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HONEST OR EXCLUDED? A GENDER ANALYSIS OF FOREIGN CORRUPT PRACTICES ACT AND CHICAGO CITY COUNCIL DEFENDANTS

*Juliet S. Sorensen*¹

I. Introduction

The phenomenon of an outsize number of male defendants in white collar crime generally has been documented and explored. However, scant attention has been paid to the outsize number of male defendants charged with federal crimes of corruption.

This article analyzes two small but complementary data sets through the lens of gender: defendants convicted under the criminal anti-bribery provisions of the Foreign Corruption Practices Act—by definition not public officials, but rather bribe payors and their agents—and defendants convicted of federal anti-corruption crimes while serving on the Chicago City Council, by definition public officials and bribe payees. In both instances, the data points to a much larger number of corruption convictions of men than women.

Given the variables that are difficult to control in analyzing the reasons for this gender disparity, a single cause is difficult to pinpoint. However, perhaps the most compelling explanation is that social norms associated with gender may provide women with fewer opportunities for corruption.² The limits of a quantitative analysis notwithstanding, there is ample support for the theory that the homophily of patronage networks, long cited as breeding grounds for corruption, has for generations favored an old boys club that continues to give rise to more men engaging in corruption than women.

II. Data

A. Chicago City Council

Between 1971—the first year in which a woman served on the Chicago City Council—and the present, 33 aldermen³ were convicted of federal corruption offenses (not including one alderman, Willie Cochran, who is currently under indictment with charges pending). 252 individuals total have served in the City Council during that time, so 13.1% of all aldermen during this period have been convicted of crimes of corruption.

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² See generally *Gender and Corruption: Understanding the Linkages* (Transparency Int'l, Working Paper No. 03, 2007)

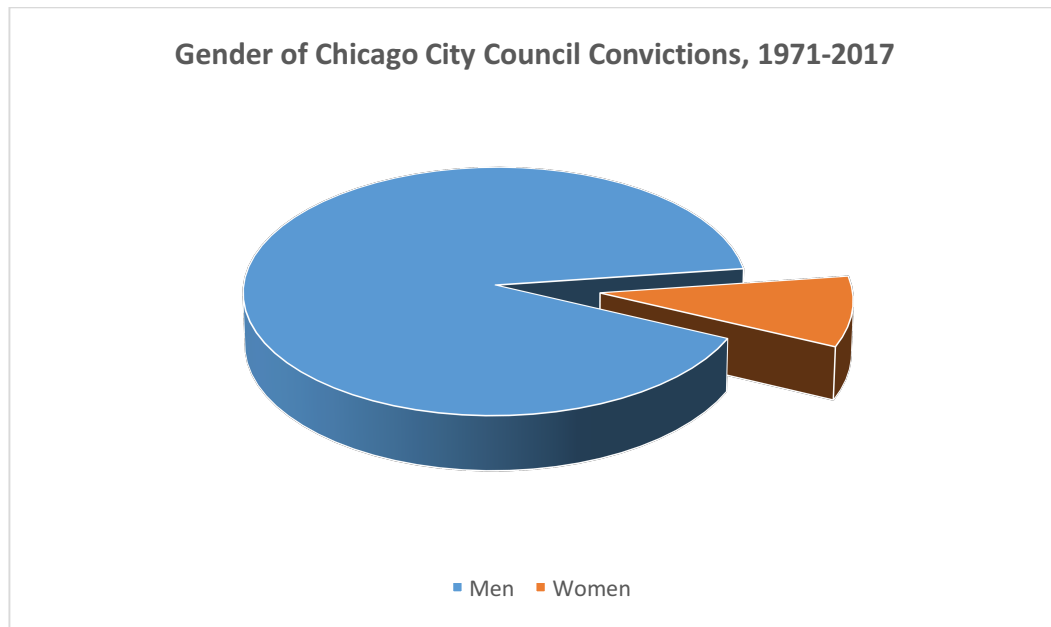
https://www.transparency.org/whatwedo/publication/working_paper_03_2007_gender_and_corruption_understanding_and_undoing_the_l.

³ The terms “alderman” and “councilmember” are used interchangeably to refer to a member of the Chicago City Council.

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Of those thirty-three convicted aldermen, three were women, or 9.09%⁴. In total, forty-eight women have served in the City Council during this time, so the percentage of women convicted of all female councilmembers is 6.25%. The percentage of women convicted of total councilmembers is 1.19%.

In the same period, 204 men have served in the City Council, with thirty corruption convictions among them, so 14.7% of all male aldermen during this period have been convicted of crimes of corruption.⁵



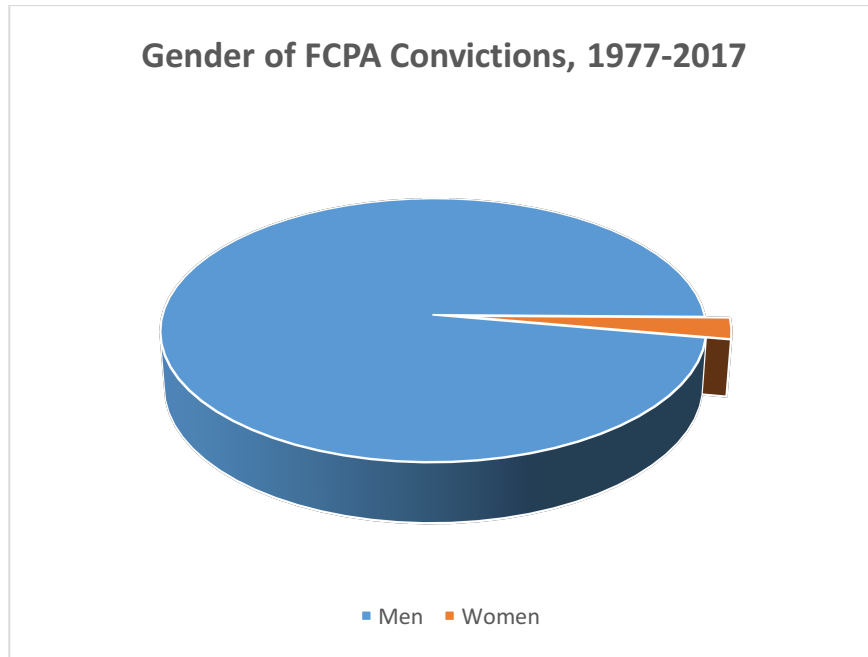
For a complete breakdown of this dataset, see Appendix 1.

