

Katarzyna Górska

Institute of American Studies and Polish Diaspora
Jagiellonian University, Kraków, Poland

***Todas las sangres* – Peruvian Multiculturalism in a Migrant Settlement of Metropolitan Lima¹**

The paper presents multiculturalism as a cultural and social phenomenon experienced in migrant settlements in Metropolitan Lima. It will use Nuevo Pachacútec, a young migrant settlement in the Northern cone of the metropolitan area, as a case study. The multiculturalism of Lima has been driven and catalyzed by internal migration process, and is now clearly visible in some urban migrant settlements of the Peruvian capital. The case of Nuevo Pachacútec proves that multiculturalism functions best on a micro scale. Multiculturalism in Peru is analyzed from three angles: as a grassroots policy and principle of cultural organizations; as the diversity of residents in terms of origin and religion; and as the experience of the community and its new approach to celebrating *fiestas*. The nuanced nature of young migrant settlements is expressed by the phrase, *Todas las sangres*, which symbolizes the cultural heterogeneity of urban space.

Key words: Lima, migration, urban zone, multiculturalism, religious diversity

Introduction

Multiculturalism is an urban phenomenon. However, in Latin America, it is often analyzed in the context of whole countries, where nations are composed of various ethnic and cultural groups. Latin American multiculturalism is also often analyzed in the context of indigenous groups still living in rural areas. At the same time, cities in Latin America are great examples of multiculturalism based on local, regional, national, and global cultures. Lima, the capital of Peru, is a migrant city that exemplifies the multiculturalism of Latin American urban space.

This article focuses on multiculturalism as a cultural and social phenomenon experienced in a migrant settlement of Metropolitan Lima. Multiculturalism is conceptualized here in three ways: as a grassroots policy of the settlement

¹ Research for this paper was financially supported by National Science Centre (NCN) (Project No. 2013/09/N/HS3/02011).

administration and a principle of cultural organizations; as the cultural and religious diversity of a micro space; and as the experience of the community as embodied in *fiestas*. This paper will argue that late migrant settlements function as micro spaces of multiculturalism in the Peruvian capital. Community members of the Nuevo Pachacútec migrant settlement have varied regional origins and represent different religions and belief systems. This is conducive to multicultural practices in everyday life and has generated a multicultural identity of the settlement's residents. Internal migration fueled the cultural transformation that eventually changed Lima into a place of "every blood" (*Todas las sangres*). This term is derived from a famous novel by José María Arguedas of the same name. *Todas las sangres* refers to the ethnic variety and cultural complexity that characterizes Peruvian society. Today, the term functions as a stand-alone colloquial phrase referring in general to the cultural diversity in Peru.

Internal Migration in Peru

Most Peruvian researchers recognize the 1940s as the beginning of a mass internal migration that later reconfigured the social structure of Peru (Altamirano; Golte; Matos Mar *Perú Estado Desbordado*; Verdera V.). People migrated from the provinces to urban zones for better job opportunities, education, and health care. During the early period of migration, the largest numbers of migrants were from the Andean population, forced to leave their homeland due to severe life conditions and poverty. An era of terrorism began in the 1980s and continued through the 1990s throughout the whole region, in which national forces were fighting against leftist *guerillas* (Shining Path and Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement), mostly in rural areas. During this period, migration was mainly the result of warfare, and to some extent was organized by the state for resettlement purposes (Burt 1999; Diez Hurtado 2003). After the era of terrorism, migration to urban zones was again mainly economically and educationally motivated. In the 21st century, Amazonian migration to Metropolitan Lima has increased (CAAAP 2013, Vega Díaz 2014).

Quantitative data from national censuses show that the total population of Peru increased by 21 million over the 67-year period from 1940 (7,023,111) to 2007 (28,220,764) (*Perú: Crecimiento y distribución* 7). The statistics on Metropolitan Lima are even more striking. In 1940, the Peruvian capital was inhabited by 577,437 people, and in 2007 by 7,665,222 – a 13-fold increase (*Perfil Sociodemográfico* 15). In 2007, 27% of all Peruvians lived in Lima (*Perú: Crecimiento y distribución* 7). According to data collected by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática (INEI), in 2015 Peru was inhabited by 31,151,643 people, and Metropolitan Lima by 9,886,647 people (*Perú: Estimaciones y Proyecciones* 31-32). Today, therefore, 31% of all Peruvians live in Lima, which is a clear demonstration of the magnitude of urban primacy in Peru. World Bank statistics also reveal that urban dwellers made up 78% of the Peruvian population in 2014. Internal migration has mostly been directed towards the capitals of provinces and cities of the Peruvian coast, but the largest influx has been to Lima. Migration has depopulated rural areas and affected urban zones all over Peru, but again, the biggest transformation has taken place in Lima. Chaotic urbanization, a shadow economy, and housing shortages have become the most urgent

problems of the Metropolitan Area. The housing shortage is a result of the infrastructural inability of the urban zone to provide a massive number of migrants with housing appropriate to their income. Moreover, owning a house and land, a key value of the migrants, has caused further problems. Migrants coming to Lima began illegally invading private and public areas, and this soon became a binding formula for newcomers. This has happened on such a large scale that entire districts of Lima have been founded upon the illegal seizure of land (Degregori et al.; Soto; Golte, Adams; Matos Mar *Desborde popular*).

Migrant Settlements

The term “migrant settlement” refers here to a type of residential zone founded and populated predominantly by immigrants from Peruvian provinces. Usually, these neighborhoods are on the outskirts of the city. In Peruvian scientific literature, the following terms have been used to describe such areas: *barriada*; *pueblo joven*; and most recently, *asentamiento humano* (Kurowski 39-42). All of these terms are imprecise and imply marginalization. The term *barriada* is a distorted form that comes from the Spanish word *barrio*, meaning “neighborhood.” *Barriadas* soon became places that bear negative social image. The term *pueblo joven* was adopted in an effort to do away with the negative connotations of *barriada* and underline the early stage of urbanization of these settlements. However, *pueblos jóvenes* were excluded from the contemporary urban zone during the early period of the settlement. People in Lima tend to accept the currently used term *asentamiento humano*, as it seems relatively neutral. Still though, as with the other terms, it does not capture the contemporary and urban character of the settlements. Furthermore, the Spanish word *asentamiento* is strictly related to archeology. This shows that there is a lack of proper vocabulary to describe the situation of migrants. Indeed, there is no commonly accepted term for inhabitants of migrant settlements. Members of these communities usually call themselves simply migrants or *emprendedores*, which means entrepreneurs in Spanish. Other people describe them as *nuevos limeños* (new dwellers of Lima in Spanish) or *cholos* (Andean term that stands for mestizos). The term “migrant settlement” was chosen as a working term for the purposes of this paper and in all of the author’s research, as it is not stigmatizing to residents. The word “migrant”, even if imperfect and imprecise, still best describes this social group.

