

Gender and Equality in Latin America- Caribbean; Evolution 2006-2021. Strategic Recommendations

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AUTHOR

Juan Rivera-Mata¹
University of Maryland
Global Campus, USA
juan.riveramata@
faculty.umgc.edu

1. Corresponding author:
University of Maryland
Global Campus (UMGC);
Graduate School of Business;
1616 McCormick Drive,
Largo, MD 20774; USA

*Género e Igualdad en Latinoamérica-Caribe; Evolución 2006-2021. Recomendaciones estratégicas.
Gênero e Igualdade na América Latina-Caribe; evolução 2006-2021. Recomendações estratégicas*

Gender economic equality in Latin America-Caribbean is behind Sub-Saharan region, limiting regional competitiveness and social justice. We found a negative regional correlation between women political empowerment and economic participation, being this associated to economic growth, democracy index and wage equality. We recommend authorities to focus on women economic participation, potentiate fiscal redistribution policies, improve democracy, governance and competitiveness, changing from one sex (women) to gender (social) policies for equality, reduction of voluntary education segregation with early age education intervention and support family and care to alleviate the social charges associates to being woman.

La igualdad económica de género en América Latina-Caribe está por detrás de la región Sub-Sahariana, limitando la competitividad y la justicia social regional. Hemos encontrado una correlación negativa regional entre empoderamiento político y participación económica de las mujeres, estando esta asociada a crecimiento económico, democracia e igualdad salarial. Recomendamos que las autoridades se centren en igualdad económica, potencien políticas fiscales redistributivas, mejoren la democracia, gobernanza y competitividad, cambiar de políticas de sexo (mujer) a de género (social) para la igualdad, reducir la segregación educativa voluntaria con intervenciones educativas tempranas y apoyo al cuidado y a la familia para aliviar las cargas sociales asociadas a ser mujer.

A igualdade econômica de gênero na América Latina-Caribe está por trás da região Subsaariana, limitando a competitividade regional e a justiça social. Encontramos uma correlação regional negativa entre fortalecimento político e participação econômica de las mulheres, estando esta associada ao crescimento econômico, índice de democracia e igualdade salarial. Recomendamos às autoridades que se concentrem na igualdade econômica, potencializem políticas de redistribuição fiscal, potenciem políticas fiscais redistributivas, majorem a democracia, gobernanza y la competitividade, mudando de políticas de um sexo (mulheres) a de gênero (sociais) para a igualdade, redução da segregação voluntária de educação com intervenções educacionais iniciais e apoio ao cuidado da família para aliviar os encargos sociais associados ao fato de ser mulher.

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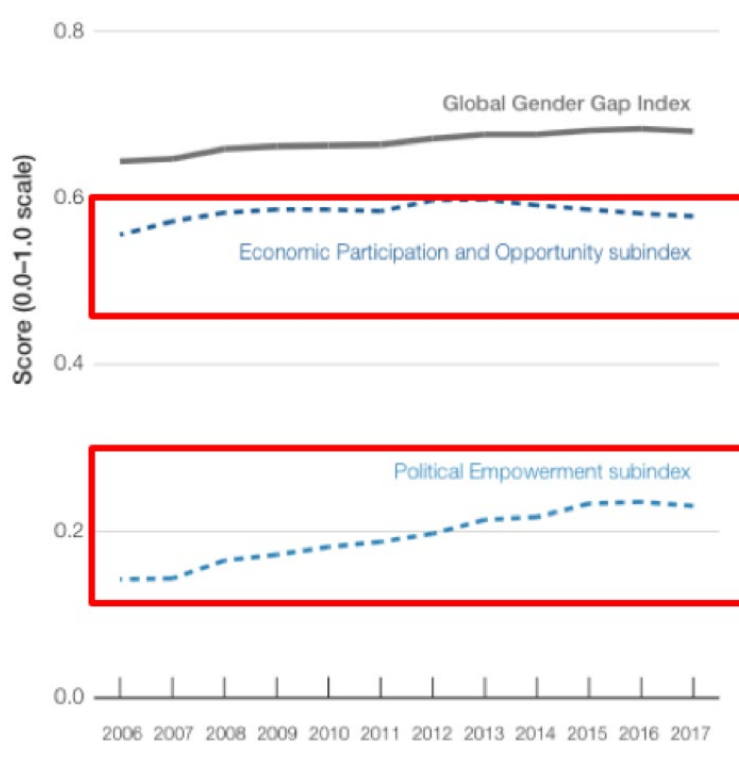
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1. Introduction: Political and Economic Inequality Between Men and Women

Since 2006 (Hausmann et col, 2017) we observe (Graph 1) significant levels of sex equality in the health and education areas between men and women in the world, as reported by the Global Gender Gap (GGG) of the World Economic Forum, but since 2012 decreased economic participation and opportunities, in spite the improvement in political empowerment. We will study this decrease in women economic participation, to see if applicable to the Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) and find reasons to understand the relationship and ways to improve it.

Graph 1 - GGG Index: general, political and economic, 2006-2017 (Hausmann et col., 2017)



KEYWORDS

Gender,
equality, sex,
Latin America,
Caribbean.

