

**MANUFACTURED DISORDER, THE RACIST CONSEQUENCES OF PARKING  
TICKETS ISSUED IN ERROR**

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>>RINGA HĀPAI: Kia hora te marino, kia whakapapa pounamu te moana, hei huarahi mā tātou i te rangi nei. Aroha atu, aroha mai. Tātou i a tātou katoa. Hui e, taiki e. I want to warmly welcome you to this morning's fascinating session. In Ghana we say akwaaba which means you are warmly welcome. My name is Emmanuel Badu and I'll be the Chair for this session. A few housekeeping announcements. Please take note of the community code. We just want to encourage you to be respectful of other people's views as much as possible. And I want to strongly encourage you to please get involved. We want to hear from you. Please send us your comments and questions in the Q&A column and we will try to answer all your questions at the end of the presentation. The ones we are unable to, we will acknowledge them and will make use of these comments as much as possible.

Our topic for this morning is "Manufactured disorder: The racist consequences of parking tickets issued in error." And our presenter will be Kasey Henricks. Kasey's an Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of Tennessee, and an international fellow at KWI Institute for Advanced Study in Essen, Germany. He's currently working on a project that treats crime data as suspect and seeking to develop alternative methods to capture how policing routinely exceeds legal restraint.

His award winning work has been supported by the National Science Foundation, the (inaudible) Foundation, and the American Bar Foundation. What you'll be hearing from Kasey this morning is a snapshot of his second book which is tentatively titled, and I love the title, "Chicago on the take, ticketing and (inaudible) in the city of collision." This topic is fascinating and it's situated within a historical moment where we are witnessing two sweeping changes in the United States but also across the world. A punishment reform that increasing the work comes several penalties in the form of cash payment on the one hand and an intensified financialisation where government are mimicking predatory business strategies on the other. I can't wait to hear this. Kasey, the floor is yours, thank you.

>>MR HENRICKS: I wanted to say thanks again for Emmanuel Badu for the thoughtful words that he introduced me with. I also want to give a shout out to a few folks working behind the scenes to make the session possible, particularly Jacinta O'Reilly and Carol Shortis, thank you for your labour, thank you for your time. And I would also be remiss if I didn't

thank Heather Came for making me a part of this important conversation. I've learned a great deal this past week getting to hear about the research that everyone is involved in, and I'm happy to be part of the conversation. So much love to you Heather, thank you much.

So much of what I have to say today comes out of a project that I've been working on with Ruben Ortiz in a paper that we just published actually yesterday in a journal that's called *Socius* and I want to begin by setting the scene.

As the hiss of the street sweepers slowly slithered through residential streets on Chicago's west side, Kimberly Brown thought little of it at the time. It was May 2020. Covid-19 lurked patiently around many corners. Governor JB Pritzker had issued a stay at home order to reduce the spread of the deadly virus and Mayor Lori Lightfoot had suspended parking tickets that are unrelated to public safety.

Upon returning to her car, Kimberly Brown saw an orange piece of paper that could ruin anyone's day. It was Chicago's unofficial greeting card. Sunbathing on her window was a notice of violation. Her car was out of compliance, allegedly parked in a restricted area during scheduled street cleaning. Although the Department of Streets and Sanitation would later issue a statement saying that parking tickets like these were written in error, and the misunderstanding would be resolved with refunds or voided tickets, the situation actually shines a light on a long-standing issue in the city of Chicago. That is, thousands of motorists are routinely issued parking tickets under false pretences each year.

With this in mind the central issue that I take up in this project is this: How might the study of monetary sanctions look different if researchers suspended the taken for granted assumption that policing follows the letter of the law. There is plenty of reason to cross-examine official crime data as suspect. Those who are deputised with Police power routinely withhold evidence, provide false accounts and perjure themselves under oath, particularly in Chicago. Within the world of parking tickets, those who issue these citations exercise tremendous law-making authority as street level bureaucrats. That is, they decide if compliance laws were broken, under which conditions and when. Yet we might expect this discretion to vary in patterned ways along a host of different contingencies.

The project will answer the three questions that are outlined on this slide here.

Question number 1 - are parking tickets written under false pretences more likely to be issued in neighbourhoods of colour?

Question 2 - do occupational differences in policing impact the odds of a ticket being written in error?

Question 3 - does a neighbourhood's ethnoracial composition moderate the relationship between occupational differences in policing on the one hand, and then the odds of being issued an erroneous ticket on the other hand?

So a focus on parking tickets answers recent calls for research to uncover how authorities outside of criminal courts participate in monetary sanctions and it broadens the focus to administrative courts that implicate far more people than does the criminal side of law.

Whereas the Cook County State's Attorney's Office, for example, refers just under 500,000 cases for criminal prosecution each year, the city of Chicago annually issues about 3 million parking tickets within a jurisdiction less than half the county population.

Furthermore, the number of parking tickets is frequently more than 20 times the order of yearly traffic stops that are documented by the Chicago Police Department. Why is this number important to stress? It's important to stress because many respected scholars, from Charles Epp to Frank Baumgartner, have described traffic stops as the epicentre of the Police encounters. So in bringing up these numbers, what I wish to do is centre the topic of parking tickets to recalibrate what we know about the perniciousness of monetary sanctions and capture a much more modal experience among the population.

Let me return to the three research questions I have and outline what hypotheses I will be putting to the test. The first question takes up the relationship between error tickets and ethnoracial composition. So there's plenty of reason to think the two are related. The context of today's parking tickets is situated within a paradigm of policing that obsesses over the street aesthetic; broken windows policing.

