

APPENDIX G

Geographic and Demographic Analysis of Hate Crimes in Seattle

Neighborhood Demographics, Zoning, & Hate Crime Report

Tim Thomas, PhD University of Washington

t77@uw.edu

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Executive Summary

Hate crimes in Seattle are not randomly distributed, but rather cluster around different neighborhood social and cultural dynamics measured through racial composition, socio-economics, political, and other population factors. For instance, places with a large presence of a targeted group may see higher counts of hate crimes (e.g., more anti-LGBTQ crimes in neighborhoods like Seattle's Capitol Hill). Furthermore, areas with high population diversity and turnover (e.g., high proportion of renters, pedestrian traffic, or nighttime destinations where strangers converge) may see more hate crimes due to social or cultural friction. In both scenarios, victimizers in these spaces inflict abuse or violence on a victim who they believe should be or act in a way that aligns with the victimizer's group's values or beliefs. These hate crimes are situated within the context of exploitation, marginalization, and cultural imperialism.¹

To understand spatial trends in hate crimes, this analysis examines the geographic distribution of hate crimes² reported to the Seattle Police Department (SPD), hate graffiti reported to Seattle Public Utilities (SPU), neighborhood socio-demographics, and land use characteristics. Data are drawn from SPD, SPU, the U.S. Census Bureau, and the King County GIS Data Hub.

Primary findings:

- Hate crimes are most frequently directed towards a victim's race or ethnicity (54%) and sexual orientation (32%).
- Hate crimes occur more often in block-groups that are either racially diverse, have slightly lower income than the Seattle median, or have a high proportion of renters.
- The largest clustering of hate crimes occurs in the densely populated areas of Downtown and Capitol Hill. Smaller clusters occur in the U-District and Ballard—all spaces known for high commuter and visitor traffic.
- In less dense areas of Seattle where more White residents live, hate crimes occur along the borders of mostly White and racially diverse neighborhoods.
- Over half of all hate crimes (53%) occur in mixed general use (commercial and residentially zoned areas) and multi-family residential zones—areas that tend to be proximate to each other.
- Like hate crimes, hate graffiti is reported along busy thoroughfares and in racially diverse block-groups. Unlike hate crimes, graffiti is reported more often in block-groups that are mostly White and White-Asian.

¹ Perry, B. (2002). *In the name of hate: Understanding hate crimes*. Routledge.

² The terms hate crime and bias crime are used interchangeably in this report.

Findings

1. Hate Crime Counts

The data used for this analysis are verified bias related incidents³ reported to SPD between January 2012 and December 2016. After cleaning the data, a total of 808 hate crimes were aggregated into three main categories based on the victim’s race and ethnicity (e.g., Black, White, Asian, other), sexual orientation (e.g., LGBTQ, male, female), and other (a catch-all for less frequent hate crimes such as religious, political, or homeless).

Among the three primary hate crime types in Figure 1.a, the highest number of incidents are directed towards the race and ethnicity of the victim (n = 437) followed by sexual orientation (n = 262) and other (n = 109).⁴

Figure 1.a: Aggregated Hate Crime Counts by Category, 2012-2016

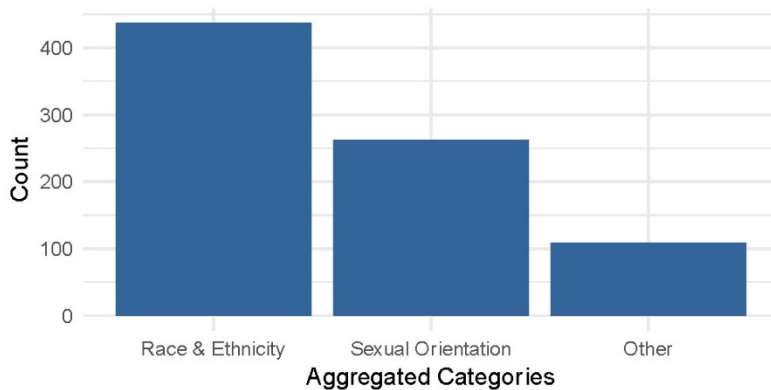
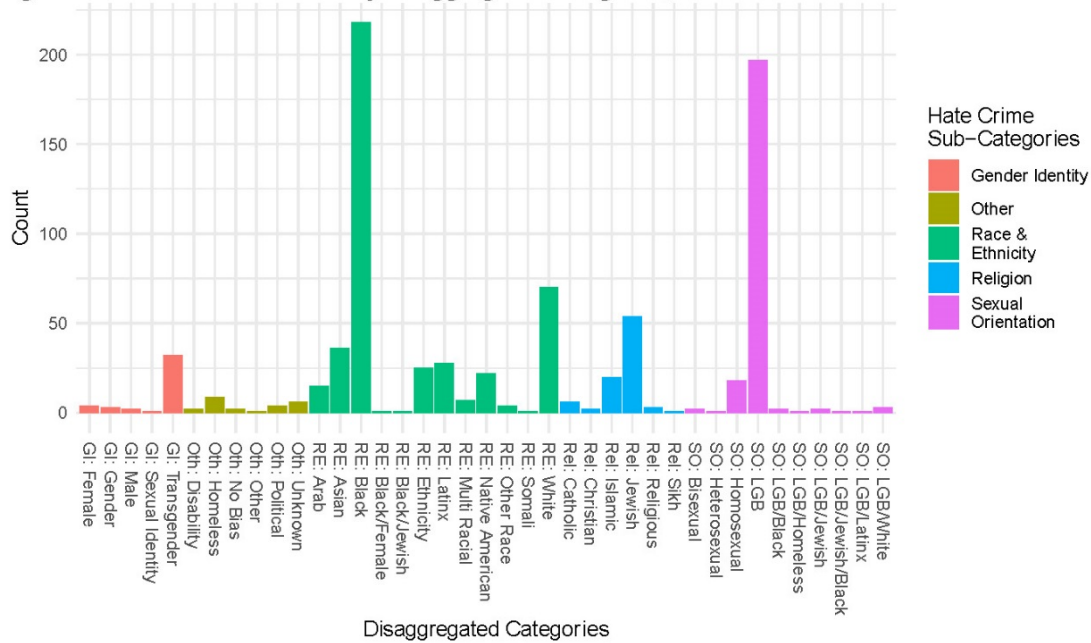


Figure 1.b shows the breakdown of hate crimes as defined and reported by SPD. Each hate crime is grouped into sub-categories consisting of gender identity (GI on the x-axis), other (Oth), race and/or ethnicity (RE), religion (Rel), or sexual orientation (SO). The two most prevalent hate crime types are directed towards Black and LGB individuals with over, or near, 200 incidents. Hate crimes against White and Jewish individuals had over 50 occurrences each while Asian, transgender, ethnicity, Latinx, and Native American had over, or near, 25 a piece.

³ SPD tracks three categories of bias related incidents: bias crimes, crimes with bias elements, and non-criminal bias incidents.

⁴ A small number of cases have a combination of race and ethnicity and sexual orientation/identity identifiers, such as LGB/Black. These combined instances are aggregated into the race and ethnicity category.

