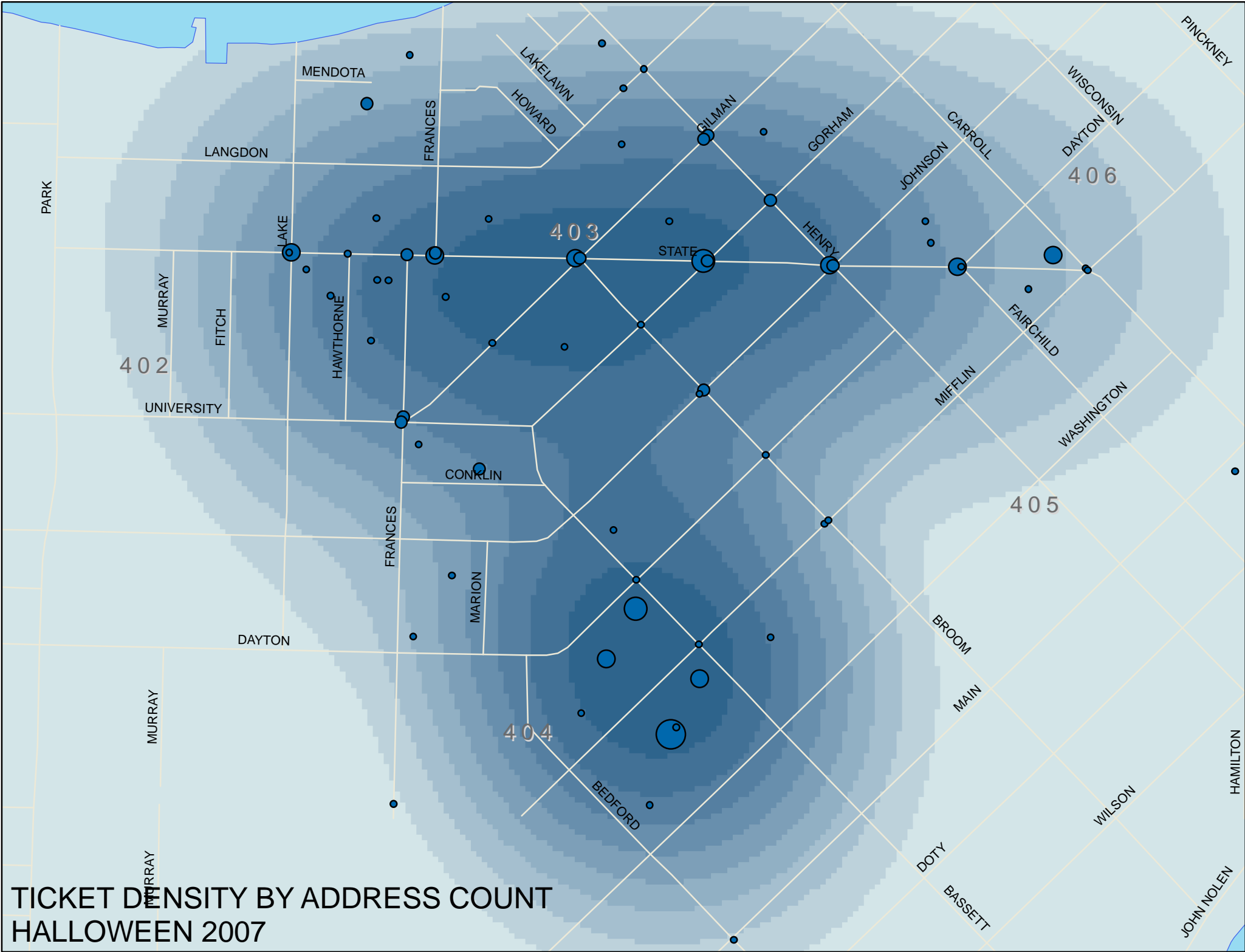
- 1) There will be no injuries to students or other members of the University community.
- 2) The no-guest policy in University Housing will reduce the number of guests on campus.
- 3) There will be less vandalism and damage on campus.
- 4) Students who do not participate will see this weekend as just another weekend
- 5) The percentage of those arrested who are our students will decrease relative to previous years.

FIGHTS AND DISTURBANCES HALLOWEEN WEEKEND



Legend

- MC_HWFIDI2005
- MC_HWFIDI2006
- MC_HWFIDI2007
- SDE_HWFIDI2005
- SDE_HWFIDI2006
- SDE_HWFIDI2007



TICKET DENSITY BY ADDRESS COUNT
HALLOWEEN 2007

Arrests from State Street

The following tables and charts summarize the arrest data from the State St. portion of the event.

Number of Arrestees by Charge and Age

Charge	Age																				Total				
	0	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	34	35	37		41	44	46	49
Battery	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Battery to PO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Carrying Concealed Weapon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
D/C	1	0	0	1	5	6	5	8	4	9	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	47
Depositing Human Waste	0	0	0	0	4	1	2	1	1	3	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
Glass Free Zone	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	4	3	3	1	3	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23
Harassing Police Animal	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Obstruct	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	5	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Other	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	7
Poss of Cocaine	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Poss of THC	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Resist	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Throwing of Stones/Missiles	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Underage Carrying ID Not	0	0	0	0	1	1	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Underage Poss/Con	0	0	0	1	35	53	36	7	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	133
Unlawful to Poss/Con	0	1	2	1	15	16	24	41	40	20	13	11	5	3	3	1	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	202
Total	1	1	2	3	65	84	81	71	53	39	18	16	9	4	5	3	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	468

The top five home state for arrestees in order were Wisconsin (290), Minnesota (70), Illinois (58), Iowa (9) and Michigan (8). Sixty five percent of arrestees claimed affiliation to a school or university, and 20% of all arrests were UW-Madison students. Alcohol consumption was a contributing factor with the mean blood alcohol concentration at 0.11 for those measured with a preliminary breath testing device.