The underlying logic of broken windows is fairly straightforward. Small symbols of disorder lead to larger crimes when they're left unchecked, and if this disorder can be quarantined then strategists have justification for differential approaches to policing that actually varies within a jurisdiction.

Because crime stats are frequently taken to reflect criminal behaviour as opposed to the policing project that creates them, officers tend to disproportionately be assigned to communities with more black residents. Not only are black neighbourhoods believed to be more dangerous than white ones, but these communities are frequently stigmatised even when visual cues of disorder are absent from the scene all together.

In Chicago broken windows policing takes place within one of the most segregated cities in the world. On the left-hand side of the slide let me direct your attention to the dot map that represents the racial profile of Chicago. The city is roughly divided into thirds

between black folks, Latinx folks and white folks. And each dot on this map represents 25 people. White folks are represented in pink dots, Latinx folks are represented in orange dots and black folks are represented in blue. What I want you to notice is that most white folks are clustered on the north side of the city, most black folks are clustered on the west and south sides of the city, and then you'll see the orange dots that are scattered to the southwest, northwest sides of the city; that's actually where most Latinx folks live.

So to formalise my hypothesis for question 1, the expectations can be stated as follows: The odds of receiving an error ticket will increase as a neighbourhood is comprised by proportionately more black residents.

Now to research question number 2. Are patrol officers more likely than parking enforcement officers to write tickets in error? For two reasons I suspect the answer is yes. The first reason is that patrol officers generally disparage tickets as menial work often reserved as punishment for rookie police officers or incompetent officers who just aren't that good at their job.

Drawing from Police scholar Egon Bittner, I want to suggest that such low valuation of the work can actually have negative consequences for on-the-job performance among patrol officers, especially relative to parking enforcement officers whose whole vocation is defined by writing tickets and writing tickets alone.

The second reason I suspect patrol officers write more error tickets has to do with the hierarchy of economy. Patrol officers answer to the Chicago Police Department, parking enforcement officers answer to the Department of Finance. So in a context where Chicago's fraternal order of police routinely insists, through collective bargaining, to be free of any external oversight as a condition of employment, patrol officers enjoy a prerogative power that allows them to operate beyond a higher point of legal restraint relative to parking enforcement officers.

Now that I've stated the two reasons why I think patrol officers are more likely to commit ticketing error, let me specify one qualification. Some ticketing patterns may be traceable to a small fraction of rogue agents; quote unquote "bad apples" if you will. Whether disparities between patrol officers and parking enforcement officers are robust to these extreme cases is a question I take up in the models to come. Formally stated, the second hypothesis is as follows: The odds of receiving an error ticket will increase when issued by a patrol officer relative to a parking enforcement officer even when high disparity officers or bad apples are held constant.

While my first two hypotheses anticipate that error tickets are more likely to be issued in neighbourhoods with more black residents and by patrol officers of the CPD, let me also suggest that there may be a cross-over interaction at play when you consider the relationship between Latinx neighbourhoods and parking enforcement officers. So much of Chicago's undocumented population resides in just a handful of predominantly Latinx communities that are known for welcoming immigrants.

What you're seeing on the slide is an iconic mural that's entitled the Declaration of Immigration that's located in the Pilsen neighbourhood of Chicago, a space known for welcoming people of Mexican origin. So to the extent that parking enforcement officers work in a revenue-maximising capacity, they can actually leverage a political environment that fosters a lurking threat of deportation to their occupational advantage. Many of the drivers within Chicago's predominantly Latinx neighbourhoods in particular can be seen as non-constituents with little recourse against errored tickets, making their money ripe for the taking by parking enforcement officers whose main purpose is to maximise revenue.

So to formalise my third and final hypothesis, it can be stated as follows: The odds that errored tickets are written by parking enforcement officers relative to patrol officers will increase as a neighbourhood is comprised by proportionally more Latinx residents.

So while the main goal of this project is to understand the relationship between errored tickets, ethnoracial composition and occupational differences in policing, let me also acknowledge that ticketing patterns can be impacted by a host of socio-spatial factors. Parking restrictions can differ between residential and commercial districts, some neighbours experience higher parking demand because of nearby schools, hospitals, the lake front, tourist attractions and so on. And the point I want to make in drawing attention to these features of the built environment is that the built environment proscribes what ticketing practises are possible, and these kinds of spatial conditions are accounted for in my models to come.

In terms of data, the project brings together information from multiple data sources. The ticket data were put together by some investigative journalists at ProPublica from records that are maintained by Chicago's Department of Finance. And I've leveraged these ticket data against parking regulation data maintained by city agencies, like the Department of Streets and Sanitation, the Office of the City Clerk and the Chicago Department of Transportation.

For the sociodemographic on tract-level characteristics, that's neighbourhood level characteristics, I turned to 5-year estimates from the Census Bureau's American community

survey from 2013-2017, and to control for features of the built environment I used data from a host of different sources that are indicated on this slide here. Specifics for the variables that I modelled, as well as how I went on to measure and operationalise these variables, are outlined on the right-hand side of this slide. If anyone has any questions about data or measurement I'd be happy to address these further during the Q&A.

