

Differing Neighbors: Gender Inequality and Fertility in Chile and Bolivia

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Abstract

This article explores gender inequality in Chile and Bolivia. The two neighboring countries are at very different places in their development journeys. Chile is broadly considered the most developed nation in South America, while Bolivia continues to grapple with high levels of poverty and considerably lower levels of measurable development. Despite Chile's development progress, gaps in educational attainment and employment for women remain and the country faces issues with broader gender equality. Bolivia has similar gender-based gaps. This article analyzes how both countries have tried to remedy this inequality and proposes ideas for moving forward. The author concludes that the cultural differences in both countries require any solution to be specific to the social norms and practices of the country in which they are applied.

I. Introduction

All over the world, women struggle to obtain rights equal to those of their male counterparts. The state of women varies by country, yet women generally struggle to assert their autonomy, be it sexual, financial, or social across the world. While the exact form or degree to which women struggle to obtain these types of autonomy is dependent on the development status of their countries, this struggle is not unique to the developing countries in the world and is found in countries at every stage of development.

This article analyzes fertility rates and population growth of Bolivia and Chile in relation to other inequalities between men and women using data describing educational and employment opportunities. It considers the policies and positions of national governments, past and present, on gender inequality and analyzes ethical positions underpinning these policies. It also examines cultural barriers in both Bolivia and Chile that will affect future policies and should be considered when trying to promote gender equality in the two countries.

Following this introduction, Section II reviews some of the more recent literature on gender equality and reproductive rights in Bolivia and Chile. Section III uses three key indicators to provide the socioeconomic background of each country: GDP per capita, life expectancy at birth, and the adult literacy rate, all over time. Section IV examines specific indicators related to gender inequality and population growth and is split into three subsections: one dedicated to fertility rates

and population growth, one dedicated to differences in education, and one dedicated to differences in employment. Section V consists of an ethical analysis of gender inequality and is split into two subsections: one analyzing past and present policies in both countries and one discussing a possible path forward. Section VI summarizes and concludes this article.

II. Brief Literature Review

The literature on fertility and contraception in Latin America is extensive. While there are fewer pieces dedicated to any specific country, there are still publications that cover fertility issues in Chile and Bolivia. Cordova-Pozo et. al (2017) focuses on the regulatory environment surrounding contraception in Bolivia and two other Latin American countries. McNamee (2009) focuses on fertility in Bolivia and examines the differences in total fertility rates (TFR) between indigenous women and nonindigenous women in Bolivia. Gideon (2006) examines how neoliberalism and globalization impacted women's access to healthcare, amongst other social and economic rights, as Chile developed, and Salinas and Jorquera-Samter (2021) examined how adolescent fertility in Chile impacted women compared to men.

- Cordova-Pozo et. al (2017) examines the regulations surrounding contraception and fertility in Bolivia to understand whether or not the laws comply with World Health Organization (WHO) guidelines, which frames contraception access as a human right. They found that while Bolivia's laws do comply, there were weaknesses in accessibility, quality, and accountability and highlighted the lack of policies designed to ensure access for the poor and those with geographic barriers to accessing healthcare. The illegality of abortion, except in cases of rape, incest, or to protect the health of the woman also contributes to Bolivia's fertility rates.
- McNamee (2009) sought to explain whether differences in TFR between indigenous populations and non-indigenous populations was due to differences in family preference or if it was more closely related to ethnic differences in wanted vs unwanted fertility. Given Bolivia's substantial indigenous population, differences in indigenous vs non-indigenous fertility rates would contribute largely to overall fertility trends. McNamee found that the difference in TFR between the two groups is explained almost entirely by differences in unwanted fertility; indigenous women have much higher unwanted fertility than non-indigenous women. She also finds that there is large agreement among indigenous couples (higher than among non-indigenous couples) about the desired number of children, and therefore concludes that an unmet need for contraception and a lack of approval of family planning in indigenous populations are most likely to be the key explanations of higher unwanted fertility for Bolivian indigenous women.
- Gideon (2006) examines how neoliberalism and globalization, which were key parts of Chile's development, can impact women's rights and their access to them. While she examined many aspects, her findings on women's access to healthcare and the labor field will be discussed in this brief literature review. Gideon (2006) found that due to women's presence in the informal sector and the shift from social insurance to private healthcare, women's access is often diminished. She found that women's presence in the informal sector and a considerable wage gap between men and women made it harder for women to access healthcare, especially for those without a male partner, who were only entitled to basic services that did not include, for example, income subsidies for pregnant women.

- Salinas and Jorquera-Samter (2021) examined the effects of adolescent pregnancy in Chile on high school dropout rates. Their key findings include that the probability of a woman dropping out of high school is 16-18 percent higher if she has a child in her adolescence, though it is only 10 percent higher for men that have a child in their adolescence. In addition, most of the people who have children in their adolescence are women, not men. The effects this has on women’s education are likely to be long-lasting, impacting their employment opportunities and their financial autonomy. They also noted that those who have children in adolescence are often those who were already marginalized in some way, by factors including socio-economic class, disability status, and familial background.