Intoxication Levels

	UNDER AGE	LEGAL AGE	Total
NOT LEGALLY INTOXICATED	44	86	130
0.08	9	13	22
0.09	5	12	17
0.10	68	130	198
0.20	5	23	28
0.30	0	1	1
Total	131	265	396

HALLOWEEN PROBLEM ANALYSIS

DISINIBITORY CONTAGION MODEL
AND
RATIONAL CHOICE MODEL

HALLOWEEN IN MADISON

- Halloween in Madison may be characterized by mass civil disorder fueled by alcohol.
- MPD needs to understand the underlying social mechanisms, which lead to disorder.
 - Disinhibitory Contagion and Conformity
 - Rational Choice Model of Criminal Activity

DISINHIBITORY CONTAGION

- A type of influence that occurs when an individual who is in approach-avoidance conflict experiences a reduction in restraint, as a result of observing behavior.
- State of psychological conflict.
 - Privately desiring to engage in a behavior, but publicly not doing so.
 - However, upon seeing others engage in similar behavior, restraint diminishes and public behavior changes.

CONFORMITY

- Behavior that is consistent with norms, positions and standards of group members based on motives of the influencee.
 - Desire to be correct.
 - The desire for social acceptance.

Compliance Conformity (#14) Versus
Disinhibitory Contagion (#9)

Compliance Conformity (#14)

Influencee in state of
internal harmony



Influencee is exposed to a
disagreeing influence source



Influencee experiences
internal conflict



Influencee changes behavior
toward the source



Influencee in state of
internal conflict

Disinhibitory Contagion (#9)

Influencee in state of
internal conflict



Influencee observes influencer
or "trigger person"



Influencee's internal restraints
and conflicts are reduced



Influencee engages in the
influencer's behavior



Influencee in state of
internal harmony

Figure 3. A flow chart contrasting #14 compliance conformity and #9 disinhibitory contagion.

RATIONAL CHOICE MODEL OF CRIMINAL ACTIVITY

- Assume all decisions are the result of a rational thought process, including criminal activity.
- A person runs an internal cost-benefit analysis, before making the decision to act.
- With respect to crime, the following factors are weighed subconsciously:
 - Probability of arrest
 - Probability of conviction
 - Financial costs associated with sentencing.
- The most important factor is probability of **CONVICTION**.

Significance to Halloween

- Inhibitions are diminished as a result of alcohol consumption.
- Initially, the first few individuals who engage in undesirable behavior serve as a model for others.
 - These individuals perceive the costs associated with bad behavior as very low.
- The next group of individuals impacted are those who fall into the disinhibitory contagion category.
 - These individuals initially perceive the costs as high, but change their minds as others get away with bad behavior.
- The next group of individuals are conformists.
 - These individuals initially perceive the costs as high, but change their minds in order to be part of the group.

Strategies

- Emphasize the conviction rate for those caught engaging in disorder, prior to the event.
- Differentiate and focus on those who are susceptible to disinhibitory contagion.
- If we get to a state of conformity, we have lost control of the situation.

**REPORT TO MADISON MAYOR
DAVID CIESLEWICZ ON OPTIONS
TO ELIMINATE THE HALLOWEEN PARTY
OR REDUCE HALLOWEEN PROBLEMS**

Prepared by:

Chief Noble Wray, Madison Police Department

and

Michael P. May, City Attorney

DECEMBER 15, 2004

**REPORT TO MADISON MAYOR
DAVID CIESLEWICZ ON OPTIONS
TO ELIMINATE THE HALLOWEEN PARTY
OR REDUCE HALLOWEEN PROBLEMS**

Prepared by:
Chief Noble Wray, Madison Police Department
and
Michael P. May, City Attorney

DECEMBER 15, 2004

Pursuant to your request, we examined some of the tactics used in other cities to control large crowds. Among the cities we looked at were Boulder, Colorado; LaCrosse, Wisconsin; Athens, Ohio; Carbondale, Illinois; and Ames, Iowa. In addition to reviewing news reports, we were able to speak to an official in each city except Athens.

Few of the cities experienced crowds similar in size to those at Halloween in Madison the last few years. In some instances, the size of the crowds was only a few thousand, thus, not all of the tactics examined were considered useful in Madison.

We also polled other employees in both the Police Department and the Office of City Attorney to see if they had any ideas for additional tactics. This memo summarizes some of the options available. We have arranged the options from most severe to least severe.

The options set out below are not exclusive. It may be that certain aspects of one option may be utilized in conjunction with aspects from another option. Finally, as noted at the end of the Report, it is necessary to continue the cooperation with the University of Wisconsin administration and students to assist in any effort to reduce the Halloween problems.

1. Announce a plan to stop Halloween. Shut down access to the City at all major intersections.

This option was used with some success in Boulder, Colorado. Boulder had a serious problem with the "Pearl Street Mall Crawl," which annually drew 20-30,000 revelers to Boulder on or around Halloween. The City announced its intention to reduce or eliminate the Mall Crawl. It accomplished this with an overwhelming police presence. All exits from the interstate to Boulder were closed. Police checked ID's and questioned anybody attempting to get into the City. Parking ramps in the Pearl St. Mall area were closed. over a period of the 2-3 years, the Mall Crawl shrank down to a few thousand, and now essentially has died. Boulder officials noted, however, that Halloween revelry has moved to

the “Hill” area, near the University campus, with increasing issues in that neighborhood every year.

This option was assisted greatly by Boulder’s geography. The city lies between the mountains to the west and a single interstate highway to the east. By shutting off access at relatively few interstate exits, Boulder was able to keep thousands of people out of the city. Madison has a much different geography. It would be very difficult to eliminate access at the points of entry to the City, to say nothing of the inconvenience to law-abiding citizens.

This approach presents a serious effort to completely shut down the Halloween party. If the City were to consider such an effort, we believe it would have to be tailored for Madison’s unique geography, namely, the isthmus area. By restricting access at a number of key streets to the isthmus (East and West Washington, Johnson, Gorham, University, Park, Regent), Madison might be able to accomplish something similar to Boulder’s elimination of the Pearl St. Mall Crawl. Only those with an I.D. showing they lived in the area would be admitted.

