Trends in Misdemeanor Arrests, Referrals, & Charges in Seattle

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SEATTLEU
CRIMINAL JUSTICE

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INTRODUCTION

The Seattle University Department of Criminal Justice is pleased to publish this report documenting trends in misdemeanor arrests, referrals, and charges in Seattle from 2008-2016. This report presents trends in the types of misdemeanors for which Seattleites have been arrested by the Seattle Police Department and referred and charged by the Seattle City Attorney’s Office. These data include arrest, referral, and charge data for adults age 18-65 analyzed by age, sex, and race/ethnicity with examination of misdemeanor arrest activity in Seattle’s 5 Police precincts and micro-communities. Descriptive findings on the percentage and rate of misdemeanor arrests, referrals, and charges are presented as well as preliminary findings on the percentage of misdemeanor arrests involving behavioral crisis incidents and person and place-based misdemeanor arrests. The descriptive findings and preliminary analyses presented provide a framework for future research to better understand the nature and extent of misdemeanor arrests, referrals, and charges in Seattle. The findings offer a starting point for a subsequent study examining case processing from arrest to case disposition as well as research that takes a deeper dive into who is involved in misdemeanor arrests, referrals, and charges, where they occur, and the nature of the circumstances associated with misdemeanor arrest events (e.g., how many misdemeanor cases involve behavioral crisis). We believe the framework used here—documenting the exercise of discretion by the police, prosecutors, and courts to process low level offenses—will inform a broader national discussion among policing professionals, policymakers, scholars, and the general public. We hope our analytical approach will open a broad, inclusive, and data-driven policy discussion on the appropriate place for low level arrests in the operations of the criminal justice system.

The majority of individuals processed through the criminal justice system nationally are arrested for misdemeanors, not felonies. These individuals are processed through the lower courts for offenses such as disorderly conduct, failure to appear, failure to pay tickets, trespassing, or driving with a license suspension. Misdemeanor sentencing trends have steadily been on the rise nationwide while felony cases and violent crime rates continue to decrease, and yet misdemeanors are typically shelved as low-priority events undeserving of the attention and due process set for felony cases (Natapoff, 2012). In addressing this issue, the Research Network on Misdemeanor Justice at John Jay College of Criminal Justice has produced a series of reports on misdemeanor trends in New York City and five other cities in New York State over the last three decades (Chauhan et al., 2014). These reports are objective and look to inform policymakers, criminal justice professionals, and the public alike. John Jay College of Criminal Justice has selected seven jurisdictions to perform similar analyses to replicate the New York City study including: Durham, North Carolina; Los Angeles, California; Louisville, Kentucky; Meridian, Mississippi; Prince George’s County, Maryland; Seattle, Washington; and St. Louis, Missouri.

GOALS OF THE PROJECT

As one of seven jurisdictions included in the Research Network on Misdemeanor Justice, Seattle University Department of Criminal Justice Crime & Justice Research Center is pleased to publish this report documenting patterns in misdemeanors in Seattle from 2008 to 2016. This report presents trends in the types of misdemeanors for which individuals have been arrested, referred, and charged in Seattle, analyzes these data by the sex and race/ethnicity of those receiving this enforcement attention, and traces these misdemeanors from initial contact with the Seattle Police Department to charge by the City Attorney’s Office. The aim of this research is to provide information on misdemeanor arrests and charges in Seattle that is of value to policymakers, criminal justice professionals, and researchers in Seattle and nationwide.

1 The term “micro-community” is used in the City of Seattle to refer to Seattle’s distinct neighborhoods as part of an initiative called the Micro-Community Policing Plans. See: http://www.seattle.gov/police/community-policing/mcpp.
We believe the framework used here—documenting the exercise of discretion by the police and prosecutors to process low-level offenses—will inform a broader national discussion among policing professionals, policy makers, scholars, and the general public. We hope our analytical approach will open a broad, inclusive, and data-driven policy discussion on the appropriate place for low-level arrests in the operations of the criminal justice system.

**MISDEMEANORS IN SEATTLE**

Misdemeanors in Seattle are processed through the criminal justice system from initial contact with the Seattle Police Department to referral and charges by the Seattle City Attorney’s Office to case disposition by the Seattle Municipal Court. Seattle Municipal Court (SMC) is responsible for adjudicating misdemeanors, gross misdemeanors, and infractions contained in the Seattle Municipal Code. SMC is a branch of government separate from the Legislative and Executive Departments including seven elected judges who serve four-year terms. The city utilizes municipality resources or contract agreements for prosecution, public defense, and jail services (Lindsay, 2016). Jail services are provided through contracts with King and Snohomish Counties, prosecutions by the Seattle City Attorney’s Office, and public defense through a contract with King County Department of Public Defense. SMC also provides four courts for defendants with special needs: mental health court, domestic violence court, veteran’s treatment court, and community court. These courts aim to help the community at large by minimizing potential costs, re-arrests, and further victimization.

**Seattle Misdemeanor Case Process**

Typically, a misdemeanor case enters the system one of four ways: (1) SPD Dispatched call - A call to 911 in which an officer(s) is sent; (2) SPD On-View: An officer initiated incident or contact that is logged into the computer dispatch system; (3) SPD Traffic/Pedestrian Stop - Vehicle stops for traffic violations and/or suspected DUI; and 4) Online Reporting. Traffic and pedestrian stops can also be seizures that do not lead to arrest. If the matter requires further action, the suspect is arrested or not arrested and is identified and issued a summons to appear in court (this process is done by Seattle Municipal Court).

By law, probable cause determination is required on warrantless arrests within 48 hours. If the suspect is arrested, the suspect is booked at King County Jail and multiple possibilities can occur during the pre-release screener phase -- Release on personal recognizance, Deny release on personal recognizance, Hold defendant for arraignment, Default bail posted. If the matter involves the commission of a misdemeanor or gross misdemeanor, the case is referred to Seattle City Attorney’s Office (SCAO). Felonies are referred to King County Prosecutor’s Office (KCPO). Some misdemeanors may go to KCPO as a part of a felony.

The Seattle City Attorney’s Office (SCAO) then reviews the matter and decides what, if any, charges should be filed for prosecution. SCAO can also decline to file, divert a case ‘pre-filing,’ or a conditional plea can be made (idea is that the defendant does the probation first and then case will potentially be declined or dismissed upon successful completion). If SCAO files for prosecution, the defendant is arraigned and pre-trial/initial hearings at Seattle Municipal Court (SMC) are set. Arraignment follows within 14 days of filing a case unless an exception applies; many cases are resolved at either pre-trial or initial hearings.

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2 On January 9, 2017 the Seattle community court was disbanded and was replaced by the Needs Based Sentencing (NBS) Program. The NBS program builds upon the success of Community Court by widening community service diversion and mandated social service contacts to all SMC courtrooms (See: https://www.seattle.gov/financedepartment/17adoptedbudget/documents/SMC.pdf).

3 The SCAO began its Pre-Filing Diversion Program in 2017.
If cases are not resolved at pre-trial or initial hearings, SMC holds resolution hearings, trials, and even post-resolution hearings if needed. If the case goes to trial, either a judge or a six-member jury will hear it. If the defendant is found guilty, sentencing will occur right after the guilty finding or at a later hearing. If the defendant fails to appear at any point, a bench warrant may be issued and the next hearing date will be canceled until the defendant is rearrested; continuances and other delays may also occur during any case. Trials can end with a variety of outcomes including: Sentence entered, Probation jurisdiction (if the defendant is eligible, he/she is assigned a public defender and a post-resolution probation hearing is set), Services provided, Fee/ fine imposed (See Diagram 1: The Seattle Misdemeanor Case Process).

Misdemeanor adjudications have risen steeply nationwide. Between 1972 and 2006 the volume of misdemeanor cases increased from five million to over ten million (Roberts, 2011; Natapoff, 2012). This trend is significant due to the declining trend of felony cases and violent crime. While many misdemeanor cases are resolved relatively quickly through the court process ending in some form of deferred sentence or a guilty plea, many are not (Roberts, 2011). In Seattle, changes in laws and cultural sentiment regarding marijuana, low-level driving while license suspended, homelessness and panhandling, and the recognition of the role of mental illness and race in entry into the criminal justice system are underlying factors in the changes of misdemeanor trends in Seattle. For example, while marijuana possession and use arrests, referrals, and charges may represent a significant number of misdemeanor cases in some jurisdictions, this is not the case in Seattle or other jurisdictions where marijuana is legalized and/or has been made a low law enforcement priority.
The Deprioritization and Legalization of Marijuana in Washington State and Impact on Misdemeanor
Arrests, Referrals, and Charges in Seattle

Seattle has been the nation’s leader for deprioritizing marijuana convictions (Seattle City Clerk’s Office, 2007) with the deprioritizing of marijuana convictions in 2003 followed by the passing of medical marijuana legislation in 2011 and legalization in 2012. The deprioritization and legalization of marijuana in Seattle makes Seattle unique in comparison with the other sites in the Research Network on Misdemeanor Justice (of which only Los Angeles is located in a state where marijuana is legal). In 2003, Seattle voters passed Initiative 75 (I-75). The initiative included an addition to Seattle Municipal’s 12A.20.060 code stating, “the Seattle Police Department and City Attorney’s Office shall make the investigation, arrest and prosecution of marijuana offenses, when the marijuana was intended for adult personal use, the City’s lowest law enforcement priority” (p.3). In the first year after implementation of I-75, only 59 people were arrested for marijuana possession (Lewis, 2005). In 2011, the Washington State Legislature passed Bill 5073, which clarified the law on medical marijuana (Seattle City Council, 2018). The Bill created a patient registry, allowed for multiple-patient collective gardens, and created a state licensing system for producers, processors and dispensers. In 2012, Washington voters approved I-502, which legalized the possession of small amounts of marijuana in Washington State for individuals 21 years and older. I-502 also includes a provision creating a civil infraction for consuming marijuana in public, with a fine up to $50. Recreational marijuana sales began July 8, 2014. Most marijuana-related activity remains subject to federal criminal laws throughout the nation (Seattle City Council, 2018). State law currently regulates medical and recreational marijuana differently. Initiative 502 states that recreational marijuana producers, processors, and retailers in Washington have to obtain a license from the State Liquor Control Board. The Board may not issue licenses for any business within 1,000 feet of an elementary or secondary school, playground, recreation center or facility, child care center, public park, public transit center, library, or game arcade that allows minors to enter. This limits where recreational marijuana-related activity occurs in Seattle including areas like historical districts and residential neighborhoods.

The fine given for smoking marijuana in public in Seattle is set at the same $27 level as consuming alcohol in a public place (Seattle City Council, 2018). For evaluation purposes, Seattle Police Department is required to monitor enforcement characteristics by age, sex, race, and all locations in which these citations are given. SPD is recommended to issue warnings before handing out citations whenever it is practical to do so. In December 2012, the Washington Association of Prosecuting Attorneys sent out an advisory letter to let Washington’s law enforcement agencies know that narcotics dogs were no longer required to be trained for alerting Marijuana (Harthorne, 2013). Then, in January 2013, the Washington State Criminal Justice Training Commission removed marijuana from the canine performance standards; both Seattle Police Department and Washington State Patrol’s canines are now no longer trained to alert for marijuana. According to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), initiative 502 has allowed law enforcement officials to spend more time on other offenses rather than marijuana charges (Kim, 2014).

