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Monitoring Ethnic Diversity:
Does it pave the way towards a better implementation of a public policy for the inclusion/assimilation of refugee/migrant communities in the UK?
A case study of the Latin American communities in the London Borough of Southwark.

Abstract

In this research paper I aim to review some of the moves taken in the period of 2010-12 by the Latin American community in the UK to gain official recognition. The inclusion of 'Latin Americans' in ethnic monitoring forms in Southwark should come up as a landmark victory for the community itself, and as a test-case for other local authorities in London to recognise Latin Americans as an ethnic minority group.

One of the objectives for the Latin American recognition movement in the United Kingdom is to be able to identify basic needs of those Latin American residents more easily and to seek for a better way for these to be met. Formal recognition of Latin Americans helps empower a community which has traditionally been considered to be invisible.

In the process of this research elements involving racist language, nationality, historical and cultural ties with the UK were explored. Latin Americans' immigration status, working conditions, community advocacy and leadership within the Latin American community were analysed as to implementing a united voice amongst community members.

This paper reviews the roles of NGOs working with Latin Americans in London, and the approaches taken by the *Latin American Recognition Campaign* (LARC) and the *Coalition of Latin Americans in the UK* (CLAUK) seeking to achieve official recognition of Latin Americans throughout the London boroughs and eventually throughout the UK.

Finally, some of foreseeable consequences of ethnic recognition are considered once the official recognition is established such as enhancing the integration of the first and second generation of Latin Americans refugees/migrants in the UK.

Biography

I am originally from Montevideo in South America. I am Spanish speaking. I have been in London since June 2009. I have experienced the UK as a worker, student, and a job seeker during all this time.

At the time of conducting this research report I was volunteering with *Southwark Refugee Communities Forum* (SRCF), an organisation which significantly helped me network with various Latin American charities in London.

As a result of this research I have engaged as service user with the *Indo-American Refugee and Migrant Organisation* (IRMO) and the *Latin American Disabled People's Project* (LADPP). I joined the *Latin American Recognition Campaign* (LARC) in August 2013. Most recently, I collaborated with the project named *Uncovering the Invisible: A Portrait of Latin Americans in the UK.*

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Introduction

Questions/topics involved

- What's the purpose of monitoring ethnic diversity?

- To what extent may it represent a tool towards a better integration to minorities?

- In what way may ticking a new option within equal opportunities monitoring forms in Southwark improve the lives of Latin Americans in the UK?

Significance to knowledge

This research investigates two non-profit organisations of Latin Americans seeking ethnic recognition, which should be useful tool to break up the invisibility of the Latin American community in the UK. I reviewed their operation for the period of 2010-2013. I analysed different beneficial aspects of redesigning ethnic monitoring forms, which should influence the making of public policy and its implementation.

Time scale: I spent four months looking for materials and information which should be reflected in the literature review. Additionally, I carried out interviews with key-speakers for two months and took two months to write up the report.

Sampling: I targeted specific key speakers: campaigners, community workers working with the Latin American community and locally elected representatives; we made contact via meeting attendance where they were present; their websites as well as email and through networking / contacts in third sector organisations.

Where: I addressed two case studies in London and exemplify the case of Southwark as the first borough to acknowledge Latin Americans as an ethnicity. To analyse the European context of integration I reviewed some of the secondary sources which analyse the situation of immigration/refugees in the 1960s; for example some legal research comparing the French and the British models from a legal perspective. Other secondary sources address the different political/cultural approaches in three European countries in regards to multiculturalism.

Methodology

My conclusions and recommendations are supported by academic research which reflects on the situation of Latin Americans in the UK and evidence key findings. I conducted interviews with NGOs staff that work with Latin Americans; interviewed a Southwark counsellor, as well as using statistics from 2001 and 2011 census and press articles. I thought it would be difficult to gather research participants/ respondents – small number of interviews probe the topic and it was complemented

by attending two events[1]: a conference and a symposium addressing recognition of Latin Americans in the UK in which I had a unique opportunity to listen a rich discussion around the theme of this research and improved my theorisation of my topic.

Interviews: One on one interviews with campaigners/coordinators – three primary researches, designed a series of questions, to trigger and open up a conversation – semi-structured, open-ended questions – done via email, face to face, meeting in place of work, and via phone.

Alicia Castro. Ambassador of Argentina to the United Kingdom, speaking on conference 'Recognising Latin Americans in the United Kingdom (13 June 2013)

Secondary source analysis: Looked at key documents and existing data on this topic, conducting further analysis and reviewing, establishing comparison of different models of migration in Europe as well as re-presenting existing data in light of my research topic.

Data sources: I used figures from 2011 census, not nationality, but only representing population by 'country of birth' in the London/Greater London Area. This

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[1] *Juana in a million symposium: Making Latin Americans Visible in London*, held 07 June 2013. Southwark Playhouse, London. Performance: Vicky Araico Casas. Speakers: Carolina Gottardo (LAWRS), Mette Berg (University of Oxford), Davide Però (University of Nottigham), Kavita Datta (QMUL), Rosina Marquez Reiter (University of Surrey), Patria Roman-Velasquez (City University), Katie Wright (University of East London),Jasimine Gideon (Birkbeck), Juan Camilo Cock (Migrants Rights Network) and Maria das Graças Brightwell (RHUL). And, *Recognising Latin Americans in the UK Conference*, held 13 June 2013. Argentine Consulate, London. Speakers: Jeremy Corbyn (MP), Cathy McIlwaine (QMUL), Mubin Haq (Trust for London), Gladys Medina (LARC), Lucila Granada (CLAUK), and Catherine McDonald (Cllr. Southwark).

proved too challenging as the data only provides an estimate. The information from the census 2011 was difficult to obtain and it was released by the Office of National Statistics (OSN) but only partially in April 2013.