Another key consideration is the extent to which eliminating access to the downtown area requires closing down a number of businesses, some of which (Overture, Capitol Square area restaurants, e.g.) have little relationship to Halloween problems. Perhaps those with tickets to other events could be admitted.

2. Announce that there will be no Halloween party and close off the State Street area.

This is a less restrictive alternative to the first option. State Street itself would be closed, including closing all businesses on State Street. Closing down the parking ramps should also be considered, as was done in Boulder and has been done in the Castro area of San Francisco. Closure of ramps with only public transportation accessibility to downtown could reduce crowds.

A major concern about this option is that the revelry may simply be displaced, to Langdon or Regent Streets, or even spill out onto University Avenue or Johnson Streets, creating more chaos. In those cities where an event was effectively shut down (the Coon Creek Days in LaCrosse and the VEISHA celebration in Ames), the event had an official university-related sponsor, which pulled its sponsorship, effectively ending the event. Halloween effectively died in the years after the Wisconsin Student Association quit sponsoring the event, but now has taken on a life of its own. Displacement may also appear in the form of large neighborhood parties.

3. Announce that the event will be for UW students only and have a gated event requiring a UW ID to enter.

The balance of the options discussed in this memo assume that some sort of Halloween party will be held, and explore ways to further reduce problems at the event.

One of the striking pieces of information from this year's party was the relatively low number of University of Wisconsin students receiving citations or being arrested. Fewer than 20% of the lawbreakers were UW students. In addition, a group of students worked closely with the MPD in planning the event, and publicizing to students the need for an orderly party. Our conclusion is that the troublemakers at the Halloween event are, by and large, persons from outside the University community, and likely outside the Madison community.

Under this option, a party would be held. It could be either on State Street or Langdon Street. It would be a gated event, with either tickets for a small charge, or at a minimum, a University ID, needed for admission. Under these circumstances, the event would need a sponsor to obtain a street permit from the City. We assume that either the UW itself, or some organization closely linked to the UW, would be the sponsor.

We see this option as a method of the UW and the City managing in a different way the Halloween party and returning it to its original function: a local celebration for UW-Madison's students, rather than a national event that draws many from outside that community. Specific rules as to when the party starts and ends will make it easier to control. As was done in Athens, Ohio, we would want to recruit older students to act as monitors of the event, including adorning them with special jackets.

To be effective, this sort of event would have to be combined with closure of the State Street area and closure of businesses on State Street at a specific hour.

One alternative within this option is to attempt to move the party from State Street to Langdon Street. The experience of the Police Department in dealing with the Mifflin Street Block Party has been much more positive than Halloween. We believe this is due, in part, to the fact it is in a residential area where those who live on Mifflin take ownership of the event. Whether it is possible to do this in Langdon is unknown, and would require close coordination with the University, the Greek community on campus, and the other apartments on and near Langdon. If combined with some other options to limit access to the event, this may have some possibilities.

4. Announce a reduced Halloween event. Close down all businesses in the State Street area at 6:00 p.m. on the day of and days around Halloween Saturday. Eliminate keg sales for a day before and after the Halloween Saturday.

Carbondale, Illinois has had success in reducing an annual party through aggressive limitations on the sale of alcohol. Bars in the “Strip” area of the city are shut down around Halloween. Carbondale did this through ordinance that made such a closing a condition of the liquor license. In addition, the sale or transportation of kegs of beer was banned for a 48-hour period around the usual Halloween party date. Discussion with Carbondale officials indicated these actions significantly reduced the consumption of alcohol, and related safety problems.

Our suggestion is to limit the closure to 6 pm on the day of the party, and perhaps the days before or after it. While not trying to end the party, this effort would greatly reduce the access to alcohol. This could be done by ordinance and liquor license condition, or, in the opinion of the City Attorney, by emergency orders from the Mayor. The early closure would make it more likely that the event would end at a reasonable hour, and more likely that traditional police efforts could clear the area. Since all businesses in a specified area would be closed, the police could clear the area without arguments that the individuals are merely seeking to stop at a local store, restaurant or bar. The ban on keg sales would reduce, but not eliminate, the problem of house parties feeding State Street with persons already inebriated. The experience of trying to limit keg sales for Mifflin St. 2004 resulted in students purchasing cases of beer and other alcoholic products.

Our conclusion is that the over-consumption of alcohol is a major contributing factor to disorderly behavior associated with the Halloween event. We strongly suggest some sort of closure of businesses be considered with any Halloween option.

5. Change the school calendar to cancel school for college students during this period for local colleges.

This option would require significant action on the part of the University. In order to be more comprehensive, MATC and smaller private colleges should be included. Residence halls and all university-based housing should also be closed over this time period. Changing the school calendar helped the City of Carbondale, Illinois, in handling problems.

Whichever option is chosen, it will require a comprehensive media campaign to discourage participants from other cities. Information from other University of Wisconsin cities is that they don't have to plan since large numbers of students

leave to go to Madison. Further the media information would need to target students.

6. Close off access to the 500 block of State Street to avoid congestion at a key flashpoint.

In each of the last two years, the 500 block of State Street became a flashpoint at the end of the evening. Crowds gather in this area, bonfires are lit, fights break out, police are taunted and attacked, and a relatively orderly crowd becomes a mob. One option to consider is to remove access to the 500 block at Frances Street from Langdon Street and University Avenue.

The logistics of such a closure are problematic; the worst case scenario is to make any fences or the like into additional weapons for the mob. Nonetheless, such a closure would greatly reduce the ability of revelers to flow into State Street from Langdon and University Avenue, and directly eliminates two sources of congestion in the area that has been most problematic the last few years. The City may want to consider this option in combination with others.

One of the main activities that attracts people to State Street for Halloween is to walk up and down the street and compare costumes. This option would still allow pedestrian traffic up and down State Street, but would eliminate the ability to enter State Street from Langdon Street or University Avenue at Frances Street.

The concern again is that barricades could be torn down and used as weapons. This plan could also force pedestrians to areas adjacent to State Street. This strategy would probably best be used along with a closure of businesses thus discouraging the State Street focus of the event.