According to some authors, the first settlements in Lima, which later developed into *barriadas* started to appear within the city in the 1920s and 1930s (Díaz Albino; Matos Mar “El Perú moderno...” 66). The greatest increase in this form of settlement was in the 1940s and 1950s (Matos Mar *Desborde popular*; Matos Mar “El Perú moderno...”). Peruvian scientists often studied migrants, but their research was focused mainly on the organization, economics, and adaptation of migrants’ lives in the Peruvian capital. Only limited, yet significant, literature explores the cultural aspects of that phenomenon, despite a focus on early-period settlements (Altamirano; Arellano; Golte, Adams, Lobo; Montoya). Today, a large number of residents in Metropolitan Lima lives in migrant settlements; and those from the early period have developed significantly and differ internally. For example, San Juan de Lurigancho is now the most populated district of Lima, with a total of 1,047,725 residents

in 2013 (*Los distritos más poblados*). These changes should encourage social scientists to investigate contemporary migrant settlements that form constitutive parts of the polycentric capital city.

Nuevo Pachacútec – an Urban Migrant Settlement

This paper presents the settlement of Nuevo Pachacútec² as a case study. It is located in the Ventanilla district in the Constitutional Province of Callao. Callao together with Lima constitutes the Metropolitan Area. The district of Ventanilla lies in the Northern Cone (*Cono Norte*), which, together with the Southern and Eastern cone, determines the polycentric nature of contemporary Lima. Nuevo Pachacútec is about 40 km North of Cercado de Lima, the historic heart of the city. The climate and landscape are typical for the coast of Peru. Known as *arenal* in Spanish, the terrain is vast, steep, and sandy. Also characteristic for the area are hills with low levels of vegetation, known as *loma* in Spanish; one of which is Cerro Gorila – a symbol of Nuevo Pachacútec. The settlement is administrated in the area of Macro Proyecto Pachacútec, and consists of 5 sectors subdivided into 21 residential groups. The settlement was originally divided into 10,482 plots (Kusi Warma 16).

Nuevo Pachacútec was founded in February 2000 as a result of events that took place in the district of Villa el Salvador (VES), a southern migrant zone of Metropolitan Lima. Over 10.000 migrants from VES, Villa María del Triunfo, and San Juan de Miraflores invaded agricultural land in Villa el Salvador at the beginning of 2000 (Convención Estatutaria 3). The invaders fought with the workers and police who were defending private property. Five migrants died in a brutal fight. The land invasion in VES was conducted predominantly by descendants of the first generation of migrants' – a fact that foreshadowed the new problem of overpopulation and internal migration in Lima. Then President Alberto Fujimori and his government decided to solve the problem by relocating the invaders from VES to state-owned land in the northern part of the Metropolitan Area. Usually, Nuevo Pachacútec residents recognize February 3rd as the anniversary of the settlement's foundation, but relocation was organized between the 3rd and 6th of February 2000, when military trucks carried over 7.000 families to their new home. Along with invaders from VES came many other migrants to reap the benefits of land grants. The state administration intended to make Nuevo Pachacútec a model migrant settlement that would allow it to gather essential knowledge on how to integrate marginal zones with the rest of the city. *Proyecto Piloto Nuevo Pachacútec* was made official in July 2001.

²Research for this paper was carried out as a part of a Ph.D. project devoted to changes in the cultural identity of migrants in Lima. The field work took place in 2013 (three months) and 2014 (six months) in Lima and in the settlement of Nuevo Pachacútec located in the North of the Metropolitan Area. It consisted of everyday visits to the site, during which participant observation and in-depth interviews took place. In total, 72 in-depth interviews were conducted, 16 of which are cited in this paper. These were mostly individual interviews; however, in a few cases, there were two or more persons present. A list of cited interviews with signatures and descriptions of interviewees is included at the end of this paper.

Grassroots Policy and the Principle of Multiculturalism

Local administrations and grassroots democratic institutions support the multicultural identity of Nuevo Pachacútec. There are several examples of political and social literature that examines certain problems of the settlement. *Nuevo Pachacútec, Oasis de Esperanza*, which was published with financial support from the British Secretary of State for International Development, is the most important document for the founders of Nuevo Pachacútec. The book essentially explores organizational, political, and administrative aspects of life in the settlement as listed in operational programs and statutes. Some parts also cover the historical and cultural background of Nuevo Pachacútec. The cultural issues are an attempt to examine and reinforce the identification of the residents with the settlement. Its founders and political leaders have introduced many cultural initiatives which prove that a bottom-up approach in the implementation of multicultural policy can work.