III. Socio-Economic Background

Chile, with a population of 19.5 million as of 2021,¹ is situated on the southwestern edge of Latin America and is rich in natural resources that help to fuel its economy, especially copper. As of 2021, ore and metal exports accounted for roughly 62.2 percent of Chile’s merchandise exports.² Other mining products, such as lithium, and agricultural goods such as fish, are also an important piece of Chile’s economic success.³ Combined with their economic success, Chile’s long life expectancy, high scores in education, and its high income per capita, mean that Chile boasts a Human Development Index (HDI) score of 0.855 as of 2021, the highest score in the region, firmly placing it within the category of having obtained “very high human development”.⁴

Bolivia, Chile’s neighbor to the northwest, has not had quite the same success story. While also rich in natural resources, these resources have yet to propel Bolivia to the level of development that Chile has achieved. Estimated at 21 million tons, Bolivia is home to the world’s biggest lithium reserves, holding about one quarter of the entire global resource, but has not had the same success in utilizing this resource.⁵ As of 2021, Bolivia had a population of 12.1 million people and achieved an HDI score of 0.692, which falls in the category of “medium human development”, below the world average and below most of the other countries in the region.⁶

Figure 1 shows the purchasing power parity (PPP)-adjusted GDP per capita in constant 2017 international \$ for both Chile and Bolivia from 1990 to 2021. Chile has seen steady increases in GDP per capita since 1990, with occasional dips, largely coinciding with global economic shocks (the recession in 2008 and COVID-19). In addition to having much lower levels of GDP per capita than Chile, Bolivia also has seen much lower growth rates. While Chile’s PPP-adjusted GDP per capita more than doubled from \$9,702 in 1990 to \$25,449 in 2021, Bolivia’s PPP-adjusted GDP per capita increased from \$4,438 in 1990 to \$8,052 in 2021, which is a cumulative growth rate of 81.4 percent over 31 years, a rate lower than Chile’s.

Figure 2 depicts life expectancy in Bolivia and Chile from 1970 to 2020. While both countries have seen steady increases in life expectancy, Bolivia’s life expectancy remains roughly ten years lower than Chile’s and dipped considerably during the COVID-19 pandemic. Both countries have

¹ World Bank (2023).

² Observatory of Economic Complexity (OEC) (2022).

³ Observatory of Economic Complexity (OEC) (2022).

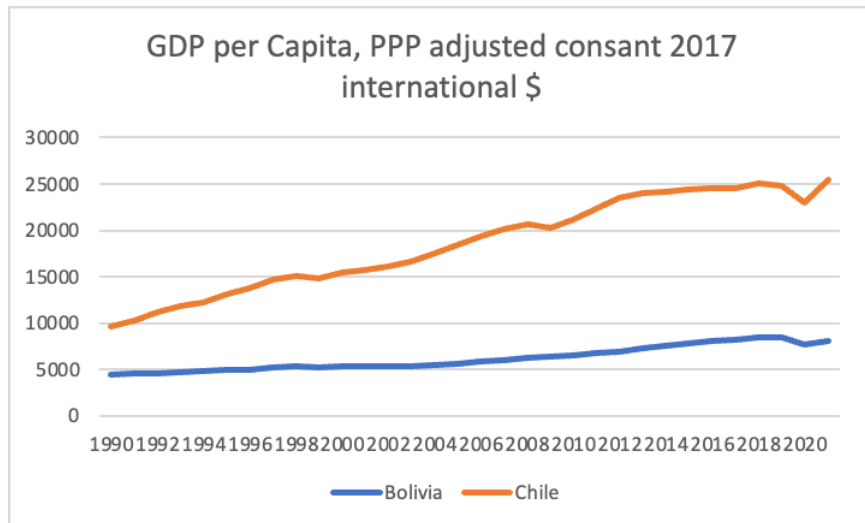
⁴ United Nations (2023).

⁵ Fawthrop (2020).

⁶ World Bank (2023) and United Nations (2023).

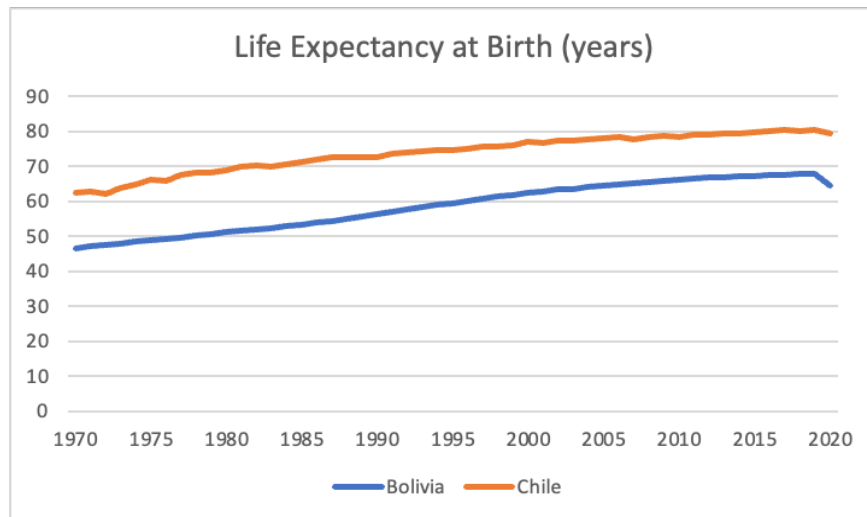
seen a roughly 20-year increase in the average life expectancy of their citizens over the past 50 years.

Figure 1: PPP-adjusted GDP per Capita, constant 2017 international \$, 1990-2021



Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2023).

