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Anmälan av Richard E. Matland

Emelie Lilliefeldt's dissertation, *European Political Parties and Gender: Configuring Gender-Balanced Parliamentary Presence* looks at a much studied question, women's representation in parliament, and extends the literature in two important ways.[1] First, she takes a multiple methods approach and, most importantly, applies Fuzzy Set Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) to the question of representation. Second, she is particularly interested in representation in Eastern Europe and whether our understanding of parties based in the West actually applies in the East.

Relying on the existing literature and her own analysis, she gets to the nub of the problem which is how do parties act when determining which candidates to nominate, especially in winnable positions. She reviews the literature looking at the impact of party organizational structure: centralized versus decentralized structures and bureaucratic versus informal structures, party beliefs both in terms of party ideology and the willingness to adopt quotas. She notes the institutional structure will have an impact as the electoral system, through party magnitude, is likely to impact women's ability to win office. The political culture is going to also impact women's willingness to run for and win

office. Finally, the supply of female candidates will be impacted via educational equality and women's labor force participation levels, especially access to the professions from which candidates are typically promoted.

To determine how these factors come together and produce levels of representation Lilliefeldt uses three separate analyses. First, she analyzes Western European data using Fuzzy Set QCA. Second, she uses a comparative case analysis of Eastern European party data. Third, she does an in depth case study of one specific outlier, the New Era party in Latvia, which has high levels of women's representation, despite not having any of the characteristics we normally would expect to occur in parties where women are especially well represented. The pieces fit well together in emphasizing her concerns and presenting an interesting case.

For her initial analysis, Lilliefeldt reanalyzes data used by Miki Caul Kittelson in her article on the adoption of gender quotas across political parties in Western Europe (Caul 2001). Professor Caul Kittelson used multivariate statistical analyses to evaluate the impact of a series of variables on quota adoption. Lilliefeldt evaluates the same set of political parties, but from a distinctly different angle. She is interested in the degree to which political parties are gender balanced and she uses QCA to evaluate this. QCA is a tool that has been used primarily by sociologists, but has increasingly been picked up by political scientists. Introduced by Charles Ragin (1987) and refined several times in his later work, QCA is a tool used for rigorously analyzing a group of cases using Boolean algebra and set theory.

On the one hand, QCA can be seen as introducing greater methodological rigor into qualitative work. QCA takes a group of cases

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1   This discussion builds upon my work as the opponent on Emelie Lilliefeldt's doctoral dissertation defense at Stockholm University, December 9th, 2011.

and sets out to rigorously identify which conditions are necessary for an identified outcome and which conditions are sufficient for that outcome. QCA requires the researcher to outline a specific outcome (effectively defining a minimum level of the dependent variable as a success). It then requires the researcher to identify conditions (effectively independent variables). Each case is described in terms of either meeting or not meeting the conditions laid out. Crisp Set QCA requires identifying each case as either having or not having an independent condition (0,1). Fuzzy Set QCA includes an intermediate measure to identify cases in between the two clear ends (0, $\frac{1}{2}$, 1). After defining these conditions you look for the minimum number of conditions that combined insure ALL cases are correctly identified as being in the appropriate outcome category (i.e. success or failure).

While there has been an enormous movement in research methods to increase rigor in qualitative research (King, Keohane & Verba 1994; Brady & Collier 2010), Ragin's goal goes beyond this. He is not only interested in increasing the rigor of qualitative methods, he also openly questions the explained variance methods of traditional quantitative tools, arguing QCA is a superior tool to standard statistical methods in many cases. In making this argument QCA supporters emphasize a belief in equifinality and interactive effects. Equifinality is the belief that it is possible to get to the same outcome in several different ways. Rather than expecting there to be one unique manner in which to reach an outcome, equifinality suggests it is possible to reach an outcome in a number of ways. Furthermore, QCA analysts are skeptical to the idea that individual independent variables have consistent independent effects on a dependent variable, regardless of the values of other variables in the relevant context. QCA is interested in identifying the cluster of variables which together will lead to an expected outcome. Ragin asserts that outcomes are far more likely to be the results of a combination of

factors all being present than uniform effects of a set of variables working independently. He posits social science is often an attempt to find the correct recipe that leads to a desired outcome rather than assuming homogeneity of impact.

To visualize this distinction we can look at Figure 1 which shows a hypothetical mapping of the expected impacts of Party ideology (degree of leftness), Party Magnitude (a measure of the electoral system), and Socio-Economic Standing of Women (levels of education and labor force participation). The independent effects line shows that for each variable, as it increases (i.e. as a party becomes more ideologically leftist, as party magnitude increases, and as socio-economic standing of women increases), each has an independent effect that increases women's representation. The interaction effects line, however, shows that even when parties become more leftist and party magnitude increases there is likely to be little impact unless the socio-economic standing of women also increases. In effect all three factors are necessary. If only one or two of these factors exists there is likely to be little impact; all three factors are needed to complete the recipe.

