

RNGS MODEL

Unit of Analysis: Policy Debate

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Women's Movement Actor Characteristics: Stage; Closeness to Left; Issue priority; Cohesion; Location; Feminist Activism

Policy Environment:

Policy Subsystem: Structure; Issue Frame Fit:
Party/coalition in power; Counter movement

INTERVENING VARIABLE

Women's Policy Agency Characteristics: Scope; Type; Proximity;
Administrative Capacity; Leadership; Policy Mandate

Women's Policy Agency Activities: (Insider, Marginal, Non-feminist, Symbolic)

DEPENDENT VARIABLE

Women's Movement Impact/State Response: (Dual Response, Co-optation, Pre-emption; No Response)

Typology for Women's Policy Agency Activities

	WPA Advocates Movement Goals?		
	YES	NO	
WPA Genders Frame of Policy Debate?	YES	Insider	Nonfeminist
	NO	Marginal	Symbolic

Typology for Women's Movement Impact/State Response

	Policy Content Coincides with Movement Goals?		
	YES	YES	NO
Women Involved In Policy Process?	YES	Dual Response	Cooptation
	NO	Preemption	No Response

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE INDICATORS FOR QUALITATIVE STUDY

Cluster One: Characteristics of Women's Movement Actors

Stage:

1. Emerging/Re-emerging. Formation of new organizations; re habilitation of older organizations toward new goals.
2. Growth: Expansion in numbers of organizations, activities.
3. Consolidation: organizations have structure, endurance and regular support; institutionalized in community and government arenas.
4. Decline/Abeyance. Decrease in organizations members and activities over the period. Latent organizational activity primarily by individuals.

Closeness to Left:

1. Very Close: groups formally ally with or work with political parties and/or trade unions of the left. Ideas from the movement are taken up by left-wing parties in party platforms. Activists have internal power positions in the left-wing parties.
2. Close: groups formally ally with or work with political parties and/or trade unions of the left. They do not have internal power positions in the parties or unions and if the left takes up the ideas of movements they do so without stating so and bring these ideas to fit the party line.
3. Not Close: movement and the left are remote or hostile to each other.

Priority of Issue:

1. High: issue is one of the top priorities of the women's movement activists and serves to forge alliances among the various wings and tendencies.
2. Moderate: not a uniting issue, but is a priority for some activists and organizations.
3. Low: not a priority for any organization, but mentioned by some. Not on the agenda. Not present at all on agendas of individuals and organizations in the movement.

Cohesion:

1. Cohesive: movement organizations active on the issue agree on the frame and/or policy proposals.
2. Divided: movement organizations active on the issue disagree on the frame and/or policy proposals.

Location :

Yes or no for each dimension

Autonomous
Political Party
Trade Union
Established Interest Organizations
Legislature or Government

Feminist Activism:

Yes or No

Cluster Two: Policy Environment

Policy Subsystem Level:

Structure:

1. Open: organization is amorphous, no common rules or conventions; participation is wide and changing with a variety of interest group representatives and free agents. Power balance shows no clear chain of command.

2. Moderately Closed: organization is more clearly defined but changing over time. Participation shows some regular actors but some free agents around. Power balance shows several actors trying to dominate the group but no single line of command.

3. Closed: codification of system through regular meetings and rules. Participation is limited with few free agents. Power balance shows one major actor controls policy space and parameters of the arena. A single policy community mobilizes around the issue.

Issue Frame Fit: 1Policy Frame Fit: Policy Frame Fit: Policy Frame Fit: Policy Frame Fit:

1. Matching: Issue frame that initially shapes the debate is expressed in terms that are similar to movement goals as expressed by activists

2. Compatible: Issue frame that initially shapes the debate is not expressed in terms that are similar to movement goals as expressed by activists

3. Incompatible: Issue frame that initially shapes the debate is expressed in terms that are in conflict with (oppose) movement goals the debate as expressed by activists.

Party or Coalition in Power

1. Strong left-wing control: left-wing parties may have majority in popularly elected legislative chambers and the Presidency/executive

2. Moderate left-wing control: left-wing parties may have the popularly elected chambers only and not the president. In the U.S. the left may have majority in only one elected chamber of the legislature.

Counter-movement:

1. Strong: prevalent and proactive movement aimed at issue or issues taken-up by different parts of the women's movement.