⁴ It should be noted that of these three, Alderman Sandi Jackson pled guilty to one count of tax fraud, although she was alleged to have participated in the illicit spending of campaign contributions by her husband, Cong. Jesse Jackson Jr. Thus, I have counted her tax fraud conviction as one related to corruption.

⁵ This data was gathered manually via *Sullivan's Legal Directories* for 1991-2016 and the Chicago Public Library's Municipal Reference Service for 1971-1990, which maintains a running list of Chicago City Council members organized by ward. The author extends her sincere thanks to Lisa Winkler of the Pritzker Legal Research Center at Northwestern Pritzker School of Law.

B. Foreign Corrupt Practices Act

Since 1977, ninety Department of Justice criminal enforcement actions have been brought against a total of 117 individual defendants, and resulted in a finding of guilty. Of those 117 individuals, three have been women, or 3%.⁶



For a complete breakdown of this dataset, see Appendix 2.

III. Analysis

Before analyzing the causes of this dramatic disparity in both cohorts, a cautionary note is in order regarding the FCPA conviction data. Unlike members of the Chicago City Council, who are easily identifiable, thus allowing the number of women who have served in the City Council over a given period to easily be compared with the number of councilwomen convicted of corruption crimes during that period, individuals with criminal FCPA exposure, or liability, are not an easily defined dataset, given that not all of those individuals may have actually been charged and convicted. Therefore, it is not possible to compare the number of women with potential FCPA liability to the number of women actually charged and convicted. Nonetheless, the gender imbalance in the number of convictions warrants discussion.

⁶ This data and the ensuing search results were gathered by the FCPA Clearinghouse database maintained by Stanford Law School, <http://fcpa.stanford.edu/>. The search excluded SEC actions, corporate defendants, and cases that did not result in a finding of guilty, either at trial or by a plea. Total individual convictions (not merely cases that charged individuals) were then tallied.

A. Existing Literature on Gender and Corruption

a. Public Sector Bribe Payees

In 2012, Ananish Chaudhry surveyed all of the qualitative analyses of gender and corruption across a wide variety of experiments. The survey showed that, regardless of the many different methods and disciplines applied to studies of corruption, in every analysis, women either behaved less corruptly than men or there were no significant gender differences. None of the studies found that men were less corrupt.⁷

Specific to female legislators, the Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption (“GOPAC”) conducted research based on a ten-year analysis of trends in the proportion of women elected to national parliaments as correlated to trends in national corruption levels. Surprisingly, the findings showed no correlation between changes in parliamentary gender balance and changes in political corruption. However, when GOPAC examined countries which have traditionally been strongholds of parliamentary democracy, such as the Scandinavian states, the picture changed. In countries with reasonably robust democratic systems that enforced their anticorruption laws—but only in those countries—an increase in the number of women in parliament was correlated with a modest tendency to reduce corruption.⁸ One possible inference to be drawn from the GOPAC study is that women parliamentarians are more deterred by anti-corruption enforcement than their male peers.

b. Private Sector Bribe Payors

As for private sector actors akin to FCPA defendants, a sociological quantitative study of eighty-three corporate conspiracy networks and 436 defendants showed that typically, women were *not* part of corporate conspiracy groups. When women were involved, they had more minor roles and made less profit than their male co-conspirators. The study identified two main “pathways” for female involvement: *relational* (involvement due to a close personal relationship with a main male co-conspirator) and *utility* (involvement of necessity, due to occupying a financial-gateway corporate position).⁹

With the exception of a short piece in the FCPA Blog finding that men made up 96.7% of all FCPA defendants charged by the Department of Justice between January 2008 and January 2014, little has been written about the disproportionate number of male defendants charged with violations of the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act in particular.¹⁰ Again, this may be because the

⁷ Ananish Chaudhuri, *Chapter 2 Gender and Corruption: A Survey of the Experimental Evidence*, in RESEARCH IN EXPERIMENTAL ECONOMICS PG, 13–49 (R. Mark Isaac & Douglas A. Norton eds., 2012).

⁸ See *Gender Equality in Parliaments and Political Corruption*, 1 GOPAC 1 (2014), http://gopacnetwork.org/Docs/PositionPapers/PP_WPN_EN_WEB.pdf; see also Matthew Stephenson, *Guest Post: Gender Equality in Parliaments and Political Corruption*, The Global Anticorruption Blog (Mar. 7, 2014), <https://globalanticorruptionblog.com/2014/03/07/guest-post-gender-equality-in-parliaments-and-political-corruption/>.

⁹ See generally Darrell J. Steffensmeier et al., *Gender and Twenty-First-Century Corporate Crime: Female Involvement and the Gender Gap in Enron-Era Corporate Frauds*, 78 AM. SOC. REV. 448, 448–76 (2013).

¹⁰ See Andrew Reichardt, *Is the FCPA a Testosterone Thing?*, The FCPA Blog (Jan. 21, 2014, 2:08 AM), <http://www.fcplib.com/blog/2014/1/21/is-the-fcpa-a-testosterone-thing.html>.

control group, or total universe, of individuals who could be charged with FCPA violations is impossible to quantify, due to—among other reasons—grand jury secrecy rules and the number of FCPA violations that go undetected or at least do not trigger an investigation.

Notwithstanding the limits of the FCPA data, the vastly disproportionate numbers raise the question: how did we get to this point? The answer may lie in homophily.

B. Homophily and Gender Disadvantage in Patronage Networks

Homophily is defined as the tendency for people to connect and socialize with those sharing similar characteristics, beliefs and values.¹¹

The concept of homophily fits squarely within the existence of patronage networks, whether among public officials or in the private sector. Under a system of political patronage, to give but one contextual example of homophily and patronage, public officials reward party members with jobs and benefits, and may fire non-party members because of their political affiliation.¹² If members of the patronage network are traditionally male, homophily within the network may also lead to the systematic exclusion of women from careers in the public sector. It may further lead to the systematic exclusion of women from opportunities to engage in corrupt activity.

Political patronage has a long history in American politics.¹³ Although the practice in the federal government reached its zenith under the presidency of Andrew Jackson, who formed his own group of advisors from his friends and political allies, known as the “Kitchen Cabinet,” it has since seen a decline due to implications of corruption. After the assassination of President James A. Garfield by a disgruntled job seeker, Congress passed the Pendleton Act, which provided that federal government jobs must be awarded on the basis of merit.¹⁴ However, patronage appointments continued to thrive in state and local politics, particularly in localities with one dominant party, such as Chicago and the surrounding Cook County, where the Democratic Party remains highly organized at the local level. In a system of patronage, public officials successfully utilize their power to entrench patronage systems, thus ensuring their organization’s continued control.¹⁵

But patronage and homophily are by no means limited to politics. Therefore, it follows that the more contact one gender has with a given institution or network, be it in the public or

¹¹ See generally Miller McPherson, Lynn Smith-Lovin, and James M. Cook, *Birds of a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks*, 27 ANN. REV. SOC. 415, 416 (2001) (finding that homophily in gender and other factors “limits people’s social worlds in a way that has powerful implications for the information they receive, the attitudes they form, and the interactions they experience”).

