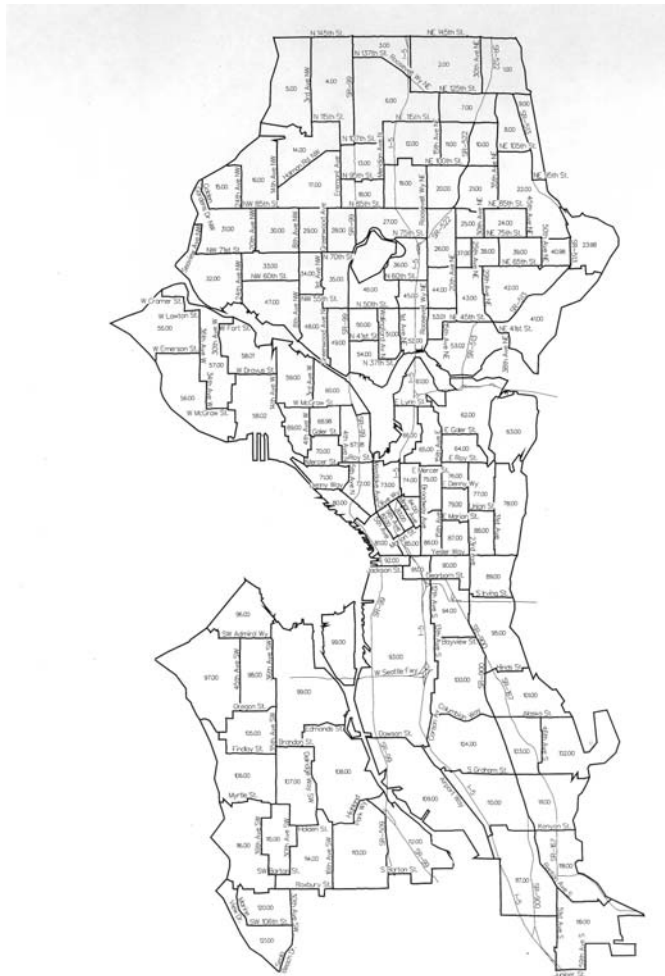

Bias Crimes and Incidents in Seattle 2000 to 2005

An analysis
by type of bias and neighborhood



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Seattle LGBT Community Center

report website: <http://home.comcast.net/~kmolsberry/biascrime>

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Cover

census tract map of Seattle

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Introduction

Summary

Using data provided by Seattle Police Department, bias-motivated attacks are found to be prevalent in every Seattle neighborhood. With an awareness of the number and types of bias attacks committed in their areas, neighborhood activists, community organizations, and City agencies have a necessary and valuable tool in their work to reduce such attacks.

During the study period from January 2000 to December 2005, there were 403 bias-motivated attacks in the city. The primary biases exhibited were based on race (142 attacks) and sexual orientation (119 attacks). Other biases were, in decreasing order: religion, national origin, political ideology, and gender identity.

An analysis was done by geographic area based on Seattle's established **neighborhoods**. The city was divided into 18 neighborhood areas.

neighborhood area	race	sexual orientation	religion	national origin	other	Total
Arbor Heights / White Center	5	2	2	3		12
Ballard / Crown Hill	3	4	2	5	1	15
Downtown / Belltown / Pioneer Square / South Lake Union	17	13	5	6	7	48
First Hill / Capitol Hill / Eastlake	20	43	3	9	1	76
Fremont / Wallingford	10	3	1	1		15
Georgetown / Rainier Valley	7	4	3	2		16
Greenwood	10	4	2	5	2	23
International District / Central District	13	15	2	6	2	38
Lake City	6	4	6	2		18
Laurelhurst / View Ridge / Sandpoint	2	2	2	1	3	10
Magnolia / Interbay	1	4	3	1		9
Montlake / Broadmoor / Madrona		3	2		1	6
North Beach / Bitter Lake	2		1		1	4
Northgate / Haller Lake	2	1	7	3		13
Queen Anne	8	4		5		17
SODO / Beacon Hill / Mt. Baker	12	2	3	5	2	24
U. District / Ravenna	14	5	10	2	3	34
West Seattle / Harbor Island	10	6	4	1	4	25
Grand Total	142	119	58	57	27	403

Table 1: Number of bias attacks by neighborhood area (alphabetical), 2000 to 2005

Bias attacks occurred in every neighborhood area, with the First Hill / Capitol Hill / Eastlake area having the highest number, 76 reports. The Downtown / Belltown / Pioneer Square / South Lake Union area had the next-highest with 48 reports. Even ostensibly “safe” neighborhoods had substantial numbers of bias-motivated attacks – Ballard / Crown Hill, for example, had 15, as did Fremont / Wallingford.

A second analysis was done by **year**. There was a sharp peak in 2001, with every category of bias attack being higher over the prior year. In particular, attacks based on national origin increased more than 300%. The following year, 2002, the number of bias-motivated attacks fell to a level much closer to, but still higher than, the number experienced in 2000. The total number of attacks fell to a recent low in 2003 but experienced a small increase in 2004 and another increase in 2005.

A third analysis was done to discern the “**9/11 effect**” – the effect on the number and types of bias crimes and incidents as a result of the terrorist attacks of 9/11/2001. Relative to the period before 9/11, the period after saw a 220% increase in attacks based on national origin. Substantial increases were also seen in the political ideology, sexual orientation, and religion bias types. The total number of bias attacks was 24% higher in the period immediately following 9/11 than in the same period prior.

Finally, the statistics for Seattle for 2002, 2003, and 2004 were compared to those gathered **nationwide** by the FBI. Rates for bias attacks based on sexual orientation were significantly higher in Seattle (ranging between 30% and 42% in those three years)¹ than they were nationwide (17%). Conversely, attacks based on either race or religion comprised a significantly smaller proportion in Seattle than nationally.

¹ If only bias *crimes* are considered as opposed to both crimes and incidents, the prevalence of sexual orientation attacks in Seattle is even more striking, ranging between 39% and 53% in those years. Because the FBI only includes crimes in its analysis, these higher proportions are perhaps more comparable to the FBI's 17% figure.

Why this study is needed

Knowing about a problem is the first step in solving it.

And while local law enforcement is well aware of the problem – and the pattern – of bias attacks in Seattle, citizens generally are not. Law enforcement is largely able to only enforce laws regulating behavior, and respond once a violent act has occurred. It is with the community that the real ability to address the problem of bias attacks rests, for it is the community that can act to *change* the destructive attitudes that lead to this kind of attack.

I hope that someday a hate crimes law will not be necessary. But, until we truly change attitudes, defeat bigotry and overcome fear, we must work together to prevent bias-motivated crimes and promote diversity in our society.

...Stay informed of the hate group activity and bias-motivated crime in your community. Network with your local police department and other agencies to develop a chronology of incidents.

Minnesota Attorney General Mike Hatch in *Hate & Bias Crimes*,
a pamphlet published by his office

As the Attorney General points out, awareness of the problem is one of the most powerful tools in preventing bias attacks.

But even though local law enforcement is undoubtedly aware of the problem, that information is not readily available to the community. To remedy this lack of information, Human Rights Watch recommended specific steps in its study "*We Are Not The Enemy*" – *Hate Crimes Against Arabs, Muslims, and Those Perceived to be Arab or Muslim after September 11*:

Law enforcement agencies should regularly publish and make public comprehensive statistics on bias-motivated crimes in their jurisdictions regardless of whether the crimes are prosecuted under special hate crime legislation.

[In contrast to Los Angeles, Chicago, Phoenix, and Dearborn, Michigan, neither] New York nor Seattle publish yearly data on hate crimes. ...The only published data on hate crimes in New York and Seattle is the data published yearly by the FBI in its annual hate crimes report. This data ...is cursory in nature, providing only the number of hate crimes committed each year and the types of victims attacked. Information on hate crime perpetrators, the location of attacks, the type of crimes committed, or prosecution rates is not included in the Uniform Crime Reporting system used by New York City and Seattle.²

"We Are Not The Enemy"

² "*We Are Not The Enemy*" – *Hate Crimes Against Arabs, Muslims, and Those Perceived to be Arab or Muslim after September 11*, Human Rights Watch, New York, NY, 2002, pp. 5 and 39.

Even if the number of bias attacks in Seattle were low, Seattleites would undoubtedly want to take action to prevent them. But this study reveals that the numbers are disturbingly high. And it is striking that, despite the city's reputation of being relatively free of crime³, some types of bias attacks are higher here than average across the country.

This study arose out of a bias crime committed on November 24, 2004.⁴ A description of the assault is informative in illustrating the cruel and horrific nature of a "typical" bias crime.

The victim, a white male, was in the bar of a Ballard⁵ restaurant where he was accosted by three male patrons who repeatedly asked if he were gay. He politely told them he was not. During their lengthy interaction, the bartender noticed odd behavior in the men, as they took turns leaving the restaurant to wait outside, then returning while another took their place. Upon leaving the restaurant, the victim was approached and struck forcefully in the head by one of the men, whose turn it apparently was to wait for the victim. The blow knocked the victim to the pavement where he struck his head and was knocked unconscious.