That multicultural attitude of the settlement's founders was explicitly expressed in cultural programs in the abovementioned book. Moisés Vargas-Machuca, a philosopher, artist, and famous resident of Nuevo Pachacútec, as well as author of the essay "Y este año también germinó la montaña", which was published in the book, wrote: "I dedicate these lines, written by me as best as I can to women, men, children, old and young coming from 25 corners of my Peru, so that we learn to be conscious of our destiny to come out of material poverty, [so that] those searching for their cultural identity in today's barren land [of] *chala* [*chalaco* – of Callao] will create a fertile tomorrow of hope and solidarity" (Paredes Coz et al. 142). Machuca was appealing to the multicultural origin of the community and underlining that only tolerance of cultural diversity is the right path to a respectful and multicultural community. The settlement's founders and political leaders understood that social development based on multicultural identity is as important as infrastructural, institutional, and economic improvements. Today, some political leaders acknowledge cultural heritage as the most essential value for developing settlements facing various social problems. Many cultural events and artistic workshops keep residents active in community centers. Artistic and youth organizations encourage neighbors to participate in all kinds of events held throughout all sectors of the settlement. Cultural policies implemented at the local level focus on concepts such as *cultura viva*, *cultura comunitaria*, and *autogestión*. The concept of *autogestión* (self-governance; self-management) spurs the foundation of various organizations and institutions in Nuevo Pachacútec; and that of *ciudad modelo auto-gestionaria* expresses the settlement's model of governance. Nuevo Pachacútec was meant to be a role model for similar establishments, and self-governance is the basis of its administration system. *Cultura viva* and *cultura comunitaria* are official policies carried out by the Ministry of Culture of Peru and other national institutions. Some organizations from Nuevo Pachacútec are also involved in carrying out these policies. Both concepts, also implemented as policies by other Latin American governments, emphasize the vibrant and communal character of the settlement's artistic and cultural activities.

The settlement's founders (*fundadores*), local political leaders (*dirigentes*), members of local youth and artistic associations, members of NGOs, and employees of official institutions play a distinguished role among cultural actors therein. The social

function of the *fundadores* was visible in the very first days of Nuevo Pachacútec. They created a complex network of social institutions that were responsible for addressing the specific needs of the community. The most distinctive among them were *juntas directivas* (the governing committees) of each sector. *Juntas* were, and still are, responsible for each area of the settlement, and they all work together with The Central Committee. Various residents said that the early days of Nuevo Pachacútec were tough, but that there was solidarity among its founders (Sierra, Ortiz 529; Pereyra 96). As a natural consequence, local political leaders emerged from among the most active founders whose residents of Nuevo Pachacútec describe with phrases such as *pachacutano de corazón* (Pachacutano from the heart) or *raíz de Pachacútec* (the root of Pachacútec).

The founders and early leaders of Nuevo Pachacútec supported cultural tolerance and the principles of multiculturalism, both explicitly expressed in the strategic plan for the development of the settlement. The leaders outlined a cultural strategy published in *Nuevo Pachacútec, Oasis de Esperanza*, which indicated that the culture and identity of Nuevo Pachacútec (*la identidad* and *cultura pachacutana*) must be strengthened. Residents of the settlement wanted to achieve this goal by embodying the cultural diversity of the community in the following institutions: the Municipal Centre of Nuevo Pachacútec; the Cultural and Artistic Centre; and the Pachacútec Museum. In accordance with the cultural strategy such official symbolic representations as anthem, flag, and symbols of Nuevo Pachacútec were created. Along with recognition of owned media that started to function in the settlement and regular cultural events (Paredes Coz et al. 28). The community was successful at establishing their media – the first newspaper of Nuevo Pachacútec was *Voz de Arena* and today one political leader is publishing *El Sol de Pachacútec* by his own. Also worthy of mention are cyclic poets' meetings at Cerro Gorila, all activities of *Panaka Pachakutek*, the rituals of Andean New Year, neighbor care over *huaca* found in the Bahía Blanca, or the anniversary of Nuevo Pachacútec, that is the only holiday celebrated by all residents³. As can be observe then, the founders and leaders do not limit their activities to politics and administration, and strongly support various NGOs and cultural associations from the settlement⁴. The promotion of local identity and multiculturalism among the Nuevo Pachacútec community is a goal that all associations share. Leaders and members of these associations have reported that residents of the settlement are willing to cooperate with all organizations, and actively participate in various events.

Some neighbors also help local institutions to address organizational obstacles; and some lend their properties to or assist in raising funds for youth organizations. The youth organizations focus on children and teenagers from Nuevo Pachacútec, and organize free-of-charge art workshops for activities like juggling, acrobatics,

³ Not all initiatives, mentioned in the cultural strategy in *Nuevo Pachacútec, Oasis de Esperanza*, are continued today.

⁴ Cultural associations play the most significant role for the youth of Nuevo Pachacútec. Drug dealing and gang delinquency are the biggest social problems that endanger the youngest members of the settlement. Cultural and artistic engagement, promoted by associations, provides these youth with an opportunity for a different childhood in the marginal areas of the city. Youth organizations appeared in the settlement recently, with the first having been founded around 2005, and the number growing quite fast.

walking on stilts, folkloric dance, contemporary dance, hip-hop, capoeira, drum music, drama, and English and leadership classes. The programs of such organizations are broad, and cover various forms of culture, ranging from the regional cultures of Peru, to contemporary and urban culture. A founder of one association said: "In Pachacútec traditions are competing, the old tradition, let's say of our parents, with the one that appears right now with the youth. Pachacútec is not folkloristic, but it is not modern either. [Pachacútec] has both of those things, and between them we are searching..." (Interview 10). Another activist explained the attitude to express their identity: "We have to demystify our symbols and make them ours again. Redefine them..." (Interview 3). Demystifying symbols and re-defining them allows for the formation of new cultural forms that express the identity of the more varied younger generation of migrants. Without a doubt, youth associations promote diverse cultures and contribute to the multicultural mosaic of the settlement.

Multicultural Origin of Residents

Multiculturalism in Nuevo Pachacútec is based mainly on its residents' varied regional and cultural origins. In 2005, the settlement was inhabited by 40,000 residents, out of which 10,000 were temporary (Paredes Coz et al. 10). Nowadays residents of the settlement numbered between 35,000 and 50,000, although the data are not totally reliable, as a population census has never been conducted for the area. In the interviews conducted by the author, the majority of Nuevo Pachacútec's residents identified with their place of origin, even if they had migrated from another district of Metropolitan Lima. A 2003 report on water supply included a survey regarding residents' birthplaces. According to the results, 49.3% were born in provinces of the *sierra* region, 25% in Metropolitan Lima, 14.5% near the Peruvian coast, and 8.3% in the region of *selva* (López Ricci 21). What noticed my attention through the research was the increased number of mentions about the Amazonian provenience. This fact is not only based on the actual number of migrants from *selva*, but on the novelty of that migration in the Metropolitan Area. Continuous Amazonian migration to Lima began in 2000 when migrants therefrom settled in the Rímac district of Cantagallo (*Cantagallo, una pequeña selva en la capital*, 2012; Lazarte).

