

Women in the Lobbying Profession

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The Research Puzzle

Academics and politicians have long debated the existence of specific women's policy issues. Some scholars have gone so far as to assert that women are better equipped to tackle certain, more feminine, policy issues than men.¹ Even if this is not necessarily true, it is frequently how women in politics are perceived.² Women in political positions may be viewed as particularly suited to address women's issues because they may be more inclined than men to focus on them. Further, women may be viewed by male colleagues as having inherent credibility on issues that most affect women. These perceptions are often linked to women's traditional roles as caregivers and housewives, as well as the hypothesized trajectory for women's moral development.³

The extant scholarship that focuses on women's issues tends to explore gender differences in legislators' behavior.⁴ The manner in which women's issues play a role in other sectors of the policy process model is largely ignored. Yet women participate in greater numbers as non-legislating actors in policy making; the percentage of women actively employed in the lobbying profession, for example, is approximately twice as large as the percentage of women

¹ Dodson, Debra L. "Representing Women's Interests in the U.S. House of Representatives." Women and Elective Office. Ed. S. Thomas and C. Wilcox. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998., Gilligan, Carol. In a Different Voice: Psychological Theories and Women's Development. Cambridge: Harvard University, 1983., Swers, Michele L. The Difference Women Make. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002., etc.

² Swers, Michele L. The Difference Women Make. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

³ Gilligan, Carol. In a Different Voice: Psychological Theories and Women's Development. Cambridge: Harvard University, 1983.

⁴ Dodson, Debra L. "Representing Women's Interests in the U.S. House of Representatives." Women and Elective Office. Ed. S. Thomas and C. Wilcox. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998., Dolan, Kathleen. "Voting for Women in The "Year of the Woman"." American Journal of Political Science 42.1 (1998): 272-93., Fox, Richard Logan. Gender Dynamics in Congressional Elections. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 1997., Lawless, Jennifer L. and Richard L. Fox. It Takes a Candidate: Why Women Don't Run for Office. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, Poggione, Sarah. "Exploring Gender Differences in State Legislators' Policy Preferences." Political Research Quarterly 57.2 (2004): 305-14., Swers, Michele L. The Difference Women Make. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002., etc.

currently serving in state or national legislatures in the United States.⁵ Because women's employment in private, federal lobbying has increased significantly within the past five years, the role of gender in this domain deserves attention.

This study seeks to fill the gap in existing research by assessing the extent to which "women's issues" exist in the lobbying profession. Moreover, do female lobbyists work on feminine policy issues more than others? Based on data collected through an analysis of lobbying disclosure forms for more than 200 clients with interests purely in "women's issues" or "men's issues," I find, overwhelmingly, that women are, in fact, more likely than men to lobby on behalf of clients with feminine policy interests.

Quantitative Study Methodology

This study seeks to generalize the percentage of women within the lobbying profession who represent clients with policy issue needs identified as women's issues and to contrast this figure with the percentage of women who represent clients with masculine issue needs.

According to scholars, women in politics have been most actively supportive of policy issues such as health and education, while men have historically been more active on issues such as business and defense. To collect data regarding women's work in the lobbying profession for clients with interests in the identified gendered policy issues, I analyzed lobbying disclosure forms dated from the third quarter of 2009 for the top 50 companies in each of these issue areas; health, education, business, and defense (Please see appendices for a complete list of companies or institutions in each sample.) The top 50 health care companies in the United States were determined using Fortune Magazine's annual list of "The World's Most Admired Companies." Educational institutions for study were derived from annual rankings by U.S. News and World

⁵ Bath, Michael G., Jennifer Gayvert-Owen, and Anthony J. Nownes. "Women Lobbyists: The Gender Gap and Interest Representation." Politics & Policy. 33.1 (2005): 136-53.

Report. The top 50 businesses analyzed in this study are from the list of Fortune 500 companies, also compiled by Fortune magazine, and the sample of defense contractors was selected based on the most recent fiscal report on government business.

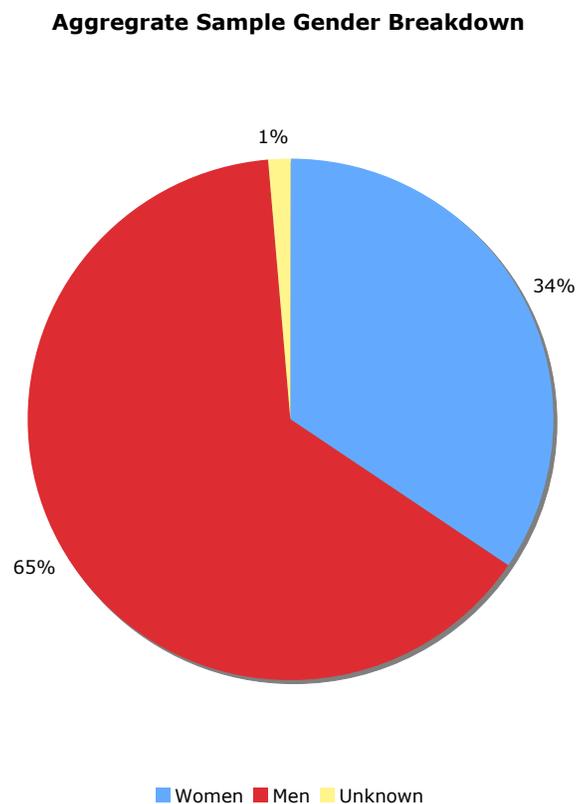
Due to the recent lobbying disclosure reform and the demand for transparency in government, all lobbying disclosure forms have been made readily available via the Senate Office of Public Records and may be easily accessed from www.senate.gov. The online Lobbying Disclosure Act Databases are user friendly, in that they allow database users to search for lobbying disclosure forms by client name. Lobbying disclosure forms include all pertinent data related to lobbyists' activities on behalf of clients, including firm income or expenses, an identified primary issue area of concern, a list of specific lobbying issues including all bills and appropriations requests, a list of Houses of Congress and federal agencies lobbied, and a list of lobbyists assigned to represent the client.

In order to establish a manageable data set, one lobbying disclosure form was analyzed for each client. For clients represented by a number of private lobbying firms, the registrant receiving the highest income to represent the client was selected for evaluation, as income often reflects the time spent on legislative work for any given client. Additionally, when lobbying disclosure forms were available for both Washington lobbyists and lobbyists employed by the clients themselves, the lobbying disclosure form for the private, Washington lobbying firm was always selected for analysis in order to focus on professionals acting strictly as lobbyists. While corporate lobbyists and contract or boutique firm lobbyists differ in the number of clients they manage and their expertise on clients' business models, both must demonstrate understanding of the public policy process as well as a Washington network for advancing client initiatives. When there was no option, client employed lobbyists were factored into the final evaluation.

Quantitative Study Findings and Analysis

Before analyzing data from individual client lists, let us first look at the composition of the aggregate sample quantitatively. The aggregate sample was selected with a primary focus on the policy issue interests of the clients, not with the intention of selecting a sample with an equal number of men and women lobbyists, or a proportion between male and female lobbyists reflecting the current gender composition of the profession. The aggregate sample actually reflects the gender composition of the profession, though. In the aggregate, women constitute 34 percent of the sample, just as the academic literature suggests (See Figure I).

