

The Weakest Members of Society: Poverty among Indigenous Populations in Peru and Guatemala

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Abstract

This article reviews the degree and evolution of poverty in Peru and Guatemala. Both countries have high percentages of their populations living in poverty, with more than half of Guatemala's population living in poverty. Beginning with an analysis of the overall poverty rates in these countries, this article narrows down to poverty among their indigenous populations. Peru and Guatemala have significantly large indigenous populations, forming part of the top four countries in Latin America with the largest indigenous groups. This article analyzes how poverty compares among non-indigenous and indigenous populations in both countries. Furthermore, it looks at the ethics of Guatemala and Peru's anti-poverty programs and how their poverty reduction is based on addressing the multidimensional nature of poverty.

I. Introduction

Pope John Paul II is quoted to have said that a society will be judged on the basis of how it treats its weakest members.¹ With the indigenous population typically being the poorest people all over the world, we cannot be too proud despite having seen a substantial reduction of world poverty during the first fifteen years of the 21st century.

Latin America is home to one of the largest populations of indigenous peoples. Based on national censuses in or around 2010, there are 42 million indigenous people in Latin America, making up 7.8 percent of Latin America's total population.² While Mexico (16.8 million), Peru (7.6 million), and Guatemala (5.8 million) have the highest number of indigenous people in absolute numbers within Latin America,³ Bolivia, Guatemala and Peru have the highest share of indigenous population in Latin America. As detailed in Figure 1, indigenous people constitute about 50 percent of Guatemala's population and about 25 percent of Peru's population.

This article examines poverty in Guatemala and Peru, focusing specifically on poverty in their indigenous populations. Following this Introduction (Section I), the next section provides a brief

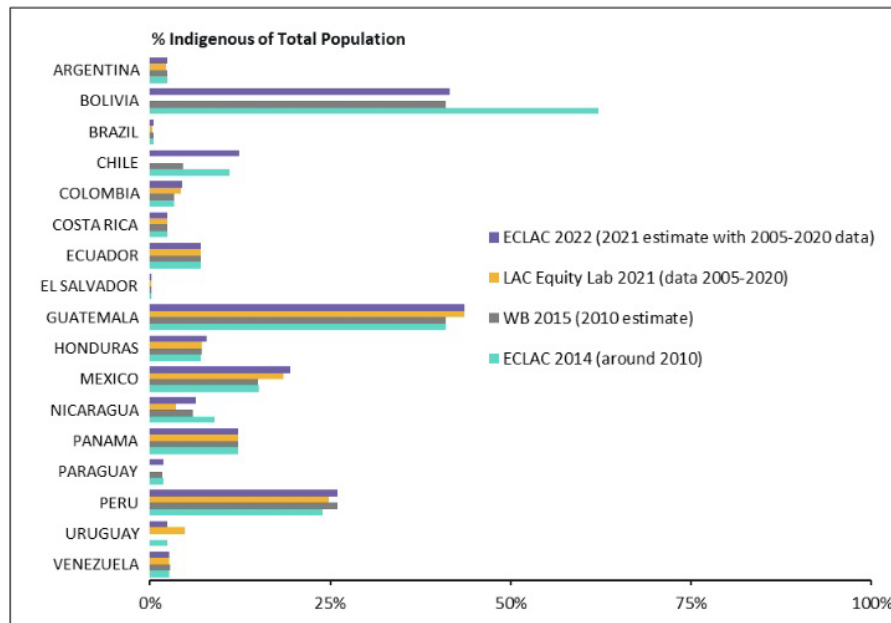
¹ Convoy of Hope (2023).

² The World Bank, 2015), p. 22.

³ The World Bank, 2015), p. 25.

literature review of poverty in indigenous population. Section III provides some socioeconomic background on Guatemala and Peru, followed by an analysis of facts (Section IV). Section V provides an ethical analysis of Guatemala's and Peru's attempts to reduce poverty, while the last section provides some conclusions.

Figure 1: Indigenous Population in Latin America as Percentage of Total Population by Country



Sources: United States Congressional Research Service (2023), Figure 2 (page 6).

II. Literature Review

There is limited literature on poverty among indigenous peoples. Patrinos (1994) provides one of the earliest studies examining poverty among indigenous populations from a global perspective. Psacharopoulos and Patrinos (1994) and Hall, Layton and Shapiro (2006) examine poverty of indigenous peoples in Latin America. Beyond these global and regional studies, Steele (1994) and Shapiro (2006) specifically look at poverty within indigenous communities in Guatemala, while Macisaac (1994) and Trivelli (2006) examine poverty of Peru's indigenous people.