Figure 1.b: Detailed Bias Counts by Disaggregated Categories, 2012-2016



2. Hate Crimes and Neighborhood Socio-Demographics

Neighborhood characteristics for this report were selected based on theoretical and scholarly considerations around the topics of hate crimes, racial segregation, criminology, and demographics related to neighborhood transition (e.g., gentrification). This includes:

1. Neighborhood level racial composition (the proportion of White, Black, Asian, Latinx, and other/multi-racial residents)
2. Socio-economics (neighborhood median family income and the proportion of residents on public assistance; in poverty; unemployed; with a bachelor’s degree or higher; and workers that are managers, scientists, or artists)
3. Socio-demographics (proportion of households that are female headed with children, residents over 65 or below 18 years of age, and children in K-12 private school)
4. Housing dynamics (proportion of renters, homeowners, and median gross rent)

Neighborhood racial and socio-economic characteristics are drawn from 2012-2016 five-year American Community Survey census defined block-groups (a cluster of street blocks with roughly 600 to 3,000 persons). Block-groups are ideal for this analysis as they provide the smallest census geography with aggregated socio-economic, demographic, and other relevant neighborhood information. Overall, hate crimes tend to occur most in block-groups with slightly more racial diversity, slightly lower incomes, and more renters as compared to the Seattle median. See Appendix A. and B. for box plots of the listed variables.

Racial Composition

Regarding racial composition, hate crimes occur in neighborhoods with a relatively high proportion of Whites, which makes sense given that Seattle is mostly white (about 67%). Half of hate crimes occur in neighborhoods where the white proportion is between .53 and .73 with a median of about .64. The median neighborhood Black proportion where hate crimes occur is about .06, .11 for Asian, .06 for Latinx, and .06 for other and mixed-race groups.

Socio-Economics

Regarding socio-economics, hate crimes occur in relatively low welfare and low unemployment block-groups, but slightly more in somewhat higher poverty and lower income block-groups as compared to Seattle's median values. Seattle's median block-group poverty is about .07 while the median block-group value for where hate crimes occurs is 0.14. Likewise, Seattle's overall block-group median family income is about \$80k while the median income value for where hate crimes occur is about \$63k. The median college education and the proportion of professionals between the Seattle and hate crime distributions are almost the same, just slightly lower for the distribution of hate crimes.

Socio-Demographics

Regarding socio-demographics, the hate crime distribution is about the same as Seattle's neighborhood distribution. Hate crimes occur in block groups with a slightly lower proportion of professionals and persons under 18 or over 65. Hate crimes occur in block groups with slightly lower proportion of those in private school as compared to Seattle's median private school attendance. Female headed households with children are relatively the same for Seattle and the hate crime distribution.

Housing Dynamics

Regarding housing dynamics, there is no real difference between where hate crimes occur and different distributions of Seattle's median gross rent—meaning hate crimes do not occur more or less in low or high rent areas. However, hate crimes do tend to occur more in areas where there is a higher proportion of renters (a median .77 where hate crimes occur as compared to Seattle's median of .45). Theoretically, areas with more renters tend to have more diversity between social groups (e.g., differences in norms, beliefs, and demographics), leading to possibly more friction between different groups and possible increases in hate crimes.^{5 6}

3. Spatial Distribution of Hate Crimes

The following section shows the geographic distribution of hate crimes overlaid on distinct neighborhood racial typologies and land-use zones.

3.1 Hate Crimes and Neighborhood Racial Composition

Figure 3.a shows all hate crimes overlaid on eight different racial neighborhood types from mostly white to mostly diverse within the city:

- *Mostly White* (> 90% white)
- *Four White-shared* categories (e.g., White-Asian where < 70% is white, > 10% is Asian, and all others are < 10%)

⁵ Kirk, D. S., & Laub, J. H. (2010). Neighborhood Change and Crime in the Modern Metropolis. *Crime and Justice*, 39(1), 441–502.

⁶ Lees, L., Slater, T., & Wyly, E. K. (2007). *Gentrification*. New York: Routledge.

- *Three groups* (< 70% is white and two groups are > 10%)
- *Four groups* (four or more of the five racial groups are above 10%)
- *Mostly People of Color* (White is < 20% while all other groups are above 10%)

Hate crimes tend to cluster in the densely populated areas of downtown, Capitol Hill, Ballard, the U-District, and along major thoroughfares. These highly populated and high pedestrian traffic spaces allow individuals the opportunity to interact with diverse groups of people leading to a higher frequency of hate crime incidents. In less dense areas, such as North Seattle, hate crimes tend to occur in minority mixed neighborhoods just along the border of mostly-White neighborhoods.

A majority of these crimes along the borders are related to race and ethnicity which can be explained in part by the racial threat hypothesis: the perceived encroachment of People of Color in White dominated areas "leads Whites to perceive threats to their economic and political standing and personal safety."⁷ To quell this threat, Whites respond with formal social control (e.g., calling the police) or informal social control, such as confrontation through verbal or physical assault (i.e., hate crimes). High traffic corridors along these racial boundaries seem to exacerbate the rate of hate crimes in these less populated areas. This bordering effect also occurs in block-groups located around West Seattle, Magnolia, Eastlake, and Montlake.

In South Seattle's more diverse block-groups, most hate crimes seem to occur along the Rainier Avenue and MLK Way corridors where there are White-mixed and mostly minority neighborhoods. This area holds a mix of race/ethnic and sexual orientation hate crimes. A possible explanation for these patterns is the influx of white middle-class residents through gentrification in this area, increasing diverse exposure and potential tensions between legacy and new residents.

⁷ Ousey, G. C. and Matthew R. L. (2008). Racial Disparity in Formal Social Control. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 45, no. 3, 322–55.

