

Séx & pōwer

Who is in charge in Argentina?

WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION
IN SPACES OF POWER IN 2020



ELA - Equipo Latinoamericano de Justicia y Género (ELA - Latin American Team on Justice and Gender)

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Contents

Foreword	4
1. Introduction	7
2. Sex and power: ten years later	8
2.1 A new, more comprehensive index is possible	9
2.2 A picture of 2020	11
3. Sex and power in different areas	15
3.1 Politics: closer to parity	15
3.1.1 The Legislative: the impact of affirmative action policies	17
3.1.2 The Executive	20
3.1.2.1 Ministry cabinets: spaces with lights and shadows	22
3.1.3 The justice system	23
3.2 The economy: uncharted territory	25
3.3 Unions	28
3.4 The civil society: close to parity	30
3.5 The health sector	31
3.6 Education	33
3.7 Science	34
3.8 Culture and arts	35
3.9 Defence and security	36
3.10 The media	38
3.11 Sports	41
4. Conclusions	42
5. General methodological approach	44
5.1 Survey fact sheet	44
5.2 Surveyed components	44
5.3 Number of institutions and high-ranking positions surveyed, and relative importance of each component	47
5.4 Methodology for the calculation of incidence and total indexes	49
5.5 Women's Participation Index (WPI): an index created by ELA	49
5.6 General organisation of the survey and methodological strategies implemented	49
5.7 Methodological exclusion criteria for the survey spheres	50
5.8 Surveyed variables in this study	50
6. Annexes	51
6.1 Annex I: Survey scope and methodology by sphere	51
6.2 Annex II: Number of institutions and entities surveyed, number of positions included, and amount of data collected	55
6.3 Annex III. Codebook	56

Foreword

Ten years ago, when we first analysed the distribution of the highest-level decision-making positions in our country and published the study 'Sex and Power: Who is in charge in Argentina?'¹, we confirmed that the data painted a picture of a country that granted less opportunities for women to exercise power than we could have ever imagined.

In 2010, the president of Argentina was a woman, elected in 2007 after an electoral battle in which the candidate who came in second place was also a woman. That is to say, on that election day, around 70% of the country's population voted for a woman to hold the highest position in the Executive branch. Moreover, Argentina was one of the top countries in the region for women participation in the Legislative Branch on both national and provincial levels. By then, the quota legislation mandating that at least 30% of all candidates for elective positions on each party list be women had successfully navigated many obstacles to its correct implementation. Thus, women already occupied around 35% of the positions in the Legislative Branch on a national level. Indeed, ever since 2001—after the effective date of the reform resulting from the petition filed by Teresa Merciadri de Morini, a member of the Radical Civic Union (UCR) party, before the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights—women participation in Congress steadily grew by 2.5% on each election up until 2009. Since then, this trend lost momentum and started to decrease: the capacity to promote gender parity through the implementation of quota legislation dictating a minimum of 30% women participation in each party list was exhausted almost a decade ago.

While the outlook had seemed promising, a wider, more comprehensive look at Argentine democratic institutions and spaces where to exercise power revealed a different scenario in 2010. When considering other social, political, and economic spheres in the country, the presence of women was once again limited and, in many cases, almost accidental². The laws enacted to promote quotas in legislative settings, which had advanced the presence of women in positions of power and had resulted in the introduction of gender equality and women's rights as topics in legislative debates³, did not seem to fully reflect the shared social certainty regarding the importance of more diverse, plural, and egalitarian participation in institutions and organisations.

From 2015 onwards, thanks to the widespread increase of feminist demands under the chant 'Ni Una Menos' (Not One Woman Less), social changes in Argentina and the Latin American region became evident. Social movements amplified the demands for which feminisms and women's organisations had been fighting for decades. The State's duty to prevent, penalise, and eradicate gender-based violence took root in the public agenda, earning a relevant place in political proposals and social demands widely represented in the media. The expansion of rights became irrevocably linked to the

1 Available at <http://bit.ly/SexoyPoder2010> (in Spanish).

2 The 2010 study shows huge differences between spheres such as the Legislative and the Judiciary, specially at provincial level, where women participation is scarce. Moreover, within the Justice System, the situation in some jurisdictions (such as Federal or Criminal Law) is worse than in others (like Labour or Family Law), where women are more present. In any case, it is interesting to see that women were still mostly absent from decision-making spaces related to important spheres within the economy, such as big companies and unions.

3 Caminotti, M. (2012) 'Dos décadas de leyes de cuota: Avances y retos para la participación política de las Mujeres'. In: ELA. *LIDERA: PARTICIPACIÓN EN DEMOCRACIA. Experiencias de mujeres en el ámbito social y político en la Argentina*. Buenos Aires City (pp. 95-114).

Morelli, M. (2012) 'El poder más allá del número. Obstáculos y desafíos a la participación política de las mujeres en la Argentina'. In: ELA. *LIDERA: PARTICIPACIÓN EN DEMOCRACIA. Experiencias de mujeres en el ámbito social y político en la Argentina*. Buenos Aires City (pp. 77-94).

The articles written by Mariana Caminotti and Mariana Morelli analyse the impact of the incorporation of women legislators into the parliamentary agenda and assess the challenges to be faced in the 21st century to move beyond quotas.

need to ensure the proper conditions to exercise those rights, which showed the importance of linking these demands to the strengthening of institutions open to a comprehensive and interdependent view on human rights. On that line, the substantive participation of women and other feminised identities in decision-making spaces responds not only to the need to improve the legitimacy of democratic institutions, but also to the recovery of those spaces as fertile soil on which agendas can be moved forward and inter-agency collaborations can expand.

Motivated by this, we set out to update our initial research on Sex and Power in Argentina, inspired by studies conducted year after year by an institution responsible for promoting equal opportunities between men and women in the United Kingdom⁴. The purpose of our 2020 updated research is to paint a picture of Argentina: how far up have women climbed within the top decision-making spaces in different social, political, economic, and cultural spheres in our country? The purpose of this report is to show how long the road to substantive equality is and the persistent hardships that still keep us from seeing a much more egalitarian picture. To achieve it, we have worked with surveys exclusively based on quantitative information about the sex of the people who hold the higher-ranking positions in a wide variety of institutions.

Women are neither the only nor the main agents responsible for building a more egalitarian society, based on respect for human rights and an intersectional gender perspective. However, past experiences prove that they have been the ones to introduce certain topics in the political agenda, acting as the driving force towards societies that are more respectful of diversity. Consequently, the promotion of more plural decision-making spaces where more diverse voices are represented is still a distant goal, judging by the absence of significant numbers of women present in most decision-making positions.

The study Sex and Power 2020 shows that some spheres are more elusive than others: legislatures continue to be some of the places that have incorporated more women members—although the presence of women in spaces of political power within the Chambers is still very limited. However, this still is a result of having implemented affirmative action measures, since quota legislation has been replaced with parity laws (on a national level and in many provincial jurisdictions, too). Unless there is any type of rule demanding it, even political actors themselves do not seem inclined to acknowledge the value of women leadership in positions such as party leaders or Chamber authorities. While the promotion of women representation in the different standing committees of the Chamber of Deputies keeps growing⁵, this political decision is not replicated in other spaces of power within that very same legislative body.

In the experience of other countries (such as Anglo-Saxon and Nordic ones), over the last decades of the 20th century, the growing participation of women was not always regulated through the legal enforcement of a minimum quota to incorporate them as a mechanism to enrich the exchange of ideas through the inclusion of more diverse perspectives and experiences. Nowadays, 16 out of the 20 top countries for number of women in parliament implement some type of quota⁶. Despite our pioneering legislation on the topic, in Argentina, the certainty over the importance of balanced representation of the diverse people who make up our society for a stronger, more plural democracy is not yet reflected on the different institutions that govern our country's political life. It is undeniable that, without legal enforcement, finding substantive presence of women in decision-making positions is still a challenge in many areas.

4 The studies compiled with the title 'Sex & Power: Who Runs Britain?' were a set of surveys conducted by the Equal Opportunities Commission for many years and then continued by the Equality Commission for some time.

5 On December 13, 2019, President of the Chamber of Deputies Sergio Massa signed a resolution to implement gender parity among presidents of parliamentary standing committees (Resolution No. 1657/19).

6 <https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/reports/2020-03/women-in-parliament-1995-2020-25-years-in-review>

Moreover, these spaces (the media and cultural settings) promote rules that regulate mechanisms to ensure a minimum standard of egalitarian participation. A possible explanation for this could be the fact that, so far, that seems to be the only effective measure to reach this goal⁷.

Does this mean that parity regulations are necessary in all aspects of social, political, economic, and cultural life to accelerate change? In our opinion, not necessarily. While undeniably essential to improve the quality of democracy in deliberative spheres, legislation should not exhaust public policies and strategies that, through incentives, may promote access for women (in particular, but also for more diverse people in general) to more decision-making spaces. The data presented in this study show the progress, setbacks, and limitations found on the way to a society with parity of representation. It also shows the challenges in surveying information based on quantitative data when faced with public information that continues to be organised on the basis of a binary understanding of society, in terms of sex.

This research also highlights other prominent absences through the identification of other social and gender conditions that worsen these discriminatory and exclusionary structures. For many lesbians, travestis, trans people, and non-binary people—as well as for people with disabilities, indigenous people, and people of African descent—, it has become evident that their challenges are not limited to accessing spaces of power; they are present even when attempting to join any public or private institution. Access to job opportunities, the chance to have a career, and being allowed to exercise their citizenship rights, thus contributing to the conversation in social and political institutions in the country, is a distant goal yet for many population groups. In the context of this study, collecting information that would allow us to analyse spaces of power from an intersectional approach was a very arduous task, not only because of the difficulties in finding data, but also due to the very exclusion that LGBTTIQ people, women with disabilities, women of African descent, migrant women, and indigenous women are forced to endure.

Women have undoubtedly progressed in the expansion of rights, but we still cannot replicate those achievements when it comes to access to spaces of power, which continue to be pushed out of our reach. We have plenty of examples: women presidents and vice-presidents; women governors and mayors; renowned women public officials, jurists, and legislators. We have women journalists, union members, and businesswomen, too. It is easy to list the names of women who, following that line of thought, would prove that there is no need for public policy or incentives because reaching positions of power is actually possible. However, doing so is easy precisely because they still constitute a very small group, a meagre number compared with the total amount of existing positions and spheres of power. It is not proof of success. Being able to list their names is just a reminder that our goal still lies far away.

With this new publication, ELA hopes to contribute empirical evidence to help raise awareness about the need to achieve consensus on the principle of gender parity. This principle will allow us to move forward and make good on our commitment to equality, the foundation of our democracy. Moreover, it will allow us to shine a light on the importance of having true and accurate representation of society and its interests, to bring to the table the topic of women's (and other population groups, too) participation in all decision-making spaces.

Ultimately, this publication hopes to contribute to a collective certainty we can share as a community: gender parity is presented as a guiding principle that aims for the democratisation of social relationships among genders.

Natalia Gherardi

Executive Director of ELA

⁷ On October 8, 2020, the Argentine Senate passed a bill for equal representation of genders in the media. Available at <https://www4.hcdn.gob.ar/dependencias/dsecretaria/Periodo2020/PDF2020/TP2020/0091-S-2020.pdf> (in Spanish). During 2020, similar bills were introduced in the Argentine Chamber of Deputies and the Buenos Aires City Legislature.

1. Introduction

This study picks up the results of the first Sex and Power survey, conducted by ELA in 2010, and offers new results arising from the 2020 updated analysis. Thanks to the increased availability of public information, in some aspects, updating the survey allowed us to expand the number of institutions and dimensions considered, thus providing a more comprehensive look at society and its institutions.

To present the evolution of the survey in its two stages, in the first part we will describe the purposes of the survey and how it was conducted, the selection of its components, its expanded scope—compared with the 2010 edition—, and the methodology for the calculation of the Women's Participation Index (WPI).

In the second part, we will study the evolution of women's participation in the highest-ranking positions between the first Sex and Power survey in 2010 and the one in 2020, analysing their spaces for participation in politics, economy, and social and cultural life in Argentina.

Next, in the third part, we will provide the main results for each sphere included in the survey.

Lastly, in the conclusion chapter, we will present a comprehensive reading of the aforementioned information. Additionally, we will propose some next steps to continue measuring data, because the picture of society painted by this research has greater significance when considering the possibility of incorporating this analysis into the drafting of public policy that may foster better conditions for broader participation of women in the institutions that help build democracy.



2. Sex and power: ten years later

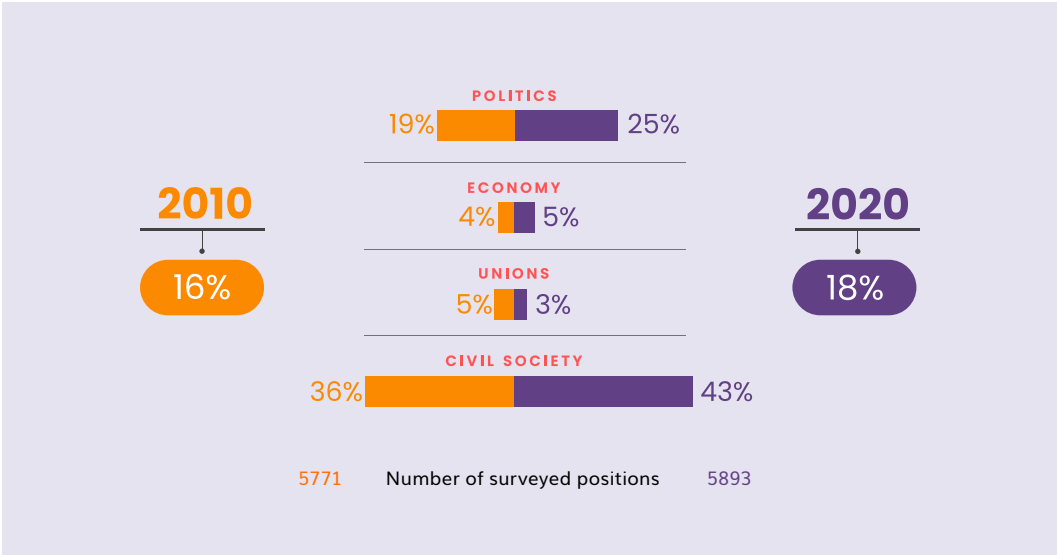
Effective access for women to positions of authority accounts for one aspect of the equality levels that characterise a society. Power is one of the dimensions that show the basis of inequality between men and women. Therefore, taking a closer look at its distribution in the public sphere allows us to pinpoint progress and setbacks in the path to real inclusion of women—in their full diversity—in the different orbits of social, political, economic, and cultural life in Argentina.

With the purpose of painting a picture of the dimensions of power, in 2010 we designed the Women’s Participation Index (WPI), which can be replicated through time. For it, we considered only the highest-ranking positions (top level) within four spheres: politics, the economy, unions, and the civil society. After analysing the data collected in that survey, the 2010 WPI was calculated to be 16%, that is to say, less than two out of ten top decision-making positions were held by women.

In 2020, ten years after conducting that first survey, we set out to examine how much the fast-paced changes undergone in recent years regarding the gender equality agenda had translated into a broader presence of women within the highest decision-making spaces. Our 2020 update to the Sex and Power survey shows that the WPI now lies at 18%: women now fully hold two out of ten decision-making positions. The number of surveyed positions grew (thanks to the significant increase in availability of public information), but the data collected show that the WPI has only increased by five percentage points.

If the trend were to continue like this, how many decades would have to go by before parity is achieved?

Figure 1. Women’s Participation Index (WPI), 2010-2020. Top-level positions: a comparison.



Just like in 2010, the civil society is once again the sphere where more women have reached decision-making positions. It is true that, even though active, plural, independent civil societies play a relevant role in terms of influence on public policy, and they may push for better monitoring of Government duties, this sphere still weighs the least on the decisions that transform public policy.

Meanwhile, the economy (which includes big companies and chambers of commerce) remains an almost exclusively men sphere. The same happens with unions (including big trade-union confederations)—where, even though quota legislation been in effect for almost 20 years⁸, data show that women now have even less access to top decision-making positions.

In politics, women clearly have more access opportunities to decision-making positions in legislative bodies thanks to the positive impact of quota legislation (in effect since 2010) and parity laws (as of 2020, implemented both on the national level and in some provinces throughout the country)⁹. Still, given the lack of similar legislation enforced in the Executive branches, the overall participation of women in top positions within the political sphere merely grew from 19% to 25%.

This means that the WPI calculated following the same parameters and information available back in 2010 shows moderate progress over the last decade: while we can affirm that the number of women in decision-making positions has grown (overall, it went from 16% to 18%), it still lies well below parity as a horizon and as a reflection of the society we wish to build.

2.1 A new, more comprehensive index is possible

In the last decade, several movements have pushed for greater availability of public information. The open government position adopted by the Argentine State on both national and some local levels, and the increased commitment to transparency and availability of public information have made a difference in the conditions surrounding the first edition (in 2010) and the current edition (in 2020) of our survey¹⁰. This gives us hope for the possibility of calculating more comprehensive indexes in the future, assuming that at least the same information surveyed in this opportunity will remain available.

When we include more categories into the index, the number of surveyed positions and women occupying them in 2010 barely increases. This is why these categories were excluded from that edition.

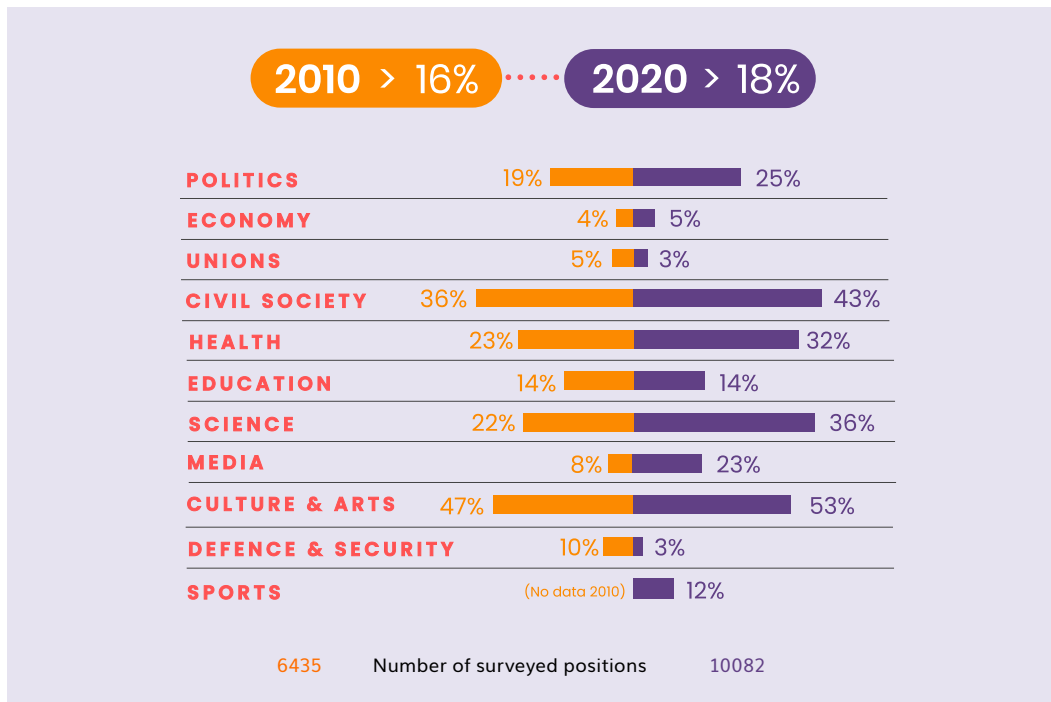
In 2020, the available information allows for in-depth analysis of categories within politics, the economy, unions, and the civil society (included in the 2010 WPI), and it also provides more solid data on other seven categories excluded from the previous edition of this study. We expect this to still be the case in 2030, when an updated survey is conducted. This becomes particularly evident when comparing the number of top-level surveyed positions, which is almost three times higher when considering all 11 categories, but it is only two times higher if only the four categories included in the 2010 edition are taken into account.

