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# **What Keeps Women Excluded from Security Decisionmaking?**

**Valerie M. Hudson, Texas A&M/Woman Stats**



# The Women/Security Nexus

- At the **macro**-level of analysis, consider that studies have shown that women's subordination is significantly linked to propensity to be involved in intra- and inter-state conflict; propensity to use violence first in such a conflict; propensity to break treaty obligations and flout international norms.
- At the **micro**-level of analysis, consider that survey research shows the individuals with more gender unequal beliefs are also significantly more hostile to other nations and also minority groups.

*Why would this be so?*



# So What's the Connection?

- The first political order is the *sexual* political order; the character of that first order molds the society, its governance, and its behavior. Two groups, neither of which can reproduce without the other—the future literally depends on their interaction:

4) Resource distribution in the context of difference: With regard to resources necessary for survival and persistence, such as food, land, weapons, children, wealth, which group will control these, or will control be shared?



Resources Controlled  
By One Group

Resources Controlled  
By Both Groups



When the first political order is based on the left hand side of these spectra, women will not be able to influence security decisionmaking because the “security provision mechanism” of the society itself is based on specifically disempowering women in this realm . . . We call this left-side first political order . . .

## **THE PATRILINEAL/FRATERNAL SYNDROME**



# Patrilineality and Insecurity

- There are two primary ways of ensuring group security in the 21<sup>st</sup> century: states and patrilineal/fraternal extended kin networks
  - Such networks solve the problem of male cooperation within a group by creating fraternity
- Where states are weak or weakening, patrilineality will resurge as a security provision mechanism, for by enabling fraternity, it facilitates ready male cooperation against threat.
- ***But*** the Patrilineal/Fraternal Syndrome aggravates insecurity and instability, producing high levels of corruption, government ineffectiveness, asset stripping, extremism, and the constant threat of annihilative clan violence—all while excluding women from any influential role in security decisionmaking.



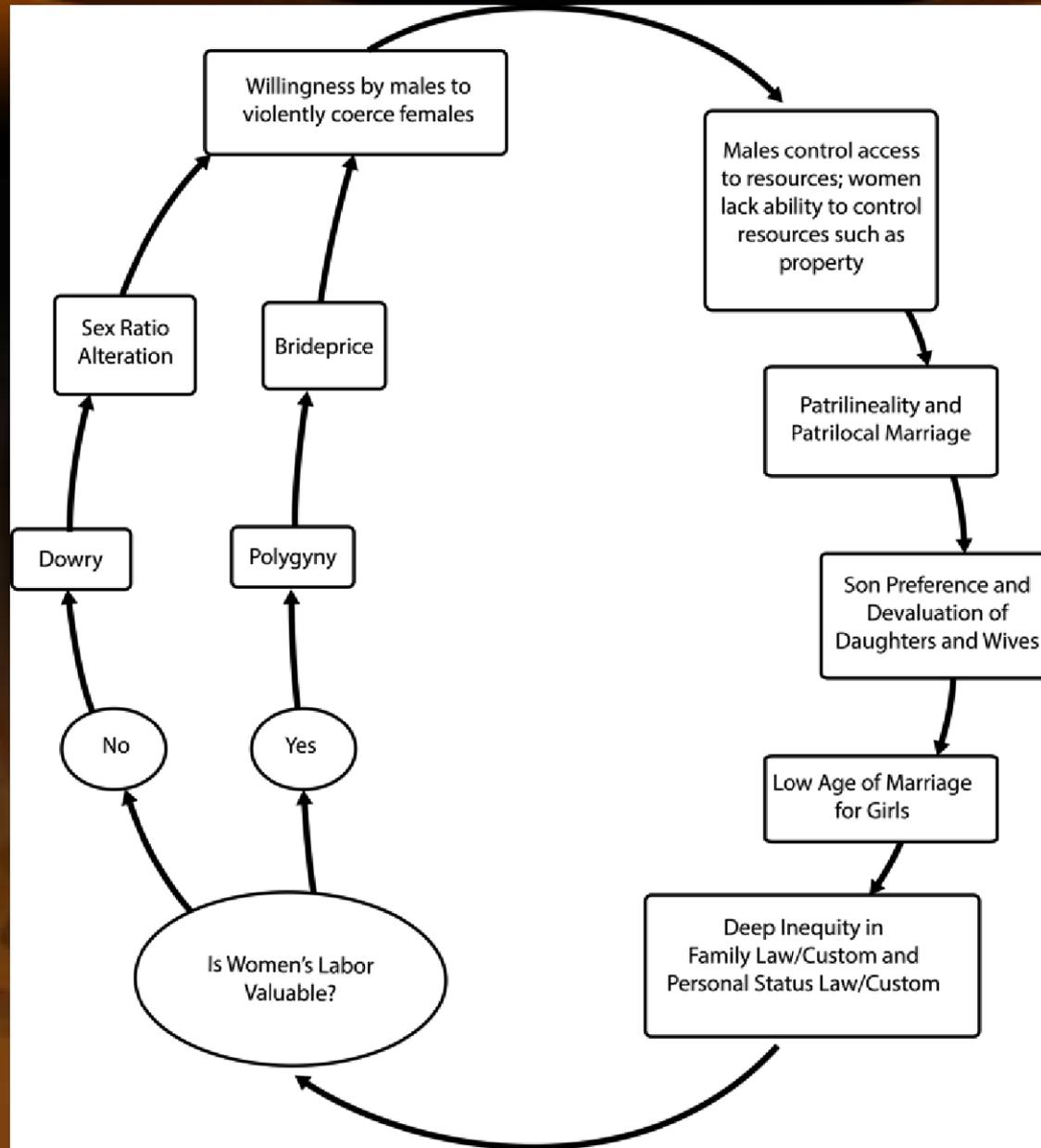
**But how do you “see” a society’s dependence on Patrilineality as a Security Provision Mechanism?**