But now I want to speak to the issue of why Chicago has a case study. So Chicago is a place that has long led policy change later adopted across the world in terms of monetising its street networks and expanding regulatory enforcement. And in large part these patterns were amplified on the watch of former Mayor, Richard M Daley. As soon as Daley took office he actively sought out new money to offset traditional revenue streams. And in 1992 in a meeting with Chicago City Council, Daley made his agenda explicit whenever he stated the following: He said "there's a limit to what we can ask of local taxpayers and that's where we're putting even more muscle into the collection of fines and fees." And this is when you see the explosion of ticket revenue in the city of Chicago and the growth of fines and fees more generally.

So when we track all of the revenue that the city collects from fines and fees, census data actually show that these sanctions have grown by about 300, in fact more than 300% since Daley first took office, and that's even holding inflation constant. And let me say that this growth trend is persistent even in the face of population decline in Chicago. Chicago has actually lost about 14% of its population since the late 1970s. As much as \$321 million was generated from fines and fees in the year 2017 alone. And to give this figure some context, that's 4% of total revenues that were collected by the city. It's about \$40 million more than what the city generates from its local sales tax and It's \$321 million more than what Chicago collects from a city income tax, a corporate tax, or a business head tax, as the city actually doesn't collect any of these forms of revenue.

Now with everything that I've set so far I don't want to leave you with the impression that Chicago is profiting hand over fist from these fines and fees. I actually don't think that's the case because so much of this money actually cycles right back into the system for its own maintenance. And you can't talk about the maintenance of Chicago's ticketing regime without also talking about how these services have been privatised through some costly corporate contracts.

And you can't talk about privatisation and parking in Chicago without also talking about IBM. So Chicago partnered with IBM in 1998 to provide a centralised, real-time records-keeping system. Tickets would no longer strictly be handwritten but issued with

hand-held computers. These computers would provide access in real-time to a data processing system that could match the naked model of ticketed cars with different licence plates numbers, and they were also equipped with cameras to capture photo evidence.

Just two years after taking over the city contract, IBM system enabled Chicago to boot on average 1,000 cars per week compared to just 600 under the old system, and the number of tickets peaked at about 3.7 million tickets per year. The city of Chicago now pays IBM \$18.8 million per year for its system. And I should mention that when IBM landed the Chicago contract, the company made a promise to reduce the number of bogus tickets issued by the city; tickets just those that were issued to Kimberly Brown.

So keeping these developments in mind, this project looks at ticket data that spans the current contract between Chicago and IBM and it looks at citation practices that cover a six-year span from August 1st, 2012, the start date of the current contract, to May 18th, 2018 which is the stop date, the most current data that I have from ProPublica.

And the study identifies seven different types of violations that specify circumstantial conditions of non-compliance. So when you consider that the city government actually maintains much data that speaks to the circumstances and conditions in which each ticket was issued, through some detective work you can actually recreate the proverbial scene of the crime, and that's what I did with this project.

In other words, a novelty offered by my research design is that it doesn't defer to officers and accept without question their definition of the crime situation. I suspect that there could be, and often is, a mismatch between what officers record as an infraction, and the corroborating evidence available to contradict their claims.

So what this project does is answer a series of questions that are just like the questions that are listed on the slide. So to verify if a show route ticket was issued when there is actual snow fall accumulation, for example, I turn to records from the Department of Streets and Sanitation that document when ploughs were operated. For violations of restricted residential parking I triangulated these tickets against zoning information that's maintained by the Office the City Clerk.

When I looked at whether tickets were issued in banned parking zones reserved for special events, I turned to permits maintained by the Department of Transportation. When I wanted to figure out how many no loop parking tickets were actually issued outside of the loop neighbourhood, which is the central business district, close to the central business district downtown, I plotted these tickets against a neighbourhood map that's maintained by the city. In fact that's what you're looking at right here with this map.

I could go on with this list of questions, but I think you get the sense of the logic behind my method in deciphering exactly what constitutes an errored ticket from a non-errored ticket.

But before we move forward, let me just say this: While the questions of this project were conceptually straightforward, answering these questions was actually quite a data-intensive process. Because the parking code can be quite idiosyncratic; each type of parking ticket actually comes with its own validation strategy. So I'm singling out street cleaning parking tickets here in particular to show you my method, because these are among the most frequent tickets that are issued in Chicago. During each cleaning session, which spans from April to November, Chicago's Department of Streets and Sanitation sweeps about 250,000 miles of residential and commercial streets. Residential streets can be cleaned between 9 am and 2 pm on scheduled street-cleaning days and then commercial streets can be cleaned between 7 and 9 am.

So street sweeping crews move through the city ward by ward and each of the city's 50 political wards is divided into sections. So what you're looking at in the top right-hand of the slide here is an example of what I mean. This is a zonal map of the 49th ward on the far north side of the city, and all wards in Chicago are divided into similar fashion to coordinate which streets get cleaned on which days. In this map the ward is split into different colour-coded sections that follow their own unique street cleaning schedule, and at the bottom right of the slide you're going to see a clipped image of the 49th ward's 2021 street sweeping schedule. Each ward section in the map is assigned particular days for street cleaning and these days can and often do change on a monthly basis. And I should mention that these cleaning calendars are also adjusted on an annual basis and it's important to also keep in mind that ward boundaries change every 10 years. And I account for all of these moving parts in my coding scheme.

So to verify if a street cleaning ticket was issued in error, my coding scheme proceeded in a step-like fashion. I verified if each ticket was written, 1, outside the April to November months of scheduled street cleaning; 2, outside designated street-cleaning days which vary by ward section; or 3, outside the reserved hours for street cleaning. I then coded these tickets as a dummy variable where each could be labelled either as errored or non-errored.