The legalization of marijuana in Seattle has had a significant impact on marijuana filings in Washington State. The ACLU chapter of Washington found that in 2013, the number of marijuana-related misdemeanor cases filed were 120 total cases. In 2012, this number was at a staggering 5,431 cases. The ACLU Report additionally found that while the filings dropped considerably, racial differences continued with people of color—particularly African Americans representing a disproportionate number of arrestees even though White people use and sell marijuana at equal rates to people of color (Cooke, 2015).

In 2015, Washington’s Office of Financial Management published a baseline report on the impacts of recreational marijuana legalization. One the most noteworthy findings regarding law enforcement was that between 2012 and 2013 arrests for all drugs and narcotics decreased by 17 percent in Washington.
State. According to the FBI an “incident” occurs when any law enforcement officer investigates a scene, regardless of whether there is an arrest made or not; between 2012 and 2013, incidents involving marijuana decreased by more than half while heroin, cocaine, and amphetamine incidents increased. Notably, prison convictions related to marijuana decreased dramatically. In 2011 there were 73 marijuana-related prison convictions where as in 2014 there were only 13. Lastly, the report revealed that for the 2013-14 school year, only .4 percent of all public school students were suspended or expelled for marijuana-related purposes.

Each year the Northwest High Intensity Drug Trafficking Area (HIDTA) publishes a threat assessment and strategy report for the upcoming year. In terms of threat and abuse, marijuana admissions for both youth and adults are on a steady decline according to Northwest HIDTA’s most recent report (2018). The licensing of marijuana retailers has been at the forefront of concern. As of February 2017, there were 556 retailers in the state, of which 482 were licensed.

Supporters of I-502 contend that the bill would reduce crime and the numbers of people in jail and prisons while focusing limited law enforcement resources on more serious crimes (Sorenson, 2016). Opponents said legalization would increase marijuana use by minors and increase the incidence of drug-impaired driving. According Northwest HIDTA’s 2018 report, the driving under the influence threshold is 5 nanograms of THC per milliliter of blood. In 2011, the number of cases positive for THC was 1,036, where 49% (506 cases) were above the 5-nanogram limit. In 2016, the number of cases positive for THC was 2,848 where 38% (1,096 cases) were above the 5-nanogram threshold.

The Community Impact of Misdemeanors in Seattle

Misdemeanors impact the community in a number of ways. Individuals arrested and processed through the criminal justice system for misdemeanor offenses are often treated similarly to individuals who are arrested for much more serious felony offenses. However, despite the lower level nature of misdemeanor offenses, the negative impact on individuals arrested for misdemeanor offenses can be far-reaching leading to job insecurity, housing difficulties, loss of loans, and even deportation, ending in forms of punishment more taxing than any criminal penalty. The unique needs of individuals arrested, referred, and charged for lower level offenses are largely ignored by policymakers and scholars. Former Director of Seattle Public Defender Association Robert Boruchowitz has noted that the scope of the problem in misdemeanor cases is huge. Individuals arrested, referred, and charged for misdemeanors are stigmatized, punished, and burdened in similar ways to those charged for felonies by criminal justice professionals who tend to hold a felony-centric view of individuals processed through the system. The trend of mass misdemeanor processing and prosecution nationwide significantly impedes the criminal justice system and justice for the individuals directly impacted (Natapoff, 2012).

Misdemeanor arrests have historically been used by communities and law enforcement agencies as one response to and interpretation of Wilson & Kelling’s (1992) “Broken Windows Theory.” This focus on misdemeanor offenses has been dubbed as “broken windows” or “zero tolerance” policing. In recent years, there has been growing attention to the “dark side” of broken windows policing (Bellafonte, 2015), the nature of misdemeanor arrests as a criminal gateway (Levine, 2011), and the harm caused to communities of color inspiring increased attention to the higher rates of misdemeanor enforcement in marginalized communities inspiring a “Museum of Broken Windows” and a range of reform efforts. Lum and Vovak (2018) used group-based trajectory modeling to examine longitudinal patterns of arrest for low-level crimes from 1990-2013 in 105 police agencies across the United States, including Seattle and found variability across jurisdictions regarding the approach to misdemeanor arrests. The results showed that agencies varied. The researchers categorizes law enforcement agencies as “High Increasers,” “Middle Increasers,” “Middle Stable,” and “Low Stable” with respect to their level of use of quality of life arrests to combat crime. Seattle was categorized as “Middle Stable” representing the average of agencies that less than doubled misdemeanor arrests during the 1990-2013 time frame. The findings...
suggested that while it is now known that quality of life policing does not do better than other
approaches in reducing crime and has a disproportionate negative impact on communities of color,
police agencies make choices in their use of arrest for low-level misdemeanor offenses and a large
number of agencies adopted a misdemeanor arrest approach to minor offenses between 1990 and
2013 to reduce crime and disorder – a pattern that does not follow crime or arrest patterns of other
crimes and cannot be easily explained.

Seattle is unique to other jurisdictions because the Seattle Police Department has a number of ongoing
initiatives relevant to understanding misdemeanors and misdemeanor arrests and processing. In
January 2018, the Seattle Police Department was ruled to be in compliance with the Department of
Justice Consent decree issued in 2012 which required policy changes around issues of use of force,
racial differences, and individuals who come into contact with the police who are in behavioral crisis.
Seattle has a long history of community-based initiatives that were in place before and after the
consent decree. These initiatives represent what can be referred to as the antithesis to zero tolerance
policing such as the Micro-Community Policing Plans, a Crisis Intervention Training for all officers,
Committee, and programs such as Law Enforcement Assisted Diversion (LEAD). Examination of the
misdemeanor arrest, referral, and charge trends in Seattle within the context of these local initiatives,
and in comparison with findings from the other RNMJ sites, can help understand local policy decisions
around policing and prosecuting quality of life offenses and the individual and community impact of
these decisions.

ABOUT THE DATA PRESENTED IN THIS PUBLICATION

The figures in this document represent aggregated information that originates from three datasets
from: 1) The Seattle Police Department; 2) The Seattle City Attorney; and 3) The United States Census
Bureau (descriptions provided below). Additional datasets from the Seattle Municipal Court and King
County Department of Adult & Juvenile Detention will be integrated into future reports to examine the
misdemeanor process from arrest through sentencing and case disposition. In addition, other important
areas of focus for Seattle will be examined in future reports including the nature and number of
misdemeanors by micro-community and relationship to community perception of fear of crime and
neighborhood quality of life, the impact of crisis-related misdemeanor incidents charges on future
system involvement, and examination of person and place-based misdemeanor offenses. This report
focuses on mirroring information provided in the New York City Misdemeanor Arrest Report with
presentation of Seattle Police Department arrest data (as presented in the New York City Report) with
the addition of data on Seattle City Attorney referrals and charges. The Seattle Police Department
arrest data includes four types of “arrest”: a) “Arrested” (SPD Booking); b) “Outside Agency Arrest”
(booking by another law enforcement agency); c) “Summons” (charging summons are entered as
arrest records); and d) “Citation” (criminal citations (DUI’s) are entered as arrest records. The addition
of data on misdemeanor referrals and charges was incorporated to leverage the unique strengths of
each set of data to fully understand how misdemeanors are processed in Seattle. Although most
figures provide information from either the police department or the city attorney datasets (or these
datasets merged with the Census data), figures referring to precinct level data represent a merger of
the police and city attorney datasets. Specifically, where the Seattle City Attorney data contained a
record that could be matched to Seattle Police Department data, location information specific to the
precinct where the misdemeanor offense occurred, was used. However, due to missing data, these
figures are more important in presenting the relative rates and percentages between precincts, not for
an understanding of the “true” rate of misdemeanor activity at the precinct level.

4 For information about the SPD MCPP, see: https://www.seattle.gov/police/community-policing/mcpp; SPD CIT Training:
https://www.seattlepi.com/opinion/editorials/seattle-police-department-crisis-intervention-training-saves-lives/; and LEAD, see:
The data presented here offer descriptive examination of misdemeanor arrest, referral, and charging trends in Seattle with the caveat that analyses are limited to available data and additional contextual information from agency stakeholders is needed to better understand the findings, how the data was collected, and what it represents. A central aim of the Research Network on Misdemeanor Justice is to utilize the replication findings in the site jurisdictions to engage in discussion with local stakeholders regarding what the patterns in the data mean. All data partners and criminal justice stakeholders in Seattle are encouraged to provide additional contextual information (e.g., legal or administrative changes in the jurisdiction that may have impacted the prevalence of specific types of misdemeanor arrests, referrals, or charges) to better understand the findings and to inform future research.

**Seattle Police Department Data** – This data comes from an administrative dataset maintained and provided by the Seattle Police Department. It includes information on individuals arrested for both felony and misdemeanor offenses between January 1, 2008 and December 31, 2016 by the Seattle Police Department. Although information was provided on each possible offense, an individual’s arrest event was aggregated to the top, or most severe, offense. In other words, an individual who was arrested for multiple offenses during the same arrest event would appear only once in the dataset for this project and the charge connected to them would be recorded as the most severe charge category (examples provided in Table A). If, during an arrest event, a possible felony offense was recorded, that individual was connected to the felony data, even if one or more co-occurring misdemeanor offenses were recorded along with the felony. Therefore, individuals and events connected to the misdemeanor arrests data only represent individuals who were arrested for one or more misdemeanors and no felonies.

**Seattle City Attorney’s Office Data** - This data comes from an administrative dataset maintained and provided by the Seattle City Attorney’s Office. It includes information on individuals who were both referred for and/or charged with misdemeanor offenses that were received by the Seattle City Attorney between January 1, 2008 and December 31, 2016. Although information was provided for each misdemeanor referred and charged, an individual’s charges were aggregated to the top, or most severe, offense. In other words, an individual referred or charged for multiple misdemeanors during the same arrest event appears only once in the dataset and the misdemeanor referral/charge connected to the individual is recorded as the most severe charge category (examples provided in Table A).

**U.S. Census Bureau Data** – The Census data includes population counts and estimates aggregated to Seattle citywide, precinct, and micro-community (neighborhood) level. Although the 1-year estimates available from American Community Survey (ACS) provide more accurate estimates for each individual year, they are not available at the census tract level. For this reason, 2016 5-year estimates were used as these estimates are at the census tract level and allow for more detailed demographic breakdowns. These estimates were obtained from the American Community Survey on the [American Factfinder website](https://factfinder.census.gov). The data is also disaggregated into age, race, and sex counts. For almost all figures, to ensure that the Seattle data is as comparable as possible to the New York data and other sites in the Research Network, counts only include individuals between the ages of 18 and 65 with no individuals in the misdemeanor data were under the age of 18 and few were over the age of 65. Importantly, the Census population counts track individuals who reside in Seattle, its precincts, and its micro-communities. Some areas of Seattle are disproportionately impacted by individuals commuting in and out for work, recreation, and commerce potentially impacting the actual population and how it varies both during the day and the week. Although the precinct and micro-community level analyses are informative as to the rates and levels of misdemeanor activity, it is important to keep in mind that, especially with the rates data that uses the Census estimates, variations in non-residential populations can impact the results.
BACKGROUND: FELONY CRIMES

As a point of context, Figure 1 and Figure 2 show the felony crime rate and percentage of felony crimes in Seattle.

**Figure 1: Seattle Person & Property Felony Crime Rates per 100,000 Total Population, 2008-2016.**

Figure 1 shows the crime rate for felony person and property crimes in Seattle between 2008-2016. The property crime rate was significantly higher than the Person Crime rate and fluctuated slightly. The property crime rate rose from 5,375 in 2008 to 5,666 in 2009, dropping in 2012 to 5,002, followed by an increase in 2014 to 6,120, and decreasing reflecting a relatively stable property crime rate. The Person crime rate was consistently low from 2008 to 2016 with no fluctuations. After a period of rising property felony crimes in 2008 from 5,375 crimes (per 100,000 total population) to 5,666 (per 100,000) in 2009, crime rates began to drop continuously until 2012. In 2012, the rate of property felony crime dropped to 5,002. The crime rate then began to rise again and peaked at a high of 6,120. Following this peak, the crime rate began descending once again to 5,594 in 2015.