8 The quota law for women participation in unions was enacted in 2002 (Act 25,674), but its proper implementation still faces big challenges. On the importance of including women to drive forward the gender agenda within unions, see ELA. (2020) *Los derechos de las mujeres y la igualdad de género en épocas de pandemia: Una mirada hacia la agenda de la Cámara de Diputados de la Nación* (available in Spanish).

9 For a survey on parity laws currently in force in each province, see ELA platform *Mujeres en el Poder* (<https://mujeresenelpoder.org.ar/>), available in Spanish.

10 On the observations made to the Argentine Government by several monitoring committees of international treaties on human rights regarding the generation of data organised by sex and the availability of public information, see ELA (Latin American Team on Justice and Gender), *El género en perspectiva de datos: una necesidad urgente para la agenda pública*, July 2020 (available in Spanish).

Figure 2. Women's Participation Index (WPI), 2010-2020. Top-level positions: more categories included.



When including other areas, the index drops slightly (18,2%), which highlights how difficult it is to achieve full participation of women with real access to top-level positions of authority in all spheres of social life. Comparing the different surveyed areas has allowed us to identify at least three circumstances under which access to decision-making spaces has improved for women, promoting more parity within those spaces:

1. Legislation for affirmative action applicable to legislative spheres in politics (such as parity laws or, where still in force, quota laws) has clearly paved the way to parity and greater participation of women.
2. Data seem to point out that more women tend to join specific areas, such as the civil society and cultural or political institutions. This raises some questions. Do women face less resistance in these spaces? Are they able to settle there more confidently? Have they been occupying decision-making positions there for longer? This last aspect is highly relevant, as it adds public availability of information to the list of factors beneficial to a broader presence of women in decision-making positions. In these areas, action has been taken and yielded results.
3. Among the spheres which show less participation of women in decision-making positions, there has been a setback: in defence and security (the military and law enforcement), the number of positions held by women has decreased in the last decade. Women participation in this area is truly low compared with others, and its frequency was never considered anything other than 'exceptional'. By 2010, Nilda Garré had acted as Minister of Defence for a full presidential term. At the time of the survey, the Ministry of Security to which she transitioned as Minister had not been created yet. By the time the 2020 survey was conducted, a man had been in charge of the Ministry of Defence for a decade. However, the fact that the Ministry of Security has been led by women for the last couple of years is quite significant. The head of the Ministry as of the date of this report Sabina Frederic constituted her cabinet with over 50% of women participation (See Figure 24, under Defence and Security). However, not one woman has been appointed to any top-level position within law enforcement.

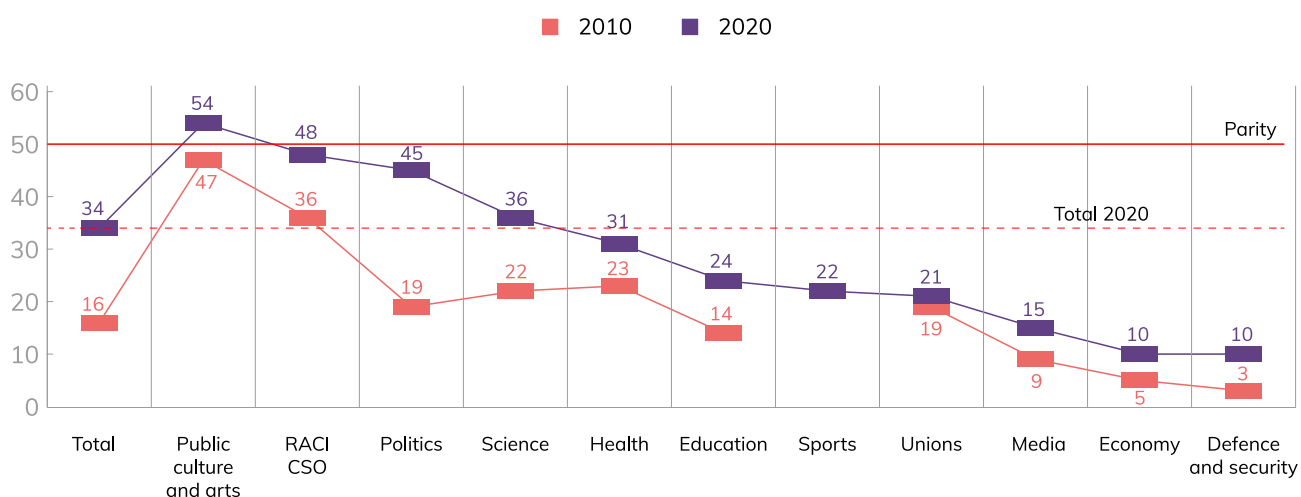
In general, data collected from the Executive branch at both the national and lower levels tend to make the indexes drop. If we compare the 2010 and the 2020 results, women’s participation grew by only six percentage points (from 19% to 25%). If mid-level positions within Ministries are included, it goes up to 34%. Many factors could contribute to that gap. At the very least, this should make us look more deeply into the decision-making processes that political parties go through when the time comes to determine who will be their candidates for the top-level executive positions at both the national and lower levels.

The results yielded by the survey indicate that new paths are being cleared to achieve parity from the bottom up. Affirmative action measures (usually enforced through legislation, such as parity laws) complement that trend by driving progress in the opposite direction (top down, starting from formal power and running towards the bases, to transform reality through regulations for already existing social practices). How these indicators behave reinforces the idea that, to achieve parity, action must be taken in both directions.

2.2 A picture of 2020

When we consider the data from 2020, including women’s participation in both top- and mid-level positions in each sphere, we come across several interesting findings. Firstly, overall women’s participation in top level decision-making positions has increased, except in Defence and Security (the military and law enforcement).

Figure 3. Participation of women in top- and mid-level positions.

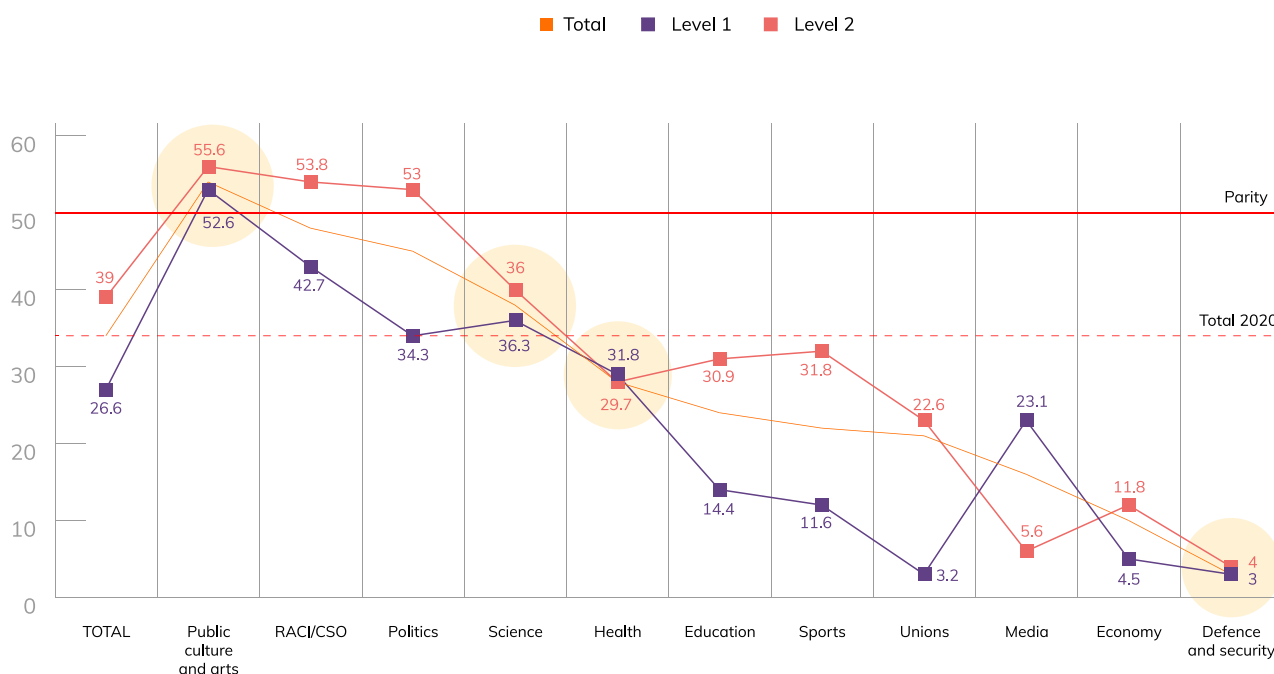


Secondly, data show that the increase is uneven among the different spheres analysed. If we take into consideration the data collected regarding top- and mid-level positions (Figure 3), we can see that growth has been more evident in some spheres, while in others there has been virtually no progress at all in the last ten years. Thus, for example, while in politics, education, and science women’s representation has been steadily increasing (by 142%, 71%, and 62% respectively), in unions, the change was minimal: it grew by barely 11%. Moreover, the starting points for the different spheres are not the same either: data show that, while the presence of women in the media and the economy has doubled in the last decade, the total numbers are still among the lowest in the whole survey: they grew from 9% to 15% and from 5% to 10%, respectively. Meanwhile, in the case of public culture and arts, the starting point was already quite high, so, despite having one of the lowest growth rates (15%), it still surpassed parity (going from 47% to 54%).

Generally speaking, in seven out of the 11 surveyed categories, women's participation remained below 34% of all positions (considering the 2020 count), which proves that the growing presence of women in high-ranking positions is centred in a few areas.

Indeed, while in some areas women are already reaching parity, in others, the path to achieve access to decision-making positions has proved to be winding and filled with continuous struggle. This may be so because some spheres are more 'accessible' or 'open' to integrating women than others. In any case, the differences are very significant and telling, if we pay attention to how many women hold top-level positions and how many hold mid-level positions (see Figure 4). In some cases, such as culture and arts, science, or health, the difference between top- and mid-level positions is minimal (less than three percentage points). In others, such as sports, there is an almost threefold increase.

Figure 4. Incidence: women's participation by position level.



Unions are a particularly noteworthy case. They stand as the men stronghold par excellence, followed by sports and education. The inclusion of the latter in this group is quite unexpected, since almost a third of all mid-level positions in that sphere are occupied by women and, moreover, it is a highly feminised profession in terms of workforce, particularly in early and primary education.

As regards the media, the number of women holding top-level positions is four times higher than the number of women in mid-level positions. The most prominent explanation would be the political decision taken by the Secretariat of Media and Public Communications currently in office to promote gender equality by appointing only women as heads of all state-managed media. This decision acknowledges the fight led by feminist and women's movements, particularly women journalists, who have been a driving force behind the demands for more egalitarian participation¹¹.

11 'Las Mujeres de los Medios Públicos presentes en NosotrasMovemosElMundo.' See <https://www.argentina.gob.ar/noticias/las-mujeres-de-los-medios-publicos-presentes-en-nosotrasmovemoselmundo> (in Spanish).

Summing up, over the last decade, there has been a general increase in women's participation in top-ranking positions in the different spheres considered for this study, but growth has been uneven, and, in some areas, participation is still relatively low. This gap shows the persistent structural barriers that hinder women's access to top-level positions in some activities, particularly those that are traditionally male-dominated or where more economic and political power seems to be at stake.

Which women reach top-level positions?

The need for an intersectional perspective Upon examining the data on top- and mid-level positions in the different spheres considered, the difficulties women still face to be able to reach top-level positions become clear. However, when it comes to that, not all women have the same opportunities. Obstacles are not exclusively gender based. This phenomenon must be examined while keeping in mind all the intersectionalities among women: socioeconomic level, race/ethnicity, urban/rural location, level of education, gender identity, and disability status. These characteristics set a wide variety of access barriers, experiences, and personal and professional life journeys.

With the purpose of highlighting the very few trans, indigenous, disabled, or Afro-descendant women who have reached decision-making positions, we have decided to show the available information qualitatively, without limiting ourselves to the strict surveying of top- and mid-level positions in spaces of power. We should emphasise that the presence of women and LGBTIQ+ people has not spread across positions yet, as they tend to be appointed to positions related to their gender identity, their ethnic or racial background, or their disability status.

Having institutions recognise the worth of incorporating trans and travesti people into decision-making positions is more than just acknowledging the symbolic and political worth of individual careers and collective fights. It also implies acknowledging the worth of what they can contribute to the cause when included in the drafting of more egalitarian and inclusive public policies.

On the national level, the creation of the Undersecretariat for Diversity within the Ministry of Women, Genders, and Diversity is an important highlight; it is led by Alba Rueda, who has a vast experience in trans-travesti advocacy. Similarly, the appointment of Ornella Infante as Director of Policies against Discrimination (INADI) is also commendable.

As regards the provincial level, trans and travesti people are also starting to hold decision-making positions: Victoria Tavieres Castro is Undersecretary of Diversity (Tierra del Fuego), Daniela Castro has been appointed Director of Sexual Diversity (Buenos Aires), Úrsula Ximena Sabarece works as Undersecretary of Gender and Diversity at the Secretariat of Human Rights and Gender (Chaco), Alejandra Rodríguez Carrera was appointed General Director of Promotion of Rights at the Provincial Directorate of Diversity (Neuquén) and Dayana Torres is Director of Policies for Equality at the Provincial Directorate of Diversity (Neuquén).

On the municipal level, this group is emerging, as well: Nadia Zúñiga works at the Directorate of Diversity and Gender (Municipality of Trelew); Daniela Andrade, at the Directorate of LGBTIQ Diversity (Municipality of Comodoro Rivadavia); Ivana Gutiérrez, at the Directorate of Diversity (Municipality of Morón), and Nancy Sena, as Director of Diversity (Municipality of Moreno).

Trans and travesti participation in decision-making spaces has also grown through coordinator positions at national institutions: María Pía Ceballos is Coordinator of Employment Promotion at the National Ministry of Women, Genders, and Diversity; Luisa Paz is Coordinator of Prevention against Institutional Violence at the National Ministry of Women, Genders, and Diversity, and Violeta Ríos Alegre is in charge of the Office for Gender Identity and Sexual Orientation at the Justice Observatory of Buenos Aires City.

The media helps society build concepts, and the public opinion is not formed just from information, but also from the way the information is shared and expressed. That is why incorporating journalists in all their diversity into certain media is a key step. In that line, a few highlights are the participation of journalists such as Diana Zurco at TV Pública, Alejandra Malem at C5N—and as Coordinator of Diversity at the Ombudsman Office—, and Celeste Giacchetta at Radio Nacional Córdoba.

On the other hand, indigenous women face structural discrimination, which excludes them from social and political participation spaces and limits their influence on public policy. According to the survey conducted for the purposes of this study, indigenous women in decision-making positions tend to hold them in areas specifically linked to the indigenous agenda. For example, Xalkan Nawel Ayiñko presides the Mapuche Women's Services at the Undersecretariat for Women (Municipality of Neuquén), Elizabeth Gonzalez is Coordinator of the Native Peoples Committee, Leader of the Qom People and General Coordinator of the Native Peoples from Chaco at the Judiciary (Chaco), as well as member of the Advisory Council for the National Ministry of Women, Genders, and Diversity. Verónica Huilipán is Coordinator of Procedures to Approach Gender-Based Violence against Indigenous People at the Undersecretariat of Special Programmes (against Violence) within the National Ministry of Women, Genders, and Diversity.

The situation is very similar for women with disabilities. Their participation within power structures (as far as the data collected by the survey for this study shows) is generally restricted to specific areas involved with disability-related policy or other policy targeted at that community.

3. Sex and power in different areas

3.1 Politics: closer to parity

In politics, there has been a significant increase in women’s participation: between 2010 and 2020, it grew around 27 percentage points, on average.

When considering the global number that encompasses women’s participation in all surveyed positions in this sphere, the measurement falls very close to parity: 46.2%. However, disaggregating this concise number allows us to see that the growth has been uneven and that, to reach parity, we need even more efforts from different sectors and more political commitment. Our current situation of disparity seems to suggest that the differences occur at random and depend on individual circumstances, rather than on the opportunities available for women, as a group, to access these positions.

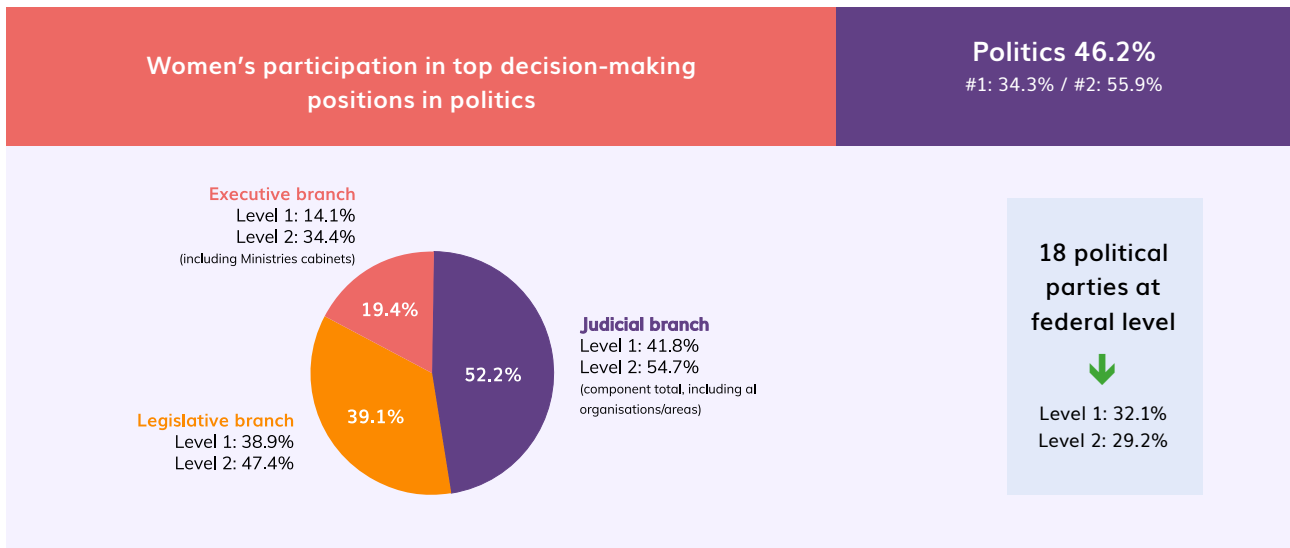
Figure 5. Politics. Evolution of women’s participation, top-level positions, 2010-2020.

Political Sector: Evolution of women’s participation Level #1 2010-2020			Politics 46.2% #1: 34.3% / #2: 55.9%		
	2010	2020	Total gap		
Legislative branch	Total	30.6%	38.9%	+8.3%	↑
	National	37.7%	39.8%	+2.1%	↑
	Provincial	27.3%	36.7%	+9.4%	↑
	Local	35.1%	46.8%	+11.7%	↑
Executive branch Heads only (not cabinet)	Total	9.2%	12.6%	+3.4%	↑
	National	100%	0%		↓
	Provincial	4.2%	8.3%	+4.1%	↑
	Local	9.0%	12.6%	+3.6%	↑
Judicial branch Supreme Court/ High Courts only	Total	21.1%	30.1%	+9.0%	↑
	National	28.6%	20.0%	-8.6%	↓
	Provincial	20.7%	29.7%	+9.0%	↑

Women’s participation in top-level positions within the political sphere is very heterogeneous. Figure 5 illustrates participation in the different branches of government, including both the national and lower levels. Data show that the lowest participation of women in decision-making positions is within the Executive branch: less women occupy the surveyed positions in the Executive than in the Legislative (where parity laws or, in some jurisdictions, quota laws are in force) and also the Judiciary, where certain competitive examination procedures and the growing interest in monitoring the duty to deliver justice with a gender perspective have promoted several mechanisms to expand the presence of women within the Judicial branch¹².

