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**Reducing inequalities and breaking the poverty trap  
in Peruvian indigenous groups: A case study of  
Conditional Cash Transfer Programme Juntos**

*By*

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## Summary

This dissertation studies the barriers around access to large-scale Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) programme Juntos by indigenous groups living in indigenous communities in Peru.

Juntos was launched in 2005, over 15 years have passed and only a portion of targeted beneficiaries, 6.65 percent, are indigenous peoples living in indigenous communities. Juntos has been demonstrated to have a positive impact throughout a range of indicators including increased school enrolment, improved attendance rates at educational institutions, improved health outcomes, and decreased child labour.

This study has used literature related to conditional cash transfer programmes in the region and in Peru, as well as first-hand information collected through interviews with five key informant organisations that work with indigenous groups in the departments of San Martín, Ayacucho, and Cusco. The information has been examined from a Political Economy Analysis perspective, emphasizing how political powers play an important role in the distribution of resources.

This study found that there are structural and institutional barriers that preserve indigenous groups in poverty and, leave them behind in the social programmes intended for the poorest. Among the structural barriers we found geographical, political, stakeholder and social barriers. In the institutional barriers were found barriers related to data, policy implementation, outcomes, and communication. The most significant finding of this dissertation is that the scarce basic services and minimum access to social programmes for indigenous groups living in indigenous communities, is an endemic issue that has its root in a lack of political will.

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This work is specially dedicated to my wife, Yngrid Roca, for her unconditional love and encouragement.

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## **List of Abbreviations**

**BDPI:** Official Data Base of Indigenous groups in Peru

**CCT:** Conditional Cash Transfer programmes

**CREED:** Control Centres of Growth and Development of Children

**ECLAC:** Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean

**ENAHO:** National Household Survey

**ENDES:** Demographic and Family Health Survey

**INEI:** National Institute of Statistics and Technology

**LAC:** Latin America and the Caribbean

**MIDIS:** Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion

**PEA:** Political Economy Analysis

**SIS:** Comprehensive Healthcare Insurance

**UNDP:** United Nations Development Programme

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## 1. Introduction

In Peru, indigenous peoples are considered those who have as their mother tongue an indigenous language (Aste and Roopnaraine, 2014). According to the latest 2017 census, 16 percent of the population has an indigenous language as their mother tongue, and 25.8 percent of the population self-identified as indigenous (INEI, 2018a), from this, approximately 2.2 million people, over 7 percent of the total population, are indigenous peoples who live in indigenous communities (Ministerio de Cultura, 2020a).

Despite social programmes having reduced poverty in Peru, in 2019 indigenous groups continue facing poverty, exclusion and inequality at higher rates than any other group (INEI and UNFPA, 2020).

In Latin America and the Caribbean, no social programme has proven to be more effective to reduce poverty than Conditional Cash Transfer (henceforth, CCT) programmes (Cecchini et al., 2011), because CCT programmes have helped millions to escape from poverty over the last decades (Ibarrarán et al., 2017). In Peru, CCT programme Juntos ('Together' in Spanish) was launched in 2005, and has increasingly expanded its coverage to reach the poorest households living in rural areas (Bolz, 2017). However, after 15 years, only 6.65 percent of the indigenous population living in indigenous communities have been able to access Juntos (MIDIS, 2021).

This qualitative research analyses two sources of information: firstly, a critical literature review of over 60 academic research papers based on indigenous groups and CCT programmes in the region but specifically in Peru, and secondly, information provided by five key informant organisations working with indigenous groups in three departments of Peru: San Martín, Ayacucho, and Cusco.

The two sources of information have been analysed from a Political Economy Analysis (henceforth, PEA) perspective. From a PEA lens, development is a political process because poverty can only be defeated with capable and accountable governance that produces the right kind of policies (Bates, 2001; Moore and Unsworth, 2006; Stein, 2008).

This dissertation has two purposes: firstly, to reveal who holds power to forge new alliances to bring about prosperity and inclusion, removing the barriers that are preventing indigenous



people living in indigenous communities to access Juntos and other basic services; and secondly, this dissertation seeks to contribute to the CCT programme Juntos, gathering best practices from other CCT programmes of the region that have successfully included indigenous groups in their safety nets.

PEA will guide the layout of this dissertation which is organised in six sections: the first section offers a general overview of this research; the second section is the critical literature review; section three briefly provides information about the methodology and data collection method and analysis; section four gathers the research findings from two sources of information the critical literature review and the semi-structured interviews of five key informant organisations; section five includes the discussion and analysis of these findings; and finally, section six focuses on the research conclusion and recommendations to improve the CCT Programme Juntos.

### **1.1. Problem statement**

Peru achieved a historical low poverty rate in 2019, but it is estimated that indigenous populations in Peru are the poorest with the highest average rates of poverty. In general, it is presumed that over 30 percent of indigenous people live in poverty and 6 percent in extreme poverty (Ministerio de Cultura, 2020a). The largest age group living in poverty is from 0 to 19 years of age (INEI, 2020).

Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) programs are proven to contribute to the achievement of human development outcomes, yet there are concerns about the impact on specific populations, such as indigenous populations compared to the average rural beneficiary (Gajate-Garrido, 2015).

Despite the poverty scenario affecting mostly indigenous groups, CCT programme Juntos only reaches a small portion of them. So far, 6.65 percent of indigenous groups living in indigenous communities have access to Juntos (MIDIS, 2020).

This dissertation will examine the barriers that are preventing indigenous households living in indigenous communities accessing CCT programme Juntos.

## **1.2. Importance of study**

This research has double importance: firstly, theoretical because from a PEA perspective it will add a source of information and new evidence to the limited body of literature about the access of indigenous peoples living in indigenous communities to CCT programme Juntos. Secondly, from the literature review and interviews of organisations working with indigenous groups, this research will suggest specific actions to improve the access to Juntos of indigenous groups living in indigenous communities.

## **1.3. Research questions**

This dissertation is a case study that explores CCT programme Juntos, the conditions of indigenous groups living in indigenous communities and the role of political powers in breaking the poverty trap for indigenous groups. It explores why there is a minority of indigenous groups targeted by Juntos and what structural and institutional dimensions maintain them being the face of poverty in Peru. The overall research question is therefore “What are the barriers that prevent indigenous groups living in indigenous communities in Peru from accessing CCT Programme Juntos?”

## **2. Literature review**

This dissertation concentrates on placing similar emphasis on the economic as well as the political aspects of structures, institutions, and agents that interact in the dynamic development of CCT programme Juntos, and the policy reforms around indigenous groups in Peru.

### **2.1. Why a CCT programme in Peru?**

According to the Peruvian Central Bank, during 2001 and 2007, the economy of the country experienced an unprecedented sustained average growth of 6.2 points per year, a remarkable score compared to other countries of the region. Some authors attribute Peru's general success to the high cost of minerals (Carbonnier et al., 2017), the free trade deals with major economies like the United States and China that increased food exports (Dingemans and Ross, 2012), the strengthening of social safety nets and the implementation of social programmes, such as CCT programme Juntos that tackles poverty through an improved access to basic services and the accumulation of human capital (Herrera, 2017).

At the same time, Peru was recovering socially and politically after the destruction caused by the Shining Path guerrilla group, and the weakening of democracy and government institutions during ten years of high-level corruption on the part of President Alberto Fujimori (1990 – 2000). Even before this scenario, poverty was ravaging the country. In 2004, over 75 percent of children under 14 years of age were considered poor, 39 percent of children under five years showed chronic undernourishment, only 66 percent of children completed primary education, and only 44 percent of births took place at healthcare centres (Alcázar, 2009).

Under these circumstances, in April of 2005, the government launched the CCT programme Juntos, following the positive experiences of other CCT programmes in the region such as: Bolsa Família in Brazil (Balarin, 2016), Prospera in Mexico, and Más Familias en Acción in Colombia (Bolz, 2017).

Taking into account the circumstances of the country, a CCT programme made complete sense from a social policy perspective because CCT programmes have proved to be effective in

raising millions from poverty, especially in Latin America (Cecchini et al., 2011; Cecchini and Madariaga, 2011; Molina-Millan et al., 2016; Ibararán et al., 2017; Bolz, 2017).

Over the last fifteen years, several impact assessments of Juntos have shown that it has a positive impact on the lives of beneficiaries (Bolz, 2017; Gahlaut, 2011; Perova and Vakis, 2012), and similar positive impacts on indigenous children that access the programme: Juntos contributed to improved health behaviours and increased educational outcomes in indigenous children (Gajate-Garrido, 2014).

Geographically, Juntos targets households in 21 of 24 country departments, but only half of them include indigenous households. According to the Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion, only 6.65 percent of indigenous people living in indigenous communities are beneficiaries of Juntos (MIDIS, 2021).

## **2.2. Indigenous groups in Peru and the constraints to accessing Juntos**

The next issue analysed is the situation of indigenous groups and their access to social programmes, focusing especially on CCT programme Juntos. The information has been drawn from different sources and from five key informant organisations working with indigenous groups in three departments of Peru with indigenous populations: San Martín, Ayacucho, and Cusco.

According to the Ministry of Culture, indigenous peoples are those who belong to an organised group before the country existed; these groups have their own spaces and identity which has been preserved over time, the language they speak being a major determining factor (Ministerio de Cultura, 2020a).