The two case studies: In this case a campaign of Latin Americans seeking ethnic recognition (LARC) and a network of NGOs working with Latin Americans in London (CLAUK) helped analyse many of the points we are tailoring in this topic of research and illuminate a point.

Mixed methods of research were used – a combination of primary and secondary research – quantitative and qualitative analysis to try and get as much information as possible, conveying evidence and be able to reflect on practical needs.

Ethics: I discussed ethical concerns with interviewees agreed to record and to be quoted/cited in research. A consent form signed by all parties involved and they were debriefed. I submitted the research plan to the EOU ethical panel and it was approved. I took into account issues of consent, data protection (we have given the EOU my primary research raw data to store in the future), and minimising risk, what participants can expect, follow up if they had any issues.

Literature Review

There are three key models of migration in Europe. These are the *guest worker* model (Germany), the *assimilationist* model (France) and the *differentionalist* model (Britain). I paid attention to the concepts of exclusion/inclusion and multiculturalism (de Asis: 267-269; Poulter:44).

In the German tradition migration is seen as a merely short-term seasonal movement. The idea of integration has traditionally remained as a non-issue in that migrants come to do jobs for which the local population are not skilled enough to do, or are just unwilling to do, and then return to their countries of origin. Migrants are, thus, considered to be a temporary labour-force. The body-politic does not normally acknowledge their political rights, or simply ignores the need for their full integration as well as their entitlements for equal rights (Perez: 261, 272).

The French *assimilationist* model, on the other hand, validates a 'conception of integration [that] should obey a logic of equality and not a logic of minorities' as stated by the former French President Mitterand (quoted from Poulter: 51). In other words, everyone should be considered equal (and the same), what implies that any processes of differentiation are negatively regarded to be politically and legally unacceptable.

It is the moral duty of immigrants to integrate in to the French values and reproduce the local culture and way of life to gain acceptance. It may imply for many to lose their original identity (Perez: 283). Those not conforming to this idea are to be perpetually excluded.

Finally, the British *differentionalist* model can be outlined for promoting existence of a super diversity of nationalities and origins (Però: 86). In this system immigrants are encouraged to integrate in the host country as well as developing and strengthening their links with their own ethnic and/or cultural identity. The differentiation dwells on the fact that the focus on the integration process does not rely on imitating or taking after the local (British) culture but amalgamating their own values and culture to their new surrounding; as stated by Poulter (1997) we are in front of a 'pluralism within limits' (49) in which immigrants should uphold to their values as well as conforming to a 'minimum standards of acceptable behaviour' expected by foreigners in the UK (47).

However, this so-called tolerance towards migrant communities may impact negatively in their own process to accomplish full integration because of dwelling within community ghettos amounting to limited opportunities, which increases additional exclusion. A statistical mechanism to measure positive discrimination used by the British authorities is exemplified: ethnic monitoring (see sample 1). This can be seen as a tool to assess, create, redesign and implement an effective public policy to improve the integration.

Sample 1

order to monitor the effectiveness of our policy in relation to recruitment, we ask all applicants for our jobs to complete this monitoring form. We aim to ensure that all job applicants provide us with this information.

The information you provide will not be used in any way in regard to your application. The ethnic origin classifications are those recommended by the Commission for Racial Equality for the 2001 census.

Ethnic Group | < Please Select >

< Please Select >
Asian/Asian British - Bangladeshi
Asian/Asian British - Indian
Asian/Asian British - Other Asian backgr
Asian/Asian British - Pakistani
Black/Black British - African
Black/Black British - Caribbean
Black/Black British - Other Black backgr
Chinese or other ethnic group - Chinese
Chinese or other ethnic group - other
Mixed - White & Black Caribbean
Mixed - White and Asian
Mixed - White and Black African
Mixed Other mixed background
White - British
White - Irish
White - Other white background

Religion (Northern Ireland posts only)
Gender
Disability

The Disability Discrimination Act (1995) defines mental impairment which has a substantial and normal day-to-day activities.
Do you consider yourself to have such a disability?
Age Range
Sexual Orientation

*Quoted from Employment Application Form (on line)

The inclusion of 'the Latin American box' may end up being a beneficial way to improve the integration and improvement of the living conditions of the Latin Americans in the UK. I came across a significant level of exclusion in the Latin