12 In the Judiciary, the situation is highly uneven among jurisdictions, and the rules dictating competitive examination procedures are very different, too. For example, on the national level, the Judiciary Council passed Resolution 266 in 2019 to modify the Rules for Competitive Examination, considering some measures to promote equal access opportunities to positions in the Judiciary. Among said measures were the mandatory inclusion of women in interviews (section 40), the presence of at least one woman in all short lists of candidates (section 44), and the application of these criteria in case of multiple competitive examinations (section 47).

Figure 6. Women's participation in top decision-making positions in politics.



Within the different levels of the Judiciary (federal, national, and provincial), the situation is under regular observation by the Map of the Judiciary created by the Women's Office of the Supreme Court of Justice of the Argentine Nation¹³, which shows very uneven conditions among jurisdictions and venues.

Within the Judiciary, the situation surrounding national electoral justice is particularly interesting. Its objective is to monitor electoral processes and the inner workings of political parties. In Argentina, jurisdiction over electoral matters is exercised by 24 federal electoral judges (one for each electoral district). There is a single court of appeals that has jurisdiction over the whole country: the National Electoral Chamber. This Chamber is composed of three judges, all male. Since its creation in 1962, not a single woman has been featured in it¹⁴.

Regarding political parties, when the Gender Parity in Political Representation Act (No. 27,412) was enacted in 2017, some modifications were introduced in several sections of the Organic Law on Political Parties (No. 23,298) and the Law on the Democratisation of Political Representation, Transparency, and Electoral Equity (No. 26,571). They especially emphasised that charters such as the basic regulations of political parties had to be adapted to respect gender parity principles to ensure equal access to positions in political parties¹⁵. Lack of compliance with gender parity in the election of a party's authorities was also added as a cause for termination of its legal identity¹⁶.

13 Since 2011, the Women's Office updates and publishes the Map of the Argentine Judiciary, available at https://om.csjn.gov.ar/mapagenero/login/mostrarLogin.html;jsessionid=kCoct9TnmT2Sj03Ae9xJzNGSdUUVkIEltVzWKOiN0_mlcPoia_zu8!1963019106 (in Spanish).

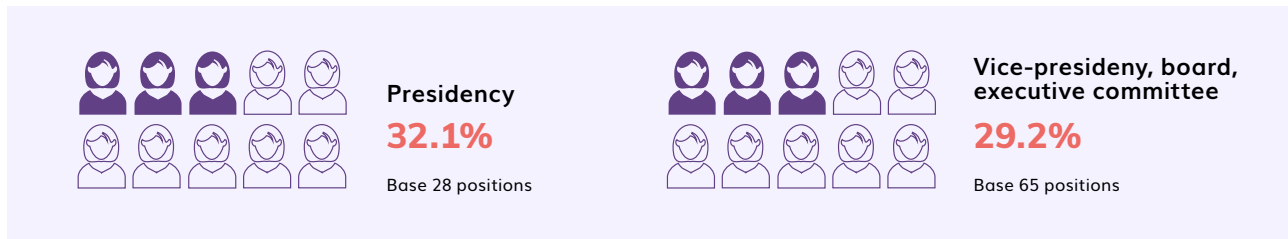
14 In fact, in 2016, a seat became vacant, thus opening the possibility to appoint a new third member. The candidate who earned the highest scores during the competitive examination procedure in terms of credentials and merit was a woman (Alejandra Lazzaro), which meant she had a unique opportunity to become part of the highest authority on electoral matters. During Mauricio Macri's administration, the aforementioned vacancy remained unfilled. Finally, during the following administration, president Fernández promoted the candidacy of the second candidate in the short list (Mr Bejas), who was confirmed in the position by the Senate. On this topic, see the statement issued by ELA (in Spanish) at <http://www.ela.org.ar/a2/index.cfm?muestra&aplicacion=APP187&cnl=4&opc=47&codcontenido=4275&plcontampl=12>.

15 Sections 3 and 21 of the Organic Law on Political Parties (No. 23,298). Section 21 of the Law on the Democratisation of Political Representation, Transparency, and Electoral Equity (No. 26,571).

16 Section 50 of the Organic Law on Political Parties (No. 23,298).

However, women's participation in leadership positions still remains around the percentage dictated by previous legislation, which established a 30% quota. While some parties have incorporated parity rules in their charters¹⁷, others do not have any regulations that actively promote women's participation in said organisations. The evolution of women's participation in leading positions in political parties must continue to be monitored in order to verify whether parity rules for candidates in the tickets for elective positions have any impact within party structures.

Figure 6.1. Political parties.



3.1.1 The Legislative: the impact of affirmative action policies

The Legislative branch on the national level is one of the areas where women's participation keeps growing. After a relative halt in the implementation of the Quota Act around 2009, the incorporation of women started gaining momentum once again, progressing toward parity on the basis of Act No. 27,412 (2017), which amended the National Electoral Code to establish that tickets for elective positions had to include as candidates a woman and a man, alternating them.

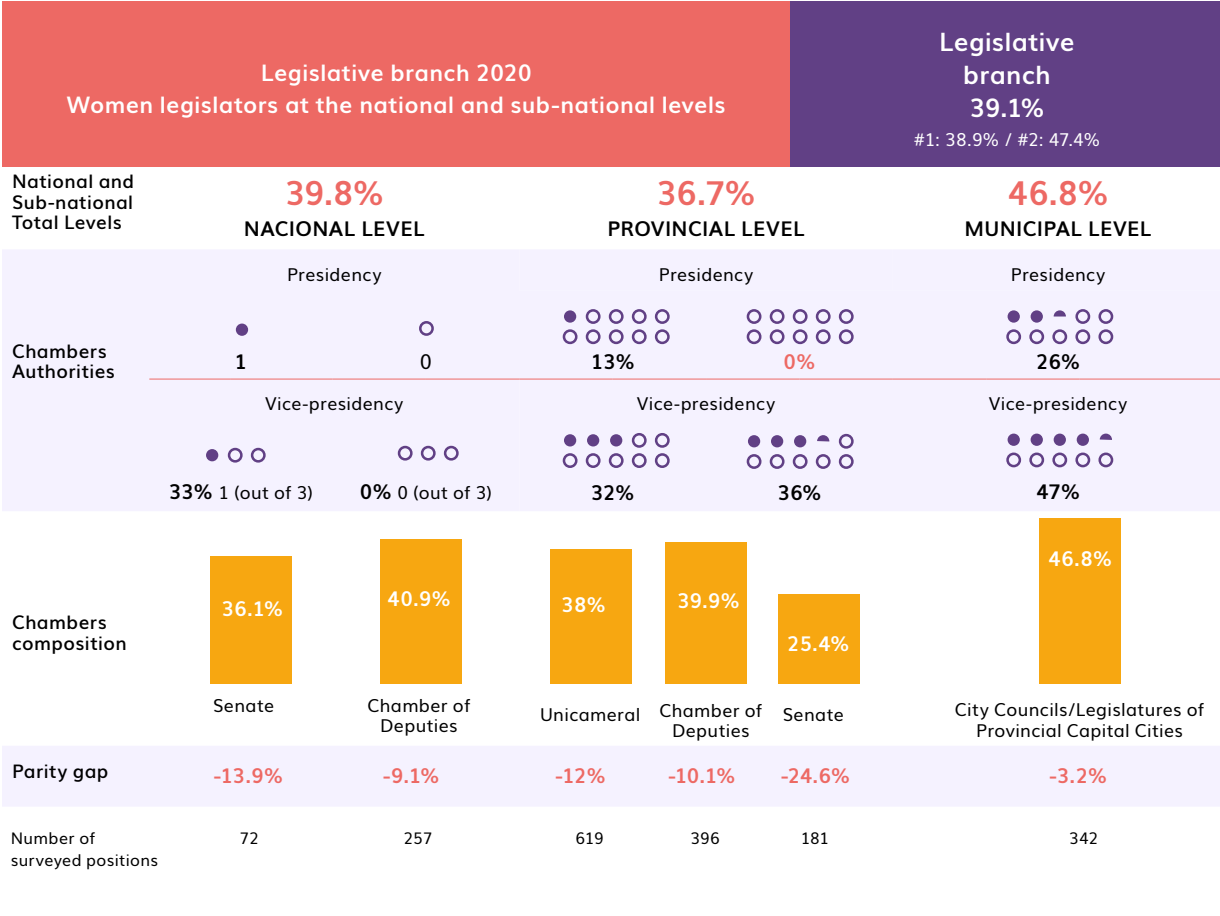
Below the national level, the situation is quite similar, although there are differences among provinces (probably due to their particular situations in terms of approval and effective implementation of quota and parity laws)¹⁸.

It is interesting to see the differences between the level of participation women have reached in the Chambers of Deputies and that in the Senates, at both national and provincial levels, as shown in the survey. In the National Senate, parity is 14 points away. This is 50% farther away than in the Chamber of Deputies, where it is nine points away. Regarding the eight provinces that have a bicameral Legislative, the difference between the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate is quite significant: in the former, parity is ten points away. In the latter, it is 25 points away.

¹⁷ Taking a closer look at the charters of political parties for the national level, which are published (in Spanish) on the official website of the Argentine National Electoral Directorate (<https://www.argentina.gob.ar/partidos-politicos/cartas-organicas>), some of them—such as that for the Justicialist Party, the UCR, the Broad Front Party, and the Socialist Left—have included express references to the Gender Parity in Political Representation Act (No. 27,412) in relation to the organisation of their executive bodies. Others, such as that of Civic Coalition ARI, state that 'by nominating women and men as plurinomial candidates, the party shall ensure gender equality, complying with current parity and quota legislations.' Similarly, the charter for party Encounter for Democracy and Equity states that 'the appointment of party authorities who comprise the governing bodies mentioned in the previous article shall be made in compliance with current legislation regarding gender equity quotas.'

¹⁸ For updated information on current legislation governing provincial elections, see the platform *Mujeres en el Poder* (<https://mujeresenelpoder.org.ar/>, in Spanish).

Figure 7. The Legislative, 2020. Women legislators at the national and lower levels.



When analysing the composition of the different committees within the Legislative, we found high levels of women’s participation in top-level positions, in charge of a wide array of different areas.

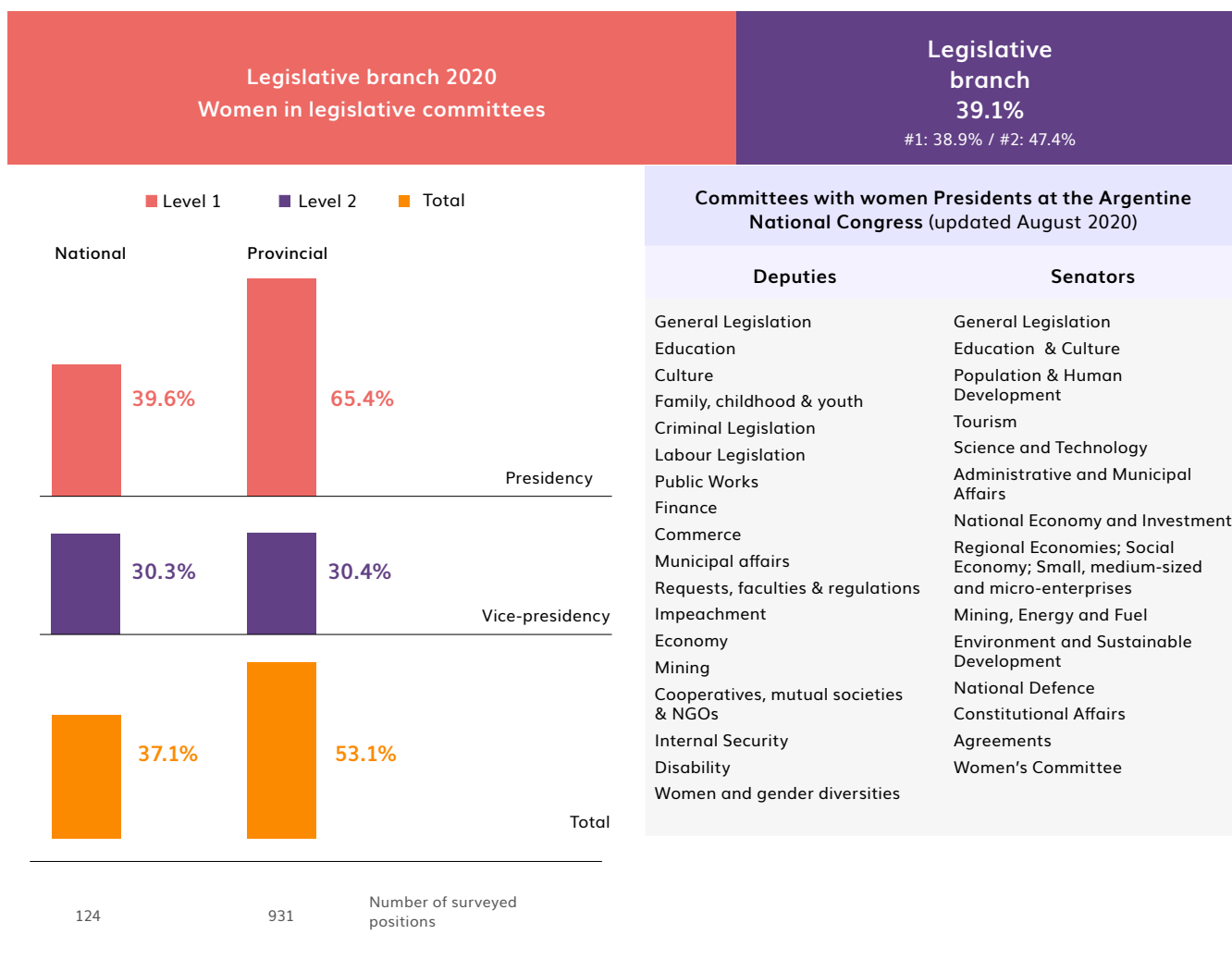
Presidencies of legislative committees have the power to decide which bills are to be discussed out of all of those sent to each committee. In December 2019, President of the National Chamber of Deputies Sergio Massa signed a resolution to implement gender parity among presidents of parliamentary standing committees¹⁹. Resolution No. 1657/19 proposes in section 1: ‘To establish that, at the moment each committee is conformed, the election of their presidents complies with Law No. 27,412 regarding gender parity as regards filling these positions.’ However, at the time the survey was conducted, only 19 out of 46 standing committees in the Chamber of Deputies (with no data available on one of them) were presided by women, which signals a failure to comply with the aforementioned resolution. In the National Senate, there is no comparable rule, and women preside 14 out of 27 standing committees (with no data available on two of them).

According to a report by the Observatory on Gender and Parliamentary Equity of the National Chamber of Deputies, congresswomen in the lower chamber preside almost 54% of all committees labelled for ‘reproduction’ (that is to say, those that deal with topics related to social, family, sanitary, education, and housing policy, etc.), while men preside 60% of all committees labelled for ‘production’ (those related to economic, taxation, labour, and industrial policy, etc.) and over 65% of all committees labelled for ‘system preservation’ (those related to constitutional affairs, impeachment processes,

19 See https://www.hcdn.gov.ar/prensa/noticias/noticias-podio/noticias_1205.html (in Spanish).

foreign relations)²⁰. Said report also states that the women-dominated committees are Women and Diversity; Family, Childhood, and Youths; Education; Disability; Social Action and Public Health, and Culture. Meanwhile, the male-dominated committees are National Defence; Transportation, Budget, and Revenue; Maritime, Waterway, Fishing, and Port Affairs; Energy and Fuel; Finance, and Public Works, among others. In this line, the fact that women currently preside committees such as Economy, Commerce, Finance, Public Works, and Mining becomes highly relevant, as those are historically male-dominated committees.

Figure 8. The Legislative, 2020. Women in legislative committees.



Regarding the highest authorities in the Chamber of Deputies (president, first vice-president, second vice-president, and third vice-president), it stands out that, despite all the women with long-standing careers who have been members of the Chamber, since 1853 not a single woman has ever been elected as president of the Honourable Chamber of Deputies of Argentina and, while there have been women vice-presidents since 1983, from 2018 onwards there have been no women occupying the highest positions of authority in the Chamber of Deputies²¹.

20 Observatory on Gender and Parliamentary Equity, General Directorate for Equality. Honourable Chamber of Deputies of Argentina (2020) *Hacia la paridad*.

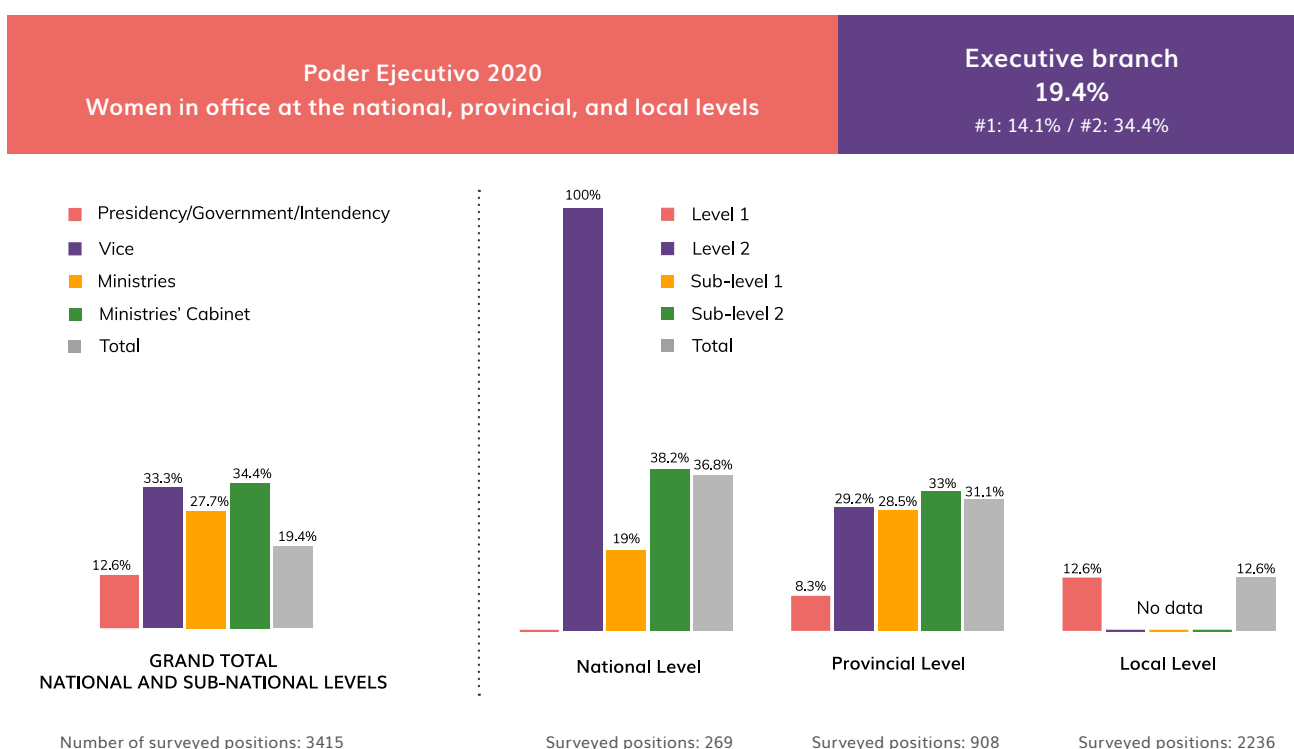
21 Ibid.

In the National Senate, the Women’s Committee is a standing committee presided and composed exclusively of women senators. The Women’s Committee has jurisdiction over all bills related to women’s rights and gender equality.

3.1.2 The Executive

The Executive branch tends to make the indexes drop, as there still are strong barriers hindering women’s access to spaces of power, especially as heads of government at both provincial and municipal levels.

Figure 9. The Executive, 2020. Women in office at the national, provincial, and local levels.



Argentina was one of the few countries in the region that had a woman president for two terms in recent decades. The women who currently hold highly relevant positions in the Executive are mentioned below.