Figure 2: Life Expectancy at Birth in Years, 1970-2020

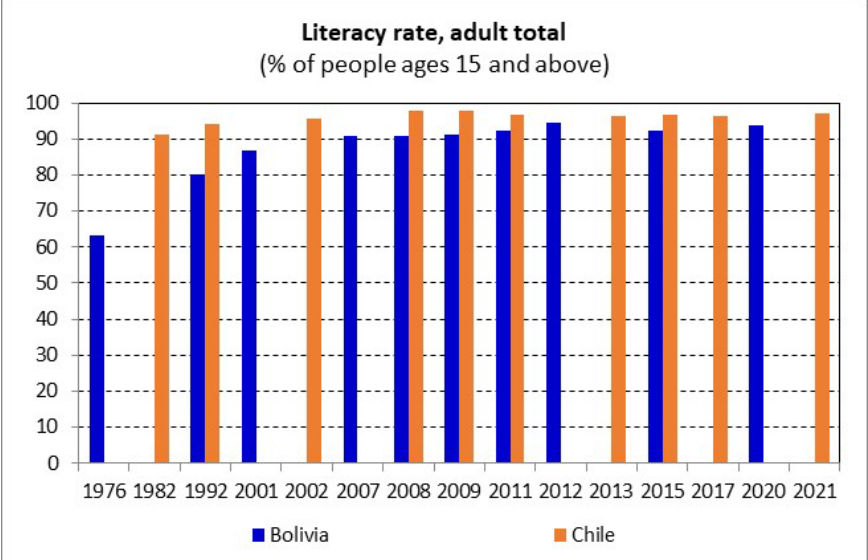


Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2023).

Figure 3 charts the adult literacy rate in each country for the years available, beginning in 1976 for Bolivia and in 1982 for Chile. Both countries have achieved adult literacy rates nearing 100 percent in recent years, though Bolivia remains slightly below Chile’s literacy rates in all of the years for which there is comparable data. Within this millennium, Bolivia’s literacy rate averaged at 91.5 percent, while Chile’s averaged at 96.8 percent. While Bolivia has seen steady increases in its adult literacy from 1976 until 2012, Bolivia’s literacy rate has, despite some volatility, overall declined since 2012, when it was 94.5 percent, compared to 93.9 percent in 2020. Chile’s literacy rates have

been more stable within this millennium than Bolivia’s, fluctuating only marginally between a minimum of 95.7 percent in 2002 and a maximum of 97.7 percent in 2008, with the literacy rate for the last available year (2021) being 97.0 percent, close to the 2008 maximum.

Figure 3: Total Adult Literacy Rate (percent), all available years



Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2023).

IV. Analysis of Facts

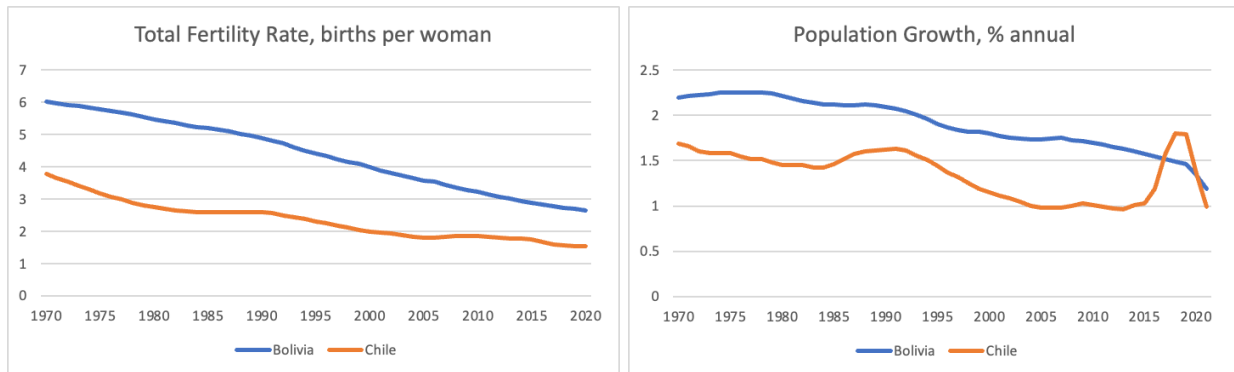
This section is divided into three sub sections. The first subsection examines the data related to fertility, population growth, and the adolescent fertility rate. The second examines the differences in education using literacy rates, enrollment rates, and educational attainment. The third subsection examines some gender differences in employment and labor force participation.

IV.1. Fertility, Population Growth, and Adolescent Fertility

The total fertility rate, or average births per woman, has been steadily declining for the past 50 years in both Chile and Bolivia, as shown in Figure 4. Chile’s most recent fertility rate of about 1.5 births per woman is far below the world average of roughly 2.3 births per woman while Bolivia’s total fertility rate of roughly 2.7 births per woman is 0.4 births above the world average.⁷ There have been a few sharp changes in total fertility rate in both countries, but the total fertility rate continuously trends downwards. Annual population growth in Chile and Bolivia (shown in Figure 5) has also been in a nearly steady decline for the past 50 years, except for a temporary spike in Chile’s population growth from 2017 to 2019. With regards to population growth, Bolivia has seen far less volatility than Chile.

⁷ World Bank (2023).

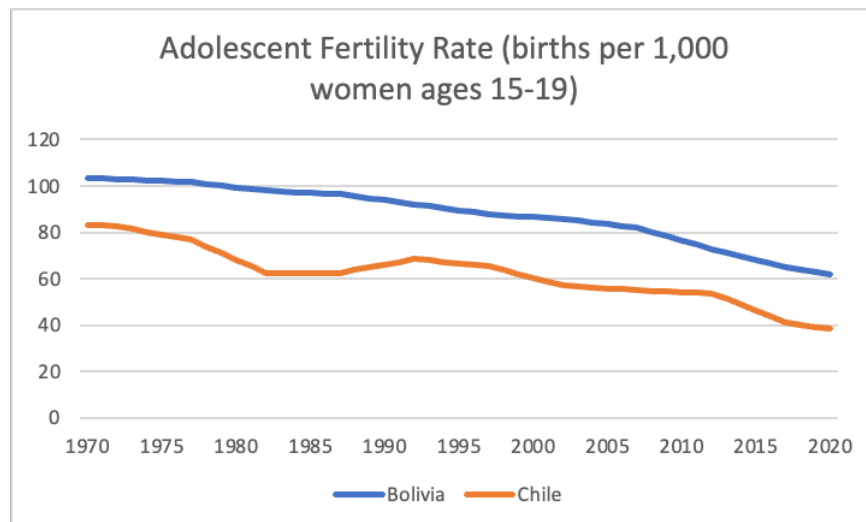
Figures 4 and 5: Total Fertility Rate and Population Growth in Chile and Bolivia



Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2023).

