LONDON AS A MULTICULTURAL CITY AND ETHNIC MINORITY SUPPORT POLICIES:
THE CASE OF THE IBERO-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

LONDRES COMO CIUDAD MULTICULTURAL Y SUS POLÍTICAS DE APOYO A MINORÍAS ÉTNICAS:
EL CASO DE LA COMUNIDAD IBEROAMERICANA

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RESUMEN

Este artículo une la investigación sobre la identidad de las ciudades y su repercusión en el grupo étnico iberoamericano. Se pone el foco en el reconocimiento de la comunidad iberoamericana en la ciudad de Londres, ciudad considerada paradigma de la multiculturalidad, como paso previo al desarrollo de políticas concretas de apoyo a esta minoría. Para ello, se plantea una investigación con tres objetivos: 1. Analizar la importancia que la ciudad de Londres da al valor multiculturalidad a través de su discurso institucional, 2. Conocer el reconocimiento oficial a determinados grupos étnicos poniendo especial interés en la comunidad iberoamericana y 3. Explorar si este reconocimiento se materializa en logros concretos y políticas de apoyo. Para alcanzar estos objetivos se realizó una investigación cualitativa que utiliza como técnicas de investigación, el análisis de contenido de dos documentos que exponen la visión y los objetivos para la ciudad, «The London Plan» (2008-2011-2017) y el «Manifiesto Sadiq Khan» (2016) del actual alcalde de Londres. Y entrevistas en profundidad a representantes de la comunidad iberoamericana en Londres. Las conclusiones presentan una reflexión crítica con implicaciones prácticas para el colectivo estudiado, evidenciando las limitaciones de la ciudad para aplicar este tipo de políticas y la falta de cohesión entre el colectivo objeto de estudio, lo que dificulta su reconocimiento.

ABSTRACT

This article brings together research on the identity of cities and their effect on the Ibero-American ethnic group. It focuses on the recognition of the Ibero-American community in London, a city considered a paradigm of multiculturality, as a preliminary step towards the entitlement for support of ethnic minorities' policies. The research has three objectives: 1. To analyse the institutional discourse in order to understand the importance given by the city of London to multiculturality; 2. To find out what means to be an offically recognised ethnic group and what it will mean for the Ibero-American community, and 3. To explore whether this recognition is tangible in the form of specific improvement and support policies. To achieve these aims qualitative research has been taken using two research techniques. Firstly, the analysis of the content of two specific documents setting out the vision and goals for the city: «The London Plan» (2008-2011-2017) and the «Sadiq Khan Manifesto» (2016) by the current Mayor of London. Secondly, in-depth interviews with representatives of the Ibero-American community in London. The conclusions present a critical reflection with practical implications for the group under study showing, firstly, the limits on the city when applying multicultural policies and, secondly, the lack of cohesion within the group under study rendering difficult its official recognition.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Identidad ciudad; valores ciudad; minoría étnica; multiculturalismo; Londres; iberoamericano; políticas de apoyo; reconocimiento étnico; diversidad.

KEYWORDS

City identity; city values; ethnic minority; multiculturalism; London; Ibero-American; support policies; ethnic recognition; *diversity*.

1. INTRODUCTION

Over the last few decades, the characteristic functions of cities have changed, adding innovation and new technologies to their role as cultural, economic and social centres (United Nations Habitat, 2016). In 2007, the urban population overtook the number of people living in rural areas for the first time and since then cities have continued their irrepressible growth and expansion. According to United Nations data in its study *World Urbanisation Prospects* (2014), cities generate employment and income and offer education, medical care and other services. However, this growth generates challenges and problems, which this study will analyse. In this context of expansion of urban territory, city residents are taking on increasing importance for their contribution to the complex urban situation.

Many experts, such as Manuel Castells (2005), stress that cities are always great demographic magnets and that they condense their citizens' physical, intellectual and creative energy in a unique way, stimulating cultural development. Castells emphasises citizen involvement with city authorities to solve urban problems. Cities are focuses of knowledge and this knowledge has to be about the urban impact on the lives of its citizens.

Considering this interest, this study begins with the hypothesis that the city of London has been, and continues to be, a fundamental focus of attraction for citizens in all parts of the world, as it is a city with a multicultural policy, where ethnic identities matter (Livingstone 2011) and (Massey 2008). Because of this complex situation, the city has become the subject of much research (Perfect 2014, McIlwaine and Camilo Cock 2011 and Herrero Díaz and Chaves Martín 2015). However, the results of the Brexit referendum on 23 June 2016 indicated that something has changed in the United Kingdom and, of course, the result goes against the values London has always upheld. In fact, voices critical of the decline of multiculturalism have also been present for some years (Murphy 2012, Kymlicka 2010 and Mahamdallie 2011).

This research analyses this specific situation, selecting the Ibero-American community[1] living in London as a case for study, as it is the largest ethnic linguistic minority in London but lacks the institutional recognition other ethnic minorities enjoy. If there is one social situation where people suffer great vulnerability and threats in their daily lives, it is immigration. People who do not live in the nation where they were born; those who have changed their way of life and have to adapt to a new country, a new society and even a new culture, suffer heightened fear of the unknown and uncertainty about the future (Gómez-Escalonilla and Santín, 2012, p. 51). That makes this case study particularly

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[1] This research focuses on the Ibero-American community as a newly formed group, referring to people whose mother tongue is Spanish or Portuguese living in London.

interesting, as it focuses on a situation which is never normally in the spotlight in a great city like London.

In this study, it has been very difficult to put a figure on how many citizens make up the Ibero-American community in London. This is because the latest census figures are from 2008 and they provide data in piecemeal form. For example, there is a study from Queen Mary University in London analysing only the Latin American community. This research states that in 2008 there were 113,500 Latin American people in London, which the study says makes it an important community (McIlwaine and Cock, 2011, p. 6). Various statistics help to provide an estimate of the scale of the migratory phenomenon of Spanish people in London. According to the INE (Spanish National Statistics Institute), in 2015 there were 11,700 Spanish people in the United Kingdom and in 2016 there were 12,800. According to the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, quoted by the newspaper El Ibérico in London, there are 93,000 Spanish people officially resident in the United Kingdom and, according to the ministry, another 90,000 live in the UK but are not registered. We can therefore speak of large numbers but they cannot be precisely specified.

