UNIFORM ENFORCEMENT OR PERSONALIZED LAW? A PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION OF PARKING TICKET APPEALS IN CHICAGO

RANDALL K. JOHNSON*

This Article is one in a series of papers that sets the record straight about the type, quality, and quantity of information that U.S. cities may employ, so as to make more informed policy decisions. It does so, specifically, by examining information that is collected by the City of Chicago: in order to gauge the uniformity, as well as the relative cost effectiveness, of the parking ticket appeals process. The Article has six (VI) parts. Part I is the introduction, which sets the stage for a preliminary examination of the parking ticket appeals process in Chicago. Part II describes the applicable law. Part III explains this Article’s methodological approach, which employs percentage analysis to explain how parking tickets are distributed, how parking ticket appeals are distributed, and how frequently ticket recipients obtain relief in Chicago. Part IV outlines the Article’s findings and positive analysis, which includes the fact that more advantaged zip codes have higher administrative costs and lower error rates than disadvantaged zip codes. Part V contains its key normative recommendations. Part VI is the conclusion.

I. INTRODUCTION................................................................................................ 35
II. ISSUE PRESENTED .......................................................................................... 44
III. METHODOLOGY ............................................................................................ 49
IV. FINDINGS ...................................................................................................... 52
   A. RACE ............................................................................................... 53
   B. INCOME ............................................................................................ 55
   C. LOCATION ........................................................................................ 56
V. ANALYSIS ...................................................................................................... 58
VI. CONCLUSION ................................................................................................ 60
VII. APPENDIX................................................................................................... 61
I. INTRODUCTION

Parking attendants, often, prefer selective enforcement to the hard work of uniformly applying the law. This preference for selective enforcement continues,

1 By use of the term “parking attendant,” this article makes reference to any individual that is given the authority to write a parking ticket. See Parking Enforcement Officer: Job Duties, Requirements and Outlook, STUDY.COM (2018), http://study.com/articles/Parking_Enforcement_Officer_Job_Duties_Requirements_and_Outlook.html (implying that a parking enforcement officer monitors roads and lots, ensuring drivers abide by local and state parking laws. They typically hand out citations and communicate with drivers.). Examples, at least in the case of Chicago, are police officers, parking enforcement aides, Chicago Transit Authority managers, and private contractors. For more on traffic-related sanctions, as opposed to only parking related ones, a good starting point may be James P. Economos’ seminal “Traffic Court Procedure and Administration (Published by the American Bar Association, Standing Committee On the Traffic Court Program, American Bar Center 1961).

2 See, e.g., Hadar Aviram & Daniel L. Portman, Inequitable Enforcement: Introducing the Concept of Equity into Constitutional Review of Law Enforcement, 61 HASTINGS L.J. 413, 415 (2009) (implying that selective enforcement falls under their “working definition of ‘inequitable enforcement’” which is any “law enforcement activity which, despite satisfying constitutional review, violates notions of fairness, proportionality, and proper resource allocation.”).

3 This preference, at least on the part of parking attendants that also serve in other public capacities, may arise from a series of federal decisions that discourage victims of public sector misconduct from bringing suit against negligent public employees. See, e.g., George M. Dery III & Jacklyn R. Vasquez, Why Should an “Innocent Citizen” Should the Burden of an Officer’s Mistake of Law? Heien v. North Carolina Tells Police to Detain First and Learn the Law Later, 20 BERKELEY J. CRIM. L. 301, 302–03 (2015) (“Ignorance of the law is no excuse, unless you are a police officer. While motorists are expected to understand and comply with a ‘multitude’ of ‘traffic and equipment regulations,’ the Supreme Court in Heien v. North Carolina, ruled that an officer may properly seize a driver based on a ‘mistaken understanding’ of the law.”).

4 E.g., Mara Shulman Ryan, Criminal Law — Invisible in the Courtroom Too: Modifying the Law of Selective Enforcement to Account for White Privilege, 34 W. NEW ENG. L. REV. 301, 305 (2012) (“It is not unusual for police officers to perform their official duties in a discriminatory manner.”).
even if, uniform treatment is actually required.\(^5\) Illustrative examples of this preference are found in recent Illinois cases.\(^6\)

After being issued twenty-four parking tickets by the Chicago Police Department ("CPD"), beginning in October 2007, Mark Geinosky filed suit in the Northern District of Illinois.\(^7\) In this case, Geinosky v. City of Chicago, the plaintiff asserted that his rights were violated by the defendant's issuance of clearly invalid parking tickets.\(^8\) The theory of this case was that the CPD ran afoul of 42 U.S.C. § 1983,\(^9\) in a variety of ways, by refusing to throw out these unlawfully issued tickets.\(^10\)

The district court did not find that theory to be compelling, mostly because it did not accept that Geinosky had been singled out by parking attendants.\(^11\) The Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals, however, proved to be a more sympathetic audience.\(^12\)

\(^5\) Compare Chicago, Ill., Code § 9-64-220(b) (2017) ("Whenever any vehicle is parked in violation of any provision of the traffic code . . . any police officer, traffic control aide, other designated member of the police department, parking enforcement aide or other person designated by the Traffic Compliance Administrator observing such violation may issue a parking violation notice.")., with Mark Konkol, Are Rogue Meter Maids Sticking It to Parkers One Bogus Ticket at a Time?, DNA INFO (July 21, 2015), https://www.dnainfo.com/chicago/20150721/south-loop/are-rogue-meter-maids-sticking-it-parkers-one-bogus-ticket-at-time [https://perma.cc/H4U3-2PX6] ("According to city [of Chicago] regulations, meter maids are trained to follow a very specific protocol before writing a ticket: Check the windshield for a valid parking receipt. Look for a motorist near the vehicle or parking payment station. Search the mobile meter system for the vehicle’s license plate number to confirm payment. Double-check the license plate number. And before ticket-writers are allowed out [on] the street, they sign a document saying they’ll abide by [all applicable laws and municipal] rules.”).

\(^6\) See, e.g., Geinosky v. City of Chicago, 675 F.3d 743 (7th Cir. 2012) (upholding in part, and reversing in part, the earlier decision).

\(^7\) Id. at 745; see also, Jon Yates, Problem Solver: Ticketgate Ends in Settlement, CHICAGO TRIBUNE, Dec. 20, 2012, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2012-12-20/business/ct-biz-1220-problem-geinosky-20121220_l_mark-geinosky-class-of-one-discrimination-unlawful-civil-conspiracy [https://perma.cc/8L82-SJXX] ("[Beginning in October 2007, Geinosky] received two dozen tickets . . . . For each ticket, he proved his car was not parked in the designated location at the time.").

\(^8\) See Yates, supra note 7 ("Geinosky claimed ‘class-of-one’ discrimination[,] . . . denial of substantive due process rights[,] and unlawful civil conspiracy.”).

\(^9\) See 42 U.S.C. § 1983, Civil action for deprivation of rights (2012) ("Every person who, under color of any statute, ordinance, regulation, custom, or usage, of any State or Territory or the District of Columbia, subjects or causes to be subjected, any citizen of the United States or other person within the jurisdiction thereof to the deprivation of any rights, privileges or immunities secured by the Constitution and laws, shall be liable to the party injured in an action at law, suit in equity, or other proper proceeding for redress, except that in any action brought against a judicial officer for an act or omission taken in such officer’s judicial capacity, injunctive relief shall not be granted unless a declaratory decree was violated or declaratory relief was unavailable.”).

\(^10\) Yates, supra note 7 ("[Chicago’s]Police Board . . . failed to explain why Geinosky had received the tickets.”).

\(^11\) Id. ("In 2011, a district court judge dismissed the suit, saying Geinosky had failed to prove his claims.”).

\(^12\) Id. ("[Through the issuance of] a sharply worded opinion . . . the 7th U.S. Circuit
Judge David F. Hamilton, who wrote on behalf of a three-judge panel, found that “a closer look at the . . . facts . . . reveals a disturbing pattern. Absent a reasonable explanation [by the CPD] . . . the pattern adds up to deliberate and unjustified official harassment [of Geinosky] that is actionable under the Equal Protection [clause].”

About the same time that Geinosky was working its way through the federal courts, but prior to its settlement in December 2012, another excessive ticketing case was filed in the Circuit Court of Cook County. This Illinois state court case, Fitzgerald v. City of Chicago, elicited a similarly sympathetic response from the judiciary. After reading the pleadings, which stated that Jennifer M. Fitzgerald improperly “racked up . . . 678 parking tickets totaling more than $106,000 while [her car remained] parked in the same spot [at O’Hare International Airport] for 2 ½ years,” Judge Thomas Allen denied the City of Chicago’s motion to dismiss with prejudice.

One of the key reasons that Judge Allen would not grant the motion was that parking attendants had selectively enforced the law. For example, as the plaintiff correctly pointed out, the “municipal code states that cars parked at O’Hare for more than 30 days will be ticketed and towed immediately, meaning most of the tickets should never have been written.” As a result, Judge Allen gave Fitzgerald a chance to refile instead of dismissing the case with prejudice. An out-of-court settlement was reached by Chicago, Fitzgerald, and an unrelated third party so as to avoid trial.

Court of Appeals reinstated the lawsuit, calling Geinosky’s claims of harassment ‘troubling.”

13. Geinosky, 675 F.3d at 745.
14. Yates, supra note 7 (“Geinosky said . . . that he has reached a settlement to end his federal lawsuit.”)
18. Id. (“Omahana . . . argued, based on [the express language found in the] municipal code, that the city should have towed the car years earlier and that only a fraction of the tickets issued were written legitimately.”).
20. Id. (“Allen ultimately dismissed the case, but gave Fitzgerald 28 days to amend her complaint and address the objections raised by the city and Preveau. He also encouraged all parties to try to work out a settlement.”).
21. Brockway, supra note 17 (“The City of Chicago recently agreed to drop more than $100,000 in parking ticket fines on a car registered in Fitzgerald’s name that racked up a record 678 tickets.”).
Geinosky and Fitzgerald, among other recent controversies, imply that parking attendants may not be uniformly enforcing the parking laws. The city, however, rejects any such implication. As a result, additional research is needed so as to determine how the law is applied in Chicago.

This research may have profound implications, especially if it asks and answers several open questions. For example, is irrelevant information being used to inform ticketing decisions in Chicago, such as the race, income, or home zip code of a driver? If erroneous decisions result from using irrelevant information, then how are these outcomes distributed by zip code? In the event that such outcomes are disproportionately imposed, then how to limit selective enforcement in Chicago?

My Article asks and answers all three questions specifically by focusing on an issue that was raised in Geinosky and Fitzgerald: what are the costs of permitting selective enforcement, which is an impermissibly “personalized” way of applying the law? It does so, initially, by using percentage analysis to determine how parking tickets, parking ticket appeals, and successful parking ticket appeals are distributed

22. See, e.g., Paul Kiel & Hannah Fresques, Data Analysis: Bankruptcy and Race in America, ProPublica (Sep. 27, 2017), https://projects.propublica.org/graphics/bankruptcy-data-analysis/illinois [https://perma.cc/2VKH-HAXN] (“In a recent examination of bankruptcy filings in Cook County, Illinois . . . Edward Morrison and Antoine Uettwiller of Columbia Law School came to the conclusion that fines from state and local governments . . . were a primary driver of the racial disparities in the district. Black debtors often chose to file under Chapter 13 in order to prevent the seizure of a car or suspension of a driver’s licenses . . . And since these debtors tended to have lower incomes, they failed to complete their Chapter 13 plans at higher rates.”); Fran Spielman, City Worker Yanked Out of NW Side After Writing Thousands of Tickets, Chicago Sun-Times, Mar. 22, 2017, http://chicago.suntimes.com/chicago-politics/city-employee-yanked-out-of-nw-side-for-writing-too-many-tickets/ [https://perma.cc/P6PJ-GQX8] (“[Chicago Parking Enforcement Aide] Andrew J. Petersen infuriated local residents by bragging about his ticket totals in an almost taunting string of Facebook posts.”).

23. See, e.g., Kate L. Antonovics & Brian G. Knight, A New Look at Racial Profiling: Evidence from the Boston Police Department, 91 Rev. Econ. & Stat. 163 (2009) (describing the fact that some police officers engage in racially-discriminatory enforcement whenever the race of the driver and race of the officer are not the same).

24. While parking ticket attendants do not use the same standard in issuing tickets, the City of Chicago confirms that these agents actually receive relatively-standard training. Compare Mike Brockway, Private Meter Readers Wrote Hundreds of Thousands of Tickets, Data Shows, DNA Info (Mar. 31, 2015), https://www.dnainfo.com/chicago/20131231/downtown/private-meter-readers-wrote-hundreds-of-thousands-of-tickets-data-shows [https://perma.cc/97DT-P2W9] (“[P]arking enforcement personnel . . . have to go through a mandatory training process to ensure they are writing tickets properly.”) with Konkol, supra note 5 (“City parking enforcement supervisors check for patterns of ‘errors’ made by tracking voided tickets or fines caused by individual ticket-writers.”).

25. The fact that agents are given broad discretion does not mean that they may “personalize” the law by applying it in expressly unauthorized ways. See Call for Papers: Symposium on Personalized Law, University of Chicago Law Review (2018), http://lawreview.uchicago.edu/call-papers-symposium-personalized-law [https://perma.cc/D55Z-WKLW] (defining personalized law as “legal rules tailored to specific individuals or circumstances.”).
by zip code in Chicago. The Article later tests a simple hypothesis: that disadvantaged zip codes may not be treated the same, in terms of how parking tickets are distributed, parking tickets are appealed and parking ticket appeals are granted, as the average Chicago zip code. It concludes with a finding about whether there is uniform treatment, at least in terms of how parking tickets are distributed and handled over time (i.e. 2012 to 2016), as determined by the use of a simplified measure of distributional fairness.

In carrying out this work, the Article draws on recent scholarship in local government law. It is informed, for example, by cutting-edge behavioral law and economics research, which focuses on the distributive effects of specific public

26. Cf. Randall K. Johnson, Where Schools Close in Chicago, 7 ALB. GOV'T. L. REV. 508, 510–11 n.20 (2014) (“This article . . . directly answers the question by using a composition-based approach to establishing disproportionality [i.e. percentage analysis]. In doing so, it serves as a starting point for more rigorous empirical work . . . in keeping with the analysis from a popular statistics textbook, ‘the null hypothesis [of future research will be] that the populations from which the samples are drawn are equal on the characteristics of interest . . . [if] the null hypothesis of “no difference” in the populations is true, then any means calculated from randomly selected samples should be roughly equal in value.’ As a result, future research may go beyond the basic question to be answered in this article: ‘are there [any significant] differences between the samples or categories of the independent variable?’ Instead, it [will ask]: ‘are the [observed] differences between the samples large enough to reject the null hypothesis and [to] justify the conclusion that the populations represented by the samples are different?’” (citing JOSEPH F. HEALY, STATISTICS: A TOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH 239 (Lin Marshall et al. eds., 6th ed. 2002))).

27. Distributional fairness, which assumes that justice depends upon the amount of in-kind goods that a government provides to its citizens, is a valid way to determine whether similarly-situated people are treated in a uniform way. Another valid option, allocational fairness, assumes that justice depends upon the amount of money that a government spends in providing in-kind goods to its citizens. The key difference between these two approaches is their unit of analysis, as distributional fairness directly measures state action (i.e. state action is measured by what a specific government produces and turns over to citizens in terms of public goods and services) whereas allocational fairness indirectly measures state action (i.e. state action is measured by what a specific government spends to produce and turn over to citizens in terms of public goods and services). Cf. Herman E. Daly, Allocation, distribution, and scale: towards an economics that is efficient, just and sustainable, 6 ECOL. ECON. 185, 186 (1992):

Allocation refers to the relative division of the resource flow among alternative product uses – how much goes to the production of cars, to shoes, to plows, to teapots, etc. A good allocation is one that is efficient, i.e. that allocates resources among product end-uses in conformity with individual preferences as weighted by the ability of the individual to pay...

Distribution refers to the relative division of the resource flow, as embodied in final goods and services, among alternative people. A good distribution is one that is just and fair, or at least one in which the degree of inequality is limited within some acceptable range...

policies such as municipal appeals processes. The Article also builds on interdisciplinary scholarship that investigates the relationship between permissive appeals processes and local budgetary issues.29 A third influence is an emerging body of work, which examines the nature of the relationship between seemingly-neutral legal rules, which often govern local decision-making, and distributional fairness.30

Within this context, the Article makes key contributions to all three lines of research. It does so, initially, by identifying how parking tickets are distributed across the 59 zip codes in Chicago. This Article, then, identifies the zip code location of every parking ticket recipient that filed an appeal over the last five years (2012 to 2016). Third, it identifies the zip code location of every parking ticket recipient that successfully appealed during the study period. The Article concludes by analyzing these data, including the computation of statistics such as win rate on appeal, so as to determine whether certain disadvantaged zip codes are treated any differently than the average Chicago zip code in terms of distributional fairness.31 The key question is whether parking ticket error rates, as measured by the use of win rates on appeal so as to gauge distributional fairness, are distributed uniformly during the study period.

This Article, in other words, assumes that disproportionate treatment may arise from the characteristics of people that live within specific zip codes. It also assumes that the most salient of these characteristics could be race, income, and location, as indicated by recent studies of how public goods and services are distributed across municipal space in Chicago.32 These assumptions lead to the testing of a simple

[https://perma.cc/3TXS-WZBP] (explaining whether, or not, economically-efficient policies lead to discrimination).

29. See Randall K. Johnson, Who Wins Residential Property Tax Appeals?, 6 COLUM. J. OF TAX L. 209 (2015) (applying percentage analysis to determine if more property tax appeals are filed, and won, by certain Cook County townships.).


hypothesis that has to do with whether disadvantaged zip codes may be treated differently from more advantaged zip codes, at least with respect to the parking ticket appeals process. This hypothesis aligns with recently-substantiated claims that Chicago often distributes some public goods/services in a discriminatory manner.

I have tested similar hypotheses in several recent articles, since my past work also focused on if there were any differences in treatment rather than whether observed differences actually matter. The basic idea, as applied in this study of
parking ticket appeals, is that residents of disadvantaged zip codes (i.e. majority-Black zip codes, lower-income zip codes, or South Side zip codes) may have a distinct appeals rate, a different successful appeals rate, and a distinct win rate on appeal than the average local zip code (i.e. the mean, or numeric-average, of all 59 zip codes) and that any observed difference could have implications for distributional fairness in Chicago. This Article acknowledges that there may be several plausible explanations for such a difference in treatment.\textsuperscript{37} It nonetheless accepts that the most compelling explanation may be the most straightforward one: that public employees may allow implicit biases to inform their decisions, especially if they know that valid administrative complaints will fall on deaf ears.\textsuperscript{38} If this explanation holds up, using percentage analysis, it may be assumed that the parking ticket appeals process may not be cost-justified: especially if measured in terms of the relationship between what is spent on detecting errors and the ticket error rates.\textsuperscript{39}

arithmetic-based approach to determine where medical malpractice claims are filed in Mississippi); Johnson, supra note 29 (applying percentage analysis to determine who wins residential property tax appeals in Cook County); Randall K. Johnson, \textit{Why U.S. States Need Pension Waiver Credits}, 40 S. ILL. U. L. J. 203 (2016) (applying a simplified approach to reform, which is informed by economic analysis, to determine how to overcome the fresh consideration dilemma that prevents some states from dealing with their public pension issues); Randall K. Johnson, \textit{Why Police Learn from Third-Party Data}, WAKE FOREST L. REV. ONLINE (Supp. 2013), http://wakeforestatlawreview.com/2013/01/why-police-learn-from-third-party-data/ [https://perma.cc/S6TN-HZVS] (applying a ratio-based approach to determine the nature of the relationship between third-party data collection and published §1983 cases); Johnson, supra note 26 (applying percentage analysis to determine if Chicago schools closed, disproportionately, in disadvantaged areas); Audrey G. McFarlane & Randall K. Johnson, \textit{Cities, Inclusion and Exactions}, 102 IOWA L. REV. 2145 (2017) (applying a simplified approach to reform, which is informed by economic analysis to determine how much cities can ask of developers without running afoul of the Takings Clause); Randall K. Johnson, \textit{Why We Need a Comprehensive Recording Fraud Registry}, N.Y.U. J. LEGIS. & PUB. POL’Y QUORUM 88 (2014) (applying a simplified approach to reform, which is informed by economic analysis, so to determine how to limit recording fraud).

37. See also Pam Zekman, \textit{Thousands of Parking Tickets Issued Incorrectly in Chicago}, CBS \textit{CHICAGO} (Jun. 21, 2016), http://chicago.cbslocal.com/2016/06/21/thousands-of-parking-tickets-issued-incorrectly-in-chicago/ [https://perma.cc/BE4D-ZFWZ] ("Nearly 3,300 parking tickets have been dismissed in the city over the last two years because they were incorrectly issued . . . [this incorrect imposition of a sanction applied to all] drivers who used the Park Chicago app [smartphone application] incorrectly."). Other plausible explanations, which fall outside the scope of this paper, are the effect of other omitted variables such as relative rate of vehicle maintenance (i.e. whether the ability to conduct regular maintenance on a vehicle, which prevents breakdowns, helps to account for any observed differences in treatment).

38. See, e.g., Shane Shifflett, Alissa Scheller, Scilla Alecci & Nicky Forster, \textit{Police Abuse Complaints by Black Chicagoans Dismissed Nearly 99 Percent of the Time}, THE HUFFINGTON POST (Dec. 7, 2015), http://data.huffingtonpost.com/2015/12/chicago-officer-misconduct-allegations [https://perma.cc/8M3X-MD3V] ("Of 10,500 complaints filed by black people between 2011 and 2015, just 166—or 1.6 percent—were sustained or led to discipline after an internal investigation. Nationally, between 6 and 20 percent of [all] citizen-initiated complaints are sustained.").

39. As such, it could be assumed that the parking ticket appeals process is a good example
This Article, in other words, assumes that if disadvantaged zip codes in Chicago have a different appeals rate (i.e. perceived error rate), a distinct successful appeals rate (i.e. actual error rate), or a different win rate on appeal (i.e. frequency that actual errors lead to dismissal of a parking ticket) than the average Chicago zip code, then its null hypothesis will be rejected (i.e. disadvantaged zip codes are not treated the same as other zips). Conversely, in the event that disadvantaged zip codes have the expected appeals rate (i.e. perceived error rate), the expected successful appeals rate (i.e. actual error rate), and the expected win rate on appeal (i.e. frequency that actual errors lead to dismissal of a parking ticket), then the null will not be rejected (i.e. disadvantaged zip codes are treated the same). Based on what is ultimately found by using percentage analysis, this Article may decide if there is uniform enforcement (i.e. Chicago does not discriminate with respect to how it distributes ticket or handles appeals) or more personalized application of the law (i.e. Chicago may discriminate in distributing tickets or handling appeals).

One potential downside to using percentage analysis, at least as a valid test of distributional fairness, is that its findings could be affected by the fact that zip codes contain different numbers of people. This “size” issue, which may be referred to as a relative magnitude problem, is usually addressed by taking into account the possibility that having different numbers of people in a zip code may impact the distribution of tickets, appeals, and successful appeals. The Article deals with this issue by putting all fifty-nine Chicago zip codes on the same numeric scale by using percentage analysis to create standard units such as appeals rate, successful appeals rate, and win rate on appeal. The basic idea is that the appeals rate and successful appeals rate may be used to determine how much is spent in carrying out the parking ticket appeals process, whereas win rate on appeal helps to establish whether such costs are justified in light of the error rate at the individual, group and population levels. Such an approach may indicate that a seemingly-neutral process leads to an unjustified redistribution of public resources from one group of zip codes to another.

Although this Article does not try to establish if any observed differences are statistically-significant, which is a valid way of determining how much confidence may be placed in a given research finding, it could serve as a point of departure for future work that does so using regression. Such work may go beyond the limited scope of my current Article, which focuses on whether there are any observable differences in terms of how disadvantaged zip codes and other Chicago zip codes are treated in the parking ticket appeals process. By doing so, hopefully using more reliable methods, future work may answer related questions such as “does Chicago enforce valid and final parking tickets in a uniform way?”

This future work, much like the current Article, could identify public sector misconduct at a modest cost. Each may do so for three primary reasons. First, such scholarship operates as an early-warning system by putting U.S. governments on notice about questionable policies and practices. It also is easy for laypersons to use and understand, at least in comparison to more complex approaches such as regression. Lastly, each may encourage follow-up research, especially when authors fully describe their methodologies and provide immediate access to existing datasets.
As such, this Article is understood to be only one in a series of papers that could set the record straight about the type, quality, and quantity of information that U.S. governments may use to make more informed policy decisions. It does so by examining the parking ticket appeals process in Chicago: so as to gauge the uniformity, and the relative cost-effectiveness, of the parking ticket appeals process. The Article proceeds in five additional parts. Part II describes the applicable law. Part III explains this Article’s methodological approach, which employs percentage analysis to explain how parking tickets are distributed, how parking ticket appeals are distributed, and how frequently ticket recipients obtain relief in Chicago. Part IV outlines the Article's preliminary findings and positive analysis, which includes the fact that more advantaged zip codes have higher administrative costs and lower parking ticket error rates than disadvantaged zip codes. Part V contains its key normative recommendations. Part VI is the conclusion.

II. ISSUE PRESENTED

Budgetary issues have plagued the City of Chicago for a number of years. These problems arose from excessive spending, inaccurate financial estimates, and modest local government revenues. The city’s issues, later, were made even worse by the recent worldwide recession.

The Great Recession, which began in 2007 and caused a significant reduction in local government revenues in the United States, forced Chicago to change its budgetary priorities. For example, the city has significantly reduced its spending by implementing cost controls. It also has improved its financial forecasting through the use of more realistic economic assumptions. Lastly, Chicago has sought to increase its own sources revenues by collecting more of its debts.


41. Id. (“The most devastating sin in Chicago was arrogance—mayors and aldermen sure they could see the city’s economic future and, paradoxically, doubting that it ever could implode.”).

42. Id. (“[The damage caused by the Great Recession] is deep and prolonged because [Chicago] City Hall had spent, borrowed and promised so much that it couldn’t tolerate any revenue dips.”).


44. Id. (“The mayor’s budget assumes $148 million in revenue growth, driven by increases in sales, personal property lease tax and city sticker fees.”).

45. Id. (“Under the category titled ‘improved fiscal management,’ Emanuel anticipates generating $86.4 million by ‘sweeping aging revenue accounts, TIF reform’ and through investment reforms.”).

46. Id. (“The Chicago Sun-Times reported last week that Emanuel plans $30 million in
One example of an outstanding debt, which has traditionally gone uncollected, is the local parking ticket. These $25 to $250 fines, often, are imposed for certain non-driving related violations. These fines, under the applicable law, are considered to be entirely civil in nature.

Fully collecting parking ticket fines may be an effective way to improve Chicago’s long-term budgetary outlook, especially as it is a politically-viable alternative to tax increases or spending cuts. This approach also may have lower opportunity costs, which are defined as the “amount of other goods and services [that] . . . could have been obtained instead [of the selected option],” at least in comparison with unrealistic attempts to improve public sector efficiency. Lastly, it


50. See, e.g., Iris J. Lav & Dylan Grundman, A Balanced Approach to Closing State Deficits, CTR. ON BUDGET & POL’Y PRIORITIES (Feb. 25, 2011), https://www.cbpp.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/2-16-10sfp.pdf [https://perma.cc/8E7V-T8WH] (describing how increased efficiency is one of the few “options available . . . outside of the . . . ‘either-or’ framework of tax increases and spending cuts.”).


52. See Spielman, supra note 43 (“For too long Chicago was not honest with taxpayers . . . about the true cost of [public goods and services] and we allowed dishonesty to turn into a
may lead to more compliance if similarly-situated drivers are treated in a standard way with respect to the distribution of tickets, appeals and who wins on appeal.53

Currently, it is unclear if similarly-situated drivers are treated in a completely uniform way with respect to how parking tickets are distributed, appealed, resolved, and collected upon in Chicago.54 For example, out of the billions of dollars in revenues that could have been generated through parking ticket fines, untold amounts have gone uncollected.55 This under-collection has gone on for a long time, although the scale of lost revenues has increased in recent years.56 Over $1.5 billion is estimated to have been left on the table, which represents a fifteen percent increase since 2011.57

Another type of government failure may arise from the city’s use of a “liberal” appeals process,58 which permits every parking ticket recipient to challenge their fine, even when there is a clear violation of the applicable law.59 This process, which guarantees ticket recipients a right to an administrative hearing, was authorized under


55. Id. ("[Parking ticket] debt accrues at a pace of $1 million a week . . . far more than what the city collects.").

56. Id. ("Chicago . . . collects [on “old” parking ticket] debt that dates to 1990.").

57. Id. ("The amount of unpaid tickets and fines has grown to . . . $1.5 billion . . . The bulk of the debt, $1.3 billion, is unpaid parking tickets, a total that has increased by $177 million, or 15 percent.").

58. See Clifford Winston, Brookings Inst., Government Failure vs. Market Failure: Microeconomics Policy Research and Government Performance 2–3 (2006), https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/20061003.pdf [https://perma.cc/5BGZ-Y5N9] ("Government failure [which is a type of a market failure] . . . arises when government has created inefficiencies because it should not have intervened in the first place or when it could have solved a given problem or set of problems more efficiently, that is, by generating greater net benefits.").

59. See James M. Reilly, Joseph D. Condo & Matthew W. Beaudet, The Department of Administrative Hearings for the City of Chicago: A New Method of Municipal Code Enforcement, J NAT’L’L. ASS’N. ADMIN. L. JUDGES 89, 104 (1998) ("Under [this process], . . . parties must be afforded certain due process considerations, i.e., adequate notice; and an opportunity to be heard, present evidence and witnesses, and be represented by counsel.").
65 ILCS § 5/1-2.1 and Chicago Municipal Code § 2-14-010. It was created in the wake of a federal decision, Van Harken v. City of Chicago. Under the regulations that govern the parking ticket appeals process, which require that a timely hearing request is filed with the Vehicle Hearings Division, there is “a week-long period [each month] during which [parking ticket recipients] can come in for a hearing.” This monthly docket of cases, which was first used on January 1, 1997, permits the Department of Administrative Hearings to resolve over 200,000 parking ticket appeals each year, which makes up more than half of the administrative hearings that are undertaken every year.

In each administrative hearing, Chicago has the burden of proof and production with respect to establishing the validity of each parking ticket. Once this burden is met, using a preponderance of the evidence standard, a parking ticket recipient “shall be asked to enter a plea of ‘admit/liable’ or ‘deny/not liable,’ and may then provide evidence to rebut the [parking ticket].” Each ticket recipient, then, must produce legally-sufficient evidence in support of their position. Once a ticket recipient has done so, then closing arguments may be made by each of the parties.

60. Id. at 94, 96. (“Following the report of the Mayor’s Commission in June 1996, the city embarked on an ultimately successful quest for the passage of a state law authorizing municipalities to put in place a centralized process of administrative hearings. The law (65 Illinois Compiled Statutes §§5/1-2.1) gives Illinois home rule cities the ability to set up a single administrative hearing department to enforce those municipal ordinances that contain civil sanctions, and it provides for code hearing units, or divisions that hear certain parts of the municipal code.”).

61. 906 F. Supp. 1182 (N.D. Ill. 1995), aff’d as modified, 103 F.3d 1346 (7th Cir. 1997), cert. denied, 520 U.S. 1241 (1997) (holding that parking violations are civil in nature and, therefore, the Due Process Clause is not the standard way to protect a defendant’s rights in an administrative hearing). While scholars and practitioners may not agree on how much process should be given, it can be agreed that the current process may encourage both excessive ticketing (by parking attendants) and unjustified appeals (by ticket recipients).

62. CITY OF CHICAGO, Contesting Tickets In-Person (Parking, Red Light and Automated Speed Enforcement) (2018), www.cityofchicago.org/city/en/depts/fin/supp_info/revenue/challenging_tickets/contesting_in_person.html [https://perma.cc/6B9M-8ZH8] (“You have seven (7) days from the date of issuance . . . to contest the ticket. If neither a contest [nor a] payment is received, a second Notice of Violation is mailed allowing twenty-one (21) days to request a hearing.”).

63. Reilly, supra note 59, at 99.

64. Id. at 89 (“On January 1, 1997, Chicago’s Department of Administrative Hearings began operations.”).

65. Id. at 99.

66. Id. at 106 (“The city bears the initial burden of proof in the case, and the standard is by a preponderance of the evidence.”).

67. Id.

68. Id.


70. Reilly, supra note 59, at 106 (“Each party may be afforded the opportunity to make a closing argument.”).
A parking ticket recipient, often, produces documentary evidence in an attempt to raise a valid defense or privilege. There are only a few valid excuses, however, which include: the ticket recipient is not the proper party, there are extenuating circumstances, the law is vague or ambiguous, there was a mistake on the part of the parking attendant, or a ticket recipient had addressed the issue before a ticket is issued. Excuses must be raised in a timely manner.