Witnesses from the restaurant observed the assailant repeatedly kick the victim while he was unconscious. As the assailant attacked his victim, he shouted, "This is still Ballard" – to communicate that gay people were not welcome in that neighborhood. Witnesses reported that the victim regained consciousness sufficiently to try to escape, but was knocked to the ground again and assaulted further. The victim does not remember this. His next recollection is being back in the restaurant where he was being tended by patrons while waiting for the police to arrive.

The victim later described his injuries:

The concussion was pretty severe. My balance was off for a few days. I had trouble walking. My vision was kind of shaky from the hit to the head. I was just kind of sick. My lip was split pretty badly. My teeth hurt; they moved around a little bit. They have subsequently tightened back up. A black eye. A bump on the head where I hit the ground. Then, there was some bruises on my sides – my oblique muscles – apparently from being kicked while on the ground.

Crimes just as shocking – whether physical assaults or other serious crimes – have occurred nearly 150 times⁶ over the period covered by this study, in every neighborhood of the city. The fact that the victim in this crime is in fact *not* gay demonstrates that *anyone* can be a victim of a bias attack, since such attacks are often based merely on the perceptions of the assailants rather than on reality.

Although bias attacks happen repeatedly in Seattle, there is a reason that this particular crime gave rise to this study. That reason is the lack of community response to the crime – not only during the assault, but afterward as well.

³ "Seattle is a safe city with a low crime rate.", *Seattle 101 – A Guide for Travelers and Tourists* webpage of the City's official website. <http://www.ci.seattle.wa.us/html/visitor/emergency.htm>

⁴ Sources for the description of this assault: Seattle Police Department Incident Report 04-492925; correspondence with the victim; *Seattle Gay News*, Dec. 17, 2004.

⁵ Ballard is a neighborhood in the northwest part of Seattle.

⁶ As detailed later in this study, there were 144 bias crimes, of which this assault was one. There were an additional 259 bias incidents, generally of lesser severity than crimes.

Following the attack, the victim told *Seattle Gay News*:

I am kind of disappointed that people were just watching this happen. I was like a dog hit by a car – I was just trying to get away. It wasn't a fight at all. ... I was kind of disappointed in the people who [were] around and witnessed this thing. I heard this about Seattle at other times too: that people just don't engage. It is a cold, standoffish environment for a lot of folks. It's the Seattle cold approach where, "If [it] doesn't [affect] me, I am not going to get involved." ... I don't think these people had an obligation to do anything beyond that, but I would hope somebody would try and stop these things. ... I am disgusted that... people didn't take action on that. This is their neighborhood. You can't be proud of that stuff going on.

Although describing the attack itself, the victim was also tangentially describing the apathy shown by the community following the attack. With limited exceptions, neither the residents, businesses (including the one where the attack took place), the neighborhood district council, the Neighborhood Service Center (part of the City of Seattle Department of Neighborhoods), nor many elected officials⁷ "took action" – in the words of the victim – even after the attack was brought to their attention and action was called for.⁸ The general response from the neighborhood organizations, businesses, and residents was that bias attacks are not a problem in their neighborhood. The author was told by one City staffer that housing is a problem in Ballard; bias attacks are not a problem.

The purpose of this study, therefore, is to dispel the misconception that there is any neighborhood in Seattle in which bias attacks are not a problem. By empowering the citizenry and neighborhood organizations with information about the prevalence of bias attacks in their neighborhoods, they will hopefully take action to reduce attacks motivated by bias, hate, and prejudice.

⁷ Exceptions were State Representative Mary Lou Dickerson and Seattle City Councilmember Tom Rasmussen, both of whom took action to address the crime and the police department's handling of the investigation, and resident Dionne Haroutunian who wrote a letter to the editor of *Ballard News-Tribune*. The author takes this opportunity to again thank them for their concern and their efforts.

⁸ From December 4, 2004 to January 23, 2005, the author wrote five emails to sets of community members, elected officials, City staffers, neighborhood representatives, and local businesses, informing them of the attack and the lack of appropriate police response. (SPD later discovered that it had miscategorized the attack, leading to a lapse in its investigation.) On December 23, 2004, the author mailed a letter to 13 elected officials and community representatives, including the district council of the neighborhood where this attack took place. On January 22, 2005, having received no response from the district council, the author sent a follow-up letter to the City Of Seattle's Neighborhood Service Center Coordinator who serves as liaison to the district council. That letter requested a response and contained suggestions for actions that could be considered by the district council. After receiving no response to the second letter, the author contacted the Neighborhood Service Center Coordinator by telephone.

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Definitions

Attacks

For the purpose of this study, an attack is any injury, damage, or threat to another person or to property, whether carried out physically or verbally, in person or *in absentia*.

Bias or hate crimes

The American Psychological Association says of hate crime "... not only is it an attack on one's physical self, but it is also an attack on one's very identity." Attacks upon individuals because of a difference in how they look, pray, or behave have long been a part of human history. It is only recently, however, that our society has given it a name and decided to monitor it, study it, and legislate against it. As a result, law enforcement has been given the task of identifying and responding to bias-motivated crime.

Hate Crime Statistics 2002, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Unlike an attack on an individual, a bias attack is directed at an entire group of people but focused on an available victim. The goal of a bias attack is to intimidate and oppress many people at once, and the effect on a particular community of even a single high-profile attack can be devastating. When multiple attacks occur with the same bias focus – race, for instance – the effect on a community is multiplied. And when all bias attacks are considered together (403 attacks in Seattle during the study period, exhibiting a variety of biases and spread over every neighborhood area), the entire city is affected.

Consequently, special laws and punishments have been established at many levels of government to reduce the pernicious effect of these attacks.

A hate crime is defined as injuring another person; damaging another person's property; or threatening a specific person (or group of persons) and placing that person in reasonable fear of harm to person or property because of the perpetrator's perception of the victim's race, religion, ancestry, national origin, color, handicap (mental, physical, or sensory), sexual orientation, gender, marital status, age, parental status, political ideology, or gender identity. Even if a perpetrator is incorrect about a person[']s actual identity (race, religion, etc.), if they commit acts against a person based on their perception, these acts may still be considered a hate crime.⁹

Seattle Police Department

⁹ SPD website, www.seattle.gov/police/prevention/Tips/hatecrimes.htm

The term often used in the criminal justice profession is *bias* crime rather than *hate* crime since the definition of *hate* is more subjective. It is sometimes said that “every crime is a hate crime.” However not every crime is due to bias on the part of the perpetrator. Consequently, *bias* crime is often considered the more objective term and is used in conjunction with specific classifications – such as race, religion, and sexual orientation, among others – to determine whether bias was a motivating factor in a crime. Nonetheless, *hate* crime is often more descriptive in describing the motivation behind a particular attack.

Incidents, crimes, and attacks

In compiling data on bias attacks, law enforcement agencies – including Seattle Police and the Federal Bureau of Investigation – distinguish between *incidents* and *crimes*.

The distinction I try to make to the community about an incident versus a crime is that a **hate crime** is when a specific law has been broken[,] for example an assault that is committed which includes the belief that the reason by the victim that he/she was assault[ed] was specific to those things that are classified by both state law and city ordinance under bias crimes law. An **incident** is really when a law has not been broken, such as if some one calls someone a derogatory name. Where this becomes cloudy is if someone says something derogatory and then indicates a threat such as I’m going to kill you. Where this can become a crime is if the victim feels the person could in fact carry out the threat.

Mark Howard, Seattle Police Dept., by email, March 4, 2005 (emphasis added)

In analyzing the data for this study, note is made of the distinction between incidents and crimes where appropriate, with the more general terms *attack* or *report* used to encompass both.

Although nationwide reporting systems such as the Department of Justice’s Uniform Crime Reporting System typically include only bias crimes, it is important for local law enforcement agencies to also track incidents. Seattle Police Department (SPD) is to be commended for encouraging the reporting of all bias attacks, and for tracking bias incidents as well as crimes.

The Commission [Seattle Commission for Lesbians and Gays] continues to strongly support the recording of incident reports by SPD, even where the incident is reported indirectly or informally, or does not meet the legal elements of malicious harassment. ...

“Many observers recommend that non-criminal harassment be taken seriously and reported even if it cannot be prosecuted because the incident may be the first act in a pattern of hate violence that can escalate if not closely monitored.”

The tracking of all bias crime incidents reported to police provides important indicators of a more hostile (or more peaceful) climate for targeted populations. Such tracking can illuminate general trends, behavior by specific perpetrators, or specific perpetrator characteristics, particularly where an incident does not constitute a chargeable crime.¹⁰

Bias Crime Against Sexual Minorities

¹⁰ *Bias Crime Against Sexual Minorities: Recommendations to the Seattle Police Department*, Seattle Commission for Lesbians and Gays, and Seattle Office for Women’s Rights, 1995, p. 31-32, quoting “The Response of the Criminal Justice System to Bias Crime: An Exploratory Review,” Peter Finn and Taylor McNeil, 1987.