¹² Martin Tolchin & Susan Tolchin, TO THE VICTOR...POLITICAL PATRONAGE FROM THE CLUBHOUSE TO THE WHITE HOUSE, 5 (1971) (Political patronage is defined as “the allocation of the discretionary favors of government in exchange for political support.”).

¹³ See *Elrod v. Burns*, 427 U.S. 347, 353 n.3 (1976) (citing Tolchin, *supra* note 12 at 5–6).

¹⁴ See Civil Service Act, Jan. 16, 1883, ch. 27, 22 Stat. 403 (repealed 1937).

¹⁵ For more on patronage, see generally David H. Hoffman & Juliet S. Sorensen, PUBLIC CORRUPTION AND THE LAW: CASES AND MATERIALS 282–301 (1st ed. 2017).

private sector, the more corruption that gender is likely to engage in.¹⁶ Since homophily is self-perpetuating, gender-specific practices may endure even when women have begun to populate the institution. Indeed, organizational sex segregation literature suggests that “even when women occupy higher-level organizational positions, exclusionary practices limit their involvement in predominantly male informal networks at work.”¹⁷ Homophily “shapes opportunities for developing [both] legitimate and illegitimate social networks within organizations and alliances,”¹⁸ this, in turn, decreases women’s opportunities to form the strong networks and develop the trust among business associates that facilitate collusion to carry out and conceal crimes of corruption.

IV. Conclusion: The Importance of Social Norms in Designing Anti-Corruption Mechanisms

Although the conviction data is heavily male, the narrative that women are intrinsically less corrupt, or intrinsically more honest, is dubious. While certain commentators claim that increasing the number of women in public life would lead to a decrease in corruption *sui generis*, others reject this assertion, instead stating that the provision of equal rights for women and better systems of governance will result in a decrease in corruption.¹⁹ This is corroborated by the aforementioned GOPAC analysis showing no correlation between changes in parliamentary gender balance and changes in political corruption except in countries which have long been robust parliamentary democracies that enforce their anticorruption laws.²⁰

In the context of the Chicago City Council and the cohort of individuals with potential exposure under the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, contexts in which homophily and patronage networks have long favored men, it seems unrealistic to rely on women’s mere presence in these cohorts alone to act as a sanitizing force. Rather, a more effective anti-corruption policy is one that encourages professional advancement on the basis of merit, not gender, patronage or homophily, and one that encourages accountability, both internally and through legal action.

¹⁶ See generally Steffensmeier, *supra* note 9, at 453 (“The group nature of most corporate schemes, which involve collusion or conspiracy, is often ignored in the literature on the female employment–crime relationship.”).

¹⁷ *Id.* (citing Elizabeth Gorman and Julie A. Kmec, Hierarchical Rank and Women’s Organizational Mobility: Glass Ceilings in Corporate Law Firms, *American Journal of Sociology* 114: 1428-74 (2009)); see also Rosabeth Moss Kanter, MEN AND WOMEN OF THE CORPORATION (1977).

¹⁸ See Steffensmeier, *supra* note 9, at 454.

¹⁹ See, e.g., Hung-En Sung, *Fairer Sex or Fairer System? Gender and Corruption Revisited*, 82 *SOC. FORCES* 703, 703 (2003).

²⁰ See *Gender Equality in Parliaments and Political Corruption*, *supra* note 8, at 2.

APPENDIX 1

TOTAL COUNCILWOMEN	48
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Councilwoman	Ward	Years of Service
Marilou M. Hedlund	48	1971-1975
Anna R. Langford	16	1971-1975, 1983-1991
Adeline Keane	31	1975-1979
Esther Saperstein	49	1975-1979
Eloise Barden	16	1975-1983
Marian Humes	8	1977-1987
Marion Kennedy Volini	48	1978-1987
Dorothy J. Tillman	3	1984-2007
Annette Bitoy	34	1986-1987
Marlene C. Carter	15	1986-1991
Kathy Osterman	48	1987-1989
Sheneather Butler	27	1987-1991
Helen Shiller	46	1987-2011
Carole Bialczak	30	1989-1995
Mary Ann Smith	48	1989-2011
Lorraine L. Dixon	8	1990-2001
Arenda Troutman	20	1990-2007
Virginia A. Rugai	19	1990-2011
Shirley A. Coleman	16	1991-2007
Toni Preckwinkle	4	1991-2010
Madeline L. Haithcock	2	1993-2007
Carrie M. Austin	34	1994-Present
Margaret Laurino	39	1994-Present
Barbara Holt	5	1995-1999
Vilma Colom	35	1995-2003
Freddrenna M. Lyle	6	1998-2011
Vi Daley	43	1999-2011
Leslie A. Hairston	5	1999-Present
Latasha R. Thomas	17	2000-2015
Emma Mitts	37	2000-Present
Darcel A. Beavers	7	2006-2007
Lona Lane	18	2006-2015

Michelle A. Harris	8	2006-Present
Sharon Denise Dixon	24	2007-2011
Sandi Jackson	7	2007-2013
JoAnn Thompson	16	2007-2015
Toni L. Foulkes	15, 16	2007-2015, 2015-Present
Pat Dowell	3	2007-Present
Deborah L. Graham	29	2010-2015
Shirley Newsome	4	2011
Mary E. O'Connor	41	2011-2015
Debra L. Silverstein	50	2011-Present
Michele E. Smith	43	2011-Present
Natashia Holmes	7	2013-2015
Deborah Mell	33	2013-Present
Milagros S. Santiago	31	2015-Present
Susan Sadlowski Garza	10	2015-Present
Sophia King	4	2016-Present

*Served as interim alderman for about 4 months

COUNCILWOMEN BY YEAR

Year	Ward	Source
1971		CPL Municipal Reference Collection data
Anna R. Langford	16	
Marilou M. Hedlund	48	
1972		CPL Municipal Reference Collection data
Anna R. Langford	16	
Marilou M. Hedlund	48	
1973		CPL Municipal Reference Collection data
Anna R. Langford	16	
Marilou M. Hedlund	48	
1974		CPL Municipal Reference Collection data
Anna R. Langford	16	
Marilou M. Hedlund	48	