Peru is the sixth most populated country in Latin America, with a population of over 31 million people according to the 2017 census (INEI, 2018b), and one of the countries with the highest number of indigenous peoples (Freire et al., 2015). However, there is no accurate information about how many indigenous people live in Peru.

The latest census suggested that 16 percent of the population has as its mother tongue an indigenous language, and 25.8 percent of the population self-identify as indigenous (INEI, 2018a), but the Database of Indigenous Groups of Peru (BDPI) emphasises that the information about indigenous groups is constantly being updated and current data should only be considered as referential (Ministerio de Cultura, 2020b). In this dissertation, we analyse the situation of the 7 percent of the population who are indigenous and live in indigenous communities (Ministerio de Cultura, 2020a).

Vast research is available about the general conditions of indigenous groups in Latin America and in Peru (D'Andrea, 2007; Robles, 2009; Arévalo, 2010; Freire et al., 2015; Arteaga and Glewwe, 2019), and all of them indicate that indigenous groups in the region, but especially in Peru, are the group that faces the highest inequalities, deprivations and exclusion (INEI, 2020).

However, a main constraint found during this dissertation has been the limited disaggregated data about the life conditions of indigenous groups in Peru (Aste and Roopnaraine, 2014; Gajate-Garrido, 2014; Hospina, 2019).

### **2.3. CCT programmes that have effectively included indigenous groups**

Finally, we will take a brief look and capture some lessons from the best CCT programmes that are targeting indigenous groups in the region.

CCT programmes were born following economic policy recommendations of the Washington Consensus to redirect public funds to social programmes targeting poverty reduction (Roy, 2010). CCT programmes appeared in Latin America and the Caribbean in the mid-nineties, as a result of a growing emphasis on poverty reduction (Ibarrarán et al., 2017).

Over the last 25 years, CCT programmes have become a key social policy tool to fight poverty in Latin America and the Caribbean. This policy innovation targets excluded households, offering social protection from a multidimensional approach in three main areas: education, health, and nutrition (Cecchini and Madariaga, 2011).

CCT programmes offer substantial improvements and skills acquisition in the target beneficiaries, mainly boys, girls, adolescents, and pregnant women. In the short-term, they seek to reduce poverty through the direct transfer of cash, and in the long run, they try to improve the health, education, and nutrition of the poorest households.

Currently there are over 30 CCT programmes in 20 countries. All these programmes have some common key features in Latin America and the Caribbean: the target population is poor or extremely poor, the cash transfer is made to women and includes conditionalities (Cecchini and Atuesta, 2017).

The most outstanding example is CCT programme Más Familias en Acción from Colombia, which repurposed its targeting in 2007, demonstrating that social policies must be flexible and focused on the poorest groups (Medellín and Sánchez Prada, 2015).

Más Familias en Acción has successfully targeted indigenous groups thanks to the political will of its authorities, but also thanks to the active participation of indigenous leaders. A cornerstone of the programme strategy has been the acquisition of reliable data about indigenous groups. Colombia has collected high quality census data about indigenous groups with the participation of indigenous communities (Urrutia and Robles Báez, 2018).

Although Colombia is by far the best example when it comes to targeting indigenous groups, none of the CCT programmes in the region have been designed from the outset to target these groups, thus the need for adaptation and flexibility in order to include them (Robles, 2009).

### **3. Methodology**

#### **3.1. Methodological approach**

The methodology for this dissertation is based on Political Economy Analysis (PEA) which considers that political relationships, issues of power, and agency of coalitions can influence the success or failure of policy goals (Corduneanu-Huci et al., 2012).

PEA is a key framework to analyse changes that derive from decisions shaped by multiple stakeholders with varying degrees of power and influence. Although technical expertise is key to writing sound policies, multi-directional, interactive political action is needed to implement them (USAID, 2018).

PEA considers that every change is political, and although change is complex and unpredictable, it involves renegotiation of powers and resources to make it work effectively. There is evidence that when politically savvy development programmes take place, they produce better results (O’Keefe et al., 2014).

This research has used published research information written before the Covid-19 pandemic, focusing on analysing the roles of political powers and different actors to improve the access to CCT programmes for indigenous groups and access to basic services.

The literature review has been complemented with first-hand information provided by five key informant organisations operating in three departments of Peru where high numbers of indigenous groups live.

These organisations have offered their perception, derived from their experience, about the conditions of indigenous groups. The five key informant organisations have knowledge about actors who hold power and coordinate their efforts to bridge the challenges around the inclusion of indigenous groups to access Juntos and other basic services.

Both, the literature review, and first-hand information provided by key informant organisations, have been analysed from a PEA perspective, where we identified the political actors that hold power, the policy attempts that sought inclusion of indigenous groups, and the

agency of the government to provide basic services to indigenous groups living in indigenous communities.

From a PEA lens it is considered that the success or failure of development undertakings depend in great part on good politics, inclusive institutions, and the sympathetic understanding of the constraints and opportunities to create change (Adam and Dercon, 2009).

### **3.2. Data collection**

The data collection for this dissertation comes from two sources. A critical literature review, and semi-structured interviews to five key informant organisations.

The first and main source of information is the literature review. Over 60 published research papers, reports, and government documents were selected. All these sources were published between 2001 and 2021 but written before the start of the Covid-19 pandemic. The sources were published research papers and reports about CCT programmes in Latin American and Peru, the implementation of social programmes, and indigenous groups in Peru. These sources have been published in research journals such as Elsevier, but most of them are reports published by international organisations like the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CELAC), the World Bank, the Peruvian government, and other development research organisations, as well as dissertations completed by individuals at master level. We have particularly focused on reports about CCT programme Juntos, census and household survey reports, with an emphasis on indigenous groups.

The reviewed papers could be divided as follows: Conditional Cash Transfers programmes in Latin America (8), CCT programme Juntos (17), government publications about indigenous groups in Peru (24), census reports, dissertations, and other information (23).

The second source of information comes from five key informant organisations. They were identified following a Purpose Sampling Method with homogeneous and expert sampling techniques as follows: from a list of ten organisations, five were chosen because they met the following criteria:



- They were the most relevant and knowledgeable organisations about the living conditions of indigenous groups, and CCT programme Juntos.
- Among their beneficiaries, they had some indigenous peoples who access Juntos and some who do not access it.
- These organisations were working for over five years in the communities.
- They were not government organisations, nor were they working directly or indirectly with the government. This is particularly important to avoid bias and keep neutrality.
- These organisations are in the departments of San Martín (3), Cusco (1) and Ayacucho (1). These departments have large numbers of indigenous groups.
- Each organisation has a senior manager willing to be interviewed.

The semi-structured interviews took place between May 1<sup>st</sup> to August 26<sup>th</sup>, 2021, using Zoom, for up to 70 minutes. Prior meetings were held so that the organisations had the opportunity to ask questions, to sign the consent form and agree a date for the interview.

The semi-structured interviews were guided by the PEA framework. The emphasis was placed on identifying who holds power in the implementation of basic services and social policies targeting indigenous groups. These roles were analysed considering the local and national government, as well as the agency of indigenous leaders.

### **3.3. Data analysis**

From a PEA perspective, the literature review has been analysed taking into consideration the political context, and the economic perspective described in each paper. Special attention has been placed on how power and decision-making actors have exercised their roles in the development and implementation of social policies, especially in CCT programme Juntos, that target indigenous groups.

The semi-structured interviews were analysed from a PEA lens. One senior manager of each organisation was interviewed. They were chosen due to their vast knowledge about the conditions of indigenous peoples and CCT programme Juntos.

The indexing of the interview transcripts took place as follows: after careful reading and labelling of relevant words, sentences, and sections that were repeated in several parts of the interview, these words were coded in different groups. Following a PEA perspective, these groups of words were categorised in three themes: Conditions of indigenous groups, structural barriers, and institutional barriers to access basic services and Juntos.

The purpose of the interviews has been to compare the findings of the literature review and the key informant organisations' perceptions regarding the three main themes described earlier.

These three themes are interrelated and of importance for this study, because they are directly linked to the research questions.

### **3.4. Limitations**

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic and stringency measures imposed by the Peruvian government, this research was desk-based, and key informant organisations were interviewed using Zoom.

### **3.5. Research ethics**

This dissertation has complied with and received ethical approval from the Research Ethics Committee of the School of Natural Sciences (SNS) of Trinity College Dublin.

## 4. Research findings

### 4.1. The face of poverty in Peru

*“Last year, one of the indigenous women who is a beneficiary of this organisation, had to go to the hospital because her baby was sick. She only speaks Quechua, and she could not understand the directions of the doctor and nurses who only spoke Spanish. She felt deeply humiliated because she thought that everyone at the hospital was criticising her, and she felt so helpless that the only thing she did was to cry desperately. And she was still crying the following day as she was telling me the story. Poverty has an indigenous face in Peru because there are barriers that prevent indigenous groups, and women specially, to break from poverty. They don’t have opportunities to succeed.”*

**(Key informant organisation from Cusco, Peru)**

The historical background of indigenous groups in Latin America and the Caribbean is one of discrimination, exclusion, isolation, and colonisation of their territories (Robles, 2009). According to most of the interviewed organisations, these historical events have consolidated an unequal social, political, and economic structure that has remained in place to this day.