The data

In February 2005, the author made a public disclosure request to SPD requesting "a copy of all the information contained in the Department's bias crimes database (including but not limited to the date of occurrence, location/address, and type of bias), redacted of only such information that, by law, is necessarily required to be kept confidential." To facilitate analysis of the data, the data was requested in electronic format. SPD opted to produce the results in paper format.

Figure 1 is a sample of the results provided by SPD, containing summaries of four records, two of which are marked as bias crimes, the other two being considered bias incidents.

Bias Crimes Incidents report page 1
 For incidents from 1/1/00 to 12/31/00 printed 2/14/05

Date	Time	Officer	Location	Precinct	Incident #
00-002885	1/2/2000 2245	A. MEYERS (# 6281)	38 AURORA AV N	N 49	1/1/2000
Date Range	Time Range	Crime	Victim(s)	Suspect(s)	
		Assault <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Bias Crime	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6	
Bias focus		Sexual Orientation <input type="checkbox"/> Arrest	Race		
Assigned		M. WILSON <input type="checkbox"/> Convicted	W	W W W	
Disposition		Inactive	Gender		
Charge Referred	Related Report		M	M M M	
Charge Final			Orientation		
Notes			Age		
			15 0	20 20 20 0 0 0	
			Injuries? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Knows Victim <input type="checkbox"/> Weapons Used	
			Number of victims: 1	Number of suspects: 3	
00-010584	1/6/2000 2103	P. FREDRICKSON (# 4733)	28 SUMMIT AV E #205	E 74	1/1/2000
Date Range	Time Range	Crime	Victim(s)	Suspect(s)	
		Telephone Harassment <input type="checkbox"/> Bias Crime	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6	
Bias focus		Sexual Orientation <input type="checkbox"/> Arrest	Race		
Assigned		M. WILSON <input type="checkbox"/> Convicted	W	B	
Disposition		Inactive	Gender		
Charge Referred	Related Report		F	M	
Charge Final			Orientation		
Notes			Age		
			24 0	40 0 0 0 0 0	
			Injuries? <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Knows Victim <input type="checkbox"/> Weapons Used	
			Number of victims: 1	Number of suspects: 1	
00-022832	1/15/2000 1740	D. BUNGE (# 6371)	28 BLK 12 AV	E 86	1/1/2000
Date Range	Time Range	Crime	Victim(s)	Suspect(s)	
		Assault <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Bias Crime	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6	
Bias focus		Race <input type="checkbox"/> Arrest	Race		
Assigned		M. WILSON <input type="checkbox"/> Convicted	B	W W W	
Disposition		Referred to other Detective Unit	Gender		
Charge Referred	Related Report		F	M M M	
Charge Final			Orientation		
Notes			Age		
			12 0	20 20 30 0 0 0	
			Injuries? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Knows Victim <input type="checkbox"/> Weapons Used	
			Number of victims: 1	Number of suspects: 3	
00-023371	1/16/2000 0017	K. DEVANEY (# 6397)	11 BLK FREMONT AV	N 4	1/1/2000
Date Range	Time Range	Crime	Victim(s)	Suspect(s)	
		Intimidation <input type="checkbox"/> Bias Crime	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6	
Bias focus		Political Ideology <input type="checkbox"/> Arrest	Race		
Assigned		M. WILSON <input type="checkbox"/> Convicted			
Disposition		Active	Gender		
Charge Referred	Related Report		Orientation		
Charge Final			Age		
Notes			0 0	0 0 0 0 0 0	
			Injuries? <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Knows Victim <input type="checkbox"/> Weapons Used	
			Number of victims: 0	Number of suspects: 0	

TO: Ken Probert
 DATE: 2/2/05 SERIAL #: 4982 89 pgs

Figure 1: Sample page from SPD response to public disclosure request

The top line of each record contains two location identifiers: the *Location* field gives the street address of the attack, and the *Precinct* field gives the police precinct designator (N[orth], S[outh], E[ast], or W[est]) followed by the census tract number.

The raw data from the first public disclosure request included 345 such summaries on 89 pages, and spanned the period January 2, 2000 through February 2, 2005.

In January 2006, the author made a second public disclosure request to SPD for records from 2005. SPD responded with a report identical in format to the prior one, containing 71 summaries on 18 pages, spanning the period January 4, 2005 to December 26, 2005. One of those 71 summaries was blank, and 11 were duplicates of records provided in the first data request. These records were omitted from the analysis, resulting in 59 new, useful records added to the data.

Analysis

The data and analysis are available online as an Adobe Acrobat (PDF) file and a Microsoft Excel workbook at <http://home.comcast.net/~kmolsberry/biascrime>. For this study, the raw data provided by SPD was analyzed quantitatively by:

- date of the attack
- location by census tract and neighborhood
- nature of bias shown (labeled *Bias focus* on the SPD records), and
- whether the attack was sufficiently severe to warrant classification as a crime.

Qualitatively, the record notes were evaluated to gain an understanding of the number and nature of victims and suspects, and the circumstances of the attack.

During the analysis it was determined that the data was generally of good quality and consistent. A few records were sufficiently incomplete or were duplicates and were excluded from the analysis. Other records required interpolation or cross-referencing with other sources to determine the nature of bias or proper census tract, for instance.

Bias Focus

Bias attacks can sometimes be difficult to categorize. An attack on a dark-skinned woman of Middle Eastern descent, for example, can be motivated by, and interpreted as, an attack on her national origin, her race, her religion, her gender, her sexual orientation, her political ideology, her gender identity, or some combination of those factors. Law enforcement officers sometimes have understandable difficulty categorizing such attacks into a single bias focus for the purpose of data collection.

The SPD data includes a *Notes* field that often aids in explaining the circumstances of a particular attack and that sometimes helps analysts categorize the attack into a discrete group. Fourteen attacks (less than 4% of the records) had either no discernible bias focus or exhibited biases that were clear yet consisted of more than one bias. For this study, these multiple-bias attacks were counted as “Other” (rather than being counted as attacks in multiple categories) since their descriptions generally indicated that the attackers were lashing out with whatever hateful words or actions they could think of rather than intending to express a particular bias.

Three records used the category “Color” as a bias focus and two others listed “Ancestry.” The notes for those incidents describe what would otherwise be considered racially-

motivated attacks. Those five records were therefore considered part of and included in the “Race” category rather than being considered distinct categories.

Some records, however, lacked an assigned *Bias focus* although the *Notes* indicated a clear bias.¹¹ For this study, a bias focus was assigned in such circumstances. It was observed that, between October 2004 and December 2005, more than 35% of the records lacked a *Bias focus* (or had an apparently inaccurate one) when the *Notes* would otherwise indicate a clear bias. Prior to October 2004, the rate of missing *Bias focus* data was much lower. Because the proper bias focus was able to be derived from the *Notes*, the missing *Bias focus* in the raw data is not deemed to be a substantial factor in the analyses contained in this study.

Outside this study, however, the missing *Bias focus* data could be a cause for concern. SPD is required by state law¹² to report the data to other law enforcement agencies for use in their studies and reports on the prevalence of bias attacks. If as many as a third of these records are being reported with no indication of their bias, it would cause substantial underreporting, not only to other law enforcement agencies but also for any other purpose to which the data might be put, including uses internal to SPD and the City of Seattle. Because many types of bias attacks are substantially underreported by victims to law enforcement agencies,¹³ further underreporting by law enforcement agencies would compound the problem.

Bias Crime, Charge Referred, Charge Final

In addition to missing *Bias focus* data, there is a concern that the SPD data underreports the frequency of attacks that rise to the level of bias crime and malicious harassment. In the SPD database, these designations are recorded in the fields labeled *Bias Crime*, *Charge Referred*, and *Charge Final*.

In interviews conducted by Human Rights Watch¹⁴ and by this author,¹⁵ this concern about the underreporting of the severity of bias attacks was described by Julee Pate. At the time of the Human Rights Watch interview in 2002, Ms. Pate was a staff member of the Seattle Office for Civil Rights (SOCR). In that position, she knew of several reports of bias-motivated attacks that had been made to SOCR that were also reported to SPD. As reported by the victims to SOCR, the attacks seemed to have clear components of malicious harassment and should have been treated as bias crimes. However when SPD later reported on those cases to SOCR, Ms. Pate and others noted that those attacks were categorized by SPD as incidents rather than as the more serious crimes.

The Human Rights Watch report stated that SOCR staff expressed frustration that complaints they received about serious bias-motivated attacks did not appear in monthly bias crime reports produced by SPD. According to SOCR staff, the discretion accorded to

¹¹ For example, the *Notes* for Incident 04-518890 read, “[V]ictim received a letter from an unknown person. The letter implied that dire consequences could occur if Jewish people did not accept Jesus as the ‘Messiah’.” Although the SPD data shows nothing for *Bias focus*, this study categorizes that incident as one of religious bias.

¹² Revised Code of Washington 36.28A.030(2); see also federal law at 28 United States Code §534

¹³ Robert J. Boeckmann and Carolyn Turpin-Petrosino, “Understanding the harm of hate crime,” *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 58, 2002 (<http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?a=o&d=5000779726>)

¹⁴ Interview with Julee Pate, 31 July 2002.