Meanwhile, significant numbers of Latin Americans began arriving in London after 1970. They were largely Colombians and Ecuadorians who went there with work permits to do unskilled jobs. In the same decade there was also considerable migration by political refugees from Chile, Uruguay, Argentina and, to a lesser extent, Colombia. In the eighties, the flow of migration from Latin America was dominated by students, people seeking to be reunited with their families and refugees, although fewer of them than in the previous decade. It was then that different organisations and projects began to be set up to support the community, some of which are still operating today. At the end of the nineties, the number of Latin American immigrants into the United Kingdom increased, with the arrival of asylum seekers from Colombia, Ecuador and Bolivia. These groups obtained permanent residence permits as they were recognised as being in need of protection. They also benefited from regularisation processes, such as the family amnesty that occurred in 2003. After 2000, more Brazilians began arriving in the United Kingdom and they are currently the largest group in the Latin American community. The migration of Latin Americans from Spain to the United Kingdom increased with the world economic crisis that began in 2008 (McIlwaine and Cock, 2011, pp. 6-8).

The report drawn up by Queen Mary University also showed that, despite the fact that the employment rate in the community is quite high (85% of the population), only a minority of people manage to enter the job market working in their real profession. Poor English language skills mean many have to earn their living in the services sector. There they receive low wages and, in many cases, no guaranteed employment or benefits.

More than one-third arrive in the United Kingdom intending to stay in London temporarily while they save enough money. However, the high cost of living leads to indefinite postponement of their plans to return (McIlwaine and Cock, 2011, p. 4).

They say economic and social reasons have led them to emigrate to London, but their perception of it as a tolerant city towards minorities and an important cultural centre have also played a role in the choice (McIlwaine and Cock, 2011, p. 7). Specifically, this research attempts to study whether this perception is in accordance with institutional policies and corresponds to the definition of multiculturalism.

Values such as multiculturalism and diversity are, in fact, the most outstanding identifying traits of the city of London. In fact, in the words of the first Mayor of London, Ken Livingstone,[2]

> "London is the most international and diverse city in the world. […] This is a vital process economically and creatively: to be successful cities, companies and populations have to be in touch with the most up to date ideas and developments taking place across the globe" (Livingstone, K. 2011, pp. 26-27)

He stressed the importance of these values for the development of cities in general and London in particular. A few years earlier, at the time of the July 2005 terrorist attacks, Ken Livingstone was resolute: "They will never beat us because London is emblematic of a multicultural, progressive future." He was referring to the mixture of people, cultures and languages found in the city, the fact that it is the most multicultural city in the world and also the fact that is has a strongly anti-racist policy. And, according to Massey, a former officer of the London local authority, he was right. London is quite a good example of a global, multicultural city and multiculturalism is a very important aspect of its internal identity (Massey, 2008, p. 117).

Ideas about how to organise this ethnic diversity politically and legally have been the subject of discussion for the last 50 years, mainly in the so-called Western democracies. In the United Kingdom, from the 1970s until the end of the 20th century there was a clear tendency towards recognising and organising diversity through a set of multicultural policies and rights for what were described as "minorities". The aim of these policies was to help build a fairer, more inclusive society. The eight policies mentioned by Kymlicka (2010, p. 101) included: institutional and legislative recognition of multiculturalism by central, regional and municipal authorities; the adoption of a multicultural curriculum in schools; recognition of double nationality; subsidies to ethnic group organisations

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[2] Ken Livingstone was the first Mayor of London, as an independent from 2000 to 2004 and representing the Labour Party from 2004 to 2008.

for cultural activities and for bilingual teaching or teaching of native languages to these groups; and affirmative policies for disadvantaged immigrant groups. These policies combined social, economic, political and cultural aspects. In other words, their aim was cultural recognition, economic redistribution and the political participation of the institutionally recognised ethnic groups, a model of citizen democracy.

Kymlicka (2010, p. 97) says a trend away from multicultural policies began in the mid-nineties at the same time as a reaffirmation and revision of ideas of national identity, partly caused by fears among the majority group that these policies had gone too far and threatened the nation's way of life or cultural identity. Discussions increased about whether multiculturalism had contributed to forming ghettos instead of preventing the exclusion of minorities sought by the policies, or whether multiculturalism was ignoring the importance of universal human rights (Kymlicka 2010, p. 102). As a result, and in many other countries where multicultural policies were applied as well as United Kingdom, the centre-left or social democratic parties that had supported these measures began to withdraw from them, with a discourse emphasising ideas of integration and social cohesion (Kymlicka 2010, p. 98). In the United Kingdom, the anti-multiculturalist voices began to be heard at the end of the 20th century and reached their political peak when Prime Minister David Cameron, in his speech on 5 February 2011 at the Munich Conference, declared the end of multiculturalism, with the full agreement of the leaders present, including those from Germany, France and Spain (Mahamdallie 2011, 17). He emphasised the idea that multiculturalism and its policies were a threat to the standard of living of British people, creating unemployment and insecurity.

In the city of London, its first mayor was one of the greatest defenders of multiculturalism. After his period in charge of the city, Ken Livingstone challenged Cameron's discourse in Munich, upholding the idea of a British cultural identity and the presence of ethnic minorities in society (Livingstone, 2011), but he did not mention multicultural policies.

At the moment, although there is disagreement about what comes after multiculturalism, there seems to be a degree of consensus between academics, journalists and politicians that we are in a post-multicultural world in which references to multiculturalism are avoided. Instead, references are made to "diversity", such as the celebration of diversity and cultural variety, encouraging citizens to accept the different customs, traditions, food, music, clothing and so on existing in a diverse, multi-ethnic society. Celebrations like this sidestep anything that might be controversial about the ethnic groups mentioned and can be enjoyed by society in general, without any social or political responsibility for governments.[3]

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[3] For a criticism of this post-multicultural model in the United Kingdom, see the works of Alibhai-Brown (2000), with her theory of the three Ss: samosas, steel-drums and saris.

