***Appendix***

To examine further the relationship between organization size, organization type and women’s representation, Tables A.1 and A.2 list the gender percentage and balance among the top 20 largest in-house lobbying contract lobbying firms and organizations.

Table A.1. Gender in the Top 20 Largest Contract Lobbying Firms, 2008-2015

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Firm | Num. Lobbyists | %  Female | Gender Balance |
| Patton Boggs LLP | 198 | 37.9 | -48 |
| Akin, Gump et al | 151 | 38.4 | -35 |
| Covington & Burling | 119 | 31.9 | -43 |
| Holland & Knight | 114 | 33.3 | -38 |
| K&L Gates | 112 | 26.8 | -52 |
| Squire Patton Boggs | 109 | 40.4 | -21 |
| Van Scoyoc Assoc | 99 | 31.3 | -37 |
| Venable LLP | 89 | 27.0 | -41 |
| Podesta Group | 88 | 48.9 | -2 |
| DLA Piper | 83 | 41.0 | -15 |
| Greenberg Traurig LLP | 82 | 34.1 | -26 |
| Alston & Bird | 74 | 39.2 | -16 |
| Hogan & Hartson | 71 | 36.6 | -19 |
| Brownstein, Hyatt et al | 71 | 31.0 | -27 |
| Cassidy & Assoc | 70 | 41.4 | -12 |
| Hogan Lovells | 70 | 34.3 | -22 |
| Crowell & Moring | 69 | 27.5 | -31 |
| Dutko Worldwide | 69 | 30.4 | -27 |
| Steptoe & Johnson | 63 | 31.7 | -23 |
| Van Ness Feldman | 61 | 36.1 | -17 |
|  |  |  |  |
| *All Contract Firms* |  |  |  |
| Overall Mean | 7.6 | 27.0 | -2.9 |
| Standard Deviation | 13.2 | 26.7 | 5.0 |
| Minimum | 2 | 0 | -52 |
| Maximum | 198 | 100 | 17 |

*Note: N=1,524 lobbying firms with more than one registered lobbyist in any year. The summary statistics exclude 2,480 lobbying firms with only one lobbyist, which by definition have either 0% or 100% female and gender balance of either +1 or -1.*

Among the top 20 largest contract lobbying firms, only two firms are more than 50% female: Venn Strategies with a *gender balance* of +9 and a 59% female staff and Drinker, Biddle and Reath with a gender balance of +2 and a 52% female staff. Venn Strategies claims to specialize in “matters of health care, tax, economic policy and financial services” (http://www.vennstrategies.com) while Drinker, Biddle and Reath provides a range of services across several industries “…including energy, health care, insurance and pharma [sic]” (<http://www.drinkerbiddle.com>). This highly specific and prominently placed marketing copy suggests there may be a linkage between these firms’ focus on health care industries and women’s relatively higher representation.

In comparison, among the top 20 largest contract lobbying firms with the lowest percentages of women lobbyists (at approximately 27% female staff), Crowell & Moring, K&L Gates, and Venable LLP all identify business and corporate law and financial services as first or secondary areas of expertise. The Airlines Pilot Association, the US Chamber of Commerce, General Electric and Northrop Grumman (a global defense contractor) are the four largest in-house lobbying organizations with 27% or fewer female staff. All four of these in-house lobbying organizations represent industries that are largely male-dominated (airline pilots, engineering, business and finance, and defense) and are not stereotypically depicted as areas of women’s expertise.

Though the largest contract lobbying firm (Patton Boggs LLP) has a greater *percentage of women* (38%) lobbyists than does the largest in-house lobbying organization (the US Chamber of Commerce at 27% female), the measures of *gender balance* tell a different story. Table A.2 reports both measures for in-house lobbyists’ gender in the largest organizations. Whereas all but two of the 25 largest contract lobbying firms have a negative *gender balance* (indicating more male than female lobbyists) 11 out of the top 20 largest in-house lobbying organizations have a positive *gender balance* (indicating more female than male lobbyists). For some of these in-house lobbying organizations, these discrepancies are quite large: The National Council of La Raza, the largest Latino nonprofit advocacy organization in the U.S., has a gender balance of +17 (indicating 17 more women than men) on their 37-person staff, bringing their *percentage of women* measure to 73%. The American Hospital Association, a trade association representing hospitals, has a staff that is approximately 72% female and a *gender balance* of +20.