¹⁵ Telephone interview with Julee Pate, 18 Mar 2006.

responding police officers to determine whether an attack qualified as a possible bias crime created the possibility that SPD would not investigate many attacks as possible bias crimes, despite evidence that they may have qualified as such.¹⁶

A recent example of this circumstance is that of the bias crime in Ballard described in Chapter 1. Six weeks after the attack, the victim wrote the author:

I just received a call from a Sargent [sic] in the SPD office of Internal Investigations OPA [Office of Professional Accountability]. He told me it appeared that originally the incident had been filed as misdemeanor assault instead of a malicious assault as it should have been. He was looking into this due to Ken's [the author's] letter and his [the sergeant's] being contacted by SPD Media Relations. He told me that a detective in the Bias Crimes [Unit] has now been assigned to the case.¹⁷

Unfortunately by the time SPD discovered its error¹⁸ and the investigation was re-opened, a primary witness had gone un interviewed and the case had gone cold. No arrest has been made in the attack.

Such instances raise two potential causes for concern. First, some crimes are apparently not treated as such, leading to underinvestigated cases. Second, SPD's data might unintentionally understate the rate of crimes versus incidents.

With only certain exceptions, this report does not distinguish between crimes and incidents. In no instance does this report attempt to re-evaluate SPD's determinations of crimes versus incidents, and it accepts SPD's determinations as presented in its bias crimes and incidents database.

Census tract and neighborhood

The census tract data was found to be generally accurate, though not sufficiently so for the purposes of this study. Therefore the address of each record was verified against both a street map and a census tract map, and the census tract corrected as needed. (Although the last two digits of the street address had been redacted, the unredacted data was sufficient to place the location within a particular census tract.)

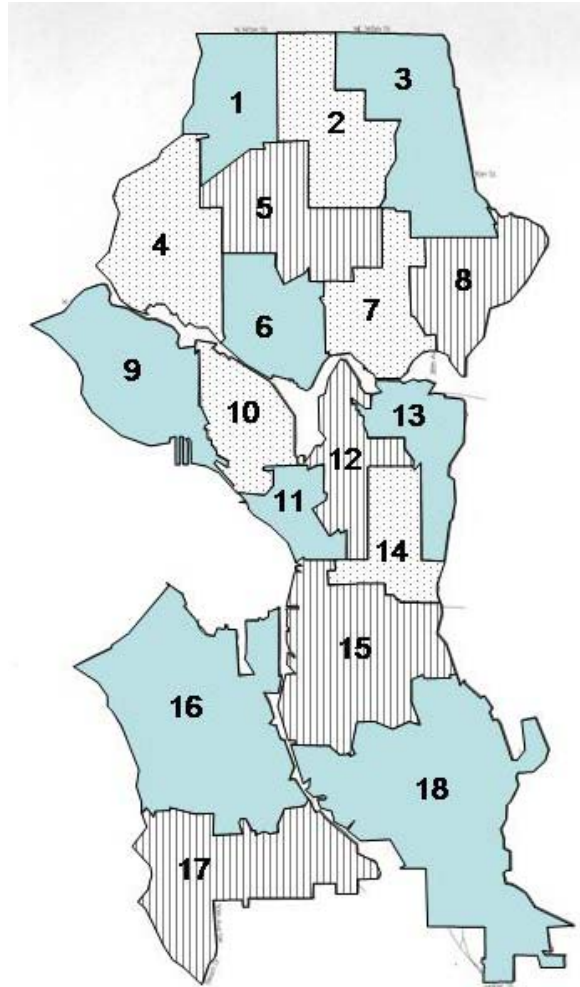
The most subjective aspect of the analysis was grouping the census tracts into "neighborhoods." Because of the nature of neighborhoods, the City of Seattle does not have an "official" neighborhood map that defines strict neighborhood boundaries, although agencies like the Department of Neighborhoods, the City Neighborhood Council, and SPD have maps that were useful for the purpose. Also, census tract boundaries bear no particular relationship to neighborhood boundaries. Further, the way neighborhoods are grouped or separated for this analysis is arbitrary, with the attempt made to group neighborhoods in a way that would best aid neighborhood representatives and activists in assessing the impact of bias attacks on the neighborhoods that are of most concern to them.

¹⁶ *"We Are Not The Enemy,"* p. 30.

¹⁷ Email to author, 4 Jan 2005.

¹⁸ The responding officer had correctly marked the "BIAS CRIME" box on the incident report (Incident 04-492925). The error apparently occurred at some point after the incident report was completed.

For this study, the city was divided into 18 neighborhood areas, shown in Figure 2. Appendix B1 lists the census tracts in each neighborhood area, and Appendix B2 lists which neighborhood area each census tract is part of.



1	North Beach / Bitter Lake	10	Queen Anne
2	Northgate / Haller Lake	11	Downtown (including Belltown, Pioneer Square, and South Lake Union)
3	Lake City	12	First Hill / Capitol Hill / Eastlake
4	Ballard / Crown Hill	13	Montlake / Broadmoor / Madrona
5	Greenwood	14	International District / Central District
6	Fremont / Wallingford	15	SODO / Beacon Hill / Mount Baker
7	University District / Ravenna	16	West Seattle / Harbor Island
8	Laurelhurst / View Ridge / Sand Point	17	Arbor Heights / White Center
9	Magnolia / Interbay	18	Georgetown / Rainier Valley / Columbia City / Rainier Beach

Figure 2: Neighborhood areas used in this study

9/11 date range

For *The 9/11 effect* section of this study, which analyzes the number and types of bias incidents before and after the terrorist attacks of 9/11/2001, the date range selected was the 20-month period on either side of that date: namely 1/11/2000 to 9/10/2001, and 9/11/2001 to 5/10/2003. This date range was chosen for two reasons. First, it included the broadest range of available data that might be pertinent to the analysis. Second, that time span includes the wars on Afghanistan (begun 10/07/2001) and Iraq (begun 3/19/2003, with President Bush declaring the official end to combat operations on 5/01/2003). These two wars are related to 9/11 and to the bias attacks analyzed in this study because the stated rationale of the U.S. government was that the two countries supported international terrorism.

Results

When interpreting the results, it is important to bear in mind that the attacks are not always in the direction of members of the dominant culture (white, Christian, or “American,” for example) attacking those of the minority culture (black, Muslim, foreign, for example). That is certainly the norm, but there are many instances in which assailants of the minority culture attack members of the dominant culture. For instance in regard to racial bias, black, white, and Asian people appear in the reports both as victims and as attackers. Regardless, bias attacks are pernicious in their effect no matter which direction they happen, and the same community efforts to build respect and acceptance will address both. Therefore the data as a whole may be interpreted generally without regard for this distinction.

Also, as noted previously, the attacker is not necessarily correct about the victim’s status. For example, one of the reports in the data describes a car that was vandalized. Derogatory terms for black people were etched into the car’s paint. The owner of the car, however, was white. While this was almost certainly a case of mistaken identity, it is appropriate to treat this as an attack exhibiting a racial bias. Another example is the assault described in Chapter 1, in which a heterosexual (“straight”) person was attacked by another (presumably) straight person out of the belief that the victim was gay – a crime exhibiting a sexual orientation bias even though it was one straight person attacking another.

Summary by neighborhood

A count of the reports by neighborhood area and by type of bias is given in Appendix A. Table 1, a subset of Appendix A, shows the total number of reports as well as the count for the two most-prevalent biases, race and sexual orientation.

neighborhood area	all	race	sexual orientation
First Hill / Capitol Hill / Eastlake	76	20	43
Downtown / Belltown / Pioneer Square / South Lake Union	48	17	13
International District / Central District	38	13	15
U. District / Ravenna	34	14	5
West Seattle / Harbor Island	25	10	6
SODO / Beacon Hill / Mt. Baker	24	12	2
Greenwood	23	10	4
Lake City	18	6	4
Queen Anne	17	8	4
Georgetown / Rainier Valley / Columbia City / Rainier Beach	16	7	4
Fremont / Wallingford	15	10	3
Ballard / Crown Hill	15	3	4
Northgate / Haller Lake	13	2	1
Arbor Heights / White Center	12	5	2
Laurelhurst / View Ridge / Sandpoint	10	2	2
Magnolia / Interbay	9	1	4
Montlake / Broadmoor / Madrona	6	-	3
North Beach / Bitter Lake	4	2	-
Totals	403	142	119

Table 2: Bias attacks by neighborhood area (ranked by number of attacks), 2000 to 2005
(with detail on the two most-prevalent biases)

The most prevalent bias during the study period was race (142 reports), followed by sexual orientation (119 reports). As will be seen in the *Summary by year* section of this report¹⁹ and as noted by Lewis Kamb writing in 1996 based on an analysis of SPD reports from 1992 to 1994, one of these two factors – race or sexual orientation – usually serve as the greatest motivator of bias attacks, depending on the year.²⁰

While the number of reports of these two types of bias attacks is roughly similar, their pattern of distribution among neighborhoods is quite different. Racial bias attacks occur widely throughout the city, with relatively high frequency (10 to as many as 20 reports) among 8 of the 18 neighborhood areas. Less than 15% of racially-motivated attacks are concentrated in any one neighborhood area. In contrast, those for sexual orientation occur predominantly in the First Hill / Capitol Hill / Eastlake area (43 reports, or 36% of all such attacks in the city). This difference in distribution, while striking, is perhaps not surprising

¹⁹ see Figure 3 and Table 3

²⁰ “In the majority of Seattle’s hate crime incidents this decade [the 1990s], ethnic minorities and homosexuals were most often victimized. According to Seattle Police Department crime reports between 1992 and 1994, a total of 510 hate crimes were reported. Of that number, sexual orientation and race shared the top spot for hate crime motivation, with 207 incidents apiece. Last year [1995], race was the second leading motivator for hate crime incidents in Seattle. The year before, it was in first place.” *Targeting Minority Communities*.

since Capitol Hill is historically “the gay part of town.” (It has traditionally been the host neighborhood for the annual gay pride parade and gay film festival as well as supporting a high concentration of businesses catering to the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender – or LGBT – community.)