PALABRAS CLAVE

género,
igualdad, sexo,
Latinoamérica,
Caribe.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

género, igualdade,
sexo, América
Latina, Caribe.

For the purpose of this article, at the risk of oversimplification but for the benefit of clarity, and knowing each term could require a long review, we will be using the following concepts:

Sex: male and female, not considering other possible sexes (hermaphrodites, travesties, transsexuals, androgynes, eunuchs, hijras, kathoeyes, etc.) nor queer approaches generated by third wave feminism (Butler, 1989; Wittig, 1992) denying sex.

Gender: socio-cultural meaning of being a man or a woman (Unger, 1979). Since Freud (1925) we know both sexes share gender features. We will use sex to refer to men and women, especially as a research variable, and gender only when meaning the socio-cultural of sex.

JEL CODES:

N36, N44, 054

Power, authority and leadership: power (Weber, 1946) is the chance that an individual in a social relationship can achieve his or her own will even against the resistance of others and authority is the social acceptance of power (now it is use "leader" and "leadership" for authority). Leadership evolved from features of special people (Carlyle, 1888) to styles (Lewitt and Lippit, 1938), situational (Hershey-Blanchard, 1969) transformational (Burns, 1978), shared (Cox et al., 2003), complex (Marion and Uhl-Bien, 2001) relational (Murrell, 1997; Drath, 2001) and social construction (Ashford and Sitkin, 2019). We will use power to cover power and authority and "leaders" for people in positions and roles of power or authority (Heifetz, 1994); sometimes we use the more traditional concept of elites (Weber, 1946; Putman, 1976; Collier, 2008).

Patriarchy: system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women (Walby 1990:20).

Equality and parity: equality is the right of different groups of people to have similar social position and receive same treatment (Cambridge dictionary). The concept of effective equality has evolved since Beijing (UN, 1995) defined as "adoption of measures to guarantee women the same access and participation of power structures and decision making in national and international institutions" to a newer concept of equality based upon "equality of results". This concept is similar to parity, having same or similar % of men and women in power positions.

2. Theoretical Framework: Inequalities Between Men and Women

To study this problem of lack of equality between sexes and the relationship between political women empowerment and economic participation and opportunities for women we could find several theories to understand these differences:

Through History power has been in the hand of men, who focus on action, and not in the hands of women, who traditionally focused in home, care and relationships. Still today these differences in power persist. In a similar manner, leadership theory and its social construction is sex biased: since "The Great Man Theory" (Carlyle, 1888; Stodgill, 1948) and "Think manager, think male" (Schein, 1973, 1989) we associate leaders and leadership with men.

Many theories studied sex differences in power; biological, adaptive biology and psycho-biology approaches (Hines, 2004; Hampon and Moffatt, 2004), evolutive and psychoanalytical (Pinker, 2002; Stearns, 1972; Chodorow, 1989; Hrdy, 1999; Wood and Eagly, 2002), social-cognitive (Kohlber, 1966; Eagly et al., 2000), gender socialization (Collins et al., 2000). But in 2021, economical differences among sexes still exist, and they are increasing (Graph 1).

Marxist theories (Marx and Engels, 1846) are based on the struggle to control means of production as source of power; patriarchy ideology shares this power struggle for the man-women relationship. Engels (1940) believed that division of classes and subordination of women evolved historically with the development of private property. Power and economy were the focus and class (and women) struggle the

solution. The discussion regarding Marxism and gender is now again popular during the last few years (Nahuel 2019, Del Aguila, 2020). If we do a google search for “patriarchy Latin America” we get 4.4 million results and if we analyze trends in google there was a 4 times increase in this topic since 2018 in LAC. The Covid-19 pandemic seems to increase this economic gap between men and women (Busson and Messina 2020). On the other hand, Herrero (2021) evaluating the economy in LAC in 1980-2017 shows economic downturns do not have a significant impact in inequality, but it is mainly due to structural reasons. We conclude the economic differences between men and women are due to structural issues and we will use the patriarchy theoretical approach to understand the problem. assuming the economy is in the hands of men, there is a struggle between sexes to control it, and access to political power is the way to achieve equality for women. We will make the following research hypotheses:

H1: An increase of women political empowerment increases an economic participation and opportunities for women in LAC.

H2: LAC countries with more women in Parliament have better economic participation and opportunities for women in LAC region.

H3: Having more women ministers in LAC increase women economic participation and opportunities.

3. Research Methodology and Study

To evaluate the validity of the hypotheses we could use many analysis and indicators from multiple organizations monitoring the evolution of sex equality in the world and in LAC in particular (UN Women, World Bank, Catalyst, European Union, Women on Boards, IDEA, IADB, PROLID, GEPPAL, others). For this study we will focus on the study of the Global Gender Gap (GGG) yearly analysis of the World Economic Forum (WEF).

The GGG evaluates 4 key areas of sex equality (Health, Education, Political and Economic Decision Making), each with several sub-indexes. We will study changes in 2006-2021 in general, in LAC and selected countries. The weight and description of each subindex is in the reports. We decided to use GGG reports as it is a reference for many Governments of sex equality, it is reliable and consistent, although 2006 included 115 countries and 2021 156.