Upon completion of each hearing, which may be adjudicated in-person or by mail, the ticket recipient is notified of a final decision. Each final decision, which must be submitted in writing by an administrative law officer and made available to each of the parties, may be appealed as of right. A timely appeal must be filed, in the proper place, within thirty-five days of a final decision.

Traditionally, scholarly examinations of the current appeals process asks whether parking tickets have any effect on driver behavior. Other academic research tests the relationship between parking tickets and public finance. A third line of work focuses on how ticket enforcement may be impacted by prevailing social norms. A final category of investigation asks whether the current process encourages misconduct, especially if parking attendants do not fear being caught.

---

71. Id.
72. CITY OF CHICAGO, supra note 62 (“The following defenses are allowed for most . . . tickets: 1. The respondent was not the owner or lessee of the cited vehicle at the time of the violation; 2. The cited vehicle or its state registration plates (license plates) were stolen at the time of the violation; 3. The relevant signs prohibiting or restricting parking were missing or obscured; 4. The relevant parking meter was inoperable or malfunctioned through no fault of the respondent; 5. The facts alleged in the parking . . . violation notice are inconsistent or do not support a finding that the specified regulation was violated . . . ; 6. The illegal vehicle condition did not exist at the time of the compliance violation; 7. The compliance violation has been corrected prior to adjudication.”).
73. Id.
74. Reilly, supra note 59, at 107 (“Due to the volume in the Vehicle Hearings Division, a respondent may elect to contest an alleged violation by mail rather than at an administrative hearing.”).
75. Id.
76. CITY OF CHICAGO, supra note 62 (“If [a parking ticket recipient is] dissatisfied with the Administrative Law Officer’s decision, [she] can appeal . . . under Administrative Review in the Circuit Court of Cook County.”).
77. Id. (“This option must be exercised within 35 days of the Administrative Law Officer’s decision.”).
78. See, e.g., Dara Lee Luca, Do Traffic Tickets Reduce Motor Vehicle Accidents? Evidence from a Natural Experiment, 34 J. POL’Y. ANALYSIS & MGMT. 86, 86 (2014) (“This paper exploits exogenous variation in the number of tickets issued to identify the causal impact of traffic tickets in motor vehicle accidents using . . . data from Massachusetts.”).
79. See, e.g., Thomas A. Garrett & Gary A. Wagner, Red Ink in the Rearview Mirror: Local Fiscal Conditions and the Issuance of Traffic Tickets, 52 J. L. & ECON. 71, 72 (2009) (“[W]e utilize county-level data from North Carolina . . . to test . . . if changes in the issuance of traffic tickets are influenced by changes in local government fiscal health.”).
81. See, e.g., Illya Lichtenberg, Police Discretion and Traffic Enforcement: A
This scholarship, however, does not answer a basic research question: who wins parking ticket appeals in Chicago? This question is important because it explains how parking tickets and appeals are distributed across the city and the treatment that is experienced by different zip codes. Furthermore, it also could gauge the uniformity and the relative cost-effectiveness of the parking ticket appeals process in Chicago. Thus, the mere act of answering this question may help to explain whether there is uniform treatment or some personalization of the municipal parking laws over time.

### III. METHODOLOGY

This Article introduces a new City of Chicago dataset, which counsels for increased scrutiny of the parking ticket appeals process. It does so, initially, by collecting and combining parking ticket data that has been recently released by the Department of Administrative Hearings and the Department of Finance. These combined data, then, are used to compute several useful statistics: parking ticket appeals by zip code, successful appeals by zip code, and win rate on appeal by zip code. Lastly, the Article contextualizes each statistic, so as to determine if some zip codes are treated different than predicted by the null hypothesis (i.e. the group-level average differs from the population average in terms of how parking tickets are appealed [appeals rate and successful appeals rate] and resolved [win rate on appeal]).

A single methodological approach is used to determine if there are any observable differences, as between specific groups of zip codes and the average Chicago zip code, which is referred to in this paper as “percentage analysis.” This approach “consists of reducing a series of related amounts to a series of percentages of a given base.” Depending upon the characteristics of these related amounts, the unit of analysis may be a percentage or a rate. In this Article, the primary units of analysis are rates (i.e. appeals rate, successful appeals rate, and win rate on appeal).

---

*Government of Men*, 50 CLE.
ST.
REV.
425, 427 (2002) ("This Article addresses the apparent gap in the legal and social science literature concerning the unequal enforcement of traffic laws. How extensive do the police abuse the discretionary powers they are afforded?").

82. See City of Chicago, Department of Administrative Hearings, RESPONSE TO FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT REQUEST (Dec. 19, 2016) (“This is a response to your FOIA request received by the Department of Administrative Hearings on December 5th.”); See City of Chicago, Department of Finance, RESPONSE TO FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT REQUEST (Sept. 14, 2017) (“On behalf of the Department of Finance, I am responding to your Freedom of Information Act (‘FOIA’) request.”).

83. See infra Appendix at Tables D, E, and F.


86. See Joseph F. Healey, STATISTICS: A TOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH 508 (6th ed., 2002) ("[A percentage is] . . . the number of cases in a category divided by the number of cases in all categories, the entire quantity multiplied by 100.”).

87. Id. ("[A rate is] . . . the number of actual occurrences divided by the number of possible occurrences per some unit of time.").
This Article defines “appeals rate” as the perceived error rate, at least from the perspective of people that received parking tickets during the study period. Similarly, “successful appeals rate” is defined as the actual error rate, as decided by the Department of Administrative Hearings. “Win rate on appeal,” lastly, is a function of the first two concepts since it refers to the frequency that a parking ticket was issued in error and the ticket recipient was entitled to have their sanction overturned.

These rates are computed, initially, at the population level (i.e. all fifty-nine zip codes in Chicago). Next, each is computed at the group level (i.e. the sixteen zip codes with majority-black residents and the forty-three zip codes with majority non-black residents; the twenty-eight zip codes that are located in lower-income areas and the thirty-one zip codes that are located in higher-income areas; as well as the twenty-five zip codes that are located on the South Side and the thirty-four zip codes that are located on the North Side). The final computation is at the individual level (i.e. the zip code location of ticket recipients). All computations are done, using Microsoft Excel, and included in the Appendix.

Percentage analysis is used for at least three reasons. First, the approach is “helpful in evaluating the relative size of items or the relative change in items.” Percentage analysis also provides “a useful way of comparing fractions with different denominators.” Lastly, the approach could lay “a solid foundation for discussing . . . more complicated . . . [empirical] issues.”

This approach, however, will not be useful if the article does not account for a range of potential issues. Several issues are dealt with deliberately. Selection effects, which are defined as a type of “statistical bias in which there is an error in choosing the individuals or groups to take part in a scientific study,” are accounted for by testing every zip code in Chicago. Omitted variables, which are defined as an issue that “occurs when [variables that are not included in the study] . . . affect the relationship between the dependent variable and included explanatory variables,” are dealt with by testing all fifty-nine Chicago zip codes at the population, group, and individual levels. Other issues were completely avoided, such as relative magnitude
problems, since this Article accounts for the fact that zip codes may not be the same in important dimensions. It does so by putting each zip code, and group of zip codes, on the same scale by using percentage analysis to create standard units such as appeals rate, successful appeals rate, and win rate on appeal.

As such, as Professor James Lindgren explained in an article about whether there is distributional fairness by race, gender, ethnicity, and religion on certain law school faculties:

The crucial issue here is not disadvantaged groups, but underrepresented ones . . . Proportional representation is considered the approximate test of fairness, though few people urge exact proportional representation. The goal is a roughly equal distribution of demographic groups . . . [as] significant underrepresentation of groups is typically assumed to be the result of discrimination.97

One way to determine if the underrepresentation of disadvantaged groups stems from disfavored forms of discrimination, such as when discrimination is based upon characteristics such as race, income, or location, is to employ a valid application of percentage analysis as a test of allocational fairness. In contrast, percentage analysis also could be used as a gauge for distributional fairness, especially when used to establish whether overrepresentation or underrepresentation arises from unlawful discrimination. Within this context, this Article adopts the second approach so as to determine how disadvantaged zip codes are treated in Chicago and if any observable differences may be detected on the basis of race, income, or location in the target population.

97. James Lindgren, Measuring Diversity: Law Faculties in 1997 and 2013, 39 HARY. J. L. & PUB. POL’Y. 89, 100–01 (2016). This Article accepts the possibility that small differences in treatment actually could matter, especially if the test for justice is allocational fairness rather than distributional fairness. Within this context, allocational fairness is defined to mean that justice is a function of the closeness of fit between the total contribution that is made by an individual citizen (such as taxes, user fees, and other payments that are transferred from a legal person to a government) and that the total benefits that are received in exchange from a government (such as public goods, public services, and other public benefits that are transferred from a government to a legal person). In cases where a citizen gives up more than she receives, then there is a deficit and this person receives less than their fair share. If a citizen receives more than they give up, then there is a subsidy and this person receives more than their fair share. When the amount that is paid by a citizen is exactly equal to the amount that is received, then there a complete offset and that person gets their fair share. The first two illustrations are examples of unjust outcomes, whereas the third illustration is an example of a more just outcome, at least when allocational fairness serves as the test for fairness.
IV. FINDINGS

This section draws on information about a subset of the twelve million parking
tickets that were issued between fiscal years 2012 and 2016. Next, it combines this
data with other publicly-available data to compute several useful statistics. Finally,
the Article contextualizes each statistic: so as to find out if disadvantaged zip codes
are treated the same as more advantaged zip codes in the study period.

The baseline for analysis is the average Chicago zip code, as determined by the
use of the mean for the entire population of fifty-nine zip codes, which is estimated
to have an appeals rate of 13.52 percent (i.e. the perceived error rate), a successful
appeals rate of 8.44 percent (i.e. the actual error rate), and a win rate on appeal of
62.38 percent (i.e. the frequency that actual errors lead to dismissal of a parking
ticket).

For the purposes of this Article, whether a group of zip codes is treated in a
uniform way depends on if its group level average is exactly the same as the overall
population average. As such, despite the fact that this Article does not try to
determine if any observed differences are actually statistically significant, it is
important to keep in mind that this preliminary finding is still useful, as it may serve
as a point of departure for future work that does so using regression. For example,
this future work could use t-test, analysis of variance or another method, in order to
determine if any observed differences are actually statistically significant.

98. See Brockway, supra note 54 (“Chicago issues an average of 2.4 million parking
tickets annually [, regardless of whether the ticket recipient lives in the area].”). This Article
focuses solely upon the 6,496,114 parking tickets that were issued to Chicagoland drivers, the
813,286 parking ticket appeals that were filed by Chicagoland drivers, and 510,234 successful
parking ticket appeals that were ultimately granted to Chicagoland drivers between 2012 and
2016.

99. See Department of Administrative Hearings, supra note 82; See Department of
Finance, supra note 82. This Article actually includes information about both the mean and
the median. The information about the mean is discussed in the text, whereas the information
about the median is found in the footnotes. See infra Appendix at Tables D, E, and F. Cf.
Johnson, supra note 26, at 515–16 (“The mean is the average of a series of numbers, whereas
the median is the middle number. The mean and the median are both valid measures of central
tendency, although their value often depends on the research question . . . The mean and the
median are used for several, inter-related reasons. First, it is unclear whether [parking tickets,
parking ticket appeals, and successful ticket appeals] . . . are skewed or normally distributed.
Next, the uncertainty about the distribution . . . counsels for the use of the mean and the
median. Lastly, these measures provide a wealth of information, especially about
disproportionate treatment within a sample population.”).

100. An example of how this future research could be undertaken is provided by recent
studies of the residential property tax appeals process, which employ coefficients of dispersion
as part of more sophisticated empirical analyses. See Civic Consulting Alliance Board: An
Affiliate Of The Civil Committee Of The Commercial Club of
Chicago, Residential Property Assessment In Cook County: Summary Of Analytical Findings,
uploads/2018/02/2018-Residential-Property-Analysis-Final.pdf [https://perma.cc/4KDK-
WXYK] (“From the International Assessing Officers’ (IAAO) standard on ratio studies. ‘The
A. Race

Chicago has 850,821 residents of African Descent, which makes up about thirty-two percent of its 2,704,958 residents. These residents of African Descent (i.e. blacks), in comparison to residents of non-black extraction (others), are largely concentrated in a few zip codes. There are sixteen majority-black zip codes, whereas there are forty-three majority-other zip codes.

The 16 zip codes with a majority of black residents, at least when compared to the total population of 59 Chicago zip codes, experienced different treatment than predicted by the null hypothesis. For example, the average majority-black zip code had an appeals rate 12.37 percent versus 13.52 percent for the average Chicago zip code. The average majority-black zip code went on to have a successful appeals rate of 7.83 percent, in comparison to 8.44 percent for the average Chicago zip code. The result is that the 16 zip codes with a majority of black residents are underrepresented in terms of their appeals rate (-1.15 percentage points) and successful appeals rate (-0.61 percentage points), as compared to the average Chicago zip code.

most generally useful measure of variability or uniformity is the COD [i.e. coefficient of dispersal]. The COD measures the average percentage deviation of the ratios from the median ratio.”; See Shekhar Mehta and Fred Giertz, Measuring the Performance of the Property Tax Assessment Process, 49 Nat. Tax J. 73, 83, Note 83 (1996), https://www.ntanet.org/NTJ/49/1/ntj-v49n01p73-85-measuring-performance-property-tax.pdf?v=%CE%B1 [https://perma.cc/85M5-LMTK] (“The coefficient of dispersion is given by the following formula: (∑|a i /s i – (a/s) med |)/n(a/s) med . It is the average deviation of the actual sales assessment ratios (i.e., the ratio of assessed value (a) to actual selling price (s) as measured by sales assessment studies) from the median ratio (a/s) med divided by the overall median ratio.”)


102. Compare infra Appendix at Table D-1 with infra Appendix at Table D-2; Compare infra Appendix at Table E-1 with infra Appendix at Table E-2; Compare infra Appendix at Table F-1 with infra Appendix at Table F-2. There were 2,172,578 parking tickets issued to residents of majority-black zip codes, 269,492 parking ticket appeals filed by residents of these zip codes, and 170,895 successful appeals by residents of these zip codes. In contrast, there were 4,323,536 parking tickets issued to residents of majority-other zip codes, 543,794 parking ticket appeals filed by residents of these zip codes, and 339,339 successful appeals by residents of these zip codes. See Department of Administrative Hearings, supra note 82; See Department of Finance, supra note 82.

103. Compare infra Appendix at Table D-1 with infra Appendix at Table D; Compare infra Appendix at Table E-1 with infra Appendix at Table E; Compare infra Appendix at Table F-1 with infra Appendix at Table F.

104. Compare infra Appendix at Table D-1 with infra Appendix at Table D. If medians are used, the average majority-black zip code has an appeals rate of 12.88 percent and the average Chicago zip code has an appeals rate of 13.16 percent.

105. Compare infra Appendix at Table E-1 with infra Appendix at Table E. If medians are used, the average majority-black zip code has a successful appeals rate of 8.08 percent and the average Chicago zip code has a successful appeals rate of 8.31 percent.

106. Compare infra Appendix at Table D-1 with infra Appendix at Table D; Compare infra Appendix at Table E-1 with infra Appendix at Table E. If medians are used, the difference is
The 43 zip codes with less than a majority of black residents, similarly, experienced different treatment than predicted by the null hypothesis. For example, the average majority-other zip code had an appeals rate of 13.95 percent versus 13.52 percent for the average Chicago zip code. The average majority-other zip code, then, went on to have a successful appeals rate of 8.66 percent in comparison to 8.44 percent for the average Chicago zip code. The result is that the 43 zip codes with less than a majority of black residents are overrepresented, in terms of their appeals rate (+0.43 percentage points) and successful appeals rate (+0.22 percentage points).

When win rates on appeal are considered, it is clear that both groups are treated differently from the average Chicago zip code. Specifically, the 16 majority-black zip codes had a win rate on appeal of 63.49 percent, the 43 non-black zip codes had a win rate on appeal of 61.97 and the average Chicago zip code had a win rate on appeal of 62.38 percent. As a result, both the 16 majority-black zip codes (+1.11 percentage points) and the 43 zip codes with majority-other zip codes are not treated in exactly the same way (-.41 percentage points) as the average zip code.

- .28 percentage points for the appeals rate and -.23 percentage points for the successful appeals rate.

107. Compare infra Appendix at Table D-2 with infra Appendix at Table D; Compare infra Appendix at Table E-2 with infra Appendix at Table E; Compare infra Appendix at Table F-2 with infra Appendix at Table F.
108. Compare infra Appendix at Table D-2 with infra Appendix at Table D. If medians are used, the average majority-other zip code has an appeals rate of 14.59 percent and the average Chicago zip code has an appeals rate of 13.16 percent.
109. Compare infra Appendix at Table E-2 with infra Appendix at Table E. If medians are used, the average majority-other zip code has a successful appeals rate of 8.49 percent and the average Chicago zip code has a successful appeals rate of 8.31 percent.
110. Compare infra Appendix at Table D-2 with infra Appendix at Table D; Compare infra Appendix at Table E-2 with infra Appendix at Table E. If medians are used, the difference is +1.43 percentage points for the appeals rate and +.18 percentage points for the successful appeals rate.
111. Compare infra Appendix at Table D-1 with infra Appendix at Table D; Compare infra Appendix at Table E-1 with infra Appendix at Table E; Compare infra Appendix at Table F-1 with infra Appendix at Table F; Compare infra Appendix at Table D-2 with infra Appendix at Table D; Compare infra Appendix at Table E-2 with infra Appendix at Table E; Compare infra Appendix at Table F-2 with infra Appendix at Table F.
112. Compare infra Appendix at Table F-1 with infra Appendix at Table F. If medians are used, the average majority-black zip code has a win rate on appeal of 63.62 and the average Chicago zip code has a win rate on appeal of 63.13 percent; Compare infra Appendix at Table F-2 with infra Appendix at Table F. If medians are used, the average majority-other zip code has a win rate on appeal of 61.79 and the average Chicago zip code has a win rate on appeal of 63.13 percent.
113. Compare infra Appendix at Table F-1 with infra Appendix at Table F. If medians are used, the difference is +49 percentage points between the average majority-black zip code and the average Chicago zip code; Compare infra Appendix at Table F-2 with infra Appendix at Table F. If medians are used, the difference is -1.34 percentage points between the average majority-other zip code and the average Chicago zip code.
B. Income

Chicago has a median household income of $48,522. Chicago residents that earn less than this amount (i.e. residents with lower-than-average incomes), and Chicago residents that earn more than $48,522 (i.e. residents with higher-than-average incomes), often are segregated by zip code. There were 28 lower-income zip codes as well as 31 higher-income zip codes in Chicago.

The 28 zip codes with lower-than-average incomes, at least when compared to the entire population of 59 Chicago zip codes, experienced different treatment than predicted by the null hypothesis. For example, the average lower-income zip code had an appeals rate 12.63 percent versus 13.52 percent for the average Chicago zip code. The average lower-income zip code went on to have a successful appeals rate of 8.11 percent, in comparison to 8.44 percent for the average Chicago zip code. The result is that the 28 zip codes with lower-than-average incomes are underrepresented in terms of their appeals rate (-0.89 percentage points) and successful appeals rate (-0.33 percentage points).

The 31 zip codes with higher-than-average incomes, similarly, experienced different treatment than predicted by the null hypothesis. For example, the average higher-income zip code had an appeals rate of 14.32 percent versus 13.52 percent for the average Chicago zip code. The average higher-income zip code, then, went on to have a successful appeals rate of 8.73 percent in comparison to 8.44 percent for

---

114. See U.S. Census, supra note 101.
115. Id. There were 4,098,836 parking tickets issued to residents of lower-income zip codes, 486,256 parking ticket appeals filed by residents of these zip codes, and 311,225 successful appeals by residents of these zip codes. In contrast, there were 2,397,278 parking tickets issued to residents of higher-income zip codes, 327,030 parking ticket appeals filed by residents of these zip codes, and 199,009 successful appeals by residents of these zip codes. See Department of Administrative Hearings, supra note 82; See Department of Finance, supra note 82.
116. Compare infra Appendix at Table D-3 with infra Appendix at Table D; Compare infra Appendix at Table E-3 with infra Appendix at Table E; Compare infra Appendix at Table F-3 with infra Appendix at Table F.
117. Compare infra Appendix at Table D-3 with infra Appendix at Table D. If medians are used, the average lower-income zip code has an appeals rate of 12.88 percent and the average Chicago zip code has an appeals rate of 13.16 percent.
118. Compare infra Appendix at Table E-3 with infra Appendix at Table E. If medians are used, the average lower-income zip code has a successful appeals rate of 8.08 percent and the average Chicago zip code has a successful appeals rate of 8.31 percent.
119. Compare infra Appendix at Table D-3 with infra Appendix at Table D; Compare infra Appendix at Table E-3 with infra Appendix at Table E; Compare infra Appendix at Table F-3 with infra Appendix at Table F. If medians are used, the difference is -0.28 percentage points for the appeals rate and -0.23 percentage points for the successful appeals rate.
120. Compare infra Appendix at Table D-4 with infra Appendix at Table D; Compare infra Appendix at Table E-4 with infra Appendix at Table E; Compare infra Appendix at Table F-4 with infra Appendix at Table F.
121. Compare infra Appendix at Table D-4 with infra Appendix at Table D. If medians are used, the average higher-income zip code has an appeals rate of 14.54 percent and the average Chicago zip code has an appeals rate of 13.16 percent.
the average Chicago zip code. The result is that the 31 zip codes with higher-than-average incomes are overrepresented, in terms of their appeals rate (+0.80 percentage points) and successful appeals rate (+0.29 percentage points), as compared to the average zip code.

When win rates on appeal are considered, it is clear that both groups are treated differently from the average Chicago zip code. Specifically, the 28 lower-income zip codes had a win rate on appeal of 64.09 percent, the 31 higher-income zip codes had a win rate on appeal of 60.84, and the average Chicago zip code had a win rate on appeal of 62.38 percent. As a result, both the 28 lower-income zip codes (+1.71 percentage points) and the 31 higher-income zip codes are not treated in exactly the same way (-1.54 percentage points) as the average Chicago zip code.

C. Location

Chicago has long been segregated, especially based on location, which some researchers believe leads to differential provision of public goods and services. The two major geographic areas in Chicago, which are separated by Madison Street, are the South Side and the North Side. Using this traditional dividing line, there are 25 South Side zip codes and 34 North Side zip codes.

122. Compare infra Appendix at Table E-4 with infra Appendix at Table E. If medians are used, the average higher-income zip code has a successful appeals rate of 8.47 percent and the average Chicago zip code has a successful appeals rate of 8.31 percent.

123. Compare infra Appendix at Table D-4 with infra Appendix at Table D; Compare infra Appendix at Table E-4 with infra Appendix at Table E. If medians are used, the difference is +1.38 percentage points for the appeals rate and +.16 percentage points for the successful appeals rate.

124. Compare infra Appendix at Table D-1 with infra Appendix at Table D; Compare infra Appendix at Table E-1 with infra Appendix at Table E; Compare infra Appendix at Table F-1 with infra Appendix at Table F; Compare infra Appendix at Table D-2 with infra Appendix at Table D; Compare infra Appendix at Table E-2 with infra Appendix at Table E; Compare infra Appendix at Table F-2 with infra Appendix at Table F.

125. Compare infra Appendix at Table F-1 with infra Appendix at Table F. If medians are used, the average lower-income zip code has a win rate on appeal of 64.10 percent and the average Chicago zip code has a win rate on appeal of 63.13 percent; Compare infra Appendix at Table F-2 with infra Appendix at Table F. If medians are used, the average higher-income zip code has a win rate on appeal of 60.39 percent and the average Chicago zip code has a win rate on appeal of 63.13 percent.

126. Compare infra Appendix at Table F-1 with infra Appendix at Table F. If medians are used, the difference is +.97 percentage points between the average lower-income zip code and the average Chicago zip code; Compare infra Appendix at Table F-2 with infra Appendix at Table F. If medians are used, the difference is -2.73 percentage points between the average higher-income zip code and the average Chicago zip code.

127. See, e.g., Sampson, supra note 31, at 6 (“Spatially inscribed social differences, I argue, constitute a family of ‘neighborhood effects’ that are pervasive, strong, cross-cutting, and paradoxically stable even as they are changing in manifest form.”).

128. See ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CHICAGO, Street Naming, CHICAGOHISTORY.ORG (2005), http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1205.html [https://perma.cc/872G-VMYF] (In 1901, building superintendent Edward P. Brennan … suggested that Chicago be ordered as a large grid with a uniform street numbering system, and proposed State and
The 25 zip codes that are entirely on the South Side, at least when compared to the full population of 59 Chicago zip codes, are not treated in exactly the same way as the average local zip code. For example, the average South Side zip code had an appeals rate of 12.51 percent versus 13.52 percent for the average Chicago zip code. The average South Side zip code went on to have a successful appeals rate of 7.76 percent, in comparison to 8.44 percent for the average Chicago zip code. The result is that the 25 zip codes that are entirely on the South Side are underrepresented in terms of their appeals rate (-1.01 percentage points) and successful appeals rate (-0.68 percentage points).

The remaining 34 zip codes that are on the North Side, similarly, are not treated in exactly the same way. For example, the average North Side zip code had an appeals rate of 14.26 percent versus 13.52 percent for the average Chicago zip code. The average North Side zip code, then, went on to have a successful appeals rate of 8.94 percent in comparison to 8.44 percent for the average Chicago zip code. The result is that the 34 North Side zip codes are overrepresented, in terms of their appeals rate (+0.74 percentage points) and successful appeals rate (+.50 percentage points), as compared to the average Chicago zip code.

Madison Streets as the city’s primary north-south and east-west axes”). There were 3,100,115 parking tickets issued to residents of South Side zip codes, 357,840 parking ticket appeals filed by residents of these zip codes, and 224,075 successful appeals by residents of these zip codes. In contrast, there were 3,395,999 parking tickets issued to residents of North Side zip codes, 455,446 parking ticket appeals filed by residents of these zip codes, and 286,159 successful appeals by residents of these zip codes. See Department of Administrative Hearings, supra note 82; See Department of Finance, supra note 82.

129. Compare infra Appendix at Table D-5 with infra Appendix at Table D; Compare infra Appendix at Table E-5 with infra Appendix at Table E; Compare infra Appendix at Table F-5 with infra Appendix at Table F.

130. Compare infra Appendix at Table D-5 with infra Appendix at Table D. If medians are used, the average South Side zip code has an appeals rate of 13.06 percent and the average Chicago zip code has an appeals rate of 13.16 percent.

131. Compare infra Appendix at Table E-5 with infra Appendix at Table E. If medians are used, the average South Side zip code has a successful appeals rate of 8.14 percent and the average Chicago zip code has a successful appeals rate of 8.31 percent.

132. Compare infra Appendix at Table D-5 with infra Appendix at Table D; Compare infra Appendix at Table E-5 with infra Appendix at Table E. If medians are used, the difference is -.10 percent for the appeals rate and -.17 percent for the successful appeals rate.

133. Compare infra Appendix at Table E-6 with infra Appendix at Table E; Compare infra Appendix at Table F-6 with infra Appendix at Table F.

134. Compare infra Appendix at Table D-6 with infra Appendix at Table D. If medians are used, the average North Side zip code has an appeals rate of 14.72 percent and the average Chicago zip code has an appeals rate of 13.16 percent.

135. Compare infra Appendix at Table E-6 with infra Appendix at Table E. If medians are used, the average North Side zip code has a successful appeals rate of 8.56 percent and the average Chicago zip code has a successful appeals rate of 8.31 percent.

136. Compare infra Appendix at Table D-6 with infra Appendix at Table D; Compare infra Appendix at Table E-6 with infra Appendix at Table E. If medians are used, the difference is +1.56 percentage points for the appeals rate and +.25 percentage points for the successful appeals rate.
When win rates on appeal are considered, it is clear that both groups are treated in almost the same way as the average Chicago zip code. Specifically, the 25 South Side zip codes had a win rate on appeal of 62.26 percent, the 34 North Side zip codes had a win rate on appeal of 62.47, and the average Chicago zip code had a win rate on appeal of 62.38 percent. As a result, both the 25 South Side zip codes (-0.12 percentage points) and the 34 North Side zip codes are treated in a substantially-similar way (+.09 percentage points) to the average Chicago zip code.

V. ANALYSIS

This Article finds that all three groups of disadvantaged zip codes, the 16 majority-black zip codes, the 28 lower-income zip codes, and the 25 South Side zip codes are underrepresented with respect to almost every measure of distributional fairness. These findings arise from the fact that all three groups of zip codes are treated differently than the average Chicago zip code, except in the case of the South Side zip codes’ win rate on appeal. Thus, it is clear that the Article’s null hypothesis is almost always rejected with respect to the 16 majority-black zip codes, the 28 lower-income zip codes, and the 25 South Side zip codes, which is to say that there may have been some “personalization” of the law during the study period. The surprise is how disadvantaged zip codes were treated differently; there was a lower appeals rate, a lower successful appeals rate than expected for each, and a higher win rate on appeal than expected for two of the three groups of zip codes.

These findings indicate that more advantaged zip codes may have higher administrative costs, and lower parking ticket error rates, than disadvantaged zip codes.

137. Compare infra Appendix at Table D-1 with infra Appendix at Table D; Compare infra Appendix at Table E-1 with infra Appendix at Table E; Compare infra Appendix at Table F-1 with infra Appendix at Table F; Compare infra Appendix at Table D-2 with infra Appendix at Table D; Compare infra Appendix at Table E-2 with infra Appendix at Table E; Compare infra Appendix at Table F-2 with infra Appendix at Table F.

138. Compare infra Appendix at Table F-1 with infra Appendix at Table F. If medians are used, the average South Side zip code has a win rate on appeal of 63.13 percent and the average Chicago zip code has a win rate on appeal of 63.13 percent; Compare infra Appendix at Table F-2 with infra Appendix at Table F. If medians are used, the average North Side zip code has a win rate on appeal of 63.02 percent and the average Chicago zip code has a win rate on appeal of 63.13 percent.

139. Compare infra Appendix at Table F-1 with infra Appendix at Table F. If medians are used, the difference is 0 between the average South Side zip code and the average Chicago zip code; Compare infra Appendix at Table F-2 with infra Appendix at Table F. If medians are used, the difference is -.11 percentage points between the average North Side zip code and the average Chicago zip code.

140. Compare infra Appendix at Table D-1 with infra Appendix at Table D; Compare infra Appendix at Table E-1 with infra Appendix at Table E; Compare infra Appendix at Table F-1 with infra Appendix at Table F; Compare infra Appendix at Table D-3 with infra Appendix at Table D; Compare infra Appendix at Table E-3 with infra Appendix at Table E; Compare infra Appendix at Table F-3 with infra Appendix at Table F; Compare infra Appendix at Table D-5 with infra Appendix at Table D; Compare infra Appendix at Table E-5 with infra Appendix at Table E; Compare infra Appendix at Table F-5 with infra Appendix at Table F.

141. Id.
codes during the study period. Therefore, it stands to reason that the parking ticket appeals process may be more cost-justified for disadvantaged zip codes than for more advantaged zip codes in Chicago, at least when cost is measured in terms of the relationship between what is being spent in detecting errors (the sum of administrative costs, such as the initial set-up costs and the recurring costs of carrying out appeals work, which may be understood to be functions of the appeals rate and successful appeals rate) and what is spent in correcting errors (the cost of dealing with errors in ticket issuance, which are functions of win rate on appeal.)

The normative implications, in contrast, are much more straightforward. For example, Chicago should find out why disadvantaged zip codes appeal less than would be predicted, according to this Article’s null hypothesis, despite the fact that two of the three groups had higher win rates on appeal, so as to eliminate any unaccounted barriers to filing a parking ticket appeal. It also should identify some of the possible reasons that disadvantaged zip codes had a lower successful appeals rate than expected, perhaps by asking if public employees acted on implicit biases or in keeping with their training.142 Lastly, Chicago should undertake random audits: so as to detect any patterns of discrimination that may explain the differences in win rates on appeal.

Discrimination in appeal decisions, regardless of if it is due to intentional or negligent conduct, should not be tolerated. There are three reasons why, which are informed by concerns about the incentive structure for public sector employees. First, any tolerance of unlawful discrimination encourages moral hazard or the idea that individuals “are less likely to take good care . . . than if they were uninsured [against loss].”143 It also may prevent the parking ticket appeals process from becoming horizontally and vertically equitable, which are two ways of assuring uniform treatment.144 Lastly, the tolerance of discrimination increases transaction costs or “the cost[s] incurred in undertaking an economic exchange.”145 As a result, if all three reforms are taken up, the parking ticket appeals process could become a true exemplar of fairness.

142. See Lisa Parker, City Law Judge Who Handles Parking Ticket Appeals Gets Retrained After Investigation, NBC CHICAGO (Feb. 9, 2015), http://www.nbchicago.com/investigations/The-Uphill-Battle-to-Prove-Parking-Tickets-Unfair-291346331.html (“An investigation of the city’s parking ticket appeals process . . . has resulted in the ‘retraining’ of an attorney that handles thousands of parking ticket cases every year.”).