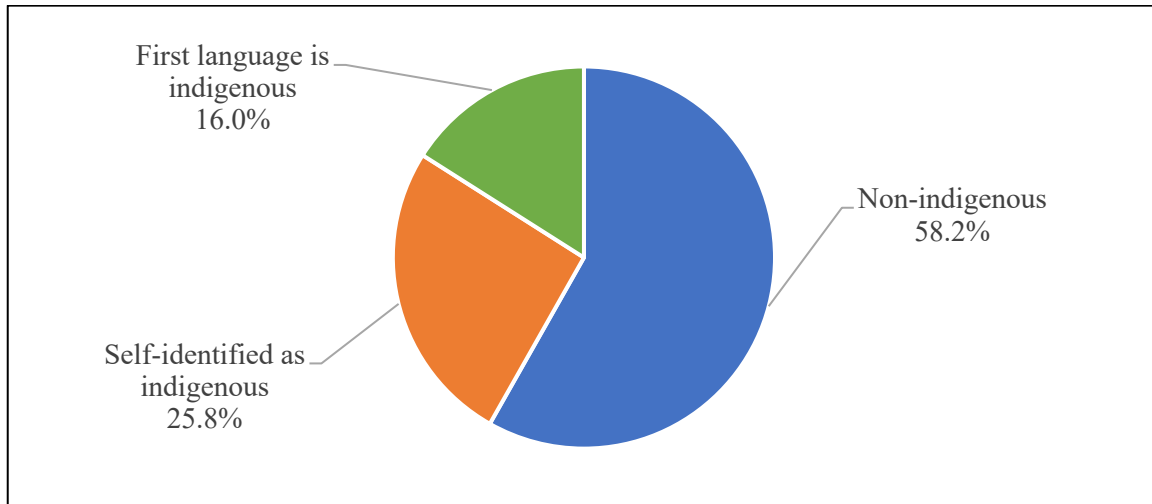
In Latin America and the Caribbean, the poverty gap between urban and rural households is not as shocking as when compared with indigenous households (Cecchini et al., 2011). This unequal scenario is accepted by all interviewed organisations who agreed with the Economic Commission for Latin American and the Caribbean (ECLAC), that poverty and vulnerability in the region has an indigenous face (Robles, 2009).

The World Bank estimates that there are over 42 million indigenous people in Latin America and the Caribbean, which represents 7.8 percent of total population in the region. Peru is the sixth most populated country in Latin America, with over 31 million people according to the latest census (INEI, 2018b), and one of the countries with the highest number of indigenous peoples (Freire et al., 2015).

In Peru, an indigenous person is someone who has as their mother tongue an indigenous language (Aste and Roopnaraine, 2014). Approximately, 7 percent of the total indigenous

population live in indigenous communities (Ministerio de Cultura, 2020a). The latest census indicates that 16 percent of the population have an indigenous language as their mother tongue, and 25.8 percent of the total population self-identified as indigenous (Figure 1) (INEI, 2018a).

**Figure 1. Population distribution in Peru according to 2017 Census**

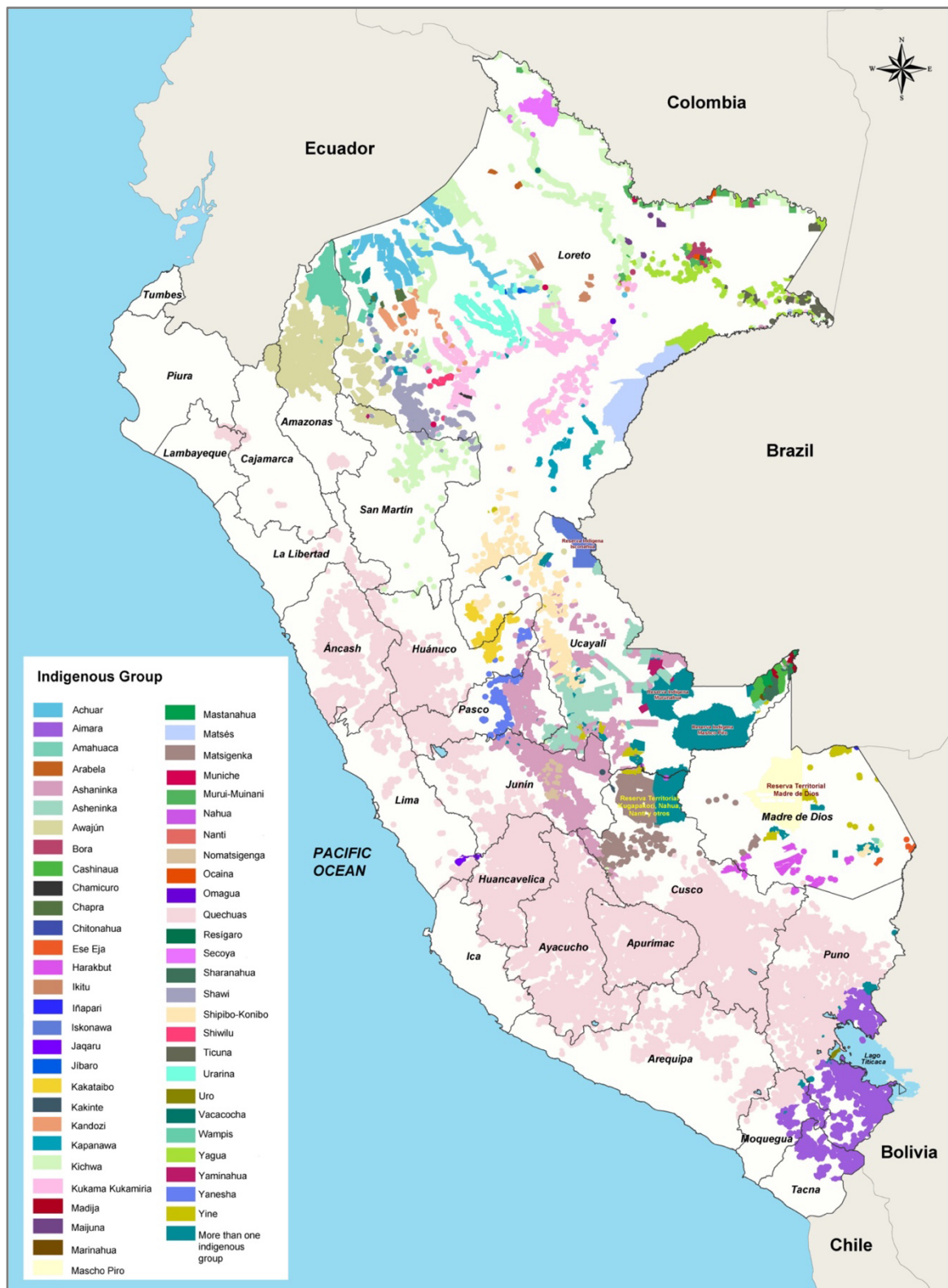


*Source: INEI, 2018*

Interviewed organisations emphasized that to understand the dynamics of Peru, it must be looked at from a multi-cultural perspective. This unanimous agreement correlates with the literature. Peru is a multi-cultural country. More than fifty-five indigenous groups have been identified. They speak over forty-eight languages and live in rural and urban areas in 22 of the twenty-four departments of Peru (Figure 2).

However, according to the government, the database of indigenous peoples (BDPI) is constantly updating. For example, through ministerial resolution 000240-2020-DM/MC, on September 11, 2020, the government almost doubled the number of geographical districts where indigenous groups live in the Amazon area of the country (Ministerio de Cultura, 2020b). The lack of accurate information about indigenous groups is a major concern for interviewed organisations. They pointed out that the government does not know the reality of indigenous groups, and this is reflected in the lack of disaggregated information on same

Figure 2. Geographical distribution of indigenous groups in Peru



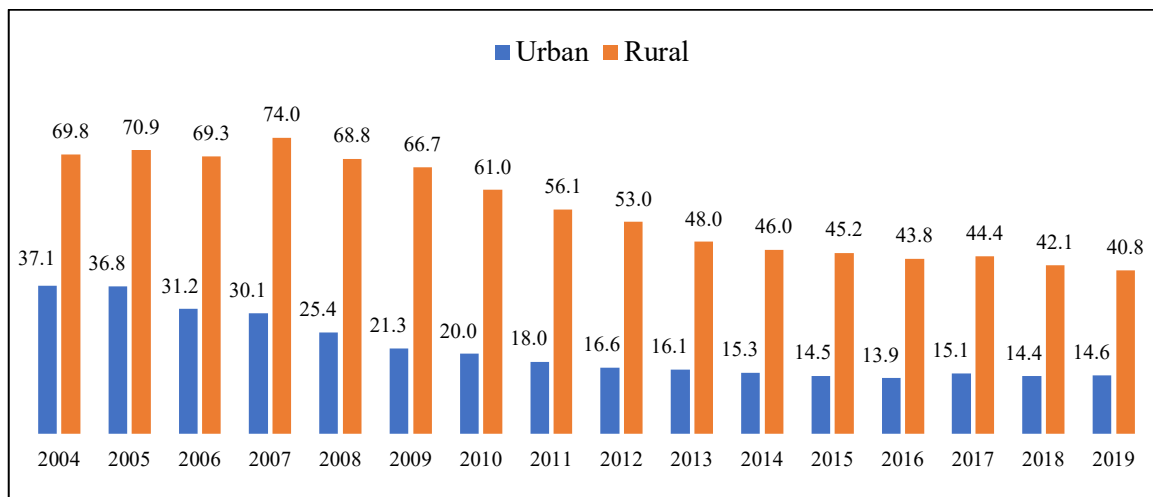
Source: Ministerio de Cultura, 2020

## 4.2. A social programme not designated for indigenous groups

In this section we will look at the history and motivations of the creation of Juntos and how, ironically, only a minority of indigenous people living in indigenous communities can access Juntos.