Figure 3.a: Hate Crimes and Neighborhood Racial Typology, 2012-2016

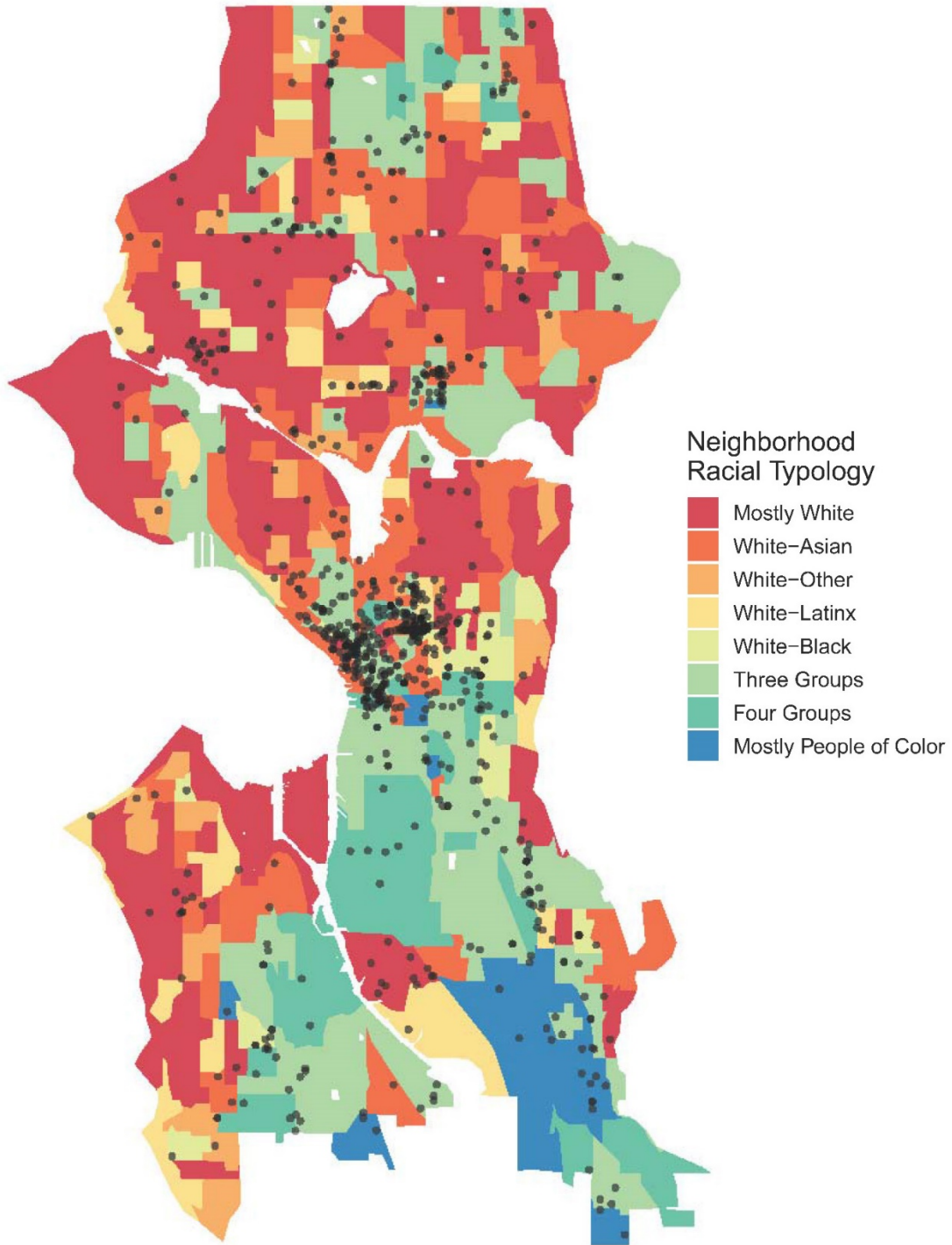
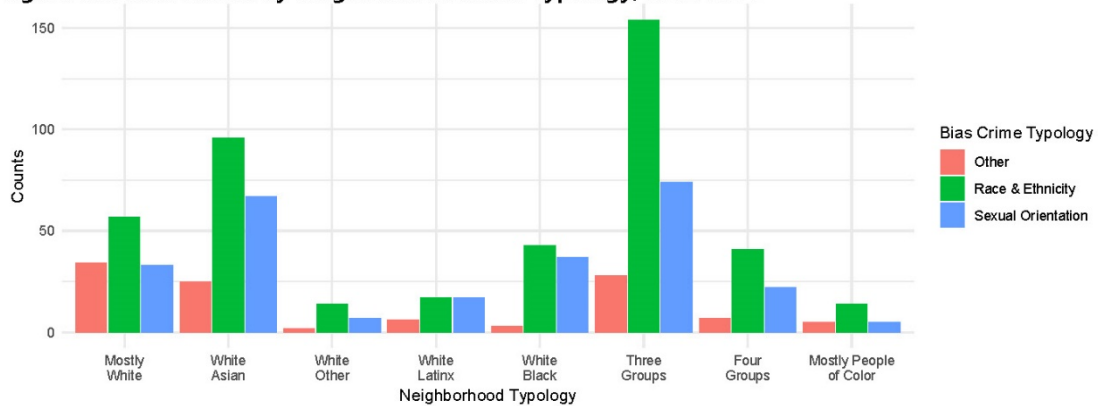


Figure 3.b shows the number of hate crimes within the different neighborhood racial typologies. Here we see that most hate crimes are occurring in neighborhoods that are categorized as three groups, White-Asian, and mostly White.

Figure 3.b: Hate Crimes by Neighborhood Racial Typology, 2012-2016

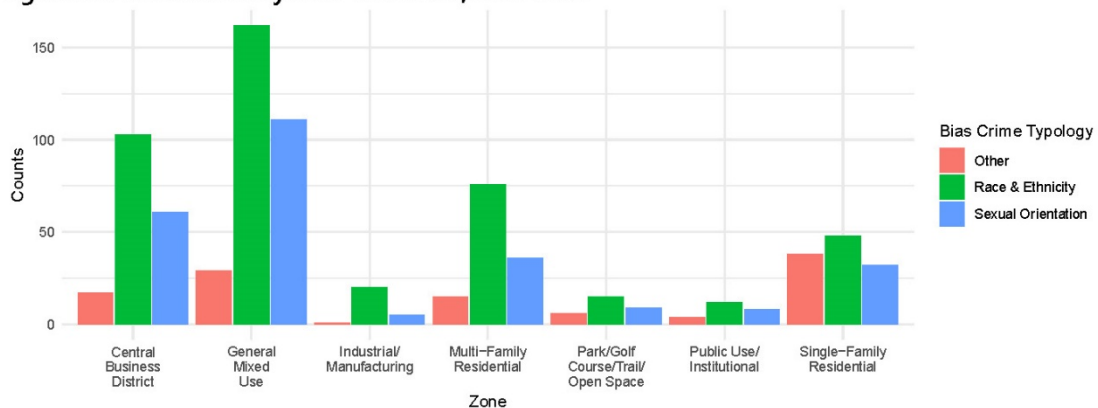


3.2 Hate Crimes and Land Use Zones

Drawing from King County's land use zoning data, the following graphs and maps provide insight into where the three primary hate crime types are occurring in relation to zoning.

Figure 3.c shows that most hate crimes occur in general mixed use,⁸ central business district, multi-family residential, and single-family residential zoned areas.

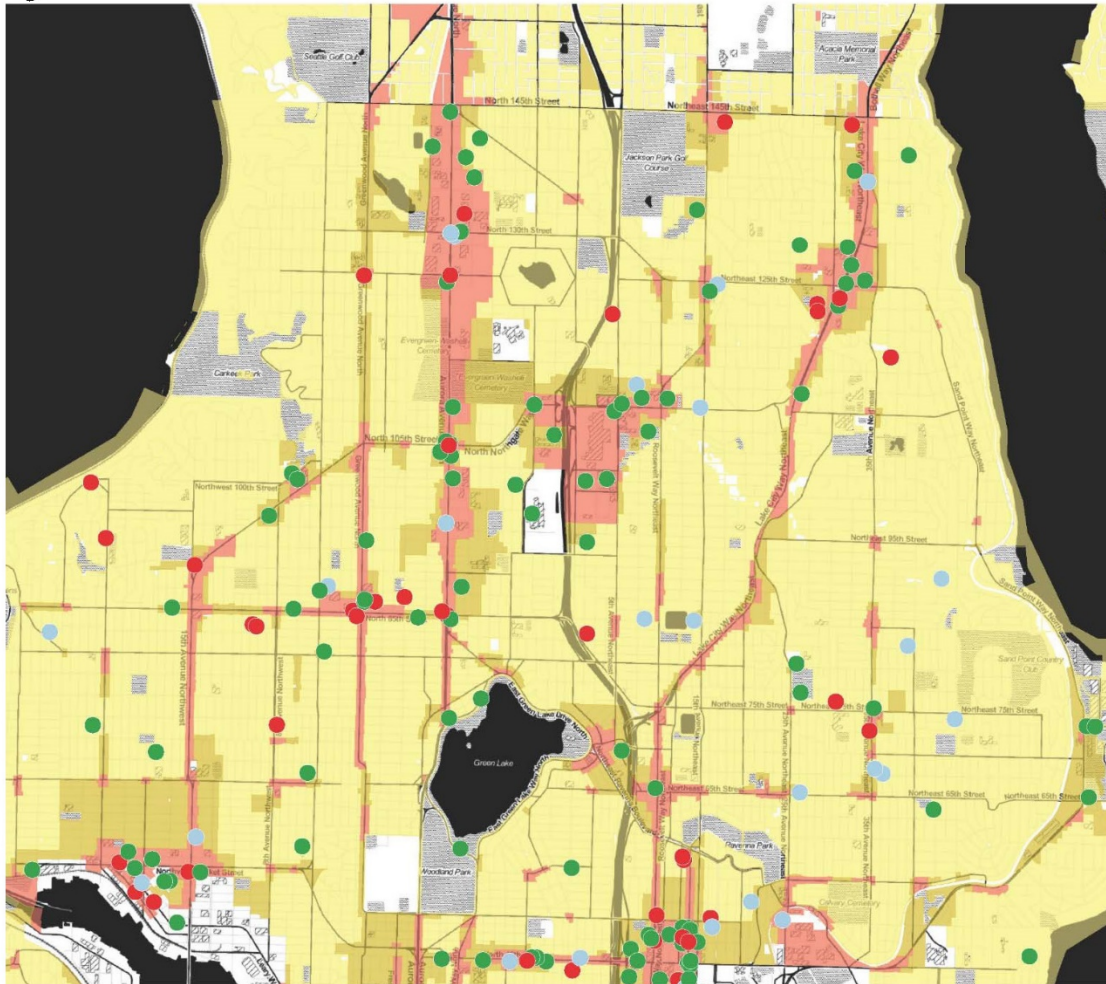
Figure 3.c: Hate Crimes by Land Use Zones, 2012-2016



⁸ General mixed use areas are zoned for buildings that are a mix of non-residential (e.g., commercial or office space) and residential.