When considering the impact of pregnancy and population growth, adolescent fertility is important to consider as those who become pregnant during their adolescence are often already marginalized.⁸ Adolescent fertility also has an impact on educational attainment and employment opportunities, which tend to more negatively impact girls than boys.⁹ Figure 6 shows the evolution of adolescent fertility in Chile and Bolivia over the past 50 years. The adolescent fertility rate, like the total fertility rate, has also been declining steadily over the past 50 years. Bolivia’s most recent adolescent fertility rate of roughly 61.9 births is well above the world average of 41.1 births, while Chile’s adolescent fertility rate of 38.3 births is slightly below.¹⁰ Bolivia also has had an adolescent fertility rate above Chile’s, as is consistent with the gap in total fertility rates between the two countries.

Figure 6: Adolescent Fertility Rate in Bolivia and Chile



Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2023).

⁸ Salinas and Jorquera-Samter (2021).

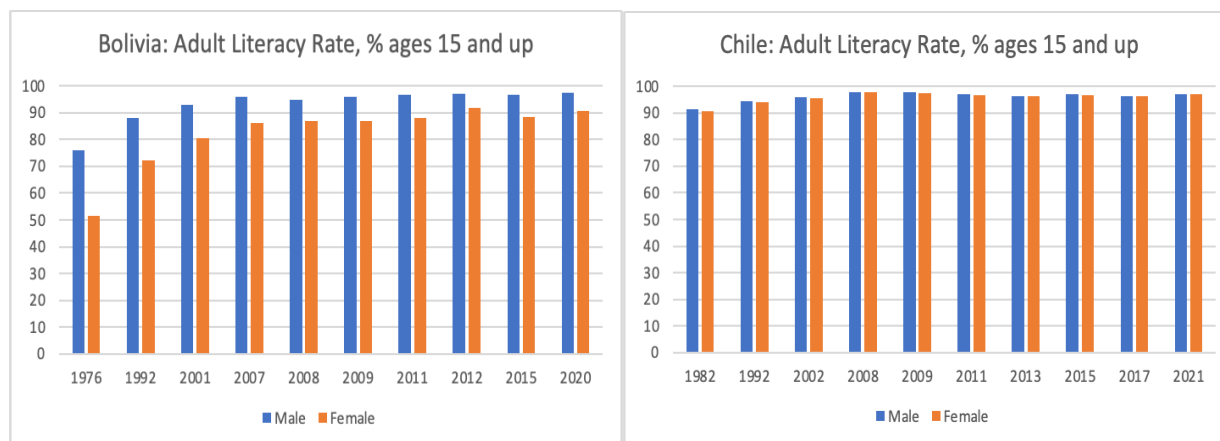
⁹ Salinas and Jorquera-Samter (2021).

¹⁰ World Bank (2023).

IV.2. Differences in Education

When examining the well-being of a society one of the factors used aside from GDP per capita is the literacy rate of that country. As shown in Figures 7 and 8, in both Bolivia and Chile, the literacy rates of adult men and adult women are not equal, though in recent years they have been quite close in Chile. Bolivia has a bigger gap in literacy rates for men and women than Chile, with the male literacy rate being roughly 97.0 percent and the female literacy rate being roughly 90.5 percent in 2020. However, considerable progress has been made since 1976, when the male literacy rate was 75.8 percent, and the female literacy rate was 51.4 percent. While Bolivia's 2020 numbers are above the world adult literacy rates for men and women, there is still a roughly seven percentage point gap between men and women in Bolivia. In Chile, the gap is much with the most recent male literacy rate being 97.1 percent and the female literacy rate being 97.0 percent. Literacy is a key life skill that facilitates participation in the labor force and allows one to be more independent. Gender differences in literacy therefore have implications for other gender differences, especially in employment, which will be examined in the next subsection.

Figures 7 and 8: Adult Literacy Rate in Bolivia and Chile

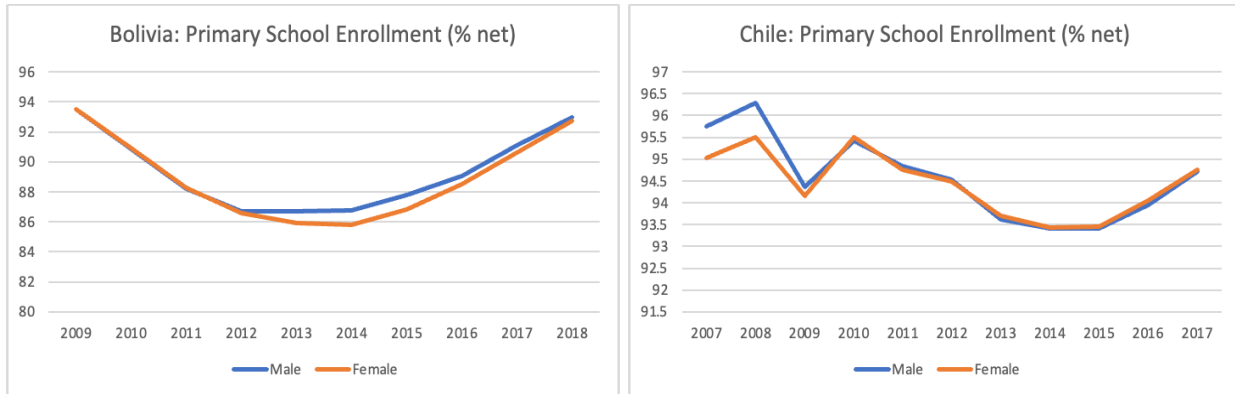


Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2023).