American community in the UK, particularly created by economic hardship and lack of recognition. This can be manifested by different factors (McIlwaine 2008a:5-6) which do not necessarily interrelate with each other: immigration status, lack historical links with the UK (as opposed to Spanish colonialism, and 19th and 20th migration flows from the peninsula to Latin America), limited political engagement/participation, language barriers, discrimination and stigmatisation by the general public as well as a lack of common grounds of legal systems.
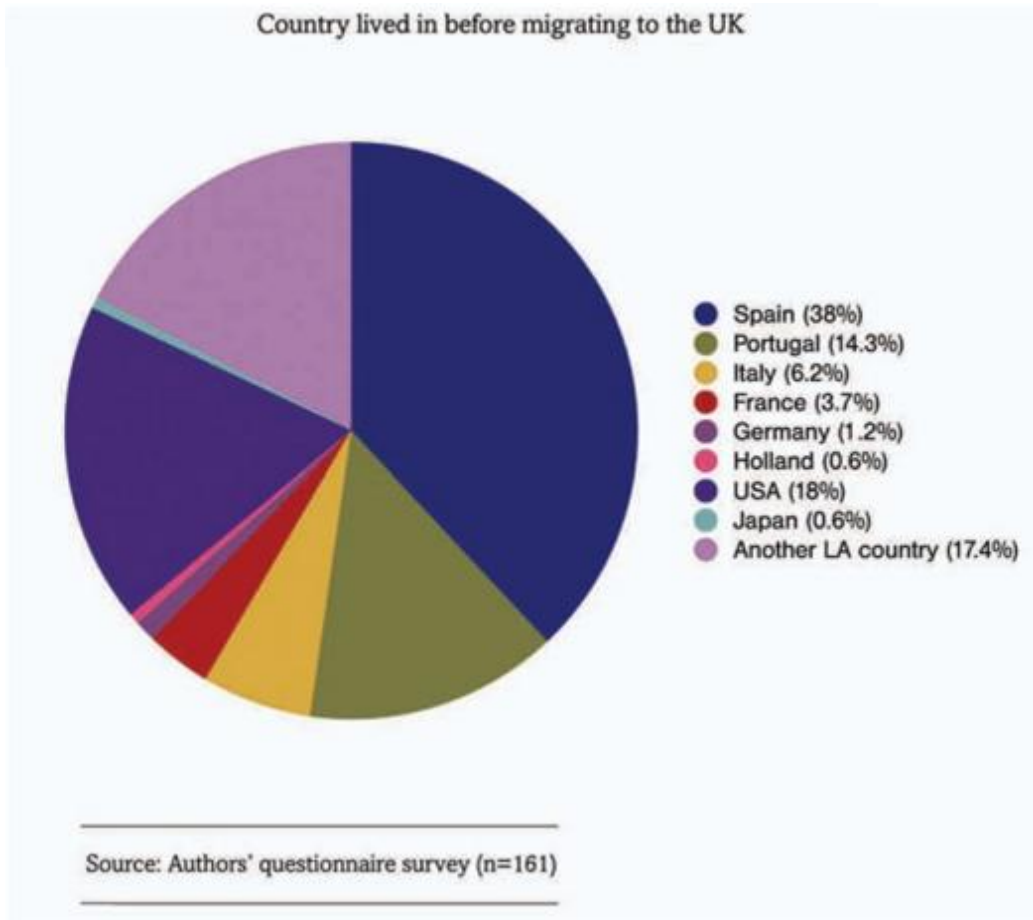
Unlike immigrants from former British colonies Latin Americans have little, if not null, working knowledge of the way that the British institutions operate, evidently in measuring positive discrimination based on gender, sexuality, ethnicity and nationality just to mention a few. However, the political approach and public policy making in Latin America has gone a different route; they tend to resemble the French *assimilationist* tradition in which both positive and negative discrimination is warily seen. The majority of people raised and educated in Latin America probably never had to fill a form in which sensitive data is requested (Medina), thus a feeling of intrusion into private life normally may arise. The Latin American community does not have a long tradition of migration to the UK unlike other immigrants generally from the British Commonwealth (McIlwaine et al: 2011:14, 47; Però: 74). Before the 1970s mainly an elite of Latin American expatriates lived in the UK on a short-term basis (McIlwaine: 2008b: 11). This situation that changed in 1980s with most Latin American newcomers in the UK being political refugees, yet this tendency of asylum-seeking decreased in 1990s with the consolidation of democratic regimes in the region[2].

When it comes to disclosing identity on ethnic monitoring forms we can point out that people with previous family ties and institutional links with the UK are more familiar with it, for example those having been supported by trade unions, enrolled in a British college/university, holding a UK passport or UK residency status, tend to see institutional ethnic monitoring more natural. On the other hand, those that recently arrived from Latin America or another EU country - see chapter 1 and who have little or no previous ties with the UK at all before their arrival are more reluctant to effectively respond to monitoring forms (Granada, 2013a; Medina).

To openly state, or not, their 'ethnic' characteristics could make a positive difference and put the Latin American community in a more favourable situation; for instance as argued by a local authority representative it has social and economic consequences in that 'the Council can monitor whether Latin American residents are engaging with the council as much as other groups and over time, it will allow us to build up a picture of the issues that affect or concern the Latin American community... [it] is an important part of ensuring we are aware of who is telling us what' (Hickson).

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[2] The latest trends of the Latin American migration to the UK originate on economic reasons. The influx of immigrants from Latin American backgrounds has increased since the beginning of the 21st century until now. The best commonality of all of these Latin American residents in the UK is that nearly all of them live in London (Però: 77).