Most of the hate crimes in North Seattle occur in general mixed use areas, with multi-family zoned areas slightly buffering the geographically larger single-family zoned areas.

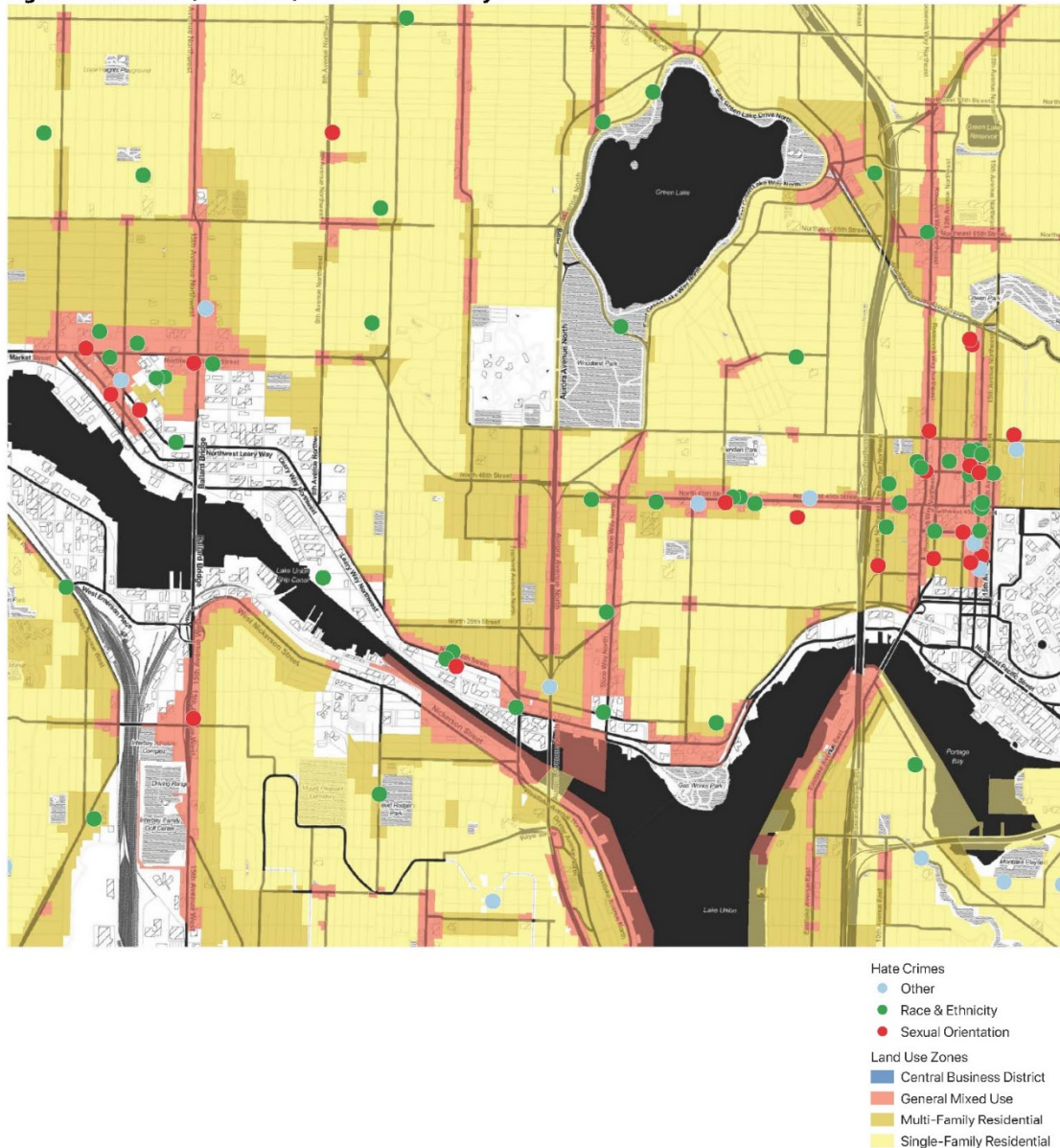
Figure 3.d: North Seattle



- Hate Crimes
 - Other
 - Race & Ethnicity
 - Sexual Orientation
- Land Use Zones
 - Central Business District
 - General Mixed Use
 - Multi-Family Residential
 - Single-Family Residential

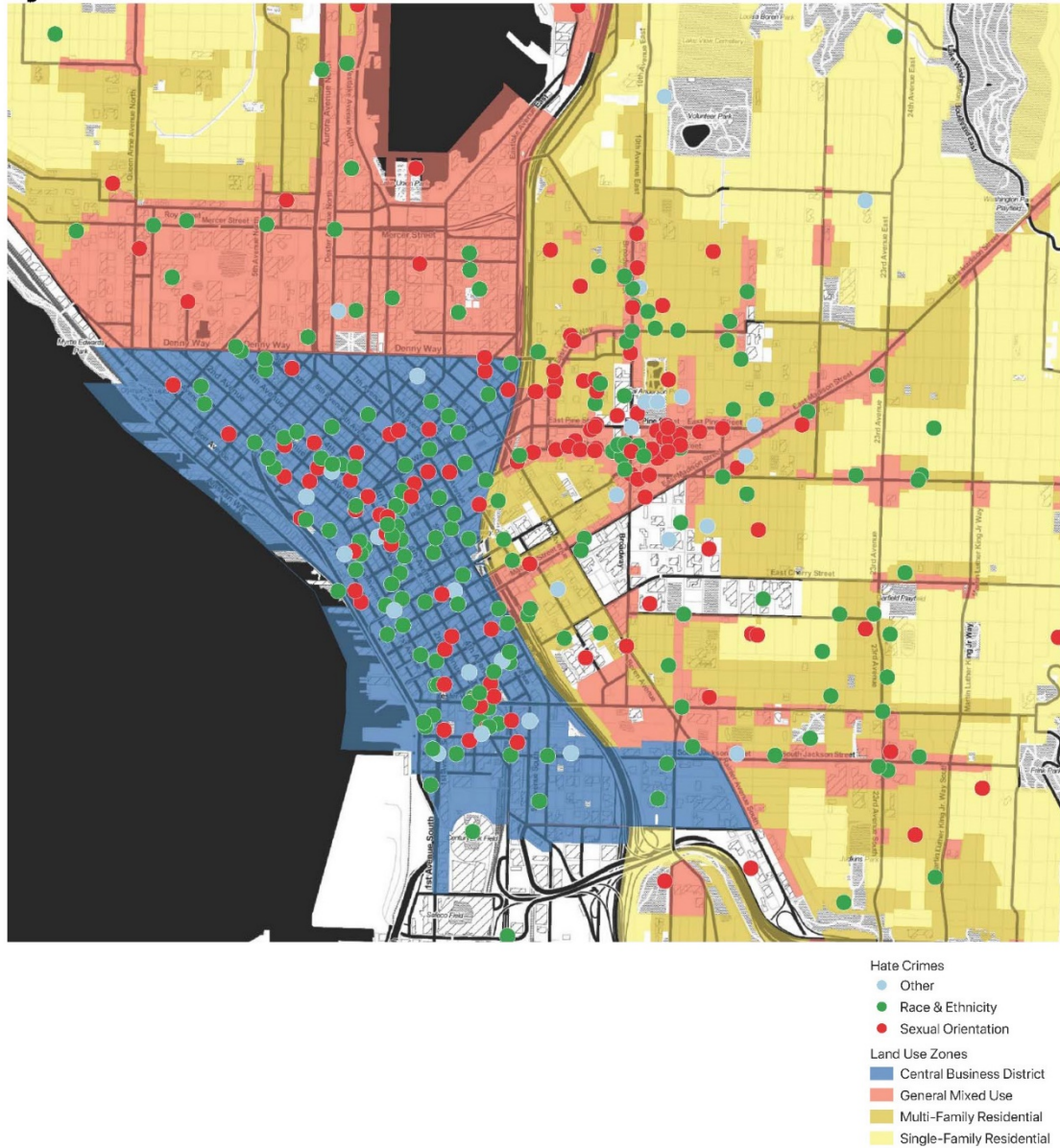
Just south and north of the ship canal, most hate crimes also occur in general mixed use areas surrounded by multi-family residential zoned areas. In this area, hate crime clustering occurs within Ballard and the U-District, areas that feature higher pedestrian traffic, visiting commercial businesses and restaurants/bars, in addition to the University of Washington's student population.