143. See supra note 51, at 270.

144. Similar concerns about unjustified grants of relief have been raised with respect to property tax appeals. See, e.g., Rachel N. Weber & Daniel P. McMillen, Ask and Ye Shall Receive? Predicting the Successful Appeal of Property Tax Assessments, 38 PUB. FIN. REV. 74 (2010) (“Appeals could make property tax assessments less uniform and violate the principle of horizontal equity, which assumes that two taxpayers with identical houses receive the same assessment . . . Appeals also could make the distribution of the property tax less vertically equitable and even ‘regressive’ if applications and successful appeals were correlated with higher-valued properties—either because owners of higher-valued homes were more likely to appeal or because assessors were more likely to grant relief.”).

145. See supra note 51, at 414.
VI. Conclusion

This Article finds that disadvantaged zip codes, regardless of whether disadvantaged is defined in terms of race, income, or location, often are treated differently than the average Chicago zip code. This finding is based initially on the fact that the 16 majority-black zip codes had less than the expected parking ticket appeals rate (-1.15 percentage points),\textsuperscript{146} less than the expected successful appeals rate (-0.61 percentage points),\textsuperscript{147} and more than the expected win rate on appeal (+1.11 percentage points).\textsuperscript{148} It also is supported by the fact that the 28 lower-income zip codes also had less than the expected parking ticket appeals rate (-0.89 percentage points),\textsuperscript{149} less than the expected successful appeals rate (-0.33 percentage points),\textsuperscript{150} and more than the expected win rate on appeal (+1.71 percentage points).\textsuperscript{151} Finally, it is further substantiated by the fact that the 25 South Side zip codes had less than the expected parking ticket appeals rate (-1.01 percentage points),\textsuperscript{152} less than the expected successful appeals rate (-0.68 percentage points),\textsuperscript{153} and about the same expected win rate on appeal (-0.12 percentage points).\textsuperscript{154} The Article, therefore, concludes that disadvantaged zip codes often are treated differently, albeit in unexpected ways (i.e. there was a lower appeals rate and lower successful appeals rate than expected for all three disadvantaged groups, as well as a higher win rate on appeal than expected for two of the three disadvantaged groups).

This preliminary conclusion indicates that there may have been some personalization of the law and that such an approach is not cost-justified. More research, however, is needed to find out whether personalization actually leads to statistically-significant differences in terms of how zip codes are treated in Chicago. This research should be sure to account for the fact that the type of parking ticket, the dollar amount of each parking ticket and the theory of the case on appeal may yield useful insights into why there may be observed differences in the treatment received by zip codes over time.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{146} Compare infra Appendix at Table D-1 with infra Appendix at Table D. If medians are used, the difference is -.28 percentage points for the appeals rate.
\item \textsuperscript{147} Compare infra Appendix at Table E-1 with infra Appendix at Table E. If medians are used, the difference is -.23 percentage points for the successful appeals rate.
\item \textsuperscript{148} Compare infra Appendix at Table F-1 with infra Appendix at Table F. If medians are used, the difference is +.49 percentage points for the win rate on appeal.
\item \textsuperscript{149} Compare infra Appendix at Table D-3 with infra Appendix at Table D. If medians are used, the difference is -.28 percentage points for the appeals rate.
\item \textsuperscript{150} Compare infra Appendix at Table E-3 with infra Appendix at Table E. If medians are used, the difference is -.23 percentage points for the successful appeals rate.
\item \textsuperscript{151} Compare infra Appendix at Table F-3 with infra Appendix at Table F. If medians are used, the difference is +.97 percentage points for the win rate on appeal.
\item \textsuperscript{152} Compare infra Appendix at Table D-5 with infra Appendix at Table D. If medians are used, the difference is -.10 percentage points for the appeals rate.
\item \textsuperscript{153} Compare infra Appendix at Table E-5 with infra Appendix at Table E. If medians are used, the difference is -.17 percentage points for the successful appeals rate.
\item \textsuperscript{154} Compare infra Appendix at Table F-5 with infra Appendix at Table F. If medians are used, the difference is 0 for the win rate on appeal.
\end{itemize}
### PART VII: APPENDIX

#### A. Parking Tickets, By All 59 City of Chicago Zip Codes, Fiscal Years 2012 to 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60601</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>102254</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,374</td>
<td>3,421</td>
<td>2,855</td>
<td>2,913</td>
<td>3,055</td>
<td>15,616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60602</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>57368</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>811</td>
<td>701</td>
<td>638</td>
<td>605</td>
<td>617</td>
<td>3,372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60603</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>122031</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>586</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>2,927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60604</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>151731</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>578</td>
<td>541</td>
<td>614</td>
<td>2,822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60605</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>87668</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>8,387</td>
<td>7,678</td>
<td>6,868</td>
<td>7,419</td>
<td>7,023</td>
<td>37,375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60606</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>106661</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,573</td>
<td>1,575</td>
<td>1,351</td>
<td>1,311</td>
<td>1,254</td>
<td>7,064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60607</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>85917</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>11,291</td>
<td>11,403</td>
<td>10,876</td>
<td>10,779</td>
<td>10,161</td>
<td>54,510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60608</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>36216</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>39,590</td>
<td>40,762</td>
<td>38,409</td>
<td>38,814</td>
<td>37,270</td>
<td>194,845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60609</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>32284</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>32,537</td>
<td>36,072</td>
<td>30,915</td>
<td>34,632</td>
<td>30,369</td>
<td>164,525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60610</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>75892</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>14,634</td>
<td>14,697</td>
<td>13,308</td>
<td>13,677</td>
<td>13,228</td>
<td>69,544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60611</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>87280</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>7,737</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>7,087</td>
<td>6,533</td>
<td>6,641</td>
<td>35,998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60612</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>35888</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>20,612</td>
<td>23,468</td>
<td>21,707</td>
<td>21,299</td>
<td>19,684</td>
<td>106,770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60613</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>72126</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>24,260</td>
<td>23,756</td>
<td>21,646</td>
<td>22,419</td>
<td>23,439</td>
<td>115,520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60614</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>92714</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>31,270</td>
<td>29,516</td>
<td>27,373</td>
<td>26,047</td>
<td>26,908</td>
<td>141,114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60615</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>41108</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>21,341</td>
<td>24,150</td>
<td>21,524</td>
<td>23,597</td>
<td>21,156</td>
<td>111,768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60616</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>42594</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>25,603</td>
<td>23,114</td>
<td>22,638</td>
<td>23,422</td>
<td>22,384</td>
<td>117,161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60617</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>37796</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>36,308</td>
<td>40,218</td>
<td>37,571</td>
<td>37,190</td>
<td>30,469</td>
<td>181,756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60618</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>57500</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>47,834</td>
<td>50,205</td>
<td>47,629</td>
<td>49,973</td>
<td>47,955</td>
<td>243,596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60619</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>32239</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>35,703</td>
<td>39,959</td>
<td>37,700</td>
<td>40,249</td>
<td>32,779</td>
<td>186,390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60620</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>32168</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>37,293</td>
<td>40,724</td>
<td>38,859</td>
<td>41,680</td>
<td>35,373</td>
<td>193,929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60621</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>19832</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>18,110</td>
<td>20,090</td>
<td>19,228</td>
<td>20,003</td>
<td>15,712</td>
<td>93,143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60622</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>75163</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>38,085</td>
<td>38,260</td>
<td>35,317</td>
<td>35,048</td>
<td>34,945</td>
<td>181,655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60623</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>28091</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>48,357</td>
<td>53,560</td>
<td>51,005</td>
<td>47,291</td>
<td>43,195</td>
<td>243,408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60624</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>22204</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>21,979</td>
<td>27,568</td>
<td>26,806</td>
<td>25,678</td>
<td>22,311</td>
<td>124,342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60625</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>56057</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>38,174</td>
<td>37,935</td>
<td>35,426</td>
<td>37,266</td>
<td>35,831</td>
<td>184,632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60626</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>36439</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>27,423</td>
<td>27,537</td>
<td>25,037</td>
<td>25,116</td>
<td>23,625</td>
<td>128,738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60628</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>36242</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>33,451</td>
<td>36,800</td>
<td>36,110</td>
<td>36,186</td>
<td>29,727</td>
<td>172,274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60629</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>40712</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>53,689</td>
<td>55,169</td>
<td>52,065</td>
<td>52,738</td>
<td>46,691</td>
<td>260,352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>62244</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>17,931</td>
<td>18,338</td>
<td>18,089</td>
<td>18,432</td>
<td>17,529</td>
<td>90,319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60631</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>76400</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>5,061</td>
<td>5,291</td>
<td>5,183</td>
<td>5,352</td>
<td>5,662</td>
<td>26,549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60632</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>38438</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>43,762</td>
<td>44,156</td>
<td>41,562</td>
<td>39,645</td>
<td>38,058</td>
<td>207,183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60633</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>47136</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,710</td>
<td>3,041</td>
<td>3,050</td>
<td>3,141</td>
<td>2,421</td>
<td>14,363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60634</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>56382</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>21,214</td>
<td>21,315</td>
<td>21,733</td>
<td>22,298</td>
<td>22,678</td>
<td>109,238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60635</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td>27871</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>23,884</td>
<td>24,721</td>
<td>25,245</td>
<td>26,273</td>
<td>21,041</td>
<td>121,164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60637</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>26845</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>25,116</td>
<td>29,401</td>
<td>27,975</td>
<td>27,998</td>
<td>22,663</td>
<td>133,153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60638</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>62511</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>13,153</td>
<td>14,255</td>
<td>12,969</td>
<td>13,429</td>
<td>13,573</td>
<td>67,379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60639</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>38798</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>48,598</td>
<td>50,876</td>
<td>49,950</td>
<td>50,690</td>
<td>49,536</td>
<td>249,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60640</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>47631</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>31,624</td>
<td>30,692</td>
<td>28,681</td>
<td>30,454</td>
<td>29,696</td>
<td>151,147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60641</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>51597</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>33,737</td>
<td>34,016</td>
<td>33,373</td>
<td>34,180</td>
<td>34,724</td>
<td>170,030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60642</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>79633</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>12,331</td>
<td>12,407</td>
<td>11,786</td>
<td>11,786</td>
<td>11,398</td>
<td>59,708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60643</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>59593</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>20,474</td>
<td>21,905</td>
<td>21,234</td>
<td>22,291</td>
<td>18,103</td>
<td>104,007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60644</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>26882</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>27,287</td>
<td>35,269</td>
<td>34,752</td>
<td>33,048</td>
<td>26,698</td>
<td>157,054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60645</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>47633</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>20,793</td>
<td>20,789</td>
<td>19,337</td>
<td>20,375</td>
<td>19,553</td>
<td>100,847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60646</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>73246</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>6,909</td>
<td>7,428</td>
<td>6,764</td>
<td>6,667</td>
<td>6,841</td>
<td>34,609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60647</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>56257</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>53,854</td>
<td>54,102</td>
<td>52,289</td>
<td>52,196</td>
<td>49,995</td>
<td>262,436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60649</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>26797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>27,592</td>
<td>31,351</td>
<td>28,869</td>
<td>31,168</td>
<td>26,976</td>
<td>145,956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60651</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>32006</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>36,986</td>
<td>45,153</td>
<td>42,482</td>
<td>40,526</td>
<td>37,662</td>
<td>202,809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60652</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>61797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>14,665</td>
<td>15,826</td>
<td>14,657</td>
<td>15,450</td>
<td>13,486</td>
<td>74,084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60653</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>25923</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>17,120</td>
<td>19,208</td>
<td>19,299</td>
<td>19,754</td>
<td>18,375</td>
<td>93,756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60654</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>90520</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>6,262</td>
<td>6,096</td>
<td>5,613</td>
<td>5,300</td>
<td>5,282</td>
<td>28,553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60655</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>87105</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>4,763</td>
<td>4,685</td>
<td>4,407</td>
<td>5,095</td>
<td>4,669</td>
<td>23,619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60656</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>57308</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>6,545</td>
<td>7,057</td>
<td>6,305</td>
<td>6,534</td>
<td>7,023</td>
<td>33,464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60657</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>79638</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>29,018</td>
<td>27,429</td>
<td>24,684</td>
<td>25,038</td>
<td>25,855</td>
<td>132,024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60659</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>48104</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>21,423</td>
<td>21,564</td>
<td>20,836</td>
<td>21,943</td>
<td>21,389</td>
<td>107,155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60660</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>41412</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>19,820</td>
<td>18,869</td>
<td>17,288</td>
<td>18,130</td>
<td>16,784</td>
<td>90,891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60661</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>98882</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,977</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>2,784</td>
<td>2,858</td>
<td>2,623</td>
<td>14,242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60706</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>52429</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,299</td>
<td>3,269</td>
<td>3,076</td>
<td>3,299</td>
<td>3,681</td>
<td>16,624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60707</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>54669</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>10,829</td>
<td>10,841</td>
<td>10,778</td>
<td>11,169</td>
<td>11,031</td>
<td>54,648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60827</td>
<td>96.8</td>
<td>31063</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>8,190</td>
<td>9,203</td>
<td>9,773</td>
<td>9,330</td>
<td>7,811</td>
<td>44,307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>1,298,474</td>
<td>1,369,086</td>
<td>1,295,933</td>
<td>1,316,825</td>
<td>1,215,796</td>
<td>6,496,114</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**INDIANA LAW JOURNAL SUPPLEMENT** [Vol. 93:34]
1. Parking Tickets, By 16 Majority-Black Zip Codes (RACE), 2012 to 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60612</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>35888</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>20,612</td>
<td>23,468</td>
<td>21,707</td>
<td>21,299</td>
<td>19,684</td>
<td>106,770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60615</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>41108</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>21,341</td>
<td>24,150</td>
<td>21,524</td>
<td>23,597</td>
<td>21,156</td>
<td>111,768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60617</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>37796</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>36,308</td>
<td>40,218</td>
<td>37,571</td>
<td>37,190</td>
<td>30,469</td>
<td>181,756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60619</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>32239</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>35,703</td>
<td>39,959</td>
<td>37,700</td>
<td>40,249</td>
<td>32,779</td>
<td>186,390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60620</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>32168</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>37,293</td>
<td>40,724</td>
<td>38,859</td>
<td>41,680</td>
<td>35,373</td>
<td>193,929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60621</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>19832</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>18,110</td>
<td>20,090</td>
<td>19,228</td>
<td>20,003</td>
<td>15,712</td>
<td>93,143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60624</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>22204</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>21,979</td>
<td>27,568</td>
<td>26,806</td>
<td>25,678</td>
<td>22,311</td>
<td>124,342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60628</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>36242</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>33,451</td>
<td>36,800</td>
<td>36,110</td>
<td>36,186</td>
<td>32,779</td>
<td>186,390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60636</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td>27871</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>23,884</td>
<td>24,721</td>
<td>25,245</td>
<td>26,273</td>
<td>21,041</td>
<td>121,164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60637</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>26845</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>25,116</td>
<td>29,401</td>
<td>27,975</td>
<td>27,998</td>
<td>22,663</td>
<td>133,153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60643</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>59593</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>20,474</td>
<td>21,905</td>
<td>21,234</td>
<td>22,291</td>
<td>18,103</td>
<td>104,007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60644</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>26882</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>27,287</td>
<td>35,269</td>
<td>34,752</td>
<td>33,048</td>
<td>26,698</td>
<td>157,054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60649</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>26797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>27,592</td>
<td>31,351</td>
<td>28,869</td>
<td>31,168</td>
<td>26,976</td>
<td>145,956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60651</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>32006</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>36,986</td>
<td>45,153</td>
<td>42,482</td>
<td>40,526</td>
<td>37,662</td>
<td>202,809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60653</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>25923</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>17,120</td>
<td>19,208</td>
<td>19,299</td>
<td>19,754</td>
<td>18,375</td>
<td>93,756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60827</td>
<td>96.8</td>
<td>31063</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>8,190</td>
<td>9,203</td>
<td>9,773</td>
<td>9,330</td>
<td>7,811</td>
<td>44,307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>16 Zip Codes</td>
<td>411,446</td>
<td>469,188</td>
<td>449,134</td>
<td>456,270</td>
<td>386,540</td>
<td>2,172,578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>1,298,474</td>
<td>1,369,086</td>
<td>1,295,933</td>
<td>1,316,825</td>
<td>1,215,796</td>
<td>6,496,114</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Parking Tickets, By 43 Majority-Other Zip Codes (RACE), 2012 to 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60601</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>102254</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,374</td>
<td>3,421</td>
<td>2,853</td>
<td>2,913</td>
<td>3,055</td>
<td>15,616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60602</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>57368</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>811</td>
<td>701</td>
<td>638</td>
<td>605</td>
<td>617</td>
<td>3,372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60603</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>122031</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>586</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>2,927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60604</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>151731</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>578</td>
<td>541</td>
<td>614</td>
<td>2,822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60605</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>87668</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>8,387</td>
<td>7,678</td>
<td>6,868</td>
<td>7,419</td>
<td>7,023</td>
<td>37,375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60606</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>106661</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,573</td>
<td>1,575</td>
<td>1,351</td>
<td>1,311</td>
<td>1,254</td>
<td>7,064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60607</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>85917</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>11,291</td>
<td>11,403</td>
<td>10,876</td>
<td>10,779</td>
<td>10,161</td>
<td>54,510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60608</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>36216</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>39,590</td>
<td>40,762</td>
<td>38,409</td>
<td>38,814</td>
<td>37,270</td>
<td>194,845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>32284</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>32,537</td>
<td>36,072</td>
<td>30,915</td>
<td>34,632</td>
<td>30,369</td>
<td>164,525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60610</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>75892</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>14,634</td>
<td>14,697</td>
<td>13,308</td>
<td>13,677</td>
<td>13,228</td>
<td>69,544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60611</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>87280</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>7,737</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>7,087</td>
<td>6,533</td>
<td>6,641</td>
<td>35,998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60613</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>72126</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>24,260</td>
<td>23,756</td>
<td>21,646</td>
<td>22,419</td>
<td>23,439</td>
<td>115,520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60614</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>92714</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>31,270</td>
<td>29,516</td>
<td>27,373</td>
<td>26,947</td>
<td>26,908</td>
<td>141,114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60616</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>42594</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>25,603</td>
<td>23,114</td>
<td>22,638</td>
<td>23,422</td>
<td>22,384</td>
<td>117,161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60618</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>57500</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>47,834</td>
<td>50,205</td>
<td>47,629</td>
<td>49,973</td>
<td>47,955</td>
<td>243,596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60622</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>75163</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>38,085</td>
<td>38,260</td>
<td>35,317</td>
<td>35,048</td>
<td>34,945</td>
<td>181,655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60623</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>28091</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>48,357</td>
<td>53,560</td>
<td>51,005</td>
<td>47,291</td>
<td>43,195</td>
<td>243,408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60625</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>56507</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>38,174</td>
<td>37,935</td>
<td>35,426</td>
<td>37,266</td>
<td>35,831</td>
<td>184,632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60626</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>36439</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>27,423</td>
<td>27,537</td>
<td>25,037</td>
<td>25,116</td>
<td>23,625</td>
<td>128,738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60629</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>40712</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>53,689</td>
<td>55,169</td>
<td>52,065</td>
<td>52,738</td>
<td>46,691</td>
<td>260,352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60630</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>62244</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>17,931</td>
<td>18,338</td>
<td>18,089</td>
<td>18,432</td>
<td>17,529</td>
<td>90,319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60631</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>76400</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>5,061</td>
<td>5,291</td>
<td>5,183</td>
<td>5,352</td>
<td>5,662</td>
<td>26,549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60632</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>38438</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>43,762</td>
<td>44,156</td>
<td>41,562</td>
<td>39,645</td>
<td>38,058</td>
<td>207,183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60633</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>47136</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,710</td>
<td>3,041</td>
<td>3,050</td>
<td>3,141</td>
<td>2,421</td>
<td>14,363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60634</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>56382</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>21,214</td>
<td>21,315</td>
<td>21,733</td>
<td>22,298</td>
<td>22,678</td>
<td>109,238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60638</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>62511</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>13,153</td>
<td>14,255</td>
<td>12,969</td>
<td>13,429</td>
<td>13,573</td>
<td>67,379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60639</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>38798</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>48,598</td>
<td>50,876</td>
<td>49,950</td>
<td>50,690</td>
<td>49,536</td>
<td>249,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60640</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>47631</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>31,624</td>
<td>30,692</td>
<td>28,681</td>
<td>30,454</td>
<td>29,696</td>
<td>151,147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60641</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>51597</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>33,737</td>
<td>34,016</td>
<td>33,373</td>
<td>34,180</td>
<td>34,724</td>
<td>170,030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60642</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>79633</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>12,331</td>
<td>12,407</td>
<td>11,786</td>
<td>11,786</td>
<td>11,398</td>
<td>59,708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60645</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>47633</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>20,793</td>
<td>20,789</td>
<td>19,337</td>
<td>20,375</td>
<td>19,553</td>
<td>100,847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60646</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>73246</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>6,909</td>
<td>7,428</td>
<td>6,764</td>
<td>6,667</td>
<td>6,841</td>
<td>34,609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60647</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>56257</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>53,854</td>
<td>54,102</td>
<td>52,289</td>
<td>52,196</td>
<td>49,995</td>
<td>262,436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60652</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>61797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>14,665</td>
<td>15,826</td>
<td>14,657</td>
<td>15,450</td>
<td>13,486</td>
<td>74,084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60654</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>90520</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>6,262</td>
<td>6,096</td>
<td>5,613</td>
<td>5,300</td>
<td>5,282</td>
<td>28,553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60655</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>87105</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>4,763</td>
<td>4,685</td>
<td>4,407</td>
<td>5,095</td>
<td>4,669</td>
<td>23,619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60656</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>57308</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>6,545</td>
<td>7,057</td>
<td>6,305</td>
<td>6,534</td>
<td>7,023</td>
<td>33,464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60657</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>79638</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>29,018</td>
<td>27,429</td>
<td>24,684</td>
<td>25,038</td>
<td>25,855</td>
<td>132,024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60659</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>48104</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>21,423</td>
<td>21,564</td>
<td>20,836</td>
<td>21,943</td>
<td>21,389</td>
<td>107,155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60660</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>41412</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>19,820</td>
<td>18,869</td>
<td>17,288</td>
<td>18,130</td>
<td>16,784</td>
<td>90,891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60661</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>98882</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,977</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>2,784</td>
<td>2,858</td>
<td>2,623</td>
<td>14,242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60706</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>52429</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,299</td>
<td>3,269</td>
<td>3,076</td>
<td>3,299</td>
<td>3,681</td>
<td>16,624</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Parking Tickets, By 28 Lower-Income Zip Codes (INCOME), 2012 to 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60608</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>36216</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>39,590</td>
<td>40,762</td>
<td>38,409</td>
<td>38,814</td>
<td>37,270</td>
<td>194,845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60609</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>32284</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>32,537</td>
<td>36,072</td>
<td>30,915</td>
<td>34,632</td>
<td>30,369</td>
<td>164,525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60612</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>35888</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>20,612</td>
<td>23,468</td>
<td>21,707</td>
<td>21,299</td>
<td>19,684</td>
<td>106,770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60615</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>41108</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>21,341</td>
<td>24,150</td>
<td>21,524</td>
<td>23,597</td>
<td>21,156</td>
<td>111,768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60616</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>42594</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>25,603</td>
<td>23,114</td>
<td>22,638</td>
<td>23,422</td>
<td>22,384</td>
<td>117,161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60617</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>57796</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>36,308</td>
<td>40,218</td>
<td>37,571</td>
<td>37,190</td>
<td>30,469</td>
<td>181,756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60619</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>32239</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>35,703</td>
<td>39,959</td>
<td>37,700</td>
<td>40,249</td>
<td>32,779</td>
<td>186,390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60620</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>32168</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>37,293</td>
<td>40,728</td>
<td>38,859</td>
<td>41,680</td>
<td>35,373</td>
<td>193,928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60621</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>19832</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>18,110</td>
<td>20,090</td>
<td>19,228</td>
<td>20,003</td>
<td>15,712</td>
<td>93,143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60623</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>28091</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>48,357</td>
<td>53,560</td>
<td>51,005</td>
<td>47,291</td>
<td>43,195</td>
<td>243,408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60624</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>22204</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>21,979</td>
<td>27,568</td>
<td>26,806</td>
<td>25,678</td>
<td>22,311</td>
<td>124,342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60626</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>36439</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>27,423</td>
<td>27,537</td>
<td>25,037</td>
<td>25,116</td>
<td>23,625</td>
<td>128,738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60628</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>36242</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>33,451</td>
<td>36,800</td>
<td>36,110</td>
<td>36,186</td>
<td>29,727</td>
<td>172,274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60629</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>40712</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>53,689</td>
<td>55,169</td>
<td>52,065</td>
<td>52,738</td>
<td>46,691</td>
<td>260,352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60632</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>38438</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>43,762</td>
<td>44,156</td>
<td>41,562</td>
<td>39,645</td>
<td>38,058</td>
<td>207,183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60633</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>47136</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,710</td>
<td>3,041</td>
<td>3,050</td>
<td>3,141</td>
<td>2,421</td>
<td>14,363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60636</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td>27871</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>23,884</td>
<td>24,721</td>
<td>25,245</td>
<td>26,273</td>
<td>21,041</td>
<td>121,164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60637</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>26845</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>25,116</td>
<td>29,401</td>
<td>27,975</td>
<td>27,998</td>
<td>22,663</td>
<td>133,153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60639</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>38798</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>48,598</td>
<td>50,876</td>
<td>49,950</td>
<td>50,690</td>
<td>49,536</td>
<td>249,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60640</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>47631</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>31,624</td>
<td>30,692</td>
<td>28,681</td>
<td>30,454</td>
<td>29,696</td>
<td>151,147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60644</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>26882</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>27,287</td>
<td>35,269</td>
<td>34,752</td>
<td>33,048</td>
<td>26,698</td>
<td>157,054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60645</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>47633</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>20,793</td>
<td>20,789</td>
<td>19,337</td>
<td>20,375</td>
<td>19,553</td>
<td>100,847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60649</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>26797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>27,592</td>
<td>31,351</td>
<td>28,869</td>
<td>31,168</td>
<td>26,976</td>
<td>145,956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60651</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>32006</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>36,986</td>
<td>45,153</td>
<td>42,482</td>
<td>40,526</td>
<td>37,662</td>
<td>202,809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60653</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>25923</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>17,120</td>
<td>19,208</td>
<td>19,299</td>
<td>19,754</td>
<td>18,375</td>
<td>93,756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60659</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>48104</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>21,423</td>
<td>21,564</td>
<td>20,836</td>
<td>21,943</td>
<td>21,389</td>
<td>107,155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60660</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>41412</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>19,820</td>
<td>18,869</td>
<td>17,288</td>
<td>18,130</td>
<td>16,784</td>
<td>90,891</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60601</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>102254</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,374</td>
<td>3,421</td>
<td>2,853</td>
<td>2,913</td>
<td>3,055</td>
<td>15,616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60602</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>57368</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>811</td>
<td>701</td>
<td>638</td>
<td>605</td>
<td>617</td>
<td>3,372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60603</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>122031</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>586</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>2,927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60604</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>151731</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>578</td>
<td>541</td>
<td>614</td>
<td>2,822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60605</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>87668</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>8,387</td>
<td>7,678</td>
<td>6,868</td>
<td>7,419</td>
<td>7,023</td>
<td>37,375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60606</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>106661</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,573</td>
<td>1,575</td>
<td>1,351</td>
<td>1,311</td>
<td>1,254</td>
<td>7,064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60607</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>85917</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>11,291</td>
<td>11,403</td>
<td>10,879</td>
<td>10,779</td>
<td>10,161</td>
<td>54,510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60608</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>75892</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>14,634</td>
<td>14,697</td>
<td>13,308</td>
<td>13,677</td>
<td>13,228</td>
<td>69,544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60609</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>87280</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>7,737</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>7,087</td>
<td>6,533</td>
<td>6,641</td>
<td>35,998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60610</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>72126</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>24,260</td>
<td>23,756</td>
<td>21,646</td>
<td>22,419</td>
<td>23,439</td>
<td>115,520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60611</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>92714</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>31,270</td>
<td>29,516</td>
<td>27,373</td>
<td>26,047</td>
<td>26,908</td>
<td>141,114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60612</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>57500</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>47,834</td>
<td>50,205</td>
<td>47,629</td>
<td>49,973</td>
<td>47,955</td>
<td>243,596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60613</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>75163</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>38,085</td>
<td>38,260</td>
<td>35,317</td>
<td>35,048</td>
<td>35,831</td>
<td>181,655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60614</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>56507</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>38,174</td>
<td>37,935</td>
<td>35,426</td>
<td>37,266</td>
<td>35,831</td>
<td>184,632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60615</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>62244</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>17,931</td>
<td>18,338</td>
<td>18,089</td>
<td>18,432</td>
<td>17,529</td>
<td>90,319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60616</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>76400</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>5,061</td>
<td>5,291</td>
<td>5,183</td>
<td>5,352</td>
<td>5,662</td>
<td>26,549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60617</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>56382</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>21,214</td>
<td>21,315</td>
<td>21,733</td>
<td>22,298</td>
<td>22,678</td>
<td>109,238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60618</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>58516</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>13,153</td>
<td>14,255</td>
<td>12,969</td>
<td>13,429</td>
<td>13,573</td>
<td>67,379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60619</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>51597</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>33,737</td>
<td>34,016</td>
<td>33,373</td>
<td>34,180</td>
<td>34,724</td>
<td>170,030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60620</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>79633</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>12,331</td>
<td>12,407</td>
<td>11,786</td>
<td>11,786</td>
<td>11,398</td>
<td>59,708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60621</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>59593</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>20,474</td>
<td>21,905</td>
<td>21,234</td>
<td>22,291</td>
<td>18,103</td>
<td>104,007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60622</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>62511</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>6,909</td>
<td>7,428</td>
<td>6,764</td>
<td>6,667</td>
<td>6,841</td>
<td>34,609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60623</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>56257</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>53,854</td>
<td>54,102</td>
<td>52,289</td>
<td>52,196</td>
<td>49,995</td>
<td>262,436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60624</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>61797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>14,665</td>
<td>15,826</td>
<td>14,657</td>
<td>15,450</td>
<td>13,486</td>
<td>74,084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60625</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>90520</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>6,262</td>
<td>6,096</td>
<td>5,613</td>
<td>5,300</td>
<td>5,282</td>
<td>28,553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60626</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>87105</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>4,763</td>
<td>4,685</td>
<td>4,407</td>
<td>5,095</td>
<td>4,669</td>
<td>23,619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60627</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>57308</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>6,545</td>
<td>7,057</td>
<td>6,305</td>
<td>6,534</td>
<td>7,023</td>
<td>33,464</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Parking Tickets, By 25 Southside Zip Codes (LOCATION), 2012 to 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60605</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>87668</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>8,387</td>
<td>7,678</td>
<td>6,868</td>
<td>7,419</td>
<td>7,023</td>
<td>37,375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60607</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>85917</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>11,291</td>
<td>11,403</td>
<td>10,876</td>
<td>10,779</td>
<td>10,161</td>
<td>54,510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60608</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>36216</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>39,590</td>
<td>40,762</td>
<td>38,409</td>
<td>38,814</td>
<td>37,270</td>
<td>194,845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60615</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>41108</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>21,341</td>
<td>24,150</td>
<td>21,524</td>
<td>23,597</td>
<td>21,156</td>
<td>111,768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60616</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>42594</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>25,603</td>
<td>23,114</td>
<td>22,638</td>
<td>23,422</td>
<td>22,384</td>
<td>117,161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60617</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>37796</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>36,308</td>
<td>40,218</td>
<td>37,571</td>
<td>37,190</td>
<td>30,469</td>
<td>181,756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60619</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>32239</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>35,703</td>
<td>36,072</td>
<td>30,915</td>
<td>34,632</td>
<td>30,369</td>
<td>186,390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60620</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>32168</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>37,293</td>
<td>40,724</td>
<td>38,859</td>
<td>41,680</td>
<td>35,373</td>
<td>193,929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60621</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>19832</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>18,110</td>
<td>20,090</td>
<td>19,228</td>
<td>20,003</td>
<td>15,712</td>
<td>93,143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60623</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>28091</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>48,357</td>
<td>53,560</td>
<td>51,005</td>
<td>47,291</td>
<td>43,195</td>
<td>243,408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60628</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>36242</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>33,451</td>
<td>36,800</td>
<td>36,110</td>
<td>36,186</td>
<td>29,727</td>
<td>172,274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60632</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>40712</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>53,689</td>
<td>55,169</td>
<td>52,065</td>
<td>52,738</td>
<td>46,691</td>
<td>260,352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60633</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>38438</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>43,762</td>
<td>44,156</td>
<td>41,562</td>
<td>39,645</td>
<td>38,058</td>
<td>207,183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60636</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>47136</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,710</td>
<td>3,041</td>
<td>3,050</td>
<td>3,141</td>
<td>2,421</td>
<td>14,363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60637</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td>27871</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>23,884</td>
<td>24,721</td>
<td>25,245</td>
<td>26,273</td>
<td>21,041</td>
<td>121,164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60638</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>26845</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>25,116</td>
<td>29,401</td>
<td>27,975</td>
<td>27,998</td>
<td>22,663</td>
<td>133,153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60642</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>62511</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>13,153</td>
<td>14,255</td>
<td>12,969</td>
<td>13,429</td>
<td>13,573</td>
<td>67,379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60643</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>79633</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>12,331</td>
<td>12,407</td>
<td>11,786</td>
<td>11,786</td>
<td>11,398</td>
<td>59,708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60649</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>59593</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>20,474</td>
<td>21,905</td>
<td>21,234</td>
<td>22,574</td>
<td>21,041</td>
<td>104,007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60652</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>26797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>27,592</td>
<td>31,351</td>
<td>28,869</td>
<td>31,168</td>
<td>26,976</td>
<td>145,956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60653</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>61797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>14,665</td>
<td>15,826</td>
<td>14,657</td>
<td>15,450</td>
<td>13,486</td>
<td>74,084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60655</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>25923</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>17,120</td>
<td>19,208</td>
<td>19,299</td>
<td>19,754</td>
<td>18,375</td>
<td>93,756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60657</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>87105</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>4,763</td>
<td>4,685</td>
<td>4,407</td>
<td>5,095</td>
<td>4,669</td>
<td>23,619</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6. Parking Tickets, By 34 Northside Zip Codes (LOCATION), 2012 to 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60601</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>102254</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,374</td>
<td>3,421</td>
<td>2,853</td>
<td>2,913</td>
<td>3,055</td>
<td>15,616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60602</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>57368</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>811</td>
<td>701</td>
<td>638</td>
<td>605</td>
<td>617</td>
<td>3,372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60603</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>122031</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>586</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>2,927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60604</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>151731</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>578</td>
<td>541</td>
<td>614</td>
<td>2,822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60606</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>106661</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,573</td>
<td>1,575</td>
<td>1,351</td>
<td>1,311</td>
<td>1,254</td>
<td>7,064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60610</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>75892</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>14,634</td>
<td>14,697</td>
<td>13,308</td>
<td>13,677</td>
<td>13,228</td>
<td>69,544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60611</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>87280</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>586</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>2,927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60612</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>35888</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>20,612</td>
<td>23,468</td>
<td>21,707</td>
<td>21,299</td>
<td>19,684</td>
<td>106,770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60613</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>72126</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>24,260</td>
<td>23,756</td>
<td>21,646</td>
<td>22,419</td>
<td>23,439</td>
<td>115,520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60614</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>92714</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>31,270</td>
<td>29,516</td>
<td>27,373</td>
<td>26,047</td>
<td>26,908</td>
<td>141,114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60618</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>57500</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>47,834</td>
<td>50,205</td>
<td>47,629</td>
<td>49,973</td>
<td>47,955</td>
<td>243,596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60622</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>75163</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>38,085</td>
<td>38,260</td>
<td>35,317</td>
<td>35,048</td>
<td>34,945</td>
<td>181,655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60624</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>22204</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>21,979</td>
<td>27,568</td>
<td>26,806</td>
<td>25,678</td>
<td>22,311</td>
<td>124,342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60625</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>56507</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>38,174</td>
<td>37,935</td>
<td>35,426</td>
<td>37,266</td>
<td>35,831</td>
<td>184,632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60626</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>36439</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>27,423</td>
<td>27,537</td>
<td>25,037</td>
<td>25,116</td>
<td>23,625</td>
<td>128,738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60630</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>62244</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>17,931</td>
<td>18,338</td>
<td>18,089</td>
<td>18,432</td>
<td>17,529</td>
<td>90,319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60631</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>76400</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>5,061</td>
<td>5,291</td>
<td>5,183</td>
<td>5,352</td>
<td>5,662</td>
<td>26,549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60634</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>56382</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>21,214</td>
<td>21,315</td>
<td>21,733</td>
<td>22,298</td>
<td>22,678</td>
<td>109,238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60639</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>38798</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>48,598</td>
<td>50,876</td>
<td>49,950</td>
<td>50,690</td>
<td>49,536</td>
<td>249,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60640</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>47631</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>31,624</td>
<td>30,692</td>
<td>28,681</td>
<td>30,454</td>
<td>29,696</td>
<td>151,147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60641</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>51597</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>33,737</td>
<td>34,016</td>
<td>33,373</td>
<td>34,180</td>
<td>34,724</td>
<td>170,030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60644</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>26882</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>27,287</td>
<td>35,269</td>
<td>34,752</td>
<td>33,048</td>
<td>26,698</td>
<td>157,054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60645</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>47633</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>20,793</td>
<td>20,789</td>
<td>19,337</td>
<td>20,375</td>
<td>19,553</td>
<td>100,847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60646</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>73246</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>6,909</td>
<td>7,428</td>
<td>6,764</td>
<td>6,667</td>
<td>6,841</td>
<td>34,609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60647</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>56257</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>53,854</td>
<td>54,102</td>
<td>52,289</td>
<td>52,196</td>
<td>49,995</td>
<td>262,436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60651</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>32006</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>36,986</td>
<td>45,153</td>
<td>42,482</td>
<td>40,526</td>
<td>37,662</td>
<td>202,809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60654</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>90520</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>6,262</td>
<td>6,096</td>
<td>5,613</td>
<td>5,300</td>
<td>5,282</td>
<td>28,553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zip Codes</td>
<td>Unemployment Rate</td>
<td>2018 Population</td>
<td>Chicago 2018 Population</td>
<td>34 Zip Codes 2018 Population</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60656</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>57308</td>
<td>6,545</td>
<td>1,298,474</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60657</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>79638</td>
<td>29,018</td>
<td>709,228</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60659</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>48104</td>
<td>21,423</td>
<td>671,339</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60660</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>41412</td>
<td>19,820</td>
<td>677,465</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60661</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>98882</td>
<td>2,977</td>
<td>654,913</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60706</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>52429</td>
<td>3,299</td>
<td>3,395,999</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60707</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>54669</td>
<td>10,829</td>
<td>3,166,825</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The table provides the unemployment rate, the total population, and the population of Chicago for each zip code, along with the total population of 34 zip codes.
B. Parking Ticket Appeals, By All 59 City of Chicago Zip Codes, Fiscal Years 2012 to 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60601</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>102254</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>2,220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60602</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>57368</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60603</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>122031</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60604</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>151731</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60605</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>87668</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,561</td>
<td>1,371</td>
<td>1,003</td>
<td>1,442</td>
<td>1,147</td>
<td>6,524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60606</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>106661</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60607</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>85917</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,562</td>
<td>1,758</td>
<td>1,305</td>
<td>1,794</td>
<td>1,509</td>
<td>7,928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60608</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>36216</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>3,515</td>
<td>4,242</td>
<td>3,428</td>
<td>4,020</td>
<td>3,752</td>
<td>18,957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60609</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>32284</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,647</td>
<td>3,742</td>
<td>2,901</td>
<td>3,471</td>
<td>2,738</td>
<td>15,499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60610</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>75892</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,281</td>
<td>2,520</td>
<td>1,836</td>
<td>2,551</td>
<td>2,137</td>
<td>11,325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60611</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>87280</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,168</td>
<td>1,193</td>
<td>955</td>
<td>1,116</td>
<td>1,083</td>
<td>5,515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60612</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>35888</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,351</td>
<td>2,922</td>
<td>2,683</td>
<td>2,781</td>
<td>2,557</td>
<td>13,294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60613</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>72126</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,566</td>
<td>3,699</td>
<td>2,960</td>
<td>3,905</td>
<td>3,809</td>
<td>17,939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60614</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>92714</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>4,741</td>
<td>4,959</td>
<td>3,840</td>
<td>4,693</td>
<td>4,290</td>
<td>22,523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60615</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>41108</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,851</td>
<td>3,694</td>
<td>3,081</td>
<td>3,814</td>
<td>3,346</td>
<td>16,786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60616</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>42594</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>5,237</td>
<td>3,880</td>
<td>3,174</td>
<td>4,286</td>
<td>3,518</td>
<td>20,095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60617</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>37796</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>4,347</td>
<td>5,230</td>
<td>4,740</td>
<td>5,191</td>
<td>4,029</td>
<td>23,537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60618</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>57500</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>5,688</td>
<td>6,725</td>
<td>5,671</td>
<td>7,090</td>
<td>6,518</td>
<td>31,692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60619</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>32239</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>4,557</td>
<td>5,690</td>
<td>5,053</td>
<td>6,101</td>
<td>4,605</td>
<td>26,006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60620</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>32168</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>4,434</td>
<td>5,809</td>
<td>5,046</td>
<td>5,924</td>
<td>4,783</td>
<td>25,996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60621</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>19832</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,698</td>
<td>2,192</td>
<td>2,055</td>
<td>2,170</td>
<td>1,831</td>
<td>9,946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60622</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>75163</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>4,264</td>
<td>4,544</td>
<td>3,680</td>
<td>4,649</td>
<td>4,243</td>
<td>21,380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60623</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>28091</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,808</td>
<td>3,962</td>
<td>3,303</td>
<td>3,998</td>
<td>3,016</td>
<td>17,087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60624</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>22204</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,780</td>
<td>2,574</td>
<td>2,509</td>
<td>2,823</td>
<td>2,433</td>
<td>12,119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60625</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>56507</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>5,097</td>
<td>5,154</td>
<td>4,370</td>
<td>5,376</td>
<td>4,927</td>
<td>24,924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60626</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>36439</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>4,305</td>
<td>4,431</td>
<td>3,413</td>
<td>4,341</td>
<td>4,044</td>
<td>20,534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60627</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>36242</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>3,749</td>
<td>4,701</td>
<td>4,485</td>
<td>5,075</td>
<td>4,044</td>
<td>22,054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60628</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>40712</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>3,963</td>
<td>4,993</td>
<td>3,908</td>
<td>5,011</td>
<td>3,965</td>
<td>21,840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60630</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>62244</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,682</td>
<td>2,655</td>
<td>2,434</td>
<td>2,926</td>
<td>2,714</td>
<td>13,411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60631</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>76400</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>887</td>
<td>915</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>981</td>
<td>871</td>
<td>4,352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60632</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>38438</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,513</td>
<td>2,945</td>
<td>2,305</td>
<td>3,044</td>
<td>2,536</td>
<td>13,343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60633</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>47136</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>2,199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60634</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>56382</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,658</td>
<td>2,736</td>
<td>2,448</td>
<td>3,100</td>
<td>2,732</td>
<td>13,674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60636</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td>27871</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,300</td>
<td>2,632</td>
<td>2,495</td>
<td>3,044</td>
<td>2,267</td>
<td>12,738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60637</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>26845</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,921</td>
<td>3,715</td>
<td>3,571</td>
<td>4,079</td>
<td>3,106</td>
<td>17,392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60638</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>62511</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,832</td>
<td>2,006</td>
<td>1,350</td>
<td>1,962</td>
<td>1,640</td>
<td>8,790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60639</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>38798</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,696</td>
<td>4,766</td>
<td>4,235</td>
<td>4,817</td>
<td>4,288</td>
<td>21,802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60640</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>47631</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>4,898</td>
<td>4,938</td>
<td>4,092</td>
<td>5,445</td>
<td>5,150</td>
<td>24,523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60641</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>51597</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>4,078</td>
<td>4,234</td>
<td>3,732</td>
<td>4,355</td>
<td>4,487</td>
<td>20,886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60642</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>79633</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,612</td>
<td>1,750</td>
<td>1,312</td>
<td>1,764</td>
<td>1,420</td>
<td>7,858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60643</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>59593</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,599</td>
<td>3,190</td>
<td>2,700</td>
<td>3,150</td>
<td>2,462</td>
<td>14,101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60644</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>26882</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,413</td>
<td>4,149</td>
<td>4,011</td>
<td>4,261</td>
<td>3,118</td>
<td>17,952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60645</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>30026</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,728</td>
<td>3,772</td>
<td>3,237</td>
<td>3,757</td>
<td>3,629</td>
<td>18,123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60646</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>73246</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,157</td>
<td>1,233</td>
<td>929</td>
<td>1,074</td>
<td>1,148</td>
<td>5,541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60647</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>56257</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>5,672</td>
<td>6,115</td>
<td>5,205</td>
<td>6,234</td>
<td>5,469</td>
<td>28,695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60649</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>26797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>3,304</td>
<td>4,166</td>
<td>3,726</td>
<td>4,489</td>
<td>3,512</td>
<td>19,197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60651</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>32006</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,061</td>
<td>4,912</td>
<td>4,189</td>
<td>4,718</td>
<td>4,011</td>
<td>20,891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60652</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>61797</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,671</td>
<td>2,021</td>
<td>1,612</td>
<td>1,954</td>
<td>1,669</td>
<td>8,927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60653</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>25923</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,012</td>
<td>2,535</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>2,826</td>
<td>2,470</td>
<td>12,243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60654</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>90520</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>944</td>
<td>911</td>
<td>711</td>
<td>860</td>
<td>740</td>
<td>4,166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60655</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>87105</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>673</td>
<td>791</td>
<td>627</td>
<td>809</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>3,557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60656</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>57308</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,349</td>
<td>1,521</td>
<td>1,225</td>
<td>1,358</td>
<td>1,414</td>
<td>6,867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60657</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>79638</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>4,260</td>
<td>4,346</td>
<td>3,259</td>
<td>4,437</td>
<td>3,949</td>
<td>20,251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60659</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>48104</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>4,309</td>
<td>4,047</td>
<td>3,635</td>
<td>4,300</td>
<td>4,543</td>
<td>20,884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60660</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>41412</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,587</td>
<td>3,369</td>
<td>2,717</td>
<td>3,276</td>
<td>3,080</td>
<td>16,029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60661</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>98882</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>463</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>463</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>2,119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60706</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>52429</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>509</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>662</td>
<td>2,564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60707</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>54669</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,316</td>
<td>1,527</td>
<td>1,203</td>
<td>1,625</td>
<td>1,514</td>
<td>7,185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60827</td>
<td>96.8</td>
<td>31063</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>1,098</td>
<td>1,129</td>
<td>1,169</td>
<td>911</td>
<td>5,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>153,570</td>
<td>175,412</td>
<td>148,489</td>
<td>179,780</td>
<td>156,035</td>
<td>813,286</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Parking Ticket Appeals, By 16 Majority-Black Zip Codes (RACE), 2012 to 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60612</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>35888</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,351</td>
<td>2,922</td>
<td>2,683</td>
<td>2,781</td>
<td>2,557</td>
<td>13,294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60615</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>41108</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,851</td>
<td>3,694</td>
<td>3,081</td>
<td>3,814</td>
<td>3,346</td>
<td>16,786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60617</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>37796</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>4,347</td>
<td>5,230</td>
<td>4,740</td>
<td>5,191</td>
<td>4,029</td>
<td>23,537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60619</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>32239</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>4,557</td>
<td>5,690</td>
<td>5,053</td>
<td>6,101</td>
<td>4,605</td>
<td>26,006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60620</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>32168</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>4,434</td>
<td>5,809</td>
<td>5,046</td>
<td>5,924</td>
<td>4,783</td>
<td>25,996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60621</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>19832</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,698</td>
<td>2,192</td>
<td>2,055</td>
<td>2,170</td>
<td>1,831</td>
<td>9,946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60624</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>22204</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,780</td>
<td>2,574</td>
<td>2,509</td>
<td>2,823</td>
<td>2,433</td>
<td>12,119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60628</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>36242</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>3,749</td>
<td>4,701</td>
<td>4,485</td>
<td>5,075</td>
<td>4,044</td>
<td>22,054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60636</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td>27871</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,300</td>
<td>2,632</td>
<td>2,495</td>
<td>3,044</td>
<td>2,267</td>
<td>12,738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60637</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>26845</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,921</td>
<td>3,715</td>
<td>3,571</td>
<td>4,079</td>
<td>3,106</td>
<td>17,392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60643</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>59593</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,599</td>
<td>3,190</td>
<td>2,700</td>
<td>3,150</td>
<td>2,462</td>
<td>14,101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60644</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>26882</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,413</td>
<td>4,149</td>
<td>4,011</td>
<td>4,261</td>
<td>3,118</td>
<td>17,952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60649</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>26797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>3,304</td>
<td>4,166</td>
<td>3,726</td>
<td>4,489</td>
<td>3,512</td>
<td>19,197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60651</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>32006</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,061</td>
<td>4,912</td>
<td>4,189</td>
<td>4,718</td>
<td>4,011</td>
<td>20,891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60653</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>25923</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,012</td>
<td>2,535</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>2,826</td>
<td>2,470</td>
<td>12,243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60827</td>
<td>96.8</td>
<td>31063</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>1,098</td>
<td>1,129</td>
<td>1,169</td>
<td>911</td>
<td>5,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16 Zip Codes</td>
<td>45,310</td>
<td>59,209</td>
<td>53,873</td>
<td>61,615</td>
<td>49,485</td>
<td>269,492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>153,570</td>
<td>175,412</td>
<td>148,489</td>
<td>179,780</td>
<td>156,035</td>
<td>813,286</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Parking Ticket Appeals, By 43 Majority-Other Zip Codes (RACE), 2012 to 2016
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>153,570</td>
<td>175,412</td>
<td>148,489</td>
<td>179,780</td>
<td>156,035</td>
<td>813,286</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zip Codes</th>
<th>116,203</th>
<th>94,616</th>
<th>118,165</th>
<th>106,550</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>153,570</td>
<td>175,412</td>
<td>148,489</td>
<td>179,780</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zip Codes</th>
<th>118,165</th>
<th>106,550</th>
<th>543,794</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>153,570</td>
<td>175,412</td>
<td>148,489</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zip Codes</th>
<th>106,550</th>
<th>543,794</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>153,570</td>
<td>175,412</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Zip Codes | | | |
|-----------| | | |
| Chicago   | | | |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60608</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>36216</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>3,515</td>
<td>4,242</td>
<td>3,428</td>
<td>4,020</td>
<td>3,752</td>
<td>18,957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60609</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>32284</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,647</td>
<td>3,742</td>
<td>2,901</td>
<td>3,471</td>
<td>2,738</td>
<td>15,499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60612</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>35888</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,351</td>
<td>2,922</td>
<td>2,683</td>
<td>2,781</td>
<td>2,557</td>
<td>13,294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60615</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>41108</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,851</td>
<td>3,694</td>
<td>3,081</td>
<td>3,814</td>
<td>3,346</td>
<td>16,786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60616</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>42594</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>5,237</td>
<td>3,880</td>
<td>3,174</td>
<td>4,286</td>
<td>3,518</td>
<td>20,095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60617</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>37796</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>4,347</td>
<td>5,230</td>
<td>4,740</td>
<td>5,191</td>
<td>4,029</td>
<td>23,537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60619</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>32239</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>4,557</td>
<td>5,690</td>
<td>5,053</td>
<td>6,101</td>
<td>4,605</td>
<td>26,006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60620</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>32168</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>4,434</td>
<td>5,809</td>
<td>5,046</td>
<td>5,924</td>
<td>4,783</td>
<td>25,996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60621</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>19832</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,698</td>
<td>2,192</td>
<td>2,055</td>
<td>2,170</td>
<td>1,831</td>
<td>9,946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60623</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>28091</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,808</td>
<td>3,962</td>
<td>3,303</td>
<td>3,998</td>
<td>3,016</td>
<td>17,087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60624</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>22204</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,780</td>
<td>2,574</td>
<td>2,509</td>
<td>2,823</td>
<td>2,433</td>
<td>12,119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60626</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>36439</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>4,305</td>
<td>4,431</td>
<td>3,413</td>
<td>4,341</td>
<td>4,044</td>
<td>20,534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60628</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>36242</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>3,749</td>
<td>4,701</td>
<td>4,485</td>
<td>5,075</td>
<td>4,044</td>
<td>22,054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60629</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>40712</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>3,963</td>
<td>4,993</td>
<td>3,908</td>
<td>5,011</td>
<td>3,965</td>
<td>21,840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60632</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>38438</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,513</td>
<td>2,945</td>
<td>2,305</td>
<td>3,044</td>
<td>2,536</td>
<td>13,343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60633</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>47136</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>2,199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60636</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td>27871</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,300</td>
<td>2,632</td>
<td>2,495</td>
<td>3,044</td>
<td>2,267</td>
<td>12,738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60637</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>26845</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,921</td>
<td>3,715</td>
<td>3,571</td>
<td>4,079</td>
<td>3,106</td>
<td>17,392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60639</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>38798</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,696</td>
<td>4,766</td>
<td>4,235</td>
<td>4,817</td>
<td>4,288</td>
<td>21,802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60640</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>47631</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>4,898</td>
<td>4,938</td>
<td>4,092</td>
<td>5,445</td>
<td>5,150</td>
<td>24,523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60644</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>26882</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,413</td>
<td>4,149</td>
<td>4,011</td>
<td>4,261</td>
<td>3,118</td>
<td>17,932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60645</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>47633</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,728</td>
<td>3,772</td>
<td>3,237</td>
<td>3,757</td>
<td>3,629</td>
<td>18,123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60649</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>26797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>3,304</td>
<td>4,166</td>
<td>3,726</td>
<td>4,489</td>
<td>3,512</td>
<td>19,197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60651</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>32006</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,061</td>
<td>4,912</td>
<td>4,189</td>
<td>4,718</td>
<td>4,011</td>
<td>20,891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60653</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>25923</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,012</td>
<td>2,535</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>2,826</td>
<td>2,470</td>
<td>12,243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60659</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>48104</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>4,309</td>
<td>4,047</td>
<td>3,635</td>
<td>4,300</td>
<td>4,543</td>
<td>20,834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60660</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>41412</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,587</td>
<td>3,369</td>
<td>2,717</td>
<td>3,276</td>
<td>3,080</td>
<td>16,029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60827</td>
<td>96.8</td>
<td>31063</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>1,098</td>
<td>1,129</td>
<td>1,169</td>
<td>911</td>
<td>5,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60839</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13521</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,694</td>
<td>1,872</td>
<td>1,736</td>
<td>1,921</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>7,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