This study aims to bring together all these perspectives to look at the situation of the Ibero-American community in London as a social and cultural group and the way, in a multicultural context, the institutions go about interventions such as planning social mixes in housing and dealing with diversity in businesses and public spaces (Fincher; Iveson and Leitner, 2014, p. 1). This is undoubtedly a real challenge when it comes to integrating the cultures of the different ethnic minorities in a city with more than eight million inhabitants.

2. AIMS

This research focuses on the recognition of the Ibero-American community in London, considered as a paradigm of multiculturalism, as a first step towards developing specific policies to support this minority.

To do this, the following objectives are established:

1. To analyse how important London considers multicultural values to be in its institutional discourse.

2. To find out about the official recognition of certain ethnic groups, with a particular focus on the Ibero-American community.

3. To explore whether this recognition takes the form of tangible achievements and support policies.

3. METHODOLOGY

To achieve these aims, qualitative research was planned using different research techniques. Firstly, an analysis of the content of four documents selected for the information they provide (Wimmer and Dominick, 1996), in order to find out:

- How important London considers multicultural values to be.

- The recognition of ethnic minorities.

The selected documents are *The London Plan*[4] and the *Manifesto for All Londoners* by Sadiq Khan, covering four specific periods:

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[4] The London Plan is the document containing the strategic plan for London, integrating the economic, environmental and transport plans and the social framework for the development of the city in the next 20-25 years. It is the document providing the vision for urban development in London. This is the guideline document which all the London boroughs must follow when developing their local planning documents. All available at https://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/planning/london-plan/past-versions-and-alterations-london-plan

2008 - *The London Plan* developed while Ken Livingstone[5] was mayor (updated in 2008 but originating in the 2004 document)

2011 - *The London Plan* developed while Boris Johnson[6] was mayor.

2016 - Sadiq Khan's manifesto developed when he stood in the mayoral elections in May 2016.

2017 - *The London Plan* developed once Mayor Sadiq Khan had been elected[7] (updated in 2017 but from the 2015-2016 document).

The criteria for selecting these documents are:

• *The London Plan* is the only institutional reference document that exhaustively includes all the details marking the actions of the Mayor's Office. They are public documents available to citizens publicising the city's strategy and tactics in areas such as the economy, housing, health, education and security.

• Each of the documents studied corresponds in time to one of the city's three mayors. However, as the latest mayor had only just been elected, it was considered advisable select his Sadiq Khan Manifesto, put together when he stood for election.

An analysis of these documents leads to the formulation of inferences about the underlying content (Colle, 2011, p. 5). To do this, the following have been established as units of analysis observed:

a.- The vision of the city of London.

b.- The appearance of terms linked to multiculturalism.

c.- The context in which the terms appear.

d.- References to specific ethnic minorities.

Once the result of the content analysis had been obtained it was compared with in-depth interviews with representatives of the Ibero-American community in London. The interviews were carried out during August 2016 and September 2017. To do this, a structured script was followed, with specific guidelines for formulating questions (Vilches, 2011, p. 216) based on the three objectives established for this research. Open questions were asked because this is the recommended approach (Vilches, 2011, p. 219) when investigating the reasons, motives or causes leading people to maintain certain

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[5] Mayor of London from 2000 to May 2008, first as an independent and then representing the Labour Party.

[6] Mayor of London from May 2008 to May 2016, representing the Conservative Party.

[7] Current Mayor of London from May 2016, representing the Labour Party.

positions. A sample was selected for convenience and the interviews were carried out with a group of informed subjects with knowledge of the subject of the research (Gaitán and Piñuel, 1998 p. 90), as all of them are representatives of the Ibero-American and/or Latin American community in London.

The in-depth interviews were carried out with:

• Isaac Bigio, as a representative of AIU (Alianza Iberoamericana de UK) and founder of MINKA News (a digital newsletter for the Ibero-American community in London), in person on 23 August.

• Lucila Granada, as representative of LAWRS (Human Rights for Latinoamerican Women in London), set up on 5 August by telephone, who provided her doctoral thesis on the Latin American population in London.

• Paco de la Coba, CEO of the El Ibérico newspaper, written in Spanish for the Spanish-speaking community in the United Kingdom. It was founded after he saw the large number of Spanish and Latin American people living in the British capital. Interview carried out on 12 September by e-mail.

An analysis of the interviews was planned using a horizontal approach, considering all the interviews at the same time as a single corpus that can be analysed without distinction. The interest in this approach lies in the set of answers to each of the questions (Gaitán and Piñuel, 1998, p. 109), although in setting out the results we will present some verbatim extracts to illustrate important ideas.

These research techniques are intended to ensure the conclusions are valid and reliable, based on triangulation of methods, using different methods and diverse sources to study the same problem (Álvarez-Gayou Jurgenson, 2003, pp. 32-33). Finally, a discussion is opened up in the conclusions section, comparing the results of the analysis of the institutional discourse with the current context and the opinions of experts who will help to undertake a critical reflection with practical implications for the group under study.

4. RESULTS

4.1. Multiculturalism in the institutional discourse of London

4.1.1. The vision of the city of London

***The London Plan 2008,* when Ken Livingstone was Mayor**

In his vision, the then-Mayor of London specifically mentions the tremendous growth of the city and the challenge this represents. His vision says this makes the city of London unique. The attraction of the new era of globalisation represents a focus of attraction for people everywhere.

He also shows his concern for the exponential growth forecast for the next 15 years and the challenge involved in maintaining quality of life while preserving the character of London. Along these lines, he particularly stresses climate change and the importance of preserving the city's environment.

But, to conclude his description of his vision of London, he highlights as basic points his commitment to the social inclusion of all Londoners, to offer them a future. His commitment to equality of opportunity and non-discrimination are also clear among his concerns. In his definition of the vision of London, there is no explicit reference to the multicultural nature of the city. However, there are many references to ethnic minorities and also a great concern for the consequences of the strong growth in the city's population.

But, although he was one of the most committed mayors of London in terms of multiculturalism and diversity, as can be seen in his revised statements in the introduction, he was already showing concern about how to deal with the situation characterising the city, and this conditioned his policies:

> "Multiculturalism is therefore in the first place not a policy response but a simple description of the character of our society and the understanding we all need to have of how it is going to develop in the future, due to the nature of the world we live in. The issue is how we live with the consequences of that, what are the challenges and what are the advantages, and how do we deal with them" (Livingstone, K. 2011, p. 29)

More than 15 years ago, political decisions were increasingly being taken to develop multiculturalism in London, as stressed in Livingstone's introduction, but the shadow of pessimism hanging over them cannot be ignored. The approach reveals the dissonance between working to create an inclusive, fair society – a clear feature of multiculturalism – while at the same time not wanting to threaten the identity of the city.