Besides simple comparisons and review of differences and case analysis we will conduct several correlation analysis among several sets of data. We will use correlation coefficient to measure the statistical relationship between two variables, to get information about the magnitude of the association as well as the direction of the relationship. In each correlation we describe direction (positive or negative of the relationship) and the statistical significance ($p < 0.1$, $p < 0.5$, $p < 0.001$) of the association. The correlation coefficient formula is as follows:

$$\text{Correl}(X, Y) = \frac{\sum (x - \bar{x})(y - \bar{y})}{\sqrt{\sum (x - \bar{x})^2 \sum (y - \bar{y})^2}}$$

4. Results

Table 1 shows regional GGG 2006-2021 in 4 areas (health, education, political and economic). LAC in the general index 2021 has a value of 0.721, only behind North America and Western/Eastern Europe, and same situation in the political equality index. But in women economic participation LAC (0.642) is behind Sub-Saharan Africa (0.661) and well behind the best, North America (0.753).

Table 1 – GGG 2006-2021 Evolution by Regions/areas. (Hausmann et col, 2006, 2021)

Global Gender Gap Index	GGG 2021 (156 countries)					GGG 2006 (115 Countries)					% Gender Gap Reduction 2006-2021				
	Total	Econo.	Educat.	Health	Political	Total	Econo.	Educat.	Health	Political	Total	Econo.	Educat.	Health	Political
Western Europe	0,776	0,7	0,998	0,967	0,438	0,70	0,60	0,99	0,97	0,25	11%	17%	1%	0%	75%
North America	0,764	0,753	1	0,969	0,334	0,70	0,78	0,98	0,97	0,10	9%	-3%	2%	0%	234%
Latin American/ Caribbean	0,721	0,642	0,997	0,976	0,271	0,64	0,57	0,98	0,97	0,14	13%	13%	2%	1%	94%
East. Europe & Central Asia	0,712	0,735	0,997	0,977	0,142	0,65	0,62	0,97	0,97	0,08	10%	19%	3%	1%	78%
East Asia and the Pacific	0,689	0,696	0,976	0,949	0,135	0,62	0,55	0,90	0,96	0,16	11%	27%	8%	-1%	-16%
Sub-Saharan Africa	0,672	0,661	0,845	0,973	0,208	0,62	0,61	0,88	0,97	0,10	8%	8%	-4%	0%	108%
South Asia	0,623	0,338	0,933	0,942	0,281	0,72	0,77	1,00	0,95	0,18	-13%	-56%	-7%	-1%	56%
Middle East & N.Africa	0,609	0,409	0,942	0,965	0,121	0,57	0,39	0,88	0,97	0,07	7%	5%	7%	-1%	73%
Global	0,677	0,583	0,95	0,975	0,218	0,58	0,93	0,96	0,17	1%	2%	2%	2%	28%	

The improvement of gender equality, globally and in LAC, is due to the improvement (94%) of political empowerment and a very limited in economic participation and opportunities (+13%). The region seems to be doing well in improving women political representation, with few more women in the political elites, but not bringing economic equality to all women in the region.

Table 2 – GGG evolution of selected countries (2006-2021)

GGG 2006-2021	Argent.	Brazil	Chile	Colombia	C.Rica	Ecuador	Mexico	Panama	Peru	Spain	USA	India	Germany
GGG 2021 Rank	35	93	70	59	15	48	25	46	66	14	30	140	11
Score	0,752	0,695	0,702	0,725	0,788	0,729	0,754	0,73	0,14	0,788	0,763	0,625	0,796
GGG 2006 Rank	41	67	78	22	30	82	75	31	60	11	23	98	5
Score	0,683	0,654	0,645	0,705	0,694	0,643	0,646	0,693	0,662	0,732	0,704	0,601	0,752
Improve in rank 2021-2006	6	-26	8	-37	15	34	50	-15	-6	-3	-7	-42	-6
Improve in score 2021-2006	0,069	0,041	0,057	0,02	0,094	0,086	0,108	0,037	-0,522	0,056	0,059	0,024	0,044
GNP Per capita (2019) WB PPP	\$ 22.060	\$ 14.850	\$ 24.140	\$ 15.150	\$ 19.250	\$ 11.500	\$ 19.810	\$ 30.600	\$ 12.760	\$42.300	\$ 65.880	\$ 6.960	\$ 57.690
GNP Per capita (2019) WB Rank	67	91	63	88	73	112	70	50	104	31	10	131	17
Political Empow. Rank 2021	25	108	49	67	8	48	14	62	53	15	37	51	10
Score	0,39	0,138	0,283	0,216	0,545	0,26	0,468	0,222	0,247	0,491	0,329	0,276	0,509
Political Empow. Rank 2006	23	86	56	27	15	64	45	35	31	5	66	20	6
Score	0,204	0,061	0,109	0,18	0,277	0,1	0,133	0,153	0,165	0,421	0,097	0,227	0,366
Improve in rank 2021-2006	-2	-22	7	-40	7	16	31	-27	-22	-10	29	-31	-4
Improve in score 2021-2006	0,186	0,077	0,174	0,036	0,268	0,16	0,335	0,069	0,082	0,07	0,232	0,049	0,143
Econ. Equality Rank 2021	103	89	113	60	110	74	124	47	90	71	30	151	62
Score	0,639	0,665	0,61	0,708	0,624	0,68	0,574	0,725	0,654	0,699	0,754	0,326	0,706
Econ. Equality Rank 2006	82	63	90	39	89	92	98	44	86	85	3	110	32
Score	0,551	0,604	0,514	0,661	0,522	0,499	0,48	0,647	0,531	0,539	0,759	0,397	0,669
Improve in rank 2021-2006	-21	-26	-23	-21	-21	18	-26	-3	-4	14	-27	-41	-30
Improve in score 2021-2006	0,088	0,061	0,096	0,047	0,102	0,181	0,094	0,078	0,123	0,16	-0,005	-0,071	0,037