Country lived in before migrating to the UK

- Spain (38%)
- Portugal (14.3%)
- Italy (6.2%)
- France (3.7%)
- Germany (1.2%)
- Holland (0.6%)
- USA (18%)
- Japan (0.6%)
- Another LA country (17.4%)
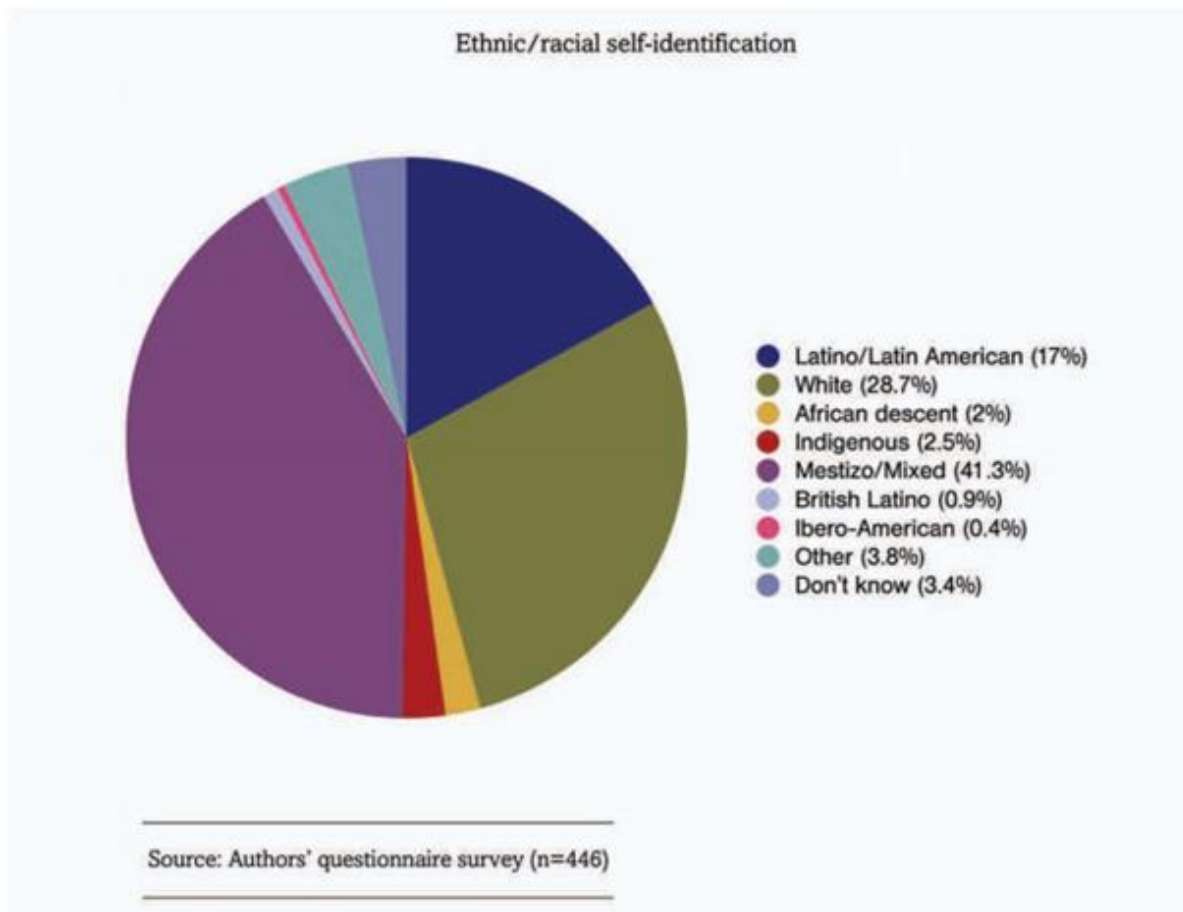
Source: Authors' questionnaire survey (n=161)

*Quoted from McIlwaine et al:2011:42

Latin Americans and Identity

Unlike immigrants and refugees from other origins Latin Americans cannot be easily homogenised in terms of culture and racial background (see chapter 2). There is no box to tick as 'Latin American', a situation that can interpret both their 'super diversity' as well as their invisibility. In other words, this brings a significant difficulty to be acknowledged (McIlwaine:2008b:12).

The living and work conditions which Latin Americans are subjected to, in places like London, do not contribute to facilitating their community, cohesion nor do they help develop a common identity. However, in some environments this situation may vary as in jobs such as cleaning in London (McIlwaine:2008b:21), and particularly on arrival.

Latin Americans in the England and Wales Censuses

Ethnic/racial self-identification

- Latino/Latin American (17%)
- White (28.7%)
- African descent (2%)
- Indigenous (2.5%)
- Mestizo/Mixed (41.3%)
- British Latino (0.9%)
- Ibero-American (0.4%)
- Other (3.8%)
- Don't know (3.4%)

Source: Authors' questionnaire survey (n=446)

*Quoted from McIlwaine et al: 2011:37

Lack of ethnic recognition and invisibility is demonstrated not only at local authority level but also at the national level, for example in the lack of a 'Latin American' box as in the design of the ethnic monitoring in UK census. Nevertheless, data we obtained from 2001 and 2011 census evidenced two key aspects, a geographical disposition for Latin Americans to live in London and the rapid growth of this community in the whole of the UK.

The 2001 census reflected a total of 31,211 Latin Americans living in London (McIlwaine et al: 2011:17). This number increased to a rough estimate of 81,008[3] Latin American residents in London and Greater London area based on data from 'country of birth' of the latest census on 27 March 2011 (Office of National Statistics - ONS) which discriminates 'country of birth' of London residents as follows:

- Argentina 4,567
- Bolivia 2,694

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[3] This number was estimated to 90,000 Latin Americans by 'country of birth' living in London by researcher Cathy McIlwaine (QMUL) at *Recognising Latin Americans in the UK Conference*, held 13 June 2013.

- Brasil 31,357
- Chile 2,913
- Colombia 19,338
- Costa Rica N/A
- Cuba 1,055
- Dominican Republic 465
- Ecuador 7,171
- El Salvador N/A
- Guatemala N/A
- Honduras N/A
- Mexico 3,785
- Nicaragua N/A
- Panama N/A
- Paraguay N/A
- Peru 3,301
- Uruguay 540
- Venezuela 3,822