- Patrinos (1994) explores the connection between ethnicity and economic development in regard to indigenous populations worldwide. While there is some research on indigenous populations and their socioeconomic conditions in developed countries, such as the United States and Canada, overall, there is very little empirical research on the different levels of educational and economic opportunities for indigenous peoples in developing countries. However, the limited research on ethnicity and economic inequality for indigenous populations in developing countries has shown that there is a “cost” to being an ethnic or racial minority; this “cost” correlates to earnings, poverty, and social development. In Latin America, for example, indigenous, ethnic, and tribal populations—who often live in rural areas—face severe human capital discrimination, lower levels of education, and higher mortality rates than non-indigenous people.

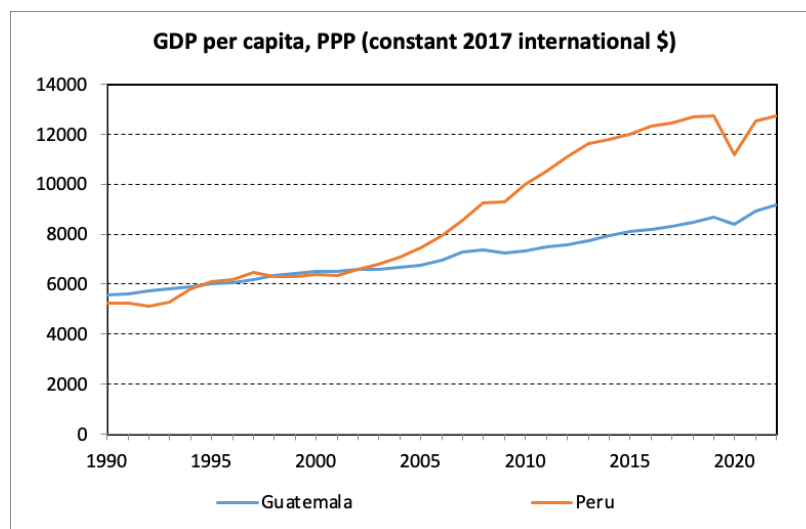
- Psacharopoulos and Patrinos (1994) study the indigenous populations in four countries in Latin America (Bolivia, Guatemala, Mexico, and Peru) to argue that while indigenous peoples are living in conditions of extreme poverty, increasing their human capital will help reduce economic inequality, increase income, and consequently, alleviate poverty. Indigenous peoples in these four countries experience poverty in a multidimensional manner, including in income levels, living conditions, health, schooling, and labor. However, Psacharopoulos and Patrinos state that along with investing in human capital, policymakers and economists can reduce poverty by allowing indigenous people to be at the forefront of development projects.
- Hall, Layton and Shapiro (2006) examine the role and influence of indigenous people in Latin America since the 1990s to the early 2000s. Starting in 1994 with the beginning of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples as declared by the United Nations Assembly, the political influence and visibility of indigenous peoples has greatly increased. In the 1990s, indigenous communities around Latin America engaged in movements and coalitions that centered their voices. However, one of the most significant movements of indigenous peoples was in Bolivia in 2004, when indigenous groups led a coalition that toppled President Sanchez de Lozada. As a result of their actions, various actors, such as non-governmental organizations and national governments, have increased their attention to indigenous rights and concerns. Yet, there is still a large amount of work to be done.
- Steele (1994) explores the dynamics of poverty among indigenous populations in Guatemala as part of a larger analysis on poverty and indigenous peoples in Latin America. Using data from a national household survey of Guatemala in 1989, Steele compares the socioeconomic conditions of indigenous and non-indigenous people in Guatemala. Steele (1994, p. 134) concludes that Guatemala has high income inequality and that the majority of the population is poor, yet, indigenous people are the poorest of the poor, particularly in terms of education and access to health and basic services. To combat this, Steele (1994) suggests that increasing human capital, especially educational opportunities, can reduce the gaps between indigenous and non-indigenous people in Guatemala.
- Shapiro (2006) concluded that indigenous peoples of Guatemala are escaping poverty at a slower rate than non-indigenous people in both rural and urban areas with some indigenous tribes having 72 percent of their people living in poverty compared with only 24 percent of Guatemala's non-indigenous people. Shapiro also found that indigenous peoples in Guatemala have abysmally low levels of schooling: indigenous Guatemalans aged 15–31 had on average only 3.5 years of schooling. With regards to jobs, Shapiro (2006) concluded that indigenous peoples continue to be more likely than non-indigenous people to be employed in the informal sector, especially in agriculture. Child labor is also more prevalent and persistent among indigenous children than among non-indigenous children.
- Macisaac (1994) utilizes data from the Peruvian 1991 Living Standards Measurement Study to show how the majority of indigenous peoples in Peru live in poverty and are at the bottom of Peruvian income distribution. Income earning inequality is a large factor in their inequality along with language barriers between indigenous and non-indigenous people in Peru. As Macisaac (1994) found, Spanish-speaking individuals earn more income than indigenous non-Spanish speakers. Additionally, while educational gaps between indigenous and non-indigenous populations have been slowly decreasing over time, large gaps among both ethnic and gender groups in education persist.