**Figure 2: Percent of Total Seattle Person & Property Felony Crimes, 2008-2016.**

Figure 2 shows the percentage of total Seattle person and property felony crimes between 2008-2016.
Figure 2 shows the percentage of felony person and property crimes in Seattle between the years of 2008-2016. Property felony crimes make up the vast majority of total crimes. From 2008-2016, person felony crimes have stayed below 10% with a peak of 9.9% in 2012.

This report is structured as follows. In the first section of results, information about the Seattle Police Department’s misdemeanor arrests that occurred between 2008 and 2016 are reported. These results include demographic information about the individuals arrested for the individual charge, as well as information about the type of charge. The second set of results presented includes information about the misdemeanor offenses referred to the Seattle City Attorney’s Office, while the third set of results presents information about the misdemeanor charges filed by the Seattle City Attorney’s Office. Once again, results related to individual level demographic information and referral/charge is presented. The final section provides misdemeanor, referral, and charge information, when known, for the five Seattle Police Department precincts and sixty-one micro-communities.

SEATTLE POLICE DEPARTMENT MISDEMEANOR ARRESTS

Overall Arrest Trends

Figure 3: Seattle Police Department Felony and Misdemeanor Arrest Rates per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.

Figure 3: The general trend in felony and misdemeanor arrest rates over time shows a steady decline since 2010. From 2008 to 2010, there was a steep increase in misdemeanor arrests followed by a decline mirroring the decline for felony arrests. In 2008, the rate of felony arrests was 1,661 (per 100,000 population ages 18-65). Here began a gradual drop as the arrest rate hit a low of 949 by 2014. There was a slight increase to 1,037 in 2016. The steep increase in misdemeanor arrests from 2008 to 2009 was accompanied by a misdemeanor arrest rate of 1,809. In 2009, there was a sharp increase to 2,960, almost 1,000 more arrests in just a span of a year. The arrest rate then peaked in 2010 to 3,035, declined to 2,022 by 2014, increased to 2,114 in 2015, and then decreased to 2,037 in 2016. There was a significantly larger misdemeanor arrest rate compared to felony arrest rates. The peak of felony arrests was lower than the lowest point of the misdemeanor arrests in 2008.
Figure 4: Percent of Total Seattle Police Department Felony and Misdemeanor Arrests, 2008-2016.

Figure 4 illustrates the percentage of Seattle Police Department felony and misdemeanor arrests. Misdemeanors are the majority of arrests. From 2008-2016, felony crimes stayed below 50% with a peak of 48% in 2008.

Figure 5: Seattle Police Department Felony and Misdemeanor Arrest Rates by Charge Severity per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.

Figure 5: In 2008, the felony investigative booking rate was 804, the felony rebook rate was 879, felony warrant rate was 11, misdemeanor direct was 1,227, misdemeanor rebook was 576, and misdemeanor warrant rate was 5. From 2009 to 2016, the felony investigative booking, misdemeanor rebook, and felony rebook rates decreased. The rate for felony and misdemeanor warrants increased from 2011 to 2016.
Figure 6 shows the percentage of total Seattle Police Department felony and misdemeanor arrests by charge severity. Misdemeanor direct represent the majority of arrests. Felony warrant and misdemeanor warrant arrest rates in 2008 and 2009 notably increased. Felony rebook and misdemeanor rebook show the opposite pattern with higher arrest rates in 2008 decreasing remarkably by 2016. Felony investigative booking rate stayed relatively stable over time.

**Arrest Trends by Race/Ethnicity**

Figure 7: Seattle Police Department Misdemeanor Arrest Rates by Race per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.

As Figure 7 illustrates, in Seattle, the arrest rate for Asians was 647 (per 100,000 population ages 18-65) in 2008, compared to the arrest rate of 1,327 for Whites, 9,082 for the Indigenous, and 9,460 for Blacks. By 2016, when compared to 2008, there was a rise in misdemeanor arrest rates for all races except Blacks. The arrest rate of Asians rose to 830, 1,651 for Whites, 10,002 for the Indigenous, and the arrest rate for Blacks dropped to 9,378. Although the arrest rates for Asians and Whites remained relatively the same throughout the years, it fluctuated for the Black and Indigenous.
Figure 8 illustrates the percentage of total number of misdemeanor arrests. Asian misdemeanor arrest rates rose from 4.9% to 6.1% from 2008 to 2016. The arrest rate for Blacks decreased from 36.9% to 31.0%. Whites had the highest arrest rate with their average being above 50% for all nine years, 54.0% to 59.6%. The Indigenous had the lowest arrest rate decreasing from 4.2% in 2008 to 3.3% in 2016.

Arrest Trends by Age

Figure 9 shows age-related misdemeanor arrest rates in Seattle from 2008 to 2016. From 2008 to 2009 there was an increase in misdemeanor arrests for 18-20 year-olds (from 1,688-2,493); for 21-24 year-olds (2,503-2,749); for 25-34 year-olds (1,817-2,421); and for 35-65 year-olds (1,616-1,749). The most significant increases in the number of misdemeanor arrests over the study period from 2008-2016 occurred for individuals 25-34 years-old. From 2008 to approximately 2011 there was a rise in arrests followed by a
The arrest rates remained higher in 2016 than in 2008 for all ages except the 18-20 year-old group with arrests for this group showing a steep decline from the peak rate of 4,669 in 2010 to a low of 1,689 in 2016.

**Figure 10**: Percent of Seattle Police Department Total Misdemeanor Arrests by Age Group, 2008-2016.

Figure 10 shows the percentages of the total number of misdemeanor arrests by age group. The percentage of arrests of 18-21 year-olds dropped from 8.2% to 4.8% from 2008 to 2016. There was a slight increase in the percentage of arrests for 21-24 year-olds 13.1% to 13.3% and for 25-34 year-olds increasing from 27.6% to 33.8%. The 35-65 age group represents the highest percentage of arrests though there was a slight decreased during the study period from 51.1% in 2008 to 48.1% in 2016.

**Arrest Trends by Sex**

Figure 11: Seattle Police Department Misdemeanor Arrest Rates by Sex per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.

Figure 11 shows the misdemeanor arrest rate by sex. The results show an obvious gender gap with a higher arrest rate for males than females during the 2008-2016 study period. From 2008 to 2009 the male misdemeanor arrest rate increased from 2,816 arrests (per 100,000 population ages 18-65) to 4,433 arrests, hit a peak in 2010 of 4,505 arrests, and then declined significantly, though did not reach the low arrest rate of 2008. In 2016, the male arrest rate was 3,038. The arrest rate for females displayed a comparable trend. It commenced at a low rate of 774 and hit a peak of 1,508 after two years, 2010. The arrest rate then dropped to 1,000 in 2016, but similar to the male arrest rate, the female arrest rate did not decrease to its 2008 low. During the 2010 peak for male misdemeanor arrests, the gap between males and females was at its highest point (4,505 for men as compared to 1,508).
Figure 12 shows the percentage of Seattle Police Department total misdemeanor arrests by sex. Male misdemeanor arrests make up the vast majority of total arrests (74% at its low in 2008 to 78.9% at its high in 2011) throughout the study period. From 2008-2016, female misdemeanor arrest rates peaked in 2011 at a high of 26%.

Figure 13 shows sex-related arrest rates by race (per 100,000 population ages 18-65). As can be seen in Figure 7, Asian and White males had the lowest arrest rate with both hitting a slight peak in 2009 with the arrest rate for White males at 3,426 and for Asian males at 2,193. Asians have the lowest arrest rate in 2008 of 1,153 and Blacks have the highest arrest rate of 13,987 in 2016 with a peak in 2009 of 19,466. Indigenous males had an arrest rate of 11,840 in 2008 with a gradual increase in arrest rates followed by a decrease in 2014 and increase to 11,521 in 2016.
Figure 14 shows misdemeanor arrest rates for males ages 18-20 by race. Arrest rates for Whites and Asians were lower than rates for Indigenous and Black males. The arrest rate for Indigenous males was lower in 2008 at 6,042 (per 100,000 population ages 18-20), rose in 2010 to 14,675, and then decreased sharply in 2012 to a rate lower than the arrest rate for White males (4,048 per 100,000 population ages 18-20) to a low in 2012 of 3,005. Following this drop, there is an increase in the arrest rate for Indigenous males where the arrest rate surpassing the arrest rate of White males. In 2008, Black males had a higher arrest rate as compared to other races of 19,395. After hitting a peak in 2009 of 30,027 the arrest rates of Black males continued to drop until 2015 with a slight increase in 2016 to 11,566.

Figure 15 shows the misdemeanor arrest rates for males by race (per 100,000 population ages 21-24), comparing 2008 to 2016. The rate of misdemeanor arrests for Asian males ranged from 1,289-1,610; for Black males 22,349-22,171; for Indigenous males from 12,241-11,531; and White males from 3,213-3,555. Throughout the years, the arrest rates of Asian and White males have remained relatively the same. However, the arrest rates of Black and Indigenous males have fluctuated (with a decrease from 2009 to 2014 returning in 2016 to approximately the same arrest rate as in 2008.)
Figure 16 illustrates the misdemeanor arrest rates of males by race (per 100,000 population ages 25-34). The arrest rates of Asian males and White males remained relatively flat compared to the arrest rates of Indigenous males and Black males. The arrest rates of Black males and Indigenous males fluctuated with a significant dip in the arrest rate for Indigenous group from 2011 to 2014 and rise to 2016. Comparing the arrest rates of 2008 and 2016, the arrest rate for Black males ranged from 14,798-17,937 and Indigenous males from 11,511-16,967 with an increase for both groups from 2008 to 2016.

Figure 17 illustrates the misdemeanor arrest rates of males by race (per 100,000 population ages 35-65). The arrest rates for Asian and White males remained relatively low in comparison with the Indigenous and Black males. The arrest rate for White and Asian males hit a peak in 2009 but remained low throughout the study period. The arrest rates for Black and Indigenous males decreased over time but remained significantly higher than the White and Asian groups. From 2012 to 2013 there was a marked spike in the arrest rate for Indigenous males from 13,675 in 2012 to 17,969 in 2013. This sharp increase was followed by a decrease to 10,332 in 2014 and then a slight increase and decrease to the low of 10,305 in 2016. This varying trend was only observed for the Indigenous group. The Black group showed a relatively steady decline and the Asian and White groups relatively stable over time.
Figure 18: Seattle Police Department Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Females by Race for 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.

Figure 18 illustrates the misdemeanor arrest rates of females by race (per 100,000 population ages 18-65). The arrest rate for Asian females and White females was low and stable over time. In 2008, the arrest rate of Asian females was 207 and in 2016 rose slightly to 370. Similarly, the arrest rate for White females was 579 and 845 in 2016. The arrest rate for Black and Indigenous females was substantially higher than for Asian and White females, with the rate for Indigenous females the highest of all groups for the entire study period. This pattern of arrests for Indigenous females being higher than all other groups was not the case for male misdemeanor arrests where arrests were consistently higher for Black males. Arrest rates for all racial groups were higher in 2016 than 2008. The arrest rate of Indigenous females in 2008 was 5,960 and 8,117 in 2016. The arrest rate of Black females was 4,004 in 2008 and 4268 in 2016.

