The First Political Order: How Sex Shapes Governance and National Security Worldwide

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Abridged discussion, by necessity

- All material in this ppt is excerpted from:

The very first political order in any society . . .

• . . . is the sexual political order established between men and women.

• The character of that first order molds the society, its governance, and its behavior. Two roughly equal-sized groups, neither of which can reproduce without the other, and the future literally depends on their interaction, must decide--
  – Will they stand before each other as equals, or as superior and inferior?
  – Will decisions for the group be made by one, or both?
  – Will conflicts be resolved peacefully or by force and domination?
  – Will resources be distributed equally between the two, or can one extort resources from the other?

• These are all political questions, and their answers establish the first political order within a society.
Where should we look to see that order?

- While the following are important, the real action is not about
  - Female literacy
  - Female labor force participation
  - Female parliamentary representation

- Rather, the first political order is at the level of the household
  - *How disempowered are women at the household level?*
    - How much say does a woman have about getting married? How old is she when she is married?
    - How much say does a woman have within her marriage?
    - What types of property and inheritance rights do women have?
    - Are there inequities in family law, such as in matters of divorce and child custody?
    - Is marriage patrilocal? Are brideprice or dowry paid? Is polygyny and/or cousin marriage prevalent?
    - Does the society view domestic violence and femicide as normal, even expected?
    - Is rape treated as a property crime?
The Syndrome is really a trap

Governance by extended male kin networks leads to unfortunate outcomes for the group—instability, violence, terror, corruption, autocracy—because it is built upon the same characteristics at the level of male/female relations, the first political order.

Furthermore, such a society will also experience the sequelae of those characteristics at the nation-state level: poor health, food insecurity, low economic performance, rentierism, demographic woes, lack of attention to environmental security.

In other words, what you do to your women, you do to your nation-state.
The Syndrome Mapped

Patrilineality/Fraternity Syndrome Scale
Scaled 2017

- **Syndrome is not present (0-2)**
- **Syndrome legacy discernible, but not normative (3-5)**
- **Syndrome present, but somewhat mitigated (6-9)**
- **Syndrome present, hardly mitigated (10-12)**
- **Syndrome dominates the society (13-16)**
- **No Data**

MULTIVAR-SCALE-6 Data The WomanStats Project http://womanstats.org
What are the causal pathways?

- Women’s household disempowerment contributes to instability, insecurity, and conflict in 3 ways:
  - a) **Boot Camp**: there is no better training camp for political violence and instability than lived domestic terror perpetration, lived domestic corruption and exploitation, lived domestic autocracy
  - b) This syndrome also creates **chronic structural goads** to engaging in political violence, such as inflationary brideprice, prevalent polygyny, or sex ratio alteration
  - c) **Disempowering women**; that is, the very individuals whose influence could profoundly challenge the calculus of political violence
Is there any statistical evidence?

• Minerva Initiative (DoD) grant, 2014-2018
• Operationalized the Syndrome, and using multivariate regression with 7 control variables, examined 9 dimensions of nation-state outcomes, using stringent bar for significance (p≤.001):
  1. Political Stability and Governance
  2. Security and Conflict
  3. Economic Performance
  4. Economic Rentierism
  5. Health and Wellbeing
  6. Demographic Security
  7. Education of the Population
  8. Social Progress
  9. Environmental Protection
161 outcome variables in all*

Civil Liberties    Deliberative Component Index    Democratic Political Culture Index    Equal Protection Index    Fragile States Index    Freedom of Religion
Freedom House Political Rights Index    Freedom to Establish Religion    Functioning of Government Index    Global Peace Index
Government Participation of Women Index    Percent of Seats Held by Women in Parliament    Political Instability    Political System Type
Press Freedom Index    Private Property Rights    Regimes Types    Security Apparatus    State Legitimacy    World Bank Corruption Index
World Bank Government Effectiveness Index    World Bank Rule of Law Index    Access to Weapons    Deaths from External Conflicts    Disappearances
Deaths from Internal Conflicts    External Conflicts Fought    Freedom of Domestic Movement    Global Terrorism Index    Group Grievance
Homicide Rate    Homicide Index    Homicide Rate GPI    Incarceration Rate    Incidents of Terrorism    Intensity of Internal Conflicts
Intensity of Violent Conflict    Internal Conflicts Fought    Military Expenditures as %GDP    Military Expenditures Index    Monopoly on Use of Force
Neighboring Country Relations    Disappearance/Conflict/Terror Scale    Perceptions of Criminality    Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terror
Political Terror Scale    Political Terror    Societal Violence Scale    States of Concern Index    Terrorism Fatalities    Terrorism Impact    Terrorism Injuries
Trafficking in Women Scale    Violent Crime Scale    Violent Demonstrations    Weapons Imports    Women’s Mobility    Economic Freedom Index
Agriculture/Forestry/Fishing as % GDP    Availability of Affordable Housing    GDP Annual Growth Percentage    GDP per capita PPP    GINI Index
Global Competitiveness Index    Government Debt to GDP    Government Expenditures as % GDP    Female Labor Force Participation
Final Consumption    Food Security Index    Human Freedom Index    High Technology Exports    Internet Users    Mobile Phone Subscriptions
Poverty and Economic Decline Scale    Property Rights EFI    Prosperity Index    Quality of Electrical Supply    Unemployment Rate
Uneven Economic Development    Aid per capita GDP    Fuel Exports    Natural Resource Depletion    Ores and Metals Exports    Tourism as % GDP
Total Natural Resources Rents as % GDP    Access to Improved Sanitation    Access to Improved Water Source    Average Dietary Energy Supply
Birth per 1000 15-19    Cigarette Consumption    Diarrhea Deaths (0-5)    Difference of Male and Female Life Expectancy    Female Genital Cutting
Global Hunger Index    Health Expenditures as % GDP    Health Expenditures per capita    TB per 100000    Infant Mortality Rate    Life Expectancy
Female Life Expectancy    Lifetime Risk Maternal Death    Maternal Mortality Rate    HIV/AIDS % 15-49    HIV Prevalence Women 15+
Prevalence of Wasting    Sustainable Society Index Human Wellbeing    Total Alcohol Consumption per capita    Percent Births Attended by Skilled Staff
% Children Immunized Against Measles    HIV Rate 15-49    % Undernourished    Percent Open Defecation Urban    Percent Open Defecation All
Per Cent Pregnant Women Receiving Prenatal Care    Percent Under Five Stunted    Percent Under Five Underweight    Contraceptive Prevalence
Demographic Pressure Index    Fertility Rates 15-19    Mother’s Mean Age at First Birth    Total Fertility    Unmet Need for Contraception
Youth Risk Factor Index    Access to Basic Knowledge    Access to Information and Communications    Average Years of Schooling
Male versus Female Educational Attainment    Female Literacy Rate 15-24    Gender Parity Index Primary School    Gender Parity Index Secondary School
Government Expenditures per Student Secondary as % of GDP per capita    Male/Female Difference in Literacy Rates    Overall Literacy Rate
Survival Rate to Last Year of Primary School for Females    Percent Population with Access to Electricity    Discrimination/Violence Against Minorities
Female Suicide Rates    Formal Commitment to CEDAW    Gender Gap Index    Gender Inequality Index    Government Framework for Gender Equality
Happiness Index    Hofstede Individualism Score    Human Development Index    Legal Declaration of Gender Equality    Religious Tolerance Scale
% of Pensionable Persons Receiving Pensions    Presence of National Gender Equality Action Plans    Social Safety Nets    Tolerance for Immigrants
Air Quality Index    Biodiversity Index    Environmental Performance Index    Foundations of Wellbeing Index    Global Climate Risk Index
Greenhouse Gases Index    Household Indoor Air Pollution Attributable Deaths    Outdoor Air Pollution Attributable Deaths    Pesticide Regulation
Wastewater Treatment    Water and Sanitation Index