A statistically inclined researcher might quickly respond that it would be entirely possible to test the theory outlined by the interactive effect. All one need do is include two-way and three-way interaction effects in the model. While formally true, the reality is that statistical modelers rarely if ever test for three-way interactions and rarely if ever describe their theories in terms of complex interactions that must occur before actions proceed. The QCA approach consciously looks for a "recipe" or formula where several variables combined lead to the desired outcome. Ragin argues that to the degree these complex interactions are more likely to describe social phenomena, the more likely QCA is to be better at identifying such phenomena.

Lilliefeldt looks at data from 57 Western European political parties from the late 1980s

Figure 1. Independent vs. interactive effects.
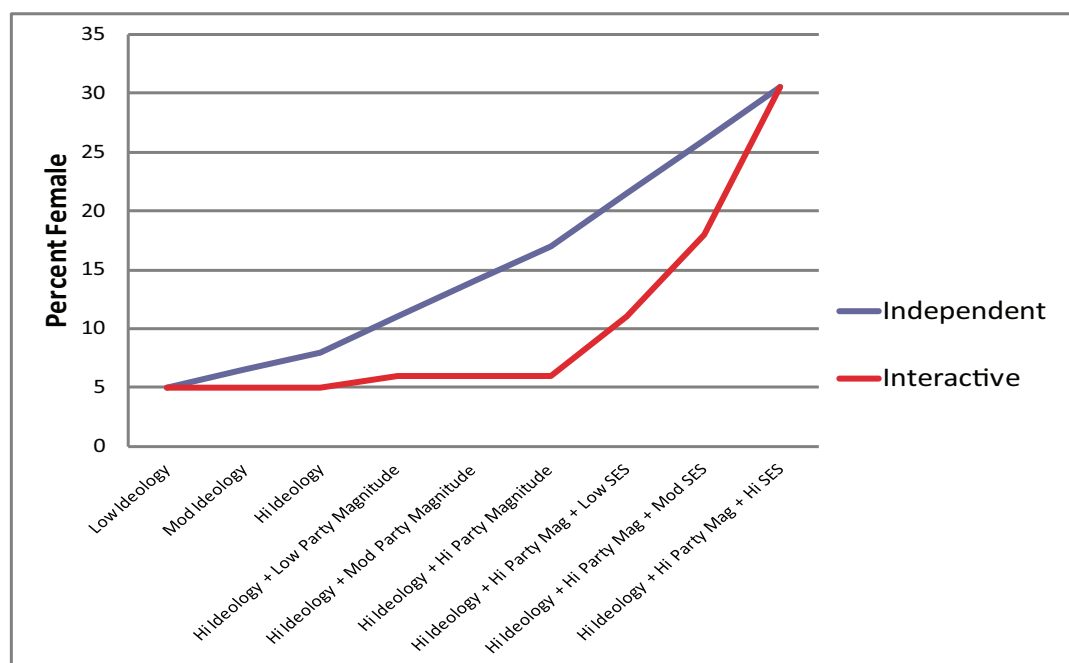
so that she can compare her results with those of Caul. Her outcome variable of interest is a gender balanced party. This is defined as parties that have greater than a 20 percent proportion of women in their parliamentary delegation (in the late 1980s). After running the QCA model she finds a variety of factors which, when combined, always lead to the desired outcome of a gender balanced party. In total there are eight different paths to equal parties. For example small parties with a strong leftist ideology in countries with closed lists and local candidate selection processes are uniformly gender balanced. Large parties which operate in countries with a strong egalitarian social structure, local candidate selection, and closed list selection processes also are uniformly gender balanced.

While at first glance finding a variety of different paths to equality appears to provide a strong endorsement of Fuzzy Set QCA methodology, on closer inspection I am less convinced. Ragin's model at an abstract theory level makes a compelling case for analyzing data in the manner he proposes. When we see how it works in practice, however, I believe there are reasons to be concerned about this tool. In particular, the dichotomous or trichotomous nature of the coding of the independent variables makes for a very difficult set of decisions which are not always easily defensible. Gender balanced parties in 1989 in Western Europe are defined as parties with greater than 20 percent women's representation. In 2009 in Eastern Europe it is defined as parties with greater than 25 percent representation, even though the average proportion of women in parliamentary delegations was lower in Eastern Europe in 2009 than in Western Europe in 1989. For each of the independent variables: party size, decentralization of candidate selection, women's socio-economic standing, the researcher must decide whether a condition exists or not (0, 1) or falls into a fuzzy middle category (0, $\frac{1}{2}$, 1). Lilliefeldt is aware this is not unproblematic, but argues that by explicitly defining these conditions the researcher brings out in the open their definitions in a way that is left vague and undefined in other research.

