

Towards visibility: the Latin American community in London

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Contents

4	Acknowledgements
5	Chapter 1: Introduction
7	Historical context of Latin Americans in London
8	Chapter 2: Latin American population estimates for the UK and London
15	Chapter 3: Profile of the Latin American population in London: 2011 Census results
16	Where do Latin Americans live in London and England & Wales?
18	Baseline profile
22	Migration profile
24	Labour market profile
27	Household and housing profile
31	Deprivation profile
33	Chapter 4: Profile of Onward Latin Americans in London
37	Chapter 5: Migration characteristics of Onward Latin Americans in London
46	Chapter 6: Labour market profile of Onward Latin Americans in London
52	Chapter 7: Housing and living conditions of Onward Latin Americans in London
56	Chapter 8: Access to services among Onward Latin Americans in London
61	Chapter 9: Challenges faced by Onward Latin Americans in London
66	Bibliography
69	Annex 1: Methodological framework
70	Annex 2: 2011 Census profile: additional tables and figures
82	Annex 3: Tables and figures on profile of Onward Latin Americans

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Introduction

The 'No Longer Invisible' (NLI) project (McIlwaine et al., 2011) was the first attempt to provide a robust estimate of the size of the Latin American population in London and the UK more broadly. It also outlined the main characteristics of the nature and experiences of one of the fastest growing migrant groups in the city – Latin Americans - who are overwhelmingly concentrated in the capital and about which little was known prior to the project. It highlighted how Latin Americans played an important role in the functioning of London's economy and society. Yet, despite being a well-educated population, many were unable to fulfil their potential in relation to securing decent jobs and housing or other economic and social opportunities. The key barriers they faced included their concentration in exploitative elementary occupations, as well as lack of opportunities for learning English and difficulties in regularising their immigration status.

The NLI research was undertaken before the 2011 Census data was made available and in the midst of an increasingly restrictive immigration legislation enacted in the UK to limit the entry of non-EU migrants to the country. Although NLI raised the profile of the community and the fact that it remains the definitive study of this population, Latin Americans continue to face challenges in London and beyond, especially among those who have migrated more recently from other European countries. Indeed, such onward migration was identified as a major issue in the NLI research which identified that more than a third of Latin Americans had previous experience of migration before arriving in the UK with Spain being the most common country of secondary origin (McIlwaine et al., 2011).

To continue highlighting the experiences of one of London's (and the UK's) significant migrant groups, the current report builds on the NLI research in order to update and amplify it in two important ways. First, it provides an up-to-date analysis of the size and socio-economic characteristics of the Latin American community using the recent Annual Population Survey, the 2011 Census and a range of other data. The 2011 Census in particular provides the largest statistical data set ever analysed for Latin Americans at city and borough level in London and where relevant it also identifies patterns for England & Wales. The Census profile analyses a 10% sample of the 2011 data and includes around 14,500 Latin Americans in England & Wales of which 8,600 reside in London (see Chapter 2).

At the outset, it is important to note that while the Census information provides an extensive and in-depth statistical profile, it does not capture the full range of experiences of Latin Americans. Although it is possible that irregular migrants are included in the Census, in reality they are not identified as such and are unlikely to be included in sufficient numbers.¹ In addition, migrants with legal status yet living in precarious housing or labour situations and/or having limited command of the English language and a reluctance to participate in activities associated with the British government are also unlikely to have participated. In turn, the lack of ethnic minority recognition for Latin Americans in the Census might serve as an additional barrier (Mas Giralt and Granada, 2015). As a result, and by its nature, the Census and other official statistical data provides information on more established Latin Americans who are less likely to live in vulnerable conditions compared to some of their irregular counterparts and those who have migrated very recently to the UK.

As noted above, the most recent flows of Latin Americans into the UK are known to originate in other European countries and most arrive as EU citizens. This group is anecdotally known to face significant problems on arrival in the UK (mainly in London) resulting in increased demand for services from organisations working with this population.²

¹ Although the ONS (2015: 12) states that irregular migrants may be sampled, it explicitly recognises that it is difficult to measure their size: 'By its very nature it is impossible to quantify accurately the number of people who are in the country illegally. For this reason, the ONS does not produce estimates on the size of the illegal migrant population' (ONS, 2015: 12).