- Trivelli (2006) elaborates on the principal findings from a review of data on poverty among indigenous peoples in Peru, based on data collected by the Peruvian National Household Survey in the fourth quarter of 2001. One of her key findings is that there are significant income differences between indigenous and non-indigenous households in Peru. About 64 percent of Peru's indigenous households were poor in 2001, compared with 42 percent of non-indigenous households. Trivelli (2006) states that extreme poverty reduced slightly between 1994 and 2000, especially among indigenous peoples. However, she also cautions that ignoring the differences between geographic areas and between different definitions of indigenous can produce differing results. Another key finding is that the education gap between indigenous and non-indigenous people has diminished during the past 50 years, with nearly all Peruvians having access to education.

III. Socioeconomic Background

Guatemala and Peru have made considerable progress with regards to their socioeconomic development over the last few decades. As Figure 2 shows, both Guatemala and Peru have experienced an overall increase in their gross domestic product (GDP) per capita adjusted for purchasing power parity (PPP) from 1990 to 2022. While Peru and Guatemala had similar GDP per capita from the 1990s to the early 2000s (excluding Peru's lower GDP per capita in 1992), after 2003, Peru's GDP per capita greatly surpassed that of Guatemala's and has remained higher. Yet, a commonality that both countries experienced was a dip in their GDP per capita in 2020 largely due to the COVID-19 pandemic. In particular, Guatemala's GDP per capita decreased from \$8,673 to \$8,389, while Peru's decreased more, from \$12,735 to \$11,187. However, both countries were able to increase their GDP per capita in 2021 and 2022.

Figure 2: PPP-adjusted GDP per capita in Guatemala and Peru, 1990–2022

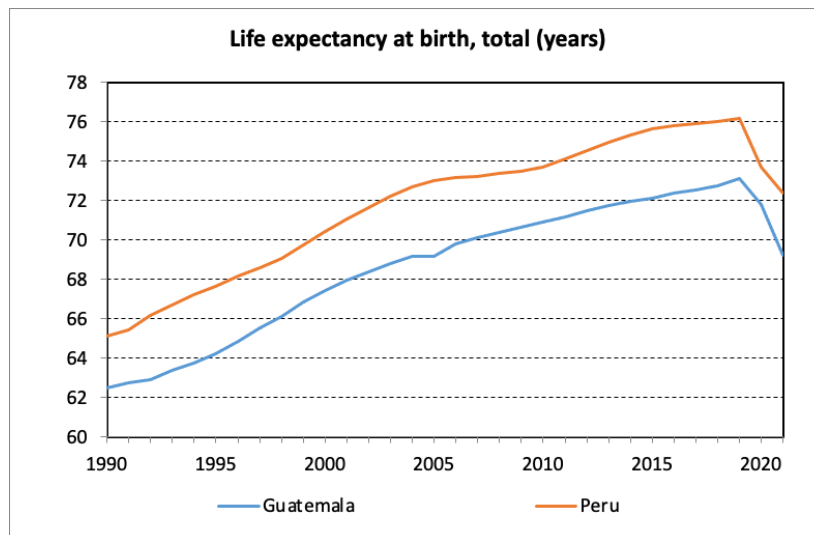


Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2024a).

Unlike their recent divergence in terms of GDP per capita, Guatemala and Peru have experienced a generally stable and similar increase in life expectancy. Throughout 1990-2021, Peru has had a

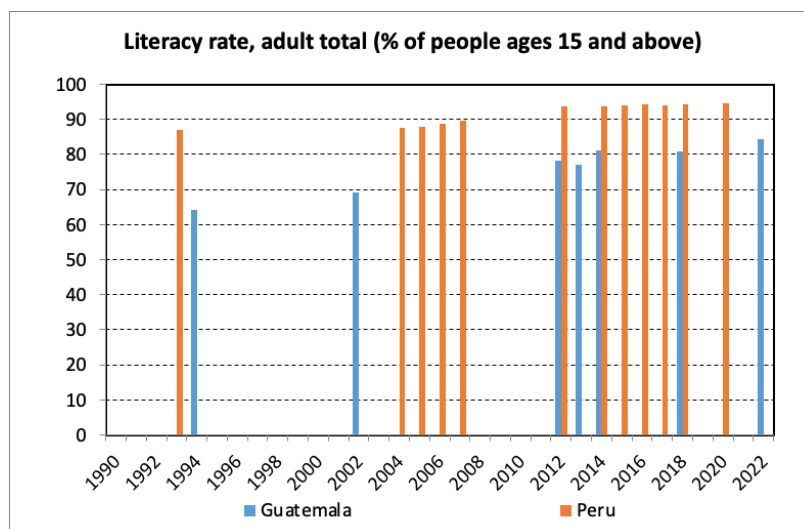
higher life expectancy rate than Guatemala. In 1990, both countries' life expectancy at birth was in the mid-to-low 60s—with Guatemala's at 62.5 and Peru's at 65.1. From 1990-2019, both countries experienced a steady increase in life expectancy. However, similar to the decrease in GDP per capita in 2020, Guatemala and Peru's life expectancy at birth decreased during the COVID-19 pandemic. While Guatemala's life expectancy decreased from 73.1 years in 2019 to 71.8 years in 2021, Peru's went down from 76.2 years in 2019 to 73.7 years in 2021.