Table 2 compares GGG 2006-2021 of selected countries. We observe that LAC countries with a good position in global GGG 21 (Arg 35, C.Rica 15, Mex 25) have a low ranking in economic equality (Arg. 103, C.Rica 110, Mx 124). Countries with historical political gender quotas (Argentina in 1991, India in 1993), in 2021 have a bad economic gender equality ranking (Arg 103, India 151), where USA is in position 30 (of 156 countries) in gender economic equality never had gender quotas and lack almost any other

law in favor of women (not even maternity leave). Also, countries with female presidents/PM have a significant decrease in the ranking of economic equality in the period 2006-2017 (Argentina -21, Chile-23, Brazil -26, Germany -30).

H1: **Table 3** below shows the GGG2021 political and economic subindexes of LAC countries and compare with other economic data (World Bank 2019) such as GDP (ppp), % of services, degree of competitiveness, % of unemployment, Economic Freedom Index and Democracy Index from The Economist. Confirming data from previous table, we observe some of the first in regional GGG (Nicaragua Nr. 1, C.Rica Nr. 2 or Mexico Nr. 3) have a bad ranking in the global economic sub index and in particular in the women participation in labor and wage equality indexes (Nicaragua 120-127, C.Rica 110-121, Mexico 122-132) although they have a very good ranking in the global political empowerment (Nicaragua Nr. 5, C.Rica, Nr 8 and Mexico Nr.18).

For H1, we found a negative (-0,465, $p < 0,05$) correlation between political empowerment and economic opportunities for women. H1 is not validated; the opposite is confirmed; the more political empowerment of women, the less economic participation and opportunities for women.

H2: We found a statistically significant negative correlation between women in Parliament and economic participation and opportunities for women (-0,528, $p < 0,05$). H2 is not validated. We also found negative correlation, and statistically significant, between women in Parliament and equal salaries between men and women (-0,382, $p < 0,1$) and positive correlation and statistically significant relationship with unemployment (0,416, $p < 0,1$) and also negative with economic freedom (-0,343, $p < 0,1$). We found also negative correlations, but not statistically significant, with democratic index (-0,356), women in leadership (-0,270), unemployment (-0,277), GDP (-0,219), women leadership (-0,270), women in technology (-0,270) and with the GINI equality index (-0,212). These results suggest that having more women in Parliaments relates with a decrease economic participation and opportunities for women, with less wage sex equality and maybe with a worse economy and level of democracy, less women in leadership and less women in technology and less equality in general in their countries.

H3: We also found a statistically significant negative correlation (-0,336, $p < 0,1$) between women ministers in LAC (in relationship with number of men ministers) and economic participation and opportunities for women in the region. H3 is not confirmed, but the opposite is: countries with more women ministers have less women economic participation and opportunities for women.

Table 3 – GGG 2021 LAC countries with several World Bank data (2019) and correlations