Also, key in understanding the inequality between men and women are the differences in their enrollment and educational attainment rates. Bolivia and Chile both have primary education enrollment rates above the world average of 89.4 percent for both male and female students¹¹. Figures 9 and 10 show enrollment rates in primary education for Bolivia and Chile, respectively, for the years such data is available. For both countries, primary school enrollment rates follow the same patterns regardless of gender and both countries have seen an equalization in the enrollment rates of male and female children. In 2018, the most recent year with available data, the primary school enrollment rate for male children was roughly 93.0 percent while the female rate was roughly 92.7 percent in Bolivia. In Chile, primary school enrollment rates are slightly higher than in Bolivia, with the male primary school enrollment rate being 94.7 percent in 2017 and the female enrollment rate being 94.8 percent.

¹¹ World Bank (2023).

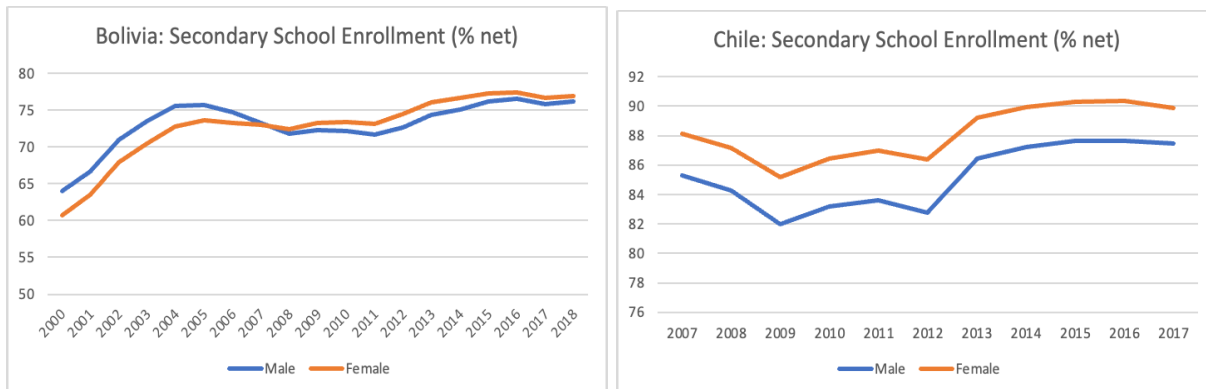
Figures 9 and 10: Primary School Enrollment in Bolivia and Chile



Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2023).

Interestingly, the trends in secondary school enrollment differ from the trends in primary school enrollment. Figures 11 and 12 graph the secondary school enrollment rates across time for Bolivia and Chile, respectively. In Bolivia, not only has there been an increase in overall secondary school enrollment rates, female enrollment has actually surpassed male enrollment rates in secondary school. In Chile, female enrollment rates have been consistently about 3 percentage points higher than male enrollment rates in secondary school since 2007.

Figures 11 and 12: Secondary School Enrollment in Bolivia and Chile

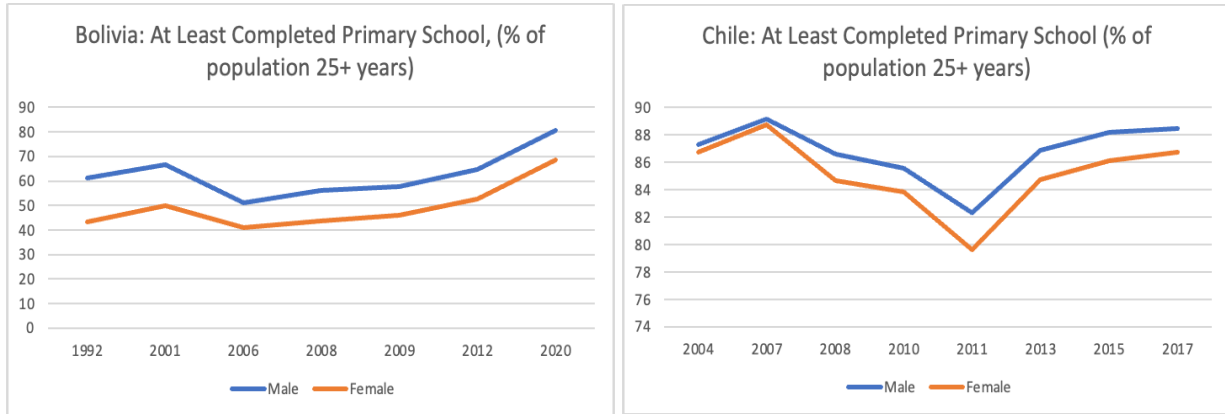


Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2023).