Figure 3.e: Ballard, Fremont, and the University District



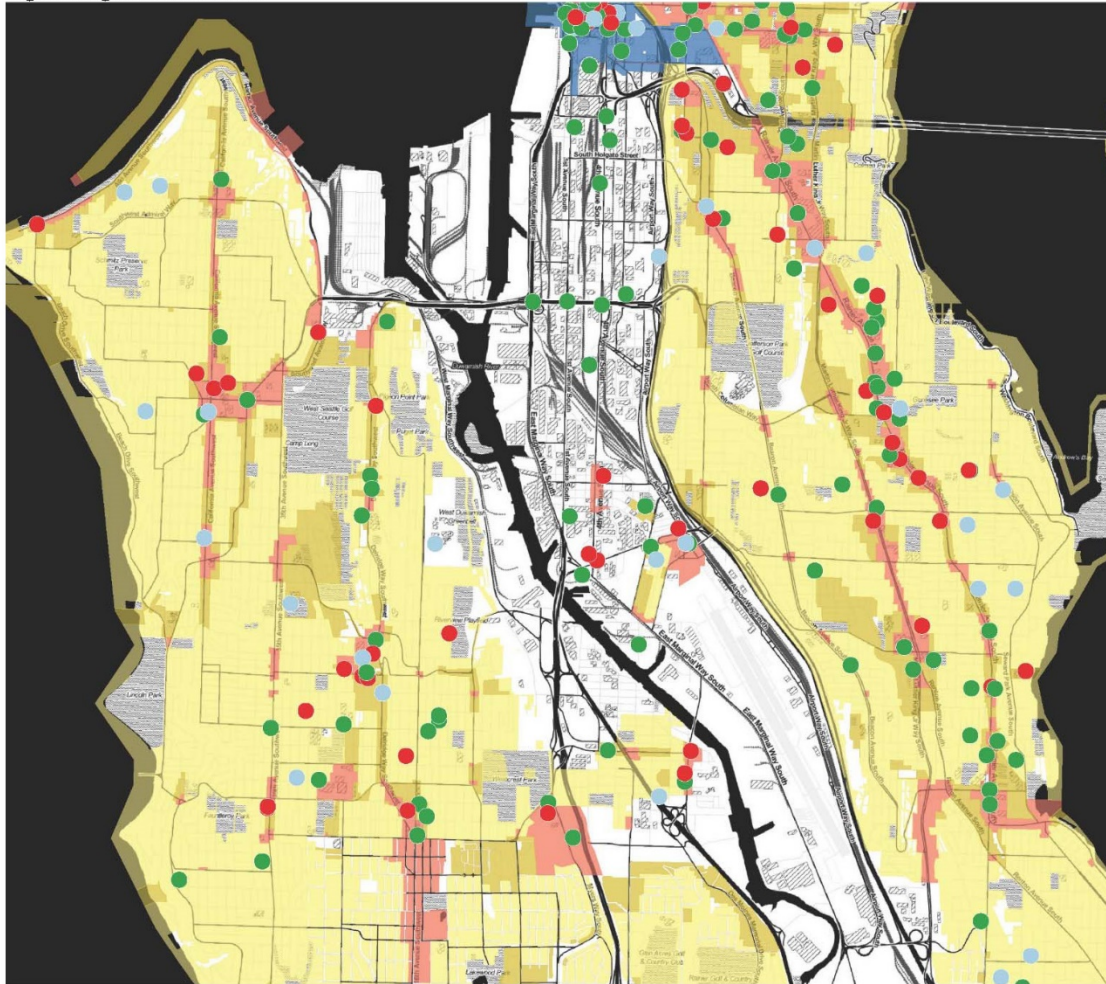
In central Seattle, the city's highest concentrations of hate crimes occur in Downtown's business district (with predominantly race and ethnicity hate crimes) and Capitol Hill (more sexual orientation hate crimes). Downtown attracts the most diverse demographic and socio-economic groups in the city given the intersection of commercial and professional businesses, human services, and public transportation transfer stations. This provides a higher likelihood for different groups to converge and interact. Capitol Hill has high population turnover, but also a historically high LGBTQ density, which may explain more sexual orientation victimization given the high number of persons of that targeted group.

Figure 3.f: Central Seattle



In South Seattle, most hate crimes occur in general mixed use zones in both West Seattle and the Rainier Valley, with a large number occurring along Rainier Avenue. The Rainier Valley area has a much larger non-white population and higher likelihood for race and ethnicity hate crimes given the diversity of the area.

Figure 3.g: South Seattle



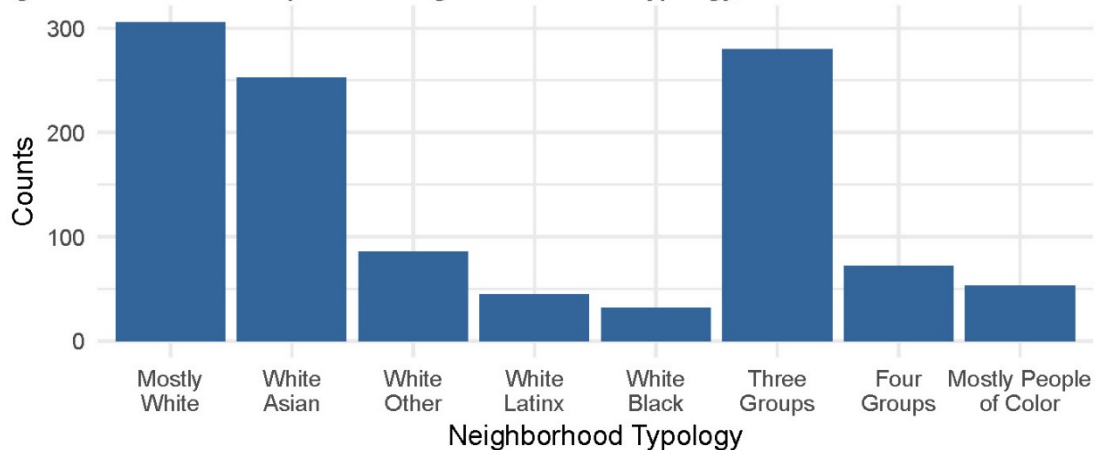
4. Spatial Distribution of Hate Graffiti