Figure 19: Seattle Police Department Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Females by Race per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-20, 2008-2016.
**Figure 19** compares the misdemeanor arrests for females by race. Asian and White females show low and stable arrest rates. Both had higher arrest rates between the years 2009 to 2011, however by 2016 the arrest rate dropped. In 2008, the arrest rate for Asian females was 466 (per 100,000 population ages 18-20) compared to the arrest rate of White females of 334 in 2016. Similarly, the arrest rate of White females was 1060 in 2008 and 827 in 2016. The arrest rates of Black and Indigenous females varied markedly over time with the arrest rates for Black and Indigenous females similar in 2008 but then showing distinctly different trends from 2011 to 2015 where the rate increased significantly for the Indigenous group and decreased for the Black group. The arrest rate of Black females in 2008 was 6,585 and for Indigenous females 6,483. By 2009, the arrest rates of both the Indigenous and Black groups doubled. After this spike, the arrest rates dropped followed by the very different pattern for Indigenous females as compared to Black females. The arrest rate of Indigenous females in 2011 fell dramatically from 14,758 in 2010 to 3,215 in 2011 but then showed a steady increase until 2015 when it dropped sharply while the arrest rate for Blacks showed a steady decline. Both races had lower arrest rates in 2016 compared to 2008.

**Figure 20: Seattle Police Department Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Females by Race per 100,000 Population, Ages 21-24, 2008-2016.**

**Figure 20** compares the misdemeanor arrests for females by race for ages 21-24. From 2008 to 2016, the number of misdemeanor arrests for females by race (per 100,000 population ages 21-24) increased from 2008 to 2016 for all groups. For Asian females, the arrest rates rose from 138 to 568, for Black females from 5,387 to 7,642, for Indigenous females from 3,306 to 10,779, and for White females from 1,061 to 1,149. The arrest rate for Indigenous females shows a relatively dramatic increase from 2008 to 2016 with a sharp decline from 2011-2012 and steep rise tripling over time from 2006 to 2016. The pattern for arrest rates for Black females showed an opposite pattern after 2010 with a steady decline from 2010 to 2016.
Figure 21 compares trends of arrest rates by race for females ages 25-34. The pattern in misdemeanor arrest rates for this age group is distinctly different when compared to other age groups as this age group has the highest arrest rates and is relatively stable over time. The arrest rate of Asian and White females is low and stable as is the case in the other age categories. However, when compared to other age groups, the arrest rate of this age group was approximately twice as high as other groups. Black females show the highest rate of arrest hitting a peak of 22,969 (per 100,000) in 2010. After this peak, the arrest rate dropped but remained higher than the 2008 arrest rate. The arrest rate of Black females in 2016 was 18,350 compared to 12,728 in 2008. The arrest rate for Indigenous females was 11,424 in 2008 and sharply increased to 18,535 in 2011 followed by a decrease in arrests until 2014 where the arrest rate hit a peak low of 9,781 followed by a sharp rise to 18,582 in 2016.

Figure 22 shows arrest rates by race for females ages 35-65. As is the case in the other age categories, the arrest rate for Asian and White females stayed low and stable over the study period. The arrest rate for Asian and White females was below 1,000, a substantially lower rate than the rate for Asian and
White females ages 25-34. The arrest trend for this age category shows relative stability over time with an overall increase in arrest rates for Indigenous females during the study period. The arrest rates for Indigenous females in this age category increase sharply from 2008 to 2009 from 5,387 to 9,454, followed by a drop from 2009 to 2012 and then rise to 9,067 in 2014 and decrease to 7,705 in 2016. The arrest rate for Black females is lower than the arrest rate of Indigenous females for the study period. The arrest rate of Black females, in 2008, was 3,016 with a gradual increase to 4,315 by 2010 and then subsequent decrease to 2,544 in 2014. Ultimately, the arrest rate of Black females was 2,918 in 2016 just slightly lower than the 3,016 2008 rate.

**Arrest Trends by Charge Type**

**Figure 23: Seattle Police Department Misdemeanor Arrest Rates by Charge Type (A) per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.**

Figure 23 shows arrest rates by crime type. Person and property & theft-related crimes accounted for a large number of arrests. The arrest rate for person crimes grew steadily, increasing from 562 in 2008 to 893 in 2011. After this rise, there was a decrease to 584 in 2014 and then a minor increase in 2016. In 2008, the property & theft-related arrest rate was 404 increasing to 957 in 2009 followed by a steep drop to 502 in 2014 and then a slight increase followed by another drop in 2016 to 411.
Figure 24: Percent of Total Seattle Police Department Misdemeanor Arrests by Charge Type (A), 2008-2016.

Figure 24 illustrates the percentage of total Seattle Police Department misdemeanor arrests by charge type. Person and property & theft-related arrests represent the largest percentages of arrests. Vehicle & driving-related crimes show the lowest percentages of arrests. Overall, the percentage of arrests increased overtime for all of Charge Type (A) categories with the largest increase for warrant arrests rising from 5.9% in 2011 to 25.2% by 2013 and 28.6 by 2016.

Figure 25: Seattle Police Department Misdemeanor Arrest Rates by Charge Type (B) per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.

Figure 25 shows misdemeanor arrest rates by Charge Type (B). Weapon, drugs, and public order arrests show a decline from 2008 to 2016 with the most dramatic declines for public order arrests. The weapon arrest rate shows a slight decrease over time with the arrests for drugs, prostitution, and public order crimes decreasing dramatically from a high 2010 and 2011. There was a significant increase in prostitution arrests from 2008 to 2010-2011 with a stark decrease in 2012 from a high of 81 in 2010 to a low of 6 in 2016.
Figure 26 shows the percentage of misdemeanor arrest by charge type. Public order crimes represent the highest percentage of arrests declines for all crime types from 2008 to 2016.

Figure 27 shows a general decline in arrest rates for trespassing, resisting arrest/escape/probation violations, and “other” arrests during the period under study. Trespassing, the category in Charge Type (C) with the highest rates, spiked in 2009 with 152 (per 100,000 ages 18-65). After this peak, the arrest rate decreased to 65 (per 100,000) in 2014 before rising again in 2015 and slightly decreasing in 2016.
Figure 28: Percent of Total Seattle Police Department Misdemeanor Arrests by Charge Type (C), 2008-2016.

Figure 28 shows the percentage of arrests by charge type showing a general decline and leveling off in the percentage of arrests.

Arrest Trends by Enforcement Type

Figure 29: Seattle Police Department Misdemeanor Arrest Rates by Enforcement Type per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.

Figure 29 shows the arrest rate by enforcement type per 100,000 population ages 18-65. The majority of arrest type were arrests at 1,485 with a slight decrease over time to 2016. The arrest rate peaked in 2010 at 1,714, decreased to 1,218 in 2012, hit a low of 995 in 2014 and leveled off in 2016 at 1,128 to lower than what it was in 2008. The rates for summons, citations, and outside agency arrests were lower and relatively stable over time with a slight increase from 2008 to 2016.
Figure 30 shows the percentage of arrests by arrest type. The majority of arrests were arrests followed by summons, outside agency arrest, and citations.

**MISDEMEANOR REFERRALS TO SEATTLE CITY ATTORNEY**

**Referral Trends by Race/Ethnicity**

Figure 31 shows the Seattle City Attorney’s Office referral trends by race for ages 18-65. Like the trends seen in the Seattle Police arrest figures, Asians and Whites had similarly low referral rates that were stable over time in comparison with Indigenous and Blacks. In contrast with the arrest rates for Indigenous and Black groups, referrals for the Indigenous group increased to a rate higher than for Blacks from 2015 to 2016 while the referral rate for Blacks decreased dramatically from 2015 to 2016. In 2008 the referral rate for the Indigenous group was 8,276 (per 100,000 ages 18-65) and by 2016 it was 9,312. The opposite pattern emerged for Black referrals with a rate of 12,776 in 2008 rising to a peak of 15,075 in 2009 and 2010 with a dramatic decline to 4,958 in 2016.
Figure 32 shows the percentage of the total misdemeanor referrals to the Seattle City Attorney by race. Whites represented the largest group of referrals (ranging from 56.7% in 2008–58.8% in 2016) followed by Blacks (ranging from 32.1% in 2016–34.6% in 2008), Asians (ranging from 6% in 2008-6.8% in 2016), and Indigenous (ranging from 2.5-2.8% fluctuating slightly from year to year).

**Referral Trends by Age**

Figure 33 shows the referral rates to Seattle City Attorney by age per 100,000 population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016. From 2008 to near the end of 2010 the referral rates of 18-20-year-olds remained the highest of all age groups with a peak of 5,308 in 2010. After 2010, the referral rates dropped steadily until 2014 when the referral rate declined to 2,281. In 2016, the referral rate rose to 2,459. The referral rate for 21-24-year-olds in 2008 was 3,653 and by 2009 increased to 4,636 followed by a gradual decrease with the referral rate falling to 3,004 by 2016. The 25-34 age group had lower referral rates at 2,743 in 2008 rising to 3,521 by 2010 and then decreasing to 3,120 in 2011. Referral rates generally declined for all groups from 2011 to 2016 with some slight increases and decreases for the 25-34 and 35-65 groups. The referral trend for age was similar to the arrest trends by age with only minor differences namely a higher rate of referrals for the 18-20 age category as compared to the arrest rates.
Figure 34 shows the percentage of misdemeanor referrals to the City Attorney’s Office for ages 18-65. The referral rates were relatively stable over time with a similar pattern as the arrests with 35-65 age group representing the highest percentage of referrals ranging from 48.8-49.5% followed by the 25-34 age group ranging from 28.5 – 33.3%. The 21-24 age group had slightly higher percentages of referrals at 12.6-13.8% as compared to the 18-20 age group which were relatively low ranging from 6.1% -9.6% 2008-2016.

Referral Trends by Sex

Figure 35 shows misdemeanor referral rates by sex. Males had higher referral rates at 4,047 (per 100,000) in 2008, increasing to 5,009 in 2009, to 5,069 in 2010, and declining steadily to 3,247 in 2014 and increasing to 3,602 in 2016. The female referral rates were relatively stable over time with a slight
increase in 2008 from 1,216 to 1,624 by 2009 followed by a gradual decrease until 2015 at 1,089 and increased slightly to 1,159 by 2016.

**Figure 36:** Percent of Total Misdemeanor Referrals to Seattle City Attorney by Sex, 2008-2016.

Figure 36 shows the percentage of misdemeanor referrals by sex. Males represent the majority (nearly 75%) of referrals and this pattern remained consistent across the study period.

**Figure 37:** Misdemeanor Referral Rates to Seattle City Attorney for Males by Race per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.

Figure 37 shows misdemeanor referral rates for males by race. As was the case with the arrest rates, Asian and White males had the lowest referral rates remaining consistently low across the study period. The referral rate was highest for Black males at 18,673 in 2008, rising to 21,746 in 2010, decreasing to 14,095 in 2014, and then increasing to 15,605 in 2016 showing a decrease over time. The referral rates of Indigenous males were relatively stable with a peak in 2012-2013 and a decrease from 2013-2014.
Figure 38 shows the misdemeanor referral rates for males by race, ages 18-20. Mirroring the arrest rates, the referral rates of Asian and Whites remained low and relatively stable over the study period. The referral rates of Indigenous males, ages 18-20 increased from 6,699 (per 100,000) in 2009 to 13,207 in 2010 and then decreased in 2013 when the referral rate dropped to 3,041 and remained steady until a sharp increase from 2,337 in 2015 to 10,225 in 2016. The referral rates of Black males peaked at 34,442 (per 100,000) in 2010 and then decreased 15,511 in 2016.