***Look at the situation of women . . .***

***This system cannot exist without systematically subordinating women to the interests of the patriline.***



# Patrilineality and Women





# Variables in the 'Syndrome'

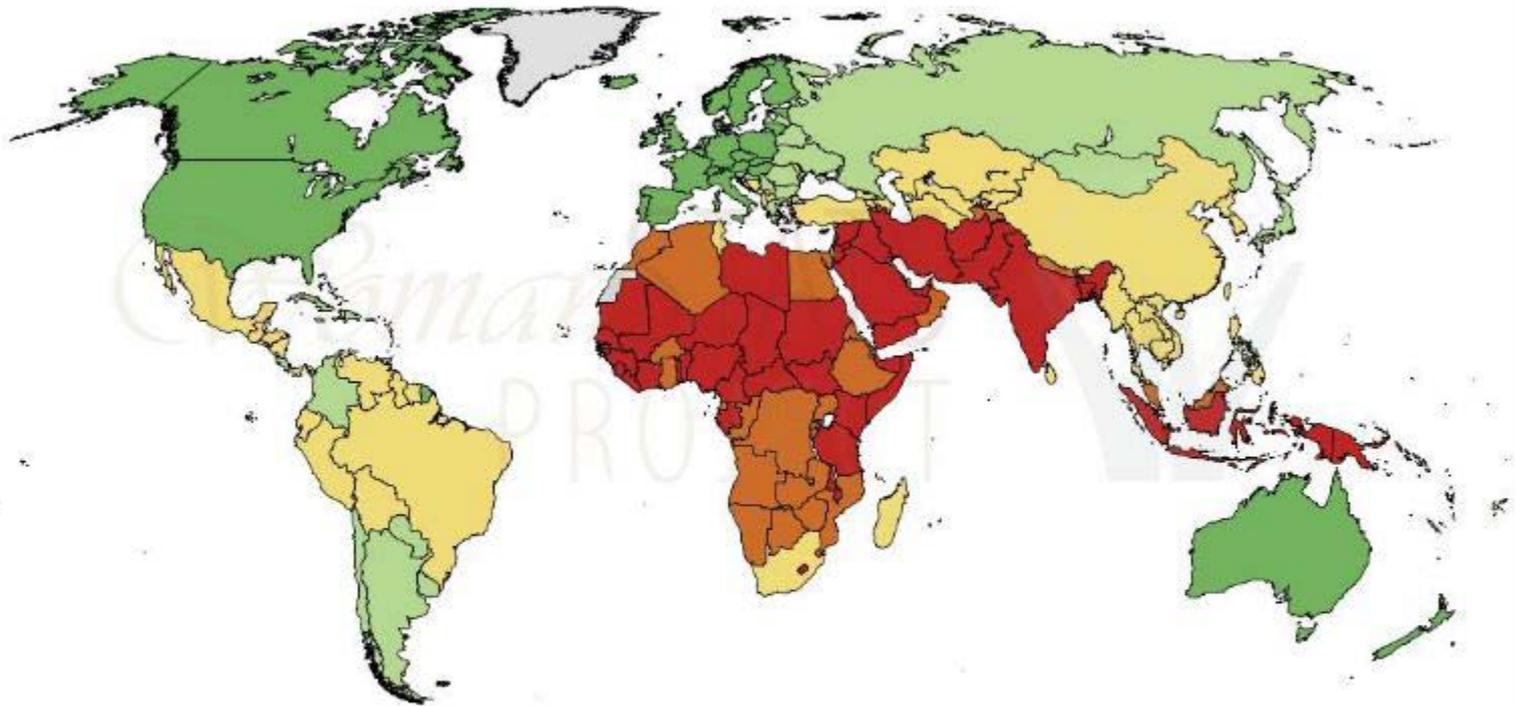
- Level of violence against women
- Women's property and inheritance rights (law and practice)
- Prevalence of patrilocal marriage
- Son preference and sex ratio alteration
- Age of marriage for girls (law and practice)
- Degree of inequity in family law/customs
- Brideprice/dowry
- Prevalence/legality of polygyny
- Societal sanction of femicide
- Cousin marriage (law and practice)
- Legal exemption for rapists who offer to marry their victims