Residents of Nuevo Pachacútec emphasized their various origins many times during the interviews. Sometimes they referred to a specific location in Peru; but when speaking about the community, they usually referred to their origins in one of its three great regions. Multiculturalism as a result of regional diversity in Nuevo Pachacútec was clearly expressed. As one of the respondents claimed, "Here in Pachacútec we are not pure-blood Limeños, everyone is from the province, from all provinces [of Peru], from *sierra*, *selva*, and *costa*...and from Lima or Callao. There is no majority group here" (Interview 15). Multiculturalism, derived from the various regional origins of Nuevo Pachacútec residents, is one of most pointed traits of the settlement's identity. It is often expressed by the phrase *todas las sangres*. Indeed, a resident who moved from San Juan de Miraflores described his experience: "For example here in Pachacútec, I live here for half of the year more or less, 5 months not more (...). So I was surprised to meet here people from *selva*, people from *sierra*, people from the North, West, and even people from *costa* (...). Now we cannot say

that there is one proper term describing everyone, a single adjective. Now it is Peruvianess [*la Peruanidad*], because it is a mixture of all races" (Interview 4). Others expressed the multiculturalism of Pachacútec as follows: "As a matter of a fact I would not say that at all, because everyone is here [*acá hay de todo*]. Here are [people] from *sierra, selva*, basically from all the departments [of Peru]. It is *mezcolandia*! Even foreigners are here" (Interview 9); "I see here a mixture, as a Peruvian – because we are all a kind of mixture, everyone is here [*hay de todo*]" (Interview 14); "Here is a sort of combination, in Pachacútec we have a little bit of everything. From *costa*, because we are from the North, there are others from *sierra* and *selva*. Here are all places in a kind of mixture [*mistura*]. Only a few come from Lima, the majority of us are immigrants from the provinces. Because here is Lima – the capital where there are more possibilities of work than in the provinces. That is why we migrate... So, here Lima has a great mixture" (Interview 13).

The phrase *todas las sangres* symbolizes the multiculturalism of Nuevo Pachacútec. As a founder said: "It is a vast area where we all live together as we say 'every blood' [*es un lugar inmenso, donde convivimos todos, como decimos todas las sangres*]" (Interview 12). *Todas las sangres* refers to the various origins of Nuevo Pachacútec's residents, but can also be used to describe Peruvian society. *Todas las sangres* refers to all individuals in the country regardless of their cultural or ethnic origin. In the first period of migration to Lima, migrants usually organized themselves according to *parentesco, compadrazgo* and *paisanaje* bonds (Altamirano *Migrantes campesinos*; Damonte; Golte). *Parentesco* stands for kinship; *compadrazgo* (along with *padrinazgo*) describes the relationship of godparents, parents, and godchildren; and *paisanaje* refers to the bond between people of common origin. Today, relations among migrants are more varied and open. Migrants do not restrict their connections and social networks to people of the same region or ethnic group. As their environment becomes more multicultural, they begin to take on the multicultural identity of *todas las sangres*. This phrase has positive connotations and creates an atmosphere of inclusion.

Religious Multiculturalism

The phenomenon of multiculturalism of the Nuevo Pachacútec community is founded also on the religious mosaic. In the settlement, there are two major religious groups: Catholics and Protestants. The multicultural religious mosaic is enriched by magical beliefs manifested in the services of *curanderos* and various rituals of mystical origin. The interviews indicated that Catholics and Protestants in Nuevo Pachacútec sometimes have a negative vision of each other, though they always underline that everyone lives in peace and harmony. Some residents as a proof of that describe families from the neighborhood where members are of a different confession. A founder of the settlement said about religious diversity that "There are Evangelicals; there are Jehovah, Mormons, and Catholics. There is another one, one of those Chinese, ha, ha! And there are also Buddhists... but we are all respecting our religions" (Interview 16).

Pentecostalism and Adventism are the most numerous denominations of Protestantism in Nuevo Pachacútec. There are dozens of Protestant churches in the settlement, and several churches work in each sector. These include: *Iglesia Internacional*

Evangélica Pentecostes La voz que clama en el desierto; Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal de Jesucristo; Iglesia de Dios Pentecostal Movimiento Internacional del Perú; Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostes Jesucristo es la Roca; Iglesia Cristiana Pentecostes del Perú – Movimiento Misionero Mundial; Iglesia Pentecostal Unida del Perú – Jerusalem La Celestial; Iglesia Evangélica Presbiteriana del Perú; Iglesia del Nazareno; Iglesia Evangélica Rey de Reyes; Iglesia Adventista Bahía Blanca and Iglesia Adventista del Séptimo Día. Protestant churches deliver all religious services. Pastors are leading all religious rituals and other services they rely on the help of neighbors, followers, and missionaries. Religious services last from one to three hours, depending on the pastor's inspiration. Worship is held four times a week in the late evening hours in some churches. During the weekend, almost all Protestant churches offer services all day long, and Sunday sermons are even sometimes transmitted to the community through speaker systems. There are many posters and other visual forms of evangelization displayed in the vicinity of Protestant institutions. The missionary programs of Protestant churches in Nuevo Pachacútec include Sunday school for teenagers and children, seminars for married couples, and meetings with VIPs from other churches. These meetings focus on group Bible study or sermons delivered by a pastor or other church official.