Figure 39 shows misdemeanor referral rates to Seattle City Attorney for males by race per 100,000 population, ages 21-24. Asian and White males had the lowest referral rates and there were no notable fluctuations. However, there were fluctuations in the referral rates of Indigenous males at 9,580 in 2008, increasing to 11,427) in 2009, decreased to 6,593 in 2010 before increased to 12,490 in 2012, decreasing in 2015 to 5,416, and increasing to 7,687 in 2016. The referral rate of Black males fluctuated with a peak high in 2011 at 32,660, a sharp decrease to 26,975 in 2012, followed by an increase to 30,412 in 2013, another decrease in 2014 to 22,681, rising in 2015 to 28,265, and then falling to 23,815 in 2016.
Figure 40: Misdemeanor Referral Rates to Seattle City Attorney for Males by Race per 100,000 Population, Ages 25-34, 2008-2016.

Figure 40 shows referral rates for males age 25-34. Asians and Whites had lowest arrest rates and remained consistent over time. The referral rates of Indigenous males fluctuated showing several increases and decreases throughout the years. For example, in 2010 the Indigenous referral rate was 12,716, which increased to 16,187 by 2011. The referral rate dipped to 8,590 in 2014 and peaked at a high of 16,460 in 2016. The referral rates of Black males varied as well with a gradual increase from 2008-2010, a drop slightly to 22,024 in 2011, and a sharp increase to 26,489 in 2012, followed by a gradual drop to 19,159 in 2014 and increase in 2016 to 20,112).

Figure 41: Misdemeanor Referral Rates to Seattle City Attorney for Males by Race per 100,000 Population, Ages 35-65, 2008-2016.

Figure 41 shows referral rates of males by race ages 35-65. As was the case with arrest rates, referral rates were lowest for Asian and White males and remained stable over time. The referral rates of Indigenous males fluctuated and show a slight increase from 2008 to 2016 with a sharp increase in 2012 from 9,217 to 14,241 in 2012 followed by a decline to 8,625, and gradual increase to 9,781 in 2016. The referral rates of Blacks males declined over time with fluctuations with a rate of 16,121 in 2008, increasing to 18,419 in 2009, decreasing to 14,903 in 2011, and increasing to 12,928 in 2016.
Figure 42: Misdemeanor Referral Rates to Seattle City Attorney for Females by Race per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-20, 2008-2016.

Figure 42 shows misdemeanor referral rates for females by race per 100,000 populations, ages 18-20. The referral rates for Asian and White females were lowest and relatively stable over time. The referral rate of Indigenous females, in 2008, was 6,483, increasing to 11,898 in 2009, peaking at 12,428 in 2010, decrease sharply to 4,019 in 2011 remained steady for several years until rising to a rate of 7,955.

Figure 43: Misdemeanor Referral Rates to Seattle City Attorney for Females by Race per 100,000 Population, Ages 21-24, 2008-2016.

Figure 43 shows misdemeanor referral rates for females by race per 100,000 populations, ages 21-24. Similar to 18-20-year-olds, the referral rates for Asian and White females in the 21-24 age group were low and stable over time. Referral rates for Black and Indigenous females showed different patterns. The referral rate for the Indigenous group shows dramatic fluctuations with a rise in referrals from 3,856 in 2008 and 4,435 in 2009 to 14,505 in 2010 followed by a steep decrease to 2,325 in 2012 and then a rise again to 8,310 in 2013 and 9299 in 2015 and then a decrease to 5,072 in 2016. The referral rate of Black females age 21-24 shows gradual increases and decreases over time with a referral rate of 8,979 in 2008, an increase in 2010 to 14,562, a decrease and increase again from 2011 to 2012 and then a gradual to 7,788 in 2016.
Figure 44 shows referral rates for females by race per 100,000 of ages 25-34. Similar to the previous figure referral rates for Asians and Whites were low and remained consistent. Referral rates for Black and Indigenous females showed some variation. In contrast to the arrest rates for this group which show in Figure 21 that Black females aged 25-35 are arrested at a higher rate, referrals for Indigenous females age 25-34 exceeded referrals for Black females in this age category for most of the study period except for 2013 and 2016. While both the Indigenous and Black referral rates were lower in 2016 (6,102-Indigenous and 7,273-Black) than they were in 2008 (8,683-Indigenous, 7,948-Black), fluctuations in the referral rates alternated from year to year (i.e., when the referral rate increased for the Black group, it decreased for the Indigenous group and vice versa).

Figure 45 shows the referral rate for females by race per 100,000 of ages 35-65. Asian and White females had low and stable referral rates. The referral rates for Black females decreased gradually while the rates for the Indigenous group increased over the study period. The referral rate of Indigenous females in 2008 was 4,090 and in 2016 was 7,245. For the Black females, the referral rate was 4,439 in 2008 and 3,994 in 2016.
Referral Trends by Charge Type

**Figure 47**: Misdemeanor Referral Rates to Seattle City Attorney by Charge Type (A) per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.

*Figure 47* shows the misdemeanor referral rates by Charge Type (A) per 100,000 population, ages 18-65. The category with the highest referral rates was Person. In 2008, the referral rate for person crimes was 945 and was 1,058 in 2016. Property & theft-related referral rates in 2008 were 697 and were almost identical in 2016 at 700. The referrals for vehicle & driving related referrals were the lowest and were consistent with the pattern of arrests.

**Figure 48**: Percent of Total Misdemeanor Referrals to Seattle City Attorney by Charge Type (A), 2008-2016.

*Figure 48* shows the percentage of misdemeanor referrals by charge type. Person crimes represent the highest percentage of referrals (35.8-47.4%), followed by property & theft-related crimes (25.4-29.9%), and vehicle & driving-related crimes (13.1%-20.8%).
Figure 49: Misdemeanor Referral Rates to Seattle City Attorney by Charge Type (B) per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.

Figure 49 shows referral rates by Charge Type (B) per 100,000 population, ages 18-65. The weapons category had the most stable referral rates with few fluctuations. Referrals for the drugs category fluctuated considerably. In 2008, the referral rate for drugs was 94. By 2009, it dropped to 64 and then increased to 131 in 2010, decreased to 82 in 2011, increased to 90 in 2012, and then sharply declined to 22 in 2013 and continued to drop 8, its lowest point in 2016. The referral rate for prostitution was 41 in 2008, increased to 97 in 2010, and then decreased sharply to 25 in 2013, and increased again to 72 in 2016. Public order crime referral rates were relatively stable from 2008 to 2010 (89, 80, 88 respectively) and gradually began declining to a low of 21 in 2014 and an increase to 30 in 2016.

Figure 50: Percent of Total Misdemeanor Referrals to Seattle City Attorney by Charge Type (B), 2008-2016.

Figure 50 shows the percentages of misdemeanor referrals by charge type. The percentage of referrals for most of the charge types decreased over time, except for prostitution.
Figure 51 shows the misdemeanor referral rates by Charge Type (C) per 100,000 population, ages 18-65. The trespassing category had the highest referral rates. The referral rates for other and resisting arrest/escape/probation violation were relatively stable over time.

**Figure 52** shows the percentage of misdemeanor referrals by charge type. By far, the trespassing category represents the largest percentage of referrals.
Referral Trends by Case Disposition

Figure 53: Misdemeanor Referral Rates to Seattle City Attorney by Initial Disposition per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.

Figure 53 shows the misdemeanor referral rates by initial disposition. The filed category had the highest referral rates with its peak high at 2,020 in 2010 followed by a gradually decline to 1,213 by 2014. By 2016, the referral rate slightly increased to 1,442. The other categories remained consistent with no major changes.

Figure 54: Percent of Total Misdemeanor Referrals to Seattle City Attorney by Initial Disposition, 2008-2016.

Figure 54 shows the percentage of misdemeanor referrals by case disposition. The filed category had the highest percent of referrals at (56-60.5%), followed by declined (22.7-27.3%). The other categories had lower percentages with no significant variations.
Figure 55: Seattle City Attorney Misdemeanor Charging Rates by Race per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.

Figure 55 shows the misdemeanor charge rates by race of ages 18-65. Asians and Whites show the lowest rates with no significant fluctuations. The charge rates for Blacks and Indigenous show similar trends. In 2008, the charge rate for Blacks was 9,717 increasing slightly to 10,515 in 2009. The charge rates steadily decreased to 5,845 by 2014. After a small increase in 2015, the rate in 2016 was 6,048. The charge rate for Indigenous in 2008 was 6,341 increasing in 2009 to 7,597. From 2009 to 2016, the charge rates were stable with no significant increases or decreases.

Figure 56: Percent of Total Seattle City Attorney Misdemeanor Charges by Race, 2008-2016.
Figure 56 shows the percentages of misdemeanor charges by race. The largest percentage of charges was for Whites ranging from 57.2-61%. Blacks had the second highest percentage of charges from 30-34.3% with the White group increasing slightly over time (57.2% in 2008 and 59.8% in 2016) and the Black group decreasing slightly (34.3% in 2008 and 30.6% in 2016). Asians and the Indigenous had the lowest charge rates (5.8-7% and 2.6-3.2% respectively) both increasing slightly from 2008 to 2016 with Asians at 5.8% in 2008 and 6.6% in 2016 and Indigenous at 2.7% in 2008 and 3.1% in 2016.

**Charge Trends by Age**

**Figure 57: Seattle City Attorney Misdemeanor Charging Rates by Age Group per 100,000 Population, 2008-2016.**

Figure 57 shows charging rates by age per 100,000 population. The trends show an initial increase from 2008 to 2009 and then gradual decrease to a low in 2016 for all groups. The 18-20-year-old group had the sharpest decrease declining from 2906 in 2008 and 3,786 in 2009 to 1,296 in 2016. Charges for the 21-24 group decreased from 2,833 in 2008 to 1,751 by 2016, 25-34 from 2,088 in 2008 to 1,580 by 2016, and the 35-65 group from 1,763 in 2008 to 1,206 by 2016.

**Figure 58: Percent of Total Seattle City Attorney Misdemeanor Charges by Age Group, 2008-2016.**
**Figure 58** shows the percentage of misdemeanor charges by age category. The highest percentage of charges was for the 35-65 age group (46.5-49.8%) followed by the 25-34 (28.4-33.8%), 21-24 (12.6-14.4%), and 18-20 (5.7-9.7%) age categories.

**Charge Trends by Sex**

**Figure 59** shows misdemeanor charge rates by sex per 100,000 population, ages 18-65, 2008-2016. Males were charged at a rate 3x higher than females (898-females/3,169-males in 2008) and this stayed relatively consistent across the study period with a rise in 2009 and gradual decline to a low point for both males and females with a narrower gender gap in 2016 (625-females, 2,120-males).

**Figure 60** shows the percentage of charges by sex. The majority of the charges over the study period were for males ranging from 74.6-77.4% with charges for the female group ranging from 22.6-25.4%. There was a slight decrease for males and increase for females from 2008 to 2016 with the percentage of charges for males at 77.4% and females at 22.6% in 2008 and 76.6 for males and 23.4% for females in 2016.
**Figure 61:** Seattle City Attorney Misdemeanor Charging Rates for Males by Race per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.

Figure 61 shows misdemeanor charge rates for males by race per 100,000. Asian and White males show the lowest charge rates remaining relatively consistent over time. The charge rate for Black males initially increased and then gradually declined from a high of 14,386 in 2008 and 15,563 in 2009 to a low of 9,008 in 2016. The charge rate for the Indigenous group showed some fluctuations but was largely stable over time with a slight decrease from 8,449 in 2008 to 7,572 in 2016.