While enrollment rates are important to understand how many children are actively enrolled in school, attainment rates allow one to understand how many people above 25 have finished the different levels of schooling. For both Chile and Bolivia, this data follows a slightly different trend than enrollment data. Figures 13 and 14 graph the percentage of the population over 25 years who attained at least primary school education, respectively in Bolivia and Chile. For both countries, the percentage of the male population above 25 who completed at least primary school is higher than the percentage of the female population above 25. In Bolivia, this gap has narrowed over time, from roughly 61 percent of the male population over 25 in 1992 compared to roughly 43 percent of the female population in 1992, a difference of almost 20 percentage points, to a difference of closer to 10 percentage points in 2020, with roughly 80.7 percent of the male

population over 25 having completed primary school and roughly 68.4 percent of the female population. In Chile, the gap has actually widened since 2004 from a difference of less than 1 percentage point to a difference of roughly 2 percentage points, with roughly 88.4 percent of the male population over 25 having completed primary school and roughly 86.8 percent of the female population over 25 having completed primary school.

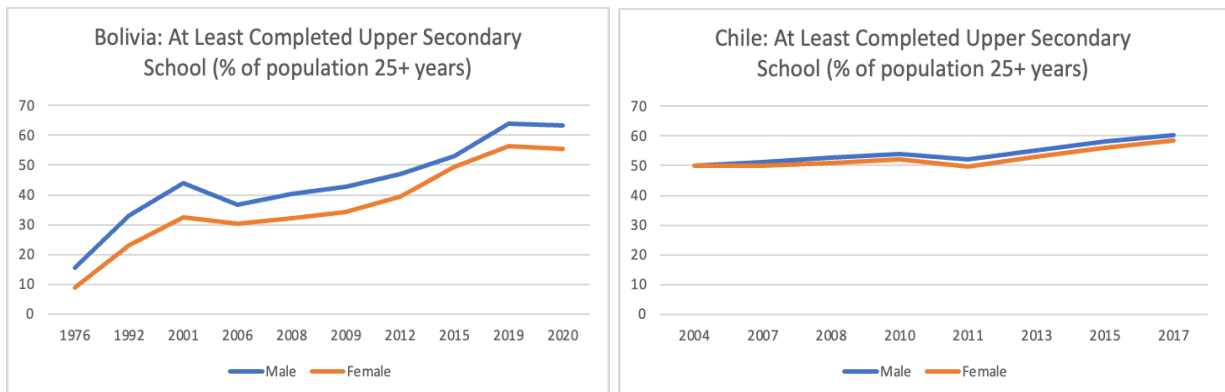
Figures 13 and 14: Primary School Attainment in Bolivia and Chile



Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2023).

When it comes to the attainment of upper secondary schooling, the trends are slightly different. Figures 15 and 16 show how secondary school attainment has changed over time for Bolivia and Chile. In Bolivia, attainment rates have increased for both sexes since 1976, but the female rate remains lower than the male attainment rate, similar to primary school attainment rates for Bolivia. In Chile, there has been considerably less growth in secondary school attainment rates, but data is also available for fewer years than for Bolivia, as the data begins only in 2004. In Chile, female rates of secondary school attainment are also lower than male attainment rates, though only by roughly two percentage points. These differences show that while more women are being enrolled in schools than in the past, grown women are still less likely to have attained the same level of education as grown men, affecting their employment opportunities and financial autonomy.

Figures 15 and 16: Upper Secondary School Attainment in Bolivia and Chile



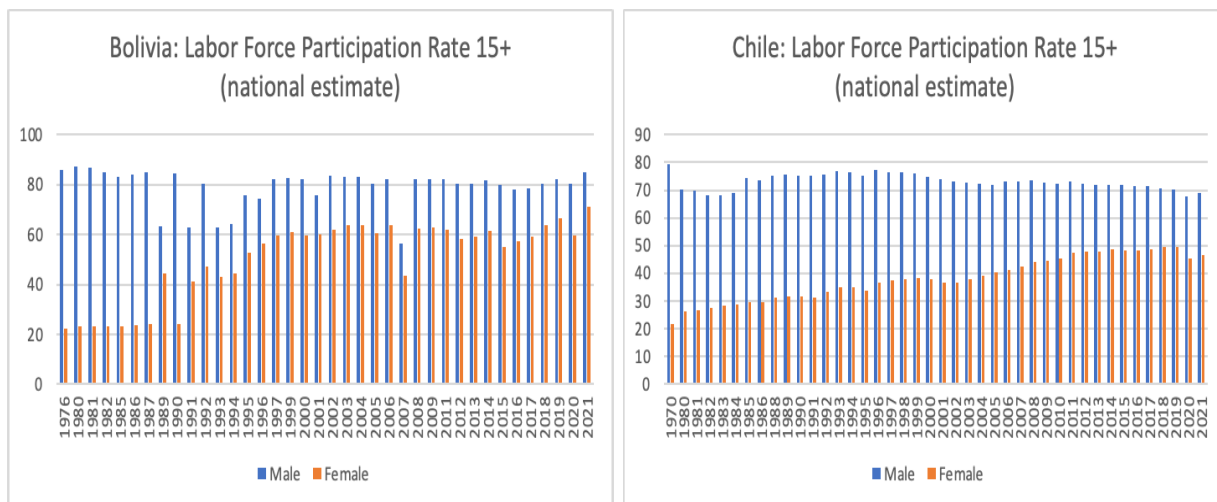
Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2023).

IV.3. Differences in Employment

In addition to inequality in education, Chile and Bolivia have both seen gendered differences in labor. In Bolivia, despite increases in the female labor participation rate, a gap remains between the male participation rate and the female participation rate. Figures 17 and 18 show the evolution of the labor force participation rate over time, respectively for Bolivia and Chile. In 2021, males had a labor participation rate of 84.7 percent while the female labor participation rate was only 71.2 percent in Bolivia.

Similarly, Chile, a country with lower labor force participation rates overall, had a male labor force participation rate of 68.9 percent while the female rate was only 46.7 percent in 2021. While these rates do not mean that only 71.2 percent of women in Bolivia or 46.7 percent of women in Chile work, as many women work in the informal sector, it does indicate that women are more likely to be in a vulnerable position, either because they are unemployed, or because they work in a sector where it is harder to earn a steady income and one that does not guarantee workers' benefits or protection.