As aforementioned, Roman Catholics make up a large part of Nuevo Pachacútec. The settlement is under the ecclesiastic administration of the Diocese of Callao. The parish of St. Francis Solano is the main Catholic facility in Nuevo Pachacútec. Catholic founders and residents contributed to the construction of the church, which was finally built in 2004 thanks to a donation from the Coprodeli Foundation. Since its erection, its towers have functioned as a landmark amid the chaotic streets of the settlement. The parish delivers regular services on Sunday morning (7 a.m.) and evening (7 p.m.), and two times during the week in the morning. There is a special mass on Friday at the parish school. There are two other Catholic facilities as well: the Chapel of Nuestra Señora de Maravillas; and the Chapel of San Luis Maria Grignon de Montfort. The latter was rebuilt in 2014 to attract more residents from upper sectors of Nuevo Pachacútec and give an opportunity to Catholics from those sectors to participate in Sunday mass at a closer facility. The most important *fiestas* take place during Holy Week, and on Saturday and Sunday. Friday is also important, as believers proceed along the Way of the Cross. The parish organizes processions on the days of particular saints, such as on December 12th for Our Lady of Guadalupe. There are also Marian communities in Nuevo Pachacútec, and little Marian chapels in backyards of various quarters. The anniversary of the Catholic parish on the 14th of July is another important *fiesta*. According to one of the residents, "On that day starts a novena, nine days of prayers to St. Francis Solano, because basically he is the patron of Pachacútec, which has no other patron saint" (Interview 2).

The boom of Protestantism in migrant settlements characterized the early period of migration to Lima. Some residents say that a high number of Protestant churches in the settlement is recent phenomenon. For example, one was recorded as saying "Yes, this is quite recent... Yes, because before it was only the Catholic [church]" (Interview 8). A founder recalled, "This [foundation of Protestant churches in the settlement] began about two years ago, as they are coming from new churches. Before everyone was Catholic and now there are new ones. Pentecostalism, Jehovah's Witnesses, the Seventh-day Adventist Church, Evangelicals" (Interview 2). There are churches in Nuevo Pachacútec that were founded 13 years ago, 10 years ago,

and 8 years ago surpassed by 2 years of missionary activity (*conquista de las almas*). The number of followers of each Protestant church has never exceeded 100. The four churches visited by the author during field research have congregations consisting of: 80 people at *Iglesia Evangélica Rey de Reyes*; 71 at *Iglesia del Nazareno*; 40 at *Evangélica Pentecostal de Jesucristo*; and 25 at *Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostes Jesucristo es la Roca*. One of pastors from Nuevo Pachacútec explained: "Here are many religions that are in Christ, [people] have faith... That is why God has so much mercy for this place, because here are many Christians, many Evangelicals, not Catholics, Evangelical Christians" (Interview 6). The number of followers of each Protestant church is not huge, but together, Protestants make up a significant portion of the community. The author's research focused on the rivalry between Protestant and Catholic churches in migrant zones, and on the role of proselyte activity that both religion share (Marzal; Montoya 255–286). The rivalry is visible in Nuevo Pachacútec only among church institutions that compete in "evangelization from door to door". Followers of Protestant denominations just participate in religious services and reject the traditional (Catholic) and/or popular beliefs that are common among migrant, but residents themselves underline the harmony and peaceful coexistence of their multi-religious community (Kapsoli 31).

Residents' opinions vary on which form of Christianity (Protestantism or Catholicism) has more followers in Nuevo Pachacútec. Interviews with people from the Parish of St. Francis suggested that even if the number of Catholics in Nuevo Pachacútec is high, the number attending religious services is low. Among Catholics, only 20% to 30% participate in Sunday mass, but in fact, in Andean culture, participation in holy mass every week is in general not common (Montoya 256). A resident of Nuevo Pachacútec explained, "There are not many of us who always remember to go to Sunday mass" (Interview 11). The community of Nuevo Pachacútec does not participate in sacraments such as Holy Communion or weddings. A missionary that moved two years ago to Nuevo Pachacútec recalled, "I came here a while ago, but I have seen only two weddings. Two weddings and the rest live as the say as *conviventes*" (Interview 1). These statements confirm the changing role of the Catholic Church among migrants in Lima. It may not signify a decline in Catholicism, but a redefinition of its role in migrant society (Montoya 260).

Apart from the Catholic and Protestant spiritual realm, *curanderismo* is also visible trait in urban migrant settlements.⁵ *Curanderismo* is a generic name for the practices of indigenous people related to the figure of the shaman. It is syncretic and combines various magical and religious conceptions derived from different cultural backgrounds. Migrants easily integrate *curanderismo* with Catholicism, even if Catholic officials negatively perceive the former. Today it is present throughout Latin America (Cavender et al.; Glass-Coffin; Oliszewski; Zacharias), and its popularity is associated with the *New Age* movement (Hendrickson) and the interest of developed societies in alternative medicine. In Peru and particularly in Lima, *curanderismo*

⁵ *Curanderismo* is a phenomenon well-observed in the settlement of Nuevo Pachacútec. It consists of three types of magic (white, red, and black magic), and herbal medicine that is based on ethnobotanical knowledge of the indigenous people. One interviewee noted, "We [*curanderos*] normally focus on white and red magic. Red is for love; white is for health; and in black magic only *brujos* [sorcerers] work, which is meant for harm and malice" (Interview 5).

intensified with urban migration and gained official recognition in the state agenda. Various conferences and seminars are organized throughout the country, and the activities of more than 50 *curanderos* have been approved by Congress. Several of them hold services in Nuevo Pachacútec. Usually, *curanderos* work with magic, but some work with alternative medicine as well (*hierberos, parteras, sobadores*). *Curanderismo* arises from the rivalry of two forces: the Good – represented by Jesus Christ; and the Bad – represented by the devil. Every *curandero* has to choose a force. *El don de curar* (the gift of healing) is an essential attribute of any *curandero*. It comes from God, and is often inherited. As one *curandera* explained, “And so we have that gift, no? From the family of my husband and on my side from the curiosity of my mother. The thing that I never realized, but now as I get older, when I got married I started to observe and that is how the gift also appeared in me. The gift that God gave to me, the gift of healing, of moral help” (Interview 5).