x x x 28 Zip Codes 88,333 105,597 91,957 108,712 91,657 486,256

x x x Chicago 153,570 175,412 148,489 179,780 156,035 813,286

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60601</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>102254</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>2,220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60602</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>57368</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60603</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>122031</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60604</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>151731</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60605</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>87668</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,561</td>
<td>1,371</td>
<td>1,003</td>
<td>1,442</td>
<td>1,147</td>
<td>6,524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60606</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>106661</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60607</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>85917</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,562</td>
<td>1,758</td>
<td>1,305</td>
<td>1,794</td>
<td>1,509</td>
<td>7,928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60610</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>75892</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,281</td>
<td>2,520</td>
<td>1,836</td>
<td>2,551</td>
<td>2,137</td>
<td>11,325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60611</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>87280</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,168</td>
<td>1,193</td>
<td>955</td>
<td>1,116</td>
<td>1,083</td>
<td>5,515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60613</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>72126</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,566</td>
<td>3,699</td>
<td>2,960</td>
<td>3,905</td>
<td>3,809</td>
<td>17,939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60614</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>92714</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>4,741</td>
<td>4,959</td>
<td>3,840</td>
<td>4,693</td>
<td>4,290</td>
<td>22,523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60618</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>57500</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>5,688</td>
<td>6,725</td>
<td>5,671</td>
<td>7,090</td>
<td>6,518</td>
<td>31,692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60622</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>75163</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>4,264</td>
<td>4,544</td>
<td>3,680</td>
<td>4,649</td>
<td>4,243</td>
<td>21,380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60625</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>56507</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>5,097</td>
<td>5,154</td>
<td>4,370</td>
<td>5,376</td>
<td>4,927</td>
<td>24,924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60630</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>62244</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,682</td>
<td>2,655</td>
<td>2,434</td>
<td>2,926</td>
<td>2,714</td>
<td>13,411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60631</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>76400</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>887</td>
<td>915</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>981</td>
<td>871</td>
<td>4,352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60634</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>56382</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,658</td>
<td>2,736</td>
<td>2,448</td>
<td>3,100</td>
<td>2,732</td>
<td>13,674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60638</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>62511</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,832</td>
<td>2,006</td>
<td>1,350</td>
<td>1,962</td>
<td>1,640</td>
<td>8,790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60641</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>51597</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>4,078</td>
<td>4,234</td>
<td>3,732</td>
<td>4,355</td>
<td>4,487</td>
<td>20,886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60642</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>79633</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,612</td>
<td>1,750</td>
<td>1,312</td>
<td>1,764</td>
<td>1,420</td>
<td>7,858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60643</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>59593</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,599</td>
<td>3,190</td>
<td>2,700</td>
<td>3,150</td>
<td>2,462</td>
<td>14,101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60646</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>73246</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,157</td>
<td>1,233</td>
<td>929</td>
<td>1,074</td>
<td>1,148</td>
<td>5,541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60647</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>56257</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>5,672</td>
<td>6,115</td>
<td>5,205</td>
<td>6,234</td>
<td>5,469</td>
<td>28,695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60652</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>61797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,671</td>
<td>2,021</td>
<td>1,612</td>
<td>1,954</td>
<td>1,669</td>
<td>8,927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60654</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>90520</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>944</td>
<td>911</td>
<td>711</td>
<td>860</td>
<td>740</td>
<td>4,166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60655</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>87105</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>673</td>
<td>791</td>
<td>627</td>
<td>809</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>3,557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60656</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>57308</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,349</td>
<td>1,521</td>
<td>1,225</td>
<td>1,358</td>
<td>1,414</td>
<td>6,867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60657</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>79638</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>4,260</td>
<td>4,346</td>
<td>3,259</td>
<td>4,437</td>
<td>3,949</td>
<td>20,251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60661</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>98882</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>463</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>463</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>2,119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60706</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>52429</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>509</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>662</td>
<td>2,564</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Parking Ticket Appeals, By 25 Southside Zip Codes (LOCATION), 2012 to 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60605</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>87668</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,561</td>
<td>1,371</td>
<td>1,003</td>
<td>1,442</td>
<td>1,147</td>
<td>6.524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60607</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>85917</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,562</td>
<td>1,758</td>
<td>1,305</td>
<td>1,794</td>
<td>1,509</td>
<td>7.928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60608</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>36216</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>3,515</td>
<td>4,242</td>
<td>3,428</td>
<td>4,020</td>
<td>3,752</td>
<td>18.957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60609</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>32284</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,647</td>
<td>3,742</td>
<td>2,901</td>
<td>3,471</td>
<td>2,738</td>
<td>15.499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60615</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>41108</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,851</td>
<td>3,694</td>
<td>3,081</td>
<td>3,814</td>
<td>3,346</td>
<td>16.786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60616</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>42594</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>5,237</td>
<td>3,880</td>
<td>3,174</td>
<td>4,286</td>
<td>3,518</td>
<td>20.095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60617</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>37796</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>4,347</td>
<td>5,230</td>
<td>4,740</td>
<td>5,191</td>
<td>4,029</td>
<td>23.537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60619</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>32239</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>4,557</td>
<td>5,690</td>
<td>5,053</td>
<td>6,101</td>
<td>4,605</td>
<td>26.006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60620</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>32168</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>4,434</td>
<td>5,809</td>
<td>5,046</td>
<td>5,924</td>
<td>4,783</td>
<td>25.996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60621</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>19832</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,698</td>
<td>2,192</td>
<td>2,055</td>
<td>2,170</td>
<td>1,831</td>
<td>9.946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60623</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>28091</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,808</td>
<td>3,962</td>
<td>3,303</td>
<td>3,998</td>
<td>3,016</td>
<td>17.087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60628</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>36242</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>3,749</td>
<td>4,701</td>
<td>4,485</td>
<td>5,075</td>
<td>4,044</td>
<td>22.054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60629</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>40712</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>3,963</td>
<td>4,993</td>
<td>3,908</td>
<td>5,011</td>
<td>3,965</td>
<td>21.840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60632</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>38438</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,513</td>
<td>2,945</td>
<td>2,305</td>
<td>3,044</td>
<td>2,536</td>
<td>13.343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60633</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>47136</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>2.199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60636</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td>27871</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,300</td>
<td>2,632</td>
<td>2,495</td>
<td>3,044</td>
<td>2,267</td>
<td>12.738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60637</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>26845</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,921</td>
<td>3,715</td>
<td>3,571</td>
<td>4,079</td>
<td>3,106</td>
<td>17.392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60638</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>62511</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,832</td>
<td>2,006</td>
<td>1,350</td>
<td>1,962</td>
<td>1,640</td>
<td>8.790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60642</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>79633</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,612</td>
<td>1,750</td>
<td>1,312</td>
<td>1,764</td>
<td>1,420</td>
<td>7.858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60643</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>59593</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,599</td>
<td>3,190</td>
<td>2,700</td>
<td>3,150</td>
<td>2,462</td>
<td>14.101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60649</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>26797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>3,304</td>
<td>4,166</td>
<td>3,726</td>
<td>4,489</td>
<td>3,512</td>
<td>19.197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60652</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>61797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,671</td>
<td>2,021</td>
<td>1,612</td>
<td>1,954</td>
<td>1,669</td>
<td>8.927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60653</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>25923</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,012</td>
<td>2,535</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>2,826</td>
<td>2,470</td>
<td>12.243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60655</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>87105</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>673</td>
<td>791</td>
<td>627</td>
<td>809</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>3.557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60827</td>
<td>96.8</td>
<td>31063</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>1,098</td>
<td>1,129</td>
<td>1,169</td>
<td>911</td>
<td>5.240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>25 Zip Codes</td>
<td>65,715</td>
<td>78,604</td>
<td>67,145</td>
<td>81068</td>
<td>65,308</td>
<td>357,840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>153,570</td>
<td>175,412</td>
<td>148,489</td>
<td>179,780</td>
<td>156,035</td>
<td>813,286</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6. Parking Ticket Appeals, By 34 Northside Zip Codes (LOCATION), 2012 to 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60601</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>102254</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>2,220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60602</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>57368</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60603</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>122031</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60604</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>151731</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60606</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>106661</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60610</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>75892</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,281</td>
<td>2,520</td>
<td>1,836</td>
<td>2,551</td>
<td>2,137</td>
<td>11,325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60611</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>87280</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,168</td>
<td>1,193</td>
<td>955</td>
<td>1,116</td>
<td>1,083</td>
<td>5,515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60612</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>35888</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,351</td>
<td>2,922</td>
<td>2,683</td>
<td>2,781</td>
<td>2,557</td>
<td>13,294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60613</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>72126</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,566</td>
<td>3,699</td>
<td>2,960</td>
<td>3,905</td>
<td>3,809</td>
<td>17,939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60614</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>92714</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>4,741</td>
<td>4,959</td>
<td>3,840</td>
<td>4,693</td>
<td>4,290</td>
<td>22,523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60618</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>57500</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>5,688</td>
<td>6,725</td>
<td>5,671</td>
<td>7,090</td>
<td>6,518</td>
<td>31,692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60622</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>75163</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>4,261</td>
<td>4,544</td>
<td>3,680</td>
<td>4,649</td>
<td>4,243</td>
<td>21,380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60624</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>22204</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,780</td>
<td>2,574</td>
<td>2,509</td>
<td>2,823</td>
<td>2,433</td>
<td>12,119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60625</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>56507</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>5,097</td>
<td>5,154</td>
<td>4,370</td>
<td>5,376</td>
<td>4,927</td>
<td>24,924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60626</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>36439</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>4,305</td>
<td>4,431</td>
<td>3,413</td>
<td>4,341</td>
<td>4,044</td>
<td>20,534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60630</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>62244</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,682</td>
<td>2,655</td>
<td>2,434</td>
<td>2,926</td>
<td>2,714</td>
<td>13,411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60631</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>76400</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>887</td>
<td>915</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>981</td>
<td>871</td>
<td>4,352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60634</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>56382</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,658</td>
<td>2,736</td>
<td>2,448</td>
<td>3,100</td>
<td>2,732</td>
<td>13,674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60639</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>38798</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,696</td>
<td>4,766</td>
<td>4,235</td>
<td>4,817</td>
<td>4,288</td>
<td>21,802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60640</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>47631</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>4,898</td>
<td>4,938</td>
<td>4,092</td>
<td>5,445</td>
<td>5,150</td>
<td>24,523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60641</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>51597</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>4,078</td>
<td>4,234</td>
<td>3,732</td>
<td>4,355</td>
<td>4,487</td>
<td>20,886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60644</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>26882</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,413</td>
<td>4,149</td>
<td>4,011</td>
<td>4,261</td>
<td>3,118</td>
<td>17,952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60645</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>47633</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,728</td>
<td>3,772</td>
<td>3,237</td>
<td>3,757</td>
<td>3,629</td>
<td>18,123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60646</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>73246</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,157</td>
<td>1,233</td>
<td>929</td>
<td>1,074</td>
<td>1,148</td>
<td>5,541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60647</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>56257</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>5,672</td>
<td>6,115</td>
<td>5,205</td>
<td>6,234</td>
<td>5,469</td>
<td>28,695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60651</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>32006</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,061</td>
<td>4,912</td>
<td>4,189</td>
<td>4,718</td>
<td>4,011</td>
<td>20,891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60654</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>90520</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>944</td>
<td>911</td>
<td>711</td>
<td>860</td>
<td>740</td>
<td>4,166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60656</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>57308</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,349</td>
<td>1,521</td>
<td>1,225</td>
<td>1,358</td>
<td>1,414</td>
<td>6,867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60657</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>79638</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>4,260</td>
<td>4,346</td>
<td>3,259</td>
<td>4,437</td>
<td>3,949</td>
<td>20,251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60659</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>48104</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>4,309</td>
<td>4,047</td>
<td>3,635</td>
<td>4,300</td>
<td>4,543</td>
<td>20,834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zip Code</td>
<td>Interval</td>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>Count 1</td>
<td>Count 2</td>
<td>Count 3</td>
<td>Count 4</td>
<td>Count 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60660</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>41412</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,587</td>
<td>3,369</td>
<td>2,717</td>
<td>3,276</td>
<td>3,080</td>
<td>16,029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60661</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>98882</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>463</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>463</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>2,119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60706</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>52429</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>509</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>662</td>
<td>2,564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60707</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>54669</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,316</td>
<td>1,527</td>
<td>1,203</td>
<td>1,625</td>
<td>1,514</td>
<td>7,185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>34 Zip Codes</td>
<td>87,855</td>
<td>96,808</td>
<td>81,344</td>
<td>98,712</td>
<td>90,727</td>
<td>455,446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>153,570</td>
<td>175,412</td>
<td>148,489</td>
<td>179,780</td>
<td>156,035</td>
<td>813,286</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C. Successful Parking Ticket Appeals, By All 59 City of Chicago Zip Codes, 2012 to 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60601</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>102254</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>1,320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60602</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>57368</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60603</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>122031</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60604</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>151731</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60605</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>87668</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>853</td>
<td>742</td>
<td>595</td>
<td>918</td>
<td>669</td>
<td>3,777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60606</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>106661</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60607</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>85917</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>824</td>
<td>948</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>1,118</td>
<td>874</td>
<td>4,536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60608</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>36216</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,070</td>
<td>2,519</td>
<td>2,105</td>
<td>2,546</td>
<td>2,290</td>
<td>11,530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60609</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>32284</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,645</td>
<td>2,407</td>
<td>1,929</td>
<td>2,298</td>
<td>1,721</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60610</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>75892</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,287</td>
<td>1,498</td>
<td>1,161</td>
<td>1,613</td>
<td>1,289</td>
<td>6,848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60611</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>87280</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>614</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>688</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>3,158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60612</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>35888</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,370</td>
<td>1,849</td>
<td>1,772</td>
<td>1,768</td>
<td>1,533</td>
<td>8,292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60613</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>72126</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,967</td>
<td>2,034</td>
<td>1,739</td>
<td>2,435</td>
<td>2,349</td>
<td>10,524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60614</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>92714</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,513</td>
<td>2,683</td>
<td>2,334</td>
<td>2,924</td>
<td>2,499</td>
<td>12,933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60615</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>41108</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,632</td>
<td>2,157</td>
<td>1,912</td>
<td>2,369</td>
<td>1,985</td>
<td>10,055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60616</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>42594</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>3,490</td>
<td>2,369</td>
<td>1,979</td>
<td>2,772</td>
<td>2,200</td>
<td>12,810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60617</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>37796</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,648</td>
<td>3,261</td>
<td>3,046</td>
<td>3,469</td>
<td>2,435</td>
<td>14,859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60618</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>57500</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,268</td>
<td>4,274</td>
<td>3,689</td>
<td>4,618</td>
<td>4,299</td>
<td>20,148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60619</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>32239</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,718</td>
<td>3,607</td>
<td>3,262</td>
<td>4,036</td>
<td>2,831</td>
<td>16,454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60620</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>32168</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,759</td>
<td>3,630</td>
<td>3,280</td>
<td>3,932</td>
<td>2,941</td>
<td>16,542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60621</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>19832</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,036</td>
<td>1,431</td>
<td>1,376</td>
<td>1,424</td>
<td>1,128</td>
<td>6,395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60622</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>75163</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,371</td>
<td>2,478</td>
<td>2,165</td>
<td>2,937</td>
<td>2,573</td>
<td>12,524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60623</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>28091</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,751</td>
<td>2,562</td>
<td>2,202</td>
<td>2,682</td>
<td>1,918</td>
<td>11,115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60624</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>22204</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,046</td>
<td>1,726</td>
<td>1,711</td>
<td>1,882</td>
<td>1,508</td>
<td>7,873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60625</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>56507</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,158</td>
<td>3,062</td>
<td>2,798</td>
<td>3,539</td>
<td>3,112</td>
<td>15,669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60626</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>36439</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,784</td>
<td>2,888</td>
<td>2,272</td>
<td>2,878</td>
<td>2,734</td>
<td>13,556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60628</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>36242</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,247</td>
<td>2,958</td>
<td>2,974</td>
<td>3,396</td>
<td>2,527</td>
<td>14,102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60629</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>40712</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,339</td>
<td>3,217</td>
<td>2,468</td>
<td>3,223</td>
<td>2,451</td>
<td>13,698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60630</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>62244</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,646</td>
<td>1,633</td>
<td>1,559</td>
<td>1,909</td>
<td>1,790</td>
<td>8,537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60631</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>76400</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>637</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>2,639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60632</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>38438</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,486</td>
<td>1,802</td>
<td>1,479</td>
<td>1,998</td>
<td>1,694</td>
<td>8,459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60633</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>47136</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>1,444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60634</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>56382</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,556</td>
<td>1,608</td>
<td>1,518</td>
<td>1,959</td>
<td>1,683</td>
<td>8,324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60636</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td>27871</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,447</td>
<td>1,732</td>
<td>1,675</td>
<td>2,074</td>
<td>1,417</td>
<td>8,345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60637</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>26845</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,719</td>
<td>2,359</td>
<td>2,368</td>
<td>2,694</td>
<td>1,921</td>
<td>11,061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60638</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>62511</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,102</td>
<td>1,242</td>
<td>804</td>
<td>1,219</td>
<td>1,019</td>
<td>5,386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60639</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>38798</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,283</td>
<td>3,129</td>
<td>2,791</td>
<td>3,135</td>
<td>2,670</td>
<td>14,008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60640</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>47631</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,937</td>
<td>2,964</td>
<td>2,621</td>
<td>3,699</td>
<td>3,347</td>
<td>15,568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60641</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>51597</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,515</td>
<td>2,693</td>
<td>2,428</td>
<td>2,831</td>
<td>2,914</td>
<td>13,381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60642</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>79633</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>844</td>
<td>976</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>1,092</td>
<td>835</td>
<td>4,517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60643</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>59593</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,583</td>
<td>1,940</td>
<td>1,713</td>
<td>1,979</td>
<td>1,467</td>
<td>8,682</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60644</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>26882</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,476</td>
<td>2,772</td>
<td>2,801</td>
<td>2,921</td>
<td>1,910</td>
<td>11,880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60645</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>47633</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,386</td>
<td>2,379</td>
<td>2,171</td>
<td>2,501</td>
<td>2,421</td>
<td>11,858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60646</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>73246</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>697</td>
<td>733</td>
<td>592</td>
<td>688</td>
<td>714</td>
<td>3,424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60647</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>56257</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,190</td>
<td>3,641</td>
<td>3,128</td>
<td>3,992</td>
<td>3,378</td>
<td>17,329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60649</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>26797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,999</td>
<td>2,558</td>
<td>2,328</td>
<td>2,887</td>
<td>2,109</td>
<td>11,881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60651</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>32006</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,796</td>
<td>3,195</td>
<td>2,837</td>
<td>3,110</td>
<td>2,584</td>
<td>13,522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60652</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>61797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>949</td>
<td>1,203</td>
<td>997</td>
<td>1,237</td>
<td>990</td>
<td>5,376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60653</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>25923</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,181</td>
<td>1,555</td>
<td>1,511</td>
<td>1,771</td>
<td>1,509</td>
<td>7,527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60654</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>90520</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>2,352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60655</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>87105</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>2,099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60656</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>57308</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>957</td>
<td>1,044</td>
<td>899</td>
<td>959</td>
<td>1,046</td>
<td>4,905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60657</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>79638</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,260</td>
<td>2,326</td>
<td>1,893</td>
<td>2,762</td>
<td>2,370</td>
<td>11,611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60659</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>48104</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,910</td>
<td>2,661</td>
<td>2,536</td>
<td>3,012</td>
<td>3,291</td>
<td>14,410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60660</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>41412</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,327</td>
<td>2,081</td>
<td>1,818</td>
<td>2,258</td>
<td>2,072</td>
<td>10,556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60661</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>98882</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>1,207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60706</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>52429</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>1,781</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60707</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>54669</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>842</td>
<td>983</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>1,087</td>
<td>1,016</td>
<td>4,718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60827</td>
<td>96.8</td>
<td>31063</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>606</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>767</td>
<td>569</td>
<td>3,425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>91,886</td>
<td>107,769</td>
<td>95,406</td>
<td>117,146</td>
<td>98,027</td>
<td>510,234</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Successful Ticket Appeals, By 16 Majority-Black Zip Codes (RACE), 2012 to 2016
### TABLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60601</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>102254</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>1,320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60602</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>57368</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60603</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>122031</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60604</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>151731</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60605</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>87668</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>853</td>
<td>742</td>
<td>595</td>
<td>918</td>
<td>669</td>
<td>3,777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60606</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>106661</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60607</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>85917</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>824</td>
<td>948</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>1,118</td>
<td>874</td>
<td>4,536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60608</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>36216</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,070</td>
<td>2,519</td>
<td>2,105</td>
<td>2,546</td>
<td>2,290</td>
<td>11,530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60609</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>32284</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,645</td>
<td>2,407</td>
<td>1,929</td>
<td>2,298</td>
<td>1,721</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60610</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>75892</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,287</td>
<td>1,498</td>
<td>1,161</td>
<td>1,613</td>
<td>1,289</td>
<td>6,848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60611</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>87280</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>614</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>688</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>3,158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60613</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>72126</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,967</td>
<td>2,034</td>
<td>1,739</td>
<td>2,435</td>
<td>2,349</td>
<td>10,524</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Successful Ticket Appeals, By 43 Majority-Other Zip Codes (RACE), 2012 to 2016
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zip Codes</th>
<th>Northside</th>
<th>Southside</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60614</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>92714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60616</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>42594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60618</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>57500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60622</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>75163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60623</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>28091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60625</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>56507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60626</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>36439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60629</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>40712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60630</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>62244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60631</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>76400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60632</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>38438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60633</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>47136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60634</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>56382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60638</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>62511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60639</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>38798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60640</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>47631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60641</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>51597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60642</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>79633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60645</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>47633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60646</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>73246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60647</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>56257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60652</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>61797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60654</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>90520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60655</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>87105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60656</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>57308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60657</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>79638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60659</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>48104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60660</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>41412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60661</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>98882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60706</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>52429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60707</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>54669</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