Figure I

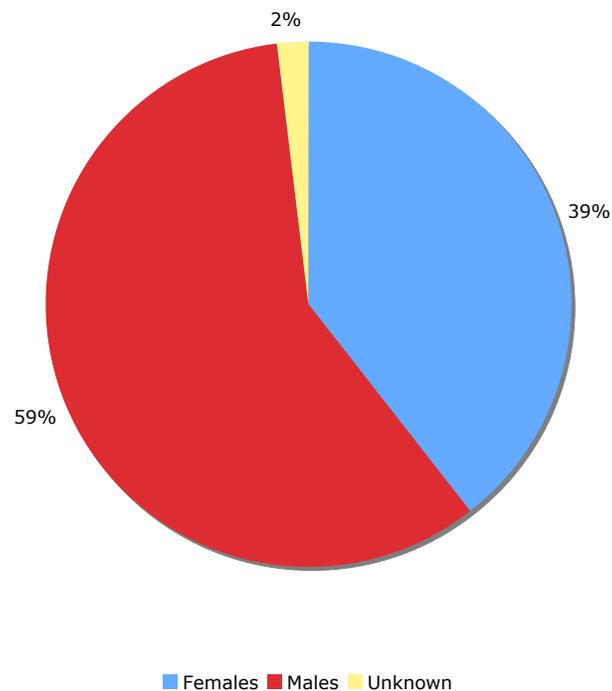


N= 731

An analysis of the data collected for clients with interests within the same, gendered issue area reveals that women's issues do, in fact, exist in the lobbying profession. Based on the gender breakdown findings within the aggregate sample, if men and women are equally likely to lobby on any given issue, then we should expect the gender breakdown of lobbyists for those clients to exist in percentages identical to the aggregate sample. This is not the case for any of the issues analyzed as a part of this study.

Let us first evaluate the quantitative results for women's issues. The data collected on health care clients indicates that women are more likely than men to lobby on health care issues. This is expected, as health care is frequently described as a women's policy issue. While the percentage of women lobbyists in this sub-group are only five percent more than the aggregate sample, the findings still indicate that women are more likely to represent health care clients than male counterparts. The gender breakdown between health care lobbyists may be skewed to women's disfavor because of the saliency for health care reform on both the House and Senate agendas in the third quarter of 2009. It is likely that more lobbyists are assigned per health care client and because there are more men than women in the profession, women do not experience as strong an advantage as they otherwise might (See Figure II).

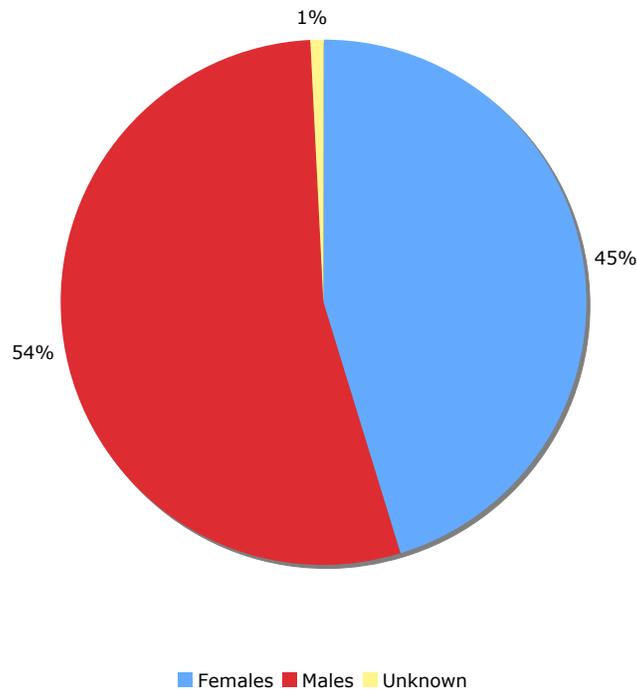
Figure II

Gender of Lobbyists Representing Health Clients

N = 145

Analysis of the data for education clients reveals that women are more likely than men to lobby on educational issues. Here, the percentage by which women lobbyists exceed their male counterparts at representing education clients is even greater than on the issue of health care. This may be true because several of the clients within the education policy area sample used only lobbyists hired by the academic institution itself, rather than a Washington-based consulting firm. Perhaps women are more likely to work as lobbyists employed by clients themselves, in corporate lobby shops, than employed by private, lobbying firms (See Figure III).

Figure III

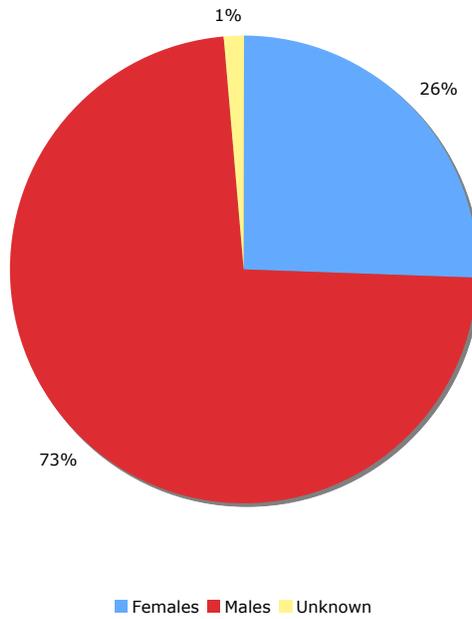
Gender of Lobbyists Representing Education Clients

N = 214

Now, let us move to a discussion of the quantitative results in gender breakdowns of the lobbyists representing clients with primary interests in male policy issue areas. The quantitative results for both business clients and defense clients are similar. The percentage of women lobbyists in both of these issue areas is lower than the percentage of women in the aggregate sample. This indicates that male lobbyists are more likely to represent the clients in these areas than are their female counterparts (See Figure IV and Figure V).

Figure IV

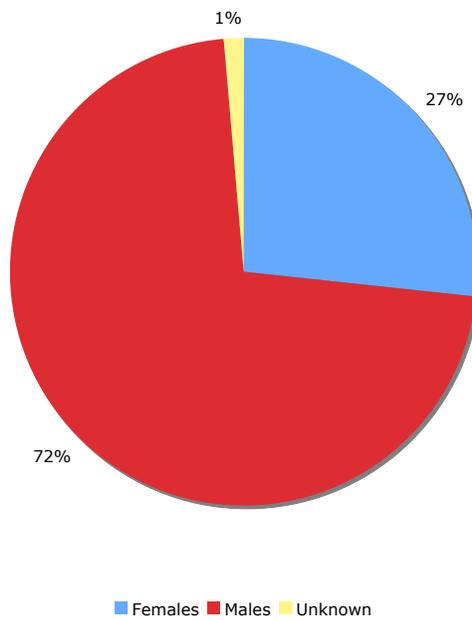
Gender of Lobbyists Representing Business Clients



N = 218

Figure V

Gender of Lobbyists Representing Defense Clients



N=154

As evidenced by Figures I-V, the shift in the gender composition of lobbyists working in each issue area is statistically significant. This proves that women's issues are a reality in the lobbying profession. At minimum, the gender breakdown shifted seven percent away from the percentages of men and women existing in the aggregate sample. At maximum, in the case of education, the gender composition shifted 11 percent away from the aggregate sample in favor of female lobbyists. This is good news for women hoping to enter the profession, as male lobbyists seem more disadvantaged in representing clients with feminine policy interests than female lobbyists in representing clients with masculine policy interests. These findings, with specific emphasis on the education module, may also indicate that corporate lobbying may be an entrance into the lobbying profession that is most friendly to women.