Another related option is to modify the method for clearing the street at the end of the event. In Dallas, a street party had an identified ending time. It was well publicized that, at that hour, a street washing machine would move down the street, soaking the sidewalks (and any persons failing to heed the closing time). We understand this was rather effective in ending the party. Another option is the use of sirens to signal the end of the event.

In Madison, State St. Mall staff use blowers to move debris into the street. A sweeper then moves down the street to pick up the debris. The staff from streets generally waits until police have the street cleared of revelers before sending the sweeper in.

7. Continue to work with U.W. Administration and students in the planning for the 2005 Halloween party.

Input from the University of Wisconsin administration and U.W. students was quite helpful in managing the 2004 event until the significant problems arose at the end of the event. We believe these efforts should continue, regardless of which other options are chosen. The U.W. administration and students will need to be involved in planning for whatever approach is taken for Halloween in 2005 and beyond.



Madison Police Department

Noble Wray, Chief of Police

City-County Building
211 S. Carroll Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53703
608 266 4022
(TDD) 608 266 6562
www.madisonpolice.com

October 17, 2005

Dear Property Owner:

City records indicate that you own residential rental property in the proximity of downtown Madison. As you may know, Halloween is approaching. This event is expected to bring large crowds of young adults to Madison from Friday, October 28, through Monday, October 31. Our experience is that many out-of-town visitors will be staying and partying in residential rental property.

The concern of the Madison Police Department is that many parties grow to become large gatherings of very intoxicated people. These parties nearly always generate a great deal of trash in the area as well as property damage not only to the address where the parties take place but also to neighboring properties. Other neighborhood problems include noise and large groups of people leaving parties carrying alcoholic beverages. Occasionally, an even greater concern arises from person crimes such as sexual assaults, robberies and batteries.

We ask that you contact your tenants regarding their conduct on your property. Most leases contain language prohibiting some or all of the activities related to large parties. We ask that you contact your tenants and identify clauses in their lease that prohibit large parties. Preventing large parties at your property will not only help us make this neighborhood safer, but should also save damage to your property and your reputation.

Central District Community Policing Team Officers will be going door-to-door on State Street to contact residents and provide them with the enclosed flyer containing guidelines from the Madison Police Department.

It is important for everyone to understand that our purpose is to address public safety issues. If you have concerns you would like to discuss with the Madison Police Department, please contact me at 266-4316.

Sincerely,

Mary Schauf, Captain of Police
Central District



Madison Police Department

City-County Building
211 S. Carroll Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53703
608 266 4022
(TDD) 608 266 6562

Dear Guests:

Welcome to Madison. We hope that you enjoy your stay in the Capital City. In order to ensure that all of our visitors have a safe and enjoyable stay, we would like to inform you of the following.

Madison has a number of City Ordinances dealing with public behavior, especially noise and alcohol-related offenses. Any adult found to be violating these ordinances may receive a citation, the amounts of which are listed below.

<u>Madison City Ordinance</u>	<u>Minimum Deposit Required</u>
Disorderly Conduct	\$412.00
Procuring/Furnishing Alcohol to Underage Person	\$350.00
Injury to Property (includes Hotel Property)	\$288.00
Unreasonable Noise (includes TV, radio, etc.)	\$164.00
Selling Alcohol Without a Permit	\$660.00
Open Alcohol Container on the Street	\$288.00
Underage Person Consuming Alcohol (off licensed premises)	\$164.00
Underage Person Consuming Alcohol (on licensed premises)	\$350.00
Possession of Glass Container (State St. area)	\$288.00

Adults who are chaperoning groups of juveniles will want to pay special attention to the ordinances relating to alcohol (procurement, consumption, etc.). *All juvenile alcohol-related offenses have mandatory court dates* regardless of the distance the juvenile may need to travel. Officers have the discretion to take a juvenile into custody for any offense if the juvenile is not in parental control.

During the Halloween weekend, October 29-31, 2004, anyone cited for ordinance violations in the State St. area will be conveyed to a Madison Police processing area. Violators from out of state and those without proper identification will be required to post a bond.

We hope these guidelines help you to have a safe, enjoyable stay in Madison.