1975		CPL Municipal Reference Collection data
Eloise Barden	16	
Adeline Keane*	31	*Note from CPL Muni Ref Service: "The Keane seat was vacated when Thomas E. was sentenced 11/19/1974. Between the October conviction and November sentencing, Keane was noted as "absent" from the City Council meetings (11/14, 11/15/1974). After, the 31st ward alderman was neither present nor absent. While the Council Journal volume for 1974-75 notes the resignations of Simon and Filippini (12/1974), it does not indicate that Keane 'resigned'. The seat was not filled until after the municipal election of 2/25/1975. Mrs. Adeline Keane was elected 2/25/1975 and took the oath of office 4/2/1975 (4/18/1975 CJ 3)."
Esther Saperstein	49	
1976		CPL Municipal Reference Collection data
Eloise Barden	16	
Adeline Keane	31	
Esther Saperstein	49	
1977		CPL Municipal Reference Collection data
Marian Humes	8	
Eloise Barden	16	
Adeline Keane	31	
Esther Saperstein	49	
1978		CPL Municipal Reference Collection data
Marian Humes	8	
Eloise Barden	16	
Adeline Keane	31	
Marion Kennedy Volini	48	
Esther Saperstein	49	
1979		CPL Municipal Reference Collection data
Marian Humes	8	
Eloise Barden	16	
Marion Kennedy Volini	48	

1980		CPL Municipal Reference Collection data
Marian Humes	8	
Eloise Barden	16	
Marion Kennedy Volini	48	
1981		CPL Municipal Reference Collection data
Marian Humes	8	
Eloise Barden	16	
Marion Kennedy Volini	48	
1982		CPL Municipal Reference Collection data
Marian Humes	8	
Eloise Barden	16	
Marion Kennedy Volini	48	
1983		CPL Municipal Reference Collection data
Marian Humes	8	
Anna R. Langford	16	
Marion Kennedy Volini	48	
1984		CPL Municipal Reference Collection data
Dorothy J. Tillman	3	
Marian Humes	8	
Anna R. Langford	16	
Marion Kennedy Volini	48	
1985		CPL Municipal Reference Collection data
Dorothy J. Tillman	3	
Marian Humes	8	
Anna R. Langford	16	
Marion Kennedy Volini	48	
1986		CPL Municipal Reference Collection data
Dorothy J. Tillman	3	
Marian Humes	8	
Marlene C. Carter	15	
Anna R. Langford	16	
Annette Bitoy	34	
Marion Kennedy Volini	48	

1987		CPL Municipal Reference Collection data
Dorothy J. Tillman	3	
Marlene C. Carter	15	
Anna R. Langford	16	
Sheneather Butler	27	
Helen Shiller	46	
Kathy Osterman	48	
1988		CPL Municipal Reference Collection data
Dorothy J. Tillman	3	
Marlene C. Carter	15	
Anna R. Langford	16	
Sheneather Butler	27	
Helen Shiller	46	
Kathy Osterman	48	
1989		CPL Municipal Reference Collection data
Dorothy J. Tillman	3	
Marlene C. Carter	15	
Anna R. Langford	16	
Sheneather Butler	27	
Carole Bialeczak	30	
Helen Shiller	46	
Mary Ann Smith	48	
1990		CPL Municipal Reference Collection data
Dorothy J. Tillman	3	
Lorraine L. Dixon	8	
Marlene C. Carter	15	
Anna R. Langford	16	
Virginia A. (Ginger) Rugai	19	http://16inchsoftballhof.com/inductee/alderwoman-ginger-rugai/
Arenda Troutman	20	
Sheneather Butler	27	
Carole Bialeczak	30	
Helen Shiller	46	
Mary Ann Smith	48	

1991*Sullivan's Law Directory, 1991-1992, p. 95b*

Dorothy J. Tillman	3
Toni Preckwinkle	4
Lorraine L. Dixon	8
Shirley A. Coleman	16
Virginia A. (Ginger) Rugai	19
Arenda Troutman	20
Carole Bialczak	30
Helen Shiller	46
Mary Ann Smith	48

1992*Sullivan's Law Directory, 1992-1993, p. 118b*

Dorothy J. Tillman	3
Toni Preckwinkle	4
Lorraine L. Dixon	8
Shirley A. Coleman	16
Virginia A. (Ginger) Rugai	19
Arenda Troutman	20
Carole Bialczak	30
Helen Shiller	46
Mary Ann Smith	48

1993*Sullivan's Law Directory, 1993-1994, p. 121b*

Madeline Haithcock	2
Dorothy J. Tillman	3
Toni Preckwinkle	4
Lorraine L. Dixon	8
Shirley A. Coleman	16
Virginia A. (Ginger) Rugai	19
Arenda Troutman	20
Carole Bialczak	30
Helen Shiller	46
Mary Ann Smith	48

1994*Sullivan's Law Directory, 1994-1995, p. 128b-129b*

Madeline Haithcock	2
Dorothy J. Tillman	3
Toni Preckwinkle	4
Lorraine L. Dixon	8
Shirley A. Coleman	16

Virginia A. (Ginger) Rugai	19	
Arenda Troutman	20	
Carole Bialczak	30	
Carrie M. Austin	34	CPL Municipal Reference Collection
Margaret Laurino	39	CPL Municipal Reference Collection
Helen Shiller	46	
Mary Ann Smith	48	

1995*Sullivan's Law Directory, 1995-1996, p. 131b*

Madeline Haithcock	2
Dorothy J. Tillman	3
Toni Preckwinkle	4
Barbara Holt	5
Lorraine L. Dixon	8
Shirley A. Coleman	16
Virginia A. (Ginger) Rugai	19
Arenda Troutman	20
Carrie M. Austin	34
Vilma Colom	35
Margaret Laurino	39
Helen Shiller	46
Mary Ann Smith	48

1996*Sullivan's Law Directory, 1996-1997, p. 135b*

Madeline L. Haithcock	2
Dorothy J. Tillman	3
Toni Preckwinkle	4
Barbara Holt	5
Lorraine L. Dixon	8
Shirley A. Coleman	16
Virginia A. (Ginger) Rugai	19
Arenda Troutman	20
Carrie M. Austin	34
Vilma Colom	35
Margaret Laurino	39
Helen Shiller	46
Mary Ann Smith	48

1997*Sullivan's Law Directory Vol. 2, 1997-1998, p. 80a*

Madeline L. Haithcock	2
Dorothy J. Tillman	3
Toni Preckwinkle	4
Barbara Holt	5
Lorraine L. Dixon	8
Shirley A. Coleman	16
Virginia A. Rugai	19
Arenda Troutman	20
Carrie M. Austin	34
Vilma Colom	35
Margaret Laurino	39
Helen Shiller	46
Mary Ann Smith	48