The second tier of bias motivators are religion (58 reports) and national origin (57 reports). Similar to the distribution of race bias attacks, there is no marked concentration of these types of attacks in particular neighborhoods. It is noteworthy, however, that neighborhoods that are “bad” for national origin bias do not also generally exhibit high numbers of reports for religious bias, and vice versa. For example, First Hill / Capitol Hill / Eastlake has the highest count for national origin (9 reports or 16%), yet its count for religion is surprisingly low (3 reports or 5%). The University District / Ravenna, conversely, has a high count for religion (10 reports or 17%) while its count for national origin is low (2 reports or 4%). A similar pattern is noted among the other neighborhood areas (with certain neighborhood areas being low in both).

Political ideology bias was the primary factor in 12 reports, primarily concentrated (5 reports or 42%) in the Downtown / Belltown / Pioneer Square / South Lake Union area. The “other” and gender identity biases were of low prevalence overall (15 reports total, with no more than 3 reports in any one neighborhood area).

Discussing the widespread nature of bias crimes and incidents throughout Seattle, Detective Elias Leon, then-coordinator for SPD’s Bias Crime Unit, was quoted in an article by Lewis Kamb:

Leon said the public needs to recognize that hate crime is not the exclusive domain of extremist militia or supremacist groups. “In this town, bias crimes reflect the diversity of the city,” he said. “You can’t just walk down the street with a mental picture of who is going to be the type of person to commit these crimes. **It happens in all neighborhoods**, and the perpetrators of bias crimes are from all heritages, backgrounds and age groups,” he added.²¹

Targeting Minority Communities (emphasis added)

²¹ Ibid.

Summary by year

Figure 3 shows the number of bias reports by category of bias, by calendar year.

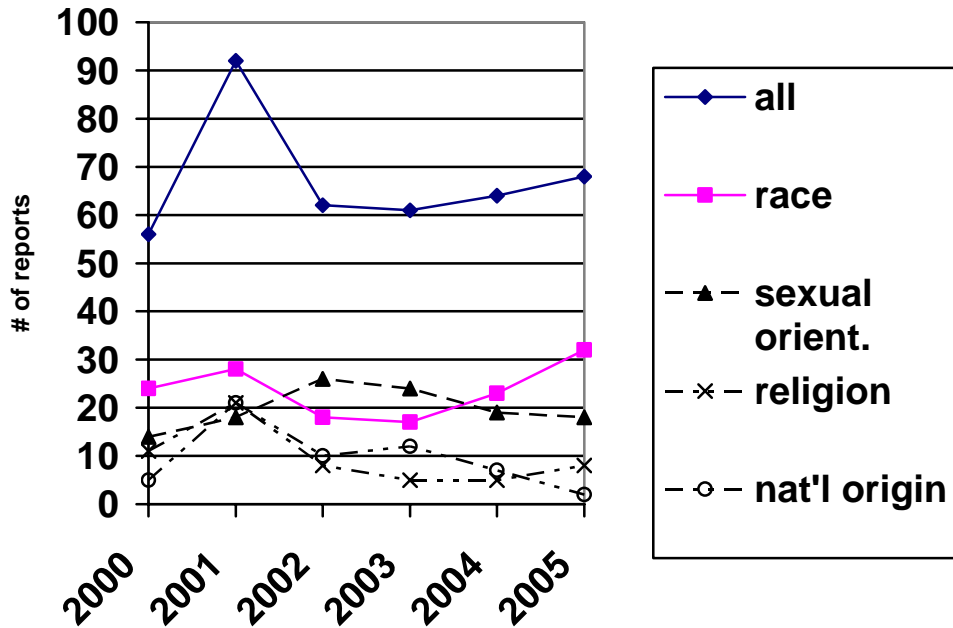


Figure 3: Bias reports by calendar year (selected categories)

year	RACE	SEXUAL ORIENTATION	RELIGION	NATIONAL ORIGIN	POLITICAL IDEOLOGY	GENDER IDENTITY	OTHER	Total
2000	24	14	11	5	2			56
2001	28	18	21	21	3	1		92
2002	18	26	8	10				62
2003	17	24	5	12	1		2	61
2004	23	19	5	7	6		4	64
2005	32	18	8	2			8	68
Total	142	119	58	57	12	1	14	403

Table 3: Data for Figure 3. Bias reports by calendar year (all categories)

The total number of bias reports dramatically increased 64% from 2000 to 2001, and dropped just as dramatically in the year following. (The apparent “9/11 effect” is studied further in the next section.)

Notably, *all* categories of bias attacks were sharply higher in 2001 than they were the year earlier. In particular, religious bias reports increased over 90%, and national origin bias reports increased by 320%.

One notable exception to the pattern of all types of bias decreasing in 2002 is bias based on sexual orientation. Sexual orientation bias – alone among the types of bias reported – *increased* in 2002 over its 2001 level, and by a substantial ratio: 44%. A primary reason for this jump was that 8 reports were related to one attacker who was arrested and convicted for the crimes. Without those 8 reports, the number of reports in 2002 for sexual orientation bias would have been equal to (yet still not fewer than) those in 2001.

Between 2002 and 2005, the general trend for the national origin and sexual orientation bias types was downward.

Going against that downward trend were the race and political ideology biases: attacks based on race increased 78% over that period, and those based on political ideology showed a remarkable increase in 2004 then dropped to zero the following year.

According to the incident notes, 4 of the 6 attacks based on political ideology in 2004 were related to the national election held that year. The remaining 2 attacks occurred close in time, in the same neighborhood (census tract 81, Downtown / Pioneer Square), involved the same technique – use of a swastika – and were apparently related. (The swastika is also commonly used as a symbol of religious hatred against Jews or racial hatred against black people; in these attacks, the incident notes indicated that the bias was based on political ideology rather than race.)

In contrast, there was no discernible pattern that would account for the increase in racially-motivated attacks in 2005. Attacks based on race accounted for nearly half (47%) of all bias attacks in Seattle in 2005 and were substantially higher than the next-highest category. 2005 marks the second year in a row of substantial increases in race-based attacks over the prior year.

Depending on the year, either race or sexual orientation served as the greatest motivator of bias attacks. It is interesting to note that this pattern was also observed in the early 1990s.²²

²² “Sexual orientation (40.6% or 207 reports) and race (also 207) were the highest reported foci of all bias crime reports (510) between 1992-1994.” *Bias Crime Against Sexual Minorities*, p. 16.

The 9/11 effect

In its 2002 study *“We Are Not The Enemy” – Hate Crimes Against Arabs, Muslims, and Those Perceived to be Arab or Muslim after September 11*, Human Rights Watch looked specifically at 9/11-related hate crimes. In contrast to the other cities it studied – Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, Phoenix, and Dearborn, Michigan,

Seattle did not track such data, and indeed, unlike any city researched for this report, did not track September 11-related hate crimes at all.^{23, 24}

“We Are Not The Enemy”

It is therefore informative to look at the effect that 9/11 had on the number and types of bias attacks in Seattle.

As seen in Figure 4 and its accompanying table, there was a dramatic increase in most types of bias attacks after 9/11. The chart presents the types of bias in order of the degree to which 9/11 apparently affected them.

²³ Human Rights Watch interviews with Julee Pate, Seattle Office for Civil Rights, 31 July 2002, and Detective Christie Lynn-Bonner, SPD, 2 Aug 2002.

²⁴ *“We Are Not The Enemy,”* p. 39.