Now what did I find after going through and validating all these tickets? I found that March may leave like a lamb but April hit Chicago like a street sweeper. Nearly 314,000 of these \$60 street cleaning tickets were issued outside at least one of the criterion

that I just went over. And all in all, errors that involve street-cleaning tickets accounted for two out of every three errored tickets that I was able to identify.

And let me note that the rate of error for street-cleaning tickets is actually on par with the average rate of error among all of the tickets that were sampled, and that's what you're seeing in this slide right here. So this is a bar chart that breaks down the error by ticket type, and what you're seeing, you're seeing the error rate for each ticket type on the left-hand side of the slide, and then on the right-hand side of the slide what you're seeing is the total number of errors. Now for the sake of time I'm going to leave this slide here for a reference that viewers can return to later, but for now I want to transition my talk to talking about these numbers and how they look in the aggregate.

So when you add up all the errors of the 3.6 million tickets that I reviewed what do you find? You find that approximately 475,000 of these tickets can be invalidated as being issued under false pretences. That is, 13.2% of all the tickets that I reviewed should have never been issued in the first place. What this means is that Chicago doesn't just have one Kimberly Brown, in fact there are actually many Kimberly Browns in Chicago.

So where were all these errored tickets issued? The short answer is everywhere. Like grains of sand that cling to your body after a beached day at Lake Michigan, these tickets have found their way into every nook and cranny in Chicago. Between 2012 and 2018, these errors were committed in 99% of all neighbourhoods, 99% of all tracts. But despite showing up in most every Chicago neighbourhood, these tickets cluster in some places more so than others.

So the cluster map here indicates ticketing hot and cold spots. The 73 hot spots of error indicated in red cluster on the far north side as well as the near northwest and southwest sides in the city and indicated in blue are 237 cold spots that mostly cluster on the far south side of the city. Now I want to keep you this ticketing map in mind as I walk you through the multivariate analysis, the subject to which I now turn.

I follow turnkey procedure of hierarchical logistic regression that proceeds in three steps starting with an empty model to confirm whether multilevel models are necessary. The empty model answers the question of whether tickets cluster at higher units of analysis, and after running this model I'm confident that the answer is yes. The data cluster at both the tract and officer levels, based on the interclass correlations that are shown here. Tract differences account for 20% of the variation in the errored tickets, while the tract officer differences account for 79%.

So now that I've confirmed that multilevel models are appropriate, I'm going to specify some intermediate models for you; the random intercept and fixed slope model, and the random intercept and random slope model. So what you're seeing in this slide here are results from these models visualised as a forest plot. The points plotted here are odds ratios, and any measures not dummy coded are standardised in z-scores.

So by measuring the cross-level effects I take up the first research question: Are erroneous tickets more likely to be issued in neighbourhoods with more black residents? My hypothesis suggests the answer is yes. The random intercept and fixed slope model confirms that there is a significant relationship between errored tickets and percent black; it's just not in the direction that I anticipated. Whereas I expected the odds of an errored ticket to increase as the percentage of black residents also increased, this model actually predicts the opposite. The odds of error decline by 18% for each standard deviation increase in a neighbourhood's black population.

So how are we to make sense of these findings theoretically? Let me share some introspective comments on the literature that informed my original expectations and I want to talk about why this body of literature wasn't actually a good fit for my data. Namely, much of this literature is preoccupied with street crimes like assaults, robbery and drug offences. Because parking tickets are more of a regulatory affair than a moral affair where violations are distanced from racialised threats to safety, I want to suggest that their attendant policing strategies actually have great potential to democratise the dispersal of discipline beyond the usual suspects of crime control, and this includes majority white communities.

Of the errored tickets that were issued in Chicago, 38% of them were issued in majority white neighbourhoods. And to give that number some context, only 21% were issued in majority Latinx neighbourhoods and only 13% were issued in majority Black neighbourhoods. And in pointing out these disparities, I also want to stress how parking tickets actually represent a distinct form of discipline that's actually very, very unlike, and qualitatively unique, from what's typically imposed upon communities of colour. I'll have more to say about that later on in the presentation.

Now that I've established the racial context in which errored tickets are issued, let me transition the analysis to my second research question. Are patrol officers more likely than parking enforcement officers to commit errors, and does this relationship stand after controlling for those bad apple ticketers? The answer is yes on both counts. Bad apples may be driving some of the citations that are issued under false pretences given that they're

134% more likely than their peers to commit these errors. But occupational differences in policing remain robust even after accounting for this officer-level variation.

Patrol officers are 52% more likely than parking enforcement officers to issue a citation under false pretences. In other words the model supports my second hypothesis. These findings are in line with my expectation that patrol officers are more prone to error than parking enforcement officers on two counts. Not only is ticketing generally belittled as a hassle among rank and file police officers, but patrol officers enjoy more prerogative power and less accountability than their administrative peers. And both these features can have adverse effects on how closely patrol officers follow the letter of the law.

So for the next step in my analysis I take up the question of whether the relationship between policing and erroneous tickets varies across neighbourhoods. So when I relax the assumption of a fixed effect and allow the effect of policing to vary by higher units of measure, I actually find that the model offers a better fit for data. So results from the likelihood ratio test and change in AIC indicate a clear preference for the random intercept and random slope model, and this model verifies that the relationship between errored tickets and policing does in fact differ from one neighbourhood to the next. And these results confirm that a subsequent model with an interaction term is needed.