Hate graffiti refers to obscenities, gang references, or hate speech painted on visible surfaces across Seattle. The data for this analysis was pulled from SPU’s 1257 unconfirmed, user-reported instances related to hate graffiti between 2013 and 2017. After data cleaning and geocoding using Google’s geocoding API,⁹ the final count of graffiti incidents is 946. Unfortunately, information on the content or references of the hate graffiti are sparse. Therefore, this section only provides the location and block-group dynamics related to hate graffiti.¹⁰

The majority of hate graffiti reports seem to appear in mostly White, White-Asian, and three group neighborhoods. These three neighborhood types make up a large proportion of Seattle’s neighborhoods, which may explain the high count in these areas. However, an additional explanation may be that residents in these high-count areas may have less tolerance for graffiti and, therefore, are more prone to reporting on these types of graffiti. In other words, the high counts in these neighborhoods may be related to the fact that there is more reporting in these areas rather than more physical graffiti.

Households in more advantaged neighborhoods tend to feel more empowered to protect their spaces for social and economic reasons. They may hold a positive affinity towards civic institutions (e.g., law enforcement) and believe these institutions will respond swiftly to their calls, leading to more reports in these areas. Residents in more disadvantaged neighborhoods may feel estranged from civic institutions and may be less likely to report graffiti (e.g., the lower reporting count in neighborhoods with a higher proportion of People of Color). A diverse and representative survey of residents would help explain this trend.

Figure 4.a: Hate Graffiti Reports and Neighborhood Racial Typology, 2013-2017

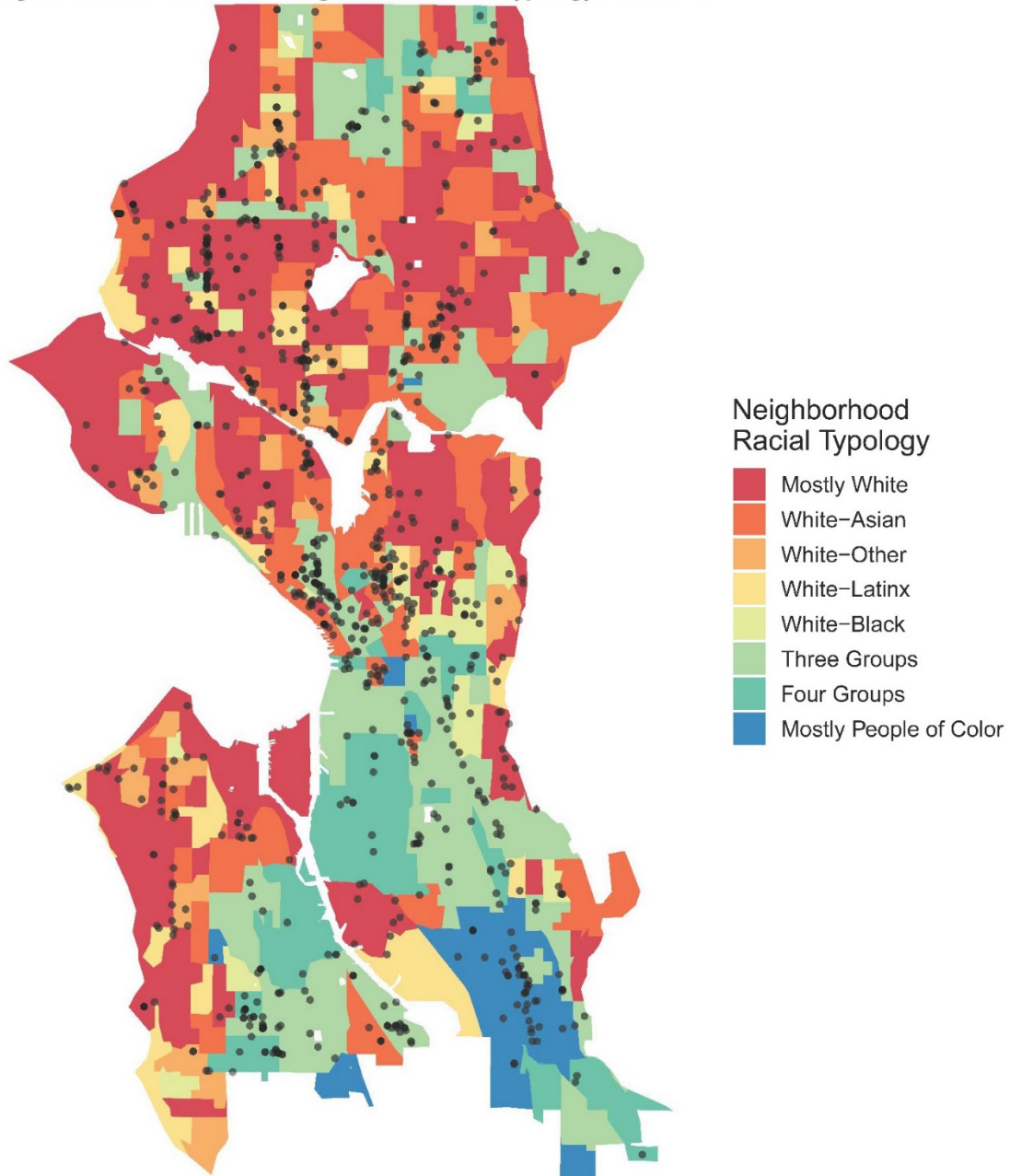


⁹ Application Program Interface – tools and protocols for extracting data and building software from the given provider.

¹⁰ An assessment of socio-demographic variables was assessed, however, there is no noticeable difference in the socio-demographic box-plot distributions between graffiti and hate crimes. The only exception is the percent of homeownership where there is more hate graffiti in areas with more homeowners as compared to hate crimes. Still, the proportion of renters is higher where hate crimes and graffiti occur.

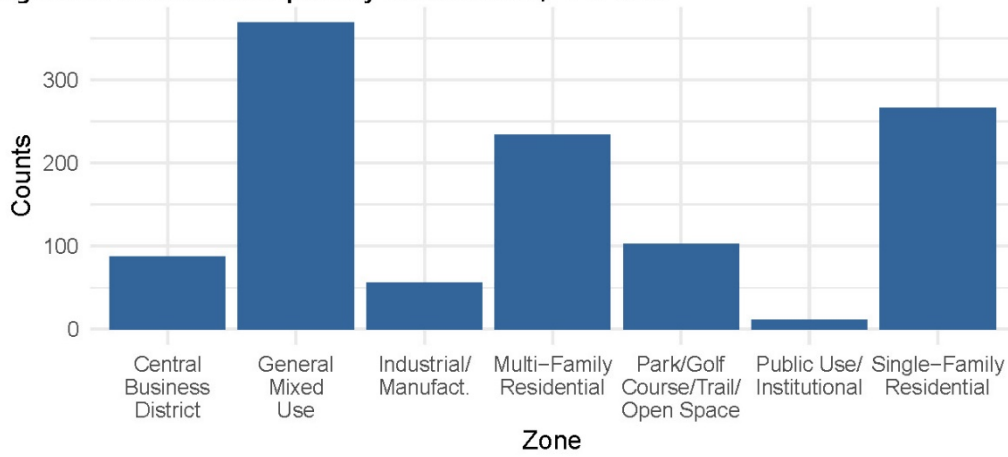
The geographic distribution of hate graffiti is spread across the city more than hate crimes. Also, it shows that graffiti tends to fall along major thoroughways where there is higher traffic as well as more accessible spaces to put graffiti on commercial buildings and infrastructure.