* Factor analysis was used to reduce to 122 outcome measures
Across all model runs

- Over all model runs across all nation-state outcome dimensions, the Syndrome was significantly related at the .001 level in 87 of 122 runs, or

71.3%
Consider the odds . . .

• If your nation highly encodes the Syndrome, then it has
  
  – 2.13 times the chance of being a fragile state
  – 3.53 times the chance of having a government that is more autocratic, less effective, and more corrupt
  – 1.5 the chance of being unstable and violent
  – 1.28 times the chance of experiencing terrorism
  – 1.40 times the chance of the country being poor and in economic decline
  – 1.50 the chance of having a low GDP per capita
  – 1.55 times the chance of having low environmental quality
  – 1.92 times the chance of having a high fertility rate
  – 1.83 times the chance of a higher incidence of preventable deaths
  – 1.80 times the chance of scoring worse on the Global Hunger Index
Are You a National Security Realist?

• In light of these empirical findings, are you a realist if you believe the treatment of women affects the security, stability, governance, resilience, health, wealth, demography, education, and social progress of a nation?

• Are you a realist if you believe the WPS agenda is absolutely in the national interest?

• Can you call yourself a realist if you don’t?
What *changes* when we become realists?

If the US is not tracking the situation of women, especially at the household level, how can it expect to have an effective foreign policy? For example, how will it accurately anticipate instability in other countries if it is unaware of linkages related to Syndrome components such as brideprice and polygyny?
What *changes* when we become realists?

How will the US decide which subnational actors are most likely to bring stability in the long term, if one does not first examines how each group treats women before making a commitment?
What *changes* when we become realists?

How will the US avoid the trap of peace negotiations where the rights of women are bargained away to make “peace” between warlords if it does not understand the linkage between sustainable peace and the empowerment of women?
What *changes* when we become realists?

How will the US track which of its own citizens are the greatest internal threat if domestic violence is not taken as a serious threat?
What *changes* when we become realists?

How will the US rationally approach immigration policy, if it does not comprehend that the true clash of civilizations is not about religion or ethnicity, but about the subordination of women? How will it understand that tolerating enclaves of family/personal status law that subordinate women will destabilize its society?
What *changes* when we become realists?

How will the US know that ending child marriage worldwide would do more for world peace than almost any other investment?
What *changes* when we become realists?

How will the US know when exporting democracy makes sense, and when it doesn’t?
What changes when we become realists?

I believe that one day the idea that foreign policy/national security policy could ignore the situation of women will be seen as laughably naïve.
Rethinking National Security

• Given the many outcome dimensions examined, it is fair to say that women’s insecurity profoundly and significantly undermines state security . . .

  – “The subjugation of women is a threat to the common security of our world and to the national security of our country.” (Hillary Clinton, 2012)

• Disrupting the weak points of this syndrome may be foundational to undercutting the roots of instability, conflict, and ineffective governance. Only by adopting WPS lenses can we see these linkages, and make our foreign/security policies more effective.
The WomanStats Project

http://womanstats.org

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Rips in the Straitjacket

Willingness by males to violently coerce females

Males control access to resources; women lack ability to control resources such as property

Patrilineality and Patrilocal Marriage

Son Preference and Devaluation of Daughters and Wives

Low Age of Marriage for Girls

Deep Inequality in Family Law/Custom and Personal Status Law/Custom

Is Women's Labor Valuable?

No

Yes

Polygyny

Dowry

Sex Ratio Alteration

Brideprice

Pensions

Urbanization