In 2004 poverty was ravaging the country, close to 70 percent of the rural population was living under the poverty line (Figure 3), and almost 37 percent of the rural population was living in extreme poverty (Figure 4).

**Figure 3. Percentage of population living in poverty in Peru 2004 – 2019**

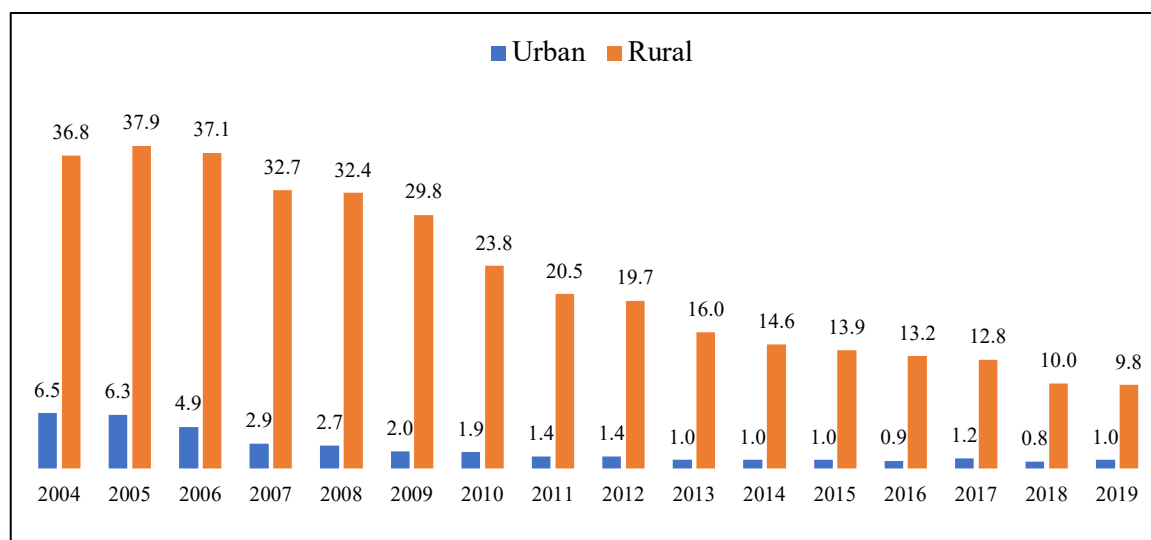


Sources: (INEI, 2018c, 2020)

In Peru a person is considered poor if they live on less than 352 Peruvian Soles (US\$ 106.6) per month, the cost of a basic shopping basket and utilities. And a person is considered extremely poor if they live on less than 187 Peruvian Soles (US\$ 56.6) per month, considering the cost of a minimum shopping basket (INEI, 2020).

It is important to note that these figures are below the international minimum standard suggested by the World Bank for the poor at US\$ 2 a day and extremely poor at US\$ 1.90 a day. However the suggested international poverty line by the World Bank has been considered as inhumanly low by some authors (Selwyn, 2017).

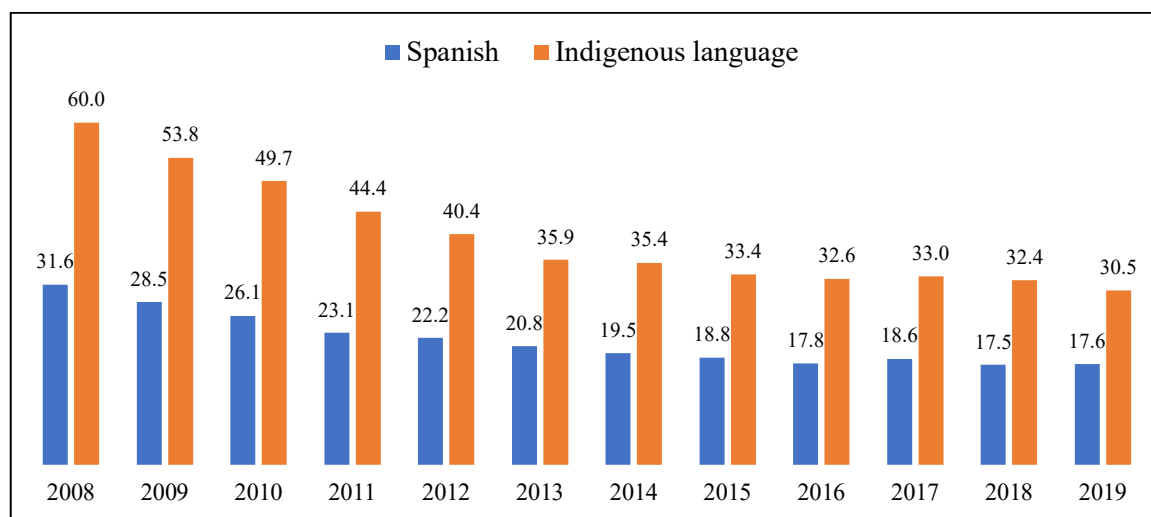
**Figure 4. Percentage of population living in extreme poverty in Peru 2004 – 2019**



Sources: (INEI, 2018c, 2020)

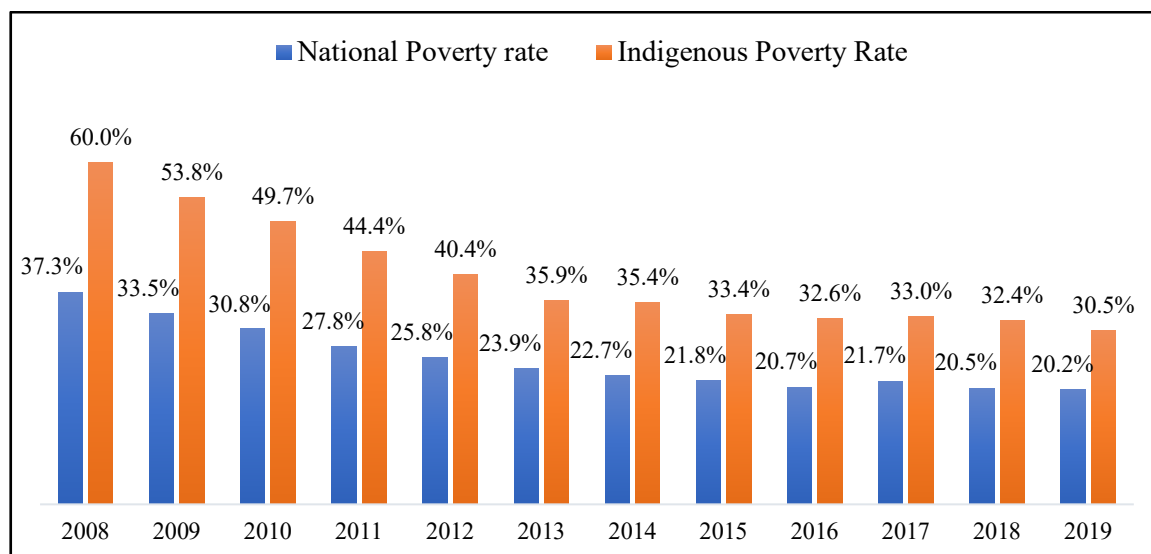
Over the last decade, poverty and extreme poverty has been especially concentrated in indigenous groups when compared to urban poverty rates (Figure 5) and national poverty rates (Figure 6).

**Figure 5. Poverty by mother tongue in Peru 2008 - 2019**



Source: INEI and UNFPA (2020)

**Figure 6. Poverty evolution in the total population compared to indigenous groups in Peru from 2008 – 2019**



Source: ENAHO 2019

### **CCT Programme Juntos**

The National Programme of Direct Support to the Poorest, better known as Juntos (‘Together’ in Spanish), was launched in September 2005, a few months before president Alejandro Toledo (2001 – 2006) left office. Toledo is currently charged with corruption for receiving millions in bribes. Juntos was seen as a smart move by Toledo to remain in office for another term of five years seeking the electoral support of the poorest families.

Juntos was set up to cover the poorest urban and rural areas, but this idea was highly criticised by stakeholders who argued that the targeting mechanism was faulty and unrealistic because CCT programmes have clear targeting mechanisms. From an economic perspective, Juntos meant extra expenditure for the country, some groups argued that it was better to improve existing social programmes rather than introducing a new one (Gahlaut, 2011).

Since 2005, Juntos was operating under the management of the Office of the Presidency of Ministries, but in 2008, deceased president Alan García Pérez (2006 – 2011) -also charged with corruption but committed suicide before his apprehension- created a Roundtable to Fight



Against Poverty (Mesa de Concertación de la Lucha Contra la Pobreza) to offer social programmes an apparent appearance of transparency and separation from political forces.