The final model includes a cross-level interaction term to determine whether variation in Latinx representation explains some of the occupational differences between patrol officers and parking enforcement officers in their odds of writing an errored ticket. And as a robustness check, I completed an alternative model that actually inverted the coding scheme for ticketing officers. So rather than use parking enforcement officers as the baseline reference, which is what you saw in the intermediate models I just showed you, patrol officers actually become the point of comparison here in this model.

So the interaction between percent Latinx and parking enforcement officers is visualised as predicted probabilities in the graph here. And what I find is that the odds of errored tickets being issued by parking enforcement officers relative to patrol officers increases as the Latinx population also increases.

So that is the final model actually supports hypothesis number 3. Relative to their peers, parking enforcement officers are policing by different standards in neighbourhoods with more Latinx residents, and to the extent that parking enforcement officers work in a revenue maximising capacity, they can capitalise on the vulnerabilities of Latinx spaces for more money-making opportunities.

I should also mention that drivers parked in these Latinx communities are among the least likely to contest their tickets. Only 7% of those who are ticketed in error go on to appeal these citations. But when we look at which community is least likely to contest these error tickets, we see that less than 1 in 20 tickets issued in majority Latinx spaces are challenged. I'm talking about tickets issued in error here. This may be in fact the other side of the hypothesis number 3. Only 4% of errored tickets are appealed for cars parked in majority Latinx spaces, 4%. Whether parking enforcement officers are aware of these low rates of appeal remains an open question that I can't answer with these data, but these numbers are nevertheless consistent with this notion of pocketbook policing.

So all together, what my findings reveal is that the city of Chicago engages in actions that are actually unbecoming of any rule of law, in that it censures those who have committed no offence whatsoever. In fact, tickets written under false pretences represent a multi-million dollar industry for Chicago. They generated \$27.5 million in revenues during the six year timeline that I reviewed, and another \$8 million remains as unsettled but leverageable debt, with no statute of limitations in the State of Illinois. That's enough money to pay for about a third of what Chicago owes IBM each year for processing bogus tickets that its tech was supposed to get rid of or reduce in the first place. And this lack of statute of limitations places parking violations in the same category as other offences like arson and murder.

That so many errored tickets are issued and so few are ever challenged only reinforces this vast prerogative of Chicago's ticketing regime. As much as 72% of the 475,000 errors that I identified were nevertheless paid in full for the original fine amounts. And by making these payments, the ticketed were able to avoid all the administrative burden and procedural hassle that came with appeal, right. They didn't have to write a cogent statement of appeal, they didn't have to mobilise evidence to the contrary, they didn't need to duplicate acceptable documents that the city won't return, like police reports, affidavits, registration documents, pictures of nearby surroundings and so on. And for those who would have otherwise preferred to appeal in person if you paid this ticket outright, you wouldn't need to forfeit a day's wages.

And for many of those who were ticketed in error, these debts may seem just like any other payment. Because cash is the currency that makes good on ticket debt, the line is blurred between what constitutes a reprimand on the one hand and what constitutes a price, premium, or license on the other hand. The ticketed can evade courtroom ceremony with an online payment or cheque by mail, and so long as their fines are paid or appealed

non-compliance is not an indictable offence, and violations can be repeated indefinitely without any further recourse or consequence.

What is purchased with the payment of an errored ticket, however, is not some forbidden misdeed. Tickets actually become the cost of no further entanglement with the State and no further punishment by the State.

The sticker price on parking tickets sets in notion debt that can be dutiful for some, but for others it's just absolutely debilitating. So once a ticket is -- once a vehicle is ticketed in Chicago, the registered owner has 14 days to contest by mail or 21 days to request an in person hearing. A determination of liability, which is pictured here on the left-hand side of the slide, is entered should the person remain non-responsive. And then after this judgment is rendered, what happens is the amount of money that you owe the city actually doubles, and then the city can actually stack on another 22% in collection fees on top of this figure.

So my data show that more than 1 in 5 errored tickets are subject to these late penalties, with a lopsided share of them actually falling on those who were ticketed in majority Black neighbourhoods. 37% of errored tickets issued in majority black spaces incur additional penalties, compared to 25% of Latinx neighbourhoods and 17% in white neighbourhoods.

But it's not just late penalties that single out black communities. It's bankruptcies that are tied to these errored tickets as well. Although mounting debt from wrongfully issued tickets rarely results in bankruptcy, I was able to locate 2,313 tickets that were actually tied to a subsequent bankruptcy filing. That averages to more than one invalid ticket ending in bankruptcy each day and even one of these is too many. About half of these filings were tickets issued in neighbourhoods where at least half the residents identify as black, and the rate of errored tickets tied to bankruptcies is 9.11 times higher for cars parked in majority black spaces compared to their white counterparts.

Now these trends dovetail with Chicago's new status as the bankruptcy capital of the United States. The northern district of Illinois, which includes the city of Chicago, processes more bankruptcy cases than any other court in the nation, and chapter 13 filings related to ticket debt are actually a driving impetus behind this trend.

Although those who pursue chapter 7 bankruptcy as opposed to chapter 13 bankruptcy actually end up paying less on average in attorney fees, resolve their case in less time and are more likely to discharge their debt. Drivers find chapter 13 bankruptcy so appealing because it provides them some protections that chapter 13 bankruptcy doesn't. It

shelters personal vehicles from liquidation, it lifts licence suspensions tied to parking tickets and it keeps vehicles off Chicago's tow and impoundment list so long as a bankruptcy case stays active.