Many residents use the services of *curanderos* located in the markets of Nuevo Pachacútec, and according to Author’s research those who believe in *curanderismo* are only Catholics, not Protestants. *Curandero* explained this subtle relation with religion: “Because in my case, I am a Christian, and I heal but with the gift of the God, not with Satan” (Interview 8). Divine provenance of the gift of healing is often the reason for combining magic with Catholicism. Not many *curanderos* acknowledge that official Catholic institutions negatively perceive *curanderismo*. As one resident explained it: “*curanderos* believe in God, in Saints, but at their table there is also the devil... They believe in him as well. And supposedly, as Evangelicals, the Catholic Church also says that it is bad, as the pope was saying. But... it is a kind of a mixture” (Interview 7). People who visit *curanderos* are concerned with work, money, and love. They often ask for a cleaning ritual. Among cleaning practices are: *limpieza con huevo* (cleaning with the egg), especially for children who have experienced *mal de ojo*; and *limpieza con cuy* (cleaning with the Guinea pig), especially for the elderly and ill. There are different cleaning practices for different illnesses, such as *mal de ojo, mal de espanto, asusto (susto), empacho*, and illnesses related to the warmth or cold of the body. Many of these rituals are rooted in Kabala – a mystical branch of Judaism. One of the common Kabala habits in Nuevo Pachacútec is wearing a red ribbon on the left hand to prevent *mal de ojo*. For fortune telling, *curanderos* use Tarot cards, coca leaves, tobacco, and corn kernels. For home protection, some people construct an altar or perform *baños de florecimiento* (flower baths). Sometimes, objects such as a human crane, Cuernavaca cross, or crafted armadillo function as home amulets.

The coexistence of two rival forms of Christianity and the huge popularity of magical beliefs of different backgrounds contribute therefore to the multicultural nature of the community and settlement. The forms and rituals of spiritual discourse are not limited to one culture or particular regional or ethnic group. These conditions are conducive to the settlement’s multicultural identity.

The multiculturalism experienced in the Nuevo Pachacútec community is augmented by a particular attitude towards *fiestas* (festivals). Residents of the settlement have changed traditional migrant customs and now celebrate events in a completely different manner than the first generation of migrants to Lima. Today, inhabitants of migrant settlements are keener to celebrate secular festivals and tend to represent more of a liberal approach than their predecessors. Earlier generations of migrants

celebrated mainly *fiestas patronales*; but this has now changed.⁶ As indicated by observations and interviews in Nuevo Pachacútec, two kinds of *fiestas* are becoming popular among migrants: *fiesta chicha* and *pollada bailable*.

Fiesta chicha is a secular event characteristic of the migrant culture in Lima. It is strictly connected with the phenomenon of *chicha* music. *Chicha* was made popular in the 1980s by bands such as Los Shapis and El Chacalón. *Chicha* music spread across the Peruvian capital mainly because of the *fiestas*. During the first period of migration, *chicha* concerts took place in the neighborhood of Carretera Central. In the 1980s and 1990s, *fiestas* were held in *chichodromos* – huge areas like parking lots or other undeveloped spaces around Lima (including in the historic center). Today, *fiestas chicha* are organized on the outskirts of the city, far from the center in the three corners of Lima, and especially in migrant settlements like Nuevo Pachacútec. In some migrant districts, around 30 *chicha* concerts are held daily. In Nuevo Pachacútec, these numbers are less impressive, but as residents say, there is a *fiesta chicha* in the settlement at least once a week. As one person said, “They organize those fiestas [*chicha*] every week now! Even down there, near the Fish Market, I have seen them... The anniversary of *Unificados Market* as well...” (Interview 14).

Fiesta chicha is a typical recreational event in the migrant settlements of Lima and in Nuevo Pachacútec. As a founder said, the community does not celebrate regional traditions with *fiestas patronales*, “only the anniversary [of Nuevo Pachacútec] and there is another tradition in making this *fiestas chicha*” (Interview 9). The community of the settlement celebrates every event with a *fiesta chicha*, including the anniversary of the settlement, Mother’s Day and Children’s Day, and the anniversaries of the local market and community venue. Different bands and artists perform during the events, which usually last for long hours and represent various *chicha* sub-genres. In Nuevo Pachacútec, there are no venues that could accommodate such an audience, so *fiestas chicha* are held in the open air area near the market, in the backyard of the Municipal Office, or near the health center. Different regional groups and artistic and youth organizations sometimes present at such celebrations as well. Concerts are usually just a part of the cultural program of events. This type of fiesta includes much more cultural variety than the strictly-structured *fiestas patronales*.

Pollada bailable is another type of fiesta emerging in migrant settlements of the Peruvian capital. These secular celebrations developed in the 1990s as a form of gathering funds among the poor social class in Lima. They first appeared when the government of Alberto Fujimori announced “Fuji shock,” a decision meant to stop hyperinflation in the Peruvian economy, but which instead ended up further oppressing the lower and middle classes (Gastellu). In response to an urgent lack of money, the poor and lower classes organized these *fiestas* for purposes of entertainment and distraction. Individuals and families most frequently organize *polladas* due to health issues; and associations and organizations organize them to continue or

⁶ *Fiesta patronal* is a kind of traditional and religious festival celebrated (albeit differently) all over Peru. These celebrations form an essential part of regional culture and identity for Peruvian provinces. Each settlement in Peru worships its patron saint on a particular day of the liturgical year. Migrants that moved to Lima started to reproduce these traditions in the capital (Altamirano *La fiesta de*; Cánepa K.; Condori Oymas). For a long time, this tradition was one of the most important elements of migrant cultural identity.

begin a project. Usually, friends, neighbors, and family participate in the event. In *pollada*, it is consumption, not participation that is responsible for attracting donations and support. Those who organize *pollada* use their social networks to sell *tarjetas* (cards), and those who want to come and eat during the event buy them. There is an unwritten rule that no one should reject the invitation to buy a *tarjeta*, even if they cannot participate in the event. During period of field work conducted by the Author, numerous *polladas* were organized, and were held by the parish of San Francisco Solano, youth associations, local activists and *dirigentes* (local political leaders), and private families. During these festivals, as the name implies, chicken (*pollo*) was served. There are other types of similar *fiestas* with different Peruvian dishes, e.g. *anticuchada*, *picarbonada*, *cuyada*, *cebichada*, *chicharronada*, and *pachamancada*. Beer or other alcohol was often served during the evening hours when the entertainment began. The celebrations usually started around midday, and shows and dances – if included – lasted until the late hours of the night.