The London Plan 2011, while Boris Johnson was mayor

His discourse is all about leadership, stating from the very beginning that London is the best city in the world to live in. The main focuses of his vision are the economy, business and innovation and the aspiration is to make London one of the most important financial centres in the world. Globalisation, prosperity and quality of life are among his concerns.

The London Plan also mentions the need to deal with discrimination, ensuring equal opportunities for all citizens. He highlights the need to pay attention to quality and quantity and to protect the character of London. He says the two aims might appear contradictory but they are both important and he is also aware that public funds are going to be limited. According to Boris Johnson, the plan focuses more on key strategic aspects than on local micro-aspects, which will later be developed by the boroughs. Climate change and energy efficiency are also important.

It must be borne in mind that, in his attempts to protect the character of the United Kingdom, Boris Johnson has been one of the leading Conservative Party figures in favour of Brexit. His actions have led to a change of tendency:

> "In today's political climate one is much more likely to hear about the moral bankruptcy of multicultural theory or the abject failure of multicultural policies, and the sense of quiet confidence that had begun to take hold in the ranks of the multiculturalism is gradually giving way to a sense of unease as a chorus of voices […] have begun calling for an end to the so-called multicultural experiment" (Murphy, M. 2012, p. 1).

In fact, Murphy states at the beginning of his book that:

> "Had this book been written some ten years ago it would undoubtedly have begun by extolling the remarkable rise of multiculturalism as a political philosophy, and the growing popularity of multicultural policies in the governing practices of democratic countries around the globe"

It must not be forgotten that London (Massey, 2008, p. 118) is also a neoliberal capitalist city and, as such, it is in a powerful, key position in the organisation and spread of globalisation. During this time these factors have been crucial in crystallising a change in the multicultural trend.

Manifesto for All Londoners 2016 created by Sadiq Khan to stand for election as Mayor of London

The strategic plan for London in 2017 has no introductory section or declaration of intent by Sadiq Khan. Although the plan was amended during his year as mayor, an

introduction with his vision was not included as had been the case in previous plans. For this reason, Sadiq Khan's manifesto, presented when he stood in the mayoral elections in May 2016, has been chosen for the analysis sample, as it is a declaration of intent and a personal vision of the city of London.

In the preamble to the document, he talks about how, for him, London was a city of opportunity (in his academic education, in getting a job and his own home) and the fact that things were no longer so easy for citizens. Although it is a leading commercial, creative and cultural city, all citizens are not sharing in its prosperity. The main challenges focus on the accessibility of housing, the environment, security, attracting businesses and gender equality.

All this is supposed to take place in a fairer, more tolerant, open city, accessible to all, where people can live and prosper free of prejudice. Khan also makes a clear defence of remaining in Europe. It must be borne in mind that the mayoral elections were held a month before the referendum in the United Kingdom to decide whether to remain in Europe or to leave.

There is no clear reference to multiculturalism in Khan's manifesto, but he is open to everything, without going into greater detail. It must be borne in mind that he is the first Muslim Mayor of London, which in itself represents an example of integration and the success of previous multicultural policies.

The London Plan 2017, once Sadiq Khan had been elected Mayor

As indicated above, this plan contains no introduction written by the Mayor. Despite this, it clearly describes the vision of the London he wants to achieve, so the sections where his vision is plainly set out will be taken as references.

From the beginning, the strategic plan for London supports its positioning as a leading world city already set out in the 2011 document. It accepts the challenges arising from its position as a big city, such as quality of life, the environment and opportunities. But it also introduces a clear nuance alluding directly to the diversity characterising the city and its people, accepting change but also concerning itself with heritage and identity.

Like Ken Livingstone's plan before it, the document shows concern for the consequences of strong growth in the city, largely concerning inequalities and providing a good quality of life for all citizens. In this context, the theme of untrammelled growth and the consequence of low-quality housing are made key elements for improvement in the London Plan.

The plan makes a clear defence of membership of the European Union, despite Brexit, which coincided with Khan's election as Mayor. And it positions London in a leading role in Europe, although this largely depends on decisions made by the UK's central government.

References to diversity and access for all, regardless of their origin, history, age or status, feature constantly in the vision put forward. There is an indirect allusion to multiculturalism and the fact that the city has always had to look beyond its own borders. It mentions the need to preserve regional identity and, at the same time, cultural diversity, in a context of globalisation. And there is a direct call to remain united rather than divided and to work to live together in harmony.

4.1.2. The appearance of terms linked to multiculturalism.

An analysis of the documents selected in the sample detects that, as well as the use of multicultural, which is defined in the introduction, there are other terms with similar meanings that appear more often.

These are: *diversity*[8], *racial/race* and *ethnic*[9].

A count was made of the number of times each of them appears and the result is shown on this graph.

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[8] In defining "diversity", the definition included in the London Plan is taken as a reference.

It refers to the differences in the values, attitudes, cultural perspective, beliefs, ethnic background, sexuality, skills, knowledge and life experiences of each individual in any group of people. The term refers to differences between people and is used to highlight individual need. The London Plan 2017, p. 410.

[9] After the Second World War, UNESCO studies dismantled the scientific idea of race. In the UK, particularly since the eighties, race has largely been replaced by the terms "ethnic" or "ethnic group", referring to shared cultural traits. This led to the term "race" falling almost entirely out of use, and it now appears very rarely. These terms include the same population and both race and ethnic group are terms defining socially shared concepts.