Country of birth
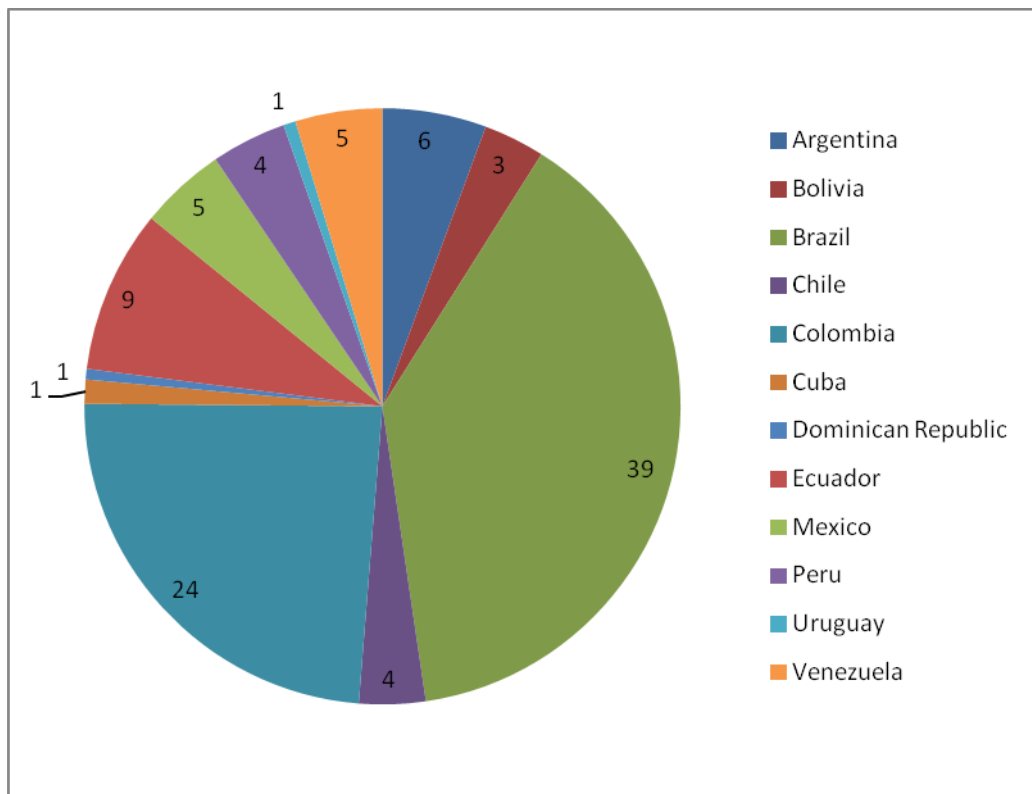
This graph represents percentages of those living in London and Greater London, according to the Cenus 2011.

No data was provided for the nationals of the the following countries:

- Costa Rica
- El Salvador
- Guatemala
- Honduras
- Nicaragua
- Panama
- Paraguay

These figures demonstrate that the number of Latin American residents in London has nearly tripled from 2001 to 2011. However, McIlwaine (2008a: 12) reviewed that we could likely be in front of under-estimates of a migration net between 700,000 to 1,000,000 of 'Latin Americans' in the UK as stated in a Foreign and Commonwealth Office report from 2007.

Statistics also show an increase of migrants by nationality from the year 2000; namely Bolivians and Brazilians accounting for the 66% of new arrivals (McIlwaine: 2012: 293). Additionally, we believe that the difficulty to measure the Latin American presence in the UK is added due to the methods used by the ONS, studies migration flows based on ethnicity, rather than attempting to measure other characteristics of the population such as native language and dialectal forms. This could probe to be a more realistic approach to evaluate the existing multi diversity people from countries with a significant presence in the UK.
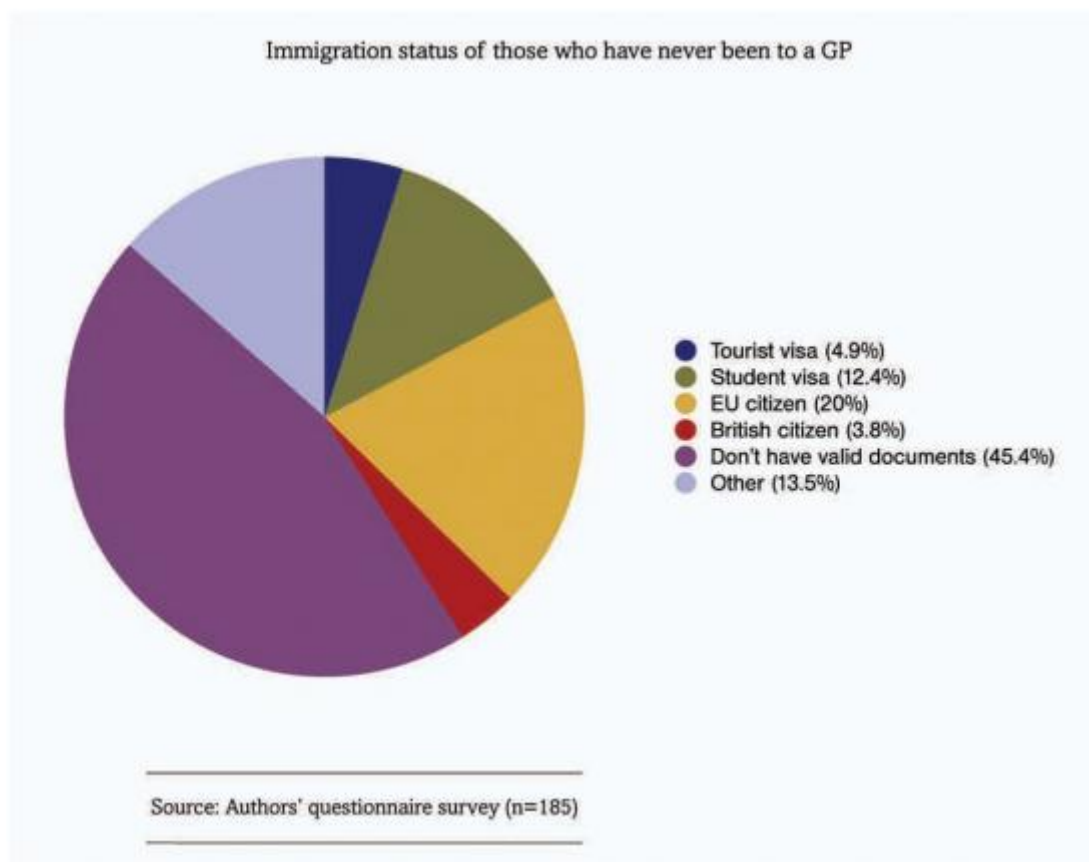
The dialectal forms of language are important factors to be considered in that this type of research; namely a study to measure the number of Latin American children in London which was based on native language failed to produce accurate data in terms of ethnicity regarded children whose primary language was Portuguese or Spanish to be ethnically 'white other'. The study assumed that all participants were of Iberic ascendency (McIlwaine et al: 2011:25).