1998*Sullivan's Law Directory Vol. 2, 1998-1999, p. 91a*

Madeline L. Haithcock	2
Dorothy J. Tillman	3
Toni Preckwinkle	4
Barbara Holt	5
Freddrenna M. Lyle	6
Lorraine L. Dixon	8
Shirley A. Coleman	16
Virginia A. Rugai	19
Arenda Troutman	20
Carrie M. Austin	34
Vilma Colom	35
Margaret Laurino	39
Helen Shiller	46
Mary Ann Smith	48

1999*Sullivan's Law Directory Vol. 2, 1999-2000, p.94a*

Madeline L. Haithcock	2
Dorothy J. Tillman	3
Toni Preckwinkle	4
Leslie A. Hairston	5
Freddrenna M. Lyle	6
Lorraine L. Dixon	8
Shirley A. Coleman	16
Virginia A. Rugai	19

Arenda Troutman	20
Carrie M. Austin	34
Vilma Colom	35
Margaret Laurino	39
Vi Daley	43
Helen Shiller	46
Mary Ann Smith	48

2000*Sullivan's Law Directory Vol. 2, 2000-2001, p. 95a*

Madeline L. Haithcock	2
Dorothy J. Tillman	3
Toni Preckwinkle	4
Leslie A. Hairston	5
Freddrenna M. Lyle	6
Lorraine L. Dixon	8
Shirley A. Coleman	16
Latasha R. Thomas	17
Virginia A. Rugai	19
Arenda Troutman	20
Carrie M. Austin	34
Vilma Colom	35
Emma Mitts	37
Margaret Laurino	39
Vi Daley	43
Helen Shiller	46
Mary Ann Smith	48

<http://www.nbcchicago.com/blogs/ward-room/Chicago-City-Council--133504043.html>

2001*Sullivan's Law Directory Vol. 2, 2001-2002, p. 129-130*

Madeline L. Haithcock	2
Dorothy J. Tillman	3
Toni Preckwinkle	4
Leslie A. Hairston	5
Freddrenna M. Lyle	6
Lorraine L. Dixon	8
Shirley A. Coleman	16
Latasha R. Thomas	17
Virginia A. Rugai	19

http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2001-07-01/news/0107010178_1_loorraine-dixon-mayor-richard-daley-8th-ward

Arenda Troutman	20
Carrie M. Austin	34
Vilma Colom	35
Emma Mitts	37
Margaret Laurino	39
Vi Daley	43
Helen Shiller	46
Mary Ann Smith	48

Sullivan's Law Directory Vol. 2, 2002-2003, p. 135b-136b

2002

Madeline L. Haithcock	2
Dorothy J. Tillman	3
Toni Preckwinkle	4
Leslie A. Hairston	5
Freddrenna M. Lyle	6
Shirley A. Coleman	16
Latasha R. Thomas	17
Virginia A. Rugai	19
Arenda Troutman	20
Carrie M. Austin	34
Vilma Colom	35
Emma Mitts	37
Margaret Laurino	39
Vi Daley	43
Helen Shiller	46
Mary Ann Smith	48

Sullivan's Law Directory Vol. 2, 2003-2004, p. 133b-134b

2003

Madeline L. Haithcock	2
Dorothy J. Tillman	3
Toni Preckwinkle	4
Leslie A. Hairston	5
Freddrenna M. Lyle	6
Shirley A. Coleman	16
Latasha R. Thomas	17
Virginia A. Rugai	19
Arenda Troutman	20
Carrie M. Austin	34
Emma Mitts	37

Margaret Laurino	39
Vi Daley	43
Helen Shiller	46
Mary Ann Smith	48

Sullivan's Law Directory Vol. 2, 2004-2005, p. 137b-139b

2004

Madeline L. Haithcock	2
Dorothy J. Tillman	3
Toni Preckwinkle	4
Leslie A. Hairston	5
Freddrenna M. Lyle	6
Shirley A. Coleman	16
Latasha R. Thomas	17
Virginia A. Rugai	19
Arenda Troutman	20
Carrie M. Austin	34
Emma Mitts	37
Margaret Laurino	39
Vi Daley	43
Helen Shiller	46
Mary Ann Smith	48

Sullivan's Law Directory Vol. 2, 2005-2006, p. 134b-136b

2005

Madeline L. Haithcock	2
Dorothy J. Tillman	3
Toni Preckwinkle	4
Leslie A. Hairston	5
Freddrenna M. Lyle	6
Shirley A. Coleman	16
Latasha R. Thomas	17
Virginia A. Rugai	19
Arenda Troutman	20
Carrie M. Austin	34
Emma Mitts	37
Margaret Laurino	39
Vi Daley	43
Helen Shiller	46
Mary Ann Smith	48

		<i>Sullivan's Law Directory Vol. 2, 2006-2007, p. 134b-136b</i>
2006		
Madeline L. Haithcock	2	
Dorothy J. Tillman	3	
Toni Preckwinkle	4	
Leslie A. Hairston	5	
Freddrenna M. Lyle	6	
Darcel A. Beavers	7	https://thesecretsix.com/2017/05/31/patronage-play-chicago-mayors-have-appointed-28-aldermen-in-the-past-28-years/
Michelle A. Harris	8	https://www.aldermanmichelleharris.net/about-alderman-harris
Shirley A. Coleman	16	
Latasha R. Thomas	17	
Lona Lane	18	http://www.billcunningham.com/team-view/alderman-lona-lane/
Virginia A. Rugai	19	
Arenda Troutman	20	
Carrie M. Austin	34	
Emma Mitts	37	
Margaret Laurino	39	
Vi Daley	43	
Helen Shiller	46	
Mary Ann Smith	48	
		<i>Sullivan's Law Directory Vol. 2, 2007-2008, p. 134b-137b</i>
2007		
Pat Dowell	3	
Toni Preckwinkle	4	
Leslie A. Hairston	5	
Freddrenna M. Lyle	6	
Sandi Jackson	7	
Michelle A. Harris	8	
Toni Foulkes	15	
JoAnn Thompson	16	
Latasha R. Thomas	17	
Lona Lane	18	
Virginia A. Rugai	19	
Sharon Denise Dixon	24	
Carrie M. Austin	34	