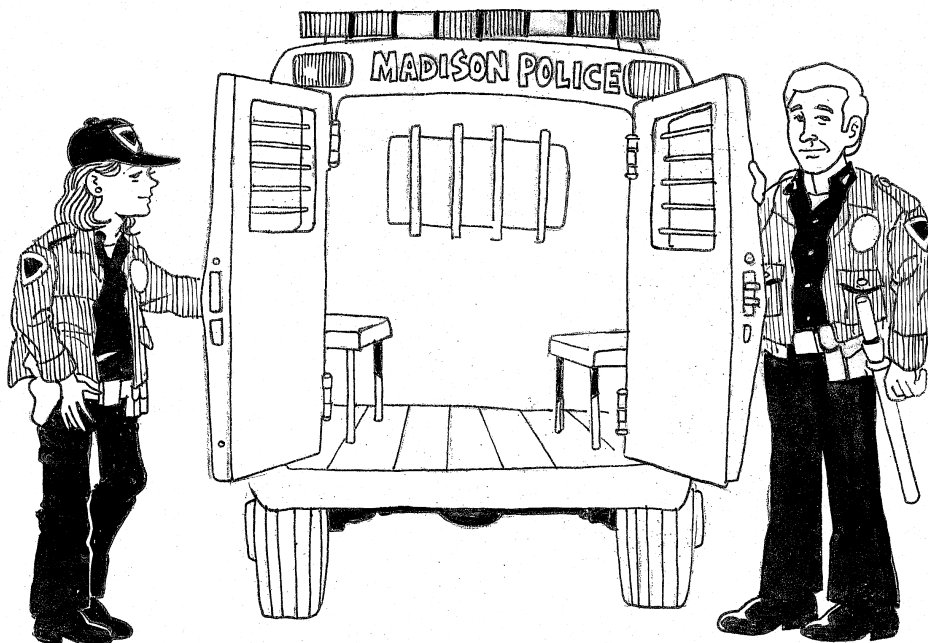
Sincerely,

Hotel Management in cooperation with the Madison Police Department

A timely reminder from the Madison Police Department



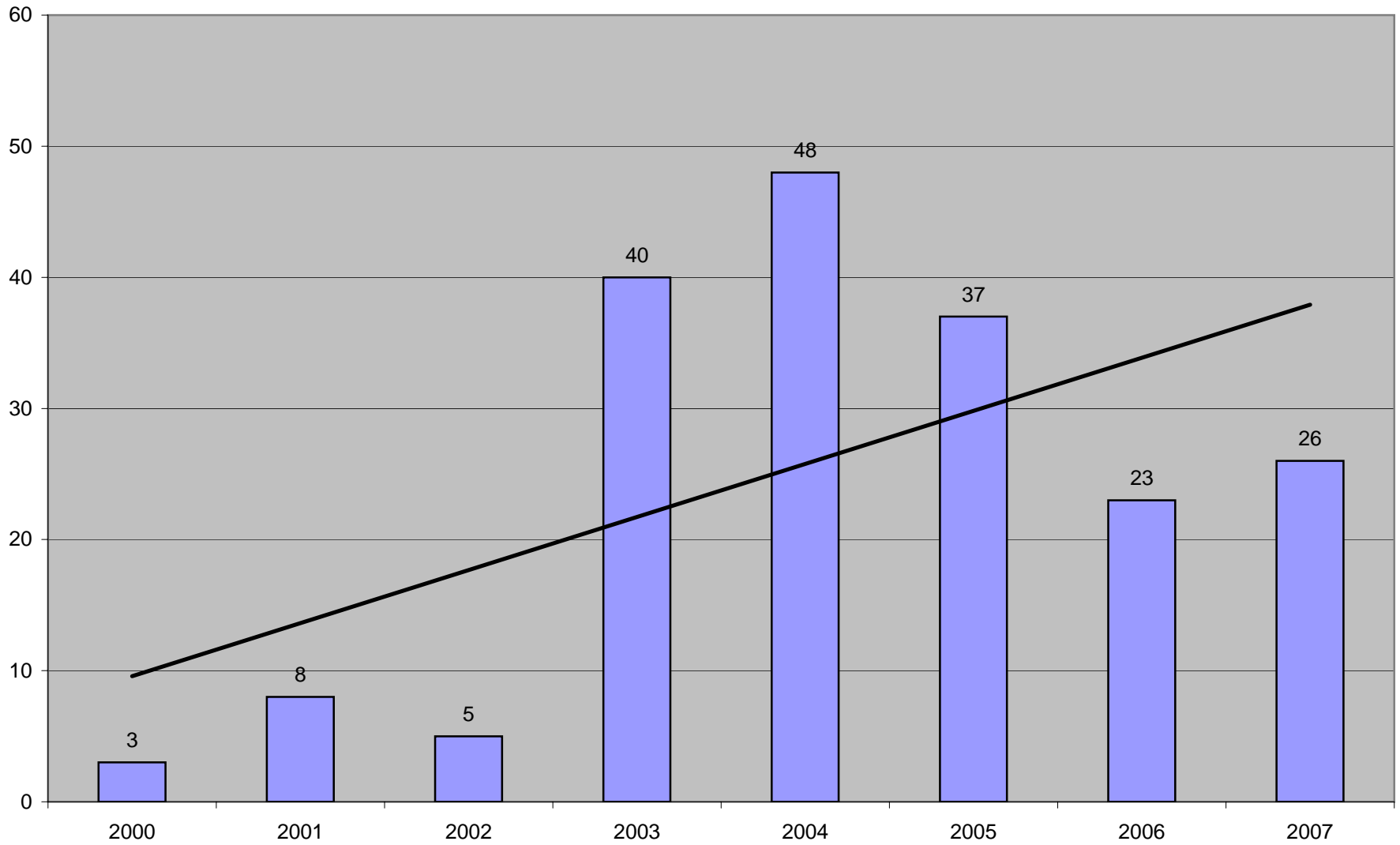
Open intoxicants on street.....	\$288.00
Urinating in public.....	\$164.00
Disorderly Conduct.....	\$412.00
Avoiding behaviors that draw police attention....	invaluable.