Figure 4.b: Hate Graffiti and Neighborhood Racial Typology, 2013-2017



Graffiti is more commonly reported in general mixed use, multi-family, and single-family residential zones. General mixed use zones have more accessible spaces for graffiti and higher traffic where visual blight may receive more attention from motivated reporters. The high number of reports in the residential zones may reflect the earlier theory on maintaining social order and economic value.

Figure 4.c: Hate Graffiti Reports by Land Use Zone, 2013-2017



Summary of Findings

High Traffic Areas and Transit

Most incidents occur in areas zoned as general mixed use (37%), downtown's business corridor (22%), multi-family residential areas (16%), and single-family residential areas (15%). Multi-family zoned areas tend to surround, or are located near, general mixed use areas where the combined number of hate crimes within these two zones accounts for over half (53%) of hate crimes in the city. This helps explain why hate crimes occur in neighborhoods with more renters. More importantly, mixed use zones fall along major thoroughfares and bus transfer locations, meaning they have a high number of commuters moving through the area. This results in more interactions between strangers of different backgrounds and beliefs that may lead to more hate crimes. This high-traffic hypothesis helps explain the high number of hate crimes in Downtown and destination neighborhoods like Capitol Hill, Ballard, and the U-District as well as along Rainier Avenue and pockets of North Seattle.

Areas of Dense Diversity

Second, research shows that areas with a higher density of People of Color and/or LGBTQ individuals tend to see higher related hate crimes in those areas.¹¹ Furthermore, studies have found a positive relationship between liberal views, such as support for gay and racial civil rights, and higher rates of hate crimes.¹² Downtown and Capitol Hill, in particular, has a legacy of pro-LGBTQ support.¹³ Likewise, Central and South Seattle has a rich history of promoting racial and ethnic rights.¹⁴ The intersecting features of diversity and liberal views within Seattle's most diverse neighborhoods may explain the high level of LGBTQ hate crimes in Capitol Hill and race and ethnicity hate crimes in diverse neighborhoods given the high density of targeted groups in these neighborhoods. Intersecting this with the high levels of stranger interactions and a high density of targeted groups helps explain the types of hate crimes in these areas.

Borders of Mostly White and Racially Diverse Block-Groups

While less frequent, hate crimes in less dense areas like North and West Seattle occur along the borders of mostly white and racially diverse block-groups. In other words, hate crimes rarely occur in the center of mostly white neighborhoods, but along the edges of racially diverse areas where different groups may be more likely to interact. While many of these borders are major thoroughfares and mixed use zones, this observation suggests possible racial tensions at play and may be a sign of reinforcing hegemony of dominant white group values in mostly white portions of the city.¹⁵ This feature requires a deeper analysis to fully understand the complexity of this effect.

Hate Graffiti

The hate graffiti analysis shows that graffiti occurs in high-traffic areas and seems to be reported more frequently in mostly white, white-asian, and three groups block-groups. However, it is difficult to distinguish whether these counts are due to more graffiti or whether the residents are more

¹¹ Green, D. P., Strolovitch, D. Z., Wong, J. S., & Bailey, R. W. (2001). Measuring gay populations and antigay hate crime. *Social Science Quarterly*, 82(2), 281–296.

¹² Alden, H. L., & Parker, K. F. (2005). Gender role ideology, homophobia and hate crime: Linking attitudes to macro-level anti-gay and lesbian hate crimes. *Deviant Behavior*, 26(4), 321–343.

¹³ Seattle Civil Rights & Labor History Project. (2015). *LGBTQ Activism in Seattle History Project*. Retrieved from http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/lgbtq_intro.htm.

¹⁴ Taylor, Q. (2011). *The Forging of a Black Community: Seattle's Central district from 1870 through the Civil Rights Era*. University of Washington Press.

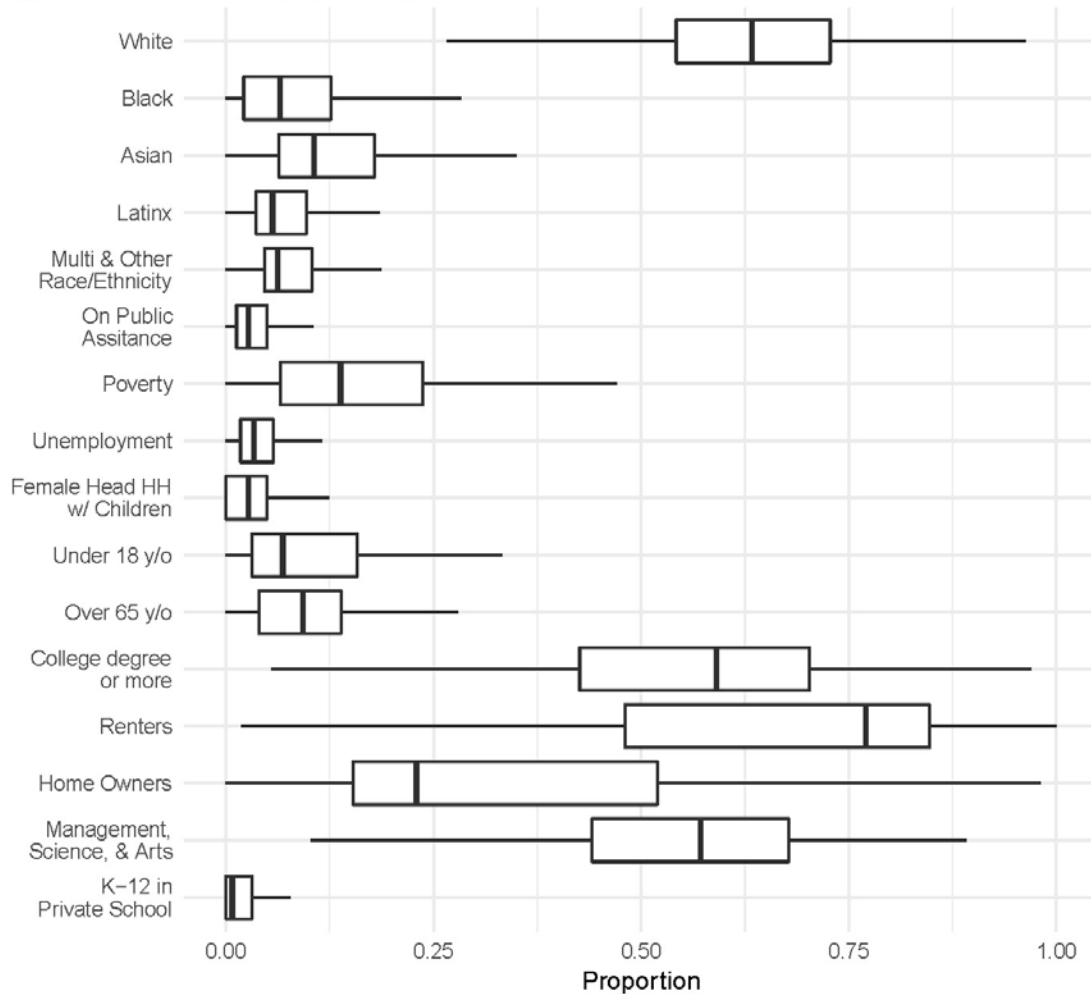
¹⁵ Alden, H. L., & Parker, K. F. (2005). Gender role ideology, homophobia and hate crime: Linking attitudes to macro-level anti-gay and lesbian hate crimes. *Deviant Behavior*, 26(4), 321–343.

empowered/motivated to report blight. Theories on social organization suggest that more advantaged neighborhoods may be more likely to report blight so they can maintain social order and property values.