President Ollanta Humala (2011 – 2016), charged and jailed for corruption, created the Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion (MIDIS) in January 2012, and Juntos was completely transferred to this government agency (Aste and Roopnaraine, 2014). To date, MIDIS coordinates Juntos in conjunction with the National Bank (Banco de la Nación), and monitors the compliance of conditionalities of beneficiaries through the local Control Centres of Growth and Development (Centros de Control de Crecimiento y Desarrollo CRED) located within the healthcare facilities and municipalities of the districts (Bolz, 2017).

Juntos underwent some design adjustments in 2011, and changes in targeting criteria in 2013 where the outcomes of the results framework were updated (Balarin, 2016). However, no major changes were introduced to target indigenous groups.

Juntos was officially launched in Chuschi district, province of Cangallo, department of Ayacucho, a department hit hard by poverty. Juntos targeted 1,041 households and it expanded to 4 departments by the end of the same year, reaching 22,550 households in rural areas.

*“The poorest families living in rural areas of Ayacucho, especially families with children, on average, spend double to access basic services of education and healthcare than families living in urban areas. This is mainly due to lack of basic services available to them in their communities, and geographical isolation.”*

**(Key informant organisation from Ayacucho, Peru)**

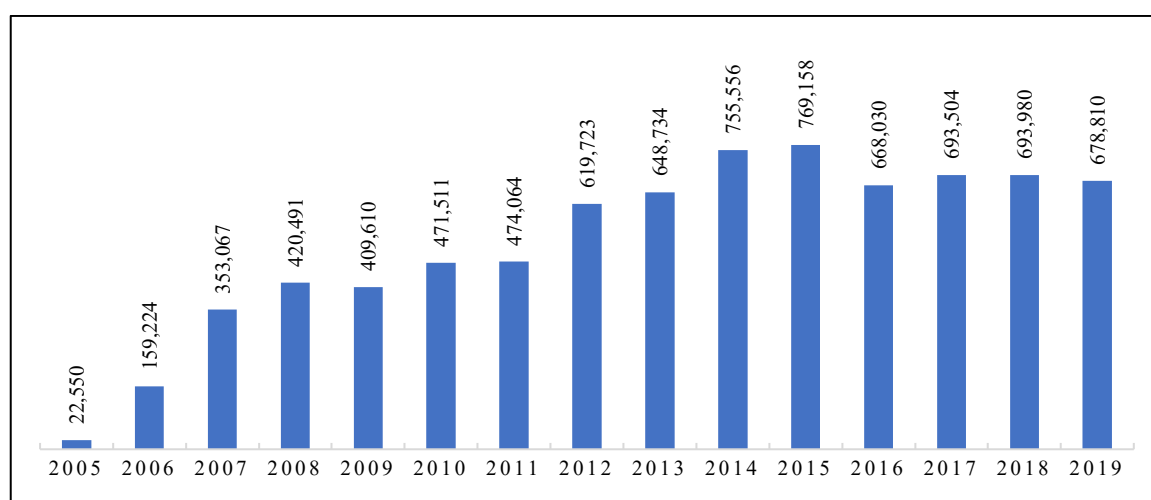
In 2005 the target households received 100 soles (US\$ 29.39) every month, in 2009 the transfer model changed to bimonthly transfers of 200 soles (US\$ 58.77) which is 21.5 percent of a monthly minimum wage and it is equivalent to 13 percent of the annual income per family (Bolz, 2017).

The target recipients of the households are mainly women, 89.4 percent, and 10.6 percent are men (MIDIS, 2020). This decision was made after finding out that women perform better than men when it comes to decisions on how to spend the money: Women were shown to invest in

health expenses, nutrition and education (Aste and Roopnaraine, 2014). However, according to the interviewed organisations, women in indigenous communities are the least likely to get a national identification card, and most of them do not have one.

All interviewed organisations agree that Juntos is one of the few social programmes that has survived several years (Figure 7), expanding geographically. In 2013 Juntos covered fourteen departments (Aste and Roopnaraine, 2014), and in 2019 reached twenty-one departments (MIDIS, 2020).

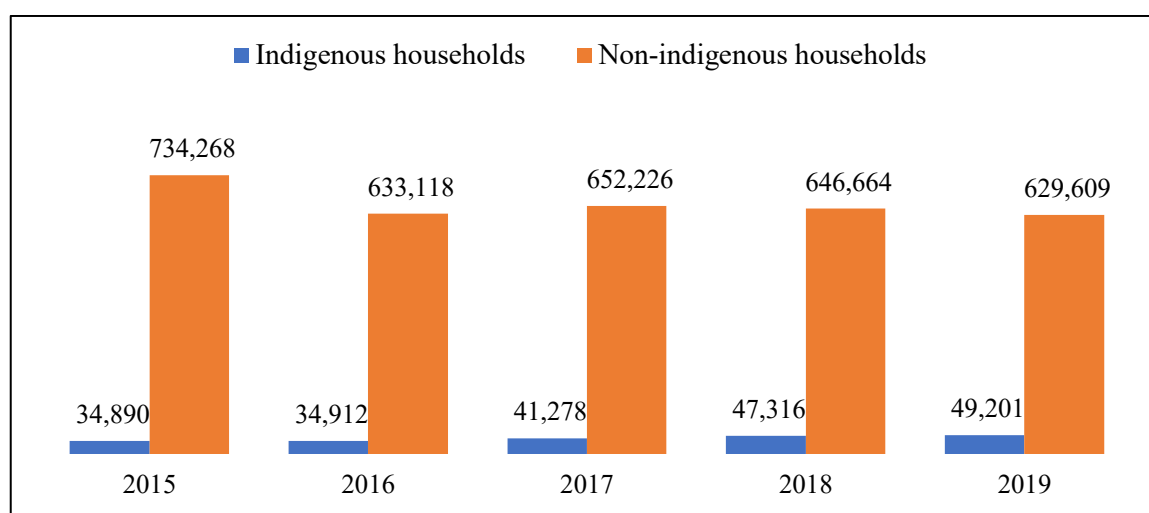
**Figure 7. Households that received cash transfers from Juntos**



Source: *Unidad de Tecnologías de Información – JUNTOS, Boletín Técnico N° 033*

After 15 years, Juntos has not reached a critical percentage of the indigenous population, nor has it covered the geographical area where indigenous groups live. In 2019 Juntos supported 49,201 indigenous households (Figure 8), reaching 146,257 direct beneficiaries, a mere 6.65 percent of the total indigenous population living in indigenous communities (MIDIS, 2021).

**Figure 8: Indigenous households' beneficiaries of CCT programme Juntos 2015 – 2019**



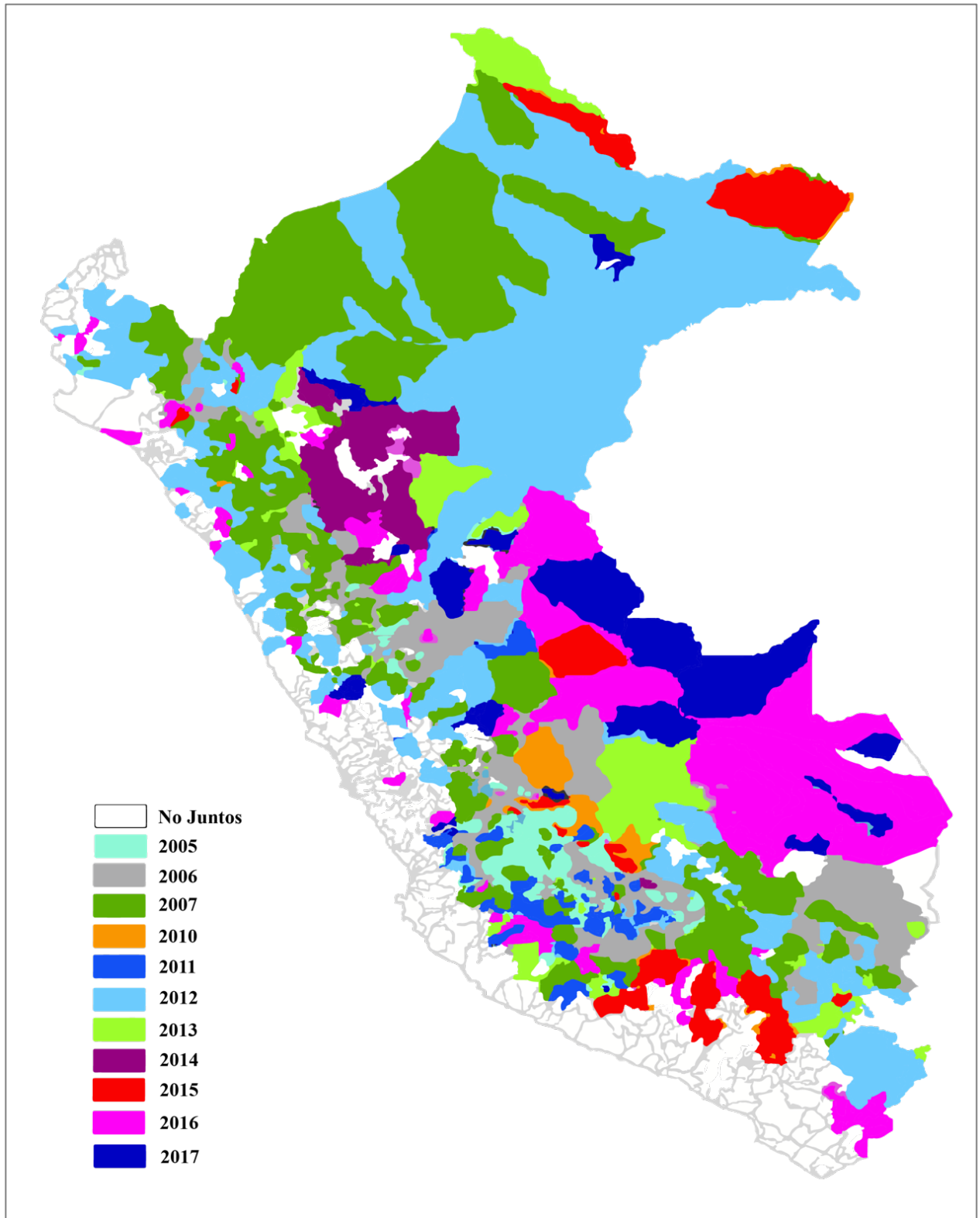
Source: JUNTOS, Boletines Técnicos N° 003, 009, 015, 021, 027, 033.