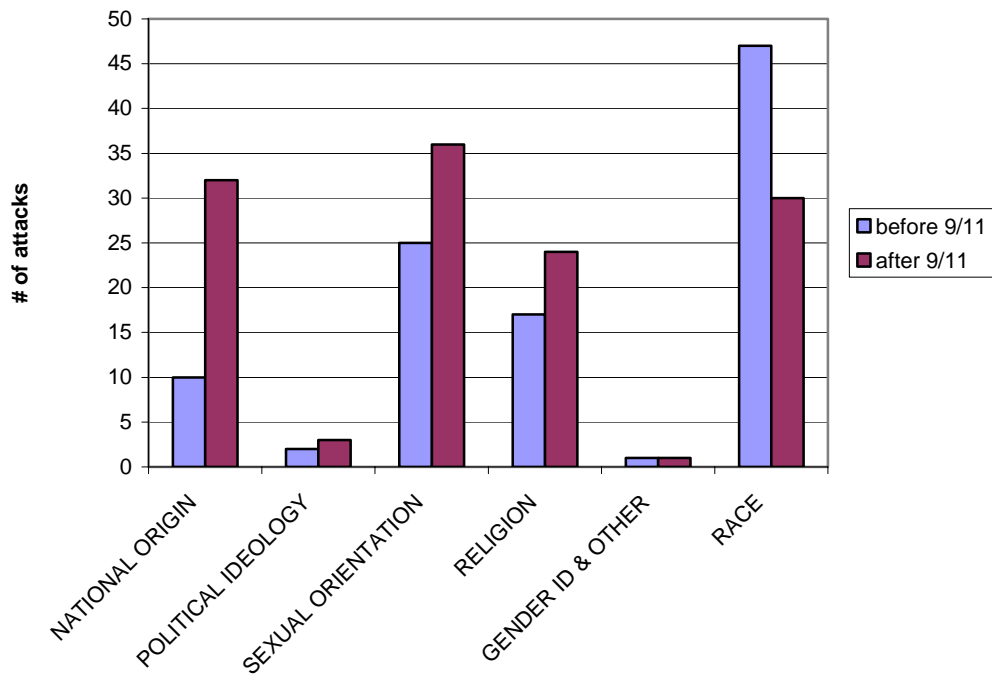


Figure 4: Bias reports for the 20-month periods before and after 9/11

bias	before	after	% increase
NATIONAL ORIGIN	10	32	220
POLITICAL IDEOLOGY	2	3	50
SEXUAL ORIENTATION	25	36	44
RELIGION	17	24	41
GENDER IDENTITY & OTHER	1	1	0
RACE	47	30	-36
Total	102	126	24

Table 4: Data for Figure 4. Bias reports for the 20-month periods before and after 9/11

Attacks based on national origin more than tripled, increasing from 10 reports before 9/11 to 32 reports after. And the actual increase may have been even greater due to increased underreporting in the period following 9/11. Many immigrants – who are often the victims of such attacks – fear government and the police. Sometimes immigrants bring that fear with them from their nation of origin where they lived under repressive regimes. Such fear can also be generated or enhanced by life in the United States, especially in the post-9/11 era of Special Registration, a program of the federal government that imposes additional demands on, and surveillance of, aliens. As significant as underreporting of national origin bias attacks might have been prior to 9/11, it was potentially much greater in the period following.

Although the sample size is quite small (which could cause a statistical anomaly), attacks based on political ideology also experienced a large increase in the period following 9/11.

Sexual orientation attacks showed the next-largest increase. This is largely accounted for by the series of 8 related attacks described previously in the *Summary by year* section of this study. The increase is evidently not therefore directly related to 9/11.

Attacks based on religion also showed a large increase. This is easily understood because it was widely reported by news services that the terrorist attacks of 9/11 were conducted by members of a radical sect of the Muslim religion. On 9/11 and 9/12 alone, 4 attacks were based on religion. The notes for those incidents are revealing:

incident note	comments
<i>pc's [threatening phone calls] advising cab drivers not to drive today</i>	Many cab drivers in Seattle are of Middle Eastern or Indian Sikh descent. Their appearance and style of dress, including turbans, is distinctive. ²⁵ South police precinct
<i>threat to burn mosque</i>	South police precinct
<i>numerous voice msg's to mosque – obscene, death threats</i>	North police precinct
<i>phone threats to Muslim Housing Svc.</i>	South police precinct

Table 5: Incident notes for attacks based on religion, 9/11 and 9/12/2001

Surprisingly, attacks based on race *decreased* by a substantial amount, 36%, in the 20-month time period after 9/11. There is no ready explanation for this observed pattern. (For instance, there do not seem to be a significant number of related attacks in the period before 9/11 that would skew the results.)

²⁵ “Many Arabs and South Asians who have come to the United States seem to have clustered in certain jobs, including driving taxis, or have become small business owners, running gas stations, convenience stores, and motels. This may account for the prevalence of backlash victims among persons with these occupations. ...In Tulsa, Oklahoma and Seattle, Washington, taxi dispatch services noted that after September 11 they had received threatening calls saying that their Muslim and Arab taxi workers would be killed.” *“We Are Not The Enemy,”* p. 15.

Comparison to national patterns

Figure 5 and its accompanying table show the difference in prevalence for 2002, 2003, and 2004 for attacks that took place in Seattle relative to those reported nationwide by the FBI.²⁶ Since 2004 is the latest year for which such statistics are available from the FBI, 2005 data is omitted from the comparison.

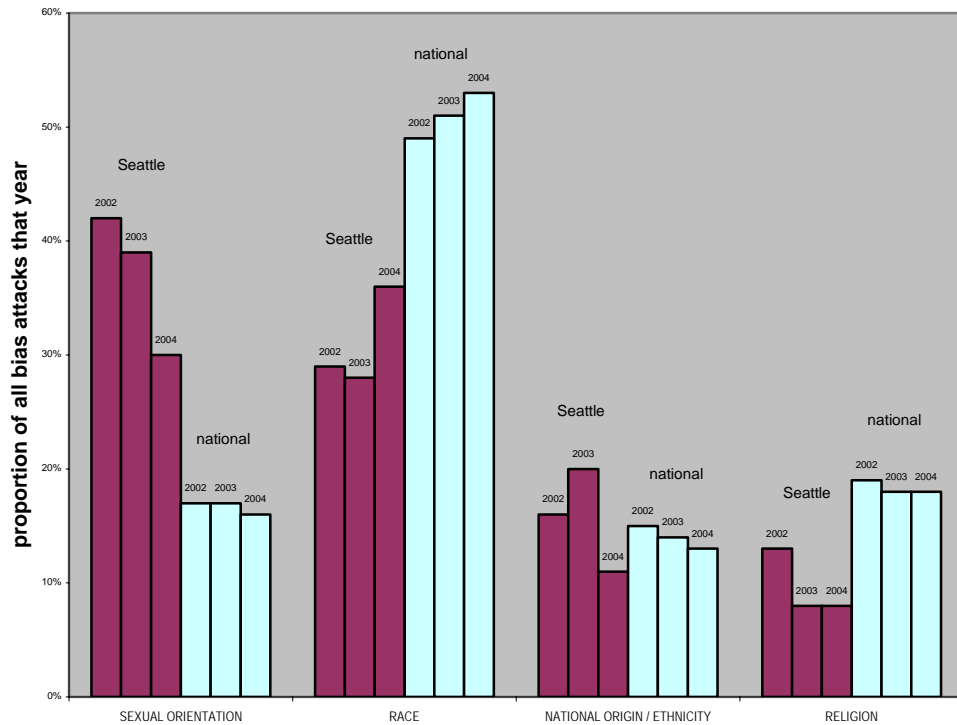


Figure 5: Prevalence of different types of bias attacks, comparing Seattle to the nation, 2002-2004

bias	2002			2003			2004		
	Seattle attacks	Seattle crimes	national crimes	Seattle attacks	Seattle crimes	national crimes	Seattle attacks	Seattle crimes	national crimes
SEXUAL ORIENTATION	42%	53%	17%	39%	48%	17%	30%	39%	16%
RACE	29%	24%	49%	28%	12%	51%	36%	27%	53%
NATIONAL ORIGIN / ETHNICITY	16%	24%	15%	20%	20%	14%	11%	9%	13%
RELIGION	13%	0%	19%	8%	16%	18%	8%	6%	18%
all other	0%	0%	<1%	5%	4%	<1%	15%	19%	<1%

Table 6: Data for Figure 5. Prevalence of different types of bias attacks, comparing Seattle to the nation, 2002-2004

²⁶ The national figures are those reported in the FBI publications *Hate Crime Statistics 2002*, *Hate Crime Statistics 2003* and *Hate Crime Statistics 2004*.

SPD reports to the FBI, and Seattle's data is included in the FBI analysis. The FBI analysis includes only bias crimes and does not include incidents. Two sets of measures are presented for Seattle: attacks (incidents and crimes), and crimes only. While the "crimes-only" measure is more comparable to the FBI data, the "attacks" measure (which includes crimes *and* incidents) is perhaps a more useful reflection of the incidence of bias attacks in Seattle because of the greater number of reports: 187 total reports for 2002-2004, of which only 75 were crimes. This report generally focuses on the total numbers of incidents rather than disregarding the majority of incidents and focusing only on the smaller number of crimes.

Consequently, whether SPD data categorizes particular reports as crimes or as incidents, and whether that categorization might over- or understate the number of crimes, is immaterial for this report. (This contention assumes that SPD categorizes the reports for all types of bias consistently and does not treat certain types of bias reports differently than others). But as noted in the beginning of this chapter in the discussion on the proper categorization of reports in relation to bias focus, whether the SPD data accurately categorizes reports as crimes or as incidents is of tremendous importance for uses outside this study.