- **National level:** the vice-president of the country is a woman.
- **Provincial level:** there are almost no women as heads of provincial governments (only two out of these 24 jurisdictions are led by women), but the number grows to three out of ten as ticket co-candidates.
- **Municipal level:** Around one out of ten local authorities (*mayors, presidents of community development clubs, neighbourhood councils) are women. The numbers increase if we focus on capital cities, where 17% of mayors are women.

Figure 9 shows the ground gained in terms of access to mid-level positions and in the composition of the collegiate bodies that assist the highest-ranking executive positions. The highest level of women’s participation is featured at the cabinet level within the national Ministries: 38% of all cabinet positions

(chief of staff, secretariats, undersecretariats) are held by women. The percentage is significantly higher in the Ministry of Public Safety, where 54.5% of all secretariat and undersecretariat positions are held by women, and the number increases to cover almost all positions in the Ministry of Women, Genders, and Diversity, where 90% of all secretariats and undersecretariats are led by women. There, the appointment of trans woman Alba Rueda as Undersecretary of Diversity is a highlight.

On the other side, the analysis of the municipal level is quite interesting: since the restoration of democracy in 1983, the number of women in executive positions in municipalities has never surpassed 10%. According to the survey conducted in 2020, that percentage increased slightly to 12.6%.

Women with disabilities in decision-making positions in the Executive branch

People with disabilities generally face huge barriers that hinder their access to social and political participation spaces, as well as the labour market. According to a survey conducted by the National Institute of Statistics and Censuses (INDEC) of Argentina in 2018, one of the most violated rights for people with disabilities is the right to work: barely 32.2% of this population group in working age is employed. While 40% of men are employed, the number drops to 25.8% for women²².

Available data does not allow for the identification of any possible disabilities in people who are in positions of power. However, a qualitative enquiry made it possible to obtain information on some women with disabilities who currently hold important positions in the national Executive branch—such as Verónica González Bonet, journalist and Communication Coordinator at the National Agency for Disability (ANDIS)—and at the municipal level, where Gabriela Bruno works as Deputy Director for Accessibility and Rights of Persons with Disabilities in the Municipality of Santa Fe.

22 INDEC. (2018) *Estudio Nacional sobre el Perfil de las Personas con Discapacidad: resultados definitivos 2018*. 1st ed. Buenos Aires City: National Institute of Statistics and Censuses (INDEC) of Argentina. Available at <https://www.indec.gob.ar/ftp/cuadros/>

3.1.2.1 Ministry cabinets: spaces with lights and shadows

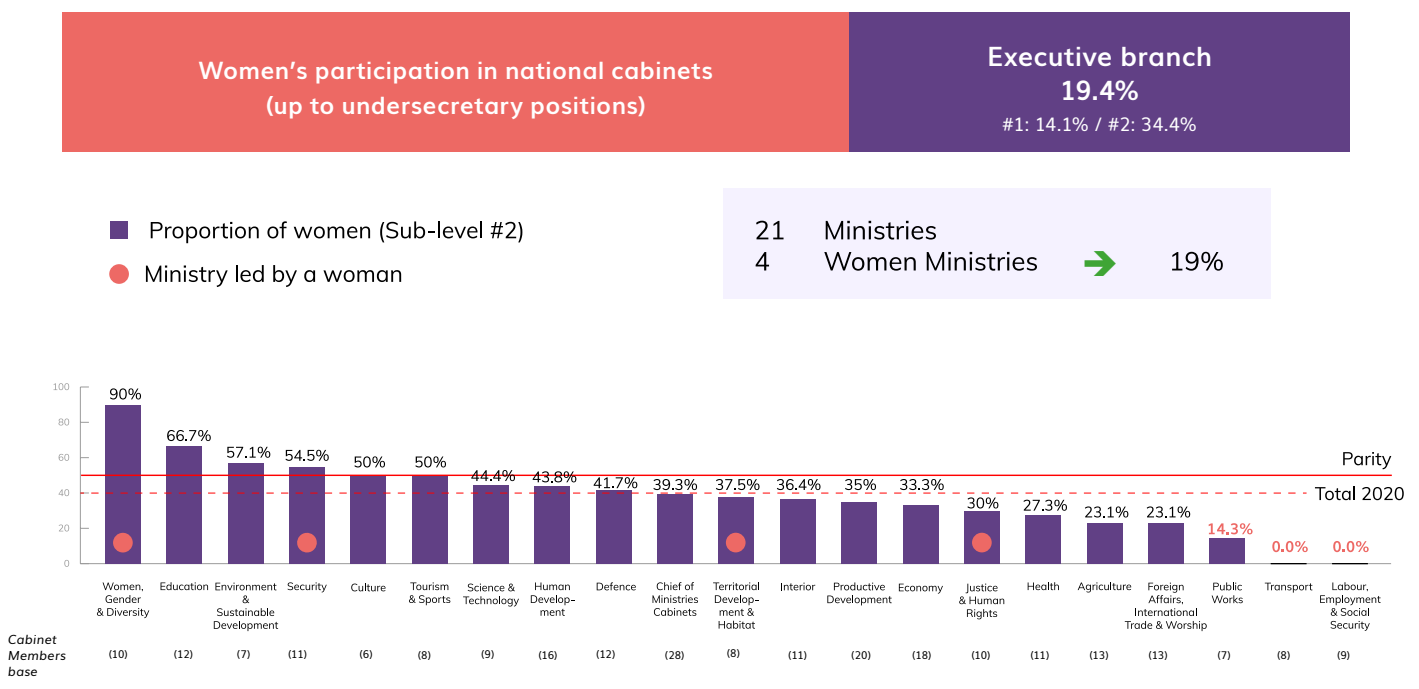
Only two out of ten Ministries in the national Executive branch are led by women. This makes Argentina one of the worst-ranking countries in Latin America, well below the regional average (28.5%), according to data collected by the ECLAC Gender Equality Observatory for Latin America and the Caribbean²³.

Aside from the very few women acting as ministers, at the time of the survey, there were two Ministries (Transportation, on the one hand, and Labour, Employment, and Social Security, on the other) with no women in their cabinet²⁴.

In provincial Executive bodies, the situation is quite similar (see Figure 11). Only two out of 24 jurisdictions (including all provinces and Buenos Aires City) have women governors.

As shown in Figure 11, in some of those provinces, their Cabinet has reached or is close to reaching parity: Tierra del Fuego (67%), Mendoza (60%), Chaco (50%), Neuquén (46%), San Juan (44%), Entre Ríos (43%), Santiago del Estero (40%). On the other end of the spectrum, we find San Luis province, whose Cabinet of ministries includes no women.

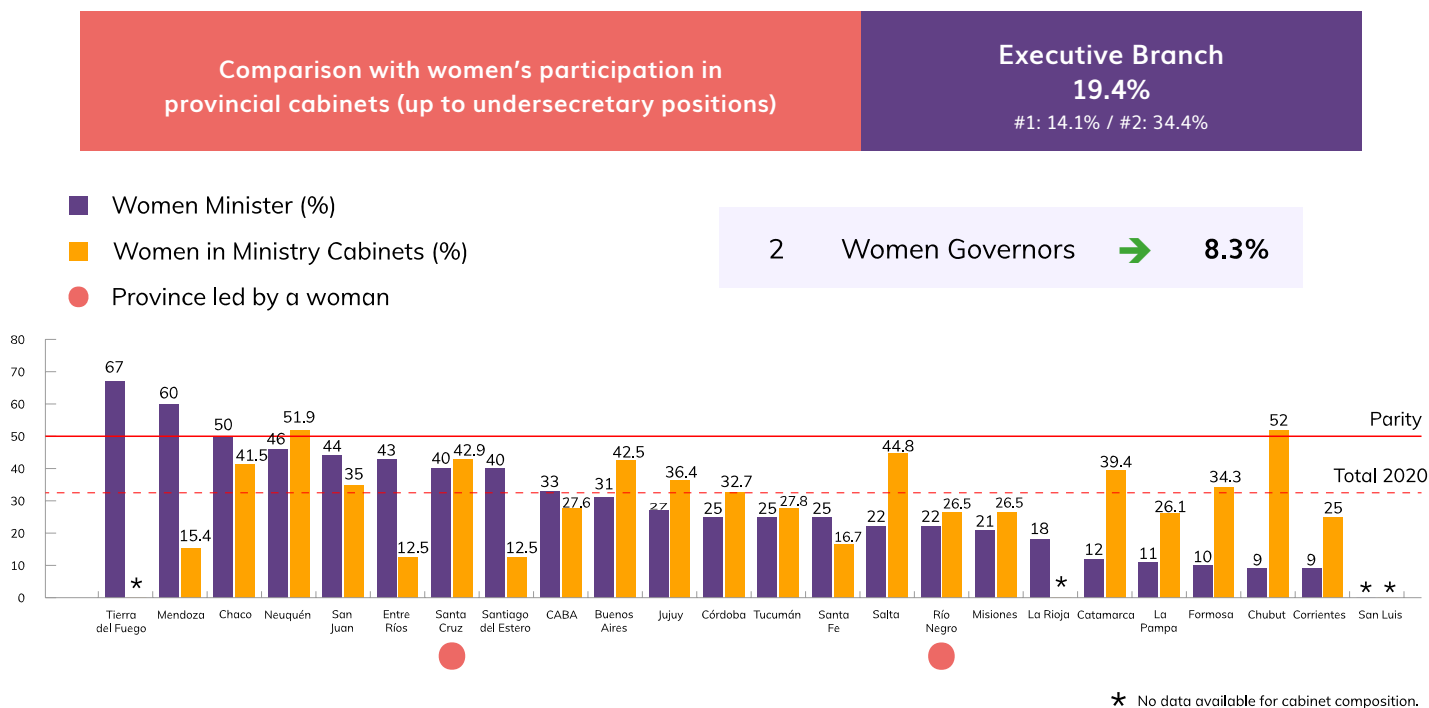
Figure 10. Women's participation in national cabinets (up to undersecretary positions).



23 Gender Equality Observatory for Latin America and the Caribbean, percentage data of women in ministerial cabinet positions: <https://oig.cepal.org/en>

24 The situation changed partially a few months later, when Pamela Ares was appointed Undersecretary of Inclusive Policy in the Workplace, under the Ministry of Labour, Employment, and Social Security (Decree 793.2020, published on October 13, 2020).

Figure 11. Comparison with women's participation in provincial cabinets (up to undersecretary positions).



3.1.3 The justice system

Even though the institutions that compose the Argentine Judiciary are not exclusively comprised of law professionals, most of its members are lawyers. Decision-making positions (such as officials and magistrates) are all held by people graduated from law schools all over the country. According to data collected by the Department of University Information under the Secretariat of University Policy in 2017, 60% of all law school graduates in Argentina are women. That same year, 57% of all law school graduates in Buenos Aires City (home of University of Buenos Aires School of Law, the largest nationwide) were women. However, that noticeable feminisation of the legal profession has not translated into substantial change in the makeup of institutions within the justice system at national and provincial levels nor in Buenos Aires City.

In the Judiciary, the landscape is very heterogeneous. Taking a closer look at the entirety of the decision-making positions, from national and provincial Justices to people appointed to the Offices of Public Prosecution and of Public Defence, as well as the members of the Judiciary Council, half of these positions are held by women (Figure 12).

Figure 12. The justice system in Argentina: women's participation in top positions of authority, 2020

The justice system in Argentina: women's participation in top positions of authority, 2020.					Judicial branch 52.2% #1: 41.2% / #2: 57.8%
JUDICIAL BRANCH				EXECUTIVE BRANCH CONTEXT	
	Supreme Court/ High Court	Office of Public Prosecution	Office of Public Defence	Judiciary Council	Ministry of Justice and Human Rights
Federal	#1 20%	#1 0% ministerial attorney (man/woman)	#1 100% defender (man/woman)	#1 38.5% council (man/woman)	#1 100% Minister (woman) #2 30% secretaries/notaries public
Provincial	#1 30.1%	#1 4.0% ministerial attorney (man/woman)	#1 37.5% defender (man/woman)	#1 31.3% council (man/woman)	Provincial Ministry of Justice #1 11.1% Minister (man/woman)

However, when including top-level decision-making positions in the Judiciary at national, federal, and provincial levels, the number drops: women in positions of authority at the federal level fall below 25% as regards the highest-ranking positions, as shown in Figure 13.

Figure 13. The justice system in Argentina: women's participation in positions of authority, national level.

The justice system in Argentina: women's participation in positions of authority, national level.				Judicial branch 52.2% #1: 41.2% / #2: 57.8%
JUDICIAL BRANCH				
Supreme Court / High Court	Judiciary Council	Office of Public Prosecution	Office of Public Defence	
#1 20% Minister (man/woman) #2 15.4% Secretary (man/woman)	#1 38.5% Council (man/woman)	#1 0% Ministerial attorney (man/woman)	#1 100% Defender (man/woman)	
Federal Courts of Appeals		Prosecutor's Office	Defender's Office	
#1 25.4% member #2 54.9% Secretary (man/woman)		#2 27.6% prosecutor	#2 36.4% Defender (man/woman)	
Federal Justice Courts				
#1 19.2% judge (man/woman) #2 53.4% Secretary (man/woman)				

In the provinces and in the national Judiciary (which only applies to Buenos Aires City), the scenario changes (compared with the federal system): generally speaking, women hold 42% of all top decision-making positions at the provincial level (Figure 14). Nevertheless, distribution is highly unequal: while women hold 67% of positions in Clerk’s Offices (and are 45.5% of all Lower Court judges), percentages decrease in Courts of Appeals (33% of all judges at the provincial level and 34% in the national Judiciary). The picture is even less favourable in provincial Supreme Courts, where only 30% of magistrates are women. However, the numbers are better in Public Defence: 38% of all public defenders are women.

Figure 14. The justice system in Argentina: women's participation in positions of authority, provincial level.

The justice system in Argentina: women's participation in positions of authority, provincial level.			Judicial branch 52.2% #1: 41.2% / #2: 57.8%		
JUDICIAL BRANCH					
Supreme Court/High Court		Judiciary Council	Office of Public Prosecution	Office of Public Defence	
#1 30.1%	Minister (man/woman)	#1 31.3%	#1 4.0%	#1 37.5%	Defender (man/woman)
#2 58.3%	Secretary (man/woman)	Council (man/woman)	Ministerial attorney (man/woman)	#2 59.3%	Defender (man/woman)
Courts of Appeals		National Courts of Appeals	Prosecutor's Office	Defender's Office	
#1 33%	Member	#1 34.2%	#2 42.8%	#2 59.3%	Defender (man/woman)
#2 64.6%	Secretary (man/woman)	Secretary (man/woman)	Prosecutor	#2 59.3%	Defender (man/woman)
Courts		Magistrate's Courts	National Courts		
#1 45.5%	Judge (man/woman)	#1 51.1%	#1 41.2%	Judge (man/woman)	
#2 67.3%	Secretary (man/woman)	Secretary (man/woman)	#2 50.5%	Secretary (man/woman)	

3.2 The economy: uncharted territory

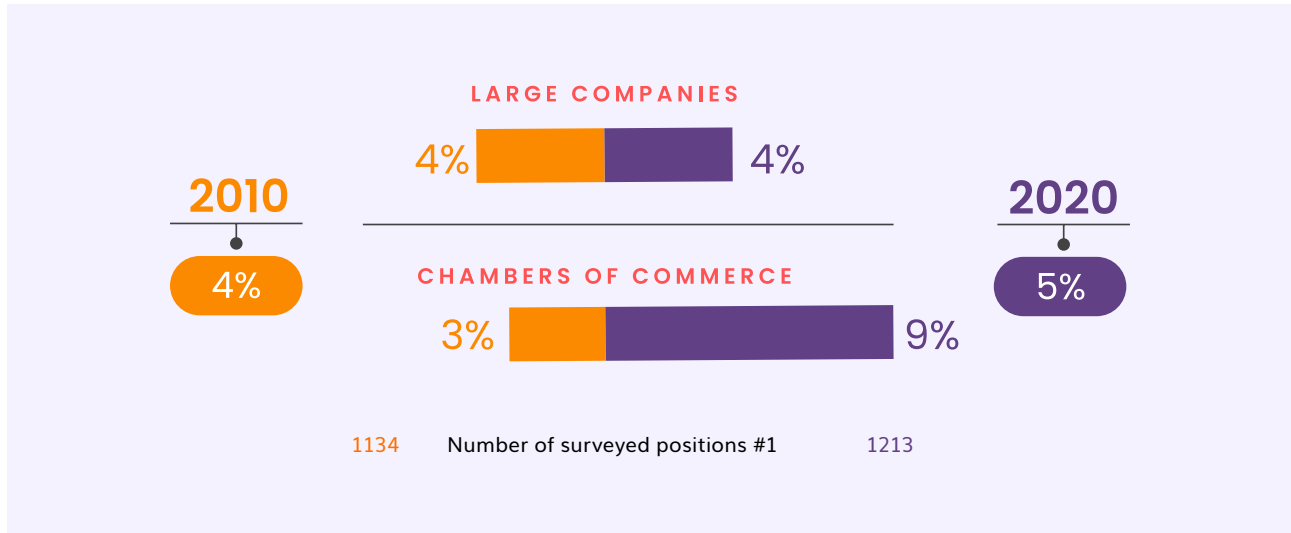
The private sector, a very important driving force for the economy, is dominated by big companies gathered in several sectorial chambers of commerce. In the survey on the economic sector, big companies and chambers were analysed to calculate the level of participation of women in this sector.

Women’s participation in the highest-ranking (top-level) decision-making positions is extremely low and has seen virtually no changes in the last ten years (from 4% to 5%, see Figure 15). The private sector shows some of the poorest results in the whole survey in terms of women’s participation in highest-ranking decision-making positions (both top- and mid-level), with only the military and law enforcement ranking below it (see data in the section corresponding to defence and security).

As in the 2010 survey, finding information related to the sector is still difficult due to the lack of available and comprehensive data on the leadership of companies of different sizes disaggregated by gender, which makes the data less thorough than that in other spheres analysed. That is why we decided to keep a methodological reach that only includes big companies and chambers of commerce on the basis of available sources, thus leaving out small and medium-sized enterprises, even though

these represent the large majority of companies in our country, and they are the main generators of employment.

Figure 15. Women's Participation Index (WPI), 2010/2020. Top-level positions: the economy.



First of all, the persistence of vertical segregation, a 'glass ceiling', becomes evident²⁵. However, glass ceilings are not isolated from other types of segregation and discrimination in the workplace.

Within organisations, there is also horizontal segregation, or 'glass walls'. This means that the women who overcome the different obstacles and reach executive positions are mostly placed in managerial positions related to human resources, corporate social responsibility, and communication, which offer less opportunities for growth in terms of hierarchy than others such as sales operations or general management, positions mostly held by men. This is a very common argument to justify the lack

of women in high-ranking executive positions: 'their management experience is not wide enough because they have not worked in all corporate positions during their professional careers'²⁶.

Additionally, a recent study has shown that companies have gender gaps not only in terms of ownership and top executive positions, but also in terms of access to funding: 42.6% of all surveyed men-led companies had a credit line and 24.9% had bank loans to fund investments, as opposed to 36.5% and 4% in the case of women-led companies, respectively. Another striking piece of data that arises from the study is the percentage of women-led companies that have had credit applications rejected: 42%, as opposed to 2.5% in the case of men-led companies. While this is a consequence of different types of structural discrimination and gender segregation in the labour market, we must point out that it is an atypical number compared with regional averages, which show that rejected applications make up 7.4% of the total for women-led companies and 2.9% for men-led companies²⁷.