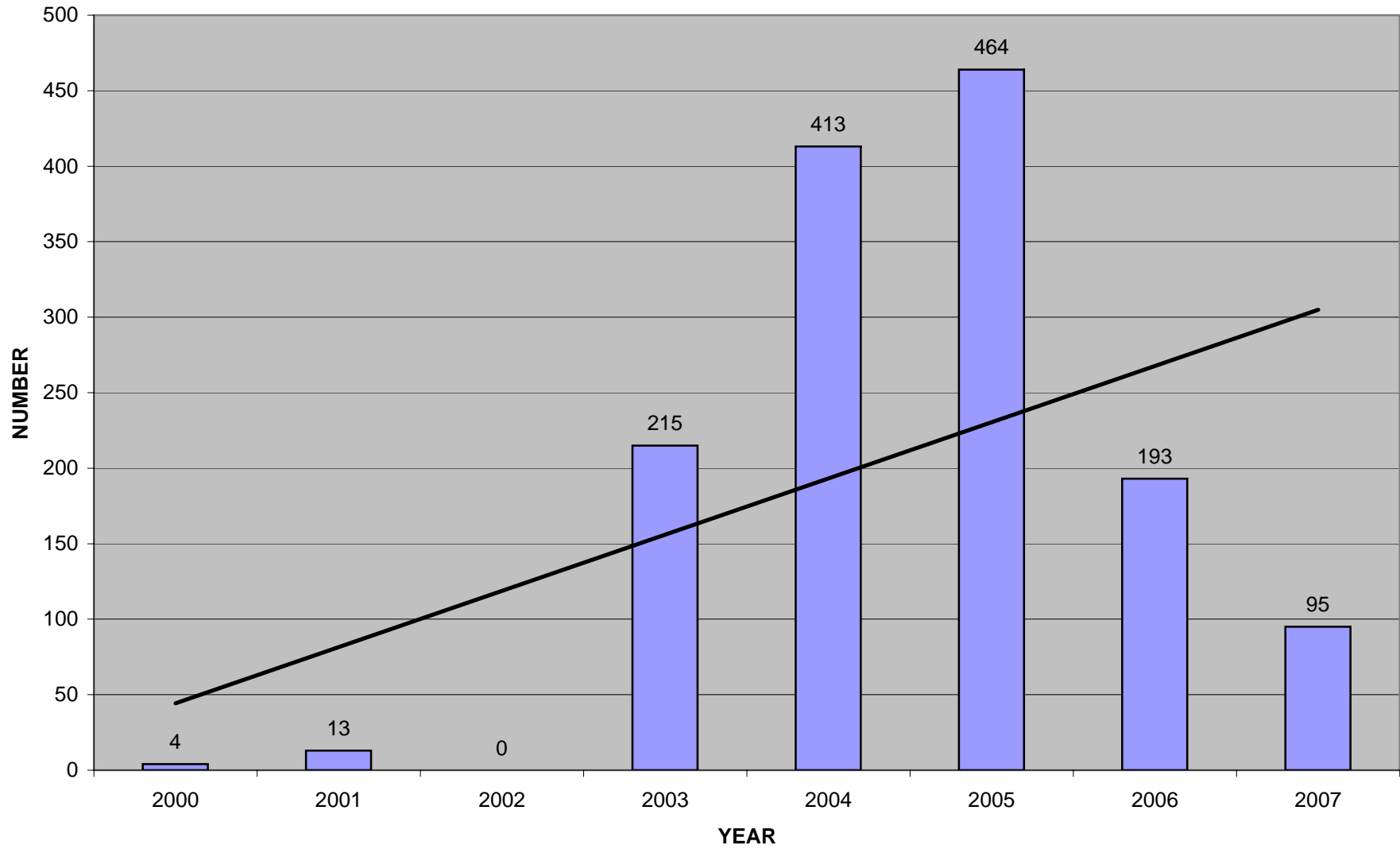
Forfeiture amounts for a variety of city ordinance violations, ranging from damage to property, to throwing missiles, have increased substantially. Spare yourself a lot of needless expense and embarrassment by celebrating Halloween responsibly. Acting out in a way that puts property or the safety of others at risk will result in citations or even jail time.

State St. Violations-Halloween

DISORDERLY CONDUCT TICKETS



HALLOWEEN ALCOHOL TICKETS



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2>Tough Enforcement Is Best Response

Madison Isn't Alone In Facing Unruly Mobs. But It Probably Stands Apart In Its Tempered Response To Halloween Hooliganism.

Wisconsin State Journal :: OPINION :: A6

Tuesday, November 2, 2004

The Halloween hooligans come to town to see a riot. If we want them to stay away, Madison must deliver only disappointment.

And the city is on track to doing just that. Taken as a whole, this past weekend's huge Halloween crowd -- 75,000 at its peak-- conducted itself pretty well. Property damage was minimal, for a change.

Give cops the credit. Before and after this past weekend, Mayor Dave Cieslewicz used the media to tell troublemakers they weren't welcome here. But frankly, police had to hammer the message home -- as they will have to do next year, and perhaps the year after, with the community's support.

Unfettered enforcement is the only reliable answer to lawlessness in the streets. In our sensitive city, prone to flashbacks to its antiwar heritage, there will always be those who recoil at the sight of police on horseback. Others claim that a strong blue line of shielded officers wielding chemical dispersants only incites a crowd. That's bunk.

To still others, vigorous law enforcement seems too simple an answer. Some frustrated Madison residents instead would punish responsible business owners by closing Downtown bars; others may cook up more restrictive city ordinances. But over three decades, Madison's Halloween tradition has defied almost all efforts to shape it, promote it or end it -- with the exception of those carried out by a phalanx of cops.

Madison isn't alone in facing unruly mobs. But it probably stands apart in its tempered response to Halloween hooliganism. In Boulder, Colo., police have used an armored vehicle in the crowds and put down rioters with rubber grenades and paintballs filled with pepper spray. Cops in Athens, Ohio, break up house parties where would-be inciters tank up before heading out to cause trouble.

La Crosse, like Madison, tried a variety of unsuccessful strategies to contain chaos at its annual Oktoberfest. The city finally answered with sustained, aggressive law enforcement supported by community residents. Starting in 1989, La Crosse cops arrested an average of 381 people each of the first two nights of Oktoberfest. By 1992, the message was understood and arrests plummeted. Today, Oktoberfest arrests rarely exceed a few dozen total.

Madison won't be able to pull the plug on Halloween, but it can get tougher with the fraction of celebrants who cause trouble. After 1:30 a.m. Sunday, when trouble broke out, only about 5,000 of the 75,000 partiers remained in one block of State Street. And of that group, relatively few inciters acted on their alcohol-fueled appetite for destruction. Much of the street is primed to join only in the nihilistic thrill of being an arm's length from harm. Police can snuff that thrill by identifying and quickly removing instigators of trouble.

Over the years, Halloween on State Street has defined Madison's reputation as the "Mad City"-- an anarchic but usually harmless bacchanal of costumes and camaraderie. But right now, Madison's Halloween begins as a hoot and ends as a horror -- little more than a

mass act of vandalism, an assault on our community.

New police chief Noble Wray should stand firm against the naysayers who complain that his officers went too far or too fast this year. The police deserve praise, and continued support, for efforts to quell the riots before they start.

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2>Halloween On State Street: 1977-2007

Wisconsin State Journal :: FRONT :: A7

Friday, October 26, 2007

Compiled by Ron Larson, State Journal library director

1977 -- A Halloween crowd of about 5,000 caps a three-night celebration, representing the birth of the State Street Halloween tradition. Ten police are sent to monitor the celebration when party-goers use cardboard boxes to construct a large bonfire in the 500 block of the street.

1978 -- The crowd attending the State Street Halloween festivities doubles in size from the first year and they set more fires. Lamppost climbing was a popular event. At the top of a pole, one young man unfurled a banner that read, "Happy Halloween State Street."