**Figure 62:** Seattle City Attorney Misdemeanor Charging Rates for Males by Race per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-20, 2008-2016.

Figure 62 shows misdemeanor charge rates for males by race per 100,000 population, ages 18-20. Asian males had the lowest charge rates followed by White males with rates that remained relatively stable over time. For Black males there was an initial increase followed by a decrease in 2008 to 3,787 and an increased to 8,148 by 2011 followed by a sharp decrease to 757 in 2013, falling below the charging rate of Asian males. From here the charge rate increased to 7,086 in 2016. The charging rate of Black males fell significantly from 2008 to 2016. From 2008 to 2009, the charge rate for Black males increased sharply from 17,445 to 23,292, decreased to 13,122 by 2011, gradually dropped to 7,265 by 2015, and then increased slightly to 8,338 in 2016.
Figure 63 shows misdemeanor charge rates for males by race per 100,000 population, ages 21-24. The charge rates for Asian and White males was low and remained relatively stable. The charge rate for Indigenous males shows an initial increase from 6,919 in 2008 to 10,388 in 2009 followed by a sharp decrease to 4,057 in 2010 and then remained relatively steady with a slight increase to 4,942 in 2016. The charge rates of Black males shows an initial increase from 20,980 in 2008 to 22,459 in 2009 followed by a gradual decline with some intermittent increases and decreases decreasing to 14,104 in 2014, increasing to 17,941 in 2015, and then sharply decreasing to 12,730 in 2016.

Figure 64 shows misdemeanor charge rates for males by race per 100,000 population, ages 25-34. The charge rates of Asian and White males was relatively low and stable with no significant fluctuations. The charge rates were highest for Black and Indigenous males exhibiting divergent patterns where decreases in the Indigenous rates corresponded with increases in the charge rate for Black males that converged at the end of the study period in 2016 with a charge rate of 11,142 for Indigenous males and 11,384 for Black males. This convergence in 2016 represented a decrease over the study period in the charge rate over time for Black males (from 15,802 in 2008) and an increase for Indigenous males (from 9,438 in 2008).
Figure 65 shows misdemeanor charge rates for males by race per 100,000 population, ages 35-65. As is the case with the other age categories, charge rates for Asian and White males was relatively low and stable with no significant fluctuations. The charge rate for Black males decreased from a high of 13,537 to a low of 6,828 in 2014 and 7,738 in 2016. The charge rate for Indigenous males was relatively stable over time with some dips and rises and a slight decrease from the charge rate of 8,840 in 2008 and 6812 in 2016.

Figure 66 shows misdemeanor charge rates for females by race per 100,000 population, ages 18-65. As was the case for male charging rates, charge rates for Asian and White females were low and stable relative to the Black and Indigenous groups. In contrast with the charging rate patterns for males where the rates were higher for the Black males, for females, the Indigenous group was charged at a higher rate for all years in the study period after 2008 and was the only racial/ethnic group that had a charging rate 2016 (4,025) higher than the charging rate 2008 (3,954). The only year that Black females were charged at a higher rate than all other groups was in 2008 when the rate was 4,447 but after 2008 there was a steady decline to a low point of 2,775 in 2016.
Figure 67 shows misdemeanor charge rates for females by race per 100,000 population, ages 18-20. Charge rates for Asian and White females were low and stable relative to the Black and Indigenous groups and declined over time. The only group that did not show a decline from 2008 to 2016 was the Indigenous group that increased from 3,252 in 2008 to 3,883 in 2018 with fluctuations in between, most notably a steep decrease from a rate of 8,730 in 2009 to 1.612 in 2011 and then a steady increase to 4,672 in 2015. Black females had highest charge rate from 2008 to 2015 when the charge rates for Black and Indigenous groups converged.

Figure 68 shows misdemeanor charge rates for females by race per 100,000 population, ages 21-24. Charge rates for Asian and White females were low and stable relative to the Black and Indigenous groups and declined over time. The rate for Black females initially increased from a rate of 6,480 in 2008 to 8,518 in 2010 and then gradually decreased to a low in 2016 of 3,639. In 2008, the charge rate for Indigenous females rose from 2,204 in 2008 to 4,435 in 2010, dropped to 1,743 in 2012, and then increased to a high point of 6,819 in 2015, and then declining to 2,536 in 2016. The Indigenous female group was the only group that had a higher charge rate in 2016 than in 2008.
Figure 69 shows misdemeanor charge rates for females by race per 100,000 population, ages 25-34. Similar to previous figures, charge rates for Asian and White females were low relative to the Black and Indigenous groups and declined over time. Indigenous females show a higher charge rate for all years except 2016. The charge rate for Indigenous females declined steadily with some increases and decreases starting at a rate of 6,626 in 2008 rising to 8,389 in 2009 and this pattern of annual decrease and increase continued at a downward trend to a low of 3,605 in 2016. The charging pattern for Black females was relatively stable with a lower rate in 2016 of 2,044 as compared with the rate of 3,381 in 2008.

Figure 70 shows misdemeanor charge rates for females by race per 100,000 population, ages 35-65. Charge rates for Asian and White females were low relative to the Black and Indigenous groups and declined over time. The charging rate for Indigenous females was higher than the rate for any other group for all years except 2008 when the rate for Black females exceeded the other groups. The charge rate for Black females declined from 3,380 in 2008 to 2,044 in 2016. The Indigenous female group was the only group for which the charge rate rose from 3,192 in 2008 to 4,485 in 2016.
Figure 71 shows misdemeanor charge rates by Charge Type (C) per 100,000 population, ages 18-65. Property & theft-related crimes had the largest percentage of charges for most of the years. After a peak high of 789 in 2009, the charge rate dropped continuously to 454 by 2016. Charge rates for person crimes were relatively stable over time with few notable fluctuations and decreased slightly over the study period from 564 in 2008 to 473 in 2016. Charge rates for vehicle & driving-related crimes initially increased from 504 in 2008 to 629 in 2009 and 623 in 2010 and then decreased to 250 in 2016.

Figure 72 shows the percentage of misdemeanor charges by Charge Type (A). Property & theft-related crimes had the highest charging rate for most of the period (30.1% - 37.4%) followed by Person crimes (24.7-36.6%) with Vehicle & Driving-Related crimes have the lowest charge rates (17.2-28.1%).
Figure 73 shows the rate of misdemeanor charges by Charge Type (B) for ages 18-65. The charge rates for Weapon crimes were relatively stable over time with a slight decrease from a rate of 36 in 2008 to 28 in 2016. In 2008, the rate for Drug charges was at its peak (61 per 100,000) decreasing to a low of 1 in 2016. The charging rate for Prostitution increased steeply from 2008 to 2010, and then sharply declined to a low point in 2013 and then increased to in 2016. The charge rate for public order crimes decreased steadily from a rate of 74 in 2008 to 15 in 2016.

Figure 74 shows the percentage of misdemeanor charges by charge type. The percentage of public order charges decreased steadily across the study period. Weapon, drugs, and prostitution charges also decreased with periods of fluctuation including an increase from 2009 to 2010 followed by a decrease and then slight increase.
Figure 75 shows the charging rate for misdemeanor charges by Charge Type (C) per 100,000 population, ages 18-65. The resisting arrest/escape/probation violation and other categories relatively stable while the trespassing category experienced large fluctuations.

Figure 76 shows the percentages of misdemeanor charges by Charge Type (C) per 100,000 population, ages 18-65. Trespassing had the largest percent of charges followed by the other category, while Resisting Arrest/Escape/Probation Violation had the smallest percentage.
Figure 77 shows the charge rates by final disposition per 100,000 population, ages 18-65. The most prevalent dispositions were dismissed and convicted, decreasing steadily across the study period by almost half by 2016. The charge rate for dismissals exceeded convictions for all years except 2016. The rate for dismissal was 4,298 in 2008, increasing to 5246 in 2009, and then steadily decreasing to 2,267 dropping lower for the first time than convictions in 2016. The rate for convictions was 4012 in 2008 and steadily decreased to 2364 in 2016. No final disposition and other were the less common dispositions with an increase from 2015 to 2016. Acquittals were the least prevalent disposition category across the study period ranging from a low of 51 to a high of 90.

Figure 78 shows the percentage of final dispositions per 100,000 population, ages 18-65. The categories of dismissed and convicted had the highest charging rates representing 32.2-50.2% (dismissed) and 33.6-44% (convicted), with only 0.6-0.9 acquitted and 3.8-24.8% no final disposition.
Figure 79: Seattle Police Department Misdemeanor Arrest Rates by Precinct of Arrest per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.

Figure 79 shows misdemeanor arrest rates by precinct of arrest per 100,000 population, ages 18-65. The West Precinct had the highest arrest rates for misdemeanors. All precincts show similar trends of an increase from 2008 to 2009, followed by a decrease to 2015 and a slight increase in 2016, with the exception of the East Precinct which shows a decline from 2015 to 2016.

Figure 80: Percent of Total Seattle Police Department Arrests by Precinct of Arrest, 2008-2016.

Figure 80 shows the total percentage of Seattle Police Department arrests by precinct of arrest, 2008-2016. The West Precinct had the highest percentage of arrests followed by the North Precinct. The East Precinct had the third highest percentages. South and Southwest Precincts had the lowest percentages.
Figure 81 shows the misdemeanor arrest rates by precinct of offense per 100,000 population, ages 18-65. The West Precinct had the highest arrest rates. There was a sharp increase from 2008 to 2009 as the arrest rate increased from 3,662 to 5,699 and then remained steady until 2011 and then began to gradually decrease. By 2016, the arrest rate had decreased to 4,061. The East and South Precincts had similar arrest rates. Both had the highest arrest rates from 2009 to 2010 after which the arrest rates gradually decreased. The North and Southwest Precincts also had similar arrest rates. Both precincts had an increase in arrest rates until 2010. After 2010, the arrest rates of both precincts started to decrease. Following this decrease, both precincts then had a slight increase in arrest rates in 2014.

Figure 82 shows the percentage of total Seattle Police Department arrests by precinct. Over 30% of the arrests occurred by the West Precinct, followed by North, South, East, and Southwest.
Figure 83 shows the rate of misdemeanor referrals to the Seattle City Attorney by precinct of offense per 100,000 population, ages 18-65. The West Precinct had the highest number of referral rates followed by the South Precinct. The East Precinct had the third highest number of arrests and the Southwest and North Precincts had the lowest. All the precincts saw an increase from 2008 to 2009. The West, East, and Southwest Precincts saw a minor decrease in 2010 whereas the South and North Precincts experienced a slight increase. In 2010 the North, South, Southwest, and East Precincts saw a decrease in referral rates until 2014 and the West Precincts saw a decrease until 2015, followed by a slight increase by all precincts.

Figure 84 shows the percentage of referrals to the Seattle City Attorney’s Office by Precinct of Offense. The majority of the referrals were for the West Precinct followed by North, South, East, and Southwest.

**Figure 85:** Seattle City Attorney Misdemeanor Charging Rates by Precinct of Offense per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.

*Figure 85* shows the misdemeanor charging rates by precinct of offenses per 100,000 population, ages 18-65. The West Precinct had the highest number of charging rates. In 2008 the charging rate was 4,340 increasing to 4,899 by 2009 and then decreasing to 3,071 in 2016. The South Precinct had the second highest number of charging rates. The charging rate increased from 2,582 in 2008 to 3,037 in 2009 followed by a decline to 1,433 by 2016. The charging rate of the East Precinct was 2,231 in 2008 increasing to 2,381 in 2009 and then decreasing gradually to 1,303 by 2016. The charging rates of the North and Southwest Precincts were the lowest with all precincts reflecting a downward trend from 2008 to 2016.