x x x 43 Zip Codes 64,623 70,336 60,060 76,667 67,653 339,339
x x x Chicago 91,886 107,769 95,406 117,146 98,027 510,234
### Successful Ticket Appeals, By 28 Lower-Income Zip Codes (INCOME), 2012 to 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60608</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>36216</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,036</td>
<td>1,431</td>
<td>1,376</td>
<td>1,424</td>
<td>1,128</td>
<td>6,395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60609</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>32284</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,046</td>
<td>1,726</td>
<td>1,711</td>
<td>1,882</td>
<td>1,508</td>
<td>7,873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60612</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>35888</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,181</td>
<td>1,555</td>
<td>1,511</td>
<td>1,771</td>
<td>1,509</td>
<td>7,527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60615</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>41108</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,999</td>
<td>2,558</td>
<td>2,328</td>
<td>2,887</td>
<td>2,109</td>
<td>11,881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60616</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>42594</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,719</td>
<td>2,359</td>
<td>2,368</td>
<td>2,694</td>
<td>1,921</td>
<td>11,061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60617</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>37796</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,476</td>
<td>2,772</td>
<td>2,801</td>
<td>2,921</td>
<td>1,910</td>
<td>11,880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60619</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>32239</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,447</td>
<td>1,732</td>
<td>1,675</td>
<td>2,074</td>
<td>1,417</td>
<td>8,345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60620</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>32168</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,751</td>
<td>2,562</td>
<td>2,202</td>
<td>2,682</td>
<td>1,918</td>
<td>11,115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60621</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>19832</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>606</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>767</td>
<td>569</td>
<td>3,425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60623</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>28091</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,796</td>
<td>3,195</td>
<td>2,837</td>
<td>3,110</td>
<td>2,584</td>
<td>13,522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60624</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>22204</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,759</td>
<td>3,630</td>
<td>3,280</td>
<td>3,932</td>
<td>2,941</td>
<td>16,542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60626</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>36439</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,718</td>
<td>3,607</td>
<td>3,262</td>
<td>4,036</td>
<td>2,831</td>
<td>16,454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60628</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>36242</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,645</td>
<td>2,407</td>
<td>1,929</td>
<td>2,298</td>
<td>1,721</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60629</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>40712</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,370</td>
<td>1,849</td>
<td>1,772</td>
<td>1,768</td>
<td>1,533</td>
<td>8,292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60632</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>38438</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,070</td>
<td>2,519</td>
<td>2,105</td>
<td>2,546</td>
<td>2,290</td>
<td>11,530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60633</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>47136</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,247</td>
<td>2,958</td>
<td>2,974</td>
<td>3,396</td>
<td>2,527</td>
<td>14,102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60636</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td>27871</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,784</td>
<td>2,888</td>
<td>2,272</td>
<td>2,878</td>
<td>2,734</td>
<td>13,556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60637</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>26845</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,648</td>
<td>3,261</td>
<td>3,046</td>
<td>3,469</td>
<td>2,435</td>
<td>14,859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60639</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>38798</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,486</td>
<td>1,802</td>
<td>1,479</td>
<td>1,998</td>
<td>1,694</td>
<td>8,459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60640</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>47631</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,283</td>
<td>3,129</td>
<td>2,791</td>
<td>3,135</td>
<td>2,670</td>
<td>14,008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60644</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>26882</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,339</td>
<td>3,217</td>
<td>2,468</td>
<td>3,223</td>
<td>2,451</td>
<td>13,698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60645</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>47633</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,632</td>
<td>2,157</td>
<td>1,912</td>
<td>2,369</td>
<td>1,985</td>
<td>10,055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60649</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>26797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,327</td>
<td>2,081</td>
<td>1,818</td>
<td>2,258</td>
<td>2,072</td>
<td>10,556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60651</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>32006</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,490</td>
<td>2,369</td>
<td>1,979</td>
<td>2,772</td>
<td>2,200</td>
<td>12,810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60653</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>25923</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>1,444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60659</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>48104</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,937</td>
<td>2,964</td>
<td>2,621</td>
<td>3,699</td>
<td>3,347</td>
<td>15,568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60660</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>41412</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,386</td>
<td>2,379</td>
<td>2,171</td>
<td>2,501</td>
<td>2,421</td>
<td>11,858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60827</td>
<td>96.8</td>
<td>31063</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,910</td>
<td>2,661</td>
<td>2,536</td>
<td>3,012</td>
<td>3,291</td>
<td>14,410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>28 Zip Codes</td>
<td>54,335</td>
<td>66,792</td>
<td>60,296</td>
<td>71,840</td>
<td>57,962</td>
<td>311,225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>91,886</td>
<td>107,769</td>
<td>95,406</td>
<td>117,146</td>
<td>98,027</td>
<td>510,234</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60601</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>102254</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>1,320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60602</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>57368</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60603</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>122031</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60604</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>151731</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60605</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>87668</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>853</td>
<td>742</td>
<td>595</td>
<td>918</td>
<td>669</td>
<td>3,777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60606</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>106661</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60607</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>85917</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>824</td>
<td>948</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>1,118</td>
<td>874</td>
<td>4,536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60610</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>75892</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,287</td>
<td>1,498</td>
<td>1,161</td>
<td>1,613</td>
<td>1,289</td>
<td>6,848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60611</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>87280</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>614</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>688</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>3,158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60613</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>72126</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,967</td>
<td>2,034</td>
<td>1,739</td>
<td>2,435</td>
<td>2,349</td>
<td>10,524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60614</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>92714</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,513</td>
<td>2,683</td>
<td>2,334</td>
<td>2,924</td>
<td>2,499</td>
<td>12,953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60618</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>57500</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,268</td>
<td>4,274</td>
<td>3,689</td>
<td>4,618</td>
<td>4,299</td>
<td>20,148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60622</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>75163</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,371</td>
<td>2,478</td>
<td>2,165</td>
<td>2,937</td>
<td>2,573</td>
<td>12,524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60625</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>56507</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,158</td>
<td>3,062</td>
<td>2,798</td>
<td>3,539</td>
<td>3,112</td>
<td>15,669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60630</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>62244</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,646</td>
<td>1,633</td>
<td>1,559</td>
<td>1,909</td>
<td>1,790</td>
<td>8,537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60631</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>76400</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>637</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>2,639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60634</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>56382</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,556</td>
<td>1,608</td>
<td>1,518</td>
<td>1,959</td>
<td>1,683</td>
<td>8,324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60638</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>62511</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,102</td>
<td>1,242</td>
<td>804</td>
<td>1,219</td>
<td>1,019</td>
<td>5,386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60641</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>51597</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,515</td>
<td>2,693</td>
<td>2,428</td>
<td>2,831</td>
<td>2,914</td>
<td>13,381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60642</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>79633</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>844</td>
<td>976</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>1,092</td>
<td>835</td>
<td>4,517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60643</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>59593</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,583</td>
<td>1,940</td>
<td>1,713</td>
<td>1,979</td>
<td>1,467</td>
<td>8,682</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60646</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>73246</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>697</td>
<td>733</td>
<td>592</td>
<td>688</td>
<td>714</td>
<td>3,424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60647</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>56257</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,190</td>
<td>3,641</td>
<td>3,128</td>
<td>3,992</td>
<td>3,378</td>
<td>17,329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60652</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>61797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>949</td>
<td>1,203</td>
<td>997</td>
<td>1,237</td>
<td>990</td>
<td>5,376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60654</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>90520</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>2,352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60655</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>87105</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>2,099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60656</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>57308</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>957</td>
<td>1,044</td>
<td>899</td>
<td>959</td>
<td>1,046</td>
<td>4,905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60657</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>79638</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,260</td>
<td>2,326</td>
<td>1,893</td>
<td>2,762</td>
<td>2,370</td>
<td>11,611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60661</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>98882</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>1,207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60706</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>52429</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>1,781</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60707</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>54669</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>842</td>
<td>983</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>1,087</td>
<td>1,016</td>
<td>4,718</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Successful Ticket Appeals, By 25 Southside Zip Codes (LOCATION), 2012 to 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60605</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>87668</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>853</td>
<td>742</td>
<td>595</td>
<td>918</td>
<td>669</td>
<td>3,777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60607</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>85917</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>824</td>
<td>948</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>1,118</td>
<td>874</td>
<td>4,536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60608</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>36216</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,070</td>
<td>2,519</td>
<td>2,105</td>
<td>2,546</td>
<td>2,290</td>
<td>11,530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60609</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>32284</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,645</td>
<td>2,407</td>
<td>1,929</td>
<td>2,298</td>
<td>1,721</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60615</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>41108</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,632</td>
<td>2,157</td>
<td>1,912</td>
<td>2,369</td>
<td>1,985</td>
<td>10,055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60616</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>42594</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>3,490</td>
<td>2,369</td>
<td>1,979</td>
<td>2,772</td>
<td>2,200</td>
<td>12,810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60617</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>37796</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,648</td>
<td>3,261</td>
<td>3,046</td>
<td>3,469</td>
<td>2,435</td>
<td>14,859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60619</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>32239</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,718</td>
<td>3,607</td>
<td>3,262</td>
<td>4,036</td>
<td>2,831</td>
<td>16,454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60620</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>32168</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,759</td>
<td>3,630</td>
<td>3,280</td>
<td>3,932</td>
<td>2,941</td>
<td>16,542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60621</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>19832</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,036</td>
<td>1,431</td>
<td>1,376</td>
<td>1,424</td>
<td>1,128</td>
<td>6,395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60623</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>28091</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,751</td>
<td>2,562</td>
<td>2,202</td>
<td>2,682</td>
<td>1,918</td>
<td>11,115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60628</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>36242</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,247</td>
<td>2,958</td>
<td>2,974</td>
<td>3,396</td>
<td>2,527</td>
<td>14,102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60629</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>40712</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>2,339</td>
<td>3,217</td>
<td>2,468</td>
<td>3,223</td>
<td>2,451</td>
<td>13,698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60632</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>38438</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,486</td>
<td>1,802</td>
<td>1,479</td>
<td>1,998</td>
<td>1,694</td>
<td>8,459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60633</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>47136</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>1,444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60636</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td>27871</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,447</td>
<td>1,732</td>
<td>1,675</td>
<td>2,074</td>
<td>1,417</td>
<td>8,345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60637</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>26845</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,719</td>
<td>2,359</td>
<td>2,368</td>
<td>2,694</td>
<td>1,921</td>
<td>11,061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60638</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>62511</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,102</td>
<td>1,242</td>
<td>804</td>
<td>1,219</td>
<td>1,019</td>
<td>5,386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60642</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>79633</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>844</td>
<td>976</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>1,092</td>
<td>835</td>
<td>4,517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60643</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>59593</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,583</td>
<td>1,940</td>
<td>1,713</td>
<td>1,979</td>
<td>1,467</td>
<td>8,682</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60649</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>26797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,999</td>
<td>2,558</td>
<td>2,328</td>
<td>2,887</td>
<td>2,109</td>
<td>11,881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60652</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>61797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>949</td>
<td>1,203</td>
<td>997</td>
<td>1,237</td>
<td>990</td>
<td>5,376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60653</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>25923</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1,181</td>
<td>1,555</td>
<td>1,511</td>
<td>1,771</td>
<td>1,509</td>
<td>7,527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60655</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>87105</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>2,099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60827</td>
<td>96.8</td>
<td>31063</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>606</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>767</td>
<td>569</td>
<td>3,425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>25 Zip Codes</td>
<td>39,550</td>
<td>48,643</td>
<td>43,018</td>
<td>52,736</td>
<td>40,128</td>
<td>224,075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>91,886</td>
<td>107,769</td>
<td>95,406</td>
<td>117,146</td>
<td>98,027</td>
<td>510,234</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Successful Ticket Appeals, By 34 Northside Zip Codes (LOCATION), 2012 to 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60601</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>102254</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>1,320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60602</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>57368</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60603</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>122031</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60604</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>151731</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60606</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>106661</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60610</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>75892</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,287</td>
<td>1,498</td>
<td>1,161</td>
<td>1,613</td>
<td>1,289</td>
<td>6,848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60611</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>87280</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>614</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>688</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>3,158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60612</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>35888</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,370</td>
<td>1,849</td>
<td>1,772</td>
<td>1,768</td>
<td>1,533</td>
<td>8,292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60613</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>72126</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,967</td>
<td>2,034</td>
<td>1,739</td>
<td>2,435</td>
<td>2,349</td>
<td>10,524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60614</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>92714</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,513</td>
<td>2,683</td>
<td>2,334</td>
<td>2,924</td>
<td>2,499</td>
<td>12,953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60618</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>57500</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,268</td>
<td>4,274</td>
<td>3,689</td>
<td>4,618</td>
<td>4,299</td>
<td>20,148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60622</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>75163</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,371</td>
<td>2,478</td>
<td>2,165</td>
<td>2,937</td>
<td>2,573</td>
<td>12,524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60624</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>22204</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,046</td>
<td>1,726</td>
<td>1,711</td>
<td>1,882</td>
<td>1,508</td>
<td>7,873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60625</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>56507</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,158</td>
<td>3,062</td>
<td>2,798</td>
<td>3,539</td>
<td>3,112</td>
<td>15,669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60626</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>36439</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,784</td>
<td>2,888</td>
<td>2,272</td>
<td>2,878</td>
<td>2,734</td>
<td>13,556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60630</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>62244</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,646</td>
<td>1,633</td>
<td>1,559</td>
<td>1,909</td>
<td>1,790</td>
<td>8,537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60631</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>76400</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>637</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>2,639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60634</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>56382</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,556</td>
<td>1,608</td>
<td>1,518</td>
<td>1,959</td>
<td>1,683</td>
<td>8,324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60639</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>38798</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,283</td>
<td>3,129</td>
<td>2,791</td>
<td>3,135</td>
<td>2,670</td>
<td>14,008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60640</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>47631</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,937</td>
<td>2,964</td>
<td>2,621</td>
<td>3,699</td>
<td>3,347</td>
<td>15,568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60641</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>51597</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,515</td>
<td>2,693</td>
<td>2,428</td>
<td>2,831</td>
<td>2,914</td>
<td>13,381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60644</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>26882</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,476</td>
<td>2,772</td>
<td>2,801</td>
<td>2,921</td>
<td>1,910</td>
<td>11,880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60645</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>47633</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,386</td>
<td>2,379</td>
<td>2,171</td>
<td>2,501</td>
<td>2,421</td>
<td>11,858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60646</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>73246</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>697</td>
<td>733</td>
<td>592</td>
<td>688</td>
<td>714</td>
<td>3,424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60647</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>56257</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>3,190</td>
<td>3,641</td>
<td>3,128</td>
<td>3,992</td>
<td>3,378</td>
<td>17,329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60651</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>32006</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1,796</td>
<td>3,195</td>
<td>2,837</td>
<td>3,110</td>
<td>2,584</td>
<td>13,522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60654</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>90520</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>2,352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60656</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>57308</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>957</td>
<td>1,044</td>
<td>899</td>
<td>959</td>
<td>1,046</td>
<td>4,905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60657</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>79638</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,260</td>
<td>2,326</td>
<td>1,893</td>
<td>2,762</td>
<td>2,370</td>
<td>11,611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60659</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>48104</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2,910</td>
<td>2,661</td>
<td>2,536</td>
<td>3,012</td>
<td>3,291</td>
<td>14,410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zip Codes</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2018</td>
<td>2019</td>
<td>2020</td>
<td>2021</td>
<td>2022</td>
<td>2023</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60660</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>41412</td>
<td>2,327</td>
<td>2,081</td>
<td>1,818</td>
<td>2,258</td>
<td>2,072</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60661</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>98882</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>212</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60706</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>52429</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>505</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60707</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>54669</td>
<td>842</td>
<td>983</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>1,087</td>
<td>1,016</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>34 Zip Codes</td>
<td>52,336</td>
<td>59,126</td>
<td>52,388</td>
<td>64,410</td>
<td>57,899</td>
<td>286,159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>91,886</td>
<td>107,769</td>
<td>95,406</td>
<td>117,146</td>
<td>98,027</td>
<td>510,234</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
D. Appeals Rate (x100), By All 59 City of Chicago Zip Codes, 2012 to 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60601</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>102254</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1277</td>
<td>0.1397</td>
<td>0.1300</td>
<td>0.1692</td>
<td>0.1463</td>
<td>0.1422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60602</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>57368</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1702</td>
<td>0.1270</td>
<td>0.1050</td>
<td>0.1405</td>
<td>0.0989</td>
<td>0.1305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60603</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>122031</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1856</td>
<td>0.1753</td>
<td>0.1212</td>
<td>0.1636</td>
<td>0.1188</td>
<td>0.1534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60604</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>151731</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1309</td>
<td>0.1150</td>
<td>0.0900</td>
<td>0.1201</td>
<td>0.1075</td>
<td>0.1123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60605</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>87668</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1861</td>
<td>0.1786</td>
<td>0.1460</td>
<td>0.1944</td>
<td>0.1633</td>
<td>0.1746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60606</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>106661</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1271</td>
<td>0.1410</td>
<td>0.1081</td>
<td>0.1320</td>
<td>0.1348</td>
<td>0.1288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60607</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>85917</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1383</td>
<td>0.1542</td>
<td>0.1200</td>
<td>0.1664</td>
<td>0.1485</td>
<td>0.1454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60608</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>36216</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0888</td>
<td>0.1041</td>
<td>0.0892</td>
<td>0.1036</td>
<td>0.1007</td>
<td>0.0973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60609</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>32284</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0814</td>
<td>0.1037</td>
<td>0.0938</td>
<td>0.1002</td>
<td>0.0902</td>
<td>0.0942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60610</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>75892</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1559</td>
<td>0.1715</td>
<td>0.1380</td>
<td>0.1865</td>
<td>0.1616</td>
<td>0.1628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60611</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>87280</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1510</td>
<td>0.1491</td>
<td>0.1348</td>
<td>0.1708</td>
<td>0.1631</td>
<td>0.1532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60612</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>35888</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1141</td>
<td>0.1245</td>
<td>0.1236</td>
<td>0.1306</td>
<td>0.1299</td>
<td>0.1245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60613</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>72126</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1470</td>
<td>0.1557</td>
<td>0.1367</td>
<td>0.1742</td>
<td>0.1625</td>
<td>0.1553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60614</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>92714</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1516</td>
<td>0.1680</td>
<td>0.1403</td>
<td>0.1802</td>
<td>0.1594</td>
<td>0.1596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60615</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>41108</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1336</td>
<td>0.1530</td>
<td>0.1431</td>
<td>0.1616</td>
<td>0.1582</td>
<td>0.1502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60616</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>42594</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.2045</td>
<td>0.1679</td>
<td>0.1402</td>
<td>0.1830</td>
<td>0.1572</td>
<td>0.1715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60617</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>37796</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1197</td>
<td>0.1300</td>
<td>0.1262</td>
<td>0.1396</td>
<td>0.1322</td>
<td>0.1295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60618</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>57500</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1189</td>
<td>0.1340</td>
<td>0.1191</td>
<td>0.1419</td>
<td>0.1359</td>
<td>0.1301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60619</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>32239</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1276</td>
<td>0.1424</td>
<td>0.1340</td>
<td>0.1516</td>
<td>0.1405</td>
<td>0.1395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60620</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>32168</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1189</td>
<td>0.1426</td>
<td>0.1299</td>
<td>0.1421</td>
<td>0.1352</td>
<td>0.1340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60621</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>19832</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0938</td>
<td>0.1091</td>
<td>0.1069</td>
<td>0.1085</td>
<td>0.1165</td>
<td>0.1068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60622</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>75163</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1120</td>
<td>0.1188</td>
<td>0.1042</td>
<td>0.1326</td>
<td>0.1214</td>
<td>0.1177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60623</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>28091</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0581</td>
<td>0.0740</td>
<td>0.0648</td>
<td>0.0845</td>
<td>0.0698</td>
<td>0.0702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60624</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>22204</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0810</td>
<td>0.0934</td>
<td>0.0936</td>
<td>0.1099</td>
<td>0.1090</td>
<td>0.0975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60625</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>56507</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1335</td>
<td>0.1359</td>
<td>0.1234</td>
<td>0.1443</td>
<td>0.1375</td>
<td>0.1350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60626</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>36439</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1570</td>
<td>0.1609</td>
<td>0.1363</td>
<td>0.1728</td>
<td>0.1712</td>
<td>0.1595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60628</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>36242</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1121</td>
<td>0.1277</td>
<td>0.1242</td>
<td>0.1402</td>
<td>0.1360</td>
<td>0.1280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60629</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>40712</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0738</td>
<td>0.0905</td>
<td>0.0751</td>
<td>0.0950</td>
<td>0.0849</td>
<td>0.0839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60630</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>62244</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1496</td>
<td>0.1448</td>
<td>0.1346</td>
<td>0.1587</td>
<td>0.1548</td>
<td>0.1485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60631</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>76400</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1753</td>
<td>0.1729</td>
<td>0.1347</td>
<td>0.1833</td>
<td>0.1538</td>
<td>0.1619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60632</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>38438</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0574</td>
<td>0.0667</td>
<td>0.0555</td>
<td>0.0768</td>
<td>0.0666</td>
<td>0.0644</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appeals Rate (x100), By 16 Majority-Black Zip Codes (RACE), 2012 to 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60612</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>35888</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1141</td>
<td>0.1245</td>
<td>0.1236</td>
<td>0.1306</td>
<td>0.1299</td>
<td>0.1245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60615</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>41108</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1336</td>
<td>0.1530</td>
<td>0.1431</td>
<td>0.1616</td>
<td>0.1582</td>
<td>0.1502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60617</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>37796</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1197</td>
<td>0.1300</td>
<td>0.1262</td>
<td>0.1396</td>
<td>0.1322</td>
<td>0.1295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60619</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>32239</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1276</td>
<td>0.1424</td>
<td>0.1340</td>
<td>0.1516</td>
<td>0.1405</td>
<td>0.1395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60620</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>32168</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1189</td>
<td>0.1426</td>
<td>0.1299</td>
<td>0.1421</td>
<td>0.1352</td>
<td>0.1340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60621</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>19832</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0938</td>
<td>0.1091</td>
<td>0.1069</td>
<td>0.1085</td>
<td>0.1165</td>
<td>0.1068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60624</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>22204</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0810</td>
<td>0.0934</td>
<td>0.0936</td>
<td>0.1099</td>
<td>0.1090</td>
<td>0.0975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60628</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>36242</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1121</td>
<td>0.1277</td>
<td>0.1242</td>
<td>0.1402</td>
<td>0.1360</td>
<td>0.1280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60636</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td>27871</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0963</td>
<td>0.1065</td>
<td>0.0988</td>
<td>0.1159</td>
<td>0.1077</td>
<td>0.1051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60637</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>26845</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1163</td>
<td>0.1264</td>
<td>0.1276</td>
<td>0.1457</td>
<td>0.1371</td>
<td>0.1306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60643</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>59593</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1269</td>
<td>0.1456</td>
<td>0.1272</td>
<td>0.1413</td>
<td>0.1360</td>
<td>0.1356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60644</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>26882</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0884</td>
<td>0.1176</td>
<td>0.1154</td>
<td>0.1289</td>
<td>0.1168</td>
<td>0.1143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60649</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>26797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1197</td>
<td>0.1329</td>
<td>0.1291</td>
<td>0.1440</td>
<td>0.1302</td>
<td>0.1315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60651</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>32006</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0828</td>
<td>0.1088</td>
<td>0.0986</td>
<td>0.1164</td>
<td>0.1065</td>
<td>0.1030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60653</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>25923</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1175</td>
<td>0.1320</td>
<td>0.1244</td>
<td>0.1431</td>
<td>0.1344</td>
<td>0.1306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60827</td>
<td>96.8</td>
<td>31063</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1139</td>
<td>0.1193</td>
<td>0.1155</td>
<td>0.1253</td>
<td>0.1166</td>
<td>0.1183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>16 Zip Codes</td>
<td>0.1102</td>
<td>0.1257</td>
<td>0.1199</td>
<td>0.1340</td>
<td>0.1277</td>
<td>0.1237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>0.1317</td>
<td>0.1392</td>
<td>0.1217</td>
<td>0.1464</td>
<td>0.1361</td>
<td>0.1352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Difference</td>
<td>-0.0215</td>
<td>-0.0135</td>
<td>-0.0018</td>
<td>-0.0124</td>
<td>-0.0084</td>
<td>-0.0115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Appeals Rate (x100), By 43 Majority-Other Zip Codes (RACE), 2012 to 2016
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60613</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>72126</td>
<td>0.1470</td>
<td>0.1557</td>
<td>0.1367</td>
<td>0.1742</td>
<td>0.1625</td>
<td>0.1553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60614</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>92714</td>
<td>0.1516</td>
<td>0.1680</td>
<td>0.1403</td>
<td>0.1802</td>
<td>0.1594</td>
<td>0.1596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60616</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>42594</td>
<td>0.2045</td>
<td>0.1679</td>
<td>0.1402</td>
<td>0.1830</td>
<td>0.1572</td>
<td>0.1715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60618</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>57500</td>
<td>0.1189</td>
<td>0.1340</td>
<td>0.1191</td>
<td>0.1419</td>
<td>0.1359</td>
<td>0.1301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60622</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>75163</td>
<td>0.1120</td>
<td>0.1188</td>
<td>0.1042</td>
<td>0.1326</td>
<td>0.1214</td>
<td>0.1177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60623</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>28091</td>
<td>0.0581</td>
<td>0.0740</td>
<td>0.0648</td>
<td>0.0845</td>
<td>0.0698</td>
<td>0.0702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60625</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>56507</td>
<td>0.1335</td>
<td>0.1359</td>
<td>0.1234</td>
<td>0.1443</td>
<td>0.1375</td>
<td>0.1350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60626</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>36439</td>
<td>0.1570</td>
<td>0.1609</td>
<td>0.1363</td>
<td>0.1728</td>
<td>0.1712</td>
<td>0.1595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60629</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>40712</td>
<td>0.0738</td>
<td>0.0905</td>
<td>0.0751</td>
<td>0.0950</td>
<td>0.0849</td>
<td>0.0839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60630</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>62244</td>
<td>0.1496</td>
<td>0.1448</td>
<td>0.1346</td>
<td>0.1587</td>
<td>0.1548</td>
<td>0.1485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60631</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>76400</td>
<td>0.1753</td>
<td>0.1729</td>
<td>0.1347</td>
<td>0.1833</td>
<td>0.1538</td>
<td>0.1639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60632</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>38438</td>
<td>0.0574</td>
<td>0.0667</td>
<td>0.0555</td>
<td>0.0768</td>
<td>0.0666</td>
<td>0.0644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60633</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>47136</td>
<td>0.1535</td>
<td>0.1615</td>
<td>0.1430</td>
<td>0.1531</td>
<td>0.1549</td>
<td>0.1531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60634</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>56382</td>
<td>0.1253</td>
<td>0.1284</td>
<td>0.1126</td>
<td>0.1390</td>
<td>0.1205</td>
<td>0.1252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60638</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>62511</td>
<td>0.1393</td>
<td>0.1407</td>
<td>0.1041</td>
<td>0.1461</td>
<td>0.1208</td>
<td>0.1305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60639</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>38798</td>
<td>0.0761</td>
<td>0.0937</td>
<td>0.0848</td>
<td>0.0950</td>
<td>0.0866</td>
<td>0.0873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60640</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>47631</td>
<td>0.1549</td>
<td>0.1609</td>
<td>0.1427</td>
<td>0.1788</td>
<td>0.1734</td>
<td>0.1622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60641</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>51597</td>
<td>0.1209</td>
<td>0.1245</td>
<td>0.1118</td>
<td>0.1274</td>
<td>0.1292</td>
<td>0.1228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60642</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>79633</td>
<td>0.1307</td>
<td>0.1410</td>
<td>0.1113</td>
<td>0.1497</td>
<td>0.1246</td>
<td>0.1316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60645</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>47633</td>
<td>0.1793</td>
<td>0.1814</td>
<td>0.1674</td>
<td>0.1844</td>
<td>0.1856</td>
<td>0.1797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60646</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>73246</td>
<td>0.1675</td>
<td>0.1660</td>
<td>0.1373</td>
<td>0.1611</td>
<td>0.1678</td>
<td>0.1601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60647</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>56257</td>
<td>0.1053</td>
<td>0.1130</td>
<td>0.0995</td>
<td>0.1194</td>
<td>0.1094</td>
<td>0.1093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60652</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>61797</td>
<td>0.1139</td>
<td>0.1277</td>
<td>0.1100</td>
<td>0.1265</td>
<td>0.1238</td>
<td>0.1205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60654</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>90520</td>
<td>0.1508</td>
<td>0.1494</td>
<td>0.1267</td>
<td>0.1623</td>
<td>0.1401</td>
<td>0.1459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60655</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>87105</td>
<td>0.1413</td>
<td>0.1688</td>
<td>0.1423</td>
<td>0.1588</td>
<td>0.1407</td>
<td>0.1506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60656</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>57308</td>
<td>0.2061</td>
<td>0.2155</td>
<td>0.1943</td>
<td>0.2078</td>
<td>0.2013</td>
<td>0.2052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60657</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>79638</td>
<td>0.1468</td>
<td>0.1584</td>
<td>0.1320</td>
<td>0.1772</td>
<td>0.1527</td>
<td>0.1534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60659</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>48104</td>
<td>0.2011</td>
<td>0.1877</td>
<td>0.1745</td>
<td>0.1960</td>
<td>0.2124</td>
<td>0.1944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60660</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>41412</td>
<td>0.1810</td>
<td>0.1785</td>
<td>0.1572</td>
<td>0.1807</td>
<td>0.1835</td>
<td>0.1764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60661</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>98882</td>
<td>0.1555</td>
<td>0.1640</td>
<td>0.1236</td>
<td>0.1620</td>
<td>0.1361</td>
<td>0.1488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60706</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>52429</td>
<td>0.1543</td>
<td>0.1478</td>
<td>0.1352</td>
<td>0.1497</td>
<td>0.1798</td>
<td>0.1542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60707</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>54669</td>
<td>0.1215</td>
<td>0.1409</td>
<td>0.1116</td>
<td>0.1455</td>
<td>0.1372</td>
<td>0.1315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>0.1397</td>
<td>0.1442</td>
<td>0.1224</td>
<td>0.1511</td>
<td>0.1393</td>
<td>0.1395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>0.1317</td>
<td>0.1392</td>
<td>0.1217</td>
<td>0.1464</td>
<td>0.1361</td>
<td>0.1352</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