2. Moderate: counter-movement less active against women's movement issues.

3. Weak: nearly moribund or non-existent.

WOMEN'S POLICY AGENCY CHARACTERISTICS FOR QUALITATIVE STUDY

Scope

Single Issue
Cross-Section
Other

Type

Political appointments
Bureaucratic
Lay Panels

Proximity to Power Centers

Near
Distant

Administrative Capacity

High -- Extensive staffs, separate division, field offices, subsidies, significant budget.
Medium—Some staff, separate divisions, or fields offices, moderate budget.
Low—Minimal staff, no separate divisions, no fields offices, minuscule budget.

Leadership

Feminist
Not Feminist

Policy Mandate

Cover Debate Issue
Does not Cover Debate Issue

Pure Successes (Insider/Dual Response) of WPA/WM Across Three Policy Areas

<u>Policy Debate</u>	<u>Decision Date</u>	<u>Country</u>	<u>WPA-AC</u>	<u>WM Stage</u>	<u>PS S</u>	<u>PP/C P</u>
Job Training (5/25 =20%)						
Countries (8): CA, EU, FR, FIN, IRE, IT, SPA, USA						
Labor Shortages	1971	FIN	M	E	M	LS
State Responsibility for Training	1987	FIN	L	G	M	LS
Vocational Training	1990	USA	M	C/D	M	LS
Structural Funds Review	1993	EU	M	E	M	L
Training for Globalization	1997	IRE	H	G	M	L
(Pure Failures -- Symbolic/ No Response(13/25 =52%))						
Abortion (10/32 = 31%); Pure Failures (0)						
Countries (11): AUT, BEL, CA, FRA, GER, GBR, IRE, IT, NL, SPA, USA						
Social Democratic Party Policy	1972	AUT	L	E	C	L
People's Initiative (anti-abortion)	1978	AUT	L	G	C	L
Authorization of Abortion Pill	1999	AUT	M	C/D	C	LS
Reimbursement of Abortion	1983	FRA	H	C/D	M	L
Commando-IVG and <i>Loi Neiertz</i>	1993	FRA	H	C/D	M	L
White Bill and Lane Committee	1975	GBR	L	G	O	LO
Human Fertilization	1990	GBR	L	C/D	M	LO
Executive Order to the 1981 Act	1984	NL	H	C/D	M	LO
Implementation regulations	1986	SPA	M	C/D	C	L
Partial Birth Abortion Ban Act	1998	USA	L	C/D	M	LS
(Pure Failures -- Symbolic/ No Response(0))						
Prostitution (12/33 = 36%)						
Countries (11): AUS, AUT, GBR, CAN, FIN, FRA, ITA, NL, SPA,SW, USA						
Legalization of Street Prostitution	1979	AUS	M	G	M	L
Social Insurance	1998	AUT	M	C/D	M	L
Kerb Crawling as an Offense	1985	GBR	M	E	C	L
Fraser Committee	1985	CAN	M	G	O	LO
Repeal of Vagrant Act	1986	FIN	L	G	M	LS
New Sex Crime Act	1998	FIN	L	C/D	M	LS
Public Health and Regulation	1990	FRA	H	C/D	O	L
Protection Permits for Trafficking	1999	ITA	M	C/D	M	LS
Project Financing	1999	ITA	M	C/D	O	LS
Repeal of Brothel Ban I	1989	NL	H	C/D	O	LS
Repeal of Brothel Ban II	2000	NL	H	C/D	M	LO
First Commission on Prostitution	1982	SWE	L	C/D	C	LO
(Pure Failures Symbolic/ No Response(7/34 =21%))						
Total Pure Successes: 27/90 = 30%						
Total Pure Failures: 20/90 = 22%						

Abbreviations for Variables:

WPA-AC = Administrative Capacity of WPAs: High -H, Medium -M,Low -L

WM Stage = Stage of Development of Women's Movement – Emergence –E, Growth – G;

Consolidation/Decline-C/D

PS S = Policy Subsystem Structure: Open -O, Moderately Closed-M, Closed -C

P/CP = Political Party/Coalition in Power: Left in Power -L ; Left Shares Power -- LS, Left out of Power- LO

KEY TO RINGS INDEPENDENT VARIABLES FOR QCA

Women's Movement Actor characteristics:

wmstage = WM in emerging/growth stage or not

wmclose = WMA are Close to the Left parties or Not

wmpriority = Issue is top priority for WMA or not

wmunity = WMA are cohesive in their position on the issue
or not

Policy environment

counter = Counter movement is strong or not

sysclosed = Policy subsystem for debate is closed or not

left = Left party has executive power or not

Table 1

WMA CHARACTERISTICS PROPERTY SPACE

Combination	Close to the Left	Priority	Cohesiveness
1	Close	Top	Cohesive
2	Close	Top	Not Cohesive
3	Close	Not Top	Cohesive
4	Close	Not Top	Not Cohesive
5	Not Close	Top	Cohesive
6	Not Close	Top	Not Cohesive
7	Not Close	Not Top	Cohesive
8	Not Close	Not Top	Not Cohesive