Emma Mitts	37
Margaret Laurino	39
Vi Daley	43
Helen Shiller	46
Mary Ann Smith	48

Sullivan's Law Directory Vol. 2, 2008-2009, p. 132b-135b

2008

Pat Dowell	3
Toni Preckwinkle	4
Leslie A. Hairston	5
Freddrenna M. Lyle	6
Sandi Jackson	7
Michelle A. Harris	8
Toni Foulkes	15
JoAnn Thompson	16
Latasha R. Thomas	17
Lona Lane	18
Virginia A. Rugai	19
Sharon Denise Dixon	24
Carrie M. Austin	34
Emma Mitts	37
Margaret Laurino	39
Vi Daley	43
Helen Shiller	46
Mary Ann Smith	48

Sullivan's Law Directory Vol. 2, 2009-2010, p. 133b-136b

2009

Pat Dowell	3
Toni Preckwinkle	4
Leslie A. Hairston	5
Freddrenna M. Lyle	6
Sandi Jackson	7
Michelle A. Harris	8
Toni Foulkes	15
JoAnn Thompson	16
Latasha R. Thomas	17
Lona Lane	18
Virginia A. Rugai	19
Sharon Denise Dixon	24

Carrie M. Austin	34
Emma Mitts	37
Margaret Laurino	39
Vi Daley	43
Helen Shiller	46
Mary Ann Smith	48

Sullivan's Law Directory Vol. 2, 2010-2011, p. 131b-134b

2010

Pat Dowell	3
Toni Preckwinkle	4
Leslie A. Hairston	5
Freddrenna M. Lyle	6
Sandi Jackson	7
Michelle A. Harris	8
Toni Foulkes	15
JoAnn Thompson	16
Latasha R. Thomas	17
Lona Lane	18
Virginia A. Rugai	19
Sharon Denise Dixon	24
Deborah L. Graham	29
Carrie M. Austin	34
Emma Mitts	37
Margaret Laurino	39
Vi Daley	43
Helen Shiller	46
Mary Ann Smith	48

<https://www.cookcountyil.gov/person/toni-preckwinkle>

Sullivan's Law Directory Vol. 2, 2011-2012, p. 129b-132b

2011

Pat Dowell	3
Shirley Newsome	4
Leslie A. Hairston	5
Sandi Jackson	7
Michelle A. Harris	8
Toni Foulkes	15
JoAnn Thompson	16
Latasha R. Thomas	17
Lona Lane	18

<https://www.chicagomaroon.com/2011/01/25/newsome-fills-interim-seat-for-fourth-ward-alderman/>

Deborah L. Graham	29
Carrie M. Austin	34
Emma Mitts	37
Margaret Laurino	39
Mary E. O'Connor	41
Michele E. Smith	43
Debra Silverstein	50

Sullivan's Law Directory Vol. 2, 2012-2013, p. 131b-133b

2012

Pat Dowell	3
Leslie A. Hairston	5
Sandi Jackson	7
Michelle A. Harris	8
Toni Foulkes	15
JoAnn Thompson	16
Latasha R. Thomas	17
Lona Lane	18
Deborah L. Graham	29
Carrie M. Austin	34
Emma Mitts	37
Margaret Laurino	39
Mary E. O'Connor	41
Michele E. Smith	43
Debra Silverstein	50

Sullivan's Law Directory Vol. 2, 2013-2014, p. 131b-133b

2013

Pat Dowell	3
Leslie A. Hairston	5
Natashia Holmes	7
Michelle A. Harris	8
Toni Foulkes	15
JoAnn Thompson	16
Latasha R. Thomas	17
Lona Lane	18
Deborah L. Graham	29
Deborah Mell	33
Carrie M. Austin	34
Emma Mitts	37
Margaret Laurino	39

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Mary E. O'Connor	41
Michele E. Smith	43
Debra Silverstein	50

Sullivan's Law Directory Vol. 2, 2014-2015, p. 130b-132b

2014

Pat Dowell	3
Leslie A. Hairston	5
Natashia Holmes	7
Michelle A. Harris	8
Toni Foulkes	15
JoAnn Thompson	16
Latasha R. Thomas	17
Lona Lane	18
Deborah L. Graham	29
Deborah Mell	33
Carrie M. Austin	34
Emma Mitts	37
Margaret Laurino	39
Mary E. O'Connor	41
Michele E. Smith	43
Debra Silverstein	50

Sullivan's Law Directory Vol. 2, 2015-2016, p. 136b-139b

2015

Pat Dowell	3
Leslie A. Hairston	5
Michelle A. Harris	8
Susan Sadlowski Garza	10
Toni L. Foulkes	16
Milagros S. (Milly) Santiago	31
Deborah Mell	33
Carrie M. Austin	34
Emma Mitts	37
Margaret Laurino	39
Michele E. Smith	43
Debra Silverstein	50

2016

Sullivan's Law Directory, 2016-2017, p. 1881-1884

Pat Dowell	3
Sophia King	4
Leslie A. Hairston	5
Michelle A. Harris	8
Susan Sadlowski Garza	10
Toni L. Foulkes	16
Milagros S. (Milly)	
Santiago	31
Deborah Mell	33
Carrie M. Austin	34
Emma Mitts	37
Margaret Laurino	39
Michele E. Smith	43
Debra Silverstein	50

2017

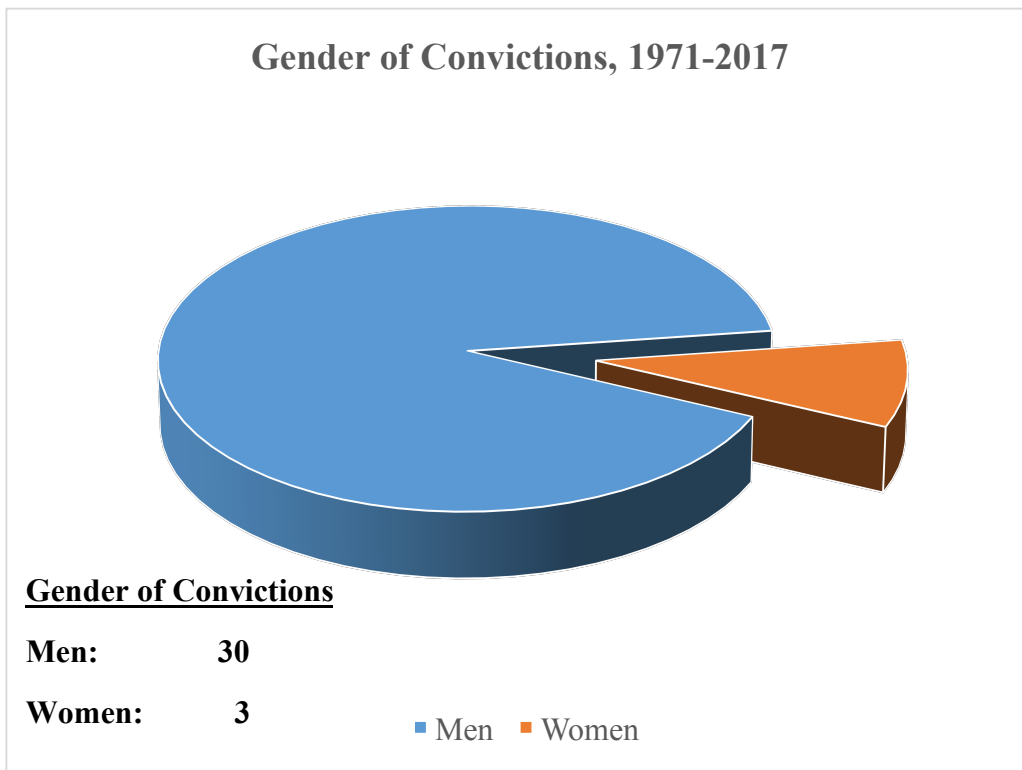
<http://www.chicityclerk.com/city-council-news-central/council-members>