UNIFORM ENFORCEMENT OR PERSONALIZED LAW?

Chicago Zip Codes
3. Appeals Rate (x100), By 28 Lower-Income Zip Codes (INCOME), 2012 to 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60608</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>36216</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0888</td>
<td>0.1041</td>
<td>0.0892</td>
<td>0.1036</td>
<td>0.1007</td>
<td>0.0973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60609</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>32284</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0814</td>
<td>0.1037</td>
<td>0.0938</td>
<td>0.1002</td>
<td>0.0902</td>
<td>0.0942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60612</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>35888</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1141</td>
<td>0.1245</td>
<td>0.1236</td>
<td>0.1306</td>
<td>0.1299</td>
<td>0.1245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60615</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>41108</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1336</td>
<td>0.1530</td>
<td>0.1431</td>
<td>0.1616</td>
<td>0.1582</td>
<td>0.1502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60616</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>42594</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.2045</td>
<td>0.1679</td>
<td>0.1402</td>
<td>0.1830</td>
<td>0.1572</td>
<td>0.1715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60617</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>37796</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1197</td>
<td>0.1300</td>
<td>0.1262</td>
<td>0.1396</td>
<td>0.1322</td>
<td>0.1295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60619</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>32239</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1276</td>
<td>0.1424</td>
<td>0.1340</td>
<td>0.1516</td>
<td>0.1405</td>
<td>0.1395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60620</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>32168</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1189</td>
<td>0.1426</td>
<td>0.1299</td>
<td>0.1421</td>
<td>0.1352</td>
<td>0.1340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60621</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>19832</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0938</td>
<td>0.1091</td>
<td>0.1069</td>
<td>0.1085</td>
<td>0.1165</td>
<td>0.1068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60622</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>28091</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0581</td>
<td>0.0740</td>
<td>0.0648</td>
<td>0.0845</td>
<td>0.0698</td>
<td>0.0702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60623</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>22204</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0810</td>
<td>0.0934</td>
<td>0.0936</td>
<td>0.1099</td>
<td>0.1090</td>
<td>0.0975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60624</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>36439</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1570</td>
<td>0.1609</td>
<td>0.1363</td>
<td>0.1728</td>
<td>0.1712</td>
<td>0.1595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60625</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>36242</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1121</td>
<td>0.1277</td>
<td>0.1242</td>
<td>0.1402</td>
<td>0.1360</td>
<td>0.1280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60626</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>40712</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0738</td>
<td>0.0905</td>
<td>0.0751</td>
<td>0.0950</td>
<td>0.0849</td>
<td>0.0839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60627</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>38438</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0574</td>
<td>0.0667</td>
<td>0.0555</td>
<td>0.0768</td>
<td>0.0666</td>
<td>0.0644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60631</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>47136</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1535</td>
<td>0.1615</td>
<td>0.1430</td>
<td>0.1531</td>
<td>0.1549</td>
<td>0.1531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60636</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td>27871</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0963</td>
<td>0.1065</td>
<td>0.0988</td>
<td>0.1159</td>
<td>0.1077</td>
<td>0.1051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60637</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>26845</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1163</td>
<td>0.1264</td>
<td>0.1276</td>
<td>0.1457</td>
<td>0.1371</td>
<td>0.1306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60639</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>38798</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0761</td>
<td>0.0937</td>
<td>0.0848</td>
<td>0.0950</td>
<td>0.0866</td>
<td>0.0873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60640</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>47631</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1549</td>
<td>0.1609</td>
<td>0.1427</td>
<td>0.1788</td>
<td>0.1734</td>
<td>0.1622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60644</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>26882</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0884</td>
<td>0.1176</td>
<td>0.1154</td>
<td>0.1289</td>
<td>0.1168</td>
<td>0.1143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60645</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>47633</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1793</td>
<td>0.1814</td>
<td>0.1674</td>
<td>0.1844</td>
<td>0.1856</td>
<td>0.1797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60649</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>26797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1197</td>
<td>0.1329</td>
<td>0.1291</td>
<td>0.1440</td>
<td>0.1302</td>
<td>0.1315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60651</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>32006</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0828</td>
<td>0.1088</td>
<td>0.0986</td>
<td>0.1164</td>
<td>0.1065</td>
<td>0.1030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60653</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>25923</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1175</td>
<td>0.1320</td>
<td>0.1244</td>
<td>0.1431</td>
<td>0.1344</td>
<td>0.1306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60659</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>48104</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.2011</td>
<td>0.1877</td>
<td>0.1745</td>
<td>0.1960</td>
<td>0.2124</td>
<td>0.1944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60660</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>41412</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1810</td>
<td>0.1785</td>
<td>0.1572</td>
<td>0.1807</td>
<td>0.1835</td>
<td>0.1764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60827</td>
<td>96.8</td>
<td>31063</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1139</td>
<td>0.1193</td>
<td>0.1155</td>
<td>0.1253</td>
<td>0.1166</td>
<td>0.1183</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appeals Rate (x100), By 31 Higher-Income Zip Codes (INCOME), 2012 to 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60601</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>102254</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1277</td>
<td>0.1397</td>
<td>0.1300</td>
<td>0.1692</td>
<td>0.1463</td>
<td>0.1422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60602</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>57368</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1702</td>
<td>0.1270</td>
<td>0.1050</td>
<td>0.1405</td>
<td>0.0989</td>
<td>0.1305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60603</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>122031</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1856</td>
<td>0.1753</td>
<td>0.1212</td>
<td>0.1636</td>
<td>0.1188</td>
<td>0.1534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60604</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>151731</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1309</td>
<td>0.1150</td>
<td>0.0900</td>
<td>0.1201</td>
<td>0.1075</td>
<td>0.1123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60605</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>87668</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1861</td>
<td>0.1786</td>
<td>0.1460</td>
<td>0.1944</td>
<td>0.1633</td>
<td>0.1746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60606</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>106661</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1271</td>
<td>0.1410</td>
<td>0.1081</td>
<td>0.1320</td>
<td>0.1348</td>
<td>0.1288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60607</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>85917</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1383</td>
<td>0.1542</td>
<td>0.1200</td>
<td>0.1664</td>
<td>0.1485</td>
<td>0.1454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60610</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>75892</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1559</td>
<td>0.1715</td>
<td>0.1380</td>
<td>0.1865</td>
<td>0.1616</td>
<td>0.1628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60611</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>87280</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1510</td>
<td>0.1491</td>
<td>0.1348</td>
<td>0.1708</td>
<td>0.1631</td>
<td>0.1532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60613</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>72126</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1470</td>
<td>0.1357</td>
<td>0.1367</td>
<td>0.1742</td>
<td>0.1625</td>
<td>0.1553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60614</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>92714</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1516</td>
<td>0.1680</td>
<td>0.1403</td>
<td>0.1802</td>
<td>0.1594</td>
<td>0.1596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60618</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>57500</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1189</td>
<td>0.1340</td>
<td>0.1191</td>
<td>0.1419</td>
<td>0.1359</td>
<td>0.1301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60622</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>75163</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1120</td>
<td>0.1188</td>
<td>0.1042</td>
<td>0.1326</td>
<td>0.1214</td>
<td>0.1177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60625</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>56507</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1335</td>
<td>0.1359</td>
<td>0.1234</td>
<td>0.1443</td>
<td>0.1375</td>
<td>0.1350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60630</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>62244</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1496</td>
<td>0.1448</td>
<td>0.1346</td>
<td>0.1587</td>
<td>0.1548</td>
<td>0.1485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60631</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>76400</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1753</td>
<td>0.1729</td>
<td>0.1347</td>
<td>0.1833</td>
<td>0.1538</td>
<td>0.1639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60634</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>56382</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1253</td>
<td>0.1284</td>
<td>0.1126</td>
<td>0.1390</td>
<td>0.1205</td>
<td>0.1252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60638</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>62511</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1393</td>
<td>0.1407</td>
<td>0.1041</td>
<td>0.1461</td>
<td>0.1208</td>
<td>0.1305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60641</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>51597</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1209</td>
<td>0.1245</td>
<td>0.1118</td>
<td>0.1274</td>
<td>0.1292</td>
<td>0.1228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60642</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>79633</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1307</td>
<td>0.1410</td>
<td>0.1113</td>
<td>0.1497</td>
<td>0.1246</td>
<td>0.1316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60643</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>59593</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1269</td>
<td>0.1456</td>
<td>0.1272</td>
<td>0.1413</td>
<td>0.1360</td>
<td>0.1356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60646</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>73246</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1675</td>
<td>0.1660</td>
<td>0.1373</td>
<td>0.1611</td>
<td>0.1678</td>
<td>0.1601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60647</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>56257</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1053</td>
<td>0.1130</td>
<td>0.0995</td>
<td>0.1194</td>
<td>0.1094</td>
<td>0.1093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60652</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>61797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1139</td>
<td>0.1277</td>
<td>0.1100</td>
<td>0.1265</td>
<td>0.1238</td>
<td>0.1205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60654</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>90520</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1508</td>
<td>0.1494</td>
<td>0.1267</td>
<td>0.1623</td>
<td>0.1401</td>
<td>0.1459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60655</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>87105</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1413</td>
<td>0.1688</td>
<td>0.1423</td>
<td>0.1588</td>
<td>0.1407</td>
<td>0.1506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60656</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>57308</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.2061</td>
<td>0.2155</td>
<td>0.1943</td>
<td>0.2078</td>
<td>0.2013</td>
<td>0.2052</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Appeals Rate (x100), By 25 Southside Zip Codes (LOCATION), 2012 to 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60605</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>87668</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1861</td>
<td>0.1786</td>
<td>0.1460</td>
<td>0.1944</td>
<td>0.1633</td>
<td>0.1746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60607</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>85917</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1383</td>
<td>0.1542</td>
<td>0.1200</td>
<td>0.1664</td>
<td>0.1485</td>
<td>0.1454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60608</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>36216</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0888</td>
<td>0.1041</td>
<td>0.0892</td>
<td>0.1036</td>
<td>0.1007</td>
<td>0.0973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60609</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>32284</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0814</td>
<td>0.1037</td>
<td>0.0938</td>
<td>0.1002</td>
<td>0.0902</td>
<td>0.0942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60615</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>41108</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1336</td>
<td>0.1530</td>
<td>0.1431</td>
<td>0.1616</td>
<td>0.1582</td>
<td>0.1502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60616</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>42594</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.2045</td>
<td>0.1679</td>
<td>0.1402</td>
<td>0.1830</td>
<td>0.1572</td>
<td>0.1715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60617</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>37796</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1197</td>
<td>0.1300</td>
<td>0.1262</td>
<td>0.1396</td>
<td>0.1322</td>
<td>0.1295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60619</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>32239</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1276</td>
<td>0.1424</td>
<td>0.1340</td>
<td>0.1516</td>
<td>0.1405</td>
<td>0.1395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60620</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>32168</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1189</td>
<td>0.1426</td>
<td>0.1299</td>
<td>0.1421</td>
<td>0.1352</td>
<td>0.1340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60621</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>19832</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0938</td>
<td>0.1091</td>
<td>0.1069</td>
<td>0.1085</td>
<td>0.1165</td>
<td>0.1068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60623</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>28091</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0581</td>
<td>0.0740</td>
<td>0.0648</td>
<td>0.0845</td>
<td>0.0698</td>
<td>0.0702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60628</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>36242</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1121</td>
<td>0.1277</td>
<td>0.1242</td>
<td>0.1402</td>
<td>0.1360</td>
<td>0.1280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60629</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>40712</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0738</td>
<td>0.0905</td>
<td>0.0751</td>
<td>0.0950</td>
<td>0.0849</td>
<td>0.0839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60632</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>38438</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0574</td>
<td>0.0667</td>
<td>0.0555</td>
<td>0.0768</td>
<td>0.0666</td>
<td>0.0644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60633</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>47136</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1535</td>
<td>0.1615</td>
<td>0.1430</td>
<td>0.1531</td>
<td>0.1549</td>
<td>0.1531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60636</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td>27871</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0963</td>
<td>0.1065</td>
<td>0.0988</td>
<td>0.1159</td>
<td>0.1077</td>
<td>0.1051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60637</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>26845</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1163</td>
<td>0.1264</td>
<td>0.1276</td>
<td>0.1457</td>
<td>0.1371</td>
<td>0.1306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60638</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>62511</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1393</td>
<td>0.1407</td>
<td>0.1041</td>
<td>0.1461</td>
<td>0.1208</td>
<td>0.1305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60642</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>79633</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1307</td>
<td>0.1410</td>
<td>0.1113</td>
<td>0.1497</td>
<td>0.1246</td>
<td>0.1316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60643</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>59593</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1269</td>
<td>0.1456</td>
<td>0.1272</td>
<td>0.1413</td>
<td>0.1360</td>
<td>0.1356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60649</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>26797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1197</td>
<td>0.1329</td>
<td>0.1291</td>
<td>0.1440</td>
<td>0.1302</td>
<td>0.1315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60652</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>61797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1139</td>
<td>0.1277</td>
<td>0.1100</td>
<td>0.1265</td>
<td>0.1238</td>
<td>0.1205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60653</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>25923</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1175</td>
<td>0.1320</td>
<td>0.1244</td>
<td>0.1431</td>
<td>0.1344</td>
<td>0.1306</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appeals Rate (x100), By 34 Northside Zip Codes (LOCATION), 2012 to 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60661</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>102254</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1277</td>
<td>0.1397</td>
<td>0.1300</td>
<td>0.1692</td>
<td>0.1463</td>
<td>0.1422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60662</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>57368</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1702</td>
<td>0.1270</td>
<td>0.1050</td>
<td>0.1405</td>
<td>0.0989</td>
<td>0.1305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60663</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>122031</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1856</td>
<td>0.1753</td>
<td>0.1212</td>
<td>0.1636</td>
<td>0.1188</td>
<td>0.1534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60664</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>151731</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1309</td>
<td>0.1150</td>
<td>0.0900</td>
<td>0.1201</td>
<td>0.1075</td>
<td>0.1123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60666</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>106661</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1271</td>
<td>0.1410</td>
<td>0.1081</td>
<td>0.1320</td>
<td>0.1348</td>
<td>0.1288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60667</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>75892</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1559</td>
<td>0.1715</td>
<td>0.1380</td>
<td>0.1865</td>
<td>0.1616</td>
<td>0.1628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60668</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>87280</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1510</td>
<td>0.1491</td>
<td>0.1348</td>
<td>0.1708</td>
<td>0.1631</td>
<td>0.1532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60669</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>35888</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1141</td>
<td>0.1245</td>
<td>0.1236</td>
<td>0.1306</td>
<td>0.1299</td>
<td>0.1245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60670</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>72126</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1470</td>
<td>0.1557</td>
<td>0.1367</td>
<td>0.1742</td>
<td>0.1625</td>
<td>0.1553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60671</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>92714</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1516</td>
<td>0.1680</td>
<td>0.1403</td>
<td>0.1802</td>
<td>0.1594</td>
<td>0.1596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60672</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>57500</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1189</td>
<td>0.1340</td>
<td>0.1191</td>
<td>0.1419</td>
<td>0.1359</td>
<td>0.1301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60673</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>75163</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1120</td>
<td>0.1188</td>
<td>0.1042</td>
<td>0.1326</td>
<td>0.1214</td>
<td>0.1177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60674</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>22204</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0810</td>
<td>0.0934</td>
<td>0.0936</td>
<td>0.1099</td>
<td>0.1090</td>
<td>0.0975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60675</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>56507</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1335</td>
<td>0.1359</td>
<td>0.1234</td>
<td>0.1443</td>
<td>0.1375</td>
<td>0.1350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60676</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>36439</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1570</td>
<td>0.1609</td>
<td>0.1363</td>
<td>0.1728</td>
<td>0.1712</td>
<td>0.1595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60677</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>62244</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1496</td>
<td>0.1448</td>
<td>0.1346</td>
<td>0.1587</td>
<td>0.1548</td>
<td>0.1485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60678</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>76400</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1753</td>
<td>0.1729</td>
<td>0.1347</td>
<td>0.1833</td>
<td>0.1538</td>
<td>0.1639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60679</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>56382</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1253</td>
<td>0.1284</td>
<td>0.1126</td>
<td>0.1390</td>
<td>0.1205</td>
<td>0.1252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60680</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>38798</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0761</td>
<td>0.0937</td>
<td>0.0848</td>
<td>0.0950</td>
<td>0.0866</td>
<td>0.0873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60681</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>47631</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1549</td>
<td>0.1609</td>
<td>0.1427</td>
<td>0.1788</td>
<td>0.1734</td>
<td>0.1622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60682</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>51597</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1209</td>
<td>0.1245</td>
<td>0.1118</td>
<td>0.1274</td>
<td>0.1292</td>
<td>0.1228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60683</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>26882</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0884</td>
<td>0.1176</td>
<td>0.1154</td>
<td>0.1289</td>
<td>0.1168</td>
<td>0.1143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60684</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>47633</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1793</td>
<td>0.1814</td>
<td>0.1674</td>
<td>0.1844</td>
<td>0.1856</td>
<td>0.1797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60685</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>73246</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1675</td>
<td>0.1660</td>
<td>0.1373</td>
<td>0.1611</td>
<td>0.1678</td>
<td>0.1601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60686</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>56257</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1053</td>
<td>0.1130</td>
<td>0.0995</td>
<td>0.1194</td>
<td>0.1094</td>
<td>0.1093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zip Code</td>
<td>District</td>
<td>Race</td>
<td>0.0828</td>
<td>0.1088</td>
<td>0.0986</td>
<td>0.1164</td>
<td>0.1065</td>
<td>0.1030</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60654</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>0.1508</td>
<td>0.1494</td>
<td>0.1267</td>
<td>0.1623</td>
<td>0.1401</td>
<td>0.1459</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60656</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>0.2061</td>
<td>0.2155</td>
<td>0.1943</td>
<td>0.2078</td>
<td>0.2013</td>
<td>0.2052</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60657</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.1468</td>
<td>0.1584</td>
<td>0.1320</td>
<td>0.1772</td>
<td>0.1527</td>
<td>0.1534</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60659</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>0.2011</td>
<td>0.1877</td>
<td>0.1745</td>
<td>0.1960</td>
<td>0.2124</td>
<td>0.1944</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60660</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>0.1810</td>
<td>0.1785</td>
<td>0.1572</td>
<td>0.1807</td>
<td>0.1835</td>
<td>0.1764</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60661</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>0.1555</td>
<td>0.1640</td>
<td>0.1236</td>
<td>0.1620</td>
<td>0.1361</td>
<td>0.1488</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60706</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.1543</td>
<td>0.1478</td>
<td>0.1352</td>
<td>0.1497</td>
<td>0.1798</td>
<td>0.1542</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60707</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>0.1215</td>
<td>0.1409</td>
<td>0.1116</td>
<td>0.1455</td>
<td>0.1372</td>
<td>0.1315</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>0.1413</td>
<td>0.1460</td>
<td>0.1264</td>
<td>0.1542</td>
<td>0.1443</td>
<td>0.1426</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>0.1317</td>
<td>0.1392</td>
<td>0.1217</td>
<td>0.1464</td>
<td>0.1361</td>
<td>0.1352</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>0.0096</td>
<td>0.0068</td>
<td>0.0047</td>
<td>0.0078</td>
<td>0.0082</td>
<td>0.0074</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### E. Successful Appeals Rate (x100), By All 59 City of Chicago Zip Codes, 2012 to 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60601</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>102254</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0741</td>
<td>0.0801</td>
<td>0.0775</td>
<td>0.1030</td>
<td>0.0900</td>
<td>0.0845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60602</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>57368</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1159</td>
<td>0.0742</td>
<td>0.0705</td>
<td>0.0793</td>
<td>0.0632</td>
<td>0.0824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60603</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>122031</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1349</td>
<td>0.1280</td>
<td>0.0870</td>
<td>0.0964</td>
<td>0.0745</td>
<td>0.1049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60604</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>151731</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0509</td>
<td>0.0705</td>
<td>0.0554</td>
<td>0.0776</td>
<td>0.0570</td>
<td>0.0620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60605</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>87668</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1017</td>
<td>0.0966</td>
<td>0.0866</td>
<td>0.1237</td>
<td>0.0953</td>
<td>0.1011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60606</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>106661</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0744</td>
<td>0.0844</td>
<td>0.0688</td>
<td>0.0679</td>
<td>0.0734</td>
<td>0.0742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60607</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>85917</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0730</td>
<td>0.0831</td>
<td>0.0710</td>
<td>0.1037</td>
<td>0.0860</td>
<td>0.0832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60608</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>36216</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0523</td>
<td>0.0618</td>
<td>0.0548</td>
<td>0.0656</td>
<td>0.0614</td>
<td>0.0592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60609</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>32284</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0506</td>
<td>0.0667</td>
<td>0.0624</td>
<td>0.0664</td>
<td>0.0567</td>
<td>0.0608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60610</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>75892</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0879</td>
<td>0.1019</td>
<td>0.0872</td>
<td>0.1179</td>
<td>0.0974</td>
<td>0.0985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60611</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>87280</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0801</td>
<td>0.0768</td>
<td>0.0831</td>
<td>0.1053</td>
<td>0.0974</td>
<td>0.0877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60612</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>35888</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0665</td>
<td>0.0788</td>
<td>0.0816</td>
<td>0.0830</td>
<td>0.0779</td>
<td>0.0777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60613</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>72126</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0811</td>
<td>0.0856</td>
<td>0.0803</td>
<td>0.1086</td>
<td>0.1002</td>
<td>0.0911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60614</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>92714</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0804</td>
<td>0.0909</td>
<td>0.0853</td>
<td>0.1123</td>
<td>0.0929</td>
<td>0.0918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60615</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>41108</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0765</td>
<td>0.0893</td>
<td>0.0888</td>
<td>0.1004</td>
<td>0.0938</td>
<td>0.0900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60616</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>42594</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1363</td>
<td>0.1025</td>
<td>0.0874</td>
<td>0.1184</td>
<td>0.0983</td>
<td>0.1093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60617</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>37796</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0729</td>
<td>0.0811</td>
<td>0.0811</td>
<td>0.0933</td>
<td>0.0799</td>
<td>0.0818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60618</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>57500</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0683</td>
<td>0.0851</td>
<td>0.0775</td>
<td>0.0924</td>
<td>0.0896</td>
<td>0.0827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60619</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>32239</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0761</td>
<td>0.0903</td>
<td>0.0865</td>
<td>0.1003</td>
<td>0.0864</td>
<td>0.0883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60620</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>32168</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0740</td>
<td>0.0891</td>
<td>0.0844</td>
<td>0.0943</td>
<td>0.0831</td>
<td>0.0853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60621</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>19832</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0572</td>
<td>0.0712</td>
<td>0.0716</td>
<td>0.0712</td>
<td>0.0718</td>
<td>0.0687</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60622</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>75163</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0623</td>
<td>0.0648</td>
<td>0.0613</td>
<td>0.0838</td>
<td>0.0736</td>
<td>0.0689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60623</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>28091</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0362</td>
<td>0.0478</td>
<td>0.0432</td>
<td>0.0567</td>
<td>0.0444</td>
<td>0.0457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60624</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>22204</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0476</td>
<td>0.0626</td>
<td>0.0638</td>
<td>0.0733</td>
<td>0.0676</td>
<td>0.0633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60625</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>56507</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0827</td>
<td>0.0807</td>
<td>0.0790</td>
<td>0.0950</td>
<td>0.0869</td>
<td>0.0849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60626</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>36439</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1015</td>
<td>0.1049</td>
<td>0.0907</td>
<td>0.1146</td>
<td>0.1157</td>
<td>0.1053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60628</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>36242</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0672</td>
<td>0.0804</td>
<td>0.0824</td>
<td>0.0938</td>
<td>0.0850</td>
<td>0.0819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60629</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>40712</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0436</td>
<td>0.0583</td>
<td>0.0474</td>
<td>0.0611</td>
<td>0.0525</td>
<td>0.0526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60630</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>62244</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0918</td>
<td>0.0891</td>
<td>0.0862</td>
<td>0.1036</td>
<td>0.1021</td>
<td>0.0945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60631</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>76400</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1024</td>
<td>0.1036</td>
<td>0.0810</td>
<td>0.1190</td>
<td>0.0911</td>
<td>0.0994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60632</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>38438</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0340</td>
<td>0.0408</td>
<td>0.0356</td>
<td>0.0504</td>
<td>0.0445</td>
<td>0.0408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Area Name</td>
<td>Data1</td>
<td>Data2</td>
<td>Data3</td>
<td>Data4</td>
<td>Data5</td>
<td>Data6</td>
<td>Data7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>0.0911</td>
<td>0.1056</td>
<td>0.0957</td>
<td>0.1076</td>
<td>0.1016</td>
<td>0.1005</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>0.0733</td>
<td>0.0754</td>
<td>0.0698</td>
<td>0.0879</td>
<td>0.0742</td>
<td>0.0762</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td>0.0606</td>
<td>0.0701</td>
<td>0.0663</td>
<td>0.0789</td>
<td>0.0673</td>
<td>0.0689</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>0.0684</td>
<td>0.0802</td>
<td>0.0846</td>
<td>0.0962</td>
<td>0.0848</td>
<td>0.0831</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>0.0838</td>
<td>0.0871</td>
<td>0.0620</td>
<td>0.0908</td>
<td>0.0751</td>
<td>0.0799</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>0.0470</td>
<td>0.0615</td>
<td>0.0559</td>
<td>0.0618</td>
<td>0.0539</td>
<td>0.0561</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>0.0929</td>
<td>0.0966</td>
<td>0.0914</td>
<td>0.1215</td>
<td>0.1127</td>
<td>0.1030</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.0745</td>
<td>0.0792</td>
<td>0.0728</td>
<td>0.0828</td>
<td>0.0839</td>
<td>0.0787</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>0.0684</td>
<td>0.0787</td>
<td>0.0653</td>
<td>0.0927</td>
<td>0.0733</td>
<td>0.0757</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>0.0773</td>
<td>0.0886</td>
<td>0.0807</td>
<td>0.0888</td>
<td>0.0810</td>
<td>0.0835</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>0.0541</td>
<td>0.0786</td>
<td>0.0806</td>
<td>0.0884</td>
<td>0.0715</td>
<td>0.0756</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>0.1148</td>
<td>0.1144</td>
<td>0.1123</td>
<td>0.1227</td>
<td>0.1238</td>
<td>0.1176</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.1009</td>
<td>0.0987</td>
<td>0.0875</td>
<td>0.1032</td>
<td>0.1044</td>
<td>0.0989</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>0.0592</td>
<td>0.0673</td>
<td>0.0598</td>
<td>0.0765</td>
<td>0.0676</td>
<td>0.0660</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>0.0724</td>
<td>0.0816</td>
<td>0.0806</td>
<td>0.0926</td>
<td>0.0782</td>
<td>0.0814</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>0.0486</td>
<td>0.0708</td>
<td>0.0668</td>
<td>0.0767</td>
<td>0.0686</td>
<td>0.0667</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>0.0647</td>
<td>0.0760</td>
<td>0.0680</td>
<td>0.0801</td>
<td>0.0734</td>
<td>0.0726</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>0.0690</td>
<td>0.0810</td>
<td>0.0783</td>
<td>0.0897</td>
<td>0.0821</td>
<td>0.0803</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>0.0805</td>
<td>0.0802</td>
<td>0.0732</td>
<td>0.0970</td>
<td>0.0822</td>
<td>0.0824</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>0.0787</td>
<td>0.0948</td>
<td>0.0910</td>
<td>0.0975</td>
<td>0.0818</td>
<td>0.0889</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>0.1462</td>
<td>0.1479</td>
<td>0.1426</td>
<td>0.1468</td>
<td>0.1489</td>
<td>0.1466</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.0779</td>
<td>0.0848</td>
<td>0.0767</td>
<td>0.1103</td>
<td>0.0917</td>
<td>0.0879</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>0.1358</td>
<td>0.1234</td>
<td>0.1217</td>
<td>0.1373</td>
<td>0.1339</td>
<td>0.1345</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>0.1174</td>
<td>0.1103</td>
<td>0.1052</td>
<td>0.1245</td>
<td>0.1235</td>
<td>0.1161</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>0.0796</td>
<td>0.0893</td>
<td>0.0946</td>
<td>0.1043</td>
<td>0.1372</td>
<td>0.1071</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.1058</td>
<td>0.0893</td>
<td>0.0946</td>
<td>0.1043</td>
<td>0.1372</td>
<td>0.1071</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>0.0778</td>
<td>0.0907</td>
<td>0.0733</td>
<td>0.0973</td>
<td>0.0921</td>
<td>0.0863</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>96.8</td>
<td>0.0740</td>
<td>0.0764</td>
<td>0.0798</td>
<td>0.0822</td>
<td>0.0728</td>
<td>0.0773</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>0.0788</td>
<td>0.0847</td>
<td>0.0782</td>
<td>0.0943</td>
<td>0.0853</td>
<td>0.0844</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. Successful Appeals Rate (x100), By 16 Majority-Black Zip Codes (RACE), 2012 to 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60612</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>35888</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0665</td>
<td>0.0788</td>
<td>0.0816</td>
<td>0.0830</td>
<td>0.0779</td>
<td>0.0777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60615</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>41108</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0765</td>
<td>0.0893</td>
<td>0.0888</td>
<td>0.1004</td>
<td>0.0938</td>
<td>0.0900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60617</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>37796</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0729</td>
<td>0.0811</td>
<td>0.0811</td>
<td>0.0933</td>
<td>0.0799</td>
<td>0.0818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60619</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>32239</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0761</td>
<td>0.0903</td>
<td>0.0865</td>
<td>0.1003</td>
<td>0.0864</td>
<td>0.0883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60620</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>32168</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0740</td>
<td>0.0891</td>
<td>0.0844</td>
<td>0.0943</td>
<td>0.0831</td>
<td>0.0853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60621</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>19832</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0572</td>
<td>0.0712</td>
<td>0.0716</td>
<td>0.0712</td>
<td>0.0718</td>
<td>0.0687</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60624</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>22204</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0476</td>
<td>0.0626</td>
<td>0.0638</td>
<td>0.0733</td>
<td>0.0676</td>
<td>0.0633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60628</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>36242</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0672</td>
<td>0.0804</td>
<td>0.0824</td>
<td>0.0938</td>
<td>0.0850</td>
<td>0.0819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60636</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td>27871</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0606</td>
<td>0.0701</td>
<td>0.0663</td>
<td>0.0789</td>
<td>0.0673</td>
<td>0.0689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60637</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>26845</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0684</td>
<td>0.0802</td>
<td>0.0846</td>
<td>0.0962</td>
<td>0.0848</td>
<td>0.0831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60643</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>59593</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0773</td>
<td>0.0886</td>
<td>0.0807</td>
<td>0.0888</td>
<td>0.0810</td>
<td>0.0835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60644</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>26882</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0541</td>
<td>0.0786</td>
<td>0.0806</td>
<td>0.0884</td>
<td>0.0715</td>
<td>0.0756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60649</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>26797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0724</td>
<td>0.0816</td>
<td>0.0806</td>
<td>0.0926</td>
<td>0.0782</td>
<td>0.0814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60651</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>32006</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0486</td>
<td>0.0708</td>
<td>0.0668</td>
<td>0.0767</td>
<td>0.0686</td>
<td>0.0667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60653</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>25923</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0690</td>
<td>0.0810</td>
<td>0.0783</td>
<td>0.0897</td>
<td>0.0821</td>
<td>0.0803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60827</td>
<td>96.8</td>
<td>31063</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0740</td>
<td>0.0764</td>
<td>0.0798</td>
<td>0.0822</td>
<td>0.0728</td>
<td>0.0773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60601</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>102254</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0741</td>
<td>0.0801</td>
<td>0.0775</td>
<td>0.1030</td>
<td>0.0900</td>
<td>0.0845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60602</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>57368</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1159</td>
<td>0.0742</td>
<td>0.0705</td>
<td>0.0793</td>
<td>0.0632</td>
<td>0.0824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60603</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>122031</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1349</td>
<td>0.1280</td>
<td>0.0870</td>
<td>0.0964</td>
<td>0.0745</td>
<td>0.1049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60604</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>151731</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0509</td>
<td>0.0705</td>
<td>0.0554</td>
<td>0.0776</td>
<td>0.0570</td>
<td>0.0620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60605</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>87668</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1017</td>
<td>0.0966</td>
<td>0.0866</td>
<td>0.1237</td>
<td>0.0953</td>
<td>0.1011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60606</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>106661</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0744</td>
<td>0.0844</td>
<td>0.0688</td>
<td>0.0679</td>
<td>0.0734</td>
<td>0.0742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60607</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>85917</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0730</td>
<td>0.0831</td>
<td>0.0710</td>
<td>0.1037</td>
<td>0.0860</td>
<td>0.0832</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Successful Appeals Rate (x100), By 43 Majority-Other Zip Codes (RACE), 2012 to 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60601</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>102254</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0741</td>
<td>0.0801</td>
<td>0.0775</td>
<td>0.1030</td>
<td>0.0900</td>
<td>0.0845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60602</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>57368</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1159</td>
<td>0.0742</td>
<td>0.0705</td>
<td>0.0793</td>
<td>0.0632</td>
<td>0.0824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60603</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>122031</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1349</td>
<td>0.1280</td>
<td>0.0870</td>
<td>0.0964</td>
<td>0.0745</td>
<td>0.1049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60604</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>151731</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0509</td>
<td>0.0705</td>
<td>0.0554</td>
<td>0.0776</td>
<td>0.0570</td>
<td>0.0620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60605</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>87668</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1017</td>
<td>0.0966</td>
<td>0.0866</td>
<td>0.1237</td>
<td>0.0953</td>
<td>0.1011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60606</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>106661</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0744</td>
<td>0.0844</td>
<td>0.0688</td>
<td>0.0679</td>
<td>0.0734</td>
<td>0.0742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60607</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>85917</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0730</td>
<td>0.0831</td>
<td>0.0710</td>
<td>0.1037</td>
<td>0.0860</td>
<td>0.0832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Value</td>
<td>Projected Value</td>
<td>Actual Value</td>
<td>Total Value</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Total Percentage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside 0.0523</td>
<td>0.0618</td>
<td>0.0548</td>
<td>0.0656</td>
<td>0.0614</td>
<td>0.0592</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside 0.0879</td>
<td>0.1019</td>
<td>0.0872</td>
<td>0.1179</td>
<td>0.0974</td>
<td>0.0985</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside 0.0801</td>
<td>0.0768</td>
<td>0.0831</td>
<td>0.1053</td>
<td>0.0974</td>
<td>0.0877</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside 0.0811</td>
<td>0.0856</td>
<td>0.0803</td>
<td>0.1086</td>
<td>0.1002</td>
<td>0.0911</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside 0.0804</td>
<td>0.0909</td>
<td>0.0853</td>
<td>0.1123</td>
<td>0.0929</td>
<td>0.0918</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside 0.1363</td>
<td>0.1025</td>
<td>0.0874</td>
<td>0.1184</td>
<td>0.0983</td>
<td>0.1093</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside 0.0683</td>
<td>0.0851</td>
<td>0.0775</td>
<td>0.0924</td>
<td>0.0896</td>
<td>0.0827</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside 0.0623</td>
<td>0.0648</td>
<td>0.0613</td>
<td>0.0838</td>
<td>0.0736</td>
<td>0.0689</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside 0.0362</td>
<td>0.0478</td>
<td>0.0432</td>
<td>0.0567</td>
<td>0.0444</td>
<td>0.0457</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside 0.0827</td>
<td>0.0807</td>
<td>0.0790</td>
<td>0.0950</td>
<td>0.0869</td>
<td>0.0849</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside 0.1015</td>
<td>0.1049</td>
<td>0.0907</td>
<td>0.1146</td>
<td>0.1157</td>
<td>0.1053</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside 0.0436</td>
<td>0.0583</td>
<td>0.0474</td>
<td>0.0611</td>
<td>0.0525</td>
<td>0.0526</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside 0.0918</td>
<td>0.0891</td>
<td>0.0862</td>
<td>0.1036</td>
<td>0.1021</td>
<td>0.0945</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside 0.1024</td>
<td>0.1036</td>
<td>0.0810</td>
<td>0.1190</td>
<td>0.0911</td>
<td>0.0994</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside 0.0340</td>
<td>0.0408</td>
<td>0.0356</td>
<td>0.0504</td>
<td>0.0445</td>
<td>0.0408</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside 0.0911</td>
<td>0.1056</td>
<td>0.0957</td>
<td>0.1076</td>
<td>0.1016</td>
<td>0.1005</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside 0.0733</td>
<td>0.0754</td>
<td>0.0698</td>
<td>0.0879</td>
<td>0.0742</td>
<td>0.0762</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside 0.0838</td>
<td>0.0871</td>
<td>0.0620</td>
<td>0.0908</td>
<td>0.0751</td>
<td>0.0799</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside 0.0470</td>
<td>0.0615</td>
<td>0.0559</td>
<td>0.0618</td>
<td>0.0539</td>
<td>0.0561</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside 0.0929</td>
<td>0.0966</td>
<td>0.0914</td>
<td>0.1215</td>
<td>0.1127</td>
<td>0.1030</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside 0.0745</td>
<td>0.0792</td>
<td>0.0728</td>
<td>0.0828</td>
<td>0.0839</td>
<td>0.0787</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside 0.0684</td>
<td>0.0787</td>
<td>0.0653</td>
<td>0.0927</td>
<td>0.0733</td>
<td>0.0757</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside 0.1148</td>
<td>0.1144</td>
<td>0.1123</td>
<td>0.1227</td>
<td>0.1238</td>
<td>0.1176</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside 0.1009</td>
<td>0.0987</td>
<td>0.0875</td>
<td>0.1032</td>
<td>0.1044</td>
<td>0.0989</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside 0.0592</td>
<td>0.0673</td>
<td>0.0598</td>
<td>0.0765</td>
<td>0.0676</td>
<td>0.0660</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside 0.0647</td>
<td>0.0760</td>
<td>0.0680</td>
<td>0.0801</td>
<td>0.0734</td>
<td>0.0726</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside 0.0805</td>
<td>0.0802</td>
<td>0.0732</td>
<td>0.0970</td>
<td>0.0822</td>
<td>0.0824</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southside 0.0787</td>
<td>0.0948</td>
<td>0.0910</td>
<td>0.0975</td>
<td>0.0818</td>
<td>0.0889</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside 0.1462</td>
<td>0.1479</td>
<td>0.1426</td>
<td>0.1468</td>
<td>0.1489</td>
<td>0.1466</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside 0.0779</td>
<td>0.0848</td>
<td>0.0767</td>
<td>0.1103</td>
<td>0.0917</td>
<td>0.0879</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside 0.1358</td>
<td>0.1234</td>
<td>0.1217</td>
<td>0.1373</td>
<td>0.1539</td>
<td>0.1345</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside 0.1174</td>
<td>0.1103</td>
<td>0.1052</td>
<td>0.1245</td>
<td>0.1235</td>
<td>0.1161</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northside 0.0796</td>
<td>0.0893</td>
<td>0.0761</td>
<td>0.0973</td>
<td>0.0808</td>
<td>0.0847</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 3. Successful Appeals Rate (x100), By 28 Lower-Income Zip Codes (INCOME), 2012-16