In order to develop a more accurate methodology to analyse the vast diversity in which Latin Americans in the UK dwell, a number of different factors need to be point out. A few factors impacting on the formation of identity within the diaspora should be especially examined such as country of origin and social extract, and how these could play a key role in Latin Americans' determining work stratification and socialisation within the various members of the community (Medina). For example, there seems to be a tendency for nationals of Brazil, Mexico and Venezuela to come from an upper-middle class extract as well as having secured at least some sort of temporary migratory status (via forming bi-national relationships e.g. partnerships/marriages, or come to the UK to enrol in higher education courses - mainly postgraduate studies. On the other hand, nationals of Bolivia, Colombia and Ecuador tend to originate from a working class background and in many cases have irregular immigration status.

Work stratification can also be exemplified by the fact that people from the first list of countries tend to be in better qualified and paid jobs, while the latter tend to be in the

low-paid and unskilled jobs facing significant levels of exploitation and working unsocial hours (Medina). This segment of 'Latin Americans' dealing a difficult working conditions could easily isolate and have a negative influence from other work colleagues community members due to 'the habitual rumouring within community members' increasing individualism what worsens community cohesion (McIlwaine et al: 2011:128). This picture prevents many community members from accessing services, particularly social assistance, and it also affects on the way that they could access support from NGOs led by other Latin Americans (McIlwaine et al: 2011:101-03).

Chapter 2: Findings and Discussion

Immigration status of those who have never been to a GP

- Tourist visa (4.9%)
- Student visa (12.4%)
- EU citizen (20%)
- British citizen (3.8%)
- Don't have valid documents (45.4%)
- Other (13.5%)

Source: Authors' questionnaire survey (n=185)

*Quoted from McIlwaine et al: 2011:97

To include a box to monitor the Latin American 'ethnicity' would help strengthen community members' identity and their feeling of representation in the UK. The *differentionalist* system expects people to disclose their personal characteristics in order to gain representation in society (Medina). In other words, implementing 'the Latin American box' would give a chance, especially to the second-generation to develop their own identity and broaden their representation in the UK. For instance, it was verbalised by a 17 year old second generation Colombian-British that 'when I am asked what ethnicity I am, there is no box. It seems that there are not enough Latin Americans to make a box, this is wrong. We do not have political leaders. I feel

I have an identity crisis. I feel British Colombian. Before I had more in common with blacks, but now I have more in common with whites' (McIlwaine et al: 2011:117).

Not only by adding the category of Latin American in monitoring box would influence the feeling of integration into the host country but also within the very community and favour community cohesion. This situation came to light during a focus group in which this issue was brought 'I don't know if I feel [like a Latin American], I also think it is more to do with accepting it than feeling it. For instance, if I have to tick a box about my profile and I see 'British' and all the others, and also 'Latino', then I'll tick this box, but I think it is important to note that I have let this happen to me, I know very little about the countries in South America, I have never visited, I feel there is little integration amongst us' McIlwaine et al: 2011:108).

Case Studies
Latin American Recognition Campaign (LARC)[4]

The *Latin American Recognition Campaign* (LARC) was launched in April 2010 and is currently coordinated by Ms Gladys Medina. We had an interview with together and addressed the main questions of this report: analysing the relevance of including Latin Americans as an ethnicity. The different strategies used by the campaign were discussed and the way that these can effectively channel a better integration of Latin Americans in the UK.

In addition to being highlighted in the secondary sources of this research Medina also pointed the same idea that in Britain social institutions expect everyone to [ethnically] differentiate along their lives. Ethnic recognition of Latin Americans in the UK is particularly important for the first generation for political reasons, to fight discrimination and raise awareness. It is especially more important, however, for second generation Latin Americans to assure social mobility and their full integration in the UK.

Although there are not many case-studies of third generation Latin Americans in the UK, some situations known by Medina seem to indicate that they tend to be profoundly integrated in UK life. How to address the problem of why so many Latin

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[4] In the period of 2000-2009 Southwark council manifested interest in knowing more about the Latin American residents living in the borough. For example, Ms Leticia Salinas (Community Worker) and Gladys Medina had held meetings with Southwark Council about matters of housing and other benefits in which community workers mentioned the need of monitoring Latin Americans. The council also considered it was necessary to visualise the needs of the Latin American community due to a notorious increase of residents of that origin in Southwark for the last 7 years (Medina). Southwark Council provided funds to Community Action for Southwark (CAS) in 2008 to implement a project to facilitate the engagement between Latin Americans and the council.

Americans fail to self-identify as such was discussed. Medina argued a situation of her native Bolivia in regards to ethnic recognition; that not until 2009 ethnicity was included in censuses. This example illuminates some evidence that ethnic monitoring is a limited practice in the region in Latin America, and this could be one of the reasons why Latin Americans find it suspicious in the UK, in many cases invasive to disclose a good degree of personal sensitive data in official forms.