Figure 3: Life Expectancy at Birth in Guatemala and Peru, 1990–2021



Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2024a).

Figure 4: Adult Literacy Rates in Guatemala and Peru, all available years



Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2024a).

In contrast to the abundant data on GDP per capita and life expectancy, there is little data on literacy rates for the adult population (age 15 and above) in Guatemala and Peru. However, the

limited data, as displayed in Figure 4, shows that Peru has a higher literacy rate than Guatemala. Throughout 1990-2022, the literacy rate of Peru has increased from the high 80s in 1993 to the mid-90s in 2020. For Guatemala, literacy rates have not reached the 90s, with the highest literacy rate being 84.3 percent in 2022. Furthermore, while Peru has not experienced a decrease in literacy rates throughout this time period, Guatemala's literacy rate has fluctuated throughout the years. Overall, these data and figures show that Peru is more developed in terms of key socioeconomic indicators than Guatemala. While Guatemala has experienced significant growth in its GDP per capita, they have not reached the level of Peru's development.

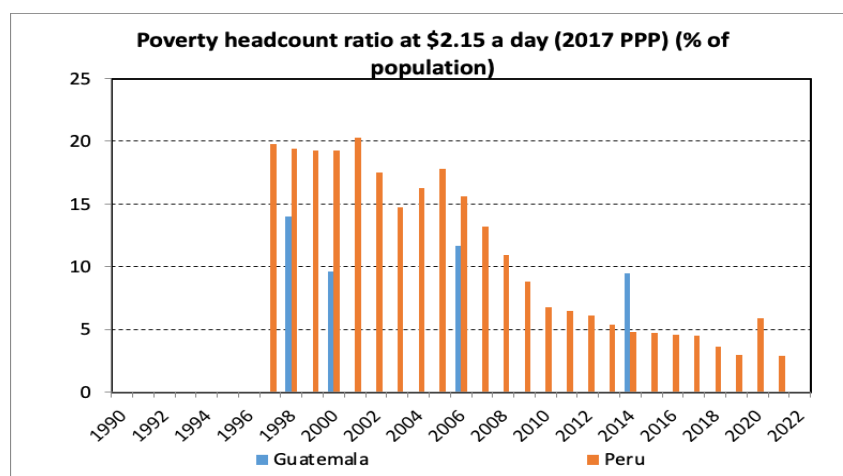
IV. Analysis of Fact

This section is divided into two subsections. Section IV.1. reviews poverty in Guatemala and Peru at the country level, while Section IV.2. focuses on poverty among the indigenous populations of Guatemala and Peru.

IV.1. Poverty in Guatemala and Peru

The evolution of poverty in Guatemala and Peru has drastically changed throughout the years. As seen in Figure 5, Peru, overall, had a decrease in the percentage of their population living below \$2.15 a day. In comparison from 19.8 percent of their population living in poverty in 1997 to 2.9 percent in 2021, poverty in Peru has drastically decreased. However, there are a few fluctuations in their poverty levels. For example, Peru experienced a slight increase in poverty from 2003 to 2005; however, it continued to decrease the following year. In contrast to the fairly steady decline in Peru's poverty level, Guatemala experienced significant fluctuations. While the total population of people living in poverty in Guatemala decreased from 14 percent to 9.6 percent from 1998 to 2000, poverty increased to 11.7 percent in 2006. Yet, poverty decreased again in 2014. Overall, the amount of people living below the \$2.15 poverty line has decreased more in Peru than in Guatemala.

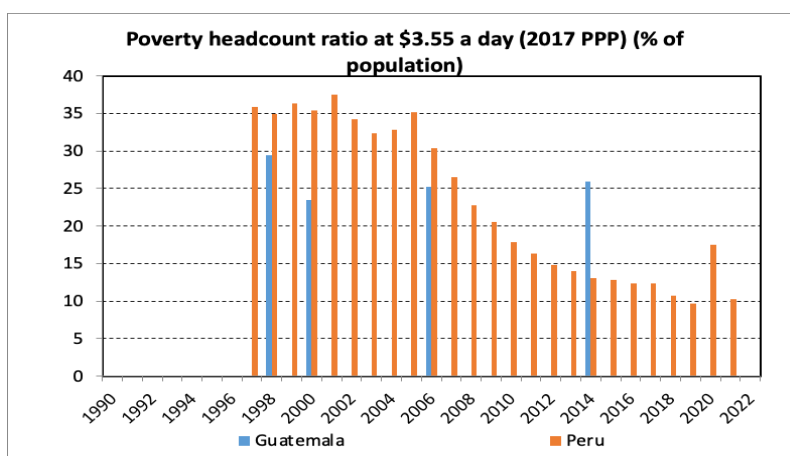
Figure 5: Poverty Headcount Ratio at \$2.15 a day, all available data



Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2024a).