Pollada is often described as *bailable* (dancing). These parties last much longer than *polladas* without dancing. The *Pollada* is a core element in the unofficial economic system, but it also serves purposes of fun and entertainment. The program of a *pollada* may contain performances from community organizations and artists, which are open to anyone, even those not from the community. Music is an integral part of all events similar to *polladas*. At *polladas* in Nuevo Pachacútec, the people listen to Latin American genres of music such as salsa, chicha, huayno when dancing. Younger residents play more varied music, not limited to Latin American genres. As observed in Nuevo Pachacútec, the *pollada* is above all a social event for most participants. Residents of the settlement often participate in *polladas* just because they want to go dancing or have fun. The structure of this *fiesta* is again open to any cultural variety that appears in the settlement. For example, there are events at which artists from the community perform both break dance and *danza de tijeras* (an indigenous dance from the Ayacucho region). The co-existence of such forms is not striking when we consider the multicultural origin of the community and the principle of multicultural tolerance among people of all bloods in Nuevo Pachacútec.

Conclusion

Multiculturalism implemented at the micro level works better than policy implemented from the top down. Migrant settlements in Lima prove that grassroots, everyday multiculturalism can function effectively, and bring profit to the community. Multiculturalism implemented by local administration or by youth or cultural organizations is understood as a principle rather than a legal regulation. Cultural actors from the settlement promote a spectrum of artistic activities, ranging from *cajón* (Creole instrument) classes and *danza de tijeras* (and ethnic dance from the Ayacucho region), to juggling and longboarding (sports from the US). Residents of Nuevo Pachacútec can participate in different activities that are not restricted to a particular region of Peru. What is more, in Nuevo Pachacútec, the experience of multiculturalism is evidenced by the multicultural origins of its inhabitants, a complex mosaic of beliefs, and a particular attitude towards *fiestas*. Peru is a country of great cultural complexity, and the community of Nuevo Pachacútec

reflects that heterogeneity on a micro scale. The migrant settlement is a place of intensive cultural change and an illustration of multiculturalism implemented at the local and grassroots level.

Appendix

List of cited interviews with signatures of interviewees

Signature	Gender	Age group	Information
1	M	Adult	Missionary from local church
2	F	Adult	Founder of Nuevo Pachacútec
3	F	Youth	Founder of a youth organization
4	M	Adult	Owner of an Internet point
5	F	Adult	<i>Curandera</i>
6	M	Adult	Pastor
7	M	Adult	Resident of Nuevo Pachacútec
8	M	Adult	<i>Curandero</i>
9	F	Adult	Employee of Cuna Más
10	M	Adult	Pastor
11	F	Adult	Owner of <i>bodega</i>
12	F	Adult	Owner of an Internet point
13	FM	Adults	Owners of a recreation facility
14	M	Adult	Owner of a entertainment facility
15	F	Adult	Owner of an Internet point
16	F	Adult	Dirigente

References:

- Altamirano, Teófilo. *Estructuras regionales, migración y asociaciones regionales en Lima*. Lima: PUCP Departamento de Ciencias Sociales, 1977.
- Altamirano, Teófilo. *Presencia Andina en Lima Metropolitana Estudio sobre migrantes y clubes de provincianos*. Lima: Fondo Editorial PUCP, 1984.
- Altamirano, Teófilo. *Migrantes campesinos en la ciudad: aproximaciones teóricas para su estudio*. Lima: PUCP Departamento de Ciencias Sociales, 1985.
- Altamirano, Teófilo. "La fiesta de la „mamacha" candelaria de la comunidad de Ocobamba (Apurímac) en Lima". *Anthropologica* (PUCP), 7(7) (1989): 71-85.
- Altamirano, Teófilo. "Migración y cultura en el Perú contemporáneo". *IV Reunión Nacional sobre Población* Lima: USAID, AMIDEP, FNUAP, 1995: 223-241.
- Arellano, Rolando. *Ciudad de los Reyes, de los Chávez, de los Quispe...* Lima: Editorial Planeta Perú, 2010.
- Arguedas, José María. *Todas las sangres*. Lima: PEISA, 2001.