# 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



So in addition to aggravating the security profile of a nation, reliance on the Syndrome means women face stiff challenges in having any influence in security decisionmaking.

To change this, you must disrupt the Syndrome, and as you do, the security provision mechanism of the society will change, and women will face fewer obstacles to participating in security decisionmaking.



# The WomanStats Project

<http://womanstats.org>

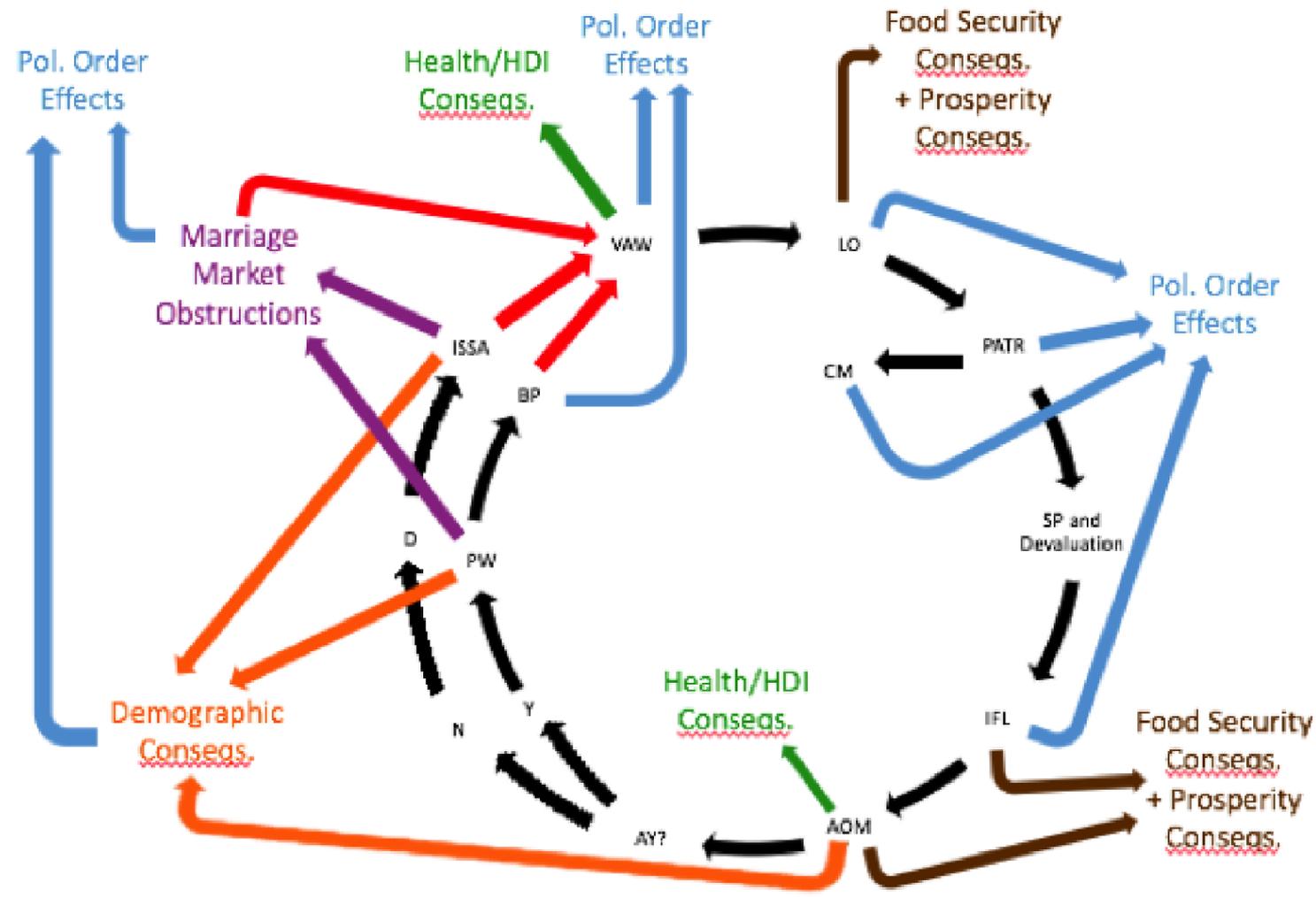




Additional slides if there is time, or if there are pertinent questions.



# Patrilineality, Women, and State Stability/Security



- Addl Factors
- Urbanization
  - Social Sec.

- Pol. Order Effects can include
- Conflict/Aggression Feuds
  - Corruption due to need for rents
  - Conflict Resolution template is dominance
  - Crime/Raiding
  - Rule of law
  - Regime Type
  - Level of Grievance