Now, we have an obligation to eradicate gender gaps in the labour market not only in the name of rights and access to equal opportunities, but also because it has been proven as beneficial to

25 International Labour Office. (2015) *Women in Business and Management*. Geneva. Available at https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_316450.pdf

26 See footnote 25.

27 Auguste, S. and Galetto, B. (2020) *Género y acceso al financiamiento empresario en Argentina*. BID. Available at <https://publications.iadb.org/publications/spanish/document/Genero-y-acceso-al-financiamiento-empresario-en-Argentina.pdf> (in Spanish).

the economy and the development of countries (ILO, 2019)²⁸. For such a purpose, the promotion of inclusive organisational cultures—that do not reproduce gender stereotypes and take into consideration every worker’s care responsibilities, regardless of gender—is paramount. Additionally, it is important to advocate for changes in legislation, to improve and expand care leaves, to promote investment in infrastructure and care services, to offer tax incentives in order to drive change within organisations. For example, the government of Buenos Aires City has implemented a ‘Women’s Business Stamp’, the government of Buenos Aires Province has implemented an ‘Equality Stamp’, and the national government has announced the IGUALAR programme. To achieve this, we need to keep strengthening the gender perspective in our budgets, in order to allocate resources with the objective of narrowing gaps in both paid and unpaid work.

If one step to improve women’s participation in companies and the highest-ranking decision-making positions is related to the eradication of gender stereotypes that dictate that the world of labour, business, finance, and ‘money management’ is exclusive to men, then it is also related to other aspects of economic and work activities that go beyond the private sector. It is not a coincidence that the Ministry of Labour, Employment, and Social Security²⁹ and the Ministry of Transportation have zero participation of women in hierarchical positions (Figure 16), and neither is the fact that, despite the high numbers of women unionisation, the trade-union confederations and unions surveyed have 0% and 3.2% of women representation in top-level positions.

Figure 16. Women's participation in top decision-making positions in the economy. National level (private sector).

Women’s participation in top decision-making positions in the economy. National level (private sector).		Economy 9.9% #1: 4.5% / #2: 11.8%	
Chambers of commerce	CONTEXT		
#1 9.2% #2 9.7%	Public Sector (National Executive branch)		Unions
Grandes empresas	Ministry of Economy	Ministry of Labour	Central (CGT, CTA, Autonomous CTA)
#1 4% #2 13.4%	#1 0.0% minister (man/woman) #2 33% cabinet	#1 0.0% minister (man/woman) #2 0.0% cabinet	#1 0.0% #2 38.4%
High level associations* (UIA, CGE, SRA, COPAL, CAME)	Ministry of Productive Development	Ministry of Transport	Unions
#1 0.0% #2 13.4%	#1 0.0% minister (man/woman) #2 35% gabinete	#1 0.0% minister (man/woman) #2 0.0% cabinet	#1 3.2% #2 24.7%

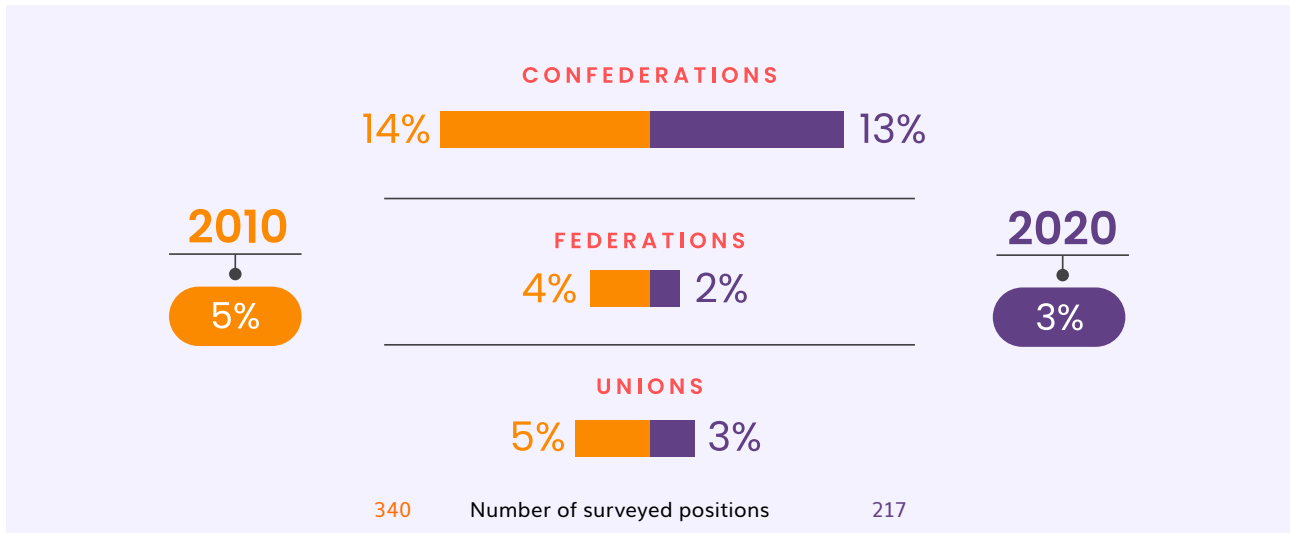
* context information not included in the index

28 See footnote 25.

29 As regards cabinet composition in the Ministry of Labour, Employment, and Social Security, see note 21 above.

3.3 Unions

Figure 17. Women's Participation Index (WPI), 2010/2020. Top-level positions: unions.



Women's presence in unions is growing, although that is still not evident among the highest-ranking positions (top-level), where their participation is considerably low (3.2%), which is a blatant violation of current legislation. This is an example of a case in which the affirmative action set forth by legislation has not been effective: Act 25,674 (passed in November 2002) defines a quota of at least 30% of women. This is still largely ignored: over 15 years after its enactment, it has yet to drive greater women presence among the most senior positions in unions. In fact, this is one of the few spheres surveyed that shows slight involution when compared with the 2010 survey. So far, the largest participation is seen in mid-level positions, where one out of four positions are held by women.

Apart from vertical segregation, it must be noted that—just like in the private sector—within unions there is also horizontal segregation: women are usually in charge of secretariats, undersecretariats, and deputy secretariats dealing with topics associated with typically women roles (secretariat of women, family, social action, etc.), which carry less weight in terms of decision-making³⁰.

According to the International Labour Organisation (2019)³¹, while women who are part of the labour market are more likely to be members of unions and workers' organisations than men, and also generally have a higher education level, their representation is still smaller in leadership structures of both unions and companies. There is still evidence that (i) the dynamics that perpetuate the image of women as caretakers and men as providers are reproduced; (ii) the demands for co-responsibility of care policies that would allow for the closure of gender gaps are not a priority for unions³², and, in turn, (iii) the pathways to include new demands are blocked for women participants due to (formal and informal) union organisational logics. Among them:

30 CFT & CGT Mujeres Sindicalistas. (2018) *La participación de la mujer. Mundo laboral, sindicalismo y representación política*.

31 International Labour Organisation. (2019) *The contribution of social dialogue to gender equality*. Geneva. Available at https://www.ilo.org/global/publications/books/WCMS_679957/lang-en/index.htm

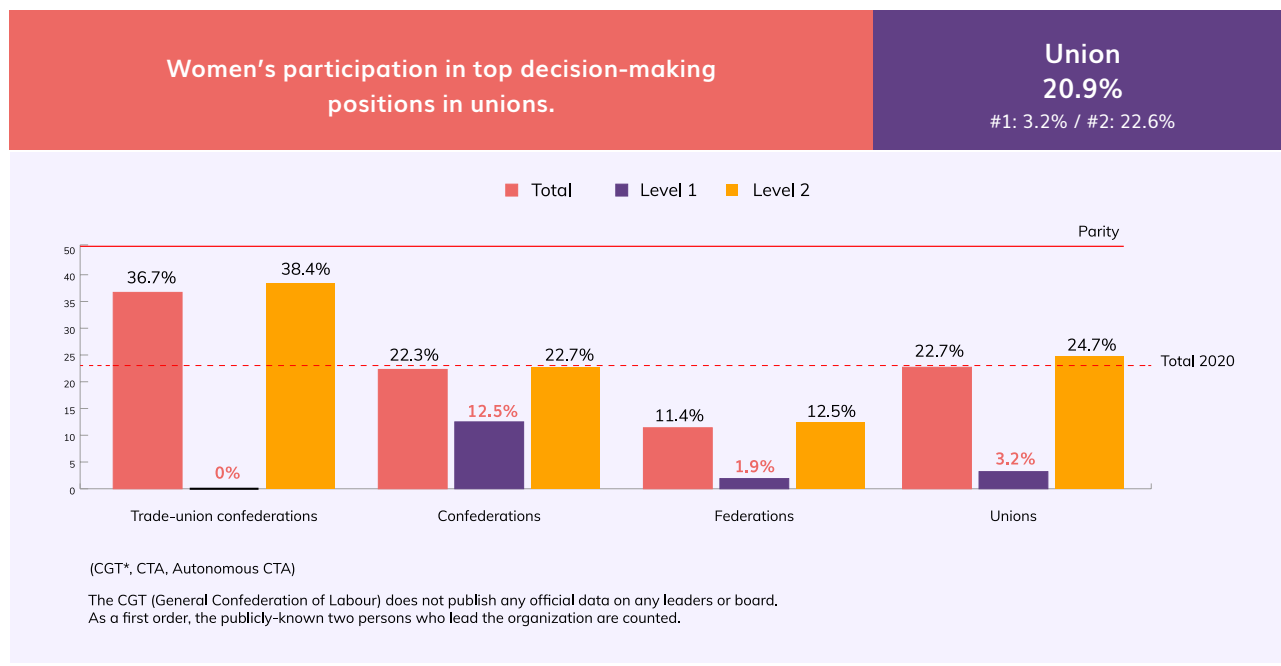
32 Torns, T. & Recio, C. (2017) *Las mujeres y el sindicalismo: avances y retos ante las transformaciones laborales y sociales*. Barcelona. Available at https://ddd.uab.cat/pub/artpub/2011/131260/gacsin_a2011n16p241iSPA.pdf (in Spanish).

- Since the unions quota act that was passed does not include specific provisions on position mandates (i.e., the obligation to place women in positions where they may be elected), it enables women to be placed in lower bargaining power positions within the union’s structure.
- Informally, but as a generalized practice, collective bargaining meetings are organised in spaces and times that do not align with women’s care work, labour participation, and union activities.
- Women’s underrepresentation in the highest-ranking positions in unions is a general trend evidenced even in highly feminised employment sectors, such as education, health, and food.

Gender perspective in collective bargaining is in its early stages, so its growth is slow and uneven. This is due to not only women’s scarce participation in negotiation and union leadership rounds, but also to the invisibility of the gender agenda in the labour world, and the labour and economic asymmetries anchored in gender power struggles. Generally speaking, women workers are those who push forward measures to reduce inequalities and, due to their minority presence in negotiation rounds, the demand for co-responsibility mechanisms is deemed secondary to union matters, which hinders their coordination³³.

We must stay watchful and see if this growing trend of women presence in unions persists, and whether this growth can ‘push’ them upwards and give more women access to the highest-ranking positions in unions and their associations.

Figure 18. Women’s participation in top decision-making positions in unions.



33 UOCRA, UNDP, ILO. (2019) *Un compromiso con la igualdad. Guía de acción para delegadas y delegados sindicales*. Available at https://www.ilo.org/buenosaires/publicaciones/documentos-de-trabajo/WCMS_743670/lang-es/index.htm (in Spanish).

3.4 The civil society: close to parity

Just like in 2010, the measurement conducted considered organisations that are part of the Argentine Network for International Cooperation (RACI). During this last decade, women's representation in top- and mid-level positions has grown from 36% to 48%, pointing towards parity.

Thus, among the spheres surveyed, the civil society has the second highest level of women access to top-level positions. While women's participation in top-level positions is lower (42.7%) vis-à-vis women in mid-level positions (53.8%), both percentages are above average within the total of surveyed spheres. Unlike in other areas, affirmative measures, such as quota or parity laws, are not and have not been required to achieve this degree of women's representation³⁴. Challenges still remain in other, more critical sectors, where social and cultural transformations over time are not reflected in the composition of decision-making spaces.

Progress will have to be analysed over time to determine whether the current distribution of positions is actually in its final stretch towards parity, and to assess if differences are a consequence of specific circumstances in each organisation and not of gender bias.

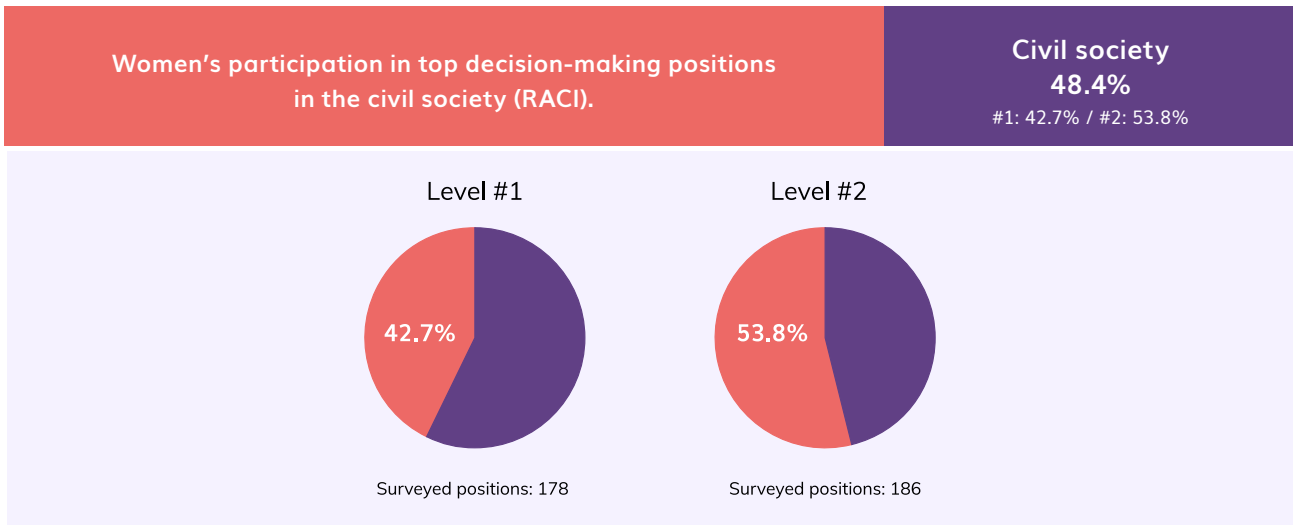
Women with disabilities in top-level positions within the civil society

Civil society organisations are relevant players in institutional and democratic life, as they promote monitoring and accountability within the operations of public institutions. Moreover, throughout the years, the civil society has shown it can coordinate its operations and advocate for its agenda, and it has managed to win many rights-related battles.

These are several social organisations in which women with disabilities have leadership and decision-making roles: Silvia Casas is the Director of Casa M.A.N.U. Civil Association, in Esteban Echeverría (<http://www.casamanu.org.ar/>); Carolina Buceta is the Founder of the Network for the Rights of Persons with Disability (REDI); Silvia Carranza is the President of CILSA NGO for Inclusion (<https://www.cilsa.org/>); Soledad Gelvez is the President of the Mírame Bien Civil Association (for blind and amblyopic people) (<http://www.miramebien.org.ar/>); and Graciela Palombi is the President of the Nueva Cultura Santa Fe Association (<https://nuevaculturasf.org.ar>).

³⁴ In spite of this, a recent resolution issued by the General Inspection of Justice (IGJ) that regulates non-profit foundations and civil associations enrolled in the Registry of Buenos Aires City sets forth that these entities should include a gender equality plan in their reports, so as to move towards parity within the entity's representation bodies.

Figure 19. Women's participation in top decision-making positions in the civil society (RACI).



3.5 The health sector

The health sector is one of the most feminised spheres in the labour market (67.1%), and it accounts for around 10% of all employed women³⁵. Alongside education and domestic work, it composes what is known as the 'care economy'³⁶. In spite of its considerable feminisation, only 32% of top-level positions in the health sector are held by women. This means that the gender gap between women's participation in the overall sector and in its hierarchical positions is of almost 40 points.

Much like the gender division of labour defines women as the most suitable for care work—and we thus see such a high share of women in the health sector—the logic of horizontal segregation or glass walls is also replicated within this sphere. Historically, there has been a majority of women nurses, psychologists, and nutritionists, and women have been able to further insert themselves in other medical fields only as time went by. Currently, six out of ten people who study and graduate from medical school in Argentina are women³⁷.

If we consider all health sciences (medicine, odontology, paramedics and medical assistance, public health, health, and veterinary sciences) the proportion of women students goes up to 73%³⁸.

35 Trajtemberg, D. and Goren, N. (2018) *Brecha salarial según género: Una mirada desde las instituciones laborales*. FES. Available at <https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/argentinien/14882.pdf> (in Spanish).

2019 Permanent Household Survey (EPH) data: <https://www.indec.gob.ar/indec/web/Institucional-Indec-BasesDeDatos> (in Spanish).

National Agency of Economy, Equality, and Gender, Ministry of Economy. (2020) *Las brechas de género en la Argentina: Estado de situación de cara a 2020*. Available at https://www.argentina.gob.ar/sites/default/files/las_brechas_de_genero_en_la_argentina.pdf (in Spanish).

36 International Labour Organisation. (2018) *Care work and care jobs for the future of decent work*. Available at https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_633166.pdf

37 United Nations Development Programme, UNDP. (2018) *Aportes para el desarrollo humano en Argentina 2018: Género en el sector salud: feminización y brechas laborales*. 1st ed. Buenos Aires.

38 Data from the University Statistics Query System of the Argentine Secretariat of University Policies: <http://estadisticasuniversitarias.me.gov.ar/> /home.

Table 1. Medical specialties by men's and women's participation.

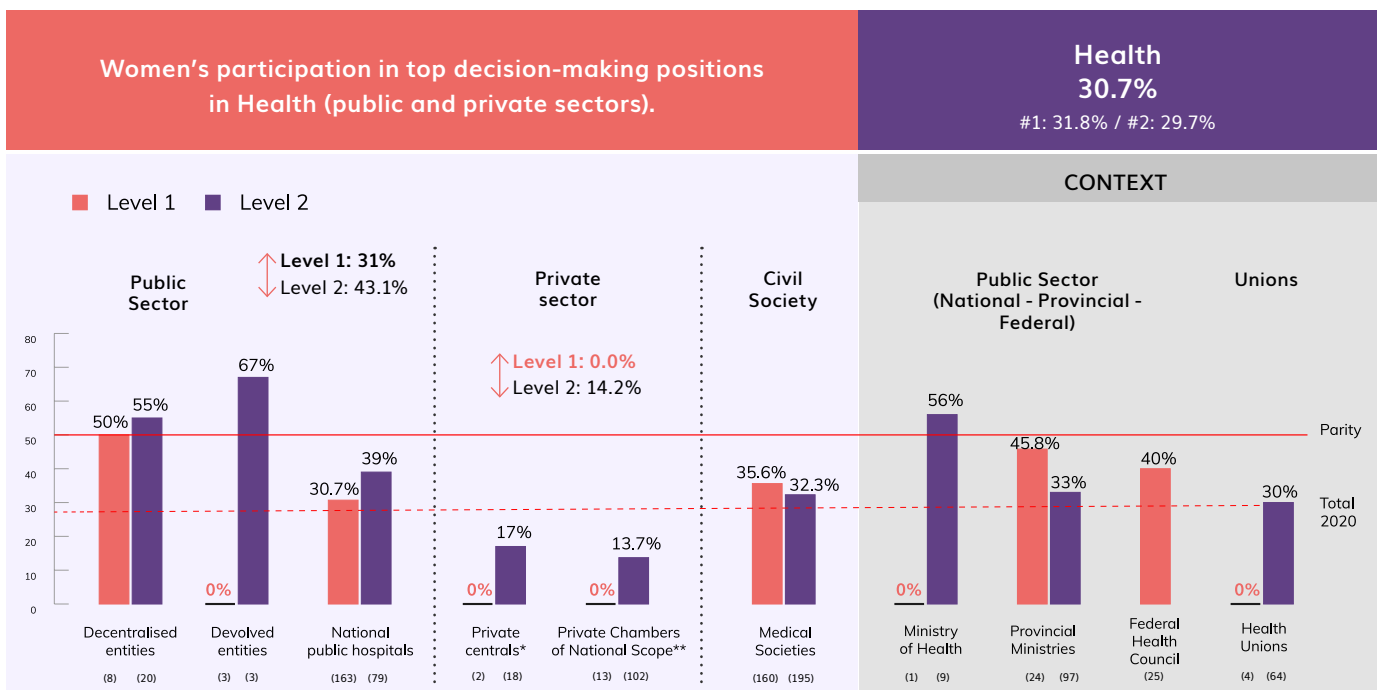
Top ten specialties based on women participation	Top ten specialties based on men participation
Paediatric hepatology, paediatric dermatology, paediatric endocrinology, paediatric rheumatology, paediatric infectiology, medical genetics, dermatology, paediatric haematology, paediatric-juvenile psychiatry, and paediatric nephrology.	Urology, cardiovascular surgery, head and neck surgery, thoracic surgery, orthopaedics and traumatology, paediatric cardiovascular surgery, general angiology, vascular surgery, coloproctology, and neurosurgery.