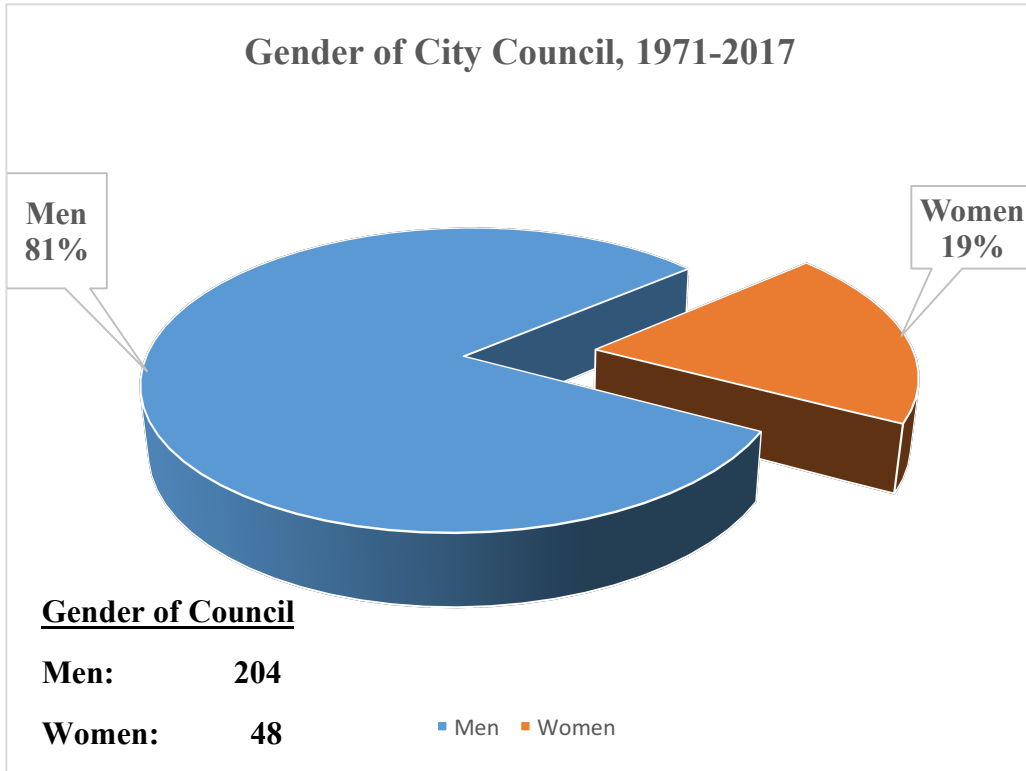
Pat Dowell	3
Sophia King	4
Leslie A. Hairston	5
Michelle A. Harris	8
Susan Sadlowski Garza	10
Toni Foulkes	16
Milagros S. (Milly)	
Santiago	31
Deborah Mell	33
Carrie M. Austin	34
Emma Mitts	37
Margaret Laurino	39
Michele Smith	43
Debra L. Silverstein	50

CHARTS

1971 - PRESENT

Total Council	252
Total Men	204
Total Women	48
Total Convicted	33
Total Men Convicted	30
Total Women Convicted	3
Men of Total Council	80.95%
Men of Total Convictions	90.91%
Men Convicted of Total Council	11.90%
Men Convicted of Men Council	14.71%
Women of Total Council	19.05%
Women of Total Convictions	9.09%
Women Convicted of Total Council	1.19%
Women Convicted of Women Council	6.25%





APPENDIX 2

Case Name	Female FCPA Convictions	Male FCPA Convictions	Notes
United States of America v. Albert Franklin Reitz	0	1	
United States of America v. Albert Jackson Stanley	0	1	
United States of America v. Alfonso A. Rodriguez	0	1	
United States of America v. Alfonzo Eliezer Gravina-Munoz	0	0	
United States of America v. Ali Hozhabri	0	0	
United States of America v. Antonio Perez	0	1	
United States of America v. Asem M. Elgawhary	0	0	
United States of America v. Benito Chinae, et al.	0	2	
United States of America v. Bernd Kowalewski	0	1	
United States of America v. Bobby J. Elkin, Jr.	0	1	
United States of America v. Boris Rubizhevsky	0	1	
United States of America v. C.E. Miller Corporation, et al.	0	1	
United States of America v. Charles Paul Edward Jumet	0	1	
United States of America v. Charles Quintard Beech III	0	1	
United States of America v. Christian Javier Maldonado-Barillas	0	0	
United States of America v. Clayton Lewis	0	1	
United States of America v. Control Systems Specialist, et al.	0	1	
United States of America v. Crawford Enterprises, Inc., et al.	0	6	
United States of America v. Cristian Sapsizian, et al.	0	1	
United States of America v. Daniel Ray Rothrock	0	1	
United States of America v. Daren Condrey	0	1	
United States of America v. David H. Mead, et al.	0	1	
United States of America v. David J. Janasik	0	0	
United States of America v. David Kay, et al.	0	2	
United States of America v. David Rothschild	0	1	
United States of America v. Denny J. Herzberg	0	1	
United States of America v. Dmitriy Harder	0	1	
United States of America v. Eduardo Betancourt, et al.	0	0	
United States of America v. Enrique Faustino Aguilar Noriega, et. al	0	2	
United States of America v. Ernesto Lujan	0	1	
United States of America v. F.G. Mason Engineering, Inc., et al.	0	1	
United States of America v. Faheem Mousa Salam	0	1	
United States of America v. Fernando Maya Basurto	0	1	
United States of America v. Frederic Cilins	0	0	