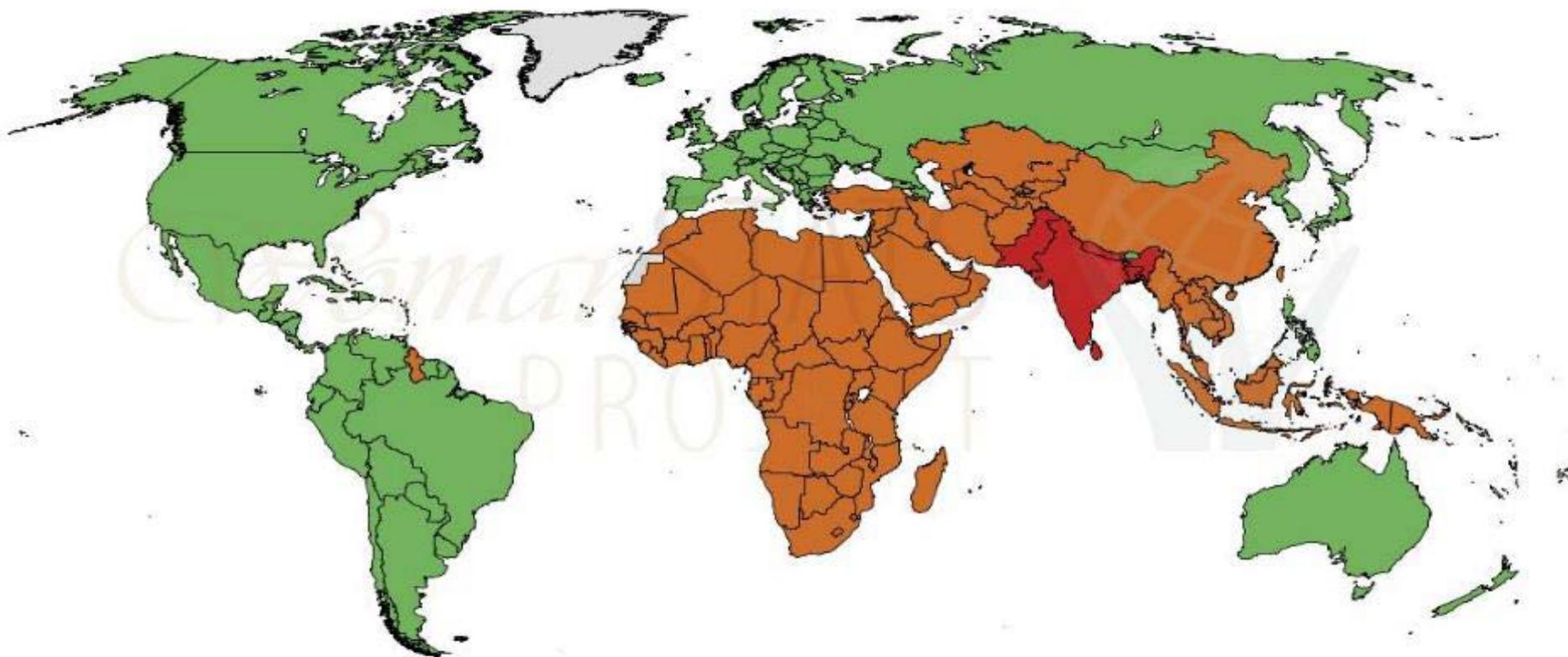


# Sometimes the Links are Immediate and Proximate

- **Example: Surging brideprices (Summer 2017 IS article)**
  - Brideprice acts as a regressive, universal flat tax on the sub-population of young men
  - Though sometimes forced by governments into remaining static, brideprice tends to inexorably rise over time, and the rise can be dramatic
  - Surging brideprices are linked to the prevalence of polygyny, which further obstructs marriage markets for disadvantaged young men
  - A deep sense of grievance among young men is the result, significantly delaying or even precluding marriage
  - Rebel groups offering to solve this problem find recruiting fairly easy.

## Brideprice/Dowry/Wedding Costs (Type and Prevalence)

Scaled 2016



MARR-SCALE-3

Data The WomanStats Project

<http://womanstats.org>

-  No exchange or reciprocal exchange of assets between families (scale points 0-3)
-  Bride's family endows bride; no significant assets from groom's family (scale points 4-5)
-  Net assets move from groom's family to bride/bride's family (scale points 6-9)
-  Net assets move from bride's family to groom's family (scale point 10)
-  No Data



# Example

- Boko Haram

- Big jump in brideprice in northern Nigeria in the 2000s
- Boko Haram uses this as a recruiting strategy
- Wives are abducted; token brideprice left on the ground as the group leaves
- “In this crisis, these men can take a wife at no extra charge,” explained Kaka, a young woman orphaned, captured and raped by Boko Haram. “Usually it is very expensive to take a wife, very hard to get married, but not now.” (<http://www.newsweek.com/nigeria-boko-haram-buhari-chibok-girls-424091>)