Appendix

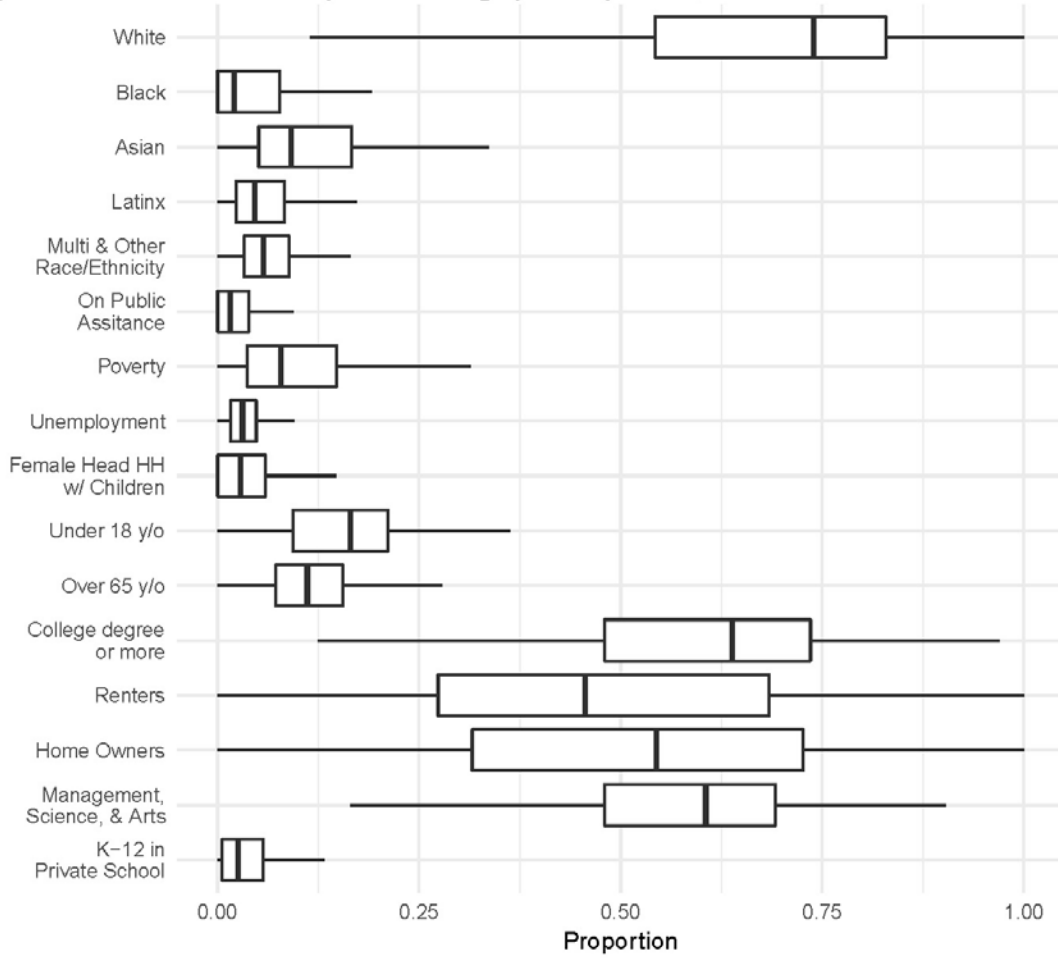
Appendix A. shows the distribution of block-group level characteristics relating to where hate crimes occur in Seattle using box-plots (i.e., the most common block-group values where hate crimes occur).¹⁶

Appendix A.: Socio-Demographic Proportions Where Hate Crimes Occur, 2012-2016

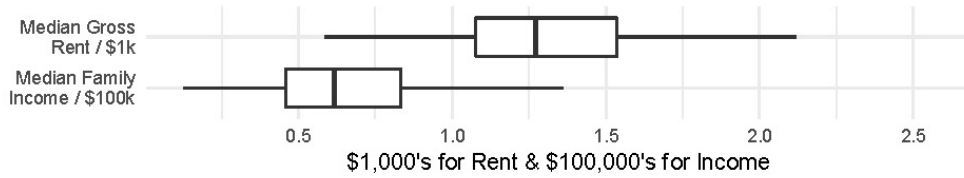


¹⁶ The box shows 50% of the distribution of the given characteristic. The middle line that divides the box shows the middle of the distribution of all neighborhood values (the median neighborhood value). For example, the median for the proportion of Whites where hate crimes occur is in neighborhoods with about .64 where 50% of hate crimes occur in neighborhoods that have a proportion white between about 0.53 and .73. The whiskers on each end are the lower and upper quartiles of the distribution.

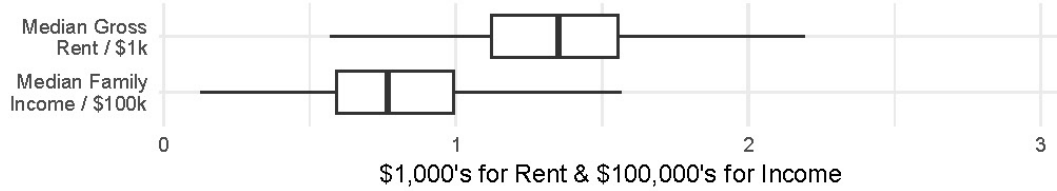
Appendix B. Seattle's Block-Group Socio-Demographic Proportions, 2012-2016



Appendix C. Block-Group Median Rent and Family Income Where Hate Crimes Occur, 2012-2016



Appendix D. Seattle Block-Group Median Rent and Family Income, 2012-2016



Appendix Table A. Racial Neighborhood Typology and Hate Crime Counts, 2012-2016

Neighborhood Racial Typology	Race & Ethnicity	Sexual Orientation	Other	Total
Mostly White	57 (7.1%)	33 (4.1%)	34 (4.2%)	124
White-Asian	96 (11.9%)	67 (8.3%)	25 (3.1%)	188
White-Other	14 (1.7%)	7 (0.9%)	2 (0.2%)	23
White-Latinx	17 (2.1%)	17 (2.1%)	6 (0.7%)	40
White-Black	43 (5.3%)	37 (4.6%)	3 (0.4%)	83
Three Groups	154 (19.1%)	74 (9.2%)	28 (3.5%)	256
Four Groups	41 (5.1%)	22 (2.7%)	7 (0.9%)	70
Mostly People of Color	14 (1.7%)	5 (0.6%)	5 (0.6%)	24
Total	436	262	110	808

Proportions in parentheses are the relative overall proportion of the given hate crime.

Appendix Table B. Land Use Zones and Hate Crime Counts, 2012-2016

Land Use Zone	Race & Ethnicity	Sexual Orientation	Other	Total
Central Business District	103 (12.7%)	61 (7.5%)	17 (2.1%)	181
General Mixed Use	162 (20.0%)	111 (13.7%)	29 (3.6%)	302
Industrial/Manufacturing	20 (2.5%)	5 (0.6%)	1 (0.1%)	26
Multi-Family Residential	76 (9.4%)	36 (4.5%)	15 (1.9%)	127
Park/Golf Course/Trail/Open Space	15 (1.9%)	9 (1.1%)	6 (0.7%)	30
Public Use/Institutional	12 (1.5%)	8 (1.0%)	4 (0.5%)	24
Single-Family Residential	48 (5.9%)	32 (4.0%)	38 (4.7%)	118
Total	436	262	110	808

Proportions in parentheses are the relative overall proportion of the given hate crime.