Source: UNDP (2018)³⁹

This trend is not harmless: 'highly masculinised specialties tend to be better paid and are also linked to characteristics traditionally defined as masculine, such as control, authority, and risk management, as well as longer hours on call. On the contrary, highly feminised specialties tend to be linked to attributes traditionally defined as feminine, such as maternal and child care, which are in turn generally linked to support and empathy' (UNDP, 2018).

However, it must be said that, in recent years, there has been a growing trend of women's participation in traditionally masculinised specialties⁴⁰. The question arises: will we see a very different snapshot of the health sector in ten years, both horizontally and vertically?

Figure 20. Women's participation in top decision-making positions in the health sector (public and private sectors, and the civil society).



* CONFECILISA and CAES
 ** Chambers that are members of the Confederation of Clinics, Sanatoriums, and Hospitals (CONFECILISA)

39 See footnote 37.

40 Dursi, C. and Millenaar, V. (2017). In United Nations Development Programme, UNDP. (2018) *Aportes para el desarrollo humano en Argentina 2018: Género en el sector salud: feminización y brechas laborales*. 1st ed. Buenos Aires.

3.6 Education

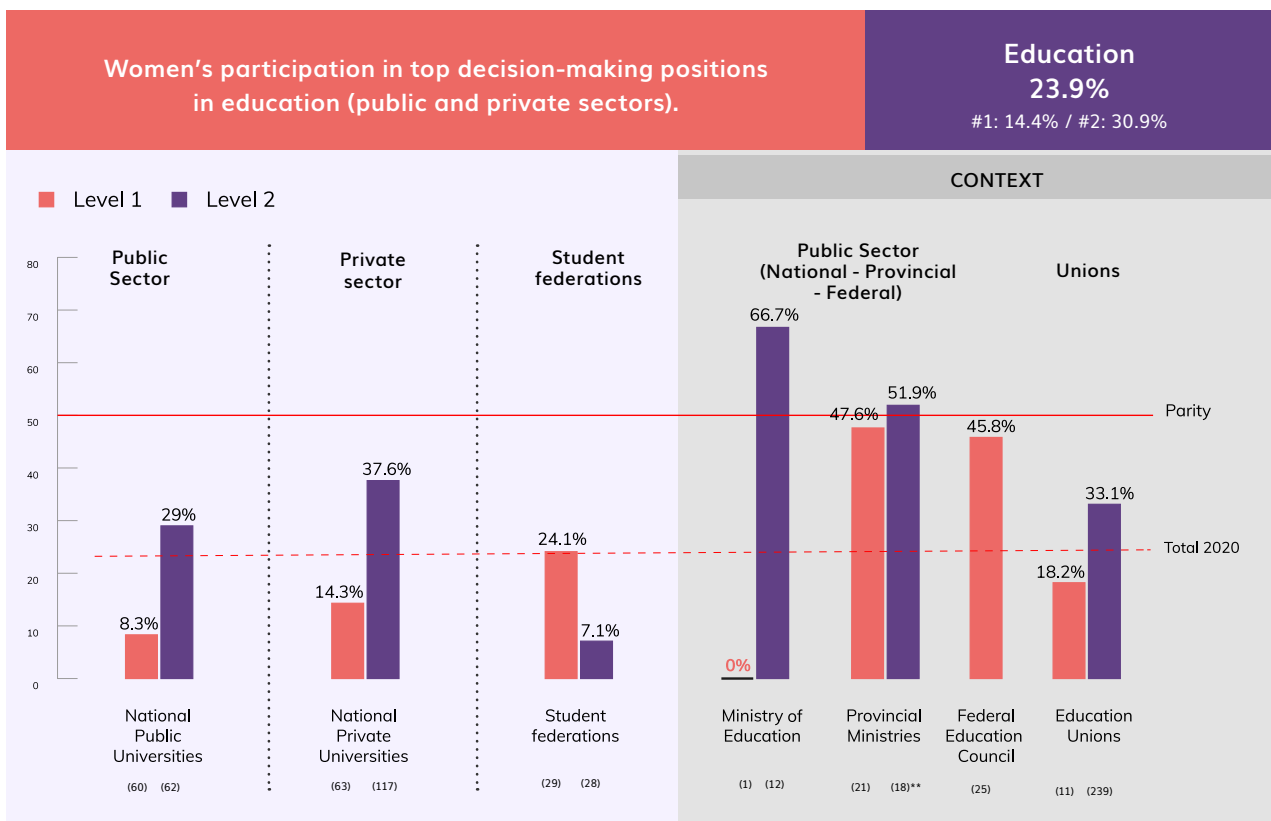
As a sector, education—just like the health sector—is part of the so-called care economy and is one of the most feminised spheres in the labour market, with 72.6% of women among its workers ⁴¹.

It has been said that, while the gap between women’s participation and their access to top-level positions in the health sector is wide, the gap in the education sector is even wider. If women’s participation is analysed based on their presence in top- and mid-level positions, the gap is 49 percentage points, which evidences a glass ceiling that has remained unchanged over the last ten years.

What transformations should take place so that the snapshot in ten years is different?

This survey’s data, which contemplate the highest-ranking authorities in the Federal Education Council (CFE) and in the national public and private universities, show that only 14% of women reach the top-level position and that about 30% hold mid-level positions. What is striking is the fact that in national public universities there is only 8.3% of women chancellors, while in private universities that figure goes up to 14.3%. The huge gap is also replicated in union and student representation, and it only narrows if government entities are taken into consideration.

Figure 21. Women’s participation in top decision-making positions in education (public and private sectors).



** Cabinets of the Ministry of Education do not appear in San Luis, La Rioja and Tierra del Fuego.

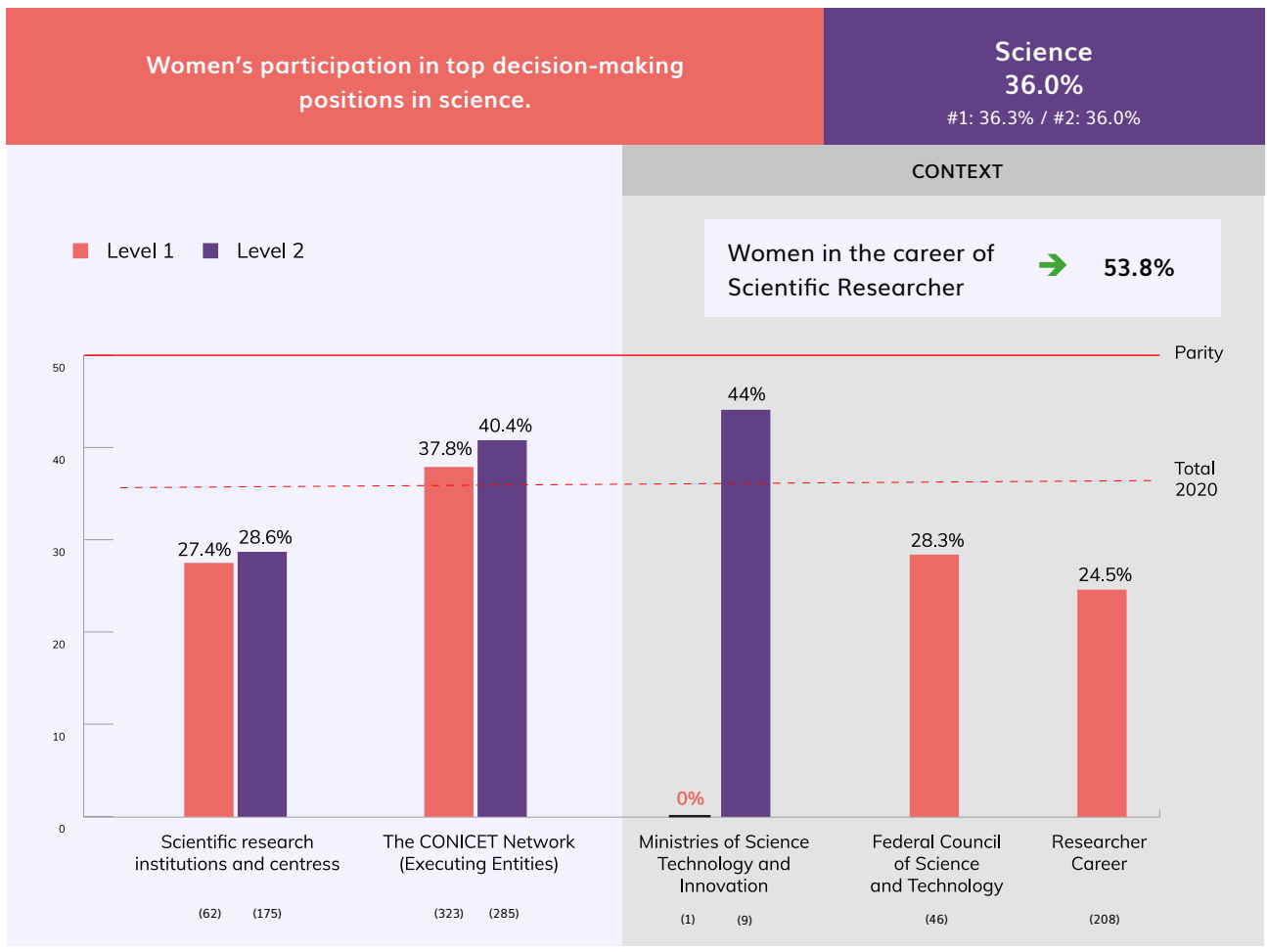
41 2019 EPH data: <https://www.indec.gov.ar/indec/web/Institucional-Indec-BasesDeDatos> (in Spanish). National Agency of Economy, Equality, and Gender, Ministry of Economy (2020) *Las brechas de género en la Argentina: Estado de situación de cara a 2020*. Available at https://www.argentina.gob.ar/sites/default/files/las_brechas_de_genero_en_la_argentina.pdf (in Spanish).

3.7 Science

Women in Argentina have a higher education level than men: they currently account for 57% of all university students. That number goes up to 59% if we consider post-graduate programs only⁴². Moreover, according to 2019 data, 54% of all researchers at the Argentine National Scientific and Technical Research Council (CONICET) are women⁴³. This participation, which is robust in the base, dwindles to 36% in top-level decision-making positions within the scientific sector, as shown in this study.

Once again, we can see that there are still barriers that hinder women's possibilities of reaching top-level managerial positions in the scientific sector.

Figure 22. Women's participation in top decision-making positions in science.



42 2017 data from the University Statistics Query System of the Argentine Secretariat of University Policies: <http://estadisticasuniversitarias.me.gov.ar//home>.

43 2019 data from the CONICET en Cifras portal: <https://cifras.conicet.gov.ar/publica/>.

If the whole population of researchers is assessed, women account for more than half of it. However, a look at the different tiers shows that, while 61.4% of all entry-level positions (assistants) are held by women, they are appointed to only 24.5% of all top-level positions (directors)⁴⁴. What happens with all those women researchers that never make it to the highest tiers? What happens with the career path of all those highly specialised and educated women scientists who, in spite of their qualifications, are still faced with obstacles when trying to make progress in their careers?

There are evident glass walls in the distribution of researchers per knowledge areas: while there are more women than men researchers in areas such as humanities, social sciences, and medical and health sciences, men are more prevalent in fields such as exact and natural sciences, as well as in engineering and technology (Ministry of Science, Technology, and Innovation).

We are not trying to explain the causes for that, but it is necessary to review the way in which the scientific career is organised, since it is rooted in a productivity model that does not fully contemplate the impact of family responsibilities on biographies, particularly on those of women researchers⁴⁵. An indicator of such inequality may be the average of articles published, which in all researcher categories and in most areas of knowledge is higher for men than women⁴⁶, and it considerably affects women's possibilities of being admitted to CONICET and of being promoted.

3.8 Culture and arts

Ninety-two executive positions (Director or Coordinator) were surveyed as top- and mid-level positions in national museums and institutes, as well as in national libraries. Of those 92 positions, 50 are held by women. We can say that women have reached parity in public, national cultural and art institutions, since they hold 54% of the highest-ranking positions in this sphere.

It must be highlighted, though, that in the arts sector, while women have gained parity in representation when it comes to management institutions, there is gender inequality with regard to the works being exhibited. According to a survey conducted by the Nosotras Proponemos Permanent Assembly of Women Art Workers, the most important exhibitions in the country and the awards given by national salons are still male-dominated. Argentine museums usually include about 20% or less of women artists in their exhibitions and collections⁴⁷. In March 2018, on the commemoration of the International Women's Day, this women art workers' collective urged the authorities of the National Fine Arts Museum to only light up works created by women. Many rooms were left in the dark and, among the very few works that were lit, there were two pieces by Raquel Forner.

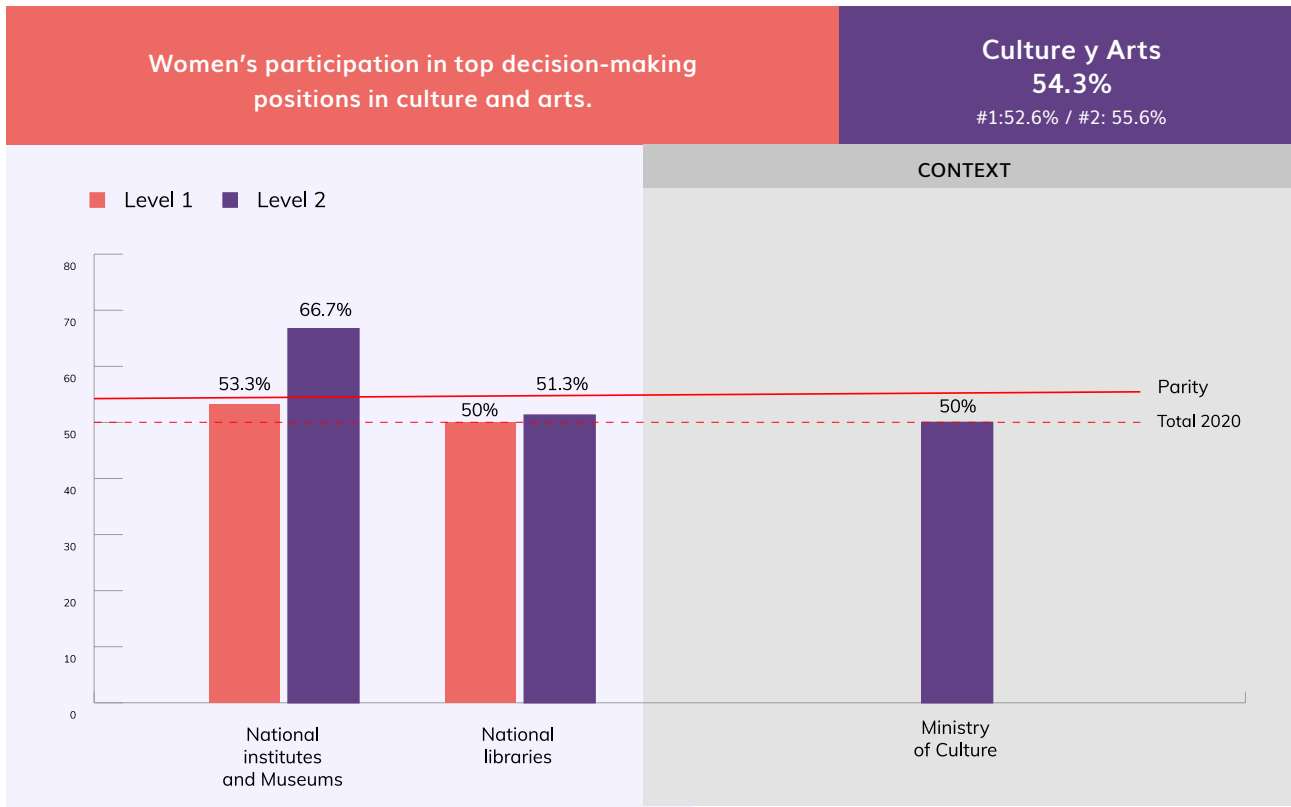
44 Ibid.

45 Pérez, I. (2018) *Ser mujeres en la ciencia*. Available at <https://www.conicet.gov.ar/ser-mujeres-en-la-ciencia/> (in Spanish).

46 Science and Technology Information System of Argentina, SICYTAR. (2019) *Promedio de artículos publicados*. Available at <https://www.argentina.gob.ar/ciencia/igualdaddegeneros/estadisticas/articulos> (in Spanish).

47 See <http://www.ramona.org.ar/node/65181> (in Spanish).

Figure 23. Women's participation in top decision-making positions in culture and arts.



Based on this information, we can state that the current struggle is now focused on duly recognizing women artists throughout history. These are art works that are unknown or undisclosed within artistic and cultural institutions themselves.

Lía Correa Morales was one of the most relevant artists in Argentina during the first decades of the 20th century. She was an artist, and educator, and a manager, and became the first woman to direct a national museum when she took over the Casa de Yrurtia Museum in 1950.

3.9 Defence and security

Women's participation in top-level positions within the military and law enforcement is minimal, as it barely reaches 3.4%. The absolute lack of women among their top-level positions nationwide is particularly striking. On the provincial level, women's participation is similar in top- (4.2%) and mid-level (5%) positions. As for civil authorities, the sector's ministries (both at the national and lower levels) show increasing presence of high-ranking women officials. The National Ministries of Security and of Justice and Human Rights are currently led by women. If we include the Ministry of Defence, women's participation in their cabinets ranges from 30% to 54.5%.

The absolute lack of women in the top-level positions within the military is a by-product of the fact that women in the Command Corps account for 5.7% of the total officers in the Argentine Army, less than 10% in the Navy, and 4.6% in the Air Force, according to 2019 data⁴⁸.

48 Masson, L. (2020) *Militares argentinas: evaluación de políticas de género en el ámbito de la defensa*. 1st ed. Buenos Aires City.

Figure 24. Women's participation in top decision-making positions in the defence and security sector (national and provincial levels).