- Other current examples: South Sudan, Pakistan



# Preliminary Empirical Analysis

- No society *with* brideprice fell in the most peaceful quartile of our sample of 163 nation-states. No society *without* brideprice fell in the least peaceful quartile of the sample.
- Relationship was significant at the  $p < .0001$  level



# Sometimes the Links are Longer Term and Structural

- Example: Increasing Masculinization of the World's Population
  - M:F global ratio now over 101.4
  - In 1990, 5 nations had abnormal birth sex ratios: now there are 19, including
    - Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, China, Egypt, Fiji, Georgia, India, Kosovo, Kuwait, Lebanon, Montenegro, Philippines, South Sudan, Sudan, Taiwan, Macedonia, Vanuatu, Vietnam
- Masculine Migrant Flows are also causing Sex Ratio Alterations
  - For example, Sweden now has a worse sex ratio among its 16-17 year olds than China does (123 versus 117).



# Ramifications

- Sex ratio alterations have implications for
  - Crime rates and political protest rates
  - Marriage market obstruction
    - For example, surging brideprices, leading to easier rebel recruitment
  - Crimes against women, including trafficking and forced prostitution
    - mobility restriction for women results
  - HIV and STD spread
  - Perhaps even an altered calculus of deterrence due to altered perception of the costs of attrition warfare