Survey Methodology

To reiterate, the data above suggests that women's issues do, in fact, exist in the lobbying profession. Health care and education are women's lobbying issues and women are more likely to lobby for clients with primary issue concerns in these areas than are their male counterparts. Meanwhile, business and defense are men's lobbying issues, in which men are more likely to lobby for clients with policy issue concerns within these areas. Another incidental conclusion is that women do, in fact, constitute approximately 35 percent of Washington lobbyists. This figure represents progress for women, especially as it is derived from an aggregate sample of currently, high priority clients. Together, these conclusions fill a troubling hole in academic research.

Granted, this quantitative data alone does not address the motivations behind why women's issues exist in the lobbying profession. Are the findings purely the result of gender, or

must intersectionality be taken into consideration to address various other social underpinnings that may account for what otherwise appears as a severe gender difference in the profession? What might the role of political experience mean in the way lobbyists are assigned to clients? Are certain issues considered threshold issues that are commonly assigned to beginner lobbyists in a policy issue and lobbying firm hierarchy? Does the gender composition of lobbying teams in individual firms matter?

In order to determine the extent to which and the reasons that female lobbyists focus on women's issues, I conducted an online survey of women and men in the lobbying profession. The survey was distributed to all subjects, both male and female, in the original, aggregate sample. This sample included all of the federally registered lobbyists representing the top fifty performing clients in the issue areas of health, education, business, and defense. In total, the survey reached 414 lobbyists, after accounting for repeat individuals due to single lobbyists representing more than one client included in the aggregate sample, as well as bounce back emails. Of the 414 lobbyists who received the survey link, 157 lobbyists responded to the survey solicitation, resulting in a 38 percent response rate. In total, 127 surveys were completed and factored into the analysis.

The survey was designed to test hypotheses that apply to the existence of women's issues in Congress such as traditional societal roles, perceived stereotypes, and experiential expertise, as well as to consider elements specific to the lobbying profession, such as firm structure and division of labor, the role of issue portfolios in the policy process, and the management of client relations. The survey also anonymously solicited personal and demographic information in order to allow me to draw conclusions about gender differences in the field.

The Survey Sample

While the quantitative analysis component of this study offered insight into the numbers of the gender breakdown in the lobbying profession, the survey results, especially responses to questions soliciting demographic information, spoke more qualitatively to who these people in the aggregate sample are. Once again looking at the aggregate sample of lobbyists previously identified for their work in the policy areas of health care, education, business, and defense, I find overwhelmingly that the demographic composition of the survey sample is similar to the demographic qualities of women in electoral politics. These findings accurately reflect the demographic composition we would expect of the lobbying profession and can therefore lead us to hypothesize that women's issues manifest in the lobbying profession due to similar reasons that perpetuate the existence of women's issues in electoral politics.

First, it should be noted that the gender breakdown among survey respondents was not identical to the gender breakdown of the full sample that received the survey link. Of the 115 survey participants who selected to identify their gender, 87 individuals, or 75.7 percent of the full survey sample, identified as male, while 28 participants, or 24.3 percent, identified as female (See Table I). This is important to note because the overall survey analysis is based on a relatively low percentage of female respondents. This gender breakdown in the survey sample itself may also speak to gender differences in the lobbying profession. For example, in communicating with members of the aggregate survey sample who did not ultimately complete a survey, I found that women were less likely to self identify as lobbyists, even if they were federally registered as such. Similarly, I also found that women were more hesitant to complete the survey because they expressed concern over the negative connotation associated with the term "lobbyist."

Table I: Gender Breakdown of the Survey Sample

Gender:				
Answer Options	Gender:		Response Percent	Response Count
	Male	Female		
Male	87	0	75.7%	87
Female	0	28	24.3%	28

Another demographic quality factored into my overall analysis was the age of survey participants. I sought this information to determine how age, and possibly experience, may create gender differences in the lobbying profession. Based on the survey responses, I found that the average age of the female participants was 42 years old. The average age of male participants was 51 years of age. This is a significant age difference. Because theoretically older members in the profession are likely to have more experience either in lobbying, other lobbying pipeline professions, or both, these older lobbyists, mostly men, may have more seniority and perhaps more freedom to choose their issue area expertise. Furthermore, this age discrepancy between men and women in the profession is indicative of the fact that women are only relatively recently beginning to form a critical mass of membership in the lobbying profession. This is very similar to the ages of women in electoral politics as compared to the ages of their male counterparts that seem to reflect the continued perpetuation of the good old boy network in Washington, DC.

Because marriage and household responsibilities often impact the professional lives of women in politics, I used the survey to solicit specific information about the marital status of survey participants, as well as their current familial situation and their home lives. The survey found that while the majority of survey participants were married, women in the survey sample were much more likely than men to be single, divorced, or separated (See Table II).

Table II: Marital Statuses of the Survey Sample

Marital status:

Answer Options	Gender:		Male	Female
	Male	Female		
Married	75	16	89.3%	57.1%
In a relationship	3	3	3.6%	10.7%
Single	3	6	3.6%	21.4%
Divorced	2	2	2.3%	7.1%
Separated	0	1	0.0%	3.6%
Widowed	1	0	1.2%	0.0%

These gender differences in marital status also translated to produce similar findings for family composition and as a result, childcare responsibilities. I found that male survey participants were more likely to have children than female participants. Approximately 80.2 percent of men had children, as compared to only 42.9 percent of the women surveyed (See Table III). If women in the survey had children, they were most likely (20.0 percent) to hire a babysitter or a nanny to serve as the primary caregiver of their children. Men most (32.9 percent) frequently stated that a significant other or a spouse primarily handled childcare responsibilities (See Table IV). Once again, these qualitative findings are similar to what would be expected of women in electoral politics. These findings show that for women to be successful in the lobbying profession, they will most likely, similar to their male counterparts, have to delegate their familial responsibilities to others.

Table III: Lobbyists with Children

Do you have children:				
Answer Options	Gender:		Male	Female
	Male	Female		
Yes	65	12	80.2%	42.9%
No	16	16	19.8%	57.1%

Table IV: Delegation of Childcare Responsibilities

If you have children, who is the primary caregiver:				
Answer Options	Gender:		Male	Female
	Male	Female		
Not applicable	16	8	21.1%	40.0%
You	7	1	9.2%	5.0%
Your spouse or significant other	25	2	32.9%	10.0%
A family member	1	1	1.3%	5.0%
A babysitter or nanny	3	4	3.9%	20.0%
Children are fully grown independents	14	2	18.4%	10.0%
Other (please specify)	10	2	13.2%	10.0%

Hypotheses

Based on a literature review, I hypothesize that women's issues exist in the lobbying profession, as I have already quantitatively proven, for similar reasons that policy issues are observed as gendered in legislatures. I reach this hypothesis for several reasons. First, the explanations that have been applied to women legislators' affinity for women's issues are equally applicable to women in the lobbying profession. The structure of the lobbying profession itself may force the existence of women's issues. It has been argued that women legislate on women's issues in order to fulfill the demands and preconceived notions of their constituencies. While lobbyists have no constituency to respond to per se, job security in private firms may similarly be impacted by how females in the profession conform to gender stereotypes preconceived by both firm partners and clients.