Regarding this issue Medina argues that although she acknowledges the vast diversity of races in Latin America; on a personal level the purpose and the way of self-identification good practice in disclosing ethnic background in monitoring forms should vary depending on time and space. Namely, she self-identifies as indigenous (as 'Aymara') in Bolivia, however in the UK to self-identify as 'Latin American'. She added that it is certainly pointless to self-identify as 'Aymara' in Britain since not many people would know what 'Aymara' is and it would not have any impact locally. Rather, she self-identifies as 'Latin American' what may provide her with a significant degree of empowerment and it should help form a united front institutionally speaking, and to be able to pave the way for better visibility of people from Latin America in the UK. In other words, to her ethnicity is not viewed in terms of race but in terms of cultural and geographical background. Not only is this seen as part of a personal position but of a wider political stand.

She took part in a deputation presented in October 2011 before the Southwark council assembly (London SE1 News: 2011), which was approved around about a year later and was implemented as of September 2012 recognising Latin American as an ethnicity (see sample 2).

Sample 2

To which group do you consider you belong?
The categories used are based around those used in the 2001 Census. NB ethnicity questions are not about nationality or citizenship. UK Citizens can belong to any of the ethnic categories listed (Please tick ✓ one ethnic group only).

White		Black or Black British		Asian or British Asian	
British	☐	Caribbean	☐	Indian	☐
Irish	☐	African	☐	Pakistani	☐
Other (✓ and write below)	☐	Other (✓ and write below)	☐	Bangladeshi	☐
Mixed		**Chinese or Chinese British**	☐	Latin American	☐
White & Black Caribbean	☐	Any Other Ethnic Background. Please Describe (✓ and write below)	☐	Other (✓ and write below)	☐
White & Black African	☐	Your Preferred Language is:			
White & Asian	☐	....			

Coalition of Latin Americans in the UK (CLAUK)

Another interview was held with Ms Lucila Granada (Advocacy and Campaigns Coordinator) of the *Coalition of Latin Americans in the UK* (CLAUK), a network of NGOs and third sector providers working with the Latin American communities in London. It has been operating since November 2012. It is formed by the following organisations '*Escuela de Formación Artístico Cultural Latinoamericana*' (ESFORAL) which is located in Islington council, *Indo-American Migrant Refugee Organisation* (IRMO) which is located in Lambeth Council, the *Latin American Support Group*, The *Latin American House* which is located in Camden council, *Latin American Women's Rights Service* (LAWRS) which is located in Islington, *Latin American Women's Aid* (LAWA) – a shelter for women victims of gender violence which is located in Islington, *Mobilising BME Communities for Sexual Health* (NPL), *Naz Latina,*

Telefono de la Esperanza –a help line for emotional support which is located in Islington, and *Casa Ecuatoriana* which is located in Islington. There is also a non-member organisation involved: *Secretaria Nacional del Inmigrante* (SENAMI), which is part of the Ecuadorian Government. The main objectives of the coalition are i) official recognition of Latin Americans as an ethnic minority in the UK, ii) improving access to labour rights, and iii) improving access to quality healthcare.

Lucila Granada argued that the use of ethnic monitoring forms is especially helpful in the light of the presence of (different ethnic minority) groups, namely Latin American facilitates a better implementation of public policy towards minority groups. Gathering data community groups should help interpret which sectors of society are benefiting, or not, of state services, employment opportunities, education. It allows identifying situations of discrimination. Considering that the Latin American community has traditionally been considered invisible in the UK. In other words, we believe that the ethnic recognition is part of the recognition of the Latin Americans in the UK, but it is not the only tool to be used towards improving their integration.

Granada also pointed, in the case of Southwark council, that ethnic monitoring provides is that it presents a clearer picture of what the council can do to improve services to local residents, for example had the council been monitoring Latin Americans previously, there would not be so many Latin Americans having problems to access health services. The same applies to accessing legal advice and knowing employment rights. In short, by using data from ethnic monitoring authorities are in a better position to prioritise some of their services to better integrate a particular community.

Other elements that increase the invisibility of Latin Americans in the UK which were identified by CLAUK follow:

Dual nationality: those Latin American immigrants holding a EU/EEA passports tend not to self-identify as Latin American because they often have an emotional and rational view that their EU/EEA passports 'opened doors' to them in the UK.

Race: ticking the right box in the current design of the ethnic monitoring forms can be difficult for many Latin American considering that the region is multi-ethnic (Aboriginal, Asian, Black, White European as well as Mix-raced). For instance, some Latin American clients fill the box 'Indian' in the forms because informally in Spanish language someone with aboriginal or mix-raced background is called 'Indio'.

Granada added that the majority of the service providers use an elementary ethnic monitoring form template provided by the ONS (as shown in sample 1). However, service providers can discretionary add up more categories to the template they choose to use. This is the case of Southwark Council including 'Latin American' as a new category as a service provider. Expanding/making changes to monitoring forms by local authorities do not mean that all other state agencies (administered by the UK government but which are) present in Southwark should include 'Latin American' as part of their ethnic monitoring forms, namely a Jobcentre Plus, which is part of the Department of Work and Pensions, in Southwark have not included the box of Latin

American in their ethnic monitoring forms. One of the aims of CLAUK, for example, is to influence as many organisations and agencies as possible to suggest they include 'Latin American' within their ethnic monitoring forms.

Furthermore, data gathered from ethnic monitoring forms not only may be used by local authorities and the UK government to improve good practice, to implement their own policies and public policy making, but data can also be used by local colleges. These may be able to prioritise and improve access to some of their services addressing the needs of certain local groups/minorities with significant representation in the area such as in ESOL courses.

