**Online Appendix**

**Overview A.1: Sampling of issues and data collection in the Govlis project (www.govlis.eu)**

The 50 issues (10 issues per country) were sampled from public opinion polls on specific proposals for policy change. The sample of issues was stratified to vary issue characteristics, such as media salience, policy type and public support. Table A.1. lists the issue sample. Data on active advocates on these issues was gathered for a period of up to four years in three main sources: 1) newspapers coverage, 2) desk research on parliamentary hearings and legislative consultations, and 3) interviews with policymakers (access obtained for 82% of the issues) (for more details, see Flöthe and Rasmussen, 2019; Rasmussen et al., 2018).

This means that staff members included in the overviews of gender biases in the article were typically mentioned in the news, in interviews with policymakers, or named in parliamentary hearings or consultations. Where these data collection steps did not identify an individual advocate, student assistants searched the web to find either the person responsible for the issue or the organization’s director. In total, we identified 1080 individual contacts (based on roughly 1550 interest groups, experts and businesses coded as active on our policy issues).

Note that the types of advocates we distinguished were: 1) hobby and identity organizations, 2) trade unions and occupational groups, 3) public interest groups, 4) business associations, 5) expert organizations and institutional associations, 6) individual experts, and 7) firms.

**Table A.1: Sample of 50 issues**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Country** | **Policy issue** |
| Denmark | Building of a bridge for vehicles and trains across the Kattegat |
| Reducing mortgage interest deduction from 33% to 25% |
| Granting asylum to families with children among rejected Iraqi asylum seekers |
| Reducing the unemployment benefit period by half from four to two years |
| Strengthening the control of Danish agriculture in order to take action against misuse of antibiotics |
| Controlled delivery of heroin for particularly vulnerable drug addicts at special clinics as a pilot scheme |
| Introducing differentiated VAT |
| Making schools’ average test results public |
| Cutting the allowances paid to young people between 25 and 29 years by half |
| Creation of an equal pay commission |
| Germany | Financial support of Arcandor through public money |
| Guaranteeing a pension above the poverty line for pensioners who have paid contributions for many years |
| Supplying citizens with consumption vouchers to boost the economy |
| Establishing a wealth tax |
| State control of electricity prices |
| Banning of computer games that glorify violence |
| Cutting the tax exemption for night, Sunday, and holiday supplements |
| Cutting coal subsidies |
| Making it illegal to carry out a paternity test without the consent of the mother |
| Cutting social benefits |
| Nether-lands | Allowing all illegal immigrants who have lived in the Netherlands for a long time to stay |
| Raising the retirement age to 67 |
| Abolishing the mortgage interest |
| Spending more money on development aid |
| Obligating stores to be closed on Sunday |
| Ban of smoking in restaurants |
| Banning embryonic stem cell research |
| Allowing more asylum seekers |
| Banning euthanasia |
| Building new nuclear power plants |
| Sweden | Permanent introduction of a congestion charge in Stockholm |
| Reinstating the wealth tax, which was abolished in 2007 and meant that anyone with a fortune of 1.5 million paid 1.5% in taxes |
| Rescuing Saab through government funds |
| Banning the construction of minarets in Sweden |
| Reducing third-world aid |
| Introducing a language test for Swedish citizenship\* |
| Restricting the right to free abortion\* |
| Making household and domestic services tax deductible\* |
| Allowing free download of all films and music from the Internet\* |
| Increasing the old age retirement age\* |
| UK | Giving amnesty to illegal immigrants who have spent ten years in Britain without getting into trouble with the police \* |
| Scrapping ID cards\* |
| Requiring food manufacturers to reduce the fat/salt content in their products\* |
| Introducing a graduate tax, where graduates would pay an extra income tax on their income after graduating\* |
| Allowing a third runway to be built at Heathrow Airport\* |
| Reducing corporation tax |
| Increasing Air Passenger Duty, to be paid by people taking both short-haul and long-haul flights\* |
| Subsidising the building of new nuclear power stations\* |
| Increasing the tax on large executive-style, estate, and 4x4 vehicles |
| Downgrading ‘ecstasy’ from a class-A drug to a class-B drug\* |

**Table A.2: Share of female advocates in the top 10 salient issues in the survey sample**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Issue | Country | Actors (identified individuals) | Share of women |
| Allowing a third runway to be built at Heathrow Airport | UK | 253 (143) | 0.19 |
| Allowing free download of all films and music from the Internet | SE | 98 (79) | 0.28 |
| Raising the retirement age to 67 | NL | 87 (78) | 0.12 |
| Downgrading ‘ecstasy’ from a class-A drug to a class-B drug | UK | 73 (63) | 0.30 |
| Supplying citizens with consumption vouchers to boost the economy | DE | 57 (29) | 0.03 |
| Creation of an equal pay commission | DK | 53 (41) | 0.44 |
| Abolishing the mortgage interest | NL | 42 (31) | 0.06 |
| Permanent introduction of a congestion charge in Stockholm | SE | 41 (31) | 0.26 |
| Reducing mortgage interest deduction from 33% to 25% | DK | 41 (36) | 0.33 |
| Increasing the old age retirement age | SE | 32 (26) | 0.23 |

Table compares the share of women lobbying on the 10 most salient issues in our sample. Disaggregating the share of women for these issues is substantively and methodologically meaningful. Firstly, these issues can be seen as salient in the advocacy community and presumably be of high social and /or economic importance. Secondly, on issues where around 30 actors have mobilized, the variation in gender is less likely to be due to mere chance, compared to issues with only few active actors. For these issues Table A.2 shows the number of mobilized actors, as well as the number of those identified individuals with a gender coding (in brackets), and, finally, the share of female advocates mobilized on the issue. For nine out of ten of these highly salient issues, the share of active female lobbyist we coded lies below 35 percent. The only issue coming close to a balanced mobilization, with a share of female advocates of 44 percent, is the creation of an equal pay commission in Denmark[[1]](#footnote-1).

**References**

Flöthe L and Rasmussen A. (2019) Public voices in the heavenly chorus? Group type bias and opinion representation. *Journal of European Public Policy* 26: 824-842.

Rasmussen A, Mäder LK and Reher S. (2018) With a Little Help From The People? The Role of Public Opinion in Advocacy Success. *Comparative Political Studies* 51: 139-164.

1. Ultimately, the government established a general wage commission with a mandate to consider a broader range of issues related to wage formation and negotiation in the public sector, but gender-related subjects – such as gender inequalities in wages and working conditions- feature prominently in the Terms of Reference of the Commission (see: http://www.lonkommissionen.dk/). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)