**Figure 86:** Percent of Total Seattle City Attorney Misdemeanor Charges by Precinct of Offense, 2008-2016.

*Figure 86* shows the percentage of misdemeanor charges by precinct. The West Precinct had the highest percentage of charges followed by the North Precinct, South Precinct, East Precinct, and Southwest Precinct.
Trends in misdemeanors arrests, referrals and charges in the East Precinct’s 13 micro-communities are presented in Figure 87a through Figure 92. The arrest rate (Figure 87a) is consistently highest in the East Precinct’s section of the Chinatown-International District known as Little Saigon. The arrest rate in the micro-community peaked in 2009, with nearly 67,000 arrests per 100,000 population between the ages of 18 and 65. In Capitol Hill, the micro-community in the East Precinct with the second highest arrest rate over the period under study, the arrest rate in 2009 was 5,732 arrests per population between the ages of 18 and 65. Figure 87b removes the Chinatown-International District so that the trends in the other micro-communities are easier to examine. This dramatic difference can partially be explained by the low number of individuals residing in the Chinatown-International District micro-community. However, Figure 88 demonstrates that although the plurality of misdemeanor arrests occur in Capitol Hill (ranging from 34% to 48.5% of the total misdemeanor arrests depending on the year), the Chinatown-International District fluctuates between being the micro-community in the East Precinct with having the second and third highest percentage of arrests. The misdemeanor referral rates in the East Precinct by micro-community (Figure 89) show fluctuation from year to year, although Capitol Hill has the highest rate for seven of the nine years and is second highest for the other two years. The Mt. Baker/North Rainier and North Beacon Hill/Jefferson Park are the only two communities that have higher referral rates. Throughout the years, however, the largest percentage of East Precinct referrals (Figure 90) originate from misdemeanor events that occurred in the East Precinct (between 37.2% and 45.9%), followed by First Hill (between 17.6% and 21.3%), and the Central Area/Squire Park (between 14.5% and 21.3%). These patterns are similar to those found in the percent breakdown of misdemeanor charges (Table 92). Also, the misdemeanor charging rates (Table 91) are once again highest in Capitol Hill throughout the period under study, however this micro-community’s rates converge with those of First Hill, Judkins Park, and North Beacon Hill/Jefferson Park in 2016.

Figure 87a: Seattle Police Department East Precinct Misdemeanor Arrest Rates by Micro-Community of Offense per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.

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5 In 2018, Little Saigon, the section of Chinatown-International District located in the East Precinct, was merged with the rest of micro-community so that the entirety of the Chinatown-International District is patrolled by the West Precinct.
Figures 87b and 88 show the rate and percentage of misdemeanor arrests in East precinct micro-communities. The highest rates are in the Capitol Hill, First Hill, and Judkins Park while the highest percentage of arrests are in Capitol Hill and the Chinatown-International District. As can be seen in Figures 87b and 88, there is a high degree of variability across micro-communities.
Figures 89 and 90 show the misdemeanor referral rate by East precinct micro-communities. The highest rates are in the Capitol Hill and the Chinatown-International District with some steep fluctuations in some of the different micro-communities (e.g., a downward trend in Mt. Baker/North Rainier, however a sharp increase from 2010 to 2011). The highest percentage of referrals are for arrests from Capitol Hill, the Chinatown-International District, and the Central Area/Squire Park. As can be seen in Figures 87b and 88, there is a high degree of variability in the referral rates across micro-communities.
Figures 91 and 92 show the misdemeanor charge rate by East Precinct micro-communities. Capitol Hill, Chinatown-International District, and Central Area/Squire Park show the highest percentage of charges and the highest charge rate. While there appears to be a general trend downward for the Capitol Hill charges, there is a high degree of variation by micro-community.
Figures 93 through 98 present the arrest, referral and charge data for the North Precinct’s 12 micro-communities. The Northgate neighborhood has the highest arrest, referral and charge rates from 2008 through 2016. In addition, Northgate also represents the largest portion of arrests, referrals, and charges as a percentage of those totals originating from misdemeanors that occurred in the North Precinct (17.6%-30.1%, 20.3%-29.3%, and 21.2%-31.5%, respectively). Comparatively, the Sandpoint micro-community in the North Precinct had, for almost the entire nine years of the study, the lowest arrest, referral and charge rates. As a percent of the total number of arrests, Phinney Ridge had the smallest percentage, account for 1.3% to 2.1% of the total arrests in the North Precinct.

Figure 93: Seattle Police Department North Precinct Misdemeanor Arrest Rates by Micro-Community of Offense per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.
Figure 94: Percent of Seattle Police Department Total Misdemeanor Arrests in North Precinct by Micro-Community of Offense, 2008-2016.

Figure 95: North Precinct Misdemeanor Referral Rates to Seattle City Attorney by Micro-Community of Offense per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.
Figure 96: Percent of North Precinct Misdemeanor Referrals to Seattle City Attorney by Micro-Community of Offense, 2008-2016.

Figure 97: Seattle City Attorney North Precinct Misdemeanor Charging Rates by Micro-Community of Offense per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.
In the South Precinct (Figures 99-104), there are 15 micro-communities. The micro-community with the highest arrest, referral and charge rates, by far, is SODO. In fact, the difference between SODO’s lowest arrest rate in the year 2008 (11,688) and the highest rate for Georgetown in 2011 (8,957), the micro-community with the second highest arrest rate, is more than 2,700 arrests per every 100,000 people between the ages of 18 and 65. In terms of the percent of the total number of arrests, referrals and charges, however, SODO does not always have the largest percentage. At times over the period under study, the Brighton/Dunlap and North Beacon Hill micro-communities maintain a larger percentage of the arrests, referrals and charges than SODO. It is important to note, however, that due to the large number of individuals living in these micro-communities, as opposed to SODO, their rates are lower as earlier discussed the Census data accounts only for residential populations.
Figure 99: Seattle Police Department South Precinct Misdemeanor Arrest Rates by Micro-Community of Offense per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.

Figure 100: Percent of Seattle Police Department Total Misdemeanor Arrests in South Precinct by Micro-Community of Offense, 2008-2016.
Figure 101: South Precinct Misdemeanor Referral Rates to Seattle City Attorney by Micro-Community of Offense per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.

Figure 102: Percent of South Precinct Misdemeanor Referrals to Seattle City Attorney by Micro-Community of Offense, 2008-2016.
Figure 103: Seattle City Attorney South Precinct Misdemeanor Charging Rates by Micro-Community of Offense per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.

Figure 104: Percent of Seattle City Attorney South Precinct Misdemeanor Charges by Micro-Community of Offense, 2008-2016.
Out of the 13 micro-communities in the Southwest Precinct (Figures 105-110), there are multiple neighborhoods that alternate between having the highest arrest, referral and charging rates. For example, specific to arrest rates for 100,000 population ages 18 to 65, South Park has the highest rate for all years except 2010. For referrals rates, however, it only has the highest rate for six of the nine years of data. In 2010, Pigeon Point has the highest referral rate and North Delridge has the highest referral rate in 2011 and 2016. Finally, South Park only has the highest charge rate for four years (2008, 2009, 2013, 2014), while North Delridge does for three years (2011, 2012, 2016), Pigeon Point in 2010, and Roxhill/Westwood/Arbor heights in 2015. These micro-communities with the highest rates do not necessarily also account for the largest percentage of arrests, referrals, or charges. Except for 2008, the Roxhill/Westwood/Arbor Heights micro-community accounts for the largest percentage of arrests in the Southwest precinct, ranging from 18.1% in 2009 and 29.7% in 2015. This pattern was consistent with the breakdown in the percent of referrals by micro-community. For the percent of charges by micro-community, however, Highland Park had the largest proportion of referrals for the years 2008, 2011, and 2013.

Figure 105: Seattle Police Department Southwest Precinct Misdemeanor Arrest Rates by Micro-Community of Offense per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.
Figure 106: Percent of Seattle Police Department Total Misdemeanor Arrests in Southwest Precinct by Micro-Community of Offense, 2008-2016.

Figure 107: Southwest Precinct Misdemeanor Referral Rates to Seattle City Attorney by Micro-Community of Offense per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.
Figure 108: Percent of Southwest Precinct Misdemeanor Referrals to Seattle City Attorney by Micro-Community of Offense, 2008-2016.

Figure 109: Seattle City Attorney Southwest Precinct Misdemeanor Charging Rates by Micro-Community of Offense per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.
In the West Precinct there are eight micro-communities (Figures 111-116). Three micro-communities – Downtown, Chinatown-International District, and Pioneer Square - stand out as having the highest rates of misdemeanor arrests, referrals, and charges. For seven of the nine years, Downtown has the highest rates of arrest, while the Chinatown-International District has the highest rates of misdemeanor arrest for the other two years, 2008 and 2010. However, the Chinatown-International District has the highest rates of misdemeanor referrals and charges for the entire 2008 to 2016 period. When considering the volume of arrests, referrals, and charges, Downtown represents the largest percentages for all categories ranging from 33.6% to 54.1%, 30.6% to 46.2%, and 31.0% to 50.9%, respectively.
Figure 111: Seattle Police Department West Precinct Misdemeanor Arrest Rates by Micro-Community of Offense per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.

Figure 112: Percent of Seattle Police Department Total Misdemeanor Arrests in West Precinct by Micro-Community of Offense, 2008-2016.
Figure 113: West Precinct Misdemeanor Referral Rates to Seattle City Attorney by Micro-Community of Offense per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.

Figure 114: Percent of West Precinct Misdemeanor Referrals to Seattle City Attorney by Micro-Community of Offense, 2008-2016.
Figure 115: Seattle City Attorney West Precinct Misdemeanor Charging Rates by Micro-Community of Offense per 100,000 Population, Ages 18-65, 2008-2016.

Figure 116: Percent of Seattle City Attorney West Precinct Misdemeanor Charges by Micro-Community of Offense, 2008-2016.
FOCI SPECIFIC TO THE SEATTLE SITE ANALYSIS

In addition to the replication of the New York City Trends in Misdemeanor Arrests Report, we sought to examine additional questions of interest in Seattle. There are a number of research questions of particular importance given the research and community work that has been done in Seattle in recent years. The Seattle Police Department has a robust Crisis Intervention Policy\(^6\) including mandatory Crisis Intervention Team (CIT) training for SPD officers, a Crisis Response Unit, and a Crisis Intervention Committee (Helfgott, Hickman, & LaBossiere, 2016). Seattle has long been the focus of research involving problem-oriented and place-based policing (Weisburd, Groff, & Yang, 2012; Weisburd, 2018), and identifying the relationship between quality of life issues, and community perception of fear of crime and police legitimacy has been at the forefront of recent ongoing study and public discourse in Seattle (Balk, June 28, 2018; Helfgott et al, 2018). Given these local foci of interest, we were interested in the intersection of misdemeanor arrest, referral, and charge data in relation to three local issues: 1) The link between misdemeanors and community perceptions of public safety and quality of life at the micro-community level; 2) Crisis Intervention; and 3) Person and Place-based crime. Toward this end, we are interested in three additional research questions relevant to these local foci:

1) What is the relationship between micro-community quality of life and community perceptions of public safety and misdemeanor arrest patterns?

2) What percentage of misdemeanor arrests, referrals, and charges involve behavioral crisis issues?

3) What percentage of misdemeanor arrests, referrals, and charges are place-based versus person-based?