And even though the odds are stacked against chapter 13 filings, there are structural incentives banked into the system that will lead bankruptcy attorneys to steer their clients down this road anyways. Payment plans on chapter 13 bankruptcies can be arranged so that these lawyers actually get paid before anyone else. Even those debts that actually caused someone to declare bankruptcy in the first place. Chicago-based law firms like Debtstoppers or Peter Francis Geraci Law, which is pictured here in this slide, take on these cases for zero money down and a flat \$4,000 in fees, and these two firms in particular that I've singled out represent more than half of all chapter 13 bankruptcies in Chicago's bankruptcy district and about 80% of chapter 13 filings among black residents.

So what this means is that chapter 13 filers can actually pay thousands of dollars towards their bankruptcy case without ever lowering the principal balance on the original debt that caused them to file bankruptcy. And should the case not end successfully, and who are we kidding, the odds are stacked against them to end successfully given the discharge rate, much of the original debt that caused the bankruptcy is still going to stand.

So what makes errored tickets and all the racially unequal harm that they cause all the more insidious is the legal process that actually goes on to legitimise them. Occupying the lowest legal echelon, parking tickets are basically adjudicated in courts of convenience where procedural safeguards are relaxed and have less traction. There is no custom to scrutinise, let alone challenge ticketing allegations for systemic attention, and the mere issuance of a ticket substitutes for evidence in these courts. Because drivers can be sanctioned without verifiable cause, the meaning of non-compliance is redefined, if not perverted altogether, since parking tickets are decoupled from any corroborating and supporting evidence.

So what all this means is that even innocence becomes irrelevant for the many people who are ticketed under false pretences in Chicago. But I don't want to end on a down note. The current contract between the city of Chicago and IBM, the same partnership that was supposed to reduce bogus tickets that I identified with Kimberly Brown's vignette at the beginning of the presentation, this contract is set to expire in July of this year. And with that uncertainty of renewal brings a certain possibility for change, and I can't stress that point enough, so I'll say it twice. With uncertainty brings possibility.

What Chicagoans need right now, especially black and Latinx Chicagoans, is a validation workflow that verifies the pretences of tickets otherwise issued in error, if not some form of reparations to go with all these bogus practises of predation that the city of Chicago has engaged in. And as the current contract with IBM nears its expiration date, I can offer 475,106 reasons why the city needs to rethink its ticketing practises. Thank you.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Awesome, thank you Kasey, that's mind-blowing. Those figures really shed a lot of light on what is hidden or we don't really know. I just want to sort of read this quote from one of the participants who just shared this with us. It captures really the essence of what you've shared with us and what people have learned from you this morning. And before I go on to read some of the questions and get your answers to them. It comes from Lola Valentine, I think what she said was "instead of collecting taxes, the city collects fees and fines, except maybe it's really a racquet to provide profit to private contractors. Not surprised they're disappointed. Thanks for shining light on this in such an empirical way, Kasey." So I think that sums up what people are feeling. Thank you so much for that.

I think there are about two, three questions for you to respond to. The first came from Heather. And I think she's -- before that she sent a comment through whether you're going to share the link to your new work, the new paper that you published. I think she wants to find out (inaudible); what can we do with the data like this to disrupt these sites of racism.

>>MR HENRICKS: Thank you so much. Let me share that link and -- so this project, I admit, has had many different heads. And whenever I was grappling with the data myself I was struggling with which direction to actually frame it. And I think that there are huge implications for this data. You know, granted there's an immediate concern that could address some of the politics and political scene of what's transpiring in Chicago as we speak in real-time.

But beyond that, I think that this data, the research method, the design of this whole investigation could be a nice little intervention upon criminology in particular who go on -- I mean so many people just go out and take for granted, you know, crime statistics and then, rather than troubling the fundamental category of crime, and even thinking about it, you know, as a social construction they just take it for granted and then try to run a series of regression models to explain variations in crime.

So this right here is kind of an intervention to think about okay, how do we basically come up with alternative epistemologies, right, that are kind of in line with a lot of the social movements of the current moment, thinking about how this type of methodology

could actually lend itself to conversations surrounding defund the Police, or abolition, or any of those things to think about how we actually might not just scrap Police statistics that are compiled altogether, but then situate them in a much broader context and think about them much more critically, right, so that we're not just taking people who are deputised with Police power at their word and accepting their, you know, in the classic Thomas theorem-type perspective where any situation that's defined as real is real in its consequences, well we need to treble that, we need to treble these quantitative data and almost bring a more qualitative perspective into this quantitative-type world.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Awesome. You didn't share this but just in case you have it: Do you know the ethnicity of the officers issuing these parking tickets, whether for the patrol officers or the parking officers themselves? Do you have their ethnicity?

>>MR HENRICKS: I don't. That is -- yeah, that is one like piece of information I don't have on this. I'm actually really curious about that as well. Because I know from my time in Chicago, like, you know, I imagine that black police officers or black parking enforcement officers are less likely to ticket in error in their home communities. But that is just completely speculative, but that's kind of informed by my own experience in Chicago. Because I remember there's a lot of city administrative workers that do a lot of care work to really make sure that, you know, they're quite aware of these predatory practices that are ongoing in Chicago.

And if we have time I'll actually share a brief story that I had of my own parking experience in Chicago. I remember it quite well, the year was like 2013, I was driving a Jeep Cherokee at the time. And I had parked it and I went to go find my car. And in Chicago I would rarely drive my car because the public transit system was good, so I would often times leave my car parked for a couple of weeks. And I just figured that I'd forgotten where it was.