Further, in comparing Seattle's data with the nation's, it is important to bear in mind the prevalence of what could be termed institutional underreporting. In institutional underreporting, law enforcement agencies fail to track or report bias attacks that are reported to them.

Though most police agencies in the United States report hate crimes to the FBI, not all do so. Furthermore, among the agencies that do report hate crimes, many significantly underreport the occurrence of hate crimes in their jurisdiction. A study funded by the Department of Justice found that 83 percent of the law enforcement agencies who participate in either the UCR [Uniform Crime Reporting System] or the NIBRS [National Incident Based Reporting System] report that they had no hate crimes each year. Nevertheless, the study found that many of those jurisdictions had hate crimes that were not reported to the FBI. This "false-zero" reporting to the FBI is so severe that the study estimated six thousand hate crimes, almost 75 percent again as much as the total number of hate crimes reported nationwide each year to the FBI, are not included in reports to the FBI.²⁷

"We Are Not The Enemy"

If, for a particular bias, the rest of the nation on average is underreporting its bias crimes to a greater extent than is Seattle for that same bias, Seattle's rate of bias crime would appear relatively greater for that particular bias.

Sexual orientation attacks make up a much larger proportion of bias attacks in Seattle than in the nation overall. Depending on the year, sexual orientation attacks comprise between 30% and 42% of all of Seattle's bias attacks versus only 17% for the national average. The trend is magnified if only crimes are considered.

Conversely, attacks based on race or religion comprise a smaller proportion in Seattle than nationally. For race, the range is 28% to 36% in Seattle versus about 50% nationally. For religion, the range is 8% to 13% in Seattle versus about 18% nationally.

²⁷ *"We Are Not The Enemy,"* pp. 37-38, quoting "Improving The Quality And Accuracy Of Bias Crime Statistics Nationally: An Assessment Of The First Ten Years Of Bias Crime Data Collection" by The Center for Criminal Justice Policy Research, College of Criminal Justice, Northeastern University, and Justice Research and Statistics Association, Sep 2000.

For national origin (ethnicity, in the FBI's terminology), the rates are roughly equivalent.

An exploration of why these trends might be is left to other studies to examine. But three possibilities are readily apparent:

- 1) The years 2002 to 2004 might have been anomalous, either for Seattle, for the nation, or both. As reflected in Figure 3, the years 2002 and 2003 showed a higher number of attacks based on sexual orientation in Seattle, while those based on race were lower than other years.
- 2) While attacks based on sexual orientation are deemed to be significantly under-reported in Seattle,²⁸ such attacks might be underreported to an even greater degree across the nation than they are in Seattle.
- 3) Sexual orientation bias might indeed comprise a higher proportion of attacks in Seattle than the national average.

Lending support to this last possibility, the prevalence of sexual orientation bias attacks found in this study are consistent with that found by another study for the years 1992 to 1994, and remain essentially unchanged since that time.

Crime motivated by bias against victim's sexual orientation was one of the top two bias crimes in Seattle reported to police, and the most common type of incident that fit the legal definition of bias crime.

It accounted for 40% of all bias crime reports made to the Seattle Police Department between 1992-1994.

Such reports were equal in numbers to bias crime reports related to race, but 10% more of the sexual orientation reports fit the legal definition of bias crime.²⁹

Bias Crime Against Sexual Minorities

Comparing Seattle with the rest of the nation is potentially useful in helping target problem areas so that social service agencies, City officials, educators and school officials, and interest groups can identify those biases that pose particular challenges for Seattle.

²⁸ "While sexual minorities are perhaps the most frequent victims of bias crime, they are among those least likely to report. Bias crime in general is an under-reported crime, and among its victims, sexual minorities are particularly reluctant to have contact with the criminal justice system. ...[A] 1990-1991 survey of the Seattle area sexual minority community found that 65% of those targeted by anti-sexual minority harassment or violence did not report to law enforcement. Prevalence studies in many U.S. cities have found that most victims of sexual orientation-focused bias crimes do not report to law enforcement, in rates mostly ranging from 80% to 90%. Fear of 'secondary victimization' – that the victim will be re-victimized by the criminal justice system – is heightened for many sexual minorities and leads to under-reporting. This fear may be due to the historic role of law enforcement in the often violent social suppression of sexual minorities, fear of police abuse or hostility, and fear of public exposure of one's sexual orientation. The Seattle survey affirms this fear of 'making the situation worse.'" *Bias Crime Against Sexual Minorities*, 1995, p. 11, quoting "A Survey of the Seattle Area Lesbian and Gay Community: Identity and Issues" by Seattle Commission for Lesbians and Gays.

²⁹ *Bias Crime Against Sexual Minorities*, p. 2.

Knowing about a problem is the first step in solving it.

As a reader of this report, you are encouraged to consider how you can make use of the information presented here. Community and social activists, neighborhood groups, elected officials, City staffers, citizens who work with social service agencies, business owners, concerned neighborhood residents – we all have a vital stake in understanding and reducing the corrosive effects of bias in our city. Whether your focus is on racial minorities, the LGBT or immigrant communities, schools and education, or local neighborhood concerns, an awareness of the prevalence and wide distribution of bias attacks in Seattle can help you provide services and undertake activities to help deter such attacks in your area of focus. Think about how to incorporate the findings of this report into the programs and activities you are involved with and care about.

According to Thomas Harnett, a prosecutor in the Maine attorney general's office, **hate crime perpetrators "believe that their actions have community support."**³⁰

"We Are Not The Enemy" (emphasis added)

When the assailant in the attack described in Chapter 1 shouted "This is still Ballard" while kicking his unconscious victim, he was announcing his perception that the Ballard neighborhood does not tolerate gay people. Prosecutor Harnett is correct – perpetrators of hate crimes believe their actions have community support.

We the community must repudiate the hate crime perpetrators' horribly mistaken belief. We must make a loud, consistent statement that hate crimes will not be tolerated and that, in absolute contrast to having community support, hate crimes and their perpetrators bear the community's condemnation.

Crime prevention ...depend[s] in large part on **community support and partnership** in law enforcement strategies.³¹

Bias Crime Against Sexual Minorities (emphasis added)

Further, as seen in the data comparing 2000 to 2001 when all types of bias attacks rose sharply together,³² the simultaneous increase of all types of bias attacks suggests the cumulative nature of bias. Hate tends to breed hate. As a society's tolerance of hateful acts increases, those who are hateful can perceive that it is permissible to act on their hateful feelings – regardless of who their victim-of-choice might be. By sending a clear

³⁰ *"We Are Not The Enemy,"* p. 31.

³¹ *Bias Crime Against Sexual Minorities*, p. 35.

³² see Figure 3 and Table 3

message to those who would otherwise act on their hate, community and law enforcement work directed at fighting one type of bias may help reduce violent acts motivated by other types of bias.

Seattle Police Department data on bias attacks – including serious crimes and less-serious incidents – show that bias against race and sexual orientation are the two most prevalent motivators of these attacks in Seattle. Other motivators are biases targeting religion, national origin, political ideology, and gender identity.

There was a significant spike of such attacks in 2002 compared to the year earlier – due largely to the effect of 9/11.

Considering a longer time span, relative to their levels in 2000, the data for 2005 show substantial increases in the two most-significant types of bias attacks: race-based attacks increased 33% over the period, while those based on sexual orientation increased 29%. The total number of bias attacks increased 21% over the period covered by this study. Clearly, the need to address the problem of bias attacks is growing in importance with time.

Relative to national patterns using data gathered by the FBI, Seattle has an atypically high percentage of attacks motivated by sexual orientation bias. Nonetheless, in Seattle in 2004 and 2005, there were more attacks based on race than on any other category.

Finally and most importantly, bias-motivated attacks occur with alarming frequency in every neighborhood of Seattle. Awareness of those attacks is an essential first step in reducing them. Residents, business owners, local media, and neighborhood groups need to become aware of the prevalence of bias-motivated attacks in their neighborhood so that they may recognize it as an important problem that needs to be addressed.

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About the author

Ken Molsberry has resided in Seattle since 1979, most recently in the Ballard neighborhood where he lives with his same-sex partner. As gay people, the author and his life-partner are potential victims of one of the most prevalent types of bias attack, that targeted to sexual orientation. As a concerned citizen, the author is aware that bias attacks of all types harm innocent people and damage the livability of the city where he makes his home.

Mr. Molsberry is a computer systems and data analyst for the Seattle City Attorney's Office, and holds a Bachelor of Science degree from Washington State University. Although he is a City employee, no City resources were used in the creation of this study, with the exception of the time spent by Seattle Police Department to respond to two public disclosure requests for information. Expenses for the production of this study, including a copying fee for the public disclosure request, have been provided by the author and the Hate Crime Awareness Project of the Seattle LGBT Community Center. Opinions expressed in this report are those solely of the author and do not represent positions of the City Attorney's Office or the City of Seattle.