Table 2

PE CHARACTERISTICS PROPERTY SPACE

Combination	Policy Subsystem	Party in power
1	Not Closed	Left in power
2	Not Closed	Left not in power
3	Closed	Left in power
4	Closed	Left not in power

Table 3

WPA ACTIVITIES PROPERTY SPACE

Combination	Coincides w/ WMA	Genders debate
1 Insider	Coincides	Genders
2. Marginal	Coincides	Does not gender
3. Non feminist	Not coincide	Genders
4. Symbolic	Not coincide	Does not gender

TABLE 4

TRUTH TABLE: PROSTITUTION DEBATES

(Caps mean condition present, lower case means condition not present)

File: A:/ptdebates2.txt

Rows: 10

Cases: 36

Minimum Frequency 0: 1

Minimum Frequency 1: 1

Minimum Frequency -: 1

=====

Combination 1: wmstage WMCLOSE wmpriority wmunity

Outcome: C Cases: 8 22.2% (0 = 7 1 = 1 - = 0)

Combination 2: WMSTAGE WMCLOSE wmpriority wmunity

Outcome: C Cases: 7 19.4% (0 = 5 1 = 2 - = 0)

Combination 3: wmstage WMCLOSE WMPRIORITY WMUNITY

Outcome: 1 Cases: 5 13.9% (0 = 0 1 = 5 - = 0)

*Combination 4:*wmstage WMCLOSE wmpriority WMUNITY

Outcome: C Cases: 5 13.9% (0 = 1 1 = 4 - = 0)

*Combination 5:*WMSTAGE WMCLOSE wmpriority WMUNITY

Outcome: C Cases: 5 13.9% (0 = 1 1 = 4 - = 0)

Combination 6: wmstage WMCLOSE WMPRIORITY wmunity

Outcome: C Cases: 2 5.6% (0 = 1 1 = 1 - = 0)

Combination 7: wmstage wmclose wmpriority wmunity

Outcome: 1 Cases: 1 2.8% (0 = 0 1 = 1 - = 0)

Combination 8: WMSTAGE wmclose wmpriority WMUNITY

Outcome: 0 Cases: 1 2.8% (0 = 1 1 = 0 - = 0)

Combination 9: WMSTAGE wmclose wmpriority wmunity

Outcome: 0 Cases: 1 2.8% (0 = 1 1 = 0 - = 0)

Combination 10: WMSTAGE WMCLOSE WMPRIORITY WMUNITY

Outcome: 1 Cases: 1 2.8% (0 = 0 1 = 1 - = 0)

Table 5: VARIABLES/CODING FOR QCA

NUMBER	VARIABLE	CODE
1	Country	AUT,ect
2	Debate	AB,PT,PR,JT
3	Number	1,2,3
4	Date	First year 70, 80,90
5	wmstage	Emerging/growth = 1 Consolidation/other = 0
6	wmclose	Close/Very Close to Left = 1 Not Close/very close = 0
7	wmpriority	High priority = 1 Not high priority = 0
8	wmunity	Cohesive = 1 Not cohesive = 0
9	counter	Strong = 1 Not strong = 0
10	sysclosed	Closed = 1 Not closed = 0
11	left	Left in power = 1 Left not in power = 0
12	wpagender	Yes = 1 No = 0
13	wpawma	Coincides = 1 Not coincide = 0
14	polsucc	Yes = 1 No = 0
15	procsucc	Yes = 1 No = 0
16	insider	Yes = 1 No = 0
17	marginal	Yes = 1 No = 0
18	symbolic	Yes = 1 No = 0
19	dual resp	Yes = 1 No = 0
20	coopt	Yes = 1 No = 0
21	preempt	Yes = 1 No = 0
22	no resp	Yes = 1 No = 0

Table 6
QCA Crisp Set Solutions: Abortion policy debates

DV = Dual response
WM = WMLEFT WMUNITY WMPRIORITY
PE = SYSCLOSED LEFT in power

	I. WM & PE variables	II. WM & PE & Insider
Contradictions Resolved	WMLEFT* WMPRIORITY* Sysclosed*leftpower	WMPRIORITY*WMUNITY*sysclosed *leftpower*insider + WMLEFT*WMPRIORITY*WMUNITY* LEFTPOWER*INSIDER

In Boolean terms:

* = AND

+ = OR

I. C = 3 configurations 12 cases

1 = 2 configurations 6 cases

0 = 3 configurations 8 cases

6 cases dropped.