Fig. 1 - NUMBER OF TIMES THE TERMS APPEAR IN EACH OF THE DOCUMENTS STUDIED
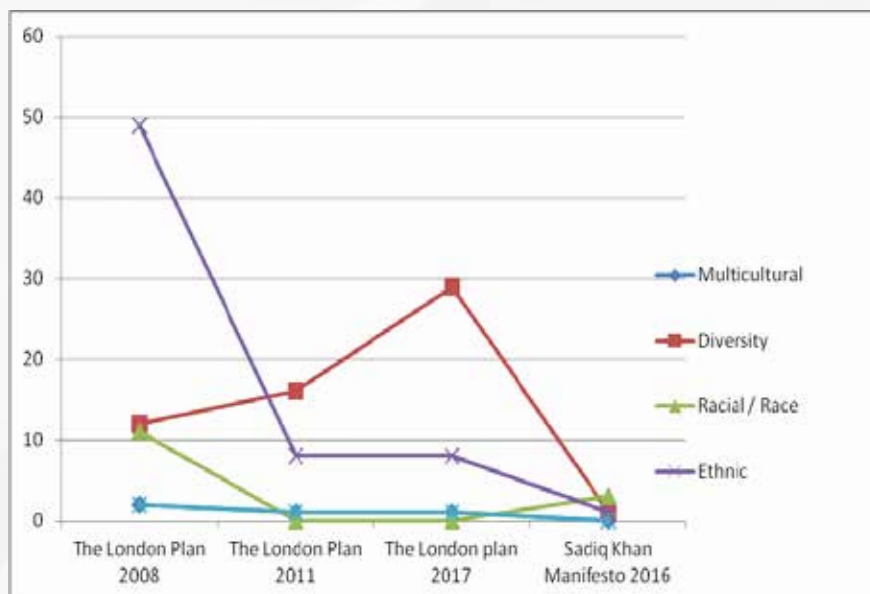
Source: Self-created from the data drawn from the documents analysed

The first conclusion in the interpretation of this data is that, although the documentary review in the introduction shows that Ken Livingstone as Mayor, and other academics and researchers, speak openly of London as a multicultural city, this term is not often used in the strategic plans. In *The London Plan 2008*, it appears only twice and in the subsequent plans it is mentioned only once in documents containing around 400 pages. It does not appear at all in Sadiq Khan's manifesto. This shows that the commitment to multiculturalism has practically disappeared from the institutional discourse, replaced by the use of terminology showing a lower degree of commitment. This confirms the trend away from multicultural policies coinciding with the reaffirmation and revision of the idea of national identity, as can be seen in *The London Plan* in 2011, which sets out the need to protect the character of London.

However, there is a clear reference to the word "ethnic" and to the city's ethnic minorities, particularly in *The London Plan 2008* under the first Mayor of London, which mentions it 49 times, although use falls substantially in the other two plans. It should be highlighted that, while the use of "ethnic" has fallen since 2008, the use of "diversity" has grown, reaching its highpoint in the 2017 plan, with Sadiq Khan as Mayor. This reference to "diversity" as a celebration of cultural variety, accepting the variety of customs, traditions, food, music, clothes, and so on, is a move away from the social or political responsibility of governments.

The term "race" is used only in the first plan, where it appears as many as 11 times, disappearing completely in the other two plans in 2011 and 2017. Although Sadiq Khan does mention it three times in his Manifesto for All Londoners, it does not appear in the

institutional discourse in the strategic plan for the city. The allusions to the different races are replaced by references to ethnic minorities, as it is considered that differences are ethnic rather than racial.

The use of each of the terms analysed has been counted because the commitment of each of the strategic plans to ethnic minorities can best be seen cumulatively.

Fig. 2
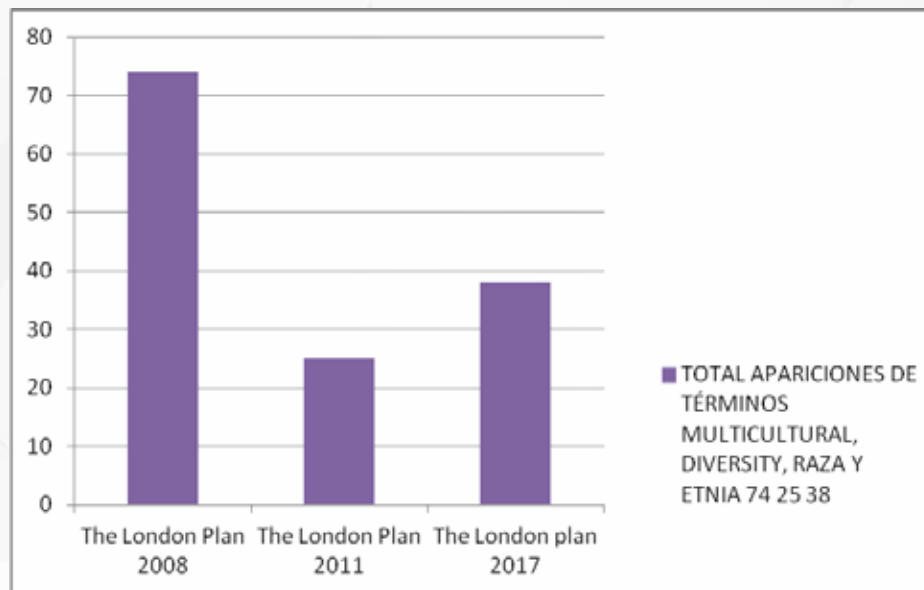
Self-created from the data drawn from the documents analysed.

The results show that the fall in usage has been considerable, although there seems to have been something of a recovery in the latest document, The London Plan 2017. This is only a slight change, however, and does not yet mark a clear reversal of the trend. The Ken Livingstone era is undoubtedly the period when the context was most favourable to the recognition of ethnic minorities. Perhaps the consequences of the exponential growth of the city, which were mentioned as a concern, are the reasons why it has been scaled back.

The important thing now is to be able to analyse the context in which the terms used in the analysis are used, so we can look at the issue we are studying in greater depth.

4.1.3. The context in which the terms appear

The clearest reference to multiculturalism can be found in *The London Plan 2008* (The London Plan 2008, p. 27), stating that diversity in London is the result of one of the greatest historical, social, economic and cultural migratory forces ever encountered. It says London is the biggest multiracial city in the world, where more than 40% of the

population is black and belongs to ethnic minorities. And the projection for the next 20 years continues to show significant growth.

To preserve this value, the boroughs must ensure the protection and development of this historical asset in London, understanding its special nature and recognising multiculturalism as an important element of the city's heritage (*The London Plan 2008*, p. 255).