United States of America v. Frederic Pierucci, et. al.	0	2	Note 1
United States of America v. Garth Peterson	0	1	
United States of America v. Gary D. Bateman	0	0	
United States of America v. Gary S. Klein	0	0	
United States of America v. George V. Morton	0	1	
United States of America v. Gerald Green, et al.	1	1	
United States of America v. Gregory Weisman	0	1	
United States of America v. Guatam Sengupta	0	1	
United States of America v. Hans Bodmer	0	0	
United States of America v. Harry Carpenter	0	1	
United States of America v. Herbert B. Steindler, et al.	0	0	Note 2
United States of America v. Herbert Tannenbaum	0	1	
United States of America v. International Materials Solutions Corporation, et al.	0	1	
United States of America v. J. Bryan Williams	0	0	
United States of America v. James H. Giffen, et. al	0	0	
United States of America v. James K. Tillery, et al.	0	1	
United States of America v. James McClung	0	1	
United States of America v. James Michael Rama	0	1	
United States of America v. Jason Edward Steph	0	1	
United States of America v. Jean Fourcand	0	0	
United States of America v. Jeffrey Tesler, et al.	0	2	
United States of America v. Jim Bob Brown	0	1	
United States of America v. Joaquin Pou, et al.	0	2	
United States of America v. Joel Esquenazi, et. al	0	3	
United States of America v. John Joseph O'Shea	0	0	
United States of America v. John W. Ashe, et al.	0	2	Note 3
United States of America v. John W. Warwick	0	1	
United States of America v. Joo Hyun Bahn, et al.	0	0	Note 4
United States of America v. Jorge Granados, et al.	0	2	
United States of America v. Jose Alejandro Hurtado	0	1	
United States of America v. Jose Luis Ramos-Castillo	0	0	
United States of America v. Joseph Sigelman	0	1	
United States of America v. Joshua C. Cantor	0	1	Note 5
United States of America v. Juan Diaz	0	1	
United States of America v. Juan Jose Hernandez-Comerma	0	1	Note 6
United States of America v. Juan Pablo Vasquez	0	1	
United States of America v. Kenny International Corp., et al.	0	0	Note 7
United States of America v. Knut Hammarskjold	0	1	

United States of America v. Leo Winston Smith	0	1	
United States of America v. Lockheed Corporation, et al.	0	2	
United States of America v. Mahmoud Thiam	0	0	
United States of America v. Manuel Salvoch	0	1	
United States of America v. Maria de los Angeles Gonzalez de Hernandez	0	0	
United States of America v. Mario Covino	0	1	
United States of America v. Marquis D. King	0	0	
United States of America v. Martin Eric Self	0	1	
United States of America v. Misao Hioki	0	1	
United States of America v. Moises Abraham Millan Escobar	0	1	Note 8
United States of America v. Nam Quoc Nguyen, et al.	1	3	
United States of America v. Neal Uhl	0	1	
United States of America v. Ousama M. Naaman	0	1	
United States of America v. Peter Dubois	0	1	
United States of America v. Ramendra Basu	0	1	
United States of America v. Richard G. Pitchford	0	1	
United States of America v. Richard H. Liebo	0	1	
United States of America v. Richard Hirsch	0	1	
United States of America v. Richard John Novak	0	1	
United States of America v. Richard K. Halford	0	1	
United States of America v. Richard Morlok	0	1	
United States of America v. Richard T. Bistrong	0	1	
United States of America v. Robert Richard King et al.	0	1	
United States of America v. Roberto Enrique Rincon-Fernandez, et al.	0	2	Note 9
United States of America v. Roger Young	0	1	
United States of America v. Samuel Mebiame	0	1	
United States of America v. Shu Quan-Sheng	0	1	
United States of America v. Steven J. Ott	0	1	
United States of America v. Steven Lynwood Head	0	1	
United States of America v. Stuart Carson, et al.	1	4	
United States of America v. Thomas Carman	0	0	
United States of America v. Thomas Farrell	0	1	
United States of America v. Tomas Alberto Clarke Bethancourt	0	1	
United States of America v. Uriel Sharef, et al.	0	1	
United States of America v. Vadim Mikerin	0	0	
United States of America v. Vicente Eduardo Garcia	0	1	
United States of America v. Viktor Kozeny, et. al	0	1	
United States of America v. Vincent Nico	0	0	

United States Of America v. William J. Jefferson	0	1	
United States of America v. Yaw Osei Amoako	0	1	
United States of America v. Young & Rubicam, Inc., et al.	0	0	
United States v. Daniel Perez, et al.	0	2	
United States v. Douglas Ray, et al.	0	2	
United States v. Ernesto Hernandez Montemayor	0	0	
United States v. Ramiro Ascencio Nevarez	0	0	

Totals 3 114

Note 1: *United States of America v. Frederic Pierucci, et. al.*

Pierucci has pleaded guilty but has not yet been sentenced. William Pomponi plead guilty to one count of conspiracy to violate the FCPA but died prior to sentencing, so on July 6, 2016, the DOJ moved to dismiss the case against him, which the court granted on July 19, 2016. If including, add 1 male. Lawrence Hoskins has an appeal pending, Court of Appeals, 2nd Circuit Docket # 16-1010, but has been included.

Note 2: *United States of America v. Herbert B. Steindler, et al.*

Male defendant (Rami Dotan) pleaded guilty in Israel.

Note 3: *United States of America v. John W. Ashe, et al.*

Case still pending against 1 male defendant (Jeff C. Yin)

Note 4: *United States of America v. Joo Hyun Bahn, et al.*

Case still pending against 1 male defendant (Joo Hyun Bahn)

Note 5: *United States of America v. Joshua C. Cantor*

Cantor plead guilty but since 3/14/14 has not been sentenced.

Note 6: *United States of America v. Juan Jose Hernandez-Comerma*

Hernandez has plead guilty but plea agreement is sealed and he's scheduled to be sentenced on 2/8/18.

Note 7: *United States of America v. Kenny International Corp., et al.*

Male defendant (Finbar B. Kenny) pleaded guilty in Cook Islands.

Note 8: United States of America v. Moises Abraham Millan Escobar

On 1/19/16, Moises Abraham Millan Escobar entered into a plea agreement with the DOJ, but as the plea agreement remains sealed, the details of the agreement are unknown. Millan is scheduled to be sentenced on 8/30/17.

Note 9: United States of America v. Roberto Enrique Rincon-Fernandez, et al.

Both male defendants pleaded guilty but plea agreements are still sealed as to charges. Sentencing scheduled for 8/30/17.