Indigenous communities are present in twenty-two departments of Peru. Juntos distributes cash in twenty-one departments (Figure 9), but only targets indigenous households living in indigenous communities in eleven departments (MIDIS, 2015, 2020, 2021).

The eligibility criteria of Juntos was updated in 2011, however it has not been adapted to indigenous groups living in indigenous communities (Bolz, 2017):

- All households must be classified as poor or extremely poor by the Household Classification System (SISFOH), a branch of MIDIS.
- The household must have at least one of the following target beneficiaries: a pregnant woman, a child under 3 years of age, children attending primary school or youth under 19 years of age attending secondary school.
- The head of the household must hold a valid national identification card (DNI).
- There must be a health centre and educational institution nearby to meet conditionalities.
- The declaration of commitment and affiliation to Juntos must be signed by the legal guardian or parent.

**Figure 9. Geographic coverage of CCT programme Juntos to December 2019**



*Source:* (MIDIS, 2020)

*“In most indigenous communities in San Martín, there is a basic medical unit (Posta Médica), and a primary school facility. High school facilities are not available in indigenous communities, rather they are available in urban areas, far away from these communities. Indigenous families who decide that their children should continue with their secondary education, the young indigenous people must travel long distances, or in some cases, rent a small room to spend the weekdays closer to the secondary school. Of course, most parents don’t have the means to support their children. For Awajún and Shawi indigenous groups, primary education and health services are extremely poor. Although there are facilities, these are usually empty, with high shortage of medical supplies, and staff is only available two to three times per week when the weather permits. The existence of facilities is not an indicator of access to health and education services for indigenous peoples.”*

**(Key informant organisation from San Martín, Peru)**

All interviewed organisations agree with the literature about the situation of indigenous groups living in indigenous communities in Peru. Access to basic services is particularly important because it is a pre-requisite to access Juntos.

## **Education**

Every year in Peru, over a quarter of the population enrol in preschool, primary, secondary, and technical/university education (INEI, 2017). Males and females in urban areas spend an average 10.2 years in education, double that in rural areas, but attendance rates are similar (ENDES, 2018). Most indigenous children, 66 percent, regularly attend a primary educational institution (INEI, 2017), but only 31 percent attend secondary education (ENDES, 2020).

Interviewed organisations agree that in most indigenous communities there is a primary school facility, and this information is backed up by the literature that reports that in 96 percent of indigenous communities there is a primary school facility, but in 10 percent of them, educational services are not offered (INEI, 2018d). Furthermore, education is only offered in 12 indigenous languages (Ministerio de Cultura, 2020a). Key informant organisations in San Martín reported that education is provided in Spanish, therefore indigenous children receive education in a language that they do not understand.

## **Water and sanitation**

Water and sanitation are key to achieve health outcomes according to key informant organisation, as well as is perceived by Programme Juntos (Bolz, 2017). Although most households have access to running water in urban and rural areas, treated water is a major problem according to the National Institute of Statistics and Technology (INEI), only half of consumed water in the urban areas is treated, and 4.4 percent in rural areas.

Key informant organisations indicate that running water and sanitation are almost non-existent basic services for indigenous groups. Running water is only available to 10.8 percent of indigenous households, and just 2 percent have access to treated water (ENDES, 2018; INEI, 2018d).

The situation is worse in relation to sanitation. There is no sanitation service available for indigenous groups. 48 percent of indigenous households use latrines (INEI, 2017), and the majority practice open defecation. The gap is wider when compared to 87.3 percent of urban households that do have access to sanitation (ENDES, 2018).

## **Health**

Four out of five interviewed organisations pointed out that in Peru, health is a major issue for indigenous groups. This statement is fully supported by the literature. According to government information, 74.6 per cent of indigenous peoples are registered in the government healthcare insurance system (SIS); but only 32 percent of indigenous communities have a basic health centre facility (Posta Médica). However, due to the scarcity of healthcare professionals and materials, 91.5 percent of the indigenous population use traditional medical procedures employing herbs, animals, thermal waters and rites (INEI, 2018d).

Knowing the extent of access to basic services in indigenous groups who live in indigenous communities is particularly important for this dissertation, because being able to access basic services related to education and health, are directly linked with meeting the conditionalities of CCT Programme Juntos.

*“Sometimes I had to travel by boat, in the river, up to ten hours to reach the indigenous community. People in these communities, despite being completely isolated and far away from urban areas, most of them don’t have their national ID card (DNI) because to start off, they were born where there is no hospitals or national institutions, and therefore they don’t have a birth certificate. So, the first requirement to access social services is to have the DNI, but most indigenous people don’t have it, so they can’t access social programmes such as Juntos.”*

**(Key informant organisation from San Martin, Peru)**

Beneficiary households of Juntos must meet conditionalities in education, health and nutrition, which are monitored quarterly (Balarin, 2016; Bolz, 2017):

- Children must attend a registered primary and secondary institution at least 83 percent of the time throughout the school year.
- Children must get all vaccinations, and pregnant women must get pre/post-natal care check-ups.
- Use of chlorinated water and anti-parasite medication provided by the programme is required

Interviewed organisations argue that the conditionalities have become a burden to accessing Juntos by indigenous groups living in indigenous communities due to the scarcity of basic services available to them, and because there are no clear communication channels, in indigenous languages, about how the programme works.

#### **4.3. Social inclusion policies that exclude the poorest**

*“Although, a number of policies have been implemented by the government to include indigenous groups, there is an acute lack of involvement of the centralised and local government leaders and institutions within the indigenous communities. The government remains distant from these communities, therefore, there is no genuine understanding of their problems.”*

**(Key informant organisation from San Martin, Peru)**

In 1989 Peru adopted the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples: *Self-identification as indigenous or tribal shall be regarded as a fundamental criterion for determining the groups to which the provisions of this Convention apply*, (ILO, 1989), however, it was only in 2017 that Peru included the self-identification questions in the national census. Furthermore, all citizens under 12 years old were excluded (INEI, 2018d).

Peru also adopted the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, on 13th September 2007 (Hospina, 2019). The law was not active until the government was forced to declare by law the Right to Prior Consultation of Indigenous Peoples two years later, in 2009, after major problems took place in indigenous territories in the Amazon (Arévalo, 2010).

On July 2011, the Ombudsman Office (Defensoría del Pueblo) published the 152 page report urging the government to ensure the development of an educational policy that would serve and promote cultural and linguistic diversity (Defensoría del Pueblo, 2011). In 2012 the government authorized the creation of the Bilingual Educational National Commission by Ministerial Decree 0246-2012-ED, but it was four years later, law 006-2016-MINEDU, that an inclusive multicultural bilingual educational policy started to be drafted. In 2018, the government implemented the National List of Educational Institutions that offer Intercultural Education, and in 2019 the official list of educational institutions that offer bilingual education (MINEDU, 2018), came into being.

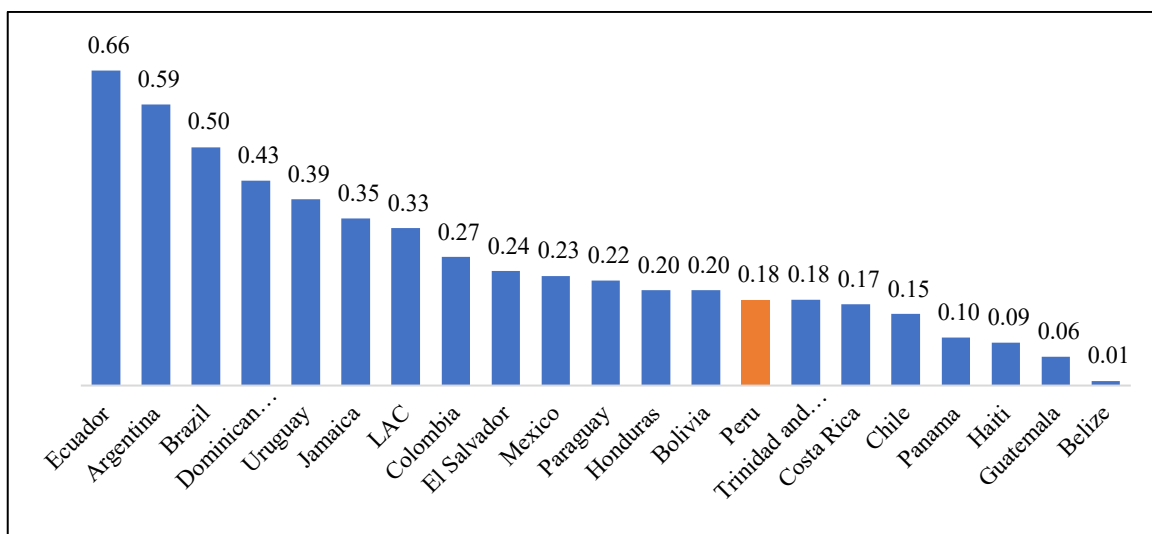
In 2013, the government, under the Ministry of Culture, created the Official Data Base of Indigenous groups (Base de Datos Oficial de Pueblos Indígenas u Originarios BDPI, [www.bdpi.cultura.gob.pe](http://www.bdpi.cultura.gob.pe)), but it was five years later, in 2018, that the Ministry of Culture received the responsibility to identify and legally recognise indigenous groups, this was officially mandated by Legislative Decree 1360 (Ministerio de Cultura, 2020a).