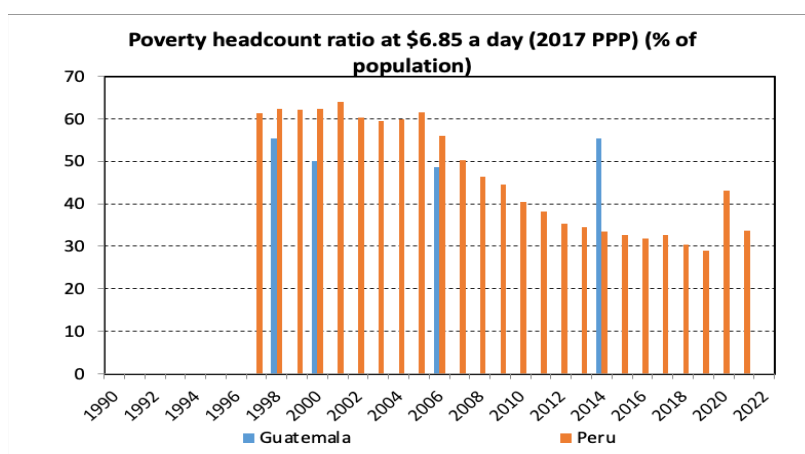
Increasing the poverty line to \$3.65 a day shows similar results between the two countries. Figure 6 shows that Peru experienced a steady decrease in the poverty headcount ratio of \$3.65 a day 30.4 percent in 2006 to 9.7 percent in 2019. However, amid the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, the percentage of the population living below \$3.65 increased to 17.5 percent. Yet, post-2020, poverty returned to decreasing. While Peru recently has had a smaller percentage of their population living below the \$3.65 poverty line, pre-2014, Guatemala had a smaller percentage of impoverished people. For example, in 2000, 23.4 percent of Guatemala's population lived in poverty versus 35.4 percent of Peru's population. However, while Peru greatly decreased their poverty throughout the years, Guatemala's fluctuated between increases and decreases. More specifically, despite Guatemala's slight decrease in poverty from 1998 (29.4 percent) to 2014 (25.9 percent), Peru had almost doubled their decrease in poverty levels from 34.9 percent to 13.1 percent. Therefore, while a signifier of progress, Guatemala's change in poverty headcount ratio does not keep up with that of Peru's.

Figure 6: Poverty Headcount Ratio at \$3.55 a day, all available data



Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2024a).

Figure 7: Poverty Headcount Ratio at \$6.85 a day, all available data



Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2024a).

For both Guatemala and Peru, as the poverty line rises, the percentage of their population living in poverty also rises. At the poverty headcount ratio of \$6.85 a day, Peru has a less uniform decrease in poverty than in the previous national poverty lines. The percentage of their population living under \$6.85 a day largely fluctuates between 1997 and 2005; yet, post-2005, poverty decreases from 61.5 percent to 28.9 percent in 2019. However, just as in the previous two graphs, poverty increases in 2020 due to the COVID-19 pandemic but then decreases in the following years.

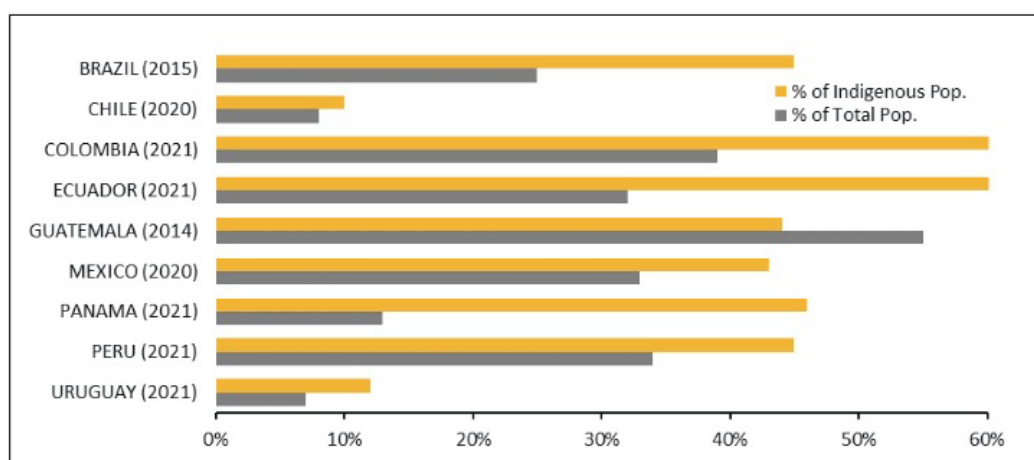
Furthermore, similar to the data for the previous two poverty lines, Guatemala had an overall lower percentage of people living in poverty than Peru until 2014. Yet, in 2014, as the national poverty line increases, the poverty gap between the two countries also increases. For example, at \$2.15 a day, the poverty headcount ratio in Guatemala was 9.5 percent versus 4.8 percent in Peru. Yet, at \$6.85, 55.4 percent of Guatemala’s population lived in poverty in comparison to 33.4 percent in Peru—this is a 22 percent difference versus a nearly 5 percent difference.