The references to multiculturalism in the next two London plans, from 2011 and 2017, are exactly the same. In fact, the second document has maintained the reference made in the first one. They stress London's cultural heritage and the fact that developing it could help promote social cohesion (*The London Plan 2011*, p. 221 and *The London Plan 2017*, p. 298). Unlike the first London plan analysed, there are suggestions of some difficulties in harmonising this historical multiculturalism and an effect on social cohesion, although they give no data on this issue. Both documents stress that the memory of this historical heritage needs to be used and they encourage the boroughs to make continual reference to it, with plaques, monuments, museums and photographs, so that history is not forgotten.

The three plans refer indirectly to the colonial past and the British protectorates around the world, as well as the fact that this has conditioned the current multiracial situation (*The London Plan 2011*, p. 221 and *The London Plan 2017*, p. 298). But preserving this wealth of diversity is not easy. The plans appeal to everyone to make an effort to continue to be competitive, increase productivity and make the most of opportunities for the growth of traditional and new industries. It should be possible for all Londoners to share in this regardless of their origin, race, religion or gender (*Manifesto for All Londoners*, 2016, p. 11).

The three documents sporadically mention the diversity of citizens but without going into depth or making any commitment. The latest plan highlights cultural heritage as a means of helping to preserve regional identity in the face of globalisation (*The London Plan 2017*, p. 40). This is where the institutional discourse diverges from the single, firm commitment to ethnic minorities, expanding it to include diversity in terms of religion, gender, sex, origin, and so on. The term multicultural, multiracial or multi-ethnic has been entirely replaced by "diversity". And there is a call to carry on holding festivals, celebrating the religious and racial diversity of London, in the same way as the Pride Festival, which continues to be a wonderful shop window run by the LGTB community (Manifesto for All Londoners, 2016, p. 79).

The most important concerns with respect to ethnic minorities are for the high unemployment rate and for possible manifestations of hatred that may occur. The plans highlight the work to be done to achieve respectful, peaceful coexistence (*The London Plan 2017*,

p. 22 and *Manifesto for All Londoners,* 2016, p. 79) and put in writing some of the problems resulting from multicultural policies.

4.1.4. References to specific ethnic minorities

The first strategic plan mentions that more than 40% of Londoners are black and from ethnic minorities, including groups like the Irish and the Cypriot and Turkish communities (The London Plan 2008, 27).

The latest plan states that the population of London will continue to diversify and that, by 2036, the minority consisting of black and Asian people, along with other ethnic communities, have become a majority in 12 London boroughs. The concern is that poverty, joblessness and unfit housing are most common among these groups (*The London Plan 2017*, p. 22).

Continuous references to British colonial history and historical heritage and the contribution it has made to the city and its people can also be found in these three plans. In fact, it should be highlighted that the three strategic plans are available in different languages, such as Chinese, Indian, Vietnamese, Bengali, Greek, Urdu, Turkish, Arabic, Punjabi and Gujarati, but not including Spanish. This is despite the fact that the Ibero-American community makes up the largest linguistic ethnic minority in London.

It can also be stated that at no time in any of the three strategic plans, or in the manifesto are the Ibero-Americans, Latins or Spanish mentioned as ethnic minorities living in London. The invisibility of the Ibero-American community referred to in the report from Queen Mary University, which was mentioned in the introduction, still applies.

4.2. Results of the analysis of the in-depth interviews

4.2.1.- Values identifying the city of London from the point of view of the Ibero-American community

The answers to this first question are unanimous: London has always, according to one of the interviewees, or since the seventies according to others, been considered a multicultural and multi-ethnic city. This is interpreted by one of the interviewees as a city where everyone can find a place. As Paco de la Coba, CEO of El Ibérico puts it: "The identifying traits of London are those of a multicultural city where everyone can find a place. I believe, though, that in a city where half the population is not British, the values vary a great deal depending on nationality, ethnic group or religion. But it is true that this mixture of cultures helps to highlight values such as respect" (verbatim extract from interview, 20/09/2017).

But the debate must concern whether finding a place is the same as being recognised and considered by the institutions. It soon emerges from the interviews that this characteristic value of London is not the case for the Ibero-American community. In his interview, AIU representative Isaac Bigio says: "In a country that declares itself to be multicultural and diverse, the public institutions don't listen to you" (verbatim extract from interview, 24/08/2016).

In her doctoral thesis, Lucila Granada, representative of LAWRS, mentions one of the most important problems faced by Ibero-Americans trying to integrate in multicultural London – the language barrier:

As one of the new migratory communities in multi-ethnic London, Latin Americans began to settle in the United Kingdom in significant numbers over the past few decades. A large percentage of them experience language difficulties and many face social exclusion and disadvantages in the job market, getting poorly paid jobs in unregulated areas of work, which makes them a target for discriminatory practices and exploitation (Granada, 2013, p. 10).

Flows of migrants come to London attracted by the image of a diverse, multicultural city. However, the real situation is much tougher, as the interviewees also mention the fact that the city of London is also a paradigm for globalisation. In a neoliberal city, profits and big business are more important than multiculturalism, and, in this context, multinationals and large companies sometimes have much more power than ethnic minorities like the Ibero-Americans, whatever their demands. Isaac Bigio says: "Globalisation and economic considerations count more than multiculturalism. They are giving priority to globalisation and the big multinationals. Economic factors are more important than keeping a small market which is the emblem of the Latin community in London, like the Pueblito Paisa in Seven Sisters or in Elephant & Castle" (verbatim extract from interview, 24/08/2016).

Doctor Patria Román-Velázquez, of Loughborough University London, agrees. She is researching various areas and has written articles like "Claiming a place in the global city: urban regeneration and Latin American spaces in London", in which she makes a detailed analysis of the process referred to by the interviewee.

4.2.2. Can we continue to speak of multiculturalism in London?

The results of the interviews carried out with the representatives of the Ibero-American community take us away from the idealised view of a city where all races, ethnic groups and cultures fit in and they show up important problems that need to be considered.

The response to this is unanimous: multiculturalism has failed. But the interviewees explain that this is something that is happening generally in other European cities. Others say that, while it has not failed generally, at least not in London, it has failed in the community under study.