1979 -- The Wisconsin Student Association sponsors its first Halloween party but rain cancels its first attempt even though 15,000 to 17,000 revelers still show up to party on State Street. WSA receives permission for a second attempt at a Halloween party the next evening but cold temperatures limits the crowd to about 5,000 on State Street.

1980 -- The annual Halloween bash grows to about 30,000. WSA again sponsored the music and sold the beer. Despite the beer sales, WSA reports they lost an estimated \$5,700 on the party. The State Street party cost the city a minimum of \$16,300. Two officers are treated after being bitten by a woman they were arresting.

1981 -- More than 100,000 people attend the Halloween party on State Street. Two women are hospitalized after being trampled. The city greases the light poles to discourage climbing. Bands played from scaffolding that kept them about two stories above the crowd at the lower end of State Street.

1982 -- Crowds nearing 100,000 people pour onto State Street and spill onto Langdon and various side streets. Band stands are set up at the Memorial Union parking lot and State and Broom streets. No light poles are greased because the new ones are supposed to be unclimbable (revelers prove that wrong). The party costs the city around \$31,000.

1983 -- A cold, hard rain in the early morning hours helped to limit the crowd to about 40,000 people. The evening turns tragic as one man falls off the roof of a bookstore on the corner of Lake and State streets. Someone steals the keys for the ambulance as paramedics try to help the man. He later dies.

1984 -- The second consecutive Halloween party is dampened by rain, holding the crowd on State Street to about 25,000. Heavy thunderstorms prevented the rock bands to perform. WSA survived the bad weather by having rain insurance.

1985 -- Rain again limits the size of the State Street crowd celebrating Halloween. About 25,000 superheros, presidents and commandos brave the cold drizzle. WSA once again has rain insurance and collects on it.

1986 -- It rains for the fourth consecutive Halloween party. Beer is not served by WSA in part due to Wisconsin's new 21-year-old drinking age but that did not stop partiers from drinking. WSA did sponsor bands and a costume party. After three down years, more than 75,000 revelers attend the party.

1987 -- More than 75,000 come despite another year with rain. Beer drinking was not allowed in the street and two beer gardens were set up with access restricted. WSA is involved but starts backing out as the key organizer. It's the last official Halloween bash for a while.

1988 -- WSA discontinues its involvement with the party because of expense and emphasis on alcohol. Only 20,000 show on State Street but it's the first Halloween in six years that doesn't include rain. Police say the smaller crowd was not as rowdy as in previous years.

1989 -- The streetlight posts stood ungreased, and there was almost no one in the street this year to bother the buses and patrol cars that drove up and down all night. The subdued crowd, estimated by police at about 3,000 at its peak, consisted largely of small groups of uncostumed people who watched costumed partiers to see if they would do anything mildly entertaining.

1990 -- A constant flow of people wandered up and down State Street, punctuating the Halloween night with hoots, howls, screeches and laughter. Almost balmy weather attracted more people Downtown than the previous year, but it still couldn't compare to legendary Halloweens in years past when people were shoulder to shoulder, 1991-94 -- Only a few Halloween holdouts from the mid-1980s make the trek to State Street.

1995 -- UW-Madison student government revives the Halloween tradition by sponsoring a concert on the Library Mall, featuring music by the Bosstones, the Archers of Loaf, Hagfish and Alligator Gun. Rain and 40-degree temperatures drove many of the 2,500 people attending the free concert into the Memorial Union. The Halloween concert cost student leaders \$35,000 to secure the bands.

1996 -- A free costume ball is held in the Great Hall at the Memorial Union, featuring a disc jockey and is alcohol-free. But gone are the days when tens of thousands of revelers converged on State Street for a bewitching night out.

1997 -- Celebrities ranging from the bands Kiss and the Village People to Hillary Clinton and Alf swarmed Madison's State Street on a rain-free, quiet Halloween, parading down the street with thousands of others. But, according to police, Halloween '97 was a quiet one.

1998 -- Thousands of revelers crowded the sidewalks from Library Mall to the Capitol in State Street's annual Halloween celebration. Only a handful of police were needed to keep the boisterous and bombastic crowd on the sidewalks. For the first time in several years, the costumed crowd outnumbered the civilians.

1999 -- More than 20,000 costumed revelers packed State Street, forcing a beefed up police presence to block much of the street off from buses and other traffic. It was the biggest Halloween crowd State Street has seen in several years.

2000 -- About 40,000 people crowded State Street to celebrate Halloween, with police making arrests as revelers broke windows, set small fires and fought. The crowd was much larger than in the last few years.

2001 -- Minor injuries and at least 10 arrests resulted as the estimated 60,000 to 70,000 merrymakers rocked the streets and State Street bars until almost 3 a.m.

2002 -- Police use tear gas and pepper spray to break up an estimated crowd of 65,000 caught up in a post-Halloween State Street disturbance that included looting, window-smashing and bottle-throwing. Bike racks, street signs, newspaper boxes and most anything movable were tossed around by an unruly crowd. The "large-scale disturbance" left the 400

block of State Street in shambles and received national media attention. It was the first time in 30 years that Madison police used tear gas to quell a crowd.

2003 -- State Street's atmosphere changed from Friday to Saturday night. Friday night passed without any major injuries among 50,000 to 60,000 partygoers. By early Sunday morning, an alcohol-fueled melee left store windows shattered. The University Inn, 441 N. Frances St., where most windows facing State Street were shattered, was hit hardest, and six other businesses were damaged. City leaders struggled over the future of Halloween in Madison. "I don't think there is any way to eliminate it," Mayor Dave Cieslewicz said. "We have to find ways to manage it."

2004 -- Saturday night's crowd peaked at more than 75,000 shortly after midnight for the annual party that attracts college students from as far away as New Jersey and California. The night's festive mood began to teeter toward mayhem when a mosh pit of chanting, bouncing young people formed on the street. People were passing others above their heads and throwing objects such as plastic trash cans and a car tire. Small fights broke out. Madison police spurted pepper spray into a rebellious crowd. Madison Mayor Dave Cieslewicz said he's fed up with the wild behavior of Halloween's rowdy revelers.