Turned out my car was stolen, I don't know for how long, but I went ahead and reported it stolen. And then I remember getting a letter in the mail from the Department of Streets and Sanitation, which is charged with operating the city pound lot. But apparently someone had stolen the car, which, you know, it was -- like it was -- it had a lot of problems, so I actually feel like I got one over on whoever stole this car because, yeah, it had so many problems.

But nevertheless, I remember the letter from the Department of Streets and Sanitation in very dramatic fashion after I opened it where it said like, you know, okay,

your car has been sitting at one of our pounds for nearly 30 days. Basically if you will want to see your car again, come bring the city around \$800, XOXO Chicago.

But I remember like getting that letter in the mail, and the thing is like in the city of Chicago, for folks who have their car impounded, the Department of Streets and Sanitation will send you a certified letter in the mail, which means that you actually have to sign for the letter whenever a postal worker delivers it to you. And the postal -- I was very friendly with the postal worker who delivered to my little apartment. And she just said "Kasey, I'm not sure if you want to open this. Because if you do open it, automatically that actually sets in motion a clock where the city gives you 18 days where if you don't claim it your debt will still stand, and then they'll sell off your car at scrap value." I was able to actually find my own car in this dataset, and this is a much broader project, found that it sold for like \$150 to the same very company that actually towed my vehicle. So there's like -- that's another corporate contract that we'll have to talk about on another day. So there's like many different layers of conflicts of interest that are going on there.

But getting back to your original question, Emmanuel, you know, the postal worker did some serious care work, and she was like "Kasey seriously, I know what's in this letter, I deliver hundreds of these every day. You probably don't want to open this because once you do it sets in motion that clock" that she knew all about. And in some ways she was trying to protect me with that.

So I imagine, you know, there's one study I want to do with this project that tries to conceptualise and bring back into the picture this notion of dirty work. But talk about how, you know, you have like some postal workers to parking enforcement officers, who know about all these practices of predation but still are able to leverage their position in such a way where they have small acts of resistance. I'm really interested in conducting a set of interviews that kind of get at that subject.

But to your point Emmanuel, no, I don't have the racial break-down by these officers and I really wish that I did.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Cool, that would be awesome to know as well. There's another question, I think I'll run through these questions. So there's another one that's asking you whether there's a push to end the ticketing regime in favour of taxes or any other solution. Is there anything like that that you're aware of?

>>MR HENRICKS: Yeah, so in Chicago there's been a lot of movement, you know, and a lot of people on the ground who have been organising around this issue for quite some time, and they've made some headway and some reforms. You know, like just a few years ago there

was a law passed where no longer -- where you have your licence suspended for outstanding ticket debt, which was huge, absolutely huge. They also like set up payment plans for -- that used to be if you had your car impounded and you wanted to get it back, the city would say "okay, you can basically pay like half of what you -- 25% or half of what you owe, or have like \$1,000 upfront, either one will get your car back."

But either way, like poor folks didn't have that money to get their cars out. So what the city did was basically set up instalment plans, which is still very problematic. We might think of that type of solution as a reformers' reform that actually doesn't address fundamental problems but just actually makes them a little more perverse.

But yeah, there's people who are calling for an end to the ticketing regime. And really like even with my project, there's some -- you know, I go back and forth with my project too in terms of possibly reinforcing some normative values that could be really harmful for thinking about the future of, not just Chicago, but the world.

Because the issue that we should be talking about isn't necessarily just like errored tickets versus non-errored tickets, it's, you know, really like how we define public space in general, right, and why do we have to have public space so defined in the image of automobility so much so that it basically dominates over public transportation systems. Other uses of that space, we could come up with, you know, we could use so much road space just for leisure, for political activities, for all kinds of alternative things that aren't in the service of capital. That's not where we are. But there's a lot of groups in Chicago on the ground doing work who are trying to achieve that, so yeah

>>RINGA HĀPAI: That's really good. So have you shared these findings with the Chicago Police?

>>MR HENRICKS: No. You know, so this project, it was just published yesterday in Socius. I shared -- if you haven't gotten a link I'll send that again shortly. I haven't presented this to the CPD, largely because I'm not really interested in having them as my audience. To be honest, I would much rather speak to the people who are impacted by this, I would much rather speak to several of the lawyers who are in Chicago who have a reputation for doing collective action suits for making sure that people who have been hurt and impacted by these practises have some form of restorative justice.

Yeah, talking with the Police, I think that if you engage the Police like that, you might actually end up legitimising their role, where I think that this project is about doing the opposite of that.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Awesome, so I'll read this comment here, I think it's come in from Jenna Jacobsen. Jenna says. "Amazing, I went through an experience of getting wrongfully ticketed by Auckland Transport due to the signed area not being clear. I disputed this ticket and I still felt I wasn't heard. But to go further I will need to pay court costs in excess of \$350 plus where the ticket cost was \$25, making it impossible to actually properly get heard. I ended up paying the \$25. Parking location in low socioeconomic people of colour area in Auckland, they always here have parking wardens on the streets, literally predatory behaviour."

So someone's sharing their experience that's quite similar to what you're talking about in that presentation. I don't know whether you want to talk about this or you want me to go on to the next question.

>>MR HENRICKS: I love that point right there because it is so salient. I'm not one of those people that's like hey the reforms that we need to pursue are more proceduralist in nature and we need to have people's due process rights respected, because I think that that actually doesn't address some of the more fundamental problems that are at stake here and power issues.