Combining the information provided in all three poverty headcount ratios, poverty decreased significantly more in Peru than in Guatemala. While the degree of poverty was higher in Peru than in Guatemala from 1997 to 2014, post-2014, poverty levels in Guatemala were higher in Peru.

IV.2. Indigenous Poverty in Guatemala and Peru

While the indigenous populations of Peru and Guatemala face significant barriers to their development, particularly in comparison to their non-indigenous counterparts, poverty is one of the main challenges they encounter on a daily basis. Yet, as the World Bank (2015, p. 58) states, “Poverty is not a natural trait of indigenous peoples, but a by-product of a protracted history of external aggressions on their values and economies.” In other words, the disproportionate poverty that indigenous folks in Latin America face is not a coincidence but a direct consequence of historical political and socioeconomic actions. As Figure 8 shows, with the exception of Guatemala, the percentage of people living in poverty (below \$6.85 a day) is higher among the indigenous population than the total population.

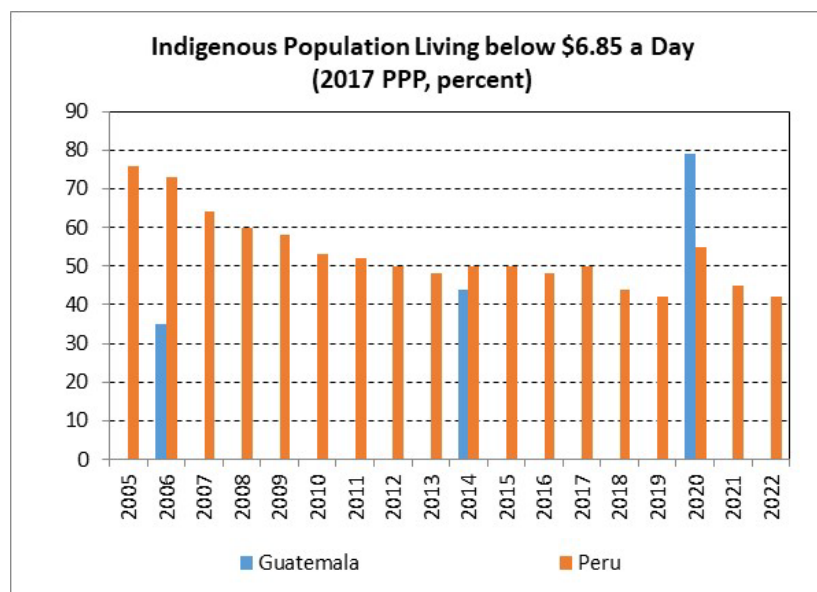
Figure 8: Rates of Indigenous People Living on Less than \$6.85 a Day (in 2017 PPP) in Select Latin American Countries



Sources: United States Congressional Research Service (2023), Figure 5 (page 11).

There are also differences between Guatemala and Peru in terms of the evolution of poverty among the indigenous population. As shown in Figure 9, the share of indigenous population living in poverty has overall fallen in Peru but increased in Guatemala. In Guatemala, the share of indigenous population living in poverty has increased from about 35 percent in 2006 to about 44 percent in 2014 (which are the only two years such data is available for Guatemala by the World Bank’s LAC Equity Lab webpage) and then increased to 79 percent in 2020, while it has fallen from about 76 percent in 2005 to about 45 percent in 2022 in Peru.

Figure 9: Poverty among the Indigenous Population in Guatemala and Peru, 2005–2022



Sources: Created by author based on data provided by the World Bank’s LAC Equity Lab web page “Ethnicity—Poverty” (accessed on August 7, 2024) and Arias Flores (2020).

V. Ethical Analysis

This section is structured into two subsections. The first subsection reviews the poverty reduction programs of Guatemala and Peru, while the second subsection examines the ethical perspectives related to those programs.