I am more skeptical. If a researcher is clear on how she or he measures a variable then it can be left up to the reader whether they perceive an effect as large or small. My preference

is to NOT define a party as gender balanced, but estimate the impact of a set of independent variables that influence the level of female representation within the party. A researcher has to make many more decisions that may be contentious and may change the outcome of the analysis when using QCA. Defining what is high or low party magnitude, what is high or low levels of socio-economic status for women, and when a party is a halfway fuzzy party in terms of ideology and when it is clearly a leftist or rightist party are all difficult. If the underlying variable is continuous it seems defining a specific cut point and concentrating on whether you are above or below that point is making our work unnecessarily difficult. The standard refrain of statistical analysts is that "you should never throw away data", but at a 20 percent cut point a 22 percent female delegation is defined as the equivalent of a 44 percent female delegation. Perhaps if a compelling case can be made that there are sharp discontinuities so that parties above 20 percent act in a materially different manner than parties below 20 percent it would be easier to accept the use of QCA. Alternatively, it should be possible to run several iterations of QCA with different cut points. These sensitivity analyses would make it possible to determine whether the outcomes are fairly robust and not dependent on the specific definitions used in the research.

While Lilliefeldt lays out the case for QCA well, my concern is that women's proportion of a parliamentary delegation is not a dependent variable that is appropriately evaluated with this tool. Far more likely are dependent variables that are either clearly dichotomous or represent a broad amalgam of theoretical concepts where the underlying conditions are not continuous. For example Amenta and Halfmann (2000) do a QCA analysis where they distinguish between party systems that are program-oriented and those that are patronage-oriented. They also distinguish between states on whether citizens enjoy extensive or restricted political rights. For variables of these types it seems far more likely that QCA is an effective tool.

Nevertheless, applying QCA to the present case is a useful exercise as it both introduces the use of QCA to political science and it sharpens the understanding of the development of women friendly parties. The concept of equifinality is shown clearly as the results reveal there are a variety of manners in which to arrive at gender equal parties.

The replication of the study by Kittelson is only one part of the Lilliefeldt's work. She also collected data from Eastern Europe parties and does an in depth case study of one of them. The data collected from Eastern European parties is used to describe in detail the various manners in which women gain access across a variety of political parties. Some of those cases are similar to parties in Western Europe, but others take a distinctly unique and Eastern pattern.

In the third analysis Lilliefeldt considers one of those distinctly unique and Eastern European patterns when looking at the Latvian Party New Era. This is an interesting party for a number of reasons. First, Latvia is not a country where women have done particularly well. Only 15 percent of the average parliamentary delegation is female. Yet for New Era their parliamentary delegations averaged fully 41 percent female. How does this come about? Lilliefeldt makes clear that some of the usual expectations do not cover the New Era party. The party is not a party that can be placed on the left side of the political spectrum, nor is it a party that has strong ties to the women's movement. The party is a market oriented center-right party that was likely to find quotas principally unattractive as policy. For all of these reasons one might have expected the party to have a very modest level of women's representation. Yet it has one of the very highest in Eastern Europe.

Why does this occur? Lilliefeldt suggests a number of factors come together to create what becomes an opening for women. First,

New Era was not a party that was started at the time of the reintroduction of democracy. Rather it is a party that was started slightly more than a decade later. The party was built around a previous director of the National Bank who at the time of the creation of the party had not been active in any political party. His image was that of an uncorrupt well-qualified technocrat. The party emphasized precisely this message emphasizing an anti-corruption program and the need for qualified technocrats to help run the government. Furthermore, the party emphasized an open recruitment of possible members and possible candidates. These candidates were vetted in a highly centralized process, but one that was less concerned with previous political experience and more concerned about policy experience. In no way was there an attempt to develop an actively feminist platform. Nevertheless, women had been largely shunned by the other parties. When this interacted with an Eastern European education system that had produced large numbers of well trained women who could answer the call, there was a surge of possible women candidates. One of the other crucial elements was that as a new party there were no existing male candidates who would have to be replaced if women were to become prominent candidates. Finally, women generally are seen as less easily corruptible than men and therefore were a good set of candidates for New Era to strategically emphasize their policy message.