Women's participation in top decision-making positions in the defence and security sector (National and Provincial Levels)			Defence and Security 3.4% #1:3.0% / #2: 4.0%	
SECURITY			DEFENCE	
Law Enforcement	CONTEXT		Armed Forces	CONTEXT
	Ministry of Security	Ministry of Justice and Human Rights		Ministry of Defence
#1 0% Chief (man/woman) (5)	#1 100% minister (man/woman) (1)	#1 100% minister (man/woman) (1)	#1 0% Commander in Chief (man/woman) (4)	#1 0.0% minister (man/woman) (1)
#2 0% Chief Deputy (man/woman) (5)	#2 54.3% cabinet (11)	#2 30% cabinet (101)		#2 45.5% cabinet (11)
Provincial police forces	Provincial Ministries of Justice and Security			
#1 4.2% Chief (man/woman) (24)	#1 18.2% minister (man/woman) (33)			
#2 5.0% Chief Deputy (man/woman) (24)	#2 14.3% cabinet (49)			

This last decade was the first to see clear growth in women's participation within the military: from 29% to 34% in the Professional Corps, and from less than 2% to 6.6% in the Command Corps of the three aforementioned forces. In the case of the Command Corps, the highest-ranking position held by a woman officer in the Army is that of Major; in the Navy, it is Lieutenant; and in the Air Force, it is Captain. Moreover, in the Professional Corps, the highest-ranking position held by a woman officer in the Army is General; in the Navy, Counter Admiral; and in the Air Force, Commodore⁴⁹. It must be noted that, since 2007, considerable efforts have been made to include a gender perspective in the military: a Council of Gender Policies for Defence was set up and, since then, 21 gender offices were opened so as to facilitate reporting. Also, 11 interdisciplinary teams on intrafamily violence were created⁵⁰. An important milestone that pushed for greater women's representation in decision-making levels was United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security (2000). This resolution impacted on all of Latin America, including Argentina, due to regional participation in peacekeeping missions such as the Blue Helmets in Haiti⁵¹. In spite of this progress, its pace evidences how persistent challenges are when it comes to effectively giving women access to the highest-ranking positions, and to allowing them a greater overall participation in highly hierarchical and masculinised institutional cultures, such as the military's.

In the case of law enforcement, women's participation in high-ranking positions is scarce, but there is a growing presence of women in police corps. Forty-two percent of the Buenos Aires Province Police Force—the largest in the country, with over 90,000 active officers—are women⁵². In the Buenos Aires City, women account for 27.5% of the almost 26,000 officers, and for 14% of the highest-ranking positions. It must be said that, in 2019, for the first time, more women than men cadets graduated

49 Ibid.

50 See <https://nuso.org/articulo/la-larga-marcha-de-las-mujeres-en-las-fuerzas-armadas-latinoamericanas/> (in Spanish).

51 Ibid.

52 See <https://www.perfil.com/noticias/sociedad/por-primera-vez-egresaron-mas-mujeres-en-la-policia-de-la-ciudad.phtml> (in Spanish).

from the city's Higher Institute of Public Security (ISSP)⁵³. As regards the Federal Police Force, two out of the fourteen superintendencies are led by women⁵⁴. In the Argentine Naval Prefecture and the Argentine National Gendarmerie, where women were banned from enlisting until 2000, their participation is smaller: 12% and 17%, respectively⁵⁵. Reforms aimed at removing discriminatory rules were mainly introduced over the last twenty years, and particularly took off since 2010, when the Ministry of Security was created and an active gender mainstreaming policy was adopted. Some of these policies are the formal assimilation to men's hierarchical structure, the possibility to occupy command roles, the lifting of restrictions due to pregnancy and entry-level course quotas, the creation of Comprehensive Gender Centres in each force (Ministry Resolution No. 1021/11⁵⁶), and the acceptance of other gender identities (Calandrón, 2019). However, the still limited participation of women in hierarchical positions in law enforcement is a sign of the multiple challenges that remain to be tackled so that women can have effective access to power.

3.10 The media

As a sphere, the media presents differences when compared with the public, union, and private sectors. The relative participation of women in high-ranking positions within the state-managed media system is considerable, and it actually is above parity for top-level positions (60%). With the administration change in 2019, a large proportion of the top leadership positions in state-managed media were occupied by women: Rosario Lufrano (RTA), Bernarda Llorente (Télam), Jesica Triten (Contenidos Públicos), María Marta García Scarano (Encuentro), Cielo Salviolo (Pakapaka), Mikki Lusardi (Nacional Rock), Mavi Díaz (Nacional Folklórica), Andrea Merenzon (Nacional Clásica). This also led to other changes. In the case of Agencia Télam, that meant having an all-women Board: Antonia Portaneri, Vice President; Eugenia del Mazo, Director; Natalia Nieremberger, General Manager; Mariana Bendahan, Deputy General Manager; Viviana Mariño, Press Manager; Fabiana Frayssinet, Deputy Press Manager; and Daniela Basso, Advisor to the President. Moreover, progress has been made in specific areas (see box). Diana Zurco was hired by state-managed TV channel Televisión Pública and became the first trans woman to host a news program. Celeste Giachetta became a part of Radio Nacional station and is the first trans woman to be employed in one of the 50 state-managed broadcasting stations throughout the country.

In public university media, participation in top-level positions is also greater than in mid-level positions. However, in these media, the proportion of women does not reach 30%.

As regards unions in this sphere, there are no women in top-level positions, but they do hold 22% of all mid-level positions. In March 2020, Carla Gaudensi, a worker of Agencia Télam and a member of the SiPreBA press workers' union, took over as Secretary General of the National Federation of Press Workers (FATPREN). This is the first time that a woman holds this position since the federation was created, in 1957.

53 Ibid

54 See <https://www.perfil.com/noticias/policia/oficializan-la-cupula-de-la-federal-y-por-primera-vez-una-mujer-encabezara-drogas-peligrosas.phtml> (in Spanish). There is no publicly available data on the percentage of women in the Federal Police Force.

55 See <https://latfem.org/el-desafio-de-pensar-politicas-publicas-con-perspectiva-de-genero-en-las-fuerzas-federales/> (in Spanish). For the first time, in January 2021, a woman became Head of an office in the Argentine Naval Prefecture. See <https://www.lanacion.com.ar/seguridad/igualdad-genero-leticia-diaz-primera-mujer-ocupar-nid2584206/> (in Spanish).

56 Resolution available at <https://www.argentina.gob.ar/sites/default/files/16510212011.pdf> (in Spanish).

A snapshot of state-managed media shows a barely budding participation of women in spaces of power within this sphere. This, however, is better than what happens in the private sector. There are no women in any of the highest-ranking decision-making positions in any of the mass media outlets nationwide surveyed.

At the end of 2018, the Argentine Journalism Forum (FOPEA) conducted a study on the national situation of women journalists. It showed that only 12% of the women respondents hold a decision-making position (direction, management, or department head) within press organisations. Additionally, 71% stated that they have a man boss, and only 24% said they have a woman boss⁵⁷. For many years, different organisations have been warning about gender inequality in the media. Although progress has been made regarding content, the demand that ‘women are missing in the media’ is still valid, even though there is a majority of women students and graduates in communication and journalism-related careers⁵⁸.

An attempt to change this reality through legislation gained momentum in 2020, with three bills introduced in Congress. Norma Durango, a national senator for the Victory Front, introduced a bill that intends to achieve equity in gender representation equity from a perspective of sexual diversity, both in state- and privately-managed media, although only the former would have to comply mandatorily. In the Chamber of Deputies, Mónica Macha (from Everyone’s Front) organised, alongside LatFem, a series of online workshops where journalism and communication referents debated about preparing a Parity Representation and Trans Quota Law for the media. Moreover, two bills have been introduced into the Buenos Aires City Legislature looking to promote parity in TV and radio stations, and digital and printed media—whether state-managed or private—that operate in the city. One of the initiatives was submitted by Laura Velasco, a legislator for Somos, within Everyone’s Front, and a part of the Buenos Aires City Ombudsman Office. At the Buenos Aires Province Legislature, Florencia Saintout and Adrián Grana, both from Everyone’s Front, submitted a similar project.

57 FOPEA. (2018) *La situación de las mujeres periodistas en la Argentina*. Available at <https://www.fopea.org/la-situacion-de-las-mujeres-periodistas-en-las-redacciones-argentinas/> (in Spanish).

58 Comunicación para la Igualdad and Fundación para el Desarrollo de Políticas Sustentables (Fundeps). (2018) *Media Organisations and Gender* (abridged version). Available at <https://www.dropbox.com/s/0d5rfgezwmcbutj/MediaOrganizationsandGender-Abridged%20version2017.pdf?dl=0>.

The feminist agenda for the media

The debate about the media and their content has been part of the feminist agenda since its inception. In 1995, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action acknowledged the media as one of the critical areas of concern to promote women's rights.

In recent years, our country has faced the demands to include a feminist perspective and a human rights approach in the media. The response from several media outlets has been to create specific positions or areas (like the Gender and Diversity Office in Radio y Televisión Argentina company, led by Susana Sanz; or the Genders Area in Radio Nacional station).

In 2018, Perfil newspaper created a Gender Advocate position that, so far, has not been held by journalists but rather by renowned feminists like Diana Maffia and Mabel Bianco. The Gender Editor position among printed press outlets was brought about in June 2019, when Mariana Iglesias was chosen to take that role within Clarín newspaper. She was followed by Gisele Sousa Días in Infobae (who held it until mid-2020, and the position is still vacant); Laura Loncopán Berti in Río Negro newspaper; Gabriela Weller in the National University of Córdoba; Julia López in Unidiversidad, at the National University of Cuyo; Silvina Molina in Agencia Télam; Gabriela Pellegrini in Chaco TV; and Carmen Amador in El Tribuno de Jujuy newspaper⁵⁹.

59 Comunicación para la Igualdad Civil Association. (2020) *Investigación sobre editoras de género de Argentina*. Available at <https://comunicarigualdad.com.ar/investigacion-sobre-editoras-de-genero-de-argentina/> (in Spanish).

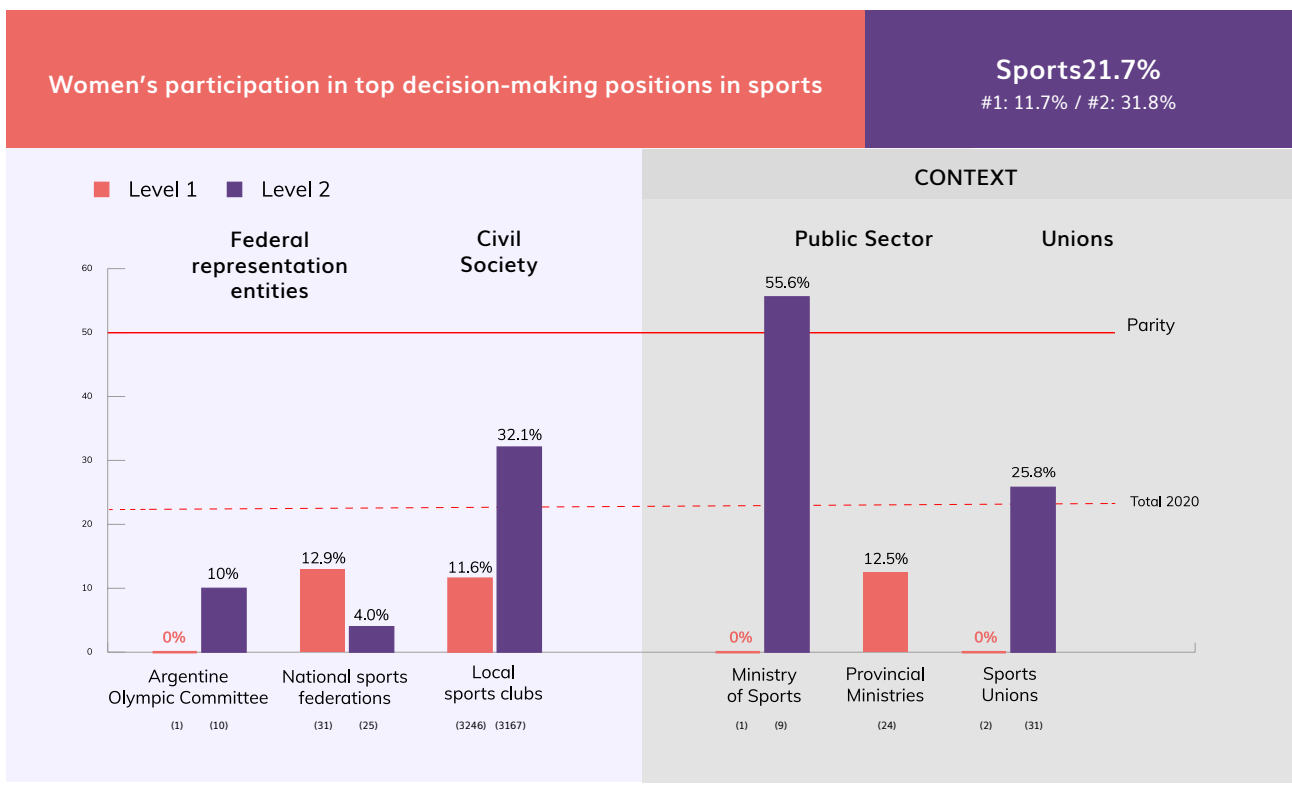
3.11 Sports

For the 2020 Sex and Power survey, we included sports as one of the spheres to be studied, since it is a space of flagrant inequality. Recently, it has become necessary for sports institutions to consider a gender perspective. This has been a topic addressed by different United Nations agencies and promoted by feminist associations. As pointed out by Alfaro, E., Gómez, B. V., Pérez, J. M. G., and Ferro, S. L. (2013)⁶⁰, the world of sports has historically been a masculinised space, as regards both practice and management, where gender stereotypes are still deeply rooted, which hinders equal participation.

In our country, sports civil associations are governed by specific legislation: Sports Act 20,655. In 2015, Congress enacted Act 27,202, which in section 20 bis sets forth that any lists submitted for Board elections, 'in tier one sports civil associations within the Physical Activity Sports Institutional System, must have among their candidates for acting positions a minimum total of twenty percent (20%) of women and young people who are eighteen (18) to twenty-nine (29) years old and meet the relevant criteria for the position to which they aspire.'

However, data show that, as in other areas—such as unions—, such a regulation is not enforced, and decision-making positions are still almost entirely occupied by men. The surveyed information shows that, for every ten decision-making positions within the sports sphere, only two are held by women. When it comes to analysing top authorities, one of every ten positions are held by women, both in organisations within this sphere and in sports institutions. For the time being, women only go as far as sitting in mid-level positions.

Figure 26. Women's participation in top decision-making positions in sports.



60 Alfaro, E., Gómez, B. V., Pérez, J. M. G., & Ferro, S. L. (2013) Women in positions of responsibility in public sports organizations of the Community Of Madrid. *Ágora para la Educación Física y el Deporte*, 15(1), 40-53. Available at <https://www.inmujer.gob.es/publicacioneselectronicas/documentacion/Revistas/ANALITICAS/DEA0273.pdf> (in Spanish).

4. Conclusions

The history behind women's participation in decision-making positions within several spheres of Argentine social, political, economic, and cultural life seems to describe an evolutionary path. There are areas regarding which we can more easily say that some progress has been made, where participation in decision-making positions is closer to parity, not only due to current figures but also based on the analysis of their evolution over the last decade. There are processes that have somewhat matured and seem more consolidated.

However, there are other areas in which the path towards equity seems to have stalled throughout the last decade. In those spheres, participation is still low, it remains unchanged, and the presence of some women in decision-making positions seems to respond more to unique cases rather than to consolidated progress towards equity. This is the case of sectors such as the economy, defence and security, the media, unions, or education, where women's presence in hierarchical roles does not exceed 30% (the health sector is quite close, at 31%).

A thorough analysis of more mature spheres reveals that the proportion of women in said areas is also uneven. This proves that there are different ongoing processes in relatable areas. While the proportion of women is similar, the paths to get to those figures are different.

In the political sphere, this is clearly the result of affirmative action, a consequence of the advocacy efforts of women's movements, and the space gained in the public agenda. However, the internal differences between the different branches of Government—or between the national, provincial, and local levels—are proof that those affirmative actions are still needed to make access conditions effectively equitable.

The Executive branch, at both the national and lower levels, makes the indexes drop. If we compare women's participation in top-level positions during 2010 and 2020, it has increased in only three percentage points (9.2% versus 12.6%). If, however, we analyse growth in the other two branches of Government, both at the national and lower levels, over this past decade, the difference is of about eight to nine percentage points.

Figures suggest that new paths are being cleared on the way to parity from the bottom-up (that is, from grassroots demands to formal power). Additionally, policy measures that promote change in the conditions to access power (e.g., parity laws) set forth a complementary foundational movement (top-down) that defines rules which promote change in institutional structures. The behaviour of these indicators strengthens the idea that parity is achieved and maintained if actions are implemented bidirectionally, in an articulated and complementary fashion, and are aimed at promoting institutional and cultural change at the same time.

It is also seen that the participation of women who have access to hierarchical positions is horizontally different per area: while in some, women's presence in decision-making spaces is consolidated (the civil society, culture), in others, it is still not quite significant (economy and unions) or even insufficient (like in the Executive branch and in the highest-ranking positions of the Judicial branch). This raises a question about the persisting barriers women face when trying to access real spaces of power within the institutions that define economic and political life. They are based on access logics that are linked to informal networks and mechanisms that have not substantially included women as a collective yet. Even in those areas where women's participation is massive and exceeds 50%—such as education, law, health sciences—, their access to top-level positions is far from equitable (in education, 14%; in federal justice and the National Supreme Court, 20%; and in health, 32%) and has made very little progress in the last decade.

Lastly, there are spheres where the necessary processes have not yet begun, such as in the media. While progress has been made in some areas, like state-managed media outlets, the truth is that, although during the current administration there are more women in charge of state-managed media outlets, there is no substantial women participation in general media, particularly in leading and decision-making spaces. This is why parity representation and a travesti/trans labour quota are objectives for which the feminist journalists collective still has to fight.



5. General methodological approach

The main goal of this research was to identify, based on the available recorded information, the sex (man/woman) of the people who currently hold high-ranking positions in different spheres of the political, economic, social, and cultural life of Argentina.

High-ranking positions are defined as detailed below.

Top level: the highest publicly recognised authority in public or private institutions or entities, at a national, provincial, or local level, included in this survey.

Middle level: the highest publicly recognised authority positions that are immediately below top-level positions in the same institution.

5.1 Survey fact sheet

Methodology	A systematic search of primary sources of information was conducted. Such information had to be disclosed and published in the official websites of the selected public and private institutions and entities. Also, secondary sources of information that had compiled these data were included. Secondary information was checked against at least one official source. This was done based on an operationalisation of the spheres included in the measurement (see Table 1)
Number of surveyed institutions	9469
Number of top- and mid-level positions included	37964
Date of survey	From October 2019 to March 2020
Latest data update	June 2020 In some cases, the information was updated to the most recent data available up to August 2020.

5.2 Surveyed components

Eleven general survey spheres or components were identified. [Click here](#) to see the more detailed results for the survey.