In 2015 the Peruvian government sought to increase the coverage of social services to indigenous groups, launching the multi-indigenous-language help desk, in Awajún and Quechua languages (Ministerio de Cultura, 2020a).



Interviewed organisation argue that, as with all policies created to protect and include indigenous groups, Juntos does not receive the necessary attention from the government. This argument could also be linked to the yearly average expenditure which is 798.1 million soles (US\$ 27.16 million) (MIDIS, 2020), 0.18 percent of the country’s GDP (Figure 10), one of the lowest investments compared to other CCT programmes in the region (Cecchini and Atuesta, 2017).

**Figure 10. Investment in CCT programmes by percentage of GDP in Latin America and the Caribbean, by country in 2015**



Source: (Cecchini and Atuesta, 2017).

From a design perspective, CCT programmes in the region have not been designed following experimental methods such as random controlled groups (Armand and Carneiro, 2018; Gazola Hellmann, 2015; Medellín and Sánchez Prada, 2015; Quiñones and Roy, 2016), rather, they target specific groups. This is particularly complex when evaluating CCT programmes, because impact assessment have to use complex non-experimental techniques such as: difference-in-difference (Perova and Vakis, 2012; Díaz and Saldarriaga, 2014; Sánchez et al., 2020), Propensity Score Matching (Escobal and Benites, 2012; Gajate-Garrido, 2014; Johansson and Rondeau, 2015), and Ordinary Least Squares (Andersen et al., 2009; Johansson and Rondeau, 2015).

Despite the complexity of impact evaluations of CCT programmes, it was found that Juntos has a significant positive impact on the health and nutritional outcomes of children under five years of age. The main indicators were: increased attendance at health centres, births assisted by a doctor in healthcare centres increased to 90 percent (Perova and Vakis, 2012), Juntos decreased the stunting rate to 8.4 percent (Sánchez and Jaramillo, 2012) and undernourishment rates to 18.3 percent (Andersen et al., 2015). Juntos has also reduced severe undernourishment, and child labour has decreased (Balarin, 2016). The total household consumption improved, as well as cognitive gains, and primary school enrolment passed 98 percent (Sánchez et al., 2020).

#### **4.4. What can we learn from our neighbours?**

Three key informant organisations have argued that the Peruvian government does not invest in learning opportunities offered by neighbouring countries that could leverage the implementation of effective social policies to improve the access for vulnerable groups such as indigenous peoples.

The World Bank, Organisation for American States (OAS), the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) have carried out impact evaluations of CCT programmes and consistently report positive short-term and long term impacts on health, schooling, cognitive and socio-emotional outcomes, family and labour market outcomes on the beneficiaries, with small variances according to the target group (Aste and Roopnaraine, 2014; Molina-Millan et al., 2016; Robles et al., 2019).

The most studied CCT programmes in the region that target indigenous peoples are Prospera, a three-phase program launched in Mexico in 1997 as Progresá (Dávila Lárraga, 2016), Más Familias en Acción, operating since 2001 in Colombia (Medellín and Sánchez Prada, 2015), and Bolsa Família launched in 2003, operating in Brazil in different forms since the mid1990s (Gazola Hellmann, 2015). These CCT programmes have been included in national country plans to reduce poverty (Ibarrarán et al., 2017).

Más Familias en Acción is by far the best example of targeting indigenous groups due to its flexibility, inclusion, and participatory policies. It was launched in 2001 and in 2007 the programme was radically adapted to target indigenous communities (Robles, 2009). Más

Familias en Acción makes bimonthly cash transfers to women. The amounts range from US\$ 8 to US\$ 31 per child per month and are determined according to several factors: geographic location, level of vulnerability, number of children, and the school grade children attend.

Indigenous communities are at the centre of Más Familias en Acción. Indigenous households receive the highest amounts destined to the most vulnerable families, regardless of their geographic location or number of children. Indigenous families receive bonuses according to the level of completion of conditionalities (Medellín and Sánchez Prada, 2015). Evidence affirms that Más Familias en Acción has effectively increased the school attendance, reduced child labour and has improved nutritional outcomes in indigenous families and children (Molina-Millan et al., 2016).

Prospera is one of the CCT programmes most studied and evaluated over the years (Jenson and Nagels, 2018). It started as Progresa in 1997, in 2002 changed its name to Oportunidades, and in 2014 changed again to Prospera. This programme aims at improving nutritional, educational and health outcomes in the most vulnerable families. It has a country wide coverage, serving over 7 million families and distributing annually close to US\$ 80 million (Dávila Lárraga, 2016). Since 1948, Mexico has been consistently developing inclusive policies where indigenous peoples participate actively and effectively access basic government social services. Since 1997, Progresa mitigates the risks for the poorest indigenous families, offering cash transfers, fostering an active role by the family in improving education, health, and nutritional outcomes. The government broadcasted on TV and radio, videos and talks in indigenous languages to improve the parenting skills and change behaviours related to the targeted areas (Robles, 2009). Prospera has shown significant positive impacts on the educational indicators of indigenous groups: reduction in the dropout rates and repetition, increased school enrolment, attendance and completion rates; improved health indicators such as deworming which was rarely undertaken by indigenous households before the CCT programme; and improved nutritional outcomes (Quiñones and Roy, 2016). Prospera helped indigenous groups achieve higher levels of sustainability and biodiversity (Desai, 2020).

Bolsa Família was created by federal government law in Brazil in 2003, with the purpose of integrating the several cash transfer initiatives that were operating and overlapping in some cases. The priority of Bolsa Família was to provide financial support to the vulnerable

households, mainly indigenous groups (Gazola Hellmann, 2015). This programme has effectively reduced child mortality rates in indigenous groups and non-indigenous groups mainly from poverty-related causes such as malnutrition and diarrhoea. Bolsa Família improved educational outcomes and contributed to the improvement of nutritional outcomes (Molina-Millan et al., 2016). Brazil has effectively integrated the social programmes targeting the poorest households and most vulnerable communities (Gazola Hellmann, 2015).

From the three major models of CCT programmes reviewed for this dissertation, the common thread on all of them has been the active role of the government to try to include indigenous groups and the space and decision-making opportunities these indigenous groups have regarding their participation. The major example is Más Familias en Acción from Colombia, which made significant policy changes in 2007 to include the particularities of indigenous groups (Gutiérrez et al., 2012).

From the literature we can summarise the major steps that the revised CCT programmes have taken into account to effectively include indigenous groups: (i) Indigenous communities were at the centre of the CCT programmes, (ii) clear and precise census data about indigenous groups endorsed by indigenous communities to improve accuracy, (iii) the concept of poverty for indigenous groups was revisited and adapted, (iv) indigenous groups were allowed to use the cash to cover basic needs, (v) the government committed to create an environment where the conditionalities were actually met: working in collaboration with stakeholders, (vi) the total provision of IDs and access to the bank system to all indigenous families has been a major change, and finally (vii) the active participation of indigenous communities in the full process: from the beginning of the CCT programme to the certification and mutual accountability in the conditionalities (Gutiérrez et al., 2012; Medellín and Sánchez Prada, 2015; Urrutia and Robles Báez, 2018).

## **5. Discussion and analysis**

The objective of this dissertation was to identify the barriers that prevent indigenous groups living in indigenous communities in Peru, access to CCT programme Juntos. What the literature review tells us is strongly connected to what the five key informant organisations have reported. We can summarise these barriers as structural and institutional.

### **5.1. Structural barriers**

#### **The geographical barrier**

Historically, indigenous groups have been secluded. The geographical barrier prevents indigenous groups access to basic services in Latin America and the Caribbean (Cecchini and Atuesta, 2017). This barrier is also present in Peru, where the most vulnerable and poorest indigenous populations are located in isolated and scattered areas, where the government has no presence and there are no basic services available (Cossubo and Herrera, 2020). The geographical barrier was confirmed by key informant organisations working with indigenous communities in the departments of San Martín, Cusco, and Ayacucho. Informant organisations argued that the poorest indigenous communities are isolated and lack basic services therefore they are automatically excluded from Juntos.

#### **The political barrier**

It could be said that Peru has been actively signing international agreements related to the inclusion of indigenous peoples, such as: the adoption of the ILO Convention on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in 1989, the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples on 13th September 2007 (Hospina, 2019), and the Right to Prior Consultation of Indigenous Peoples in 2009 (Arévalo, 2010). As well as some national efforts such as: the creation of the Official Data Base of Indigenous groups in 2013, the increase in the coverage of social services in 2015 with the multi-indigenous-language help desk (Ministerio de Cultura, 2020a), the inclusion of self-identification questions in the latest census (INEI, 2018d), and finally, the inclusion of bilingual education (MINEDU, 2018). However, these policies have not been adequately or fully implemented (Sanborn et al., 2016).