	GGG 2021													World Bank 2019							Econ. GINI	Democ. Index**	Labor Nr.	Wage Nr.	WB W.Labour
	LA	GGG	Score	Nr.	Econ.	Nr.	Polit.	Labor	Wage	Parlam.	Minist.	STEM	Gend Tec	WLead	GDPPP	%Serv	Compet.	Unemp.	Freed.						
Nicaragua	1	12	0,796	120	0,598	5	0,606	0,608	0,561	0,938	1	n/a	4,16	3,94	\$ 5.407	49,69	51,5	6,84	57	46,2	3,6	127	119	38,58	
Costa Rica	2	15	0,786	110	0,624	8	0,545	0,695	0,607	0,838	1	0,3	4,58	4,49	\$ 19.642	69,6	62	11,85	66	48,3	8,16	111	101	39,03	
Barbados	3	27	0,769	7	0,837	50	0,278	0,935	0,682	0,25	0,462	n/a	4,36	5,04	\$ 15.637	66,33	58,9	10,33	61			19	65	49,33	
Mexico	4	34	0,757	122	0,59	18	0,468	0,596	0,502	0,931	0,727	0,38	4,08	3,59	\$ 19.746	60,51	64,9	3,42	66		6,07	129	132	37,77	
Argentina	5	35	0,752	103	0,639	25	0,39	0,749	0,573	0,736	0,222	0,42	4,54	3,99	\$ 22.033	59,63	57,2	9,79	53		6,95	100	117	42,96	
Trini&Tobago	6	37	0,749	68	0,703	39	0,319	0,732	0,635	0,355	0,499	n/a	4,55	4,55	\$ 26.176		58,3	2,69	58	40,3	7,16	102	87	42,55	
Cuba*	7	39	0,746	108	0,63	27	0,382	0,648	n/a	1	0,292	0,51	n/a	n/a					27		2,84	119	n/a	38,49	
Jamaica	8	40	0,741	24	0,768	64	0,23	0,854	0,61	0,401	0,2	n/a	4,64	4,45	\$ 9.762	59,33	58,3	8	69	45,5	7,13	64	100	45,95	
Ecuador	9	42	0,739	81	0,675	40	0,318	0,696	0,551	0,65	0,471	0,3	4,14	3,98	\$ 11.375	51,85	55,7	3,97	51	44,7	6,13	110	122	40,89	
El Salvador	10	43	0,738	106	0,634	35	0,347	0,619	0,47	0,499	0,779	0,24	3,77	3,51	\$ 8.776	59,93	52,6	4,11	62	38	5,9	123	136	41,96	
Panama	11	44	0,737	45	0,731	57	0,252	0,713	0,597	0,29	0,456	0,41	4,55	4,41	\$ 31.459	64,97	61,6	3,9	67	49,9	7,18	107	104	40,35	
Suriname	12	51	0,729	67	0,703	56	0,252	0,631	n/a	0,416	0,499	n/a	n/a	n/a	\$ 16.329			7,33	50	57,6	6,82	120	n/a		
Bahamas	14	58	0,725	2	0,857	146	0,064	0,881	n/a	0,147	0,072	n/a	n/a	n/a	\$ 35.783			10,36	65			54	n/a	47,51	
Colombia	15	59	0,725	60	0,708	67	0,216	0,728	0,56	0,232	0,582	0,39	4,43	4,04	\$ 14.730	57,53	62,7	9,71	69	49,7	7,04	103	120	42,95	
Bolivia	16	61	0,722	121	0,595	34	0,352	0,795	0,468	0,859	0,285	n/a	3,46	3,28	\$ 8.724	50,72	51,8	3,5	43	44	5,08	84	137	44,16	
Peru	17	62	0,721	109	0,629	43	0,31	0,841	0,515	0,355	0,727	0,66	3,99	3,63	\$ 12.848			61,7	3,31	68	43,3	6,53	67	129	45,74
Honduras	18	67	0,716	52	0,721	85	0,179	0,617	0,567	0,179	0,218	0,36	3,88	3,72	\$ 5.728	57,57		5,39	61	50,5	5,36	125	118	38,21	
Chile	19	70	0,702	113	0,61	49	0,283	0,751	0,546	0,292	0,437	0,18	4,22	3,99	\$ 24.226	58,71	70,5	7,09	77	46,6	8,28	99	124	42,25	
Uruguay	20	85	0,702	76	0,69	107	0,14	0,825	0,614	0,319	0,167	0,46	4,67	4,25	\$ 21.561	60,91	63,5	8,73	69	39,5	8,61	74	98	45,51	
Paraguay	21	86	0,702	85	0,672	94	0,164	0,672	0,579	0,176	0,312	n/a	4,25	3,85	\$ 12.685	50,42	53,6	4,81	63		6,18	105	112	40,49	
Dom Rep.	22	89	0,699	101	0,646	88	0,172	0,699	0,551	0,387	0,211	0,35	4,34	4,17	\$ 18.419	60,33	58,3	5,84	61	45,7	6,32	109	123	40,32	
Belize	23	90	0,699	34	0,749	140	0,075	0,623	n/a	0,143	0,125	0,4	n/a	n/a	\$ 7.005	66,51		6,41	57			122	n/a	38,85	
Venezuela*	24	91	0,699	112	0,617	77	0,199	0,586	0,662	0,285	0,449	n/a	4,76	4,4			41,8	8,8	25	46,9	2,76	131	66	39,12	
Brazil	25	93	0,695	89	0,665	108	0,138	0,665	0,542	0,179	0,117	0,37	4,14	3,7	\$ 14.652	63,25	60,9	12,08	54	53,5	8,28	94	126	43,58	
Guatemala	26	122	0,655	129	0,56	122	0,112	0,481	0,579	0,241	0,153	0,32	4,12	4	\$ 8.638	62,66	53,5	2,46	64		4,97	138	111	33,08	

* Economic data not reliable/available ** The Economist Intelligence Unit Democracy Index 2020