While the issue is not raised, I suspect the strong showing of women for New Era in 2006 and 2010 is due to incumbency effects. Once women were elected in strong numbers in the initial New Era election in 2002, they maintained their floor of support through the next two elections.

The case study chapter is a striking example of the concept of equifinality. While much of the emphasis in the West has been on women's organizations within the parties and women's movements strength, those factors are of little relevance in explaining women's rise in the New Era party. Rather, there was quite a different route that was taken to the improved position of women in the party and in Latvian politics. Unfortunately, the limited data available across all political parties in Eastern Europe made it difficult to test whether this outcome is a completely unique Latvian occurrence or whether this represents a pathway to political power for women in Eastern Europe that did not exist in the West in several countries.

Lilliefeldt's dissertation produces a number of intriguing outcomes and makes several concrete contributions to the literature. While I am not convinced that using QCA as a tool when the dependent variable is a ratio measure, as women's level of representation is, I am quite confident that the use of Fuzzy Set QCA for nominal and ordinal dependent variables is not only appropriate, but will provide distinct answers from those traditional statistical modeling will provide. By applying this new methodology, Lilliefeldt has shown how we can use this tool in political science. I anticipate seeing QCA being increasingly used and as such this represents an exciting study. Furthermore, the case study of New Era and the qualitative comparative analyses of Eastern European parties are useful as descriptions of how the processes in Eastern Europe may differ from those we have seen in the West. I anticipate additional interesting and important work from this talented researcher.

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Anmälan av Johan Eriksson

Den 24 mars 1999 inledde NATO flygbombningar mot serbiska mål med hänvisning till att serbiska förband begick grova brott mot civilbefolkningen i Kosovo. I och med att de mänskliga rättigheterna ansågs stå på spel hävdade NATO att Förbundsrepubliken Jugoslaviens integritet och okränkbarhet var av underordnat värde. NATO benämnde angreppen "humanitär intervention", ett språkbruk som var särskilt viktigt för legitimeringen eftersom insatserna genomfördes utan FN-mandat, då Ryssland hade lagt in veto i Säkerhetsrådet.

Kanada var ett av de länder som allra tydligast försvarade interventionen. Kanadensiska regeringen klargjorde att mänskliga rättigheter inte bara i detta fall, utan generellt sett, skulle prioriteras framför staters okränkbarhet. Idén om "responsibility to protect", ofta uttryckt som akronymen R2P ("skyldighet att skydda"), blev därmed en ledstjärna för kanadensisk utrikespolitik. Samtidigt tog Kanada initiativ till en från FN fristående internationell kommission – ICISS (International Commission on Intervention and State

Sovereignty) – som fick i uppdrag att utreda frågan om hur suveränitet och humanitära interventioner förhåller sig till varandra. 2001 levererade ICISS en rapport där R2P-idén diskuterades på längden och bredden (ICISS, 2001). Kofi Annan fångade snabbt upp idén och gjorde den till rättesnöre i sin politik och samma entusiasm visades av efterträdaren Ban Ki-Moon. Detta uppfattades av experter, politiker, forskare och journalister som en omfattande strukturell förändring av inte bara FNs policy, utan av hela normsystemet som världssamfundet vilar på. Plötsligt var staters integritet inte självklart okränkbar. Debatten som följde inom såväl politik som inom forskningen blev ofta polariserad: staten ställdes mot individen, nationell säkerhet mot "human security" och suveränitet mot demokrati och mänskliga rättigheter. I sin avhandling *United Nations Reformed: Responsibility, Protection and the Standing of States* citerar Peter Håkansson en utbredd uppfattning om att R2P "is nothing short of a sea change with enormous implications" (s. 2). Håkansson ställer här den grundläggande frågan: "*how* is this a change?" (s. 2-3). Författaren hävdar också att "the acceptance of R2P [...] has constitutive implications that go to the heart of the international order that was instituted in 1945" (s. 3) . Jag tolkar detta som att avhandlingen handlar om två relaterade frågor och jag väljer för tydlighets skull att lyfta fram dessa mer explicit:

– På vilket sätt innebär FNs satsning på R2P och skydd av civilbefolkning en förändring?

– Vad har idén om R2P för konsekvenser för det normsystem som världssamfundet vilar på?

Frågorna kan tolkas som att författaren utgår ifrån att en förändring av FNs hantering av interna konflikter faktiskt skett och att detta ofrånkomligen har konsekvenser för det internationella normsystemet. Det som ska undersökas är inte *om* en betydelsefull förändring skett, utan *vilken sorts* förändring det handlar om och mer exakt vilken betydelse