But nevertheless, like this person sharing their experience speaks to like even enacting what little due process rights that you have whenever you're contesting a parking ticket. That in itself comes with its own sanctions, right, it comes with its own penalty. So much so that, you know, it completely outweighs the original penalty altogether.

And that's why for a lot of those white communities, the majority of white communities that are getting most of the tickets in the city of Chicago, I view like those communities as just getting those tickets and seeing them as just like "oh whatever, this is like a \$25 ticket, or in Chicago it's usually like \$50-\$200. They'll just pay it outright because they have more disposable income because you've got this race and class nexus that really maps on quite well in the city of Chicago.

Whereas for a poor person of colour, or even a middle class person of colour in Chicago, their middle class is much more tenuous, just the penalty that comes with that is so much more disproportionate that the penalty isn't even the same at all.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Cool. So just sort of a bit of a personal question here. What impact has this journey had on you and your family? Has it changed how you participate in these systems?

>>MR HENRICKS: So what is impacting me personally? I'm sorry, I think I missed the first end of the question.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: So what impact has this journey had on you and your family in terms of the work that you've done, all the investigations and all the data plot and all the time you spent working on this data, what impact has it had on you?

>>MR HENRICKS: I kind of feel like in sociology there's this very cynical-type joke, and honestly I'm quite conflicted about it. Often times sociologists they centre the subject of stratification, and then also that implicates them in a certain way too, because they're doing that and they're able to make a career out of it and provide for their own livelihood. So I kind of occupy this very uneasy space in talking about these subjects, and I find it's much more helpful to talk about these subjects for me whenever I'm among, you know, very praxis-minded scholars and community members. So I try to stay grounded in those folks and keep my ear to what kind of conversations that they're having.

Because these kinds of, like this research design really came from like a bottom-up type perspective, of if it was just me engaging the literature and sociology trying to understand various determinants of parking tickets, I probably would have recycled, you know, the same type of research methodology that's oftentimes used within criminology and reproduced a lot of the same assumptions, but being conversational with folks who have negatively been impacted by this and just been able to point out like hey that's fucked up, let me share this fucked up experience with you and then thinking about how we actually might talk about that as not just a personal issue that people are dealing with, but a broader public issue. I think for me that's my role as a sociologist, I try to stay in tune with those private troubles and think about how it's actually all connected in a broader social scheme.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: I think that segues nicely into the last question I'm going to ask you on the question forum. Are many other people working with anti-racist methodology in terms of your methodology, are there other people applying the same or similar methodology in terms of exposing racism in these systems?

>>MR HENRICKS: Yeah, like I guess for me, you know, maybe -- I come back to the question of like what is the anti-racist methodology. And for me that's something that is not clearly straightforward. It's probably like even kind of a moving target in terms of how we define that. So there are so many people doing awesome work that my paper really leans on. Thinking about like the work of Alexis Harris, thinking about Jo Soss, thinking about Brittany Friedman, thinking about Mary Pattilo. I would say that all of those folks are doing some serious anti-racist work, and the work that I'm doing wouldn't have been even possible without learning from all of the insights that they shared before me.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Thank you so much, Kasey, I think I'll make a few observations myself. And I think the notion of small symbols of disorder is something that's really stuck with me, and the idea that these small symbols of disorder that could lead to larger crimes, and in the perception that if we leave these unchecked, and the idea that policing has to be sort of strengthened and sometimes becomes overbearing in those communities is quite fascinating for me.

To look like what you just told us about 13.2% of tickets were issued -- that's a lot, you're looking at 1 in 10 of every ticket that's issued -- is in error, and over 72% of these tickets were paid in full. And that tells you the burden that could have on people who are paying these ticket, and the idea of the powerless, when people are powerless and people aren't able to challenge these things.

And not just that, the process, the legal structure, the systems you have to sort of jump over to get these challenges and all of that, and the burden that puts on people, that's fascinating for me as well.

Again, I like your quote "innocence becomes irrelevant for the many people who are ticketed under false pretence", because your word is against the ticket that's been issued against you, and having that opportunity to challenge them. And being mindful, when you talk about the Latinx communities, where people sometimes may not be fully recognising the communities they live in, and you wouldn't want to sort of put your head up and be seen by the systems themselves that you're running away from.

So it puts in perspective clearly for us in our communities here, I think it's something people -- we have to take up and maybe explore a bit more across our cities in New Zealand.

So thank you so much Kasey, I really would want to acknowledge you for your time and for serving such an insightful presentation to us, we've really enjoyed it. I think it's set us up thinking on a bright Sunday morning, it's sunny here today, I don't know about Chicago, but it's bright and sunny and it's going to lead into the most beautiful conversations in our homes and our tables and all of that.

And I would like to also thank all the volunteers, all the people who are working hard behind the scenes to get this programme to every one of us. I'd like to thank our partners as well, there are many of them, 40 of them, and we do really appreciate their support. I want to remind people to please join the Pecha Kucha event which is still ongoing. Please sign up and be part of this. And please note that a recording of this will be uploaded on YouTube, so for those of us who missed out feel free to join later. And for

those of us who want to join there's an ongoing Facebook discussion on the Te Tiriti Futures and Anti-racism Facebook page. Please join, say your views, say your opinions, we really want to hear from you.

I just want to end off with a karakia as I started with. Just to say that may mother earth be calm, may our guiding spirits be calm, may our ancestors bless us and be calm, may our thoughts and discussions today bear fruit and be a light to the path of the generations to come. And so it shall. Thank you so much and have an awesome day. Thank you Kasey.