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Appendices

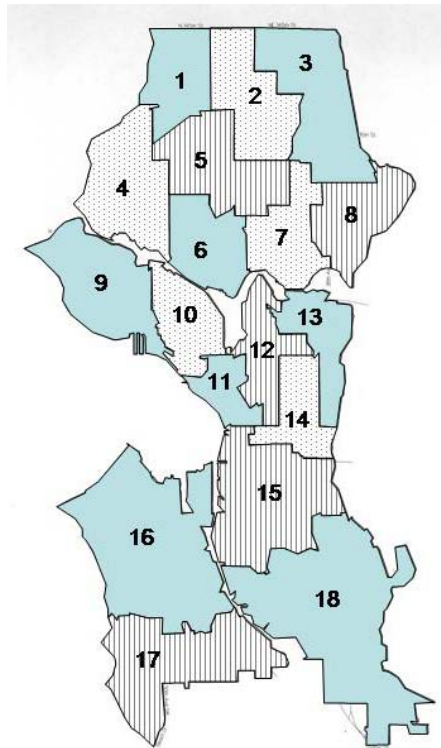
APPENDIX A – BIAS ATTACKS BY NEIGHBORHOOD AREA, 2000 TO 2005

sorted by total number of reports

	First Hill / Capitol Hill / Eastlake	Downtown / Belltown / Pioneer Square / South Lake Union	International District / Central District	U. District / Ravenna	West Seattle / Harbor Island	SODO / Beacon Hill / Mt. Baker	Greenwood	Lake City	Queen Anne	Georgetown / Rainier Valley / Columbia City / Rainier Beach	Fremont / Wallingford	Ballard / Crown Hill	Northgate / Haller Lake	Arbor Heights / White Center	Laurelhurst / View Ridge / Sandpoint	Magnolia / Interbay	Montlake / Broadmoor / Madrona	North Beach / Bitter Lake	Totals
race	20	17	13	14	10	12	10	6	8	7	10	3	2	5	2	1		2	142
sexual orientation	43	13	15	5	6	2	4	4	4	4	3	4	1	2	2	4	3		119
religion	3	5	2	10	4	3	2	6		3	1	2	7	2	2	3	2	1	58
national origin	9	6	6	2	1	5	5	2	5	2	1	5	3	3	1	1			57
political ideology		5		1	1		1					1			2			1	12
gender identity	1																		1
other		2	2	2	3	2	1								1		1		14
Totals	76	48	38	34	25	24	23	18	17	16	15	15	13	12	10	9	6	4	403

APPENDIX B1 – CENSUS TRACTS IN EACH NEIGHBORHOOD AREA

neighborhood area	census tracts
1 North Beach / Bitter Lake	4, 5, 14
2 Northgate / Haller Lake	3, 6, 11, 12, 19, 20
3 Lake City	1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 21, 22, 24
4 Ballard / Crown Hill	15, 16, 30, 31, 32, 33, 47
5 Greenwood	13, 17, 18, 26, 27, 28, 29, 36
6 Fremont / Wallingford	34, 35, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 54
7 University District / Ravenna	25, 37, 38, 43, 44, 45, 52, 53.01, 53.02
8 Laurelhurst / View Ridge / Sand Point	23.98, 39, 40.98, 41, 42
9 Magnolia / Interbay	55, 56, 57, 58.01, 58.02
10 Queen Anne	59, 60, 67.98, 68.98, 69, 70, 71
11 Downtown (including Belltown, Pioneer Square, and South Lake Union)	72, 73, 80, 81, 82, 85
12 First Hill / Capitol Hill / Eastlake	61, 64, 65, 66, 74, 75, 83, 84, 86
13 Montlake / Broadmoor / Madrona	62, 63, 78
14 International District / Central District	76, 77, 79, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91
15 SODO / Beacon Hill / Mount Baker	92, 93, 94, 95, 100
16 West Seattle / Harbor Island	96, 97, 98, 99, 105, 106, 107, 108
17 Arbor Heights / White Center	112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 120, 121
18 Georgetown / Rainier Valley / Columbia City / Rainier Beach	101, 102, 103, 104, 109, 110, 111, 117, 118, 119



APPENDIX B2 – NEIGHBORHOOD AREA BY CENSUS TRACT

census tract	neighborhood area
1	Lake City
2	Lake City
3	Northgate / Haller Lake
4	North Beach / Bitter Lake
5	North Beach / Bitter Lake
6	Northgate / Haller Lake
7	Lake City
8	Lake City
9	Lake City
10	Lake City
11	Northgate / Haller Lake
12	Northgate / Haller Lake
13	Greenwood
14	North Beach / Bitter Lake
15	Ballard / Crown Hill
16	Ballard / Crown Hill
17	Greenwood
18	Greenwood
19	Northgate / Haller Lake
20	Northgate / Haller Lake
21	Lake City
22	Lake City
23.98	Laurelhurst / View Ridge / Sandpoint
24	Lake City
25	U. District / Ravenna
26	Greenwood
27	Greenwood
28	Greenwood
29	Greenwood
30	Ballard / Crown Hill
31	Ballard / Crown Hill
32	Ballard / Crown Hill
33	Ballard / Crown Hill
34	Fremont / Wallingford
35	Fremont / Wallingford
36	Greenwood
37	U. District / Ravenna
38	U. District / Ravenna
39	Laurelhurst / View Ridge / Sandpoint
40.98	Laurelhurst / View Ridge / Sandpoint
41	Laurelhurst / View Ridge / Sandpoint
42	Laurelhurst / View Ridge / Sandpoint
43	U. District / Ravenna
44	U. District / Ravenna
45	U. District / Ravenna
46	Fremont / Wallingford
47	Ballard / Crown Hill
48	Fremont / Wallingford
49	Fremont / Wallingford
50	Fremont / Wallingford

census tract	neighborhood area
51	Fremont / Wallingford
52	U. District / Ravenna
53.01	U. District / Ravenna
53.02	U. District / Ravenna
54	Fremont / Wallingford
55	Magnolia / Interbay
56	Magnolia / Interbay
57	Magnolia / Interbay
58.01	Magnolia / Interbay
58.02	Magnolia / Interbay
59	Queen Anne
60	Queen Anne
61	First Hill / Capitol Hill / Eastlake
62	Montlake / Broadmoor / Madrona
63	Montlake / Broadmoor / Madrona
64	First Hill / Capitol Hill / Eastlake
65	First Hill / Capitol Hill / Eastlake
66	First Hill / Capitol Hill / Eastlake
67.98	Queen Anne
68.98	Queen Anne
69	Queen Anne
70	Queen Anne
71	Queen Anne
72	Downtown / Belltown / Pioneer Square / South Lake Union
73	Downtown / Belltown / Pioneer Square / South Lake Union
74	First Hill / Capitol Hill / Eastlake
75	First Hill / Capitol Hill / Eastlake
76	International District / Central District
77	International District / Central District
78	Montlake / Broadmoor / Madrona
79	International District / Central District
80	Downtown / Belltown / Pioneer Square / South Lake Union
81	Downtown / Belltown / Pioneer Square / South Lake Union
82	Downtown / Belltown / Pioneer Square / South Lake Union
83	First Hill / Capitol Hill / Eastlake
84	First Hill / Capitol Hill / Eastlake
85	Downtown / Belltown / Pioneer Square / South Lake Union
86	First Hill / Capitol Hill / Eastlake
87	International District / Central District
88	International District / Central District
89	International District / Central District
90	International District / Central District
91	International District / Central District
92	SODO / Beacon Hill / Mt. Baker
93	SODO / Beacon Hill / Mt. Baker
94	SODO / Beacon Hill / Mt. Baker
95	SODO / Beacon Hill / Mt. Baker
96	West Seattle / Harbor Island
97	West Seattle / Harbor Island
98	West Seattle / Harbor Island
99	West Seattle / Harbor Island
100	SODO / Beacon Hill / Mt. Baker

census tract	neighborhood area
101	Georgetown / Rainier Valley / Columbia City / Rainier Beach
102	Georgetown / Rainier Valley / Columbia City / Rainier Beach
103	Georgetown / Rainier Valley / Columbia City / Rainier Beach
104	Georgetown / Rainier Valley / Columbia City / Rainier Beach
105	West Seattle / Harbor Island
106	West Seattle / Harbor Island
107	West Seattle / Harbor Island
108	West Seattle / Harbor Island
109	Georgetown / Rainier Valley / Columbia City / Rainier Beach
110	Georgetown / Rainier Valley / Columbia City / Rainier Beach
111	Georgetown / Rainier Valley / Columbia City / Rainier Beach
112	Arbor Heights / White Center
113	Arbor Heights / White Center
114	Arbor Heights / White Center
115	Arbor Heights / White Center
116	Arbor Heights / White Center
117	Georgetown / Rainier Valley / Columbia City / Rainier Beach
118	Georgetown / Rainier Valley / Columbia City / Rainier Beach
119	Georgetown / Rainier Valley / Columbia City / Rainier Beach
120	Arbor Heights / White Center
121	Arbor Heights / White Center