During our meeting it was noted that the methodology used for integrating minorities in the UK significantly differs to those used in other Anglo-Saxon countries that implement a *differentionalist* approach with ethnic communities e.g. South Africa and the USA; these have favoured positive discrimination via *affirmative action* policies, implementing a quota-system to help those minorities to access state jobs and universities. However, in the UK there is not a binding way to comply with any type of enforcement to facilitate the integration of ethnic minorities into public jobs or education.

It was mentioned during our meeting that the visibility of the Latin American community in London has also naturally emerged through by the presence of commercial activity and cultural initiatives in places such as Elephant and Castle Shopping Centre and surrounding areas, and the *Carnaval del pueblo*.

Staff of Southwark Council, LARC, LAWAS, LAWRS, The Prisma, Gabriel García Márquez and Notre Dame schools during the celebration of the official recognition of Latin Americans in Southwark (19 October 2012 in Elephant & Castle Shopping Centre).

Conclusions

Ethnic monitoring of Latin Americans will help to identify the needs of the 1st Generation of Migrants than to the second generation of migrants.

The Latin American migration in London has, at least, tripled in the last 10 years. Data from 2001 show about 30,000 Latin American residents which jumped to about 90,000 in 2011. It can also be identified that this is not a trend of seasonal migration but a long-term pattern.

Latin Americans are part of a 'multi diversity' of cultures and ethnic backgrounds. Many of them find it difficult to self-identify as 'Latin American' as an ethnicity. Oppositely they tend to self-identify either as White European, African descent, aboriginal, or mix-raced. This has been a one of the biggest obstacles to gain visibility in the UK.

It is a common practice for the British social institutions such as in any daily activity: applying for a service or employment to expect individuals to state their ethnic background and self-differentiate (in the form of self-identification). A significant number of Latin Americans in the UK fail to understand the meaning and the relevance of this practice. Many opt not to state their origin, or just state it, in a way that can be misleading for authorities to identify them and their needs; this situation has helped to perpetuate their invisibility as a minority.

Many Latin Americans hold EU/EEA passports (normally in the form of dual nationality) in that they have originally migrated from Latin America to an EU/EEA country (other than the UK) prior to relocating to Britain. Because of remaining ties to these countries the process of self-identification as 'Latin American' in the UK can be even less prevalent to be manifested, or take longer than for those whom migrated directly from Latin American to the UK.

Not only the lack of English language proficiency can act as a barrier against Latin Americans' integration/participation in the UK, these could also be a lack of historical ties to the UK and the British model institutional legacy (functioning of the legal system, role/duty of administrations, political engagement) which can also represent a more significant hurdle towards integration.

Economic hardship of a large number Latin American in the UK can represent a key source for competition, isolation and self-segregation amongst other Latin Americans. This situation seriously impacts on developing a strong sense of community cohesion.

Acknowledging a long-term and increasing immigration pattern of Latin Americans coming to London Southwark Council has looked at a cost-free and relevant practice to help identify those residents in the Borough. This step could lead to be to address

more efficiently the needs of a particular minority group and promote their integration in the area.

Recommendations

Specific recommendations:

*Inclusion for the next UK census of the option 'Latin American' in the forms to be used.

*Special consideration to provide support/services including health services for those working unsocial hours as well as access to training, support for dissemination of labour rights and legal advice practices.

*Implementation of quotas to improve the access to state jobs and education institutions by ethnic minorities.

*More bilingual staff in health care, especially in NHS (Portuguese and Spanish)

*Schools to have qualified mediators – between teachers and first generation migrants (using children as translators is not appropriate).

Wider recommendations:

*Education: Improve funding for ESOL courses and provide a schedule comprehensive of the unsocial hours many members of the community work.

*Increase funding to NGOs working or involved with the 'Recognition Campaign' to familiarise and raise awareness amongst community members of the importance of self-identification as Latin American in monitoring forms.

*Continue to campaign for the *London Living Wage* as a way to improve living conditions of a substantial part of Latin Americans in employment but still being on low income.

Strengths/ Limitations

What worked out well?:

The interviews proved very fruitful, the interviewees and I connected on an intellectual and personal level with respondents, it allowed a very fluid dialogue. Some of the interview questions were good and triggered very insightful conversations some had to be removed for being merely too informative.

Secondary source analysis, I found the report *No Longer Invisible* to be very good as a platform to move into raw and primary data generation/ analysis. The report allowed me to come up with interview questions; the other secondary sources allowed me to analyse and understand the reasons behind ethnic recognition in the UK.

Attendance of events – I attended 2 events that complemented the literature analysis and allowed me to meet key players and academics.

Doing this research was also good because it will allow me to contribute to the Latin American recognition campaign in the future it allowed me to read and meet academics researching on the lives Latin Americans in the UK.

I have learnt how to find data in the UK, e.g. using the ONS website and to get to know and network with charities working with the Latin American community in London.

What not?

I encountered significant difficulties trying to contact campaigners and locally elected representatives in Southwark. It was hard to find out who to speak to and then to get interviews with them. Finding a time and space was also difficult (although I would like to say thanks to those who did take part).

That it was a hybrid research- I felt it was not black or white; it has a lot to do with personal interpretation. I come from a philosophical background, and as such we had difficulty in doing specific research on this topic. I had to do significant reading to collect evidence, ideas on ethnicity and integration.

What would I do differently? I would have liked to have had focus groups if there had been the time and funding for this. It would have allowed me to update on the feelings of Latin Americans after the ethnic monitoring has been implemented (there are some prior to this and I could have compared).

I would have liked to have carried out some reviews on Latino life in Seven Sisters and Elephant and Castle and how ethnic recognition would contribute to their lives – this would involve further fieldwork. I would have chosen these areas because of the contribution of Latin American shops.

I would have felt stronger in conducting the quantitative part of the research had the data from the 2011 census been more readily available at the time of the research. I had to email a special request to get the information.

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