2005 -- Halloween 2005 ended the same way it did in 2004 -- with repeated bursts of pepper spray. At 2 a.m. Madison police declared the rowdy gathering an "unlawful assembly," herded the chanting and beverage-tossing revelers off State Street using police horses and then backed that up with the irritating chemical. Police were estimating that 100,000 people were on State Street. For the fourth year in a row, police had to don riot gear and deploy pepper spray to clear a disorderly and dangerous crowd.

2006 -- The city created barriers on State Street limiting entrance to those who paid a \$5 admission fee. With about 30,000 revelers filling a gated State Street, most signs were pointing to a less-than-scary culmination to the evening. "It feels really good out there," said Mayor Dave Cieslewicz shortly after midnight after a stroll on State and Langdon streets. "The crowd is in a really good mood," he said. "There seems to be much less inebriation than in previous years."

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2>Halloween Not A Horror

Freakfest Keeps State Street Celebration Under Control

Wisconsin State Journal :: LOCAL :: D1

Sunday, October 28, 2007
State Journal staff

For the second straight year, the crowd on State Street for Madison's annual Halloween blow-out was well mannered, well-dressed and well-watched.

By press time early Sunday, authorities were reporting no major incidents at the event that in years past has seen mini-riots, police tear-gassings and crowds pushing the 100,000 mark.

There were only about 27,000 on State Street just before Midnight Sunday, according to a Madison police estimate.

"But that's what they were after," said John Williamson, who described the crowd size as "drastically reduced" from what he'd seen in 20 years of watching the Halloween festivities from the window of his State Street store, Sports World.

Some 270 Madison police officers were assigned to handle State Street and surrounds Saturday during Freakfest - the corporate moniker for this year's event. Another 50 came from the Dane County Sheriff's office, and there was also help from the State Patrol and police from Middleton, Fitchburg and Sun Prairie, according to Dane County Lt. Kurt Pierce.

Some revelers were miffed at having to buy a ticket to get onto State Street, but others said it was worth it for the sense of security it helped provide.

"I don't mind paying for it if I know they're going to be there," said a plastic-evergreen clad Erin Rice, 22, who was celebrating her first Madison Halloween dressed as "obnoxiously early Christmas decorations."

The city's plan of once again blocking off the street and charging admission, offering music and food and keeping police officers very much in evidence, appeared to be drawing a crowd that could best be described as strange and orderly.

As afternoon turned into night, Red-clad Badger fans were slowly displaced by the walking dead; by a black angel walking arm-in-arm with a tall Dalmation; by caped super-heroes and gladiators and assorted walking fruit.

At Peace Park, a man dressed as the Pope and one dressed as a Green Bay Packers pimp stood by the portable bathrooms and smoked.

The two were with a football posse headed by Saint Vince Lombardi, who wore a bishop's hat with a picture of the football legend and carried a scepter. With him was a Vike-queen, Cheese Louise, a cowardly Detroit Lion, and a grim reaper who reportedly rode to State Street in his own hearse, with the license plate G REAPER.

The group, mostly from Oregon, has been coming to State Street for many years, and said they approve of the efforts to tame the

celebration.

"Paying five dollars to offset the costs to the city is more than reasonable," said John O'Neill, wearing the Lombardi costume. "I pay that much for a beer."

Evidence that Halloween may have been tamed came the night before. Police arrested just 55 people Friday night, Madison police spokesman Joel DeSpain said. Last year on the night before the big party, 87 people were arrested, he said. And in 2005, the year before the city corralled the bash, there were 232 arrests on the Friday before the main event.

As of 10 p.m. Saturday, 18 people had been arrested, said Madison police spokesman Joel DeSpain. Some 22,200 tickets had been sold, or about 2,000 fewer than last year.

Lines to get in began to lengthen around 11 p.m., but still, attendance seemed on track to fall considerably short of what was seen in past, less organized years, when as many as 50,000 people crowded the street.

Mayor Dave Cieslewicz declared the crowd in "good spirits."

"It feels really good he said," he said, having just walked from the Capitol to Library Mall. "Obviously we can't say anything definitively until we get through the whole night."

For some, the a more sedate Halloween is welcome.

"I think the bottom line is, something just had to be done," said Madison resident Bill Rushmore, who was walking along State Street with his wife early in the evening, taking in the sights before things got too crazy.

And business owners, many of whom were happily catering to early partygoers Saturday afternoon, didn't seem too worried about what the night might hold.

"It's just like any big event," said Charlie Rogers, who was working at the Sacred Feather hat store. "You have 98 percent here that have a good time and 2 percent that are jerks."

WANTS MORE EXCITEMENT

Not everyone was happy to see Halloween civilized. Several revelers complained about having to pay to get onto a city street and said the tickets and the police presence had put a damper on the event.

"A little more excitement couldn't hurt," said UW-Madison sophomore Carolyn Rauber, dressed as a police call box.

Matt Dennin, a Bouncer at Mondays bar on State, said he'd worked Halloween for the last four years, including three as a bartender at BW Threes.

He said police were "overly aggressive" in past years. "I think they may sometime more aggravate the crowd" than control it, he said.

From the second floor of the Fire Department Building, 325 W. Johnson St., law enforcement official kept watch on the proceedings below via three large projector screens with fees from the street below. The cameras are able to turn nearly 360 degrees and zoom in on groups of people or even individuals below.

"I feel like cattle in a corral," yelled one man as we waited in a long line to get into Freakfest at about 11:30 p.m. at State and Lake streets.

First-timer Roland Ramos, who was strolling down State Street with a

group of friends from the Philippines earlier in the evening, was enjoying himself immensely. Ramos and his buddies are in Madison for two months as part of a corporate training program. They stopped a couple dressed as Ninja warriors and snapped photos, first of the couple and then of each other standing with the couple.

"It's like nothing we've ever experienced," said Ramos of Halloween on State Street.

And how does Ramos celebrate Halloween in the Phillipines?

"We go to the cemetery to visit with dead relatives," he said. "But that's nothing like this."

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Halloween 2006: A Gated Event Success



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