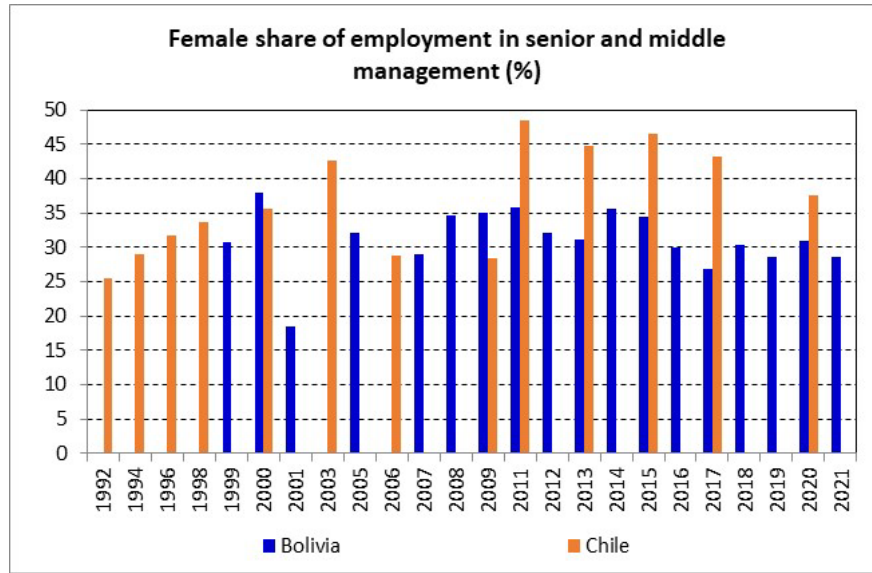
Figures 17 and 18: Labor Force Participation Rates in Bolivia and Chile



Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2023).

Not only are women underrepresented in the formal labor force in both Bolivia and Chile, they also tend to be underrepresented in certain sectors of the formal labor force. Figure 19 shows the share of women in senior and middle management positions in Bolivia and Chile. In 2020, women were only 37.5 percent of those in senior and middle management in Chile, and they were only about 28.6 percent of those in senior and middle management in Bolivia in 2021. Not only are these percentages very low, but the rate has overall declined since 2014 in Bolivia, and since 2011 in Chile. This is contrary to the progress made in fertility rates and adult literacy rates, though it is to some degree consistent with the increasing gender inequality in school attainment, especially in Chile.

Figure 19: Female Share in Senior and Middle Management (percent) in Bolivia and Chile



Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2023).

V. Ethical Analysis

V.1. Gender Equality Policies and Ethical Reasoning

Both Bolivia and Chile, like many Latin American countries, have dealt with oppressive dictatorships that for many years suspended the rights of the citizenry and acted as barriers to equality both broadly and as it relates to gender. In Bolivia, from 1964 to 1982, many short-lived dictatorships had control of the country before it finally returned to democracy with the election of Hernán Siles Zuazo in October of 1982 and the end of military rule. However, it was not until 1992 that inequality between men and women, both historically and at the time, became part of the government’s agenda. This included the establishment of the National Agency for Minors, Women, and the Family; this agency then produced the National Women’s Program, which took an egalitarian approach that saw the betterment of women’s status as something that could benefit all of society.¹² Over the years, restructuring has led to the responsibility of creating and promoting policies that benefit women to bounce from government ministries to states back to ministries. However, despite the expressed focus on women’s equality and its importance, lack of budget reallocation often meant that these organizations had less resources than they needed and could not work effectively.¹³

In 2009, after powerful indigenous social movements, the first indigenous president of Bolivia, Evo Morales, was elected and with him came a new constitution. The 2009 constitution prohibits discrimination based on sex, among other things, and takes an ethical approach that appears to combine the common good approach, as the constitution emphasized the importance of community and pluralism in Bolivia, as well as the rights approach, emphasizing the rights of all people, Bolivian or foreign. Since then, initiatives to solve problems like maternal mortality have had varying levels of success, with challenges being especially difficult in rural poor areas. Other

¹² United Nations (2004).

¹³ United Nations (2004).

initiatives have focused on reducing violence against women, including current president Luis Arce's initiatives to curb gender violence and corruption that fails to punish it. Despite this focus, as shown in the previous section, inequality between the sexes remains and work to close these gaps is still to be done.

Chile's history shares some commonalities with Bolivia. In 1970, Salvador Allende was elected as the first Marxist president of Chile. However, just three years later, in 1973, he was overthrown by a military coup that installed Augusto Pinochet. Up until 1990, the country was controlled by the brutal and oppressive military dictatorship. Since then, progress has been made in advancing women's equality. In 1991, the National Women's Service was created by the government, which strove to promote gender equality and women's rights in Chile by creating legislation with women at the center.¹⁴ In addition, other notable advancements include the legalization of divorce in 2004, the election of Michelle Bachelet, the first female Chilean president, in 2006, the adoption of quotas ensuring that 40 percent of Parliament candidates were women, and the government initiatives to create jobs and address gendered aspects of poverty.¹⁵

Most recently, the progressive government of Gabriel Boric, Chile's youngest president in history, has pledged to continue to fight gender inequality in Chile and seems to take a rights approach to doing so. On March 8, 2023, International Women's Day, he announced with the Women and Gender Equity Minister multiple measures designed to benefit Chilean women including nurseries which are designed to promote economic autonomy, low-cost contraceptives which is supposed to generate a price decrease of up to 80 percent, and a bill addressing violence against women.¹⁶ The plan to cement nursery access as a right is in line with previous research on what prevents women from participating in the labor force in Chile, with the number of children a woman has being inversely related to her labor force participation.¹⁷