Regarding the relationship between micro-community quality of life and community perceptions of public safety and misdemeanor arrest patterns, the data on misdemeanor arrests, referrals, and charges at the micro-community level offers a starting point to connect data about misdemeanor arrests, referrals, and charges to public perception data collected through the annual Seattle Public Safety Survey.\(^7\)

Regarding the misdemeanors involving behavioral crisis, we conducted an initial analysis to determine the percentage of misdemeanor arrests involving behavioral crisis during the years in which consistent and detailed data was collected by SPD on behavioral crisis incidents (2015-2016). When the arrest, referral and charging data are aggregated to the most serious misdemeanor offense that an individual allegedly committed during an incident, preliminary analyses demonstrate that 5.4% of individuals who were referred to the Seattle City Attorney’s office for a misdemeanor offense were identified as being in behavioral crisis when contacted by the Seattle Police Department.

Regarding person versus placed-based misdemeanor incidents, when arrest, referral and charging data are aggregated to the most serious misdemeanor offense an individual allegedly committed during an incident, preliminary analyses demonstrate that 12.9% of individuals arrested for at least one misdemeanor offense between 2008 and 2016 account for 50% of misdemeanor arrests; 18.6% of individuals referred for at least one misdemeanor offense between 2008 and 2016 account for 50% of misdemeanor referrals; and 21.2% of individuals charged with at least one misdemeanor offense

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between 2008 and 2016 account for 50% of misdemeanor charges. When individual arrest incidents are aggregated to the most serious misdemeanor offense, our preliminary data analysis shows that 4.9% of locations in Seattle where at least one misdemeanor offense occurred between 2008 and 2016 are where 50% of misdemeanors offenses occurred.

CONCLUSION

The analyses presented here offer information about misdemeanor arrests, referrals, and charges in Seattle and in the Seattle Police Department’s five precincts and micro-communities. The findings offer a detailed examination of arrests, referrals, and charges for misdemeanor offenses in Seattle from 2008 to 2016. The findings are a starting point for discussion to determine how to improve policies and practices involving misdemeanor cases to reduce the number of misdemeanor crimes that enter the system and to ensure fair and equitable processing of individuals who are arrested for misdemeanor offenses through the criminal justice system.

Key Takeaways

- The findings on arrest, referral and charging trends suggest that arrests, referrals, and charges for misdemeanors in Seattle have steadily declined from 2008 to 2016. This general decline in arrests, referrals, and charges mirrors a similar decline for felonies.

- While arrests, referrals, and charges for misdemeanors are declining in Seattle, the findings show that the rates for arrests, referrals, and charges are higher for Black and Indigenous groups.

- The rate of felony and misdemeanor bookings has decreased while the rate of misdemeanor warrants has increased.

- Misdemeanor arrest rates have decreased steadily for all age categories. The 18-20 age category has seen the most significant decline dropping below 21-24 year olds since 2010 and 25-34 year-olds since 2013.

- There has been a decline in misdemeanor bookings for both males and females since 2009 with a greater decline for males.

- The arrest rate is highest for Black males followed by indigenous males with some exceptions where the arrest rate for the Indigenous group exceeds Black males and females. For example, in 2013, Indigenous males age 35-65 were arrested at a higher rate than Black males and Indigenous females age 18-65 were arrested, referred, and charged at an increasing and higher rate than Black females across the study period (in particular in the 35-65 age group) while the referral and charge rate for Black females declined.

- Arrest rates declined for person, property & theft-related, weapons, drugs, prostitution, and public order offenses from 2010 to 2016 while warrant arrests showed a corresponding increase. There was a particularly dramatic decrease in prostitution arrests from 2011 to 2012.

- The rate of misdemeanor dismissals was higher than convictions from 2008-2015. In 2016, conviction rate exceeded the dismissal rate for the first time during the study period. There was a decrease in the dismissal and convictions from 2008-2016 while acquittals, which occurred at a relatively low rate, remained steady across the study period.

- Results show that the rate and percentage of misdemeanors at the Citywide, Precinct, and Micro-Community level declined over time and vary by precinct and micro-community. The East precinct
shows the highest rate of misdemeanors, followed by the South, West, Southwest, and North precincts for most of the study period with some fluctuation in 2015-2016 (e.g., the arrest rate in South exceeded East and North exceeded Southwest in 2016).

Examination of misdemeanor trends at the precinct and micro-community level supplement other data collection efforts in Seattle by providing a measure of misdemeanor arrests, charges, and referrals by micro-community. The findings suggest that some precincts (e.g., West and North) and micro-communities (e.g., Capitol Hill, Downtown) show a higher percentage of misdemeanor arrests, referrals, and charges. The results also show that the rate of misdemeanor arrests, referrals, and charges is higher in micro-communities such as the Chinatown-International District and Capitol Hill, and Northgate, and Lake City, and Claremont/Rainier Vista, South Park, and Downtown.

**Future Research**

This research offers a starting point to examine misdemeanor arrests, referrals, and charges in Seattle. The ultimate goal of the Research Network on Misdemeanor Justice is to use the power of data analytics to inform policy conversations and reform regarding lower-level offenses such as misdemeanors, citations/summons, and pedestrian and traffic stops. As one of the seven sites in the RNMJ, Seattle is well positioned to utilize findings generated in this examination of misdemeanor arrests, referrals, and charges in Seattle to inform data-driven policy initiatives at the local level. The Seattle findings will also be used in cross-site analyses on the enforcement and processing of misdemeanor offenses. We hope the findings will stimulate discussion to be able to better understand who enters the system through the misdemeanor process and to provide information to uncover any potential points in the misdemeanor process where next step in this research is to examine the case processing of misdemeanors. Future research will examine additional research questions at the national and local level.

Nationally, we will be continuing research with the RNMJ examining the case processing of misdemeanors locally and nationally. We will conduct a subsequent study utilizing a subset of misdemeanor cases from 2008-2016 to follow individuals as they process through the system to examine how individuals move from arrest to prosecution and adjudication and disposition. We will also work with several of the other RNMJ sites to conduct a cross-site case processing analyses to examine similarities and differences in misdemeanor case processing across sites.

Locally, we will conduct future research focusing on subjects of local interest including a study examining the relationship between micro-community quality of life and community perceptions of public safety and misdemeanor arrest patterns utilizing data from the RNMJ and the Seattle Police Department’s Micro-Community Policing Plans Seattle Public Safety Survey. We also plan to further examine person versus place-based elements of misdemeanors in Seattle, comparing these findings to the findings on person and place-based felony offenses to determine the similarities and differences in place and person-based offending comparing felonies and misdemeanors. Finally, we will pursue the possibility of conducting a randomized controlled trial examining how charging versus not charging individuals who commit misdemeanors who are experiencing behavioral crisis issues impact recidivism and individual and community outcome.

As was the case with the original New York City Trends in Misdemeanor Arrests Report, the Seattle replication similarly illustrates the reality that increases in enforcement activity has not been evenly distributed in particular across minority racial/ethnic groups. The New York City report found that misdemeanor arrests in New York were concentrated among young minority men raising questions about fairness and perceptions of legitimacy and highlighted the need to document race/ethnic and age-related trends in criminal justice processes to better understand how social burdens impact young
minority men. The New York report also highlighted the importance of better understanding the role of prosecutors and judges in processing and adjudicating these arrests. Similarly, our findings illustrate that misdemeanor arrests, referrals, and charges are not equally distributed. In particular, the Seattle findings show that Black and Indigenous individuals (in particular Black males and Indigenous females) are arrested, referred, and charged for misdemeanors in Seattle at a higher rate than White and Asian groups.

We hope that these analyses as well as future research and continued discussion with local governmental and community stakeholders will help to better understand and address the findings presented here regarding misdemeanor arrest, referral, and charging trends in Seattle. Misdemeanors comprise the bulk of criminal activity and represent a significant resource burden for local, national, and community agencies. We hope that these analyses will contribute to continued discussion and examination of the role of governmental and community agencies in responding to misdemeanor criminal behavior and the community context in which these crimes are committed and the ways in which we respond to these crimes and the individuals who commit them. Seattle has been at the forefront of innovative initiatives to address crime and community quality of life issues. We hope that this examination of misdemeanor arrests, referrals, and charges in Seattle will provide additional data to bring misdemeanors to the center of discussions of criminal justice reform in Seattle.
REFERENCES


### Table A. Misdemeanor Charge Categories & Example Descriptions (Charge Categories Ordered by Top Charge Rankings)

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<td>11.56.350</td>
<td>Operating Motor Vehicle Without Required Ignition Interlock</td>
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<td>Serious Traffic Offenses</td>
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<td>Serious Traffic Offenses</td>
<td>11.56.430</td>
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<td>Serious Traffic Offenses</td>
<td>11.56.440</td>
<td>Hit and Run--Property Damage</td>
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<td>11.56.445</td>
<td>Hit and Run - By Unattended Vehicle</td>
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<td>Serious Traffic Offenses</td>
<td>11.56.450</td>
<td>Hit and Run Pedestrian Or Bicyclist</td>
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<td>Miscellaneous Driving Rules</td>
<td>11.58.005(A)</td>
<td>Negligent Driving 1st Degree</td>
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<td>Obedience To Peace Officers And Authorized Personnel</td>
<td>11.59.010</td>
<td>Obedience To Peace Officers/Flaggers/Firefighters</td>
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<td>Refusal To Stop</td>
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<td>Weapons Control</td>
<td>12A.14.080(A)</td>
<td>Unlawful use of weapons (blackjack, switchblade, etc.)</td>
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<td>Weapon</td>
<td>Criminal Code</td>
<td>Weapons Control</td>
<td>12A.14.080(B)</td>
<td>Unlawful use of weapons (carry dangerous knife or concealed weapon)</td>
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<td>Crimes And Punishments</td>
<td>Firearms And Dangerous Weapons</td>
<td>9.41.050(1)(A)</td>
<td>Carrying a Concealed Pistol Without a License</td>
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<td>Weapon</td>
<td>Crimes And Punishments</td>
<td>Firearms And Dangerous Weapons</td>
<td>9.41.270</td>
<td>Unlawful Display Of A Weapon</td>
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<td>Criminal Code</td>
<td>Controlled Substances</td>
<td>12A.20.050</td>
<td>Drug Traffic Loitering</td>
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<td>Food, Drugs, Cosmetics, And Poisons</td>
<td>Uniform Controlled Substances Act</td>
<td>69.50.4013/9A.28.02</td>
<td>Attempted Possession of Controlled Substance</td>
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Table A. Misdemeanor Charge Categories & Example Descriptions (Charge Categories Ordered by Top Charge Rankings)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Charge Category</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>Food, Drugs, Cosmetics, And Poisons</td>
<td>Uniform Controlled Substances Act</td>
<td>69.50.4014</td>
<td>Possession Of Marijuana</td>
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<td>69.50.412(1)</td>
<td>Use Of Drug Paraphernalia</td>
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<td>Vehicles And Traffic</td>
<td>Pedestrian Rules</td>
<td>11.40.430</td>
<td>Trespass Under Viaduct/Alley</td>
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<td>12A.08.040(A)</td>
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<td>Criminal Trespass - Attempted 1st Degree</td>
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<td>Parks Code</td>
<td>18.12.279(A)(1)</td>
<td>Parks - Illegal Trespass In Park After Being Excluded</td>
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<td>Parks - Illegal Trespass / After Hours</td>
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<td>Sexual Exploitation/Patronizing a Prostitute</td>
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<td>12A.60.105</td>
<td>Sounding false alarm of fire</td>
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