Second, I presume that just as female legislators are perceived as having authority on women's issues by their male colleagues, women in the lobbying profession are perceived by their co-workers as having inherent authority over the same policy issues, purely based on gender. In legislatures, this importance of policy issues manifests in women being assigned to committees with jurisdiction over women's issues or in women championing women's causes

independent of their committee area jurisdiction. I argue, that in the lobbying profession, this importance of issue area expertise results in women being assigned to work with clients whose asks require expertise on feminine policy issues.

Lastly, commentary regarding the qualities of the survey respondent sample already proves that female lobbyists are likely to fulfill traditional gender roles in the home at the same rates as female legislators. Like women in Congress, women in the lobbying profession are more likely to be unmarried and without children, or more likely to delegate their familial responsibilities. Therefore, I suspect that the influence of traditional gender roles on legislators and lobbyists should be about the same. The ways in which these traditional gender roles are taught through upbringing and the manner in which political ambition is encouraged in women may ultimately impact female lobbyists when it comes to transporting issues through the policy process model of defining policy problems, formulating solutions, and strategizing for policy legitimation.

Hypothesis #1: The structure of the lobbying profession allows women's issues to manifest in ways similar to electoral politics.

Background

As previously noted, the majority of academic research on women's issues in politics is focused on women in Congress. Because the majority of academic work on women's issues and explaining women's affinity for these identified policy issues emphasizes legislators, it is important to review the most recent academic work on women in the lobbying profession and what such research may imply for discovering a similar affinity for women's issues among female lobbyists.

Anthony Nownes and Patricia Freeman were the first to address gender in the lobbying profession. They surveyed 595 state interest lobbyists and found that women remain underrepresented in state lobbying communities and seldom attain the highest positions in the lobbying field. The survey also identified some evidence that women behave differently in the lobbying profession, but regardless of behavioral differences, that women are slowly being assimilated into this career domain. The two most significant findings of the survey indicated, first, that state policymakers take women lobbyists seriously and second, that women do not appear to have less cooperative relationships with public officials than men.⁶ Female lobbyists were also more likely to be approached by public officials for advice than their male counterparts. While Nownes and Freeman do not make direct commentary on women's issues in the lobbying profession per se, they do conclude that women are substantially more likely than men to work for citizen, religious, and charitable groups, while men were more likely to represent labor unions.⁷

The most recent academic research on women in the lobbying profession reaches similar conclusions as Nownes and Freeman's 1998 article. Based on a 1999 survey 900 Washington lobbyists, Michael Bath, Jennifer Gayvert-Owen, and Anthony Nownes evaluate women's relatively recent emergence in the lobbying profession and the formation of a critical mass of female lobbyists. The authors find that about 35 percent of all Washington lobbyists are female.⁸ The article also argues that men and women act and participate similarly in the lobbying profession. Most lobbyists, regardless of gender, work full time and male and female lobbyists

⁶ Nownes, Anthony J. and Patricia K. Freeman. "Female Lobbyists: Women in the World Of "Good Ol' Boys"." The Journal of Politics 60.4 (1998): 1181-201.

⁷ Nownes, Anthony J. and Patricia K. Freeman. "Female Lobbyists: Women in the World Of "Good Ol' Boys"." The Journal of Politics 60.4 (1998): 1181-201.

⁸ Bath, Michael G., Jennifer Gayvert-Owen, and Anthony J. Nownes. "Women Lobbyists: The Gender Gap and Interest Representation." Politics & Policy. 33.1 (2005): 136-53.

appear to use the same lobbying strategies and techniques.⁹ The authors argue that female lobbyists have substantially less experience than men and that women in the profession have fewer interactions with congressional committees.¹⁰ Additionally, these authors make clear their expectations for differences in the lobbying profession based on gender, although they never fully offer supporting explanations. They hypothesize that more women than men prioritize women's issues, such as issues pertaining to the family and children. Gender differences, the authors suggest, are also expected because research on female policymakers shows that female legislators differ substantially in their issue areas of priority and expertise from their male colleagues.¹¹

Survey Analysis

As is indicated by the most recent literature, the survey found that women are only recently achieving a critical mass in the lobbying profession. On average, female survey participants had only been employed in the lobbying profession an average of 11.0 years. Male participants, however, averaged 13.9 years of experience in the lobbying profession, in addition to further professional work, mostly in politics, before entering the private sector. This is likely to impact hierarchy within lobbying firms themselves and, depending on the firm, how individual lobbyists' interests in policy areas are considered when client assignments are made.

The survey also found that the structure of lobbying firms matters in determining female lobbyists' issue area expertise. On average, female survey participants represent 10.8 clients. Meanwhile, male participants represent 15.1 clients on average. These figures are derived from

⁹ Bath, Michael G., Jennifer Gayvert-Owen, and Anthony J. Nownes. "Women Lobbyists: The Gender Gap and Interest Representation." *Politics & Policy*. 33.1 (2005): 136-53.

¹⁰ Bath, Michael G., Jennifer Gayvert-Owen, and Anthony J. Nownes. "Women Lobbyists: The Gender Gap and Interest Representation." *Politics & Policy*. 33.1 (2005): 136-53.

¹¹ Bath, Michael G., Jennifer Gayvert-Owen, and Anthony J. Nownes. "Women Lobbyists: The Gender Gap and Interest Representation." *Politics & Policy*. 33.1 (2005): 136-53.

the simultaneous analyses of firms with different structures and issue area reputations. This may reveal that women are more likely to specialize on fewer issues, to work at firms with fewer clients, or to work at firms that demonstrate relatively greater issue specialization.

This is further clarified by the manner in which survey participants identified the lobbying firm model their place of employment ascribes to. Female survey participants were much more likely to work in boutique (40.0 percent) or corporate lobby shops (24.0 percent) (See Table V), where the issue portfolios of employed lobbyists tend to be more specialized, as compared to men. Boutique shops often specialize in a single, issue area and will only establish retainers with clients for work on initiatives within that single, specialized issue area. Corporate lobby shops are essentially teams of in house lobbyists that tend to all of the policy interests of a single client. These types of lobbying firms are likely to be specialized based on the nature of the industry the client is a part of. The men surveyed were most likely to work in contract lobby shops (33.8 percent), representing more clients with more varied policy area portfolios, as compared to only 24.0 percent of female survey participants who identified their place of employment as a contract style firm (See Table V). Typically, contract lobby shops specialize in more than one issue area, are relatively larger, and hold retainers with clients of many different industries with several different policy needs.