In both Bolivia and Chile, the rights approach plays an important role in their gender equality policies. The rights approach asserts that all human beings are born with a set of rights that must be respected simply because they are human beings. Both countries argue that women do not currently have the equal rights they deserve as human beings and therefore work to change this. In Bolivia, this approach is also paired currently with the common goods approach, which emphasizes the importance of community and interdependence, two themes that are prevalent in Bolivia's recent constitution. In Chile, gender equality policies take a rights approach in that they emphasize the rights of women, while also reinforcing this approach with a utilitarian approach, which focuses on what does the most benefit and the least harm. Women participating in the labor force and being paid for their work benefits not only women, but also larger society and the economy, while also reducing harm done to women.

V.2. Ethical Perspectives on Gender Inequality

Danielle Nierenberg (2002) used the term "gender myopia" to describe a blindness to gender inequality and the different struggles that women face in trying to lead lives equal to those of men. Bolivia and Chile do not seem to have a blindness to gender inequality, rather they acknowledge and try to solve these issues. What now must occur is that programs and policies are designed and

¹⁴ Thelwell (2020).

¹⁵ Thelwell (2020).

¹⁶ Government of Chile (2023).

¹⁷ Contreras and Plaza (2010).

implemented with these differences in mind and with a goal of challenging the social norms that reinforce these differences. Suzette Mitchell (1994) found that empowerment of women, addressing strategic concerns, and gender analysis in project design were crucial ingredients in development for all. In both Bolivia and Chile, cultural norms surrounding gender must be accounted for when designing policies and programs intended to lessen the gap between men and women, especially when it comes to motherhood, education, and work. In Chile, women must contend with conservative social values based in machismo, in which their participation in the labor force is not always viewed as equally important as that of a man's. In practice, this means that women with young children are less likely to participate in the labor force, as are women who live with a male partner.¹⁸

Moving forward, policies must be designed with these norms in mind and work to challenge them, potentially through educational campaigns, while also keeping in mind the most culturally sensitive ways to do so. In addition, it would be easy to take the progress that Chile has already made for granted and assume that gender equality is not an issue that needs to be centered as Chile continues to develop. However, the gaps in labor force participation and educational attainment, as well as the negative impacts of the adolescent fertility rate need to be addressed so that progress towards equality can continue.

In Bolivia, there are further complications to addressing gender inequality in all of its forms. The multicultural nature of Bolivia requires not only a knowledge of machismo and how best to challenge it, but also a deep understanding of indigenous cultures and practices, which are deeply ingrained in Bolivian society. From the constitution which recognizes the rights and importance of indigenous nations in Bolivia, to the powerful indigenous social movements that have swept the country in recent years, indigenous cultures and knowledges are a key part of addressing gender inequality. Especially as it relates to fertility and educational practices, the mistrust of modern medicine and more Western ideals present in many indigenous communities is a barrier to the well-being of all indigenous people, but especially indigenous women and girls, as expressed by McNamee (2009). Bolivia continues to have high total and adolescent fertility rates, exacerbated by a lack of services in poor rural areas, where healthcare is not accessible. In addition, the commitments made by the Bolivian government to fight inequality need to be backed by funding and action, something that has so far been lacking.

Bolivia and Chile have made undeniable progress in fighting gender inequality, especially in fields such as educational attainment, literacy, and employment. Despite this, gendered differences still remain and are especially pronounced in Bolivia whose overall development has not progressed as far as Chile's and where total fertility and adolescent fertility remain higher than in Chile and the world average. Addressing the enduring gender inequality in both countries will require policies that account for social norms surrounding gender and the role of the woman. Unfortunately, the World Bank does not currently have data on how women view the rights of their husbands and fathers, but other studies contribute to a general understanding that women are viewed more often as mothers and caretakers, and less as workers who are supposed to spend time outside of the home. Addressing these norms, among others, is key to reducing gender inequality in both countries.

¹⁸ Contreras and Plaza (2010).

VI. Conclusion

This article compared gender inequality in Bolivia and Chile and how this inequality has evolved over time by analyzing 16 indicators related to reproductive issues, education, and employment. While fertility rates have decreased over time in both countries, adolescent fertility rates still pose a potential barrier to equality. In addition, while enrollment rates in primary and secondary school have equalized over time, the attainment rates of the population over 25 years old remain unequal for the sexes. These gaps in education are also present in employment, with the female labor participation rate in both countries being lower than the male participation rate, and fewer women holding management positions.

The article also examined the existing policies, past and present, utilized in both countries to combat gender inequality and examined the ethical underpinnings of these positions. The human rights approach is common to both countries, while the common good approach is currently relevant in Bolivia and the utilitarian approach is relevant in Chile.

Moving forward, both countries will need to continue to implement and refine policies that promote women's empowerment and equality. In doing so, national governments and other actors alike will need to respect and acknowledge cultural constraints such as machismo in Chile and Bolivia, and indigenous communities in Bolivia. In both countries, ensuring women are represented in the formal sector, or incorporating the informal work they currently do into the formal economy will be one crucial part of ensuring equality. Key to this will be ensuring that women have equal opportunities in education, both in the years of education attained, and in their enrollment. One of the current barriers to this in both countries is the adolescent fertility rate which disproportionately impacts women and girls and often decreases the years they spend in school. As both countries continue to develop, it is essential that women are considered in the projects, programs, and policies, designed to advance the quality of life and well-being in both countries.

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