CORR. COEF.	Econ.Emp	Pol. Emp.	Labor	Wages	Parlam.	Ministers	STEM	Gteck	Wlead
GDP (ppp)	0.324	-0.109	0,462*	0.082	-0.219	-0.070	-0.150	0,606***	0,307**
%Service	0.315	-0.186	0.065	0,415*	-0.086	-0.043	-0.269	0.095	0.048
Competitiveness.	0.194	0.023	0,386*	-0.161	-0.086	0.024	0.049	0.092	0.058
Unemployment	0,367*	-0.129	0.344	0,416*	-0.277	-0.043	-0.220	0,486**	0,399*
Econ.Freedom	0.216	-0.102	0.302	-0.174	-0,343*	0.117	-0.269	0.035	0.061
Polit. Empow	-0,465**	1,00***	-0.083	-0.220	0,862***	0,804***	-0.038	-0.125	-0.077
W.Parlament	-0,528**	0,862***	-0.1468	-0,382*	1***	0,495**	-0.1134	-0.231	-0.270
W.Ministers	-0,336*	0,804***	-0.1433	-0.144	0,495**	1***	-0.0810	-0.0677	-0.006
GINI	0.236	-0.166	-0.368	0.144	-0.212	-0.121	-0.051	0.095	0.048
%W Workforce	0.167	-0.032	0,939***	0.125	-0.074	-0.114	0.319	0.101	0.245
Democ. Index	0,403*	-0.197	0,527**	-0.019	-0.356	-0.083	-0.217	0.265	0.216
W.Lead	0,614**	-0.077	0,360	0,904***	-0.270	-0.006	-0.094	0,795***	1,00***

*p<0.1 **p<0.05 ***p<0.001

5. Discussion, Limitations and Strategic Recommendations

5.1 Discussion

It is hard to justify a causation of this negative correlation between political empowerment and economic participation of women but we could argue that gender (women) policies and Governments prioritize political representation and parity over economic opportunities. The patriarchy narrative defends the struggle for political power to reach economic equality between sexes. Upon the above data, we could defend that countries with lower democratic quality, to advance in the gender rankings, move women to Parliament and Ministers to be reported as equal, although the reality is the opposite. Some data could confirm this point:

The first LAC country in GGG2021 index is Nicaragua (Table 3), with one of the lowest democracy indexes in the region (3,6), after Cuba (2,84) and Venezuela (2,76), where Brazil, with the second highest value for democracy (8,28) is just before Guatemala at the end of gender equality. Democratic Index is positively related with women economic participation (0.403, $p<0,1$), women participation in labor (0,527, $p<0,001$) but negatively, not statistically significant, with women in Parliament (-0,356, nss) and this also negatively relates with democratic index (-0,3858), with women in leadership (-0,270) and even with GINI equality index (-0,212).

Some other findings. There is a good correlation between GDP and women in technology (0,606, $p<0,01$), but poor with women in STEM (0,150). GGG defines women in STEM as % male/female graduating from STEM programs and Women in Tech as an answer to a question regarding gender parity in technical roles; one is an opinion, STEM) % number of graduates.

Also, there is a positive correlation between GDP and women leadership (0,307, $p<0,5$) and women participation in labor (0,462, $p<0,1$) and economic participation for women (0,324, nss) but negative with women in Parliaments (-0,219, nss). On the other hand, we also found a positive correlation between unemployment with economic opportunities for women (0,367, $p<0,1$), equal wages among sexes (0,416, $p<0,1$), women in technology (0,486, $p<0,05$) and women leadership (0,399, $p<0,1$). "It's the economy, stupid (Carville, 1992). It seems better economy brings better opportunities for women, but LAC economy is confusing.

These results may indicate the patriarchy construct may not be useful to diagnose and specially resolve the economic inequalities between men and women. But we could defend the opposite; the problem is not that access of women to political power does not bring economic opportunities for women, but just that we do not measure it well. We measure parity, not power.

UK has a long tradition of improving women in the political and business world since Thatcher was in power (1979-1990). The evolution 2016-2020 of women on boards in the FTSE 250 shows an increase from 406 to 620 women holding directorships position, but only an increase from 29 to 47 in executive positions and 371 to 573 in non-executive positions (Vinnicombe et col, 2020). More women on boards, but no more power. In a similar way, if we evaluate with PROLID data the increase of women minister in LAC in the period 1950-2007, we see the majority is in "women ministries" (social, culture, health, environment) with relatively low actual power (Rivera-Mata, 2012). More women ministers, but not a significant increase in power. And if we evaluate 21 years of women Presidents in LAC (Chile, Argentina,

Brazil) we found that no significant improvement in GGG gender equality indicators happened versus 18 years of male Presidents (Rivera-Mata, 2018). More women, no more power.

If we define equality in terms of power and economic capacity -specially under a patriarchy point of view- gender equality indicators should be adapted to compare actual shares of power in Government and economy income and wealth, not % of men and women (parity).

These findings suggest that governments are prioritizing parity -just sex indicators- over equality, even more so those with low democratic quality. Economic gender equality in their countries is left behind as a goal. In 2018 Spain had a new Government; the PM broke a ministry held before by a man in several ones with women and he made, in one day, Spain to be the country with highest number (64,7%) of women ministers globally improving significantly in the GGG index (Aguilar and Sanchez, 2018). But Spain, in GGG21 is number 8 in political empowerment, 72 in economic equality and 112 in wage equality. Economic equality is not easy and short-term political gains seem to be the goal more than sex equality.