II.

C = 1 configuration 2 cases

0 = 3 configurations 8 cases

1 = 3 configurations 9 cases

9 cases dropped

Table 6 Necessary/Sufficient template

OUTCOME	CAUSE ABSENT	CAUSE PRESENT
PRESENT	1 no cases (necessary)	2 cases
ABSENT	3 irrelevant	4 no cases (sufficient)

DISTRIBUTION OF CASES BY CAUSE AND OUTCOME

TABLE 7

ABORTION

OUTCOME	INSIDER WPA ABSENT	INSIDER WPA PRESENT
WMA DUAL RESPONSE	5	9
WMA NOT DUAL RESPONSE	13	0

TABLE 8

PROSTITUTION

OUTCOME	INSIDER WPA ABSENT	INSIDER WPA PRESENT
WMA DUAL RESPONSE	6	13
WMA NOT DUAL RESOPNSE	15	1

DISTRIBUTION OF CASES BY CAUSE AND OUTCOME cont'd

TABLE 9

POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

OUTCOME	INSIDER WPA ABSENT	INSIDER WPA PRESENT
WMA DUAL RESPONSE	1	12
WMA NOT DUAL RESPONSE	12	3

TABLE 10

JOB TRAINING

OUTCOME	WPA INSIDER ABSENT	WPA INSIDER PRESENT
WMA DUAL RESPONSE	1	5
WMA NOT DUAL RESONSE	14	2

CROSS ISSUE CHART 1

PATHS TO DUAL STATE RESPONSE IN ISSUE POLICY DEBATES

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT CHARACTERISTICS (Stage, Closeness to Left, Priority, Unity)

ABORTION

WMSTAGE*WMCLOSE*WMPRIORITY +
wmstage*wmclose*wmprior*WMUNITY

1 = 2 config. (33%) 4 cases (14%); C = 3 config. (50%) 21 (75%) cases; 4 dropped

JOB TRAINING

WMSTAGE*WMCLOSE (wmunity + WMPRIORITY)
1 = 1 config. (13%) 1 case (5%); C = 4 config. (50%); 13 cases (60%)

PROSTITUTION

wmstage*WMCLOSE
1 = 1 config. (17%) 5 cases (16%); C = 5 config. (83%) 27 cases (84%); 4 dropped

POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

WMCLOSE*WMPRIORITY
1=1 config. (17%) 3 (10%)cases; C = 4 config. (67%) 20 cases (69%); 4 dropped

What the symbols mean:

* = AND

+ = OR

Some configurations can be **factored**. Here is an example of factoring:

WMCLOSE*WMUNITY (stage + WMPRIORITY) This represents two configurations which have two conditions in common and vary on the third)

1 = 2 config.: successful outcome, that is, dual response cases produced 2 configurations which were 33% of the total configurations;

4 cases had these two configurations and they were 14% of the cases analyzed

C = 3 config: 3 configurations produced contradictory outcomes; some successful, some not. These represented 50% of the configurations.

21 cases were included in the Contradictory configurations, or 75% of the cases. 4 were dropped because did not meet the 2 case minimum (single cases for single configurations).

**CROSS ISSUE CHART 2
PATHS TO DUAL STATE RESPONSE IN ISSUE POLICY DEBATES**

**WOMEN'S MOVEMENT CHARACTERISTICS AND WOMEN'S POLICY AGENCY
ACTIVITIES (INSIDER)**

ABORTION

WMCLOSE*WMPRIORITY*WMUNITY

1 = 2 config. (33%) 7 cases (33%); C = 3 config (50%); 11 cases (52%); 7 dropped
4 cases missing data

JOB TRAINING

WMSTAGE*WMCLOSE*WMPRIORITY*WMUNITY*INSIDER

1 = 1 config. (17%) 2 cases (13%); C = 2 config. (33%) 4 cases (25%); 6 dropped

PROSTITUTION

wmstage*WMCLOSE*WMUNITY +

WMSTAGE*WMCLOSE*wmpriority*INSIDER

1 = 5 config. (56%) 12 cases (43%); C = 3 config. (33%) 11 cases (39%) 7 dropped

POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

WMCLOSE*WMPRIORITY*WMUNITY*INSIDER

1 = 2 config. (40%) 8 cases (40%); C = 1 config. (20%) 4 cases (20%); 8 dropped
5 cases missing data