Table V: Lobbying Firm Structures

How would you classify your current place of employment:				
Answer Options	Gender:		Male	Female
	Male	Female		
Contract lobbying firm	24	6	33.8%	24.0%
Boutique lobbying firm	25	10	35.2%	40.0%
Corporate lobby shop	14	6	19.7%	24.0%
Other (please specify)	8	8	11.3%	32.0%

Similar to how the structure of a lobbying firm matters in determining the issue portfolios of the lobbyists employed at the firm, the specific policy area reputations of individual lobbying firms matter as well. Men are overwhelmingly more likely to work at firms with a reputation of specializing in masculine policy areas, such as business and defense. Approximately 56.5 percent of the men surveyed stated that their firm specializes in business clients, while only 32.0 percent of women identified their firm as having a similar reputation. Approximately 40.3 percent of men surveyed identified their firm as demonstrating policy expertise on defense issues, as compared to only 16.0 percent of women (See Table VI). This is what is expected based on the quantitative conclusions reached through the analysis of lobbying disclosure forms for the aggregate sample. It is sensible for male and female lobbyists to seek work at firms that specialize in representing clients with policy needs that match the lobbyists' gendered issue area expertise.

Table VI: Lobbying Firm Issue Area Reputations

Does your firm have a reputation for representing clients with interests in specific policy areas; If so, which ones:				
Answer Options	Gender:		Male	Female
	Male	Female		
Health	40	14	64.5%	56.0%
Education	20	7	32.3%	28.0%
Business	35	8	56.5%	32.0%
Defense	25	4	40.3%	16.0%
Energy	43	11	69.4%	44.0%
Environment	34	7	54.8%	28.0%
Telecommunications	28	7	45.1%	28.0%
Other (please specify)	21	6	33.9%	21.4%

Lastly, the combination of issue area expertise and quality of lobbying firms in overall firm rankings and reputations may create gender differences in how frequently women are approached by elected officials or congressional staff for policy advice. Often times, individuals

in the lobbying profession are viewed by other actors in the policy making process not only as experts on the policy process model and the political environment, but also as experts on individual issue areas. If women are employed at firms that have reputations as either generally top notch lobbying firms in Washington, DC, or at firms that are highly specialized, these women are highly likely to be approached for their issue expertise and policy advice. According to the survey results, female lobbyists are more likely to be approached by elected officials or congressional staff for policy advice than men in the lobbying profession. Approximately 58.4 percent of the women surveyed were consulted for policy advice either often or fairly often. Of male survey participants, only 47.1 percent received solicitations for policy advice either often or fairly often (See Table VII). This may reflect that women in the private sector, like women in Congress or in other legislative bodies, are seen as having inherent expertise on women's issues. Because most elected officials and high level congressional staff are male, policy advice from males employed in the private sector may be solicited less frequently.

Table VII: Solicitations for Policy Advice

How often do elected officials or Congressional staff solicit policy advice from you:				
Answer Options	Gender:		Male	Female
	Male	Female		
Often	14	7	20.6%	29.2%
Fairly often	18	7	26.5%	29.2%
Sometimes	27	9	39.7%	37.5%
Very Occasionally	5	0	7.4%	0.0%
Never	4	1	5.9%	4.2%

Hypothesis #2: Issues are important in political professions, especially in lobbying.

Background

According to Fox, women's issues are "any issues in which policy consequences have a more immediate and direct effect on a larger portion of women than men."¹² Fox cites examples of women's issues, including legislation concerning women, family, and children, day care, domestic violence, sexual assault, displaced homemakers, children's library services, and childbirth in public hospitals. He contrasts these issues with men's issues such as business, the economy, crime, and defense.¹³

Several other authors make similar distinctions between women's issues and men's issues. Linda Fowler and Jennifer Lawless cite health, education, family policy, and child welfare as women's policy issues.¹⁴ Jennifer Lawless and Richard Fox identify women's issues as education, health care, the environment, consumer protection, and helping the poor. Men's issues include military or police crises, the economy, business, agriculture, and crime control. The authors recognize that categorizing issues is somewhat superficial, but attest the importance of their distinction based on voter perceptions of candidate expertise and studies pertaining to office holders' legislative priorities.¹⁵

Survey Analysis

In the lobbying professions, while the categorizing of issues based on gender may also be somewhat superficial, the importance of issues is demonstrated by lobbyists' attitudes towards the significance of issue portfolios in the professions, perceptions of individual lobbyist issue area expertise, and clients' policy priorities.

¹² Fox, Richard Logan. Gender Dynamics in Congressional Elections. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 1997.

¹³ Fox, Richard Logan. Gender Dynamics in Congressional Elections. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 1997.

¹⁴ Fowler, Linda and Jennifer L. Lawless. "Looking for Sex in All the Wrong Places: Gubernatorial Candidates' Electoral Fortunes." Perspectives on Politics Forthcoming (2009).

¹⁵ Lawless, Jennifer L. and Richard L. Fox. It Takes a Candidate: Why Women Don't Run for Office. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Generally, I find that issues are important to individuals within the lobbying profession. For example, among both men and women who participated in the survey, the opportunity to work on policy areas of personal interest was the second most popular reason for entering the lobbying profession. This was true for 29.2 percent of men and 21.4 percent of women (See Table VIII). Because specific policy issues are so important to individuals within the profession, it is not a stretch to anticipate that issues play an integral role in the profession overall.

Table VIII: Reasons for Entering the Lobbying Profession

What factor most influenced your decision to enter the lobbying profession:				
Answer Options	Gender:		Male	Female
	Male	Female		
High salary potential	8	0	12.3%	0.0%
Appealing time requirements for work	4	2	6.2%	7.1%
Appealing work environment or office culture	1	0	1.5%	0.0%
Stimulating and challenging work	25	10	38.5%	35.7%
Opportunities for promotion and career advancement	3	4	4.6%	14.3%
The opportunity to work independently	8	1	12.3%	3.6%
The opportunity to build and maintain professional relationships	2	0	3.1%	0.0%
The opportunity to work on policy issues of personal interest	19	6	29.2%	21.4%

Next, just as the quantitative component of this study concludes, women are more likely than men to lobby on women's issues such as health care (84.4 percent of women, as compared to 61.1 percent of men) and education (40.0 percent of women, as compared to 37.5 percent of men), while men are more likely to lobby on masculine policy issues, such as business (62.5 percent of men, as compared to 32.2 percent of women) and defense (38.9 percent of men, as compared to 20.0 percent of women) (See Table IX). This proves, once again, that women's issues do exist in the lobbying profession. What is interesting about the survey findings is that because of the aggregation of the data from only survey respondents, as opposed to the whole

sample, the survey reveals that these differences, in some of the identified issue areas, such as health care, business, and defense, may actually be even greater when expertise is self identified by lobbyists, as opposed to implied from lobbying disclosure forms.