V.1. Ethical Perspectives of Poverty Reduction Programs

Poverty is a multidimensional issue. As stated by the World Bank’s (2001) World Development Report (WDR) (2000/2001), people are poor because they lack opportunity, empowerment, and security. Because poverty is multidimensional, anti-poverty programs must also be multidimensional. According to the article “Why Assist People Living in Poverty? The Ethics of Poverty Reduction” by Armando Barrientos et al. (2016), poverty reduction is based on ethical perspectives and shared values.

To the extent poverty reflects injustice, Barrientos et al. (2016) argue that it is necessary to consider poverty in the context of ethics. Furthermore, Barrientos et al. (p. 8) argue that ethical perspectives, also known as the shared values that define social arrangements concerning poverty, help provide

insight into how various actors understand poverty and the priority they attach to poverty reduction. More specifically, Barrientos et al. (p. 8) link ethical perspectives to the emerging welfare institutions addressing poverty in developing countries. Ethical perspectives help better understand the design and scope of the anti-poverty work that welfare institutions are doing.

In the case of Guatemala, the World Bank's main focus is closing income gaps on both a national and local level. One of the main ways this has been done is through their Country Partnership Framework (CPF) for 2024-2027. The CPF addresses poverty reduction in a multidimensional manner. While focusing on enhancing human capital, the CPF also prioritizes promoting inclusion, building resilience to climate change and natural disasters, and improving job opportunities. In terms of human capital, the World Bank seeks to improve child nutrition and development and increase access to improved infrastructure and basic services such as health and water and sanitation services. Additionally, to improve job opportunities, the CPF increases employment through altering public spending to increase economic opportunities in rural and urban areas.⁴

The World Bank's anti-poverty programs in Guatemala resemble the strategies of the *World Development Report 2000/2001*: promoting opportunity, facilitating empowerment, and enhancing security.⁵ Promoting opportunities is in line with economic growth. Because poor people consistently lack access to material opportunities (i.e. jobs, schools, health services), economic growth helps expand access to these opportunities. In Guatemala's case, by making public spending more efficient, the World Bank seeks to utilize the money saved to increase job opportunities for civilians. Along with altering public spending, Guatemala's Country Partnership Framework proposes investing up to US\$ 2.5 billion to help the country address its development challenges.⁶

While these funds are predicted to be distributed over four years, past technical and financial assistance to the country has had significant impacts on poverty reduction. In particular, the World Bank and UNICEF helped the Government of Guatemala design a technical system to expand their cash transfers to support families during the COVID-19 pandemic. As earlier data has shown, poverty rates rose in Guatemala during 2020. To address this, Guatemala implemented the "Bono Familia" program which gave 1,000 quetzales (US\$134) to around 2 million Guatemalan families who were experiencing severe financial hardship. Overall, Guatemala's anti-poverty programs address poverty in a holistic manner. While economic growth is an important aspect of poverty reduction, Guatemala also focuses on empowering the individual and increasing their opportunities.

Similar to Guatemala, Peru's anti-poverty programs are reflecting the multidimensional nature of poverty. To address poverty, Peru focuses on not only increasing economic growth, but also creating a more resilient and stable economy. A central way that Peru has done this is through expanding human capital. Just as in Guatemala, the World Bank has a large presence in the country. Currently, the World Bank has 13 investment projects and one development policy operation – totaling US\$ 2.2 billion – to increase human capital and development in Peru. These projects are mainly focused on health, social justice, and infrastructure (transport, water, and urban and environment sectors).⁷

⁴ This paragraph is based on World Bank (2024b).

⁵ World Bank (2001).

⁶ World Bank (2024b).

⁷ This paragraph is based on World Bank (2024c).

Yet, a specific aspect of environmentalism and infrastructure that Peru has concentrated on is providing affordable housing that is environmentally sustainable. As of September 2022, the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), a branch of the World Bank, has issued around US\$351 million to finance affordable and certified green housing in Peru. Through these investments, MIGA and Peru hope to help vulnerable and middle-income households while also protecting the environment. On a similar note, the World Bank and Peru have partnered to carry out projects focused on preserving and protecting Peru's natural resources and the legal protection and recognition of their indigenous communities. These projects led to the recognition of 253 indigenous communities of the Peruvian Amazon and the financing of 44 community projects that promote sustainable forest management.

In both Peru's and Guatemala's anti-poverty projects, their shared values on protecting the environment, increasing human capital, and increasing economic growth influence their approach to reducing poverty. Additionally, their partnership with the World Bank and other developmental institutions reveals the multifaceted nature of their anti-poverty programs.