Table A.2. Gender in the Top 20 Largest Lobbying Organizations, 2008-2015

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Organization | Num. Lobbyists | %  Female | Gender Balance |
| US Chamber of Commerce | 197 | 26.9 | -91 |
| AARP | 94 | 52.1 | 4 |
| General Electric | 77 | 27.3 | -35 |
| Friends Cmte on National Legislation | 75 | 62.7 | 19 |
| National Assn of Manufacturers | 75 | 50.7 | 1 |
| American Bankers Assn | 69 | 33.3 | -23 |
| Pharmaceutical Rsrch & Mfrs of America | 61 | 49.2 | -1 |
| Biotechnology Industry Organization | 60 | 48.3 | -2 |
| National Assn of Home Builders | 59 | 42.4 | -9 |
| America's Health Insurance Plans | 53 | 60.4 | 11 |
| American Petroleum Institute | 53 | 28.3 | -23 |
| Nature Conservancy | 52 | 53.8 | 4 |
| Service Employees International Union | 51 | 66.7 | 17 |
| American Civil Liberties Union | 50 | 58.0 | 8 |
| ACS Cancer Action Network | 47 | 59.6 | 9 |
| Lockheed Martin | 47 | 42.6 | -7 |
| American Hospital Assn | 46 | 71.7 | 20 |
| Boeing Co | 45 | 33.3 | -15 |
| Securities Industry & Financial Mkt Assn | 42 | 35.7 | -12 |
| Air Line Pilots Assn | 42 | 7.1 | -36 |
|  |  |  |  |
| *All Organizations* |  |  |  |
| Overall Mean | 6.4 | 40.9 | -0.9 |
| Standard Deviation | 8.0 | 28.6 | 3.9 |
| Minimum | 2 | 0 | -91 |
| Maximum | 197 | 100 | 23 |

*Note: N=2,581 in-house lobbying organizations with more than one registered lobbyist in any year. The summary statistics exclude 1,095 lobbying organizations with only one lobbyist, which by definition have either 0% or 100% female and gender balance of either +1 or -1.*

***Supplemental Material***

Comparison of Gender Balance and Percentage Women Measures

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*Note: N*=4,105. Excludes registrants with only one lobbyist.

Semi-Structured Interview Protocol

1. Can you tell me about your background?

PROBING QUESTIONS:

* How did you end up in this position? What has been your career trajectory?
* When did you start thinking about government relations as career?
* Have you always worked in this policy area? If not, can you tell me about other areas in which you’ve worked?
* Did you originally work on campaigns and elections, or have you focused only on policy?

1. How is your [LOBBYING FIRM / GOVERNMENT RELATIONS OFFICE] organized?

PROBING QUESTIONS:

* To whom do you report? Do you have a management or supervisory role?
* To whom are you ultimately responsible? Members? Shareholders? Headquarters? Clients?

1. What is more important to your work: specific policy expertise or a deep understanding of how things really work in Washington?

PROBING QUESTIONS:

* Do you find that social connections are a key component to your work or is expertise within a particular policy area more important?

1. How would you describe your issue expertise?

PROBING QUESTIONS:

* Do you choose the issues on which you work or are they assigned to you?

1. Do you do any work on “women’s issues”? (If Y/N): What do you think qualifies as a “women’s issue”? (let respondent define the term)

PROBING QUESTIONS:

* Do you view yourself as working on behalf of women outside of Washington? Why or why not?

1. Lobbying has traditionally been a male-dominated profession. Do you feel that is still the case today?

PROBING QUESTIONS:

* Have you ever felt like your gender affected your work? If so, in what way?
* What are gender relationships like in Washington D.C. politics generally?
* What are gender relationships like in the D.C. lobbying community in particular?

1. Do you feel as if you are able to adequately balance work with your personal life i.e., do you have a “good” work-life balance?

PROBING QUESTIONS

* If “yes”, what helps you achieve this work-life balance?
* If “no” what prevents you from achieving work-life balance? What challenges do you face in achieving work-life balance?

1. What advice do you have for other women interested in working in government relations?

Summary of Respondent Work Structures and Represented Industries

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Contract/**  **In House** | **Org. Type** | **Industry** |
| Contract | Boutique/Small | Defense |
| Contract | Boutique/Small | Energy |
| Contract | Boutique/Small | Environment |
| Contract | Boutique/Small | Healthcare |
| Contract | Boutique/Small | Healthcare |
| Contract | Boutique/Small | Multiple |
| Contract | Boutique/Small | Multiple |
| Contract | Midsize Firm | Multiple |
| Contract | Midsize Firm | Multiple |
| Contract | Large Firm | Defense/Transportation |
| Contract | Large Firm | Higher Education |
| Contract | Large Firm | Multiple |
| Contract | Law Firm | International Trade |
| Contract | Law Firm | Multiple |
| Contract | Law Firm | Taxation |
| In House | Corporate | Manufacturing |
| In House | Non-Profit | Healthcare |
| In House | Non-Profit | Women's Rights |
| In House | Non-Profit | Women's Rights |
| In House | Professional Assn. | Chemical |
| In House | Professional Assn. | Financial |
| In House | Professional Assn. | Healthcare |
| In House | Trade Assn. | Oil & Gas |

*Note:*  Organization type for lobbying firms is categorized by the authors as: Boutique/Small (<5 associates), Midsize (5-10 associates), Large Firm (10+ associates).