Table IX: Issues Lobbied On

What issues do you lobby on:				
Answer Options	Gender:		Male	Female
	Male	Female		
Health	44	21	61.1%	84.0%
Education	27	10	37.5%	40.0%
Business	45	8	62.5%	32.2%
Defense	28	5	38.9%	20.0%
Environment	32	8	44.4%	32.0%
Telecommunications	23	7	31.9%	28.0%
Other (please specify)	31	11	43.1%	44.0%

These individual areas of identified expertise translate directly into the day-to day-work of lobbyists. The survey largely concluded that the majority of lobbyists, both male and female, most often employ direct lobbying tactics to advance client policy initiatives. This involves meeting with members of Congress, congressional staff, members of the executive branch, or executive agency staff. These meetings and communication with these other actors involved in policy making is often determined, once again, by issue area expertise. Men and women are most likely to lobby the congressional committees with jurisdiction over the gendered policy issues most commonly assigned to male and female lobbyists respectively. Male survey participants were most likely to have directly lobbied the House Committees on Energy and Commerce (74.6 percent) and Homeland Security (69.6 percent) and the Senate Committees on Finance (66.2 percent) and Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs (44.6 percent). Female survey participants were most likely to have substantively, directly lobbied the House Committees on Energy and Commerce (69.6 percent), which had some jurisdiction under recent health care reform

legislation and the House Committee on Energy and Labor (47.8 percent) and the Senate Committees on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions (65.2 percent) and Finance (52.2 percent), which also had some jurisdiction over health care reform (See Tables X and XI). The frequency with which men and women lobbied committees of relevant gendered jurisdiction proves that the gendered nature of policy issues is important to understanding overall gender differences in the lobbying profession.

Table X: House Committees Lobbied

If you lobbied the United States House of Representatives, which committees did you lobby:				
Answer Options	Gender:		Male	Female
	Male	Female		
Committee on Agriculture	10	4	15.9%	17.4%
Committee on Appropriations	32	12	50.8%	52.2%
Committee on Armed Services	14	2	22.2%	8.7%
Committee on the Budget	8	3	12.7%	13.0%
Committee on Education and Labor	23	11	36.5%	47.8%
Committee on Energy and Commerce	47	16	74.6%	69.6%
Committee on Financial Services	23	6	36.5%	26.1%
Committee on Foreign Affairs	10	4	15.9%	17.4%
Committee on Homeland Security	16	4	69.6%	17.4%
Committee on House Administration	0	0	0.0%	0.0%
Committee on the Judiciary	22	8	34.9%	34.8%
Committee on Natural Resources	13	0	20.6%	0.0%
Committee on Oversight and Government Reform	14	5	22.2%	21.7%
Committee on Rules	7	1	11.1%	4.3%
Committee on Science and Technology	20	6	31.7%	26.1%
Committee on Small Business	5	1	7.9%	4.3%
Committee on Standards of Official Conduct	0	0	0.0%	0.0%
Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure	18	6	28.6%	26.1%
Committee on Veterans Affairs	9	0	14.3%	0.0%
Committee on Ways and Means	37	13	58.7%	56.5%
Joint Economic Committee	3	0	4.8%	0.0%
Joint Committee on Taxation	9	0	14.3%	0.0%
House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence	1	0	1.6%	0.0%
House Select Committee on Energy Independence and Global Warming	11	2	17.5%	8.7%
You lobbied the House of Representatives but did not lobby any committees	1	0	1.6%	0.0%
You did not lobby the House of Representatives	2	0	3.2%	0.0%

Table XI: Senate Committees Lobbied

If you lobbied the United States Senate, which committees did you lobby:				
Answer Options	Gender:		Male	Female
	Male	Female		
Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry	21	2	32.3%	8.7%
Committee on Appropriations	35	10	53.8%	43.5%
Committee on Armed Services	17	1	26.2%	4.3%
Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs	29	3	44.6%	13.0%
Committee on the Budget	9	4	13.8%	17.4%
Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation	36	10	55.4%	43.5%
Committee on Energy and Natural Resources	36	4	55.4%	17.4%
Committee on the Environment and Public Works	27	6	41.5%	26.1%
Committee on Finance	43	12	66.2%	52.2%
Committee on Foreign Relations	10	2	15.4%	8.7%
Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions	31	15	47.7%	65.2%
Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs	17	3	26.2%	13.0%
Committee on the Judiciary	24	7	36.9%	30.4%
Committee on Rules and Administration	2	0	3.1%	0.0%
Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship	3	0	4.6%	0.0%
Committee on Veterans' Affairs	9	0	13.8%	0.0%
Committee on Indian Affairs	4	0	6.2%	0.0%
Select Committee on Ethics	0	0	0.0%	0.0%
Select Committee on Intelligence	1	0	1.5%	0.0%
Special Committee on Aging	4	2	6.2%	8.7%
Joint Committee on Printing	0	0	0.0%	0.0%
Joint Committee on Taxation	5	0	7.7%	0.0%
Joint Committee on the Library	0	0	0.0%	0.0%
Joint Economic Committee	2	0	3.1%	0.0%
You lobbied the Senate but did not lobby any committees	1	2	1.5%	8.7%
You did not lobby the Senate	2	0	3.1%	0.0%

Similarly, men and women are most likely to lobby the executive agencies with rulemaking authority over the gendered policy issues most commonly assigned to male and female lobbyists respectively. Male survey participants frequently lobbied the Department of Commerce (33.3 percent) and the Department of Defense (24.1 percent), while female survey

participants most frequently lobbied the Department of Education (21.7 percent) and the Department of Health and Human Services (34.8 percent) (See Table XII). The frequency with which male and female lobbyists directly lobbied these agencies similarly proves the significance to the lobbying profession of policy issues having a gender identity.

Table XII: Executive Agencies Lobbied

If you lobbied executive agencies, which agencies did you lobby:				
Answer Options	Gender:		Male	Female
	Male	Female		
Department of Agriculture (USDA)	10	3	18.5%	13.0%
Department of Commerce (DOC)	18	2	33.3%	8.7%
Department of Defense (DOD)	13	2	24.1%	8.7%
Department of Education (ED)	16	5	29.6%	21.7%
Department of Energy (DOE)	26	4	48.1%	17.4%
Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)	14	2	25.9%	8.7%
Department of Health and Human Services (HHS)	19	8	35.2%	34.8%
Department of Homeland Security (DHS)	14	2	25.9%	8.7%
Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)	8	1	14.8%	4.3%
Department of Justice (DOJ)	7	0	13.0%	0.0%
Department of Labor (DOL)	9	1	16.7%	4.3%
Department of State (DOS)	7	1	13.0%	4.3%
Department of the Interior (DOI)	14	0	25.9%	0.0%
Department of the Treasury	19	1	35.2%	4.3%
Department of Transportation (DOT)	16	2	29.6%	8.7%
Department of Veterans Affairs (VA)	7	1	13.0%	4.3%
You did not lobby executive agencies	10	1	18.5%	4.3%

Additionally, the argument can be made that issues dictate that the daily work that lobbyists perform for clients. Both male and female lobbyists who were surveyed agree that their lobbying tactics differ depending on the specific issue area interests of the clients whose particular policy needs they are attending to. Female survey participants were more likely to believe that lobbying tactics should vary based on the policy area to be addressed. According to the survey, 96.6 percent of women either agreed or strongly agreed that their lobbying tactics

differ depending on the policy area interests of a particular client. Meanwhile, only 80.6 percent of men either agreed or strongly agreed that their lobbying tactics differ depending on the policy area interests of a particular client (See Table XIII). Once again, this proves that issues are particularly important within the context of the lobbying profession.