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60608</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>36216</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0523</td>
<td>0.0618</td>
<td>0.0548</td>
<td>0.0656</td>
<td>0.0614</td>
<td>0.0592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60609</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>32284</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0506</td>
<td>0.0667</td>
<td>0.0624</td>
<td>0.0664</td>
<td>0.0567</td>
<td>0.0608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60612</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>35888</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0665</td>
<td>0.0788</td>
<td>0.0816</td>
<td>0.0830</td>
<td>0.0779</td>
<td>0.0777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60615</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>41108</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0765</td>
<td>0.0893</td>
<td>0.0888</td>
<td>0.1004</td>
<td>0.0938</td>
<td>0.0900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60616</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>42594</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1363</td>
<td>0.1025</td>
<td>0.0874</td>
<td>0.1184</td>
<td>0.0983</td>
<td>0.1093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60617</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>37796</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0729</td>
<td>0.0811</td>
<td>0.0811</td>
<td>0.0933</td>
<td>0.0799</td>
<td>0.0818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60619</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>32239</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0761</td>
<td>0.0903</td>
<td>0.0865</td>
<td>0.1003</td>
<td>0.0864</td>
<td>0.0883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60620</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>32168</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0740</td>
<td>0.0891</td>
<td>0.0844</td>
<td>0.0943</td>
<td>0.0831</td>
<td>0.0853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60621</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>19832</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0572</td>
<td>0.0712</td>
<td>0.0716</td>
<td>0.0712</td>
<td>0.0718</td>
<td>0.0687</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60623</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>28091</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0362</td>
<td>0.0478</td>
<td>0.0432</td>
<td>0.0567</td>
<td>0.0444</td>
<td>0.0457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60624</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>22204</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0476</td>
<td>0.0626</td>
<td>0.0638</td>
<td>0.0733</td>
<td>0.0676</td>
<td>0.0633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60626</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>36439</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1015</td>
<td>0.1049</td>
<td>0.0907</td>
<td>0.1146</td>
<td>0.1157</td>
<td>0.1053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60628</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>36242</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0672</td>
<td>0.0804</td>
<td>0.0824</td>
<td>0.0938</td>
<td>0.0850</td>
<td>0.0819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60629</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>40712</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0436</td>
<td>0.0583</td>
<td>0.0474</td>
<td>0.0611</td>
<td>0.0525</td>
<td>0.0526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60632</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>38438</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0340</td>
<td>0.0408</td>
<td>0.0356</td>
<td>0.0504</td>
<td>0.0445</td>
<td>0.0408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60633</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>47136</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0911</td>
<td>0.1056</td>
<td>0.0957</td>
<td>0.1076</td>
<td>0.1016</td>
<td>0.1005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60636</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td>27871</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0606</td>
<td>0.0701</td>
<td>0.0663</td>
<td>0.0789</td>
<td>0.0673</td>
<td>0.0689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60637</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>26845</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0684</td>
<td>0.0802</td>
<td>0.0846</td>
<td>0.0962</td>
<td>0.0848</td>
<td>0.0831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60639</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>38798</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0470</td>
<td>0.0615</td>
<td>0.0559</td>
<td>0.0618</td>
<td>0.0539</td>
<td>0.0561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60640</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>47631</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0929</td>
<td>0.0966</td>
<td>0.0914</td>
<td>0.1215</td>
<td>0.1127</td>
<td>0.1030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60644</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>26882</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0541</td>
<td>0.0786</td>
<td>0.0806</td>
<td>0.0884</td>
<td>0.0715</td>
<td>0.0756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60645</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>47633</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1148</td>
<td>0.1144</td>
<td>0.1123</td>
<td>0.1227</td>
<td>0.1238</td>
<td>0.1176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60649</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>26797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0724</td>
<td>0.0816</td>
<td>0.0806</td>
<td>0.0926</td>
<td>0.0782</td>
<td>0.0814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60651</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>32006</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0486</td>
<td>0.0708</td>
<td>0.0668</td>
<td>0.0767</td>
<td>0.0686</td>
<td>0.0667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60653</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>25923</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0690</td>
<td>0.0810</td>
<td>0.0783</td>
<td>0.0897</td>
<td>0.0821</td>
<td>0.0803</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. Successful Appeals Rate (x100), By 31 Higher-Income Zip Codes (INCOME), 2012-16

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60659</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>48104</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1358</td>
<td>0.1234</td>
<td>0.1217</td>
<td>0.1373</td>
<td>0.1539</td>
<td>0.1345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60660</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>41412</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1174</td>
<td>0.1103</td>
<td>0.1052</td>
<td>0.1245</td>
<td>0.1235</td>
<td>0.1161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60827</td>
<td>96.8</td>
<td>31063</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0740</td>
<td>0.0764</td>
<td>0.0798</td>
<td>0.0822</td>
<td>0.0728</td>
<td>0.0773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>28 Zip Codes</td>
<td>0.0728</td>
<td>0.0813</td>
<td>0.0779</td>
<td>0.0901</td>
<td>0.0826</td>
<td>0.0811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>0.0788</td>
<td>0.0847</td>
<td>0.0782</td>
<td>0.0943</td>
<td>0.0853</td>
<td>0.0844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Difference</td>
<td>-0.0060</td>
<td>-0.0034</td>
<td>-0.0003</td>
<td>-0.0042</td>
<td>-0.0027</td>
<td>-0.0033</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Successful Appeals Rate (x100), By 25 Southside Zip Codes (LOCATION), 2012-2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60605</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>87668</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1017</td>
<td>0.0966</td>
<td>0.0866</td>
<td>0.1237</td>
<td>0.0953</td>
<td>0.1011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60607</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>85917</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0730</td>
<td>0.0831</td>
<td>0.0710</td>
<td>0.1037</td>
<td>0.0860</td>
<td>0.0832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60608</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>36216</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0523</td>
<td>0.0618</td>
<td>0.0548</td>
<td>0.0656</td>
<td>0.0614</td>
<td>0.0592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60609</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>32284</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0506</td>
<td>0.0667</td>
<td>0.0624</td>
<td>0.0664</td>
<td>0.0567</td>
<td>0.0608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60615</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>41108</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0765</td>
<td>0.0893</td>
<td>0.0888</td>
<td>0.1004</td>
<td>0.0938</td>
<td>0.0900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60616</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>42594</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.1363</td>
<td>0.1025</td>
<td>0.0874</td>
<td>0.1184</td>
<td>0.0983</td>
<td>0.1093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60617</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>37796</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0729</td>
<td>0.0811</td>
<td>0.0811</td>
<td>0.0933</td>
<td>0.0799</td>
<td>0.0818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60619</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>32239</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0761</td>
<td>0.0903</td>
<td>0.0865</td>
<td>0.1003</td>
<td>0.0864</td>
<td>0.0883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60620</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>32168</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0740</td>
<td>0.0891</td>
<td>0.0844</td>
<td>0.0943</td>
<td>0.0831</td>
<td>0.0853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60621</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>19832</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0572</td>
<td>0.0712</td>
<td>0.0716</td>
<td>0.0712</td>
<td>0.0718</td>
<td>0.0687</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60623</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>28091</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0362</td>
<td>0.0478</td>
<td>0.0452</td>
<td>0.0567</td>
<td>0.0444</td>
<td>0.0457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60628</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>36242</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0672</td>
<td>0.0804</td>
<td>0.0824</td>
<td>0.0938</td>
<td>0.0850</td>
<td>0.0819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60629</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>40712</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0436</td>
<td>0.0583</td>
<td>0.0474</td>
<td>0.0611</td>
<td>0.0525</td>
<td>0.0526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60632</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>38438</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0340</td>
<td>0.0408</td>
<td>0.0356</td>
<td>0.0504</td>
<td>0.0445</td>
<td>0.0408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60633</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>47136</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0911</td>
<td>0.1056</td>
<td>0.0957</td>
<td>0.1076</td>
<td>0.1016</td>
<td>0.1005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60636</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td>27871</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0606</td>
<td>0.0701</td>
<td>0.0663</td>
<td>0.0789</td>
<td>0.0673</td>
<td>0.0689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60637</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>26845</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0684</td>
<td>0.0802</td>
<td>0.0846</td>
<td>0.0962</td>
<td>0.0848</td>
<td>0.0831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60638</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>62511</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0838</td>
<td>0.0871</td>
<td>0.0620</td>
<td>0.0908</td>
<td>0.0751</td>
<td>0.0799</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60642</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>79633</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.0684</td>
<td>0.0787</td>
<td>0.0653</td>
<td>0.0927</td>
<td>0.0733</td>
<td>0.0757</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Successful Appeals Rate (x100), By 34 Northside Zip Codes (LOCATION), 2012-2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60601</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>102254</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0741</td>
<td>0.0801</td>
<td>0.0775</td>
<td>0.1030</td>
<td>0.0900</td>
<td>0.0845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60602</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>57368</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1159</td>
<td>0.0742</td>
<td>0.0705</td>
<td>0.0793</td>
<td>0.0662</td>
<td>0.0824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60603</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>122031</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1349</td>
<td>0.1280</td>
<td>0.0870</td>
<td>0.0964</td>
<td>0.0745</td>
<td>0.1049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60604</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>151731</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0509</td>
<td>0.0705</td>
<td>0.0579</td>
<td>0.0776</td>
<td>0.0570</td>
<td>0.0620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60606</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>106661</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0744</td>
<td>0.0844</td>
<td>0.0688</td>
<td>0.0679</td>
<td>0.0734</td>
<td>0.0742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60610</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>75892</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0879</td>
<td>0.1019</td>
<td>0.0872</td>
<td>0.1179</td>
<td>0.0974</td>
<td>0.0985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60611</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>87280</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0801</td>
<td>0.0768</td>
<td>0.0831</td>
<td>0.1053</td>
<td>0.0974</td>
<td>0.0877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60612</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>35888</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0660</td>
<td>0.0788</td>
<td>0.0816</td>
<td>0.0840</td>
<td>0.0779</td>
<td>0.0777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60613</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>72126</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0811</td>
<td>0.0856</td>
<td>0.0803</td>
<td>0.1086</td>
<td>0.1002</td>
<td>0.0911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60614</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>92714</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0804</td>
<td>0.0909</td>
<td>0.0853</td>
<td>0.1123</td>
<td>0.0929</td>
<td>0.0918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60618</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>57500</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0683</td>
<td>0.0851</td>
<td>0.0775</td>
<td>0.0924</td>
<td>0.0896</td>
<td>0.0827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60622</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>75163</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0625</td>
<td>0.0648</td>
<td>0.0613</td>
<td>0.0838</td>
<td>0.0736</td>
<td>0.0689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60624</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>22204</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0476</td>
<td>0.0626</td>
<td>0.0638</td>
<td>0.0733</td>
<td>0.0676</td>
<td>0.0633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60625</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>56507</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0827</td>
<td>0.0807</td>
<td>0.0790</td>
<td>0.0950</td>
<td>0.0869</td>
<td>0.0849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60626</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>36439</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1015</td>
<td>0.1049</td>
<td>0.0907</td>
<td>0.1146</td>
<td>0.1157</td>
<td>0.1053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60630</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>62244</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0918</td>
<td>0.0891</td>
<td>0.0862</td>
<td>0.1036</td>
<td>0.1021</td>
<td>0.0945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60631</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>76400</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.1024</td>
<td>0.1036</td>
<td>0.0810</td>
<td>0.1190</td>
<td>0.0911</td>
<td>0.0994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60634</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>56382</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0733</td>
<td>0.0754</td>
<td>0.0698</td>
<td>0.0879</td>
<td>0.0742</td>
<td>0.0762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60639</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>38798</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0470</td>
<td>0.0615</td>
<td>0.0559</td>
<td>0.0618</td>
<td>0.0539</td>
<td>0.0561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60640</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>47631</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0929</td>
<td>0.0966</td>
<td>0.0914</td>
<td>0.1215</td>
<td>0.1127</td>
<td>0.1030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60641</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>51597</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0745</td>
<td>0.0792</td>
<td>0.0728</td>
<td>0.0828</td>
<td>0.0839</td>
<td>0.0787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zip Code</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.0541</td>
<td>0.0786</td>
<td>0.0806</td>
<td>0.0884</td>
<td>0.0715</td>
<td>0.0756</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60644</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>26882</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60645</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>47633</td>
<td>0.1148</td>
<td>0.1144</td>
<td>0.1123</td>
<td>0.1227</td>
<td>0.1238</td>
<td>0.1176</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60646</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>73246</td>
<td>0.1009</td>
<td>0.0987</td>
<td>0.0875</td>
<td>0.1032</td>
<td>0.1044</td>
<td>0.0989</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60647</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>56257</td>
<td>0.0592</td>
<td>0.0673</td>
<td>0.0598</td>
<td>0.0765</td>
<td>0.0676</td>
<td>0.0660</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60651</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>32006</td>
<td>0.0486</td>
<td>0.0708</td>
<td>0.0668</td>
<td>0.0767</td>
<td>0.0686</td>
<td>0.0667</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60654</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>90520</td>
<td>0.0805</td>
<td>0.0802</td>
<td>0.0732</td>
<td>0.0970</td>
<td>0.0822</td>
<td>0.0824</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60656</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>57308</td>
<td>0.1462</td>
<td>0.1479</td>
<td>0.1426</td>
<td>0.1468</td>
<td>0.1489</td>
<td>0.1466</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60657</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>79638</td>
<td>0.0779</td>
<td>0.0848</td>
<td>0.0767</td>
<td>0.1103</td>
<td>0.0917</td>
<td>0.0879</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60659</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>48104</td>
<td>0.1358</td>
<td>0.1234</td>
<td>0.1217</td>
<td>0.1373</td>
<td>0.1539</td>
<td>0.1345</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60660</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>41412</td>
<td>0.1174</td>
<td>0.1103</td>
<td>0.1052</td>
<td>0.1245</td>
<td>0.1235</td>
<td>0.1161</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60661</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>98882</td>
<td>0.0796</td>
<td>0.0893</td>
<td>0.0761</td>
<td>0.0973</td>
<td>0.0808</td>
<td>0.0847</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60706</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>52429</td>
<td>0.1058</td>
<td>0.0893</td>
<td>0.0946</td>
<td>0.1043</td>
<td>0.1372</td>
<td>0.1071</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60707</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>54669</td>
<td>0.0778</td>
<td>0.0907</td>
<td>0.0733</td>
<td>0.0973</td>
<td>0.0921</td>
<td>0.0863</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>34 Zip Codes</td>
<td>0.0850</td>
<td>0.0888</td>
<td>0.0817</td>
<td>0.0991</td>
<td>0.0918</td>
<td>0.0894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>0.0788</td>
<td>0.0847</td>
<td>0.0782</td>
<td>0.0943</td>
<td>0.0853</td>
<td>0.0844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Difference</td>
<td>0.0062</td>
<td>0.0041</td>
<td>0.0035</td>
<td>0.0048</td>
<td>0.0065</td>
<td>0.0050</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
F. Win Rate On Appeal (x100), By All 59 City of Chicago Zip Codes, 2012 to 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60601</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>102254</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5800</td>
<td>0.5732</td>
<td>0.5957</td>
<td>0.6085</td>
<td>0.6152</td>
<td>0.5946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60602</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>57368</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.6812</td>
<td>0.5843</td>
<td>0.6716</td>
<td>0.5647</td>
<td>0.6393</td>
<td>0.6318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60603</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>122031</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.7264</td>
<td>0.7304</td>
<td>0.7183</td>
<td>0.5889</td>
<td>0.6269</td>
<td>0.6837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60604</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>151731</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.3889</td>
<td>0.6129</td>
<td>0.6154</td>
<td>0.6462</td>
<td>0.5303</td>
<td>0.5521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60605</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>87668</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5464</td>
<td>0.5412</td>
<td>0.5932</td>
<td>0.6366</td>
<td>0.5833</td>
<td>0.5789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60606</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>106661</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5850</td>
<td>0.5991</td>
<td>0.6370</td>
<td>0.5145</td>
<td>0.5444</td>
<td>0.5758</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60607</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>85917</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5275</td>
<td>0.5392</td>
<td>0.5916</td>
<td>0.6232</td>
<td>0.5792</td>
<td>0.5721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60608</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>36216</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5889</td>
<td>0.5938</td>
<td>0.6141</td>
<td>0.6333</td>
<td>0.6103</td>
<td>0.6082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60609</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>32284</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6215</td>
<td>0.6432</td>
<td>0.6649</td>
<td>0.6621</td>
<td>0.6286</td>
<td>0.6452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60610</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>75892</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5642</td>
<td>0.5944</td>
<td>0.6324</td>
<td>0.6323</td>
<td>0.6032</td>
<td>0.6047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60611</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>87280</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5308</td>
<td>0.5147</td>
<td>0.6168</td>
<td>0.6165</td>
<td>0.5974</td>
<td>0.5726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60612</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>35888</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5827</td>
<td>0.6328</td>
<td>0.6605</td>
<td>0.6357</td>
<td>0.5995</td>
<td>0.6237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60613</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>72126</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5516</td>
<td>0.5499</td>
<td>0.5875</td>
<td>0.6236</td>
<td>0.6167</td>
<td>0.5867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60614</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>92714</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5301</td>
<td>0.5410</td>
<td>0.6078</td>
<td>0.6231</td>
<td>0.5825</td>
<td>0.5751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60615</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>41108</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5724</td>
<td>0.5839</td>
<td>0.6206</td>
<td>0.6211</td>
<td>0.5932</td>
<td>0.5990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60616</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>42594</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6664</td>
<td>0.6106</td>
<td>0.6235</td>
<td>0.6468</td>
<td>0.6254</td>
<td>0.6375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60617</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>37796</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6092</td>
<td>0.6235</td>
<td>0.6426</td>
<td>0.6683</td>
<td>0.6044</td>
<td>0.6313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60618</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>57500</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5745</td>
<td>0.6355</td>
<td>0.6505</td>
<td>0.6513</td>
<td>0.6596</td>
<td>0.6357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60619</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>32239</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5964</td>
<td>0.6339</td>
<td>0.6456</td>
<td>0.6615</td>
<td>0.6148</td>
<td>0.6327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60620</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>32168</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6222</td>
<td>0.6249</td>
<td>0.6500</td>
<td>0.6637</td>
<td>0.6149</td>
<td>0.6363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60621</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>19832</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6101</td>
<td>0.6528</td>
<td>0.6696</td>
<td>0.6562</td>
<td>0.6161</td>
<td>0.6430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60622</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>75163</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5561</td>
<td>0.5453</td>
<td>0.5883</td>
<td>0.6317</td>
<td>0.6064</td>
<td>0.5858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60623</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>28091</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6236</td>
<td>0.6466</td>
<td>0.6667</td>
<td>0.6708</td>
<td>0.6359</td>
<td>0.6505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60624</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>22204</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5876</td>
<td>0.6706</td>
<td>0.6819</td>
<td>0.6667</td>
<td>0.6198</td>
<td>0.6496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60625</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>56507</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.6196</td>
<td>0.5941</td>
<td>0.6403</td>
<td>0.6583</td>
<td>0.6316</td>
<td>0.6287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60626</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>36439</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.6467</td>
<td>0.6518</td>
<td>0.6657</td>
<td>0.6630</td>
<td>0.6761</td>
<td>0.6602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60628</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>36242</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5994</td>
<td>0.6292</td>
<td>0.6631</td>
<td>0.6692</td>
<td>0.6249</td>
<td>0.6394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60629</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>40712</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5902</td>
<td>0.6443</td>
<td>0.6315</td>
<td>0.6432</td>
<td>0.6182</td>
<td>0.6272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60630</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>62244</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.6137</td>
<td>0.6151</td>
<td>0.6405</td>
<td>0.6524</td>
<td>0.6595</td>
<td>0.6366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60631</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>76400</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5840</td>
<td>0.5989</td>
<td>0.6017</td>
<td>0.6493</td>
<td>0.5924</td>
<td>0.6064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60632</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>38438</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5913</td>
<td>0.6119</td>
<td>0.6416</td>
<td>0.6564</td>
<td>0.6680</td>
<td>0.6340</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Zip Code Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60612</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>35888</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5827</td>
<td>0.6328</td>
<td>0.6605</td>
<td>0.6357</td>
<td>0.5995</td>
<td>0.6237</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Win Rate On Appeal (x100), By 16 Majority-Black Zip Codes (RACE), 2012 to 2016
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60615</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>41108</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5724</td>
<td>0.5839</td>
<td>0.6206</td>
<td>0.6211</td>
<td>0.5932</td>
<td>0.5990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60617</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>37796</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6092</td>
<td>0.6235</td>
<td>0.6426</td>
<td>0.6683</td>
<td>0.6044</td>
<td>0.6313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60619</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>32239</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5964</td>
<td>0.6339</td>
<td>0.6456</td>
<td>0.6615</td>
<td>0.6148</td>
<td>0.6327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60620</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>32168</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6222</td>
<td>0.6249</td>
<td>0.6500</td>
<td>0.6637</td>
<td>0.6149</td>
<td>0.6363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60621</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>19832</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6101</td>
<td>0.6528</td>
<td>0.6696</td>
<td>0.6562</td>
<td>0.6161</td>
<td>0.6430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60624</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>22204</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5876</td>
<td>0.6706</td>
<td>0.6819</td>
<td>0.6667</td>
<td>0.6198</td>
<td>0.6496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60628</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>36242</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5994</td>
<td>0.6292</td>
<td>0.6631</td>
<td>0.6692</td>
<td>0.6249</td>
<td>0.6394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60636</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td>27871</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6291</td>
<td>0.6581</td>
<td>0.6713</td>
<td>0.6813</td>
<td>0.6251</td>
<td>0.6551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60637</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>26845</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5885</td>
<td>0.6350</td>
<td>0.6631</td>
<td>0.6605</td>
<td>0.6185</td>
<td>0.6360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60643</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>59593</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6091</td>
<td>0.6082</td>
<td>0.6344</td>
<td>0.6283</td>
<td>0.5959</td>
<td>0.6157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60644</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>26882</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.6117</td>
<td>0.6681</td>
<td>0.6983</td>
<td>0.6855</td>
<td>0.6126</td>
<td>0.6618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60649</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>26797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6050</td>
<td>0.6140</td>
<td>0.6248</td>
<td>0.6431</td>
<td>0.6005</td>
<td>0.6189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60651</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>32006</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5867</td>
<td>0.6504</td>
<td>0.6772</td>
<td>0.6592</td>
<td>0.6442</td>
<td>0.6473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60653</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>25923</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5870</td>
<td>0.6134</td>
<td>0.6296</td>
<td>0.6267</td>
<td>0.6109</td>
<td>0.6148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60827</td>
<td>96.8</td>
<td>31063</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6495</td>
<td>0.6403</td>
<td>0.6909</td>
<td>0.6561</td>
<td>0.6246</td>
<td>0.6536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>16 Zip Codes</td>
<td>0.6029</td>
<td>0.6337</td>
<td>0.6577</td>
<td>0.6552</td>
<td>0.6137</td>
<td>0.6349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>0.5956</td>
<td>0.6106</td>
<td>0.6414</td>
<td>0.6443</td>
<td>0.6235</td>
<td>0.6238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Difference</td>
<td>0.0073</td>
<td>0.0231</td>
<td>0.0163</td>
<td>0.0109</td>
<td>-0.0098</td>
<td>0.0111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Win Rate On Appeal (x100), By 43 Majority-Other Zip Codes (RACE), 2012 to 2016
### Uniform Enforcement or Personalized Law?