The table below features the components and subcomponents of this study:

Table 1: Components and subcomponents, scopes

Ultimate components and subcomponents	Subcomponent	Scope
Politics	Three branches of government in the national, provincial, and local levels	<p>The Executive</p> <p>National and provincial:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cabinets and ministry cabinets were included <p>Local:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Province capitals and municipalities
		<p>The Legislative</p> <p>National and provincial:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chambers: member authorities Legislative committees: authorities and members <p>Local:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> City Councils for provincial capitals; authorities and members
		<p>The Judiciary</p> <p>National and provincial:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Supreme Courts or High Courts, Courts of Appeals, Lower Courts, and Magistrate's Courts (up to Clerk level) Judiciary Councils Office of Public Prosecution (up to prosecutor) Office of Public Defence (up to public defender)
	<p>Nation-wide political parties</p> <p>National: political parties with nationwide representation that receive contributions as per the National Electoral Chamber.</p>	
The economy	Large companies	Large companies listed as the 1,000 companies with the highest revenues in 2019 by Revista Mercado, with a simple random sampling probabilistic sample.
	Chambers of commerce	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chambers of commerce recognised by the National Ministry of Labour, Employment, and Social Security. Important associations not included by the Ministry of Labour, but with great public visibility: Argentine Industrial Union (UIA), Argentine Rural Society (SRA), General Economic Confederation (CGE), Coordinator of Food Product Industries (COPAL), Argentine Confederation of Medium-Sized Enterprises (CAME).
Unions	Nation-wide unions registered at the Ministry of Labour, Employment, and Social Security	<p>The following were surveyed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trade-union confederations Confederations Federations Unions

<p>The civil society</p>	<p>Civil society organisations</p>		<p>Civil society organisations that are members of the Argentine Network for International Cooperation (RACI).</p>
<p>Health</p>	<p>Public domain</p>	<p>The Federal Health Council</p>	<p>The permanent secretary was surveyed. Ministers/secretaries for the 24 provinces (including Buenos Aires City) are already included in the politics sphere, within the Executive branch. They are analysed within the data for that sphere.</p>
		<p>Decentralised and devolved entities</p>	<p>The authorities of the 7 decentralised and the 3 devolved entities within the Ministry of Health were surveyed.</p>
		<p>National public hospitals</p>	<p>National public hospitals mentioned in the official website for each province.</p>
	<p>Private domain</p>	<p>National and provincial chambers</p>	<p>National: Argentine Chamber of Health Companies (CAES) and the Confederation of Clinics, Sanatoriums, and Hospitals (CONFELISA). Provincial: chambers that are part of CONFELISA.</p>
	<p>Sociedad Civil</p>	<p>Medical societies</p>	<p>We surveyed 196 medical societies listed in the Argentine Health Portal⁶¹.</p>
<p>Culture</p>	<p>Only the nation-wide public domain</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Ministry of Culture: authorities and cabinets (already included in the politics sphere, within the Executive branch) • Museums • National institutes • Decentralised entities • National libraries
<p>Science</p>	<p>Public authorities, with the exception of two private research institutes that are part of the scientific system</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Ministry of Science, Technology, and Innovation: authorities and cabinet (already included in the politics sphere, within the Executive branch) • Provincial representatives of the 2020 Federal Science and Technology Council (CFCyT) (already included in the politics sphere, within the Executive branch) • Scientific research institutions and centres: full list of scientific research institutions and centres (including two private institutes) • The CONICET network: all institutions that are part of the network (Associated Unit, Scientific-Technological Centre [CCT], Executing Unit, Service Centre, Networked Executing Unit)

61 With regard to the Argentine Health Portal: this is a private effort published and maintained by its author. It turned out to be the most extensive list of medical societies found at the time the field work was conducted. Information about every society was surveyed using independent sources for cross-checking.

Sports	National and provincial authorities	Authorities and cabinet from the National Ministry of Tourism and Sports, and the top authority for each province (already included in the politics sphere, within the Executive branch)
	National representation entities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Argentine Olympic Committee National sports federations
	Sports civil associations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Authorities of neighbourhood clubs listed in the National Registry of Neighbourhood and Town Clubs of the National Sports Secretariat

5.3 Number of institutions and high-ranking positions surveyed, and relative importance of each component

Area/Component	Type of position	Number of surveyed institutions (with and without data)	Number of institutions about which there is data (operative base)	Data availability per sphere	Number of surveyed positions per sphere (top & mid-level)	Importance of components (base: institutions)	Importance of components (base: positions)
Politics	Grand total for the political components, national + provincial + local governments, plus nation-wide parties	2822	2790	98,9%	21605	33,2%	56,9%
The economy	Grand total for large companies + chambers	1116	1100	98,6%	4674	13,1%	12,3%
Unions	Unions	208	138	66,3%	2454	1,6%	6,5%
Society	The civil society (RACI member organisations)	155	102	65,8%	364	1,2%	1,0%

Health	Grand total of national health authorities in the public and private sectors (without taking into account ministers, cabinets, provincial ministers, or the Federal Health Council, already included in the Executive branch)	Authorities	883	321	36,4%	766	3,8%	2,0%
Public culture and arts	Total number of (public) culture and art authorities, without taking into account ministers or cabinets	Authorities	53	38	71,7%	92	0,5%	0,2%
Education	Total for the Federal Education Council (permanent secretary) + universities	Secretary, Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor	155	152	98,1%	360	1,8%	0,9%
Science	Total for science and technology, without ministers, cabinets or the CFCyT	Authorities	346	334	96,5%	845	4,0%	2,2%
Defence and security	Total for defence and security (without ministries or cabinets)	Authorities	33	33	100,0%	58	0,4%	0,2%
The media	Total for the media; public entities involving state-managed free-to-air, private, and university media outlets	Director/s	128	119	93,0%	229	1,4%	0,6%
Sports	Grand total for sports	Director/s	3570	3279	91,8%	6480	39,0%	17,1%
TOTAL	Total for all surveyed social life spheres	Top- and mid-level authorities	9469	8406	88,8%	37964	100,0%	100,0%

5.4 Methodology for the calculation of incidence and total indexes

Women's incidence in high-ranking positions within different spheres of Argentine political, economic, and social life is shown in percentages.

The calculation of totals and subtotals per sphere, as well as the general index, was conducted by totalling the aggregated number of positions available in each area, subarea, or component, and determining the percentage of women's total incidence.

5.5 Women's Participation Index (WPI): an index created by ELA

In order to calculate the 2010-2020 comparison of the WPI—which was created by ELA and identifies women in high-ranking positions in Argentine social, economic, and political life—, this study analysed the same areas that were included in the first edition.

The 2010 WPI included 5,771 top-level positions, the highest authorities in 3,870 national, provincial, and local institutions of three of the seven spheres studied: politics, the economy, and the civil society. Given the greater availability of information compared with the 2010 survey (an availability expected to be sustained in time), the 2020 selection was expanded to all the surveyed categories and, as previously done, only top-level positions were chosen. Therefore, the 2020 WPI survey included 10,082 top-level positions, the highest authorities in 7,842 national, provincial, and local institutions of the 11 spheres studied.

Here is a [list of sources for every component](#), so that they can be replicated in the future.

5.6 General organisation of the survey and methodological strategies implemented

The survey was organised in consecutive stages of selection and determination of the spheres of social, political, and economic life to be surveyed.

The methodological approach implemented prioritised the search for mainly online primary sources of information, found in the official websites of the entities and institutions included in this study. Here is the list of sources used for each component.

Our priority was to conduct a thorough survey (census) in all the spheres where we could contact all institutions—via an official website of the corresponding entity or institution—within our well-defined and available universe.

In spheres where information is already systematised by an entity and/or institution, this was used as a main source: Map of the Government and Gender Map of the Argentine Judiciary, prepared by the Women's Office of the National Supreme Court (CSJN).

If some institutions could not be contacted, the boundaries of the studied universes were defined and a note was included in cases where information regarding the total number of institutions was available in first-hand national official sources (national Ministries) or lists prepared by the press and private publications with at least ten years of continuity (The 1,000 best-selling companies list, by Mercado magazine; Ibope rating measurements). Two sampling types were used: simple random sampling, whenever it was possible to prepare a full list with equivalent conditions suitable for finding the data, or incidental sampling, whenever the publishing conditions of surveyed data could not be determined

with accuracy.

Based on our experience with the first survey's, an initial revision was conducted in some spheres, in order to confirm if there was any available data. Then, all areas for which we could not find the relevant data were disregarded (e.g., City Councils or deliberative bodies from municipalities in all levels throughout the country, as well as small and medium-sized enterprises [SMEs]).

The final list of entities and institutions included in the survey was defined by the possibility to access the relevant information and by the expectation of sustained replicability of the various sources in the future.

5.7 Methodological exclusion criteria for the survey spheres

1. Impossibility to define the total number of top- and mid-level positions in the selected institutions, and impossibility to shorten the list of institutions to a sample of the spheres with a known total number of institutions.
2. Gender information of the people holding high-ranking positions not published by the institution or unavailable through secondary sources of information.

5.8 Surveyed variables in this study

The following variables were surveyed:

1. Sex of the person holding the highest-ranking (top-level) position in the surveyed institution or entity: woman/man.
2. Number of top-level positions available in the surveyed institution or entity.
3. Sex of the people holding mid-level positions in the surveyed institution or entity: woman/man.
4. Number of mid-level positions available in the surveyed institution or entity.
5. Domain of the institution or entity: public/private.
6. Political-geographical level or scope: national, provincial, or local.

6. Annexes

6.1 Annex I: Survey scope and methodology by sphere⁶²:

The same criteria applied to the first edition (2010) of Sex and Power were used.

Politics

Executive branch: all national, provincial, and local Executive branches and provincial capitals and municipalities were surveyed (information from 2,213 municipalities prepared by the Ministry of Interior, Public Works, and Housing, November 2019).

On the national and provincial levels, cabinets and cabinet ministers were also surveyed.

Legislative branch: all national and provincial chambers, including those in Buenos Aires City, were surveyed. Authorities and members of legislative chambers and committees were included.

Locally, all City Councils of provincial capitals were surveyed.

Judicial branch: All Supreme or High Courts, Courts of Appeals, Lower Courts, Magistrate's Courts (up to Clerk level), Office of Public Prosecution (up to prosecutor), Office of Public Defence (up to public defender), and Judiciary Councils at the national and provincial levels were surveyed.

Political parties: 39 political parties with nationwide representation that receive contributions as per the National Electoral Chamber were surveyed. No provincial or local parties were surveyed.

The economy

Large companies: the 1,000 large companies with the highest revenues, as per Revista Mercado's 2019 analysis, were surveyed using a simple random sampling probabilistic sample of 179 cases, with an error margin of $\pm 6.6\%$ at the 95% confidence level.

SMEs: they were excluded from the survey.

Chambers of commerce: all chambers of commerce recognised by the National Ministry of Labour, Employment, and Social Security were surveyed. Some important associations not included by the Ministry of Labour, but with great public visibility, were also surveyed: Argentine Rural Society (SRA), Argentine Industrial Union (UIA), General Economic Confederation (CGE), Coordinator of Food Product Industries (COPAL), Argentine Confederation of Medium-Sized Enterprises (CAME).

Unions

Three levels of nation-wide unions, plus all trade-union confederations, were surveyed.

Trade-union confederations: all 3 existing trade-union confederations were surveyed: CGT, Workers' CTA, and Autonomous CTA.

Confederations: 18 confederations were surveyed. The Ministry of Labour, Employment, and Social Security registers 16 confederations; 2 high-profile confederations that are not part of this Ministry's registry of confederations were also included. Census.

Federations: 51 out of a universe of 109 federations registered by the Ministry of Labour,

Employment, and Social Security were surveyed. Systematic sample.

Unions: the 137 unions listed in the Argentine Unions Guide (www.sindicatosargentina.com.ar) were surveyed, out of a universe of 3,292 unions registered by the Ministry of Labour, Employment, and Social Security. Systematic sample.

Society

Civil society organisations: it was impossible to find an updated estimate of the number of existing civil society organisations.

Therefore, we decided to survey only the 155 organisations that are part of the Argentine Network for International Cooperation (RACI). Census.

Health

As regards the public domain, the survey included the areas below.

Federal Health Council: the permanent secretary position was surveyed. Ministers/secretaries for the 24 provinces (including Buenos Aires City) are already included in the politics sphere, within the provincial Executive branches.

Decentralised and devolved entities: the authorities of the 7 decentralised and the 3 devolved entities within the Ministry of Health were surveyed.

National public hospitals: the survey was prepared based on information published in the official website for each province. Out of a universe of 653 institutions, data was compiled about 163 hospitals. Census.

As regards the private domain, the survey included the national and provincial chambers below.

National: authorities of the Argentine Chamber of Health Companies (CAES) and the Confederation of Clinics, Sanatoriums, and Hospitals (CONFELISA) were surveyed.

Provincial: the universe was defined as the 21 chambers that are members of the Confederation of Clinics, Sanatoriums, and Hospitals (CONFELISA). Census.

The plan was to include medical associations as part of the civil society. However, given the impossibility to define a universe from an official entity or institution, the universe selected was the list published in the Argentine Health Portal⁶³. Out of the total 196 associations listed, information was obtained about 134 associations.

Defence and security

The defence sphere was only surveyed nationally. The authorities and the cabinet of the National Ministry of Defence were surveyed as part of the national Executive branch. The authorities from the military (Joint Chiefs of Staff, Army, Air Force, Navy) were also included.

In the security sphere, the survey was conducted at the national and provincial levels.

Nationally, it included the authorities and cabinet of the Ministry of Justice, Security, and Human

Rights (surveyed as part of the national Executive branch) and of law enforcement (Gendarmerie, Naval Prefecture, Federal Police, Airport Security Police, Federal Penitentiary Service). Census.

Provincially, the survey included the authorities of provincial police forces. Census.

Culture

National public institutions/entities were surveyed.

The authorities and cabinet of the National Ministry of Culture were surveyed (in the politics sphere, within the Executive branch), and so were the authorities of museums, institutes, libraries, and decentralised cultural entities.

No private institutions were surveyed.

Science

Public authorities, with the exception of two private research institutes that are part of the scientific system, were surveyed.

The authorities and cabinet of the National Ministry of Science, Technology, and Innovation were included, and so were the provincial representatives of the 2020 Federal Science and Technology Council (CFCyT) (already included in the politics sphere, within the Executive branch).

Scientific research institutions and centres: full list of scientific research institutions and centres (including two private institutes).

The CONICET network: all institutions that are part of the network (Associated Unit, Scientific-Technological Centre [CCT], Executing Unit, Service Centre, Networked Executing Unit) were surveyed.

Education

The authorities and cabinet of the National Ministry of Education (already included in the politics sphere, within the Executive branch) were surveyed. The Federal Education Council was also surveyed: the General Coordination Unit, in charge of leading and coordinating the Council, and the highest-ranking authority in the sector (already included in the politics sphere, within the Executive branch) were deemed top-level authorities, in each province and in Buenos Aires City.

Public universities: the universe was defined as public higher education institutions reported by the Secretariat of University Policies. Census.

Private universities: the universe was defined as private higher education institutions reported by the Secretariat of University Policies. Census.

University federations: university federations that are part of the Argentine University Federation were included. Census. Information was provided at our request and shared by the General Secretariat of the FUA.

The media

Public entities: authorities of public entities and institutions were surveyed, including those that are part of the National State-Managed Media Outlet System. Census.

Radio: the authorities from the top seven largest AM and FM radio stations in terms of audience rating were surveyed. Community or online radios were not included in the survey.

TV: the 4 nation-wide free-to-air TV channels were surveyed. Cable TV channels were not included.

Newspapers: 9 national newspapers were surveyed. Online newspapers, bulletins, and magazines were not included. Paperback magazines were not included.

University media outlets: the authorities of all the radio stations that are part of the University Radio Networks Association (ARUNA) and of all the members of the Argentine University Audio-visual Network (RENAU) were included. Information was provided at our request and shared by the authorities of both networks.

Sports

The authorities and cabinet of the National Ministry of Tourism and Sports (already included in the politics sphere, within the Executive branch) were surveyed, and so was the highest authority of each province.

National representative entities: the authorities of the Argentine Olympic Committee were surveyed. As regards sports federations, the universe was defined as those listed in the Argentine Olympic Committee official website. Census.

Sports civil associations: the universe was defined as the 3,538 neighbourhood clubs listed in the National Registry of Neighbourhood and Town Clubs of the National Sports Secretariat. The list was provided by the National Directorate of Argentine Clubs.

The Secretariat for Comprehensive Development of Physical Activities under the National Ministry of Tourism and Sports cooperated in obtaining all sports-related data.

6.2 Annex II: Number of institutions and entities surveyed, number of positions included, and amount of data collected

Component	Type of position*	Number of positions	Number of surveyed institutions	Number of surveyed data	
Politics	Grand total for the political components, national + provincial + local governments, plus nation-wide parties	Positions within three surveyed government branches + party presidents	2822	2790	21605
The economy	Grand total for the political components, national + provincial	Executive director positions and members of steering committees and entities	1116	1100	4674
Unions	Unions	Executive director positions and members of steering committees and entities	208	138	2454
Society	The civil society: RACI	Executive director positions and members of steering committees	155	102	364
Health	Grand total of national health authorities in the public and private sectors (without taking into account ministers, cabinets, provincial ministers, or the Federal Health Council, already included in the Executive branch)	Authorities	883	321	766
Public culture and arts	Total number of (public) culture and art authorities, without taking into account ministers or cabinets	Authorities	53	38	92
Education	Total for the Federal Education Council (permanent secretary) + universities + university federations	Secretary, Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor	155	152	360
Science	Total for science and technology, without ministers, cabinets or the CFCyT + CONICET Network	Authorities	346	334	845
Defence and security	Total for defence and security (without ministries or cabinets)	Authorities	33	33	58
The media	Total for the media; public entities involving state-managed free-to-air, private, and university media outlets	Director/s	128	119	229
Sports	Grand total for sports	Director/s	3570	3279	6480
Total	Total for all surveyed social life spheres	Top- and mid-level authorities	9469	8406	37964

6.3 Annex III. Codebook.

Campo	Definición	Categorías
ID	Unique number that identifies each of the specific cases surveyed within the whole database. It identifies the specific row. There may be more than one ID for each case ID.	Numeric field
Case ID	Unique number that identifies each of the institutions/entities/companies surveyed within the whole database.	Numeric field
Component	Spheres in which the study is divided.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Politics 2. The economy 3. The civil society and unions 4. Culture 5. Science 6. Education 7. Defence and security 8. The media 9. Sports 10. Health
Subcomponent	Areas in which the components are divided.	<p>Within 1. Politics</p> <p>1 The Legislative 2 The Judiciary 3 The Executive 4 Parties (with parliamentary representation) 24 City Council</p> <p>Within 2. The economy:</p> <p>6 Large companies 7 Chambers of commerce 8 Important business organisations</p> <p>Within 3. The civil society and unions:</p> <p>9 Non-governmental organisations 11 Unions 35 Trade-union confederations 36 Confederations 37 Federations</p> <p>Within 4. Culture:</p> <p>15 Museums and institutes 38 Libraries</p> <p>Within 5. Science:</p> <p>39 Scientific institutions 40 The CONICET Network</p> <p>Within 6. Education:</p> <p>13 Universities 14 University federations</p> <p>Within 7. Defence:</p> <p>10 Police forces 18 The military 26 Law enforcement</p>

		<p>Within 8. The media: 16 AM and FM radio stations 19 National newspapers 20 State-managed entities and media outlets 21 Private free-to-air TV channels 22 University audio-visual media outlets 33 University radio stations</p> <p>Within 9. Sports: 25 Sports civil associations 29 The Argentine Olympic Committee 30 National sports federations</p> <p>Within 10. Health: 12 Hospitals 23 Argentine Chamber of Health Companies 27 Medical professional societies 31 Decentralised entities 32 Devolved entities 34 The Federal Health Council</p>
Geographical level	As per Argentina's federal structure, there are three geographical levels: national, provincial, and local	1: National 2: Provincial 3: Local (municipal)
Province		1 Buenos Aires City 2 Buenos Aires 3 Catamarca 4 Chaco 5 Chubut 6 Córdoba 7 Corrientes 8 Entre Ríos 9 Formosa 10 Jujuy 11 La Pampa 12 La Rioja 13 Mendoza 14 Misiones 15 Neuquén 16 Río Negro 17 Salta 18 San Juan 19 San Luis 20 Santa Cruz 21 Santa Fe 22 Santiago del Estero 23 Tierra del Fuego, Antártida e Islas del Atlántico Sur 24 Tucumán 99 Not applicable
Type of provincial chamber		(Only for the 'Politics' component, 'The Legislative' subcomponent) 1. Bicameral: Chamber of Deputies 2. Bicameral: Senate 3. Legislature
Organisation name		Open text field
Position name		Open text field

Hierarchical level of the position		1: Top level within the organisation (president, governor, mayor, deputy, director, senator...) 2: Mid-level within the organisation (vice-president, deputy, minister) 99: No data available
Total of organisation members		Numeric field. For one-person positions, this field equals 1
Number of women		Numeric field. For one-person positions, this field equals 0 or 1
Type of source		1: Primary 2: Secondary
Source		Text field (e.g., website of Buenos Aires City Legislature)
Date of data collection	Date of data survey	DD-MM-YYYY
Date for the data	It may differ from the date of collection	DD-MM-YYYY
Other comments or remarks	Datos a tener en cuenta que surgieron durante el proceso de relevamiento de los datos	Text field
Control comments	Detail of changes made after controlling data	Text field
References		99: Not applicable Used for all columns when no information should be included