Table XIII: Issues and Lobbying Tactics

How do you feel about this sentence: "My lobbying tactics differ depending on the policy area interests of a particular client."				
Answer Options	Gender:		Male	Female
	Male	Female		
Strongly Agree	20	9	29.9%	36.6%
Agree	34	15	50.7%	60.0%
Disagree	8	1	11.9%	4.0%
Strongly Disagree	5	0	7.5%	0.0%

Because policy issues are so important in the day-to-day tasks of federally registered lobbyists, the survey sought to investigate how lobbyists develop their issue area expertise. Male and female survey participants overwhelmingly responded that they developed their expertise in the issue areas they lobby on because they were assigned to specialize within these issue areas in the work context of a previous professional position. This was true of 90.3 percent of men and 80.0 percent of women (See Table XIV). This reveals that underlying societal stereotypes may perpetuate issue portfolios being assigned in the lobbying profession based on gender. Despite being assigned issue areas to study and understand, it is also important to note that both men and women appear to be passionate about the issues they lobby on; men more so than women. According to the survey results, 79.5 percent of men are passionate or very passionate about the issues they lobby on, as compared to 68.0 percent of women (See Table XV). This may prove that gender plays a role in creating interest in policy areas, which later translate into issue area portfolios.

Table XIV: Developing Issue Area Expertise

How did you develop an interest or an expertise in the issue areas you lobby on:				
Answer Options	Gender:		Male	Female
	Male	Female		
You were introduced to these issues in courses throughout your education	19	5	26.4%	20.0%
You were directly impacted by a policy that you wanted to change	2	1	2.8%	4.0%
Someone you know was directly affected by a policy that you wanted to change	3	0	4.2%	0.0%
Your current or previous professional positions required you to develop an expertise on the issues you currently lobby on	65	20	90.3%	80.0%
Your policy interests are closely tied to your personal morals or values	15	6	20.8%	24.0%
Other (please specify)	5	3	6.9%	12.0%

Table XV: Passion for Issues

How passionate are you about the issues on which you lobby:				
Answer Options	Gender:		Male	Female
	Male	Female		
Very passionate	21	7	28.8%	28.0%
Passionate	37	10	50.7%	40.0%
Somewhat passionate	14	8	19.2%	32.0%
Not at all passionate	1	0	1.4%	0.0%

Lastly, aside from how issues are assigned or enjoyed by members of the profession, it is important to recognize that issue area expertise is the fundamental method for determining which lobbyists will represent which clients within individual lobbying firms. Data from the survey reveals that lobbyists are most frequently matched with clients based on individual policy area expertise. This occurs much more frequently, for both men and women, than do assignments using other methods, including an analysis of lobbyist relationships with relevant government officials and personality reconciliation (See Table XVI). This, along with the other data already

discussed, proves the significant role of issues in creating gender differences and the expression of women's policy issues in the lobbying profession.

Table XVI: Lobbyist-Client Partnering

How would you best describe the manner by which lobbyists at your firm are partnered with clients:				
Answer Options	Gender:		Male	Female
	Male	Female		
Lobbyists with the most seniority represent clients of the highest priority	0	0	0.0%	0.0%
Clients are matched with lobbyists based on issue area expertise	40	11	55.6%	47.8%
Clients are matched with lobbyists based on existing workloads of individual lobbyists	4	0	5.6%	0.0%
Clients are matched with lobbyists based on how client asks correlate to the individual lobbyist's relationships with relevant government officials	13	4	18.1%	17.4%
Clients are matched with lobbyists through consideration of individual client and individual lobbyist personalities	5	2	6.9%	8.7%
Other (please specify)	8	8	11.1%	34.8%

Hypothesis #3: Political ambition and traditional societal roles explain why women are most likely to lobby on women's issues.

Background

There is general consensus that the phenomenon of women in politics working on women's issues is caused by a feeling of obligation to represent women's issues based on women's traditional, societal roles. This view is most clearly articulated by Debra Dodson in her article, "Representing Women's Interests in the U.S. House of Representatives." In Dodson's interviews with female legislators, many acknowledge feeling a responsibility to represent those special concerns of women, in addition to representing the concerns of their districts. According to Dodson, differences in the experiences that touch women and men's lives contribute to gender differences in what women and men in office recognize as problems

and what they define as important in the legislative process. Dodson asserts these common experiences shared by female legislators are often linked to the sexual division of labor and women's experiences as caregivers.¹⁶ Therefore, Dodson generalizes that political women who partake in traditional, societal roles are likely to feel an affinity for women's issues. Similarly, Sarah Paggione (2004) reaches the conclusion that women's traditional roles impact women's policy stances. Paggione argues that women are seen as relatively liberal when compared to men, especially on issues that impact women. She attributes this finding to the fact that women's experiences and responsibilities in the private sphere influence their attitudes and behaviors.¹⁷

Other authors argue that gender gives women credibility on women's issues and that perceived credibility influences women to act in feminine policy areas. Kathleen Dolan and Michele Swers share this view. In her article entitled "Voting for Women in The Year of the Woman," Dolan analyzes how voters perceived female candidates in the 1992 election cycle. Essentially, Dolan finds that gender stereotyping creates the perception that women are most competent at handling issues of importance to women. The reverse is true for policy issues most often prioritized by male voters.¹⁸ Similarly, Swers argues that women in legislative positions are seen as having authority and credibility on issues that impact women. In her exploration of the impact procedural rules in legislatures have on the topics addressed by women, Swers specifically highlights the example of pro-life, male legislators frequently turning to their female colleagues to speak on behalf of their cause.¹⁹ Women are perceived by their colleagues as most

¹⁶ Dodson, Debra L. "Representing Women's Interests in the U.S. House of Representatives." Women and Elective Office. Ed. S. Thomas and C. Wilcox. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

¹⁷ Poggione, Sarah. "Exploring Gender Differences in State Legislators' Policy Preferences." Political Research Quarterly 57.2 (2004): 305-14.

¹⁸ Dolan, Kathleen. "Voting for Women in The "Year of the Woman"." American Journal of Political Science 42.1 (1998): 272-93.

¹⁹ Swers, Michele L. The Difference Women Make. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

qualified to speak on reproductive issues, purely based on the authority granted by their biological sex. On the whole, Dolan and Swers's findings suggest that gender creates perceived authority and competency on specific, gendered political issues.

Several scholars also suggest that women in Congress are most outspoken on women's issues as a response to demands by their constituents or what female legislators believe voters perceive to be their legislative areas of strength and weakness. Dolan suggests that women voters are attracted to women candidates because female candidates tend to address issues that are uniquely important to women.²⁰ Because modern electoral politics has come to be viewed as a long-term profession, legislators must do all they can to appeal to their voters to ensure they are reelected. Paggione also finds women's behavior in legislatures is driven by the need to please constituents. Paggione states that constituency demands may explain the observed differences in policy priorities between women and men.²¹ Generally, Dolan's and Paggione's findings suggest that women in political positions are held accountable to fulfilling gender stereotypes regarding policy issues by the people that support their work and maintain female legislators' reelection to political office.

A final explanation to women's high likelihood to address women's issues in legislative office is evident in Carol Gilligan's moral development argument. She suggests that men and women develop distinct masculine and feminine voices as the result of different paths of moral development. The gendered voice is important in problem definition and the crafting of solutions. She defines masculinity through separation and femininity through attachment. Gilligan argues that male gender identity is threatened by intimacy, while female gender identity

²⁰ Dolan, Kathleen. "Voting for Women in The "Year of the Woman"." *American Journal of Political Science* 42.1 (1998): 272-93.