- Burt, Jo-Marie. "Sendero Luminoso y la „batalla decisiva“ en las barriadas de Lima: el caso de Villa El Salvador". *Los senderos insólitos del Perú Guerra y Sociedad, 1980 – 1995*. Ed. Steve J. Stern. Lima: IEP, UNSCH, 1999: 263-300.
- CAAAP. *Diagnóstico Situacional de Pueblos Indígenas Amazónicos en Lima Metropolitana*. Lima: Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica, Terra Nuova Perú, 2013.
- Cánepa K., Gisella. "La ciudadanía en escena: fiesta andina, patrimonio y agencia cultural." *Mirando la esfera pública desde la cultura en el Perú*. Lima: CONCYTEC, 2006.
- Cantagallo, una pequeña selva en la capital (2012), Documental. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l65CLGLwgO0>
- Cavender, Anthony et al. "Curanderismo in Appalachia: the Use of Remedios Caseros Among Latinos in Northeastern Tennessee". *Journal of Appalachian Studies*, 17.1/2, 2011: 144-167.
- Condori Oymas, Marco Antonio. "Fiestas patronales en la ciudad chola (Lima)". *Revista Electrónica Construyendo Nuestra Interculturalidad*, 4, Año 5, No 5, 2009: 1-5.
- Convención Estatutaria. *Proyecto de Estatuo Organización de Pobladores Ciudad Autogestionaria Nuevo Pachacútec*. Lima, 2002.
- Damonte, Gerardo. "Componentes de la cultura urbana en el Perú." *Anthropologica (PUCP)*, 11, 1994: 283-307.
- Degregori, Carlos Iván et al. *Conquistadores de un nuevo mundo. De invasores a ciudadanos en San Martín de Porres*. Lima: IEP, 1986.
- Díaz Albino, Sonia Vanessa. *Fenómeno barrial periférico en Lima, caso "CIUDAD DE DIOS"*. <http://es.slideshare.net/10301632/ciudad-de-dios-lima-peru>. 2014.
- Diez Hurtado, Antonio Alejandro. *Los desplazados en el Perú*. Lima: Comité Internacional de la Cruz Roja, 2003.
- Gastellu, Jean-Marc. "Una Respuesta al Fujishock: las Invitaciones con Pago en Lima". *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines*, 23(2), 1994: 297-315.
- Glass-Coffin, Bonnie. "La perspectiva de género en el curanderismo en el norte del Perú: Metáforas, modelos y manifestaciones de la diferencia". *Tradición popular Senri Ethnological Reports*, 43, 2003: 67-94.
- Golte, Jürgen. *Cultura, racionalidad y migración andina*. Lima: IEP, 2001.
- Golte, Jürgen; Adams, Norma. *Los caballos de Troya de los Invasores Estrategias campesinas en la conquista de la Gran Lima*. Lima: IEP, 1990.
- Hendrickson, Brett. "New Contexts for Curanderismo: Recasting Mexican American Folk Healing within American Metaphysical Religion". *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 81.3, 2013: 620-643.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática. *Perfil Sociodemográfico de la Provincia de Lima*. Lima: INEI, 2008.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática. *Perú: Crecimiento y distribución de la población, 2007*. Lima: INEI, 2008.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática. *Perú: Estimaciones y Proyecciones de Población Total por Sexo de las Principales Ciudades, 2000-2015. No. 23*. Lima: INEI, 2012.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática. *Los distritos más poblados*. http://cpi.pe/images/upload/paginaweb/archivo/23/EM_201311_01.pdf. Lima: INEI, 2013.
- Jarecka, Urszula. „Złudzenie wielokulturowości? O przekładalności doświadczeń ludzkich". [in:] Jawłowska, W.A. (red.). *Wokół problemów tożsamości*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo LWT, 2001.
- Kapsoli, Wilfredo. *Guerreros de la oración: las nuevas iglesias en el Perú*. Lima: SEPEC, 1994.
- Kurowski, Karol. *Samoorganizacja w wielkomiejskim slumsie. Przykład Limy*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2013.
- Diagnóstico exploratorio de las condiciones que favorecen las transiciones de niñas y niños de 0 a 7 años en la zona de Pachacútec – Ventanilla*. Lima: Asociación Kusi Warma, 2009.
- Lazarte, Javier. *Ríos Urbanos y poblaciones Shipibas en Lima*. http://revistaideele.com/ideele/content/r%C3%Ados-urbanos-y-poblaciones-shipibas-en-lima_ (4.09.2015).

- Lobo, Susan. *A House of my own Social Organization in the Squatter Settlements of Lima, Peru*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982.
- López Ricci, José. *Sistema de Abastecimiento de Agua Potable en Nuevo Pachacútec Participación social y gestión comunitaria en un contexto de pobreza y rol difuso del Estado*. Lima: Red de Trabajo de CLASPO, 2004.
- Marzal, Manuel. *Los caminos religiosos de los inmigrantes de la Gran Lima*. Lima: Fondo Editorial PUCP, 1989.
- Mateus, J. César. "Roles sobre ruedas: Poder y estética a bordo de una combi". *Contratexto*, 16, 2008: 163-170.
- Matos Mar, José. *Desborde popular y crisis del Estado: el nuevo rostro del Peru en la decada de 1980*. Lima: IEP, 1986.
- Matos Mar, José. "El Perú moderno. Las barriadas limeñas y el despertar de la provincia". *Coloquio lo cholo en el Perú Migraciones y Mixtura Tomo II* Ed. Susana Bedoya. Lima: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, 2009: 41-76.
- Matos Mar, José. *Perú Estado Desbordado y Sociedad Nacional Emergente*. Lima: Editorial Universidad Ricardo Palma, 2012.
- Montoya, Rodrigo. *Porvenir de la cultura quechua en Perú. Desde Lima, Villa El Salvador y Puquio*. Lima: Fondo Editorial UNMSM, 2010.
- Oliszewski, Denisse. "Pluralidad de Rasgos y Diversidad de Representaciones Sobre la Enfermedad en los Usuarios de Curanderismo del Gran Sanmiguel de Tucuman, Argentina". *Scripta Ethnologica*, 35, 2013: 55-76.
- Paredes Coz, Gerson et al. *Nuevo Pachacútec, Oasis de esperanza, plan de desarrollo estratégico al 2010*. Lima: Alternativa, Centro de Investigación Social y Educación Popular, 2005.
- Pereyra, Omar. "Del barrio y del crimen. El fantasma de la criminalidad en Nuevo Pachacutec". *Anthropologica (PUCP)*, 22, 2004: 93-117.
- Pickering, Michael. *Research Methods for Cultural Studies*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008.
- Romero, R. Raul. *Debating the Past Music, Memory and Identity in the Andes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Sierra, Alexis, Ortiz, Daniel. "Las periferias, ¿territorios de incertidumbre? El caso de Pachacútec, Lima-Callao, Perú". *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines*, 41/3, 2012: 523-554.
- Soto, Hernando de. *El Otro Sendero La Revolución Informal*. Instituto Libertad y Democracia, 1987.
- Turino, Thomas. *Moving Away from Silence: Music of the Peruvian Altiplano and the Experience of Urban Migration*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010.
- Vega Díaz, Ismael. *Buscando el Río: Identidad, Transformaciones y Estrategias de los Migrantes Indígenas Amazónicos en Lima Metropolitana*. Lima: Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica. Terra Nuova Perú, 2014.
- Verdera V., Francisco. "La migración a Lima entre 1972 y 1981 Anotaciones desde una perspectiva económica." *Economía No 5*, Lima: IEP, 91, 1986.
- Wade, Peter. "Rethinking Mestizaje: Ideology and Lived Experience." *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 37(2), 2005: 239-257.
- World Bank, Development Indicators - Urban population (% of total), <http://data.worldbank.org/indicador/SP.URB.TOTL.IN.ZS>. (4.04.2015).
- Zacharias, Steffi. "Mexican Curanderismo as Ethnopsychotherapy: A qualitative study on treatment practices, effectiveness, and mechanisms of change." *International Journal of Disability, Development and Education*, 53.4, 2006: 382-400.