5.2. Limitations

We hope to have contributed to a better understanding of inequality between men and women in Latin America, in particular in the economic area, but there are many limitations to this study.

There are confusing concepts. Gender is used as sex (men and women) or just refers to women. Few studies evaluate the social relevance (gender) of being man or woman, key to achieve a real equality. Parity is used for equality, leaders for elites and leadership for power. Better leadership theorizing is required (Asford and Sitkin, 2019:458) as society is changing at a higher speed. It seems we are just going back to a "Great Woman" theory instead of the "Great Man" to make it equal, but probably equally wrong with the women leadership advantage (Eagly & Carli, 2003).

GGG is broadly used by Governments, reliable and consistent, also uses confusing terminology, but other indicators could be used. The relative weight of the different sub-indexes in the GGG could have changed since 2006, and the number of countries, to reflect the importance of them to reduce inequality, although limiting the ability to compare recent data with previous year.

We could have done more and different statistical analysis; data available, from different countries, areas, indexes and sub-indexes does not make clear how to make a relevant statistical analysis. Correlation of other variables could be done. There is a lack of studies relating to the cause-effect; more women generate a better economy and more profitable companies or is the opposite? The first is the dominant belief; in this study we present some indications that perhaps is the opposite. More studies are needed to understand and eliminate sex inequalities.

Another limitation in the dominant belief that any policy for women is good and effective and any discussion is an attack to all women and not a facts-finding research interest to resolve the problem. The diagnosis and solution of inequality under a categorization (patriarchy) limits the ability to find elements to diagnose and resolve the problem. Critical thinking and discussion with alternative possible solutions has to be facilitated and encouraged.

5.3. Strategic Recommendations.

There is a real problem: men and women do not have real equal power in the world. LAC has improved in political women representation but economic inequalities between men and women persist, representing an injustice and a limitation for regional competitiveness. With the above study and review, we present here some strategic recommendations to improve regional economic gender equality:

Strategic Plan: if not agreed/written, a gender equality strategy has to be designed for LAC, with priorities and a “path” for equality, supported by studies and data, timelines, actions, support and resources. It seems the focus is acting with multiples goals, without a clear strategic path to equality; actions without strategy hardly could bring results.

Words matters. We encourage including in all studies and policies definitions of concepts as sex, gender, equality, parity, leadership, elites, leaders, representation, etc. Some words became fashionable and likeable and make some policies and actions fashionable just because they use those names, but do not contribute to equality.

Better diagnosis: we need more studies for the diagnosis of economic inequalities and between sexes in particular. Simple approaches should be abandoned for more complex, systemic and really transversal analysis of effectiveness of public policies. We recommend facilitating critical thinking and approaches and views differing from the dominant categorical narratives.

Economic inequality: political representation is not bringing economic equality to women. Governments seem to use political representation as a tool to achieve short-term goals in equality indicators without a real commitment for sex or gender equality. Economic equality should be the first priority in gender policies in LAC. Woetzel (2015) measured the number of women affected by inequalities globally; 15.000 in political under-representation but 551 million in wage gap for similar work; regionally this would be approximately 1,200 women in political under-representation vs. 4.6 million women in wage gap; the target is larger, but also the impact.

Women elites: The idea of changing the top, reaching political and economic sex parity among the elites, to trickle down equality for all women, seems not to work. The higher the number of women in LAC Parliaments, the lower the economic gender equality. How can this be possible?

Radical feminists’ approaches embracing patriarchy construct assumes all women are the same, as Marxist theories considered workers and capitalists. Women are diversity but also diverse. Women, like men, do not lack ambition (Fell, 2004). We could argue that women in the political and economic elites behave like men in same elites. In one study of 2.150 male and female managers in Spain, 38,4% male have the same personality (action oriented, rational, planned, organized) and 43% of female had that same personality (Rivera-Mata, 2011). In a similar way, when evaluating 429 young leaders from LAC in Georgetown University we found male and females were very similar in personality and needs, but very different from LAC general population (Rivera Mata, 2019). Leaders, elites, are different than general population and similar among themselves, regardless of their sex. It is easier stereotyping: as women (general population) are empathic/caring/inclusive, all women are empathic/caring/inclusive (even the elite), and any woman is more so than any man.

Parity: Governments focused in improving the GGG rankings. A quick way to improve the gender equality rankings in to increase women in Ministries, Parliaments or Women on Boards, trying to reach the goal

of 50% parity. But if we achieve parity, do we achieve equality? Historically, heterosexual marriages are 50/50 but not equal. Why to expect anything different in political and business organizations? Most indexes are indicators of elites parity, not equality, impacting a limited number of women (Woetzel et al., 2015).

We agree with Jeffrey Pfeffer from Stanford and his book "Leadership BS" (Pfeffer, 2015) and Barbara Kellerman from Harvard in her "The End of Leadership" (Kellerman, 2012); leadership is a huge industry today and many times we mention leadership not to say power. Let's be more pragmatic in trying to reach equality among men and women. A male executive and a female non-executive board member have different power; a male Minister of Defense and a female Minister of Culture have different power. Why to measure the same for the purpose of "gender equality"? We should re-define leaders as elites (going back to Weber) to have a better understanding and dynamics of men and women in the of political and business organizations.