Multiculturalism means an implicit commitment by governments to these cultural or ethnic minorities which, in the case of Ibero-Americans, is not being shown. In fact, some of the areas where they live are undergoing a process of gentrification[10]: "The Spanish-speaking group is concentrated in the Seven Sisters district and, for them, the Pueblito Paisa is a centre and a symbol of their identity. Well, the new mayor's administration is going to demolish it, one of the icons for Latin people in London. Something the previous mayors didn't do is now going to happen. This area is highly symbolic, like a little United Nations, and now they're going to build a completely new district" (verbatim extract from interview, 24/08/2016).

Other interviewees refer to the difficulty involved for multiculturalism in coexistence and integration: "They give the nationality to people from cultures completely opposed to the Western or globalised culture… There are many cultures that haven't adapted and you just have to look at some ethnic groups that live here and do not have relations with members of other ethnic groups. It isn't always like that, fortunately, but it's happening with some" (verbatim extract from interview, 20/09/2017).

4.2.3. Recognition of the Ibero-American community in London and its identifying traits.

The process of recognition as a community has not yet been completed, although a great deal of effort has been made. Despite approaches to the public authorities, recognition has only been achieved in some London boroughs for the Latin Americans and Portuguese as ethnic minorities, but not Ibero-Americans as a whole. In most boroughs, on official forms the community is pigeon-holed as "others", a general term covering all groups not officially recognised in the city. This continually happens to Spanish people.

And although the interviewees highlight the work of certain organisations and people, such as Isaac Bigio, in the struggle to be recognised in London, they face various problems.

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[10] Gentrification is a phenomenon which is accentuated as cities grow. It cannot be defined unless we understand the trickle-down economics which is destroying the working classes, city by city and district by district. Displacement, expulsion and marginalisation resulting from changing planning classifications, which also changes the social and cultural fabric (Demetila, 2016, p. 5). The word gentrification refers to the process of developing a working class district, replacing the original population with people who have greater purchasing power.

- The lack of clear agreement, observed in the three interviews, on whether the Ibero-American community should fight for recognition or whether recognition should be attempted for the Latin Americans as different ethnic minorities.

- As there is no recognition by the institutions, there is no census of how many citizens make up these communities, which makes them invisible. As they do not officially exist, it is impossible to work for the group.

Two tendencies are identified in this study: on one hand AIU, takes the approach that the more united the minorities are, the more strength they will have, and the greater their influence with the public authorities. Isaac Bigio says: "The idea of being Latin American is not enough for the community. They need to get together with the Spanish and the Portuguese. Here in England we need to get together as an ethnic minority. It's a mistake to separate the Spanish and the Portuguese from the Latin Americans – they lose strength. It also makes historical sense, as we are united by a common language" (verbatim extract from interview, 24/08/2016). According to this interviewee, the idiosyncrasy of the United Kingdom in perceiving them all as a single community must be understood: "they lump us all together". This organisation supports the integration of the countries speaking Spanish or Portuguese in a single group.

However, the other interviewees are suspicious or apathetic about belonging to the Ibero-American community, saying that even some Latin American countries do not feel part of the Latin collective. This lack of unity and recognition is highlighted in Lucila Granada's doctoral thesis, which states in its conclusions:

> This cyclical process also goes unnoticed because of a lack of statistical data about Latin Americans. To avoid this situation of disadvantage and lack of visibility, as has happened with other minorities in the past, a sector of this community began a campaign in favour of the official recognition of Latin Americans as one of London's ethnic minorities. The existence of two contrary campaigns has opened a debate in the community on the definition and the boundaries of Latin American identity. It is a clearly heterogeneous group with different levels of identification (Granada, 2013, p. 214).

The opinion of the editor of El Ibérico newspaper, on the other hand, is that, although the work of these organisations to obtain recognition is worth highlighting, too many communities have been mixed together, and the different minorities do not identify with one another. Although they have language in common, cultural differences and diverse customs are very important.

The analysis of these efforts in the context of London shows that attempts to organise a group based on ethnic identity are influenced by a number of convergent factors: the

socially constructed belief in a common heritage; the development and maintenance of community practices; and people's living conditions, which are determined by governmental actions. In this sense, carrying out a campaign for recognition represents, on one hand, an attempt to counteract the practices of exclusion from the system and from society, while at the same time showing adaptation to the way in which society is categorised in the United Kingdom (Granada, 2013, p. 215).

All the problems described lead to a lack of common identity, despite the effort these organisations are making to seek historical data and issues that unite and develop the contribution of the Ibero-American community in London. What they all agree on is that the clearest identifying feature is their mother tongue followed, with certain caveats, by culture.

Also important in this process is the fact that the administration does not have clear criteria that must be fulfilled by ethnic minorities in London in order to obtain recognition. This clearly makes the work being done less effective.

4.2.4. Actions by institutions to support the Ibero-American community and challenges still to be overcome

The London institutions take no specific actions to support the Ibero-American community of the kind they do take for recognised ethnic minorities that have been in London longer. The ethnic minorities that are recognised in London are also, in most cases, from countries that form part of the Commonwealth – former British colonies. This means they are citizens who arrived in the United Kingdom already speaking English. This, together with their recognition as ethnic minorities and the policies to support them, has made it easier for them to integrate. Of course, they still also face difficulties and inequalities, but it is true that their starting point is very different from the case we are studying.

Isaac Bigio says that some non-governmental organisations of Ibero-American or Latin American groups do receive money from the London institutions because they carry out activities with social ends, supporting disadvantaged groups.

The LARWS representative's thesis is, in fact, intended to contribute to knowledge of this large group of migrants in London. The Latin Americans are a little-known community despite their growing presence, and it is crucial to end their invisibility by fighting for recognition as an ethnic minority, so that they cease to be a mere statistic (Granada, 2013, p. 11). And he adds another fundamental element: "This study shows that the inclusion of a Latin American category is not just a search for equality and visibility but also a strategy for political participation" (Granada, 2013, p. 215).

Isaac Bigio states that ethnic minorities like Muslims, Afro-Caribbeans and Asians have spent longer living in the United Kingdom. This means there are politicians from these races, which gives these minorities political representatives who are concerned about them.