V.2. Ethical Perspectives for Poverty Reduction

As stated by Barrientos et al. (2016), there are five different ethical perspectives on poverty: egalitarian, utilitarian, priority, sufficiency, and humanitarian perspectives. While all five perspectives are useful in understanding the structure and operation of anti-poverty programs, the utilitarian and humanitarian perspectives are most evident in Guatemala's anti-poverty programs. The utilitarian perspective makes the case that reducing poverty increases the net benefits.⁸ As seen in the holistic approach to poverty reduction, Guatemala views addressing poverty as a way to improve the overall development of the country. For instance, while making changes to their public spending to increase job opportunities may have forced them to cut costs in other areas, overall, Guatemala saw this action as contributing more positively to their economy.

Additionally, their anti-poverty programs strongly align with the humanitarian perspective which, according to Barrientos et al. (2016), implies that poverty reduction is based on humanitarian reasons. Guatemala views addressing poverty in correlation with promoting the welfare of their citizens. As all citizens are human beings that have human rights, Guatemala's poverty alleviation seeks to protect and promote their rights. While financial stability is an important part of human welfare, as poverty is multidimensional, the right to education and health care is also important in decreasing poverty. Guatemala's work on decreasing secondary school dropout rates, for instance, acknowledges how limited access to education can lead to income inequality.⁹

In addition to the utilitarian and humanitarian perspectives on poverty, Guatemala's anti-poverty programs strongly correlate with the Markkula Center for Applied Ethics' view on ethics through a common good lens. According to the common good lens, ethics is based on the interlocking relationships of society and the wellbeing of all individuals. The common good approach views all individuals as vital actors in society and important contributors to the community.¹⁰

This common good approach is specifically seen in how Guatemala views and treats their indigenous communities. As stated by the UN Resident Coordinator in Guatemala, Rebeca Arias Flores (2020), indigenous people hold a key to our collective survival and without them, neither

⁸ Barrientos et al. (2016).

⁹ World Bank (2024b).

¹⁰ The Markkula Center for Applied Ethics (2021).

Guatemala nor the rest of the world will achieve sustainable development. This “key” that Flores mentions is the indigenous communities’ care for the Earth and their harmonious relationship with nature. According to Flores (2020), sustainable development necessitates centering indigenous wisdom. Therefore, Flores’s value of indigenous communities ties into the common good approach to ethics through prioritizing the inclusivity and protection of all individuals.

While Peru’s anti-poverty programs also resembled the utilitarian and humanitarian perspectives on poverty reduction, their work also ties into the sufficiency perspective. The sufficiency perspective on poverty focuses on ensuring that all individuals have enough resources to secure minimum living standards.¹¹ Peru’s effort to ensure affordable and environmentally conscious housing for vulnerable households resembles this perspective. Affordable housing, in this case, is a resource that allows individuals to attain minimum living standards. In other words, affordable housing correlates with minimizing poverty. In terms of their ethical perspectives on decreasing indigenous poverty, Peru employs the care ethics lens. The care ethics lens is based on listening and responding to individuals in their specific circumstances.

Similar to the common good lens, the care ethics lens values the contribution of all individuals of a society while also focusing on their interdependence.¹² This communal and empathetic approach to ethics is seen in Peru’s legal protection and recognition of indigenous communities in the Amazon. Through centering indigenous voices, Peru’s anti-poverty programs in the Amazon emphasize the needs and desires of indigenous communities. In other words, they use a bottom-up approach to poverty reduction and development.

VI. Conclusion

Poverty in Guatemala and Peru has undergone significant changes over the last three decades. While Guatemala has experienced some decreases in poverty, Peru was overall more successful in reducing poverty than Guatemala and also had smaller income gaps among indigenous and non-indigenous populations. However, as was shown in Section IV above, Peru had only lower poverty levels than Guatemala after 2014. Prior to 2014, Guatemala had a lower percentage of individuals living in poverty. The data also shows that the percentage of impoverished individuals significantly decreased in Peru after 2014, while Guatemala’s situation can—due to a lack of data—not be assessed beyond 2014. Additionally, while Peru had a generally stable decrease in poverty levels for both indigenous and non-indigenous people in the early 21st century, poverty among Guatemala’s indigenous people faced fluctuating levels.

In order to address poverty, both Guatemala and Peru utilize a multidimensional approach. By making connections between poverty alleviation and enhanced access to opportunities and services (i.e. health care, education, and employment), anti-poverty programs in both countries address poverty by promoting the wellbeing of the whole individual, community, and environment. This approach to poverty alleviation reveals how Guatemala and Peru’s ethical perspectives, specifically focused on the common good and human welfare, shape how and why they assist people living in poverty.

While this research explored poverty among indigenous populations in Guatemala and Peru, it did not look at the intersecting identities of indigenous people and how those play a role in poverty

¹¹ Barrientos et al. (2016).

¹² The Markkula Center for Applied Ethics (2021).

levels. Therefore, future research should focus on how factors such as gender and location (rural vs. urban) impact poverty among indigenous folks.

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