The literature tells us that the government has always postponed putting into practice the adopted laws that favour indigenous peoples. We discovered that the government was forced to implement the adopted laws due to public pressure and because there was no alternative.

Interviewed organisations agree that local and national political leaders do not acknowledge the life conditions of indigenous groups, unless it is election time in order to gain popularity.

Politics in Peru is plagued with corruption and mistrust. It is important to point out that between 1985 and 2020, all presidents in Peru have ended up in jail, prosecuted or with restrictions. There is not a genuine political will to understand and improve the conditions of indigenous peoples and the poorest minority groups in Peru, this is a major problem because when social programmes and laws lack understanding of marginalised communities, they only offer an ephemeral sense of inclusion (Canaza-Choque and Huanca-Arohuanca, 2018).

### **The stakeholder barrier**

Key informant organisations agree that there is a callous structure in policies targeting indigenous groups which keep them in the poverty trap because indigenous groups are not considered as part of the solution. This statement completely resonates with the reality: In 2009 when the right to prior consultation was finally approved, indigenous groups were asked to have a representative organisation. They tried to get organised, but despite their efforts they were not legally recognised because the law required indigenous groups to be represented by an organisation that was legally established before the consultation process started. This was the main reason why the Unity Pact (Pacto de Unidad) was created in 2011 by indigenous and peasant organisations where they urged the government to improve the so-called Right to Prior Consultation. There were major issues related to the implementation of the Right to Prior Consultation because it did not guarantee that the rights of indigenous groups were considered. This was because there were no representative indigenous organisations, there were no mechanisms to monitor the process of consultation and to verify the compliance with the agreements, and the law mandated a one-way process, requesting consultation from indigenous communities but not reaching consensus (Sanborn et al., 2016).

So far, the government has not made any adjustments to the 2009 law. In 2021 the Official Data Base of Indigenous Groups website (<https://bdpi.cultura.gob.pe/organizaciones-representativas>) shows only seven organisations listed as representatives of the more than fifty-five indigenous groups which speak more than forty-eight languages. Therefore, most of the fifty-five indigenous groups might not have the right of prior consultation because they lack representation, besides, the seven organisations' representatives are located in the capital city of Lima, and some of them have outdated information, broken website links and inexistent phone numbers when we tried to contact them.

### **The social barrier**

Leakage in CCT policies is understood as the direction of CCT funds to households that are not poor. It has been identified as a major problem in CCT programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean. It is estimated that 39.2 percent of beneficiaries are not poor. It is a major problem because it reduces the resources and prevents the poorest who need it most, being the recipients of cash (Robles et al., 2019).

Three interviewed organisations reported that there are several local cases of corruption within Juntos, committed by government officials. In the case of Juntos, leakage is just a euphemism for corruption. There are vast complaints of corruption in social programmes in Peru. In 2016 the government decided to open a transparency office for social programmes (MIDIS, 2016). According to the Ombudsman Office, since 2009 to 2019 close to 2,000 complaints were filed about CCT programme Juntos, most of them related to affiliation to the programme (La República, 2019).

## **5.2. Institutional barriers**

### **The data barrier**

All interviewed organisations stated that most indigenous communities were not included in the latest census, because the census personnel did not reach those communities. Juntos targets relatively better-off indigenous households, those who are eligible for the conditionalities due to the proximity of a health centre and a school. This is a direct effect of inaccurate data. The lack of comprehensive demographic data about indigenous groups in Peru is not a new problem (Sanborn et al., 2016). Statistical information about indigenous groups is inaccurate, but also

the approach used to identify poor households is neither multidimensional nor dynamic (Cossubo and Herrera, 2020). Lack of precise data prevents social programmes reaching those who need them most (Desai, 2020).

### **The policy and target barriers**

The lack of policies that include inter-cultural approaches is the main barrier from a social policy perspective and a major challenge as Peru approaches two hundred years of independence (Canaza-Choque and Huanca-Arohuanca, 2018). Social programmes such as CCT programmes are proven to be effective (Jenson and Nagels, 2018), however social programmes in Peru, as well as Juntos, rely on unprecise household surveys and inaccurate information where there is no disaggregated data about indigenous groups (Cossubo and Herrera, 2020).

Key informant organisations informed that most household beneficiaries of Juntos perceive that the condition to remain in the programme is to remain poor and therefore do not venture into entrepreneurship. This perception is confirmed by the literature. Juntos lacks a gradation model, and there is the overall perception in indigenous groups and rural communities that the program is likely to be terminated not because the household achieved the desired outcomes in the three conditional areas, but because a new president takes office, the government decides to withdraw from that community, the household is expelled from the programme due to accusations or gossip from the neighbours, or the household starts an entrepreneurship that provides financial support (Aste and Roopnaraine, 2014).

The lack of a gradation model in Juntos (called ‘exit strategy’ in the case of Más Familias en Acción) is producing a counter effect in the indigenous households. Somehow it is inhibiting the households in achieving a stable source of income.

### **The outcome barrier**

The literature and key informant organisations pointed out that the conditionalities of Juntos are utterly unrealistic for indigenous groups living in indigenous communities. It becomes an impossible task to achieve outcomes in education, health, and nutrition, to reduce the



staggering levels of anaemia in the country (Sánchez et al., 2020), when there are no basic services available. Indigenous groups lack the most basic services to meet conditionalities. Informant organisations have witnessed the acute shortage of basic services related to education, health, water and sanitation in indigenous communities.

### **The communication barrier**

It is still perceived by indigenous communities that the distribution of cash to the poor generates a passive attitude towards poverty (Aste and Roopnaraine, 2014). According to interviewed organisations, there is the perception in indigenous and non-indigenous households that in order to remain in the CCT programme Juntos, the household must not offer signs of economic improvement, but rather must remain poor.

Key informant organisations argued that Juntos has become a source of secure income for some young girls who see an opportunity of receiving economic support if they get pregnant after completion of secondary education, because they will continue be eligible for the programme.

## **6. Conclusion and recommendations**

This dissertation has reviewed how CCT programme Juntos emerged, and how it has endured for over 15 years. This section will offer some ideas collected from the interviewed organisations and from the literature review, about how it could be improved.

### **6.1. Conclusions**

The aim in this dissertation was to find out the barriers around access to CCT programme Juntos for indigenous groups living in indigenous communities. Analysed from a PEA lens, the power dynamics, and roles of the stakeholders around Juntos and the access for indigenous groups, lead to the conclusion that:

- In Peru, indigenous groups are under-represented and under-covered by social programmes and access to basic services at all levels (D'Andrea, 2007; Bolz, 2017; Salazar Porras, 2020; Sánchez et al., 2020). Access to basic services for indigenous groups is an endemic problem, they have been the face of poverty even before the country was founded, 200 years ago. Indigenous groups have been permanently left behind in every aspect: receiving the worst services in education (D'Andrea, 2007), reduced access to basic services, the least opportunities to diversify their sources of income (Arpi Mayta and Arpi Quilca, 2018) and not even counted, due to the poor data about them (Ministerio de Cultura, 2021). The lack of access of indigenous groups to CCT programme Juntos is just a sample of the general reality that indigenous groups face in the country, but this reality is just a side effect of the corruption embedded at all levels.
- Peru has shown that it has the financial resources that have enabled prosperity and rapid economic growth, beyond any other country in the region. The literature demonstrates that Peru has the economic power to bridge the gaps that keep indigenous groups in the poverty trap, however there is no political will to do it. The lack of political will has been systematically shown in this research, and it is connected to the several policies adopted by Peru which have not been implemented. Therefore, the prevailing situation of indigenous groups in Peru, as of now is more an institutional problem rather than a

structural issue, and as long as the political powers do not place them in their agendas, indigenous groups will continue to be neglected.

- Juntos is the star social programme in Peru because of its coverage and impact. It has significantly decreased the poverty rates in the poorest areas of the country and has improved indicators in health, nutrition, education and in reducing child labour (Aste and Roopnaraine, 2014). Nevertheless, Juntos has not been adapted to target the poorest of the poor, the indigenous peoples. The literature showed that Juntos is an example of the current status of the inadequately designed social programmes in Peru.

## **6.2. Recommendations for CCT programme Juntos**

Based on the findings of the literature and information provided by five key informant organisations, we suggest the following:

- Social programmes proven to work towards an inclusive approach for minorities and indigenous groups have used comprehensive data bases (Gazola Hellmann, 2015; Dávila Lárraga, 2016; Urrutia and Robles Báez, 2018). It is suggested that strengthening and improving the quality of information regarding indigenous groups, working in collaboration with those communities, will improve the effectiveness of Juntos.
- Successful CCT programmes that target indigenous groups have proved that adapting them to the realities faced by indigenous groups is the best way to tackle poverty. We suggest that Juntos places at the centre of the program design those who are the most impoverished.
- Finally, the biggest challenge for the government is to make available the basic services for indigenous groups living in indigenous communities. Regional examples suggest that this could only be achieved when working with different stakeholders: private, government, international and national, but particularly including the indigenous communities.

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