²¹ Poggione, Sarah. "Exploring Gender Differences in State Legislators' Policy Preferences." *Political Research Quarterly* 57.2 (2004): 305-14.

is threatened by separation.²² While the public policy implications of these classifications of male and female voices are not implied in Gilligan's book, these concepts are factored into why women are attracted to certain policy issues. Women's "ethic of care" may lead women to support policies with far-reaching impacts on the lives of women and children, while men may be more inclined to pursue policies of self-interest and individual rights.

Survey Analysis

While the literature review here makes hypotheses strictly based on the nature of the role of women in policy making through legislative bodies, it has already been proven that there are several parallels between women's professional work in electoral politics and the lobbying profession that make these general hypotheses applicable. The survey found that these theories of women's traditional, societal roles as well as women's political ambition as fostered by their environments, impact women's affinity for particular issue areas and therefore, the expression of women's issues in the lobbying profession.

The prevalence of politics in upbringing is likely to either influence or discourage women from entering political professions altogether. As could be expected, male survey participants were more likely to discuss politics with family members in their childhood households than female survey participants. Approximately 77.3 percent of men observed political discussions in their childhood homes sometimes, fairly often or everyday, as compared to 71.4 percent of women (See Table XVII). This is a trend similar to trends in upbringing for women in electoral politics.

Table XVII: Politics in Upbringing

In your childhood household, how often did your family discuss politics:

²² Gilligan, Carol. *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theories and Women's Development*. Cambridge: Harvard University, 1983

Answer Options	Gender:		Male	Female
	Male	Female		
Everyday	7	4	8.3%	14.3%
Fairly often	28	6	33.3%	21.4%
Sometimes	30	10	35.7%	35.7%
Very Occasionally	12	6	14.3%	21.4%
Never	7	2	8.3%	7.1%

Political ambition may also be linked to political interest, participation in politics, and political career aspirations. Women who participated in the survey showed a more diverse range of political interests, with higher percentages of women expressing interest in electoral campaigns, issue campaigns, political fundraising, and public policy than men (See Table XVIII). However, while women expressed more interest in many diverse arenas of politics, men had higher political participation rates in most of these areas including working on campaigns, making political contributions to candidates and PACs, voting regularly, writing political research pieces, and conducting political research (See Table XIX). These gender differences are important to note because these differences in political interests and political participation may ultimately influence the development of issue area expertise, as well as entrance into the lobbying profession.

Table XVIII: Political Interests of Lobbyists

What aspects of politics interest you:	Gender:		Male	Female
	Male	Female		
Electoral campaigns	38	16	45.8%	57.1%
Issue campaigns	30	12	36.1%	42.9%
Political fundraising	18	10	21.7%	35.7%
Public policy	76	28	91.6%	100.0%
Political communication	40	13	48.2%	46.4%
Other (please specify)	3	1	3.6%	3.6%

Table XIX: Political Participation Rates of Lobbyists

How do you participate in politics:				
Answer Options	Gender:		Male	Female
	Male	Female		
Work on campaigns	48	15	58.5%	53.6%
Make political contributions to candidates	67	20	81.7%	71.4%
Make political contributions to PACs	45	10	54.9%	35.7%
Vote regularly	78	26	95.1%	92.9%
Write political opinion pieces	18	1	22.0%	3.6%
Conduct academic research on political affairs	8	2	9.8%	7.1%
Other (please specify)	12	8	14.6%	2.9%

When academics seek to assess why women do not serve in electoral politics at rates comparable to men, they frequently use the political profession pipeline theory to explain this phenomenon. This explanation suggests that women are less likely to run for political office because they are less likely to serve in professional fields from which elected officials most commonly arise, such as law and management. This can be applied to the lobbying profession as well. While men and women in the survey sample had similar work experiences prior to entering the lobbying profession, men held positions that serve as pipeline posts to lobbying at higher rates than women. Men were more likely to have experience working for a member of Congress, a congressional committee, an executive agency, or in the legal profession. Women (32.1 percent) were more likely to specify “other” previous work experience, as compared to 26.8 percent of men who identified prior work experience outside of politics (See Table XXX). Overall, the survey finds that women are less likely to serve in political professions prior to entering the lobbying profession. If women have experience as teachers, or working in health care facilities, fields which are commonly dominated by women, as opposed to holding positions

within the policy process itself, this may explain why female lobbyists are more likely to specialize in the issue areas in which they do.

Table XXX: Prior Professional Experience of Lobbyists

What work experience have you had prior to your professional experience in lobbying:				
Answer Options	Gender:		Male	Female
	Male	Female		
Worked for a member of Congress	49	14	69.0%	50.0%
Worked for a Congressional committee	24	4	33.8%	14.3%
Worked within a federal level executive agency	23	6	32.4%	21.4%
Worked for a nonprofit	17	5	23.9%	17.9%
Worked in the legal profession	19	4	26.8%	14.3%
No previous work experience	1	1	1.4%	3.6%
Other (please specify)	19	9	26.8%	32.1%

Perhaps one of the greatest indicators of political ambition is whether or not individuals have been encouraged by their peers to run for political office. As lobbyists, both men and women in the field likely have a fairly accurate opinion of the skills and the qualifications necessary to be successful in electoral politics. Yet, despite common work related responsibilities between men and women in the lobbying field, men in the survey were still more likely to be encouraged by peers and co-workers to run for office. According to the survey, 67.5 percent of male survey participants stated they had been encouraged to run for public office, as compared to only 46.4 percent of female survey participants (See Table XXXI). Unfortunately, this data suggests that women in political, public policy oriented professions, including both lobbying and electoral politics, may still have significant strides to make in order to achieve professional parity with men. This is likely due to deeply rooted societal stereotypes surrounding the potential of both public and private sector, female, political leaders.

Table XXXI: Political Ambition Levels in Lobbyists

Has anyone ever recommended that you run for public office:				
Answer Options	Gender:		Male	Female
	Male	Female		
Yes	56	13	67.5%	46.4%
No	27	15	32.5%	53.6%

Conclusion

Clearly, as proven through my quantitative analysis and coding of lobbying disclosure forms for gender and my qualitative observation of individual, federally registered lobbyists gained through conducting my survey, women's issues do, in fact, exist in the lobbying profession. These issues manifest in lobbying similar to the ways in which they manifest in electoral politics. Women's issues are prevalent in the lobbying profession because of the structure of the lobbying profession, the importance of issues in lobbying, and the influence of women's traditional, societal roles and political ambition.

It is interesting to consider how the role of women's issues, and issues in general, will change in advocacy as women continue to achieve a critical mass in the lobbying profession. As women become more experienced in the political, pipeline professions to lobbying and gain more experience in the private sector as a whole, it is possible that woman will move up in the profession and have more independence in narrowing their issue area portfolios. As the composition of Congress changes and more women are elected, issues on the agenda in Congress may change to reflect the gender of representatives, calling for more female lobbyists and more expertise on women's issues. Alternatively, it appears as though the percentage of the lobbying profession composed of women is growing more quickly than is the percentage of women in Congress. If this is indeed the case, it is possible that the private sector may become more

influential in pushing women's issues to the forefront of the institutional agenda, with female lobbyists leading the charge.

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