

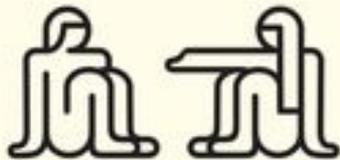


The First Political Order: How Sex Shapes Governance and National Security Worldwide

Valerie M. Hudson, Donna Lee Bowen, Perpetua Lynne Nielsen

THE FIRST POLITICAL ORDER

**HOW SEX SHAPES
GOVERNANCE AND NATIONAL
SECURITY WORLDWIDE**



**VALERIE M. HUDSON, DONNA LEE BOWEN,
& PERPETUA LYNNE NIELSEN**

Abridged discussion,
by necessity

- All material in this ppt is excerpted from:

Hudson, Valerie M., Donna Lee Bowen, and Perpetua Lynne Nielsen (2020) *The First Political Order: How Sex Shapes Governance and National Security Worldwide*, New York: Columbia University Press



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.

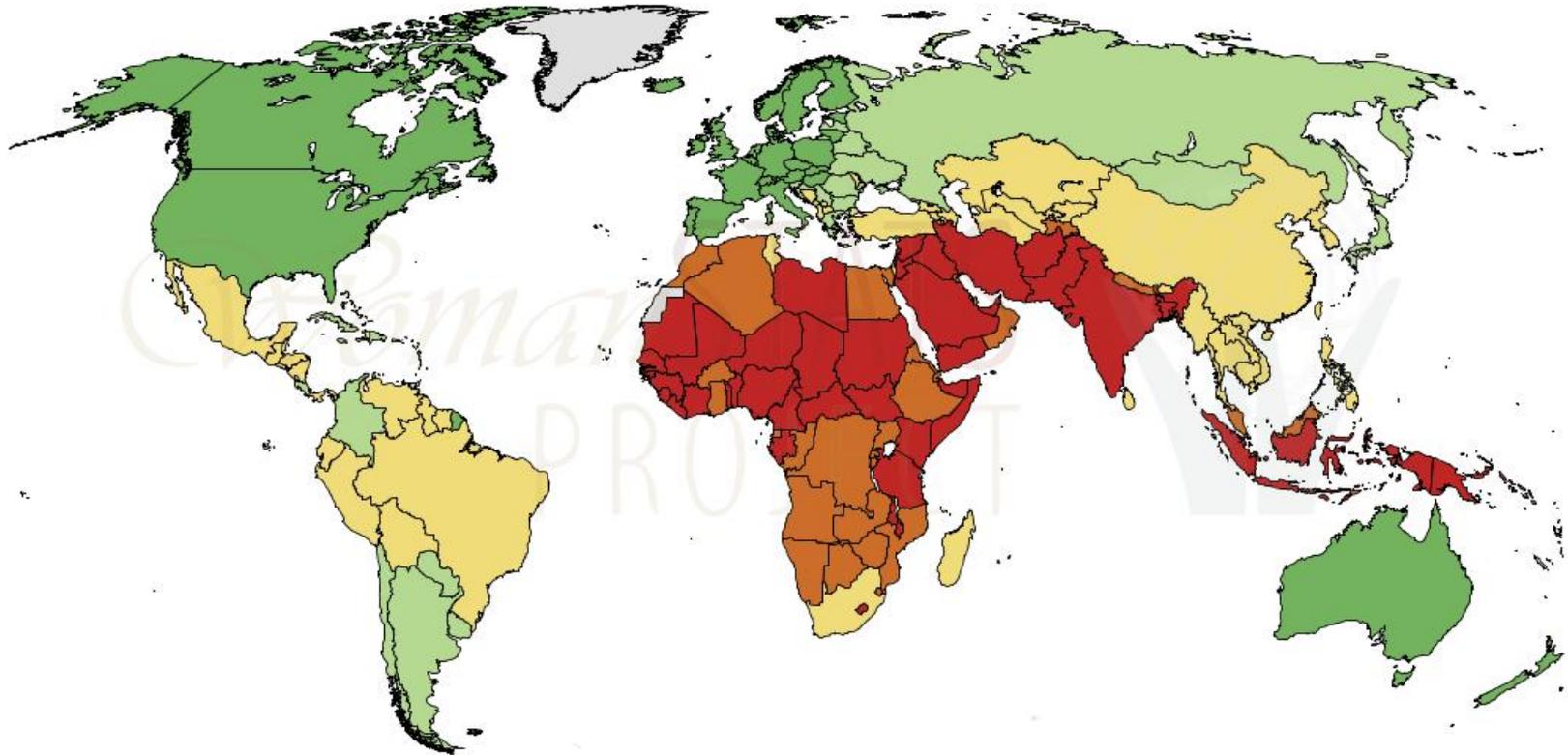
Furthermore, such a society will also experience the sequelae of those characteristics at the nation-state level: poor health, food insecurity, low economic performance, rentierism, demographic woes, lack of attention to environmental security.

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

The Syndrome Mapped

Patrilineality/Fraternity Syndrome Scale

Scaled 2017



MULTIVAR-SCALE-6
Data The WomanStats Project
<http://womanstats.org>

-  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



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 ($p \leq .001$):
 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
[Percent 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 examine 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.

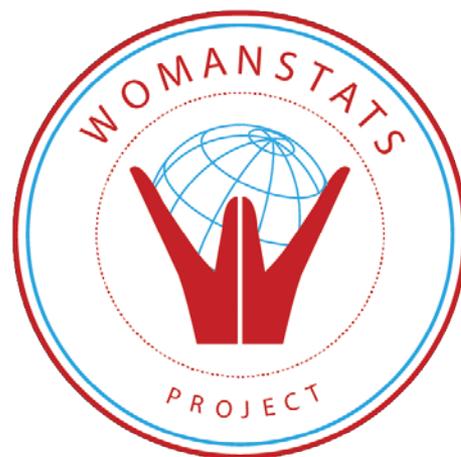


Rethinking National Security

- 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>



We are grateful for the support of the US Department of Defense, the Andrew Carnegie Corporation, the Compton Foundation, The Bush School of Government at Texas A&M University and Public Service, and the David M. Kennedy Center at Brigham Young University.

Rips in the Straitjacket