<p>|   |   | Northside | Southside | Northside | Southside | Northside | Southside | Northside | Southside | Northside | Southside | Northside | Southside | Northside | Southside | Northside | Southside | Northside | Southside | Northside | Southside | Northside | Southside | Northside | Southside | Northside | Southside |
|---|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 60613 | 7.8 | 72126 | 0.5516 | 0.5499 | 0.5875 | 0.6236 | 0.6167 | 0.5867 |
| 60614 | 3.9 | 92714 | 0.5301 | 0.5410 | 0.6078 | 0.6231 | 0.5825 | 0.5751 |
| 60615 | 26.0 | 42594 | 0.6664 | 0.6106 | 0.6235 | 0.6468 | 0.6254 | 0.6375 |
| 60618 | 3.5 | 57500 | 0.5745 | 0.6355 | 0.6505 | 0.6513 | 0.6596 | 0.6357 |
| 60622 | 8.3 | 75163 | 0.5561 | 0.5453 | 0.5883 | 0.6317 | 0.6064 | 0.5858 |
| 60623 | 33.5 | 28091 | 0.6236 | 0.6466 | 0.6667 | 0.6708 | 0.6359 | 0.6505 |
| 60625 | 4.7 | 56507 | 0.6196 | 0.5941 | 0.6403 | 0.6583 | 0.6316 | 0.6287 |
| 60626 | 25.9 | 36439 | 0.6467 | 0.6518 | 0.6657 | 0.6630 | 0.6761 | 0.6602 |
| 60629 | 23.0 | 40712 | 0.5902 | 0.6443 | 0.6315 | 0.6432 | 0.6182 | 0.6272 |
| 60630 | 1.4 | 62244 | 0.6137 | 0.6151 | 0.6405 | 0.6524 | 0.6595 | 0.6366 |
| 60631 | 0.5 | 76400 | 0.5840 | 0.5989 | 0.6017 | 0.6493 | 0.5924 | 0.6064 |
| 60632 | 2.1 | 38438 | 0.5913 | 0.6119 | 0.6416 | 0.6564 | 0.6680 | 0.6340 |
| 60633 | 4.8 | 47136 | 0.5938 | 0.6538 | 0.6697 | 0.7027 | 0.6560 | 0.6567 |
| 60634 | 1.4 | 56382 | 0.5854 | 0.5877 | 0.6201 | 0.6319 | 0.6160 | 0.6087 |
| 60638 | 4.0 | 62511 | 0.6015 | 0.6191 | 0.5956 | 0.6213 | 0.6213 | 0.6127 |
| 60639 | 16.6 | 38798 | 0.6177 | 0.6565 | 0.6590 | 0.6508 | 0.6227 | 0.6425 |
| 60640 | 18.1 | 47631 | 0.5996 | 0.6002 | 0.6405 | 0.6793 | 0.6499 | 0.6348 |
| 60641 | 2.8 | 51597 | 0.6167 | 0.6360 | 0.6506 | 0.6501 | 0.6494 | 0.6407 |
| 60642 | 11.0 | 79633 | 0.5236 | 0.5577 | 0.5869 | 0.6190 | 0.5880 | 0.5748 |
| 60645 | 14.9 | 47633 | 0.6400 | 0.6307 | 0.6707 | 0.6657 | 0.6671 | 0.6543 |
| 60646 | 0.8 | 73246 | 0.6024 | 0.5945 | 0.6372 | 0.6406 | 0.6220 | 0.6179 |
| 60647 | 7.4 | 56257 | 0.5624 | 0.5954 | 0.6010 | 0.6404 | 0.6177 | 0.6039 |
| 60652 | 45.8 | 61797 | 0.5679 | 0.5952 | 0.6185 | 0.6331 | 0.5932 | 0.6022 |
| 60654 | 7.3 | 90520 | 0.5339 | 0.5368 | 0.5781 | 0.5977 | 0.5865 | 0.5646 |
| 60655 | 7.7 | 87105 | 0.5572 | 0.5613 | 0.6396 | 0.6143 | 0.5814 | 0.5901 |
| 60656 | 1.8 | 57308 | 0.7094 | 0.6864 | 0.7339 | 0.7062 | 0.7397 | 0.7143 |
| 60657 | 2.8 | 79638 | 0.5305 | 0.5352 | 0.5809 | 0.6225 | 0.6002 | 0.5734 |
| 60659 | 8.9 | 48104 | 0.6753 | 0.6575 | 0.6977 | 0.7005 | 0.7244 | 0.6917 |
| 60660 | 15.7 | 41412 | 0.6487 | 0.6177 | 0.6691 | 0.6893 | 0.6727 | 0.6586 |
| 60661 | 6.9 | 98882 | 0.5119 | 0.5447 | 0.6163 | 0.6004 | 0.5938 | 0.5696 |
| 60706 | 0.7 | 52429 | 0.6857 | 0.6046 | 0.6995 | 0.6964 | 0.7628 | 0.6946 |
| 60707 | 16.5 | 54669 | 0.6398 | 0.6437 | 0.6567 | 0.6689 | 0.6711 | 0.6566 |
| x | x | x | 0.5928 | 0.6020 | 0.6353 | 0.6402 | 0.6271 | 0.6197 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>x</th>
<th>x</th>
<th>x</th>
<th>Chicago</th>
<th>0.5956</th>
<th>0.6106</th>
<th>0.6414</th>
<th>0.6443</th>
<th>0.6235</th>
<th>0.6238</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60608</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>36216</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5889</td>
<td>0.5938</td>
<td>0.6141</td>
<td>0.6333</td>
<td>0.6103</td>
<td>0.6082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60609</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>32284</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6215</td>
<td>0.6432</td>
<td>0.6649</td>
<td>0.6621</td>
<td>0.6286</td>
<td>0.6452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60612</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>35888</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5827</td>
<td>0.6328</td>
<td>0.6605</td>
<td>0.6357</td>
<td>0.5995</td>
<td>0.6237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60615</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>41108</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5724</td>
<td>0.5839</td>
<td>0.6206</td>
<td>0.6211</td>
<td>0.5932</td>
<td>0.5990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60616</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>42594</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6664</td>
<td>0.6106</td>
<td>0.6235</td>
<td>0.6468</td>
<td>0.6254</td>
<td>0.6375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60617</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>37796</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6092</td>
<td>0.6235</td>
<td>0.6426</td>
<td>0.6683</td>
<td>0.6044</td>
<td>0.6313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60619</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>32239</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5964</td>
<td>0.6339</td>
<td>0.6456</td>
<td>0.6615</td>
<td>0.6148</td>
<td>0.6327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60620</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>32168</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6222</td>
<td>0.6249</td>
<td>0.6500</td>
<td>0.6637</td>
<td>0.6149</td>
<td>0.6363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60621</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>19832</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6101</td>
<td>0.6528</td>
<td>0.6696</td>
<td>0.6562</td>
<td>0.6161</td>
<td>0.6430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60623</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>28091</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6236</td>
<td>0.6466</td>
<td>0.6667</td>
<td>0.6708</td>
<td>0.6359</td>
<td>0.6505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60624</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>22204</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5876</td>
<td>0.6706</td>
<td>0.6819</td>
<td>0.6667</td>
<td>0.6198</td>
<td>0.6496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60626</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>36439</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.6467</td>
<td>0.6518</td>
<td>0.6657</td>
<td>0.6630</td>
<td>0.6761</td>
<td>0.6602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60628</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>36242</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5994</td>
<td>0.6292</td>
<td>0.6631</td>
<td>0.6692</td>
<td>0.6249</td>
<td>0.6394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60629</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>40712</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5902</td>
<td>0.6443</td>
<td>0.6315</td>
<td>0.6432</td>
<td>0.6182</td>
<td>0.6272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60632</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>38438</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5913</td>
<td>0.6119</td>
<td>0.6416</td>
<td>0.6564</td>
<td>0.6680</td>
<td>0.6340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60633</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>47136</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5938</td>
<td>0.6538</td>
<td>0.6697</td>
<td>0.7027</td>
<td>0.6560</td>
<td>0.6567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60636</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td>27871</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6291</td>
<td>0.6581</td>
<td>0.6713</td>
<td>0.6813</td>
<td>0.6251</td>
<td>0.6551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60637</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>26845</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5885</td>
<td>0.6350</td>
<td>0.6631</td>
<td>0.6605</td>
<td>0.6185</td>
<td>0.6360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60639</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>38798</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.6177</td>
<td>0.6565</td>
<td>0.6590</td>
<td>0.6508</td>
<td>0.6227</td>
<td>0.6425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60640</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>47631</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5996</td>
<td>0.6002</td>
<td>0.6405</td>
<td>0.6793</td>
<td>0.6499</td>
<td>0.6348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60644</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>26882</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.6117</td>
<td>0.6681</td>
<td>0.6983</td>
<td>0.6855</td>
<td>0.6126</td>
<td>0.6618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60645</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>47633</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.6400</td>
<td>0.6307</td>
<td>0.6707</td>
<td>0.6657</td>
<td>0.6671</td>
<td>0.6543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60649</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>26797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6050</td>
<td>0.6140</td>
<td>0.6248</td>
<td>0.6431</td>
<td>0.6005</td>
<td>0.6189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60651</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>32006</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5867</td>
<td>0.6504</td>
<td>0.6772</td>
<td>0.6592</td>
<td>0.6442</td>
<td>0.6473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60653</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>25923</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5870</td>
<td>0.6134</td>
<td>0.6296</td>
<td>0.6267</td>
<td>0.6109</td>
<td>0.6148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60659</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>48104</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.6753</td>
<td>0.6573</td>
<td>0.6977</td>
<td>0.7005</td>
<td>0.7244</td>
<td>0.6917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60660</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>41412</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.6487</td>
<td>0.6177</td>
<td>0.6691</td>
<td>0.6893</td>
<td>0.6727</td>
<td>0.6586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60827</td>
<td>96.8</td>
<td>31063</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6495</td>
<td>0.6403</td>
<td>0.6909</td>
<td>0.6561</td>
<td>0.6246</td>
<td>0.6536</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Win Rate On Appeal (x100), By 28 Lower-Income Zip Codes (INCOME), 2012-2016
### Win Rate On Appeal (x100), By 31 Higher-Income Zip Codes (INCOME), 2012-2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60601</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>102254</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5800</td>
<td>0.5732</td>
<td>0.5957</td>
<td>0.6085</td>
<td>0.6152</td>
<td>0.5946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60602</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>57368</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.6812</td>
<td>0.5843</td>
<td>0.6716</td>
<td>0.5647</td>
<td>0.6393</td>
<td>0.6318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60603</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>122031</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.7264</td>
<td>0.7304</td>
<td>0.7183</td>
<td>0.5889</td>
<td>0.6269</td>
<td>0.6837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60604</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>151731</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.3889</td>
<td>0.6129</td>
<td>0.6154</td>
<td>0.6462</td>
<td>0.5303</td>
<td>0.5521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60605</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>87668</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5464</td>
<td>0.5412</td>
<td>0.5932</td>
<td>0.6366</td>
<td>0.5833</td>
<td>0.5789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60606</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>106661</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5850</td>
<td>0.5991</td>
<td>0.6370</td>
<td>0.5145</td>
<td>0.5444</td>
<td>0.5758</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60607</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>85917</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5275</td>
<td>0.5392</td>
<td>0.5916</td>
<td>0.6232</td>
<td>0.5792</td>
<td>0.5721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60610</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>75892</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5642</td>
<td>0.5944</td>
<td>0.6324</td>
<td>0.6232</td>
<td>0.6032</td>
<td>0.6047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60611</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>87280</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5308</td>
<td>0.5147</td>
<td>0.6168</td>
<td>0.6165</td>
<td>0.5974</td>
<td>0.5726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60612</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>72126</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5516</td>
<td>0.5499</td>
<td>0.5875</td>
<td>0.6236</td>
<td>0.6167</td>
<td>0.5867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60614</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>92714</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5301</td>
<td>0.5410</td>
<td>0.6078</td>
<td>0.6231</td>
<td>0.5825</td>
<td>0.5751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60618</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>57500</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5745</td>
<td>0.6355</td>
<td>0.6505</td>
<td>0.6513</td>
<td>0.6596</td>
<td>0.6357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60622</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>75163</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5561</td>
<td>0.5453</td>
<td>0.5883</td>
<td>0.6317</td>
<td>0.6064</td>
<td>0.5858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60625</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>56507</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.6196</td>
<td>0.5941</td>
<td>0.6403</td>
<td>0.6583</td>
<td>0.6316</td>
<td>0.6287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60630</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>62244</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.6137</td>
<td>0.6151</td>
<td>0.6405</td>
<td>0.6524</td>
<td>0.6595</td>
<td>0.6366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60631</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>76400</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5840</td>
<td>0.5989</td>
<td>0.6017</td>
<td>0.6493</td>
<td>0.5924</td>
<td>0.6064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60634</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>56382</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5854</td>
<td>0.5877</td>
<td>0.6201</td>
<td>0.6319</td>
<td>0.6160</td>
<td>0.6087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60638</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>62511</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6015</td>
<td>0.6191</td>
<td>0.5956</td>
<td>0.6213</td>
<td>0.6213</td>
<td>0.6127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60641</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>51597</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.6167</td>
<td>0.6360</td>
<td>0.6506</td>
<td>0.6501</td>
<td>0.6494</td>
<td>0.6407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60642</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>79633</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5236</td>
<td>0.5577</td>
<td>0.5869</td>
<td>0.6190</td>
<td>0.5880</td>
<td>0.5748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60643</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>59593</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6091</td>
<td>0.6082</td>
<td>0.6344</td>
<td>0.6283</td>
<td>0.5959</td>
<td>0.6157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60646</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>73246</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.6024</td>
<td>0.5945</td>
<td>0.6372</td>
<td>0.6406</td>
<td>0.6220</td>
<td>0.6179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60647</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>56257</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5624</td>
<td>0.5954</td>
<td>0.6010</td>
<td>0.6404</td>
<td>0.6177</td>
<td>0.6039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60652</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>61797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5679</td>
<td>0.5952</td>
<td>0.6185</td>
<td>0.6331</td>
<td>0.5932</td>
<td>0.6022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60654</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>90520</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5339</td>
<td>0.5368</td>
<td>0.5781</td>
<td>0.5977</td>
<td>0.5865</td>
<td>0.5646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60655</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>87105</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5572</td>
<td>0.5613</td>
<td>0.6396</td>
<td>0.6143</td>
<td>0.5814</td>
<td>0.5901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60656</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>57308</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.7094</td>
<td>0.6864</td>
<td>0.7339</td>
<td>0.7062</td>
<td>0.7397</td>
<td>0.7143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60657</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>79638</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5305</td>
<td>0.5352</td>
<td>0.5809</td>
<td>0.6225</td>
<td>0.6002</td>
<td>0.5734</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60605</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>87668</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5464</td>
<td>0.5412</td>
<td>0.5932</td>
<td>0.6366</td>
<td>0.5833</td>
<td>0.5789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60607</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>85917</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5275</td>
<td>0.5392</td>
<td>0.5916</td>
<td>0.6232</td>
<td>0.5792</td>
<td>0.5721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60608</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>36216</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5889</td>
<td>0.5938</td>
<td>0.6141</td>
<td>0.6333</td>
<td>0.6103</td>
<td>0.6082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60609</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>32284</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6215</td>
<td>0.6432</td>
<td>0.6649</td>
<td>0.6621</td>
<td>0.6286</td>
<td>0.6452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60615</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>41108</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5724</td>
<td>0.5839</td>
<td>0.6206</td>
<td>0.6211</td>
<td>0.5932</td>
<td>0.5990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60616</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>42594</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6664</td>
<td>0.6106</td>
<td>0.6235</td>
<td>0.6468</td>
<td>0.6254</td>
<td>0.6375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60617</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>37796</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6092</td>
<td>0.6235</td>
<td>0.6426</td>
<td>0.6683</td>
<td>0.6044</td>
<td>0.6313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60619</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>32239</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5964</td>
<td>0.6339</td>
<td>0.6456</td>
<td>0.6615</td>
<td>0.6148</td>
<td>0.6327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60620</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>32168</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6222</td>
<td>0.6249</td>
<td>0.6500</td>
<td>0.6637</td>
<td>0.6149</td>
<td>0.6363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60621</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>19832</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6101</td>
<td>0.6528</td>
<td>0.6696</td>
<td>0.6562</td>
<td>0.6161</td>
<td>0.6430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60623</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>28091</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6236</td>
<td>0.6466</td>
<td>0.6667</td>
<td>0.6708</td>
<td>0.6359</td>
<td>0.6505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60628</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>36242</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5994</td>
<td>0.6292</td>
<td>0.6631</td>
<td>0.6692</td>
<td>0.6249</td>
<td>0.6394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60629</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>40712</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5902</td>
<td>0.6443</td>
<td>0.6315</td>
<td>0.6432</td>
<td>0.6182</td>
<td>0.6272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60632</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>38438</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5913</td>
<td>0.6119</td>
<td>0.6416</td>
<td>0.6564</td>
<td>0.6680</td>
<td>0.6340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60633</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>47136</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5938</td>
<td>0.6538</td>
<td>0.6697</td>
<td>0.7027</td>
<td>0.6560</td>
<td>0.6567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60636</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td>27871</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6291</td>
<td>0.6581</td>
<td>0.6713</td>
<td>0.6813</td>
<td>0.6251</td>
<td>0.6551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60637</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>26845</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5885</td>
<td>0.6350</td>
<td>0.6631</td>
<td>0.6605</td>
<td>0.6185</td>
<td>0.6360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60638</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>62511</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6015</td>
<td>0.6191</td>
<td>0.5956</td>
<td>0.6213</td>
<td>0.6213</td>
<td>0.6127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60642</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>79633</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5236</td>
<td>0.5577</td>
<td>0.5869</td>
<td>0.6190</td>
<td>0.5880</td>
<td>0.5748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60643</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>59593</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6091</td>
<td>0.6082</td>
<td>0.6344</td>
<td>0.6283</td>
<td>0.5959</td>
<td>0.6157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60649</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>26797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.6050</td>
<td>0.6140</td>
<td>0.6248</td>
<td>0.6431</td>
<td>0.6005</td>
<td>0.6189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60652</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>61797</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5679</td>
<td>0.5952</td>
<td>0.6185</td>
<td>0.6331</td>
<td>0.5932</td>
<td>0.6022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60653</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>25923</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5870</td>
<td>0.6134</td>
<td>0.6296</td>
<td>0.6267</td>
<td>0.6109</td>
<td>0.6148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60655</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>87105</td>
<td>Southside</td>
<td>0.5572</td>
<td>0.5613</td>
<td>0.6396</td>
<td>0.6143</td>
<td>0.5814</td>
<td>0.5901</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Win Rate On Appeal (x100), By 25 Southside Zip Codes (LOCATION), 2012-2016
6. Win Rate On Appeal (x100), By 34 Northside Zip Codes (LOCATION), 2012-2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60601</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>102254</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5800</td>
<td>0.5732</td>
<td>0.5957</td>
<td>0.6085</td>
<td>0.6152</td>
<td>0.5946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60602</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>57368</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.6812</td>
<td>0.5843</td>
<td>0.6716</td>
<td>0.5647</td>
<td>0.6393</td>
<td>0.6318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60603</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>122031</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.7264</td>
<td>0.7304</td>
<td>0.7183</td>
<td>0.5889</td>
<td>0.6269</td>
<td>0.6837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60604</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>151731</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.3889</td>
<td>0.6129</td>
<td>0.6154</td>
<td>0.6462</td>
<td>0.5303</td>
<td>0.5521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60606</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>106661</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5850</td>
<td>0.5991</td>
<td>0.6370</td>
<td>0.5145</td>
<td>0.5444</td>
<td>0.5758</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60610</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>75892</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5642</td>
<td>0.5944</td>
<td>0.6324</td>
<td>0.6323</td>
<td>0.6032</td>
<td>0.6047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60611</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>87280</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5308</td>
<td>0.5147</td>
<td>0.6168</td>
<td>0.6165</td>
<td>0.5974</td>
<td>0.5726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60612</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>35888</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5827</td>
<td>0.6328</td>
<td>0.6605</td>
<td>0.6357</td>
<td>0.5995</td>
<td>0.6237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60613</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>72126</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5516</td>
<td>0.5499</td>
<td>0.5875</td>
<td>0.6236</td>
<td>0.6167</td>
<td>0.5867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60614</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>92714</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5301</td>
<td>0.5410</td>
<td>0.6078</td>
<td>0.6231</td>
<td>0.5825</td>
<td>0.5751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60618</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>57500</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5745</td>
<td>0.6355</td>
<td>0.6505</td>
<td>0.6513</td>
<td>0.6596</td>
<td>0.6357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60622</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>75163</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5561</td>
<td>0.5453</td>
<td>0.5883</td>
<td>0.6317</td>
<td>0.6064</td>
<td>0.5858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60624</td>
<td>95.3</td>
<td>22204</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5876</td>
<td>0.6706</td>
<td>0.6819</td>
<td>0.6667</td>
<td>0.6198</td>
<td>0.6496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60625</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>56507</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.6196</td>
<td>0.5941</td>
<td>0.6403</td>
<td>0.6583</td>
<td>0.6316</td>
<td>0.6287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60626</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>36439</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.6467</td>
<td>0.6518</td>
<td>0.6657</td>
<td>0.6630</td>
<td>0.6761</td>
<td>0.6602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60630</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>62244</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.6137</td>
<td>0.6151</td>
<td>0.6405</td>
<td>0.6524</td>
<td>0.6595</td>
<td>0.6366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60631</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>76400</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5840</td>
<td>0.5989</td>
<td>0.6017</td>
<td>0.6493</td>
<td>0.5924</td>
<td>0.6064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60634</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>56382</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5854</td>
<td>0.5877</td>
<td>0.6201</td>
<td>0.6319</td>
<td>0.6160</td>
<td>0.6087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60639</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>38798</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.6177</td>
<td>0.6565</td>
<td>0.6590</td>
<td>0.6508</td>
<td>0.6227</td>
<td>0.6425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60640</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>47631</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5996</td>
<td>0.6002</td>
<td>0.6405</td>
<td>0.6793</td>
<td>0.6499</td>
<td>0.6348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60641</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>51597</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.6167</td>
<td>0.6360</td>
<td>0.6506</td>
<td>0.6501</td>
<td>0.6494</td>
<td>0.6407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60644</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>26882</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.6117</td>
<td>0.6681</td>
<td>0.6983</td>
<td>0.6855</td>
<td>0.6126</td>
<td>0.6618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60645</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>47633</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.6400</td>
<td>0.6307</td>
<td>0.6707</td>
<td>0.6657</td>
<td>0.6671</td>
<td>0.6543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60646</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>73246</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.6024</td>
<td>0.5945</td>
<td>0.6372</td>
<td>0.6406</td>
<td>0.6220</td>
<td>0.6179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60647</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>56257</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5624</td>
<td>0.5954</td>
<td>0.6010</td>
<td>0.6404</td>
<td>0.6177</td>
<td>0.6039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60651</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>32006</td>
<td>Northside</td>
<td>0.5867</td>
<td>0.6504</td>
<td>0.6772</td>
<td>0.6592</td>
<td>0.6442</td>
<td>0.6473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zip Codes</td>
<td>60654</td>
<td>60656</td>
<td>60657</td>
<td>60659</td>
<td>60660</td>
<td>60661</td>
<td>60706</td>
<td>60707</td>
<td>34 Zip Codes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>0.5339</td>
<td>0.7094</td>
<td>0.5305</td>
<td>0.6753</td>
<td>0.6487</td>
<td>0.5119</td>
<td>0.6857</td>
<td>0.6398</td>
<td>0.5959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90520</td>
<td>0.5368</td>
<td>0.6864</td>
<td>0.5352</td>
<td>0.6575</td>
<td>0.6177</td>
<td>0.5447</td>
<td>0.6046</td>
<td>0.6437</td>
<td>0.6085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.7339</td>
<td>0.5809</td>
<td>0.6977</td>
<td>0.6691</td>
<td>0.6163</td>
<td>0.6995</td>
<td>0.6567</td>
<td>0.6441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.7062</td>
<td>0.6225</td>
<td>0.7005</td>
<td>0.6893</td>
<td>0.6004</td>
<td>0.6964</td>
<td>0.6689</td>
<td>0.6415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.7397</td>
<td>0.6002</td>
<td>0.7244</td>
<td>0.6727</td>
<td>0.5938</td>
<td>0.7628</td>
<td>0.6711</td>
<td>0.6310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.7143</td>
<td>0.5734</td>
<td>0.6917</td>
<td>0.6586</td>
<td>0.5696</td>
<td>0.6946</td>
<td>0.6566</td>
<td>0.6247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.6247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>0.5865</td>
<td>0.7143</td>
<td>0.6002</td>
<td>0.7244</td>
<td>0.6586</td>
<td>0.5696</td>
<td>0.6946</td>
<td>0.6566</td>
<td>0.6247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57308</td>
<td>0.5646</td>
<td>0.7143</td>
<td>0.5734</td>
<td>0.6917</td>
<td>0.6586</td>
<td>0.5696</td>
<td>0.6946</td>
<td>0.6566</td>
<td>0.6247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.5368</td>
<td>0.7143</td>
<td>0.5734</td>
<td>0.6917</td>
<td>0.6586</td>
<td>0.5696</td>
<td>0.6946</td>
<td>0.6566</td>
<td>0.6247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79638</td>
<td>0.5339</td>
<td>0.7143</td>
<td>0.5734</td>
<td>0.6917</td>
<td>0.6586</td>
<td>0.5696</td>
<td>0.6946</td>
<td>0.6566</td>
<td>0.6247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>0.5865</td>
<td>0.7143</td>
<td>0.5734</td>
<td>0.6917</td>
<td>0.6586</td>
<td>0.5696</td>
<td>0.6946</td>
<td>0.6566</td>
<td>0.6247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48104</td>
<td>0.5646</td>
<td>0.7143</td>
<td>0.5734</td>
<td>0.6917</td>
<td>0.6586</td>
<td>0.5696</td>
<td>0.6946</td>
<td>0.6566</td>
<td>0.6247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>0.5368</td>
<td>0.7143</td>
<td>0.5734</td>
<td>0.6917</td>
<td>0.6586</td>
<td>0.5696</td>
<td>0.6946</td>
<td>0.6566</td>
<td>0.6247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41412</td>
<td>0.5865</td>
<td>0.7143</td>
<td>0.5734</td>
<td>0.6917</td>
<td>0.6586</td>
<td>0.5696</td>
<td>0.6946</td>
<td>0.6566</td>
<td>0.6247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>0.5646</td>
<td>0.7143</td>
<td>0.5734</td>
<td>0.6917</td>
<td>0.6586</td>
<td>0.5696</td>
<td>0.6946</td>
<td>0.6566</td>
<td>0.6247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98882</td>
<td>0.5339</td>
<td>0.7143</td>
<td>0.5734</td>
<td>0.6917</td>
<td>0.6586</td>
<td>0.5696</td>
<td>0.6946</td>
<td>0.6566</td>
<td>0.6247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.5368</td>
<td>0.7143</td>
<td>0.5734</td>
<td>0.6917</td>
<td>0.6586</td>
<td>0.5696</td>
<td>0.6946</td>
<td>0.6566</td>
<td>0.6247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52429</td>
<td>0.5865</td>
<td>0.7143</td>
<td>0.5734</td>
<td>0.6917</td>
<td>0.6586</td>
<td>0.5696</td>
<td>0.6946</td>
<td>0.6566</td>
<td>0.6247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>0.5339</td>
<td>0.7143</td>
<td>0.5734</td>
<td>0.6917</td>
<td>0.6586</td>
<td>0.5696</td>
<td>0.6946</td>
<td>0.6566</td>
<td>0.6247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54669</td>
<td>0.5646</td>
<td>0.7143</td>
<td>0.5734</td>
<td>0.6917</td>
<td>0.6586</td>
<td>0.5696</td>
<td>0.6946</td>
<td>0.6566</td>
<td>0.6247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>0.5959</td>
<td>0.6085</td>
<td>0.6441</td>
<td>0.6415</td>
<td>0.6310</td>
<td>0.6247</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>0.5956</td>
<td>0.6106</td>
<td>0.6414</td>
<td>0.6443</td>
<td>0.6235</td>
<td>0.6238</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>0.5959</td>
<td>0.6085</td>
<td>0.6441</td>
<td>0.6415</td>
<td>0.6310</td>
<td>0.6247</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>