Gender (input), not sex (output): Many "gender" policies work in outputs (women in political and economic elites, in STEM etc.), not in the input of the social categorization (gender) of what a man or a woman is and should be. We recommend developing gender policies focusing on the input of this social categorization of sex we call gender; otherwise, we could not achieve sustainable economic equality between men and women. In the 1980s we thought that once we achieved equal level of education between sexes, equality was guaranteed; the reality is complex. In USA 1986-2016, there were +4.9 million women University graduates (+2.7 Million men), but 80% of the graduates (2016) of "caring studies" (education, care, health) were women and only 20% in "men studies" (STEM) were women. The final result of this educational "equality" with voluntary sex segregation is that women make approximately 50% less salaries in their jobs, having 890 US\$ Billions of student debt, where men, earning more, have only 490 US\$ Billions of student debt (Rivera-Mata 2018b). Education did not bring economic sex equality, but increased inequality. We need to intervene in early stages of education in students, parents and teachers to avoid this perverse voluntary sex educational segregation in accordance with gender roles. This is quantitatively more relevant than "same job, same salary" initiatives, it will take much longer to achieve, but if we do not work on that we will not achieve actual same economic level of men and women even if we achieve same salary for same jobs.

USA Constitution does not recognize sex equality, but it is a country with good economic opportunities for women, more so than many others with constitutional recognition of sex equality. In USA, without gender quotas but with high economic gender equality, when people are asked if "pre-school child suffers with a working mother" 24.9% agree/strongly agree, where in LAC is 42.5% and "being a housewife is just as fulfilling as having a paid job" in USA 74.5% agree/ strongly agreed in USA and 50,3% in LAC (Busson and Mesina, 2020). We need to work on gender, not on one sex only; otherwise, we might achieve sex parity, but not gender equality.

Economic Inequality: we recommend evaluating and promoting economic equalities policies, tax progression and other fiscal policies. The goal of economic sex equality policies should be to be equally affluent, not equally poor (as Marxists systems achieved). LAC has some of the highest economic inequalities in the world; 1% of the population owns 21% of the regional economy and redistribution policies reduce inequality by less than 5%, whereas the industrialized world does so by 38% (Busson and Mellisa, 2020). We have to improve this through better governance, tax collection and democratic processes, to have additional public income to spend in family and social care programs that free women from their traditional caring roles to be more equal in the labor force and improve wage equality. We are cautious with the trend to give economic value to the "care economy" (previously domestic work)

(Esquivel, 2011). To recognize the importance of women in this activity, develop public programs to increase co-responsibility among sexes and to free women from family duties to be more equal in the workforce is recommendable, but to compensate present caring activities at home would perpetuate gender roles and limit access to equal workforce and wages. As we have seen with voluntary education gender segregation, we consider this could perpetuate, even increase, gender roles (man acting/providing, women caring) Spain in 2007 increased maternity paid leave, allowing sharing it with the male partner. This increased the difficulty of women to be equally competitive in the workplace and reaching leadership positions, as they took the leave given to men. In 2019 it was regulated that paternity leaves eventually should have same period and not sharable among them to reduce inequalities in the workplace. Some laws that are good for some women are finally bad for gender equality.

Correlation, causation and extrapolation. We have seen a negative correlation between women political empowerment and economic participation and opportunities. Correlation means that two events happen at the same time, not implying that women Ministers and in Parliament increase gender economic inequality. The same happens with women CEOs and on boards; companies with more women executives have more profits but not necessarily due to that. The most profitable companies have more corporate jets, but nobody recommends buying more jets to be more profitable (correlation, no causation). Now some large consultancy firms, without peer-review research studies, advocate that bringing equal salary and labor participation to women would bring 1-3 US\$ trillion to LAC economies. Those are extrapolations; if the average GDP/person in LAC would be equal to the one in USA the region would be in a much better situation. Yes, but how do we do achieve that? Here we have the same problem. An increased gender economic participation would benefit LAC, but should we intervene with more policies for women or should we improve the economy to increase the need of more women and to pay them more equitable salaries as they are more needed? USA, a country without almost any gender policies has a better economic gender participation and opportunity (GGG nr. 26) than any LAC country and countries with historical political gender quotas are bad in economic gender equality (Argentina nr. 102, India nr.112). We believe gender policies should avoid working only with or for women but facilitate systemic and structural changes that reduce gender differences and increase equality among sexes. We recommend improving competitiveness, governance and democratic processes to facilitate that women, with better educational achievement in LAC, like in USA, would be demanded by the economy. Governance, democracy and competitiveness will cause women economic participation and opportunities. We hope this this study helps to document some indications of that causation.

Heifetz (1994) wrote "Leadership without easy answers". The problem in leadership and gender is that many people want easy answers to complicated problems and people in position of power are willing to give easy answers. This study is "gender equality without easy answers".

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