The editor of the newspaper *El Íbero* states that "the process is long and one of the achievements has been the holding of 'El Mes Amigo' (The Friendly Month), a month when there are various activities to introduce the people of London to Ibero-American culture" (verbatim extract from interview, 20/09/2017). It is an invented tradition seeking visibility and recognition for a community of citizens. Londoners like Ibero-American culture and the community does not feel rejected, so these activities serve to bring the two together. However, between there and institutional recognition there is still a long way to go" (verbatim extract from interview, 24/08/2016).

The interviewees believe that there is also another reason for political reticence over recognition of the Ibero-American minority. This is because it would become the largest linguistic minority in London overnight and would also be the first community of its kind to include people from European countries. In this sense, they stress that constant political work and pressure needs to be applied to show that this is a common culture. Sometimes this achieves results, as in the borough of Lambeth, one of the areas where the Latin population is concentrated and where the Latin Americans and Portuguese are recognised groups.

Isaac Bigio says it is fundamental to present a united front to politicians because, while there are still many organisations representing small groups lacking sufficient size or importance to negotiate, the whole organisation is weakened. This means there are non-negotiable paradoxes: many Ibero-Americans could vote in the Scottish referendum but could not vote in the referendum on Brexit; or they can vote in local elections but not in national ones.

5. CONCLUSIONS

In general terms, the conclusions of this research attempt to present a critical and constructive reflection with practical implications for the group under study.

The development of the city's values and its conditioning factors

After the analysis carried out, we can state that the term multicultural or multi-ethnic has practically disappeared from the institutional discourse, and that the policies carried out involve recognition for London's diversity. Multiculturalism assumes greater commitment to ethnic minorities which the term diversity does not require. The interpretation of diversity is much broader and, therefore, more ambiguous. It not only alludes to cultural or ethnic minorities but also to any situation, gender, state or sexual option. This change is a move away from commitment of the early years analysed through the strategic plans for London. It can be stated that we are, in fact, in a post-multiculturalist phase that should be observed in order to find out about the consequences for the group under study beyond those already highlighted.

The current political situation is also having a great effect in that the majority of the population of the United Kingdom want to leave the European Union on 23 June 2016, despite the fact that the result of the referendum in London was 75.3% in favour of remaining in the EU. It is a scenario going against the city's values. To counteract this situation, following the referendum the Mayor of London, Sadiq Khan, immediately implemented a communication campaign entitled *#londonisopen*.

A year later, this campaign is managing to involve many groups in the city of London, allowing active participation and spontaneous co-creation to put across the idea that London will continue to be a city open to everyone. After the campaign for the Olympic Games in London in 2012, which clearly talked about the defence of the city's diversity and multiculturalism, a message so committed to those values was not needed until the *#londonisopen* campaign.

But despite the fact that these values are still contained in the institutional discourse, the process of globalisation and the power of the big multinational groups largely condition the political decisions affecting ethnic minorities which do not have this power of negotiation due to their lack of recognition and presence in decision-making centres. The political participation of ethnic minorities is therefore a fundamental pillar of any action to redress this situation, but without prior recognition there can be no active participation.

A problem of identity for the population of Ibero-American origin

The lack of agreement or a clear identity for the Ibero-American ethnic minority weakens the whole group. The first step should be to identify and count all possible groups to be included. From there, identifying features should be sought to create a feeling of belonging strong enough to endure over time. Without a broad enough critical mass, it is difficult to be listened to by institutions in a city where so many communities have pressing needs for jobs and housing. And without this prior recognition it is impossible to develop policies to support these citizens.

The language barrier

Many recognised ethnic minorities have the advantage of being from Commonwealth countries where English is the official language, an advantage the majority of Ibero-Americans living in London do not have. Although many of them are well educated, some to university level, language problems force them to accept lower-status jobs offering less recognition, lower wages and fewer rights. This situation leads to a sense of inferiority and problems of depression and lack of self-esteem which often prevent them making a decent living, and this conditions their family happiness and isolation.

In future lines of research, it would be very interesting to find out the opinion of the city authorities and the London boroughs about these matters to continue with in-depth studies and comparisons of the results. It would also be useful to extend research on the same topic to other big cities identified as multicultural. In addition, it would be helpful to analyse the institutional publicity campaigns in the city of London that reflect the city's attempts to put across an identity as somewhere that "integrates ethnic minorities", considering advertising as a social mirror.

This research certainly opens up many lines for future work, but its contribution has been to provide evidence that London has entered a post-multicultural phase, as described by social researchers and demonstrated in the institutional documents. It is clear that what made the city attractive – the tendency to be open with other cultures – has also been attractive for other ethnic minorities who have spent longer in London. However, the Ibero-Americans have come too late to benefit from the multicultural policies that existed but are now being called into question for not having obtained the expected results. In addition, although the intention of some Ibero-American organisations is to create a cohesive group to gain strength and representativeness, the current lack of understanding is a long way from being able to produce an effective union against the administrations. This is fundamental, though, if they want to be recognised in the future.

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7. APPENDICES

The questionnaire used to carry out the interviews is attached below.

INTERVIEW WITH REPRESENTATIVES AND OPINION LEADERS OF THE IBERO-AMERICAN/LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNITY IN LONDON

August 2016/September 2017

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE: ROEHAMPTON UNIVERSITY-UNIVERSIDAD JAUME I

1.- In your experience as an educated, informed citizen living in London, what do you consider the most important identifying features of the city of London? Do you believe the Ibero-American community feels identified with these values?

2.- In the last few years there is a feeling that one of the most representative identifying traits of the city of London – multiculturalism – is ceasing to form part of the institutional discourse used by the city authorities. Have you also noticed this change and what do you think is the reason for it? Why are there voices saying that multiculturalism has failed?

3.- As the Ibero-American community has managed to be recognised as an ethnic minority in some districts of the city, the development of an identity has clearly played a fundamental role. Do you know anything about the process of constructing that identity? What are the identifying traits of the Ibero-American community in London at the moment?

4.- In the specific case of the Ibero-American community, has it been possible to begin specific actions by institutions to support the community? What, from your point of view, would be the main challenges still to be overcome? Where should efforts be focused in the struggle for recognition and support?