² In 2015, LAWRS reported a 75% increase in demand from 'new' arrivals from other European countries (Mas Giralt and Granada, 2015: 1).

Yet little is known about these new flows of Latin Americans from Europe beyond the small-scale study already conducted by LAWRS and the Coalition of Latin American Organisations in the UK (CLAUK) (Mas Giral and Granada, 2015). Therefore, the second aim of the current research was to conduct a quantitative survey with 400 Latin Americans who had previously resided in another European country before moving to London, together with qualitative interviews with 28 onward migrants and 4 representatives from organisations serving this population (see Annex 1). This report thus outlines the nature of this migration in terms of the origins of onward Latin American (OLA) migrants, their reasons for moving, and their labour market and wider housing and living conditions. It also explores the main challenges faced by onward migrants as well as the types of support they require.

The research had four main tasks:

- To provide a revised estimate of the size of the Latin American population living and working in London (and the UK more widely).
- To undertake quantitative research of onward Latin Americans (OLAs) that provides an analysis of some key economic and social features of this community.
- To undertake new qualitative research with OLAs to explore in more depth the quantitative findings including motivations for migration to London, economic choices, and barriers to accessing services and support.³
- To identify the key unmet needs of the Latin American community in general and of OLAs in particular.

With this updated information we hope migrant, third sector and statutory organisations will be better able to respond effectively to the demands and requirements of ‘established’ and ‘new’ Latin Americans that continue to be a community experiencing widespread poverty and discrimination. It is also important to state that the NLI research remains the most detailed account of the lives of Latin Americans in London as a whole and that the information outlined in this report is an important complement to it.

The definition of Latin American used in the current project are those people who use Spanish or Portuguese as their first language and who were born in Central (including Mexico) and South America. It included those from Spanish-speaking Caribbean islands of Cuba and the Dominican Republic and excluded non-Spanish and non-Portuguese speaking countries in the region such as Guyana, Surinam, French Guiana, Haiti, Jamaica and the other Caribbean islands. The following countries were included: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Paraguay, Puerto Rico, Uruguay and Venezuela.

³ People included in the survey and interviews were accessed using networks of the community researchers, as well as various migrant organisations, churches, restaurants and shopping centres around London (see Annex 1).

Historical context of Latin Americans in London

As noted in the NLI research, Latin Americans arrived in the UK in relatively large numbers from the 1970s onwards. While small numbers of political refugees who had fled Chile, Uruguay and Argentina arrived, most migrants at this time were Colombians who arrived with work permits to work primarily in hotels, restaurants and hospitals in cleaning and catering jobs. In the 1980s, the flows comprised mainly Colombians and Ecuadorians many of whom claimed asylum supplemented by family reunion. It was during this decade that many of the migrant organisations such as Carila, Latin American Women's Rights Service (LAWRS) and Casa Latinoamericana were established and who worked on campaigning and service provision for newly arrived migrants from Latin America.

During the 1990s and 2000s, Latin Americans continued to settle as students, as refugees and as economic migrants, again with many working in the low-paid, low-status sectors of the labour market. By this time, other nationalities joined the Colombians and Ecuadorians, especially Peruvians and Bolivians. This was linked with economic stagnation and political instability back home as well as restrictions in entering the US following 9/11. A range of commercial activities and businesses emerged during this period (such as in London in Elephant and Castle and Seven Sisters and their environs) as well as the development of Latin American newspapers and online activities (Cock, 2011; McIlwaine, 2011).

Since 2005 in particular, Brazilians began to arrive in London, along with more diversified flows of students and professionals. The phenomenon of secondary migration from other European Union (EU) countries also began at this time, especially from Spain. As noted above and in the NLI research, more than a third of Latin Americans had previous experience of migration before arriving in the UK. Although these flows from southern Europe were not completely new, they have grown quite substantially following the global economic recession that affected these nations especially hard after 2008. These flows have been further facilitated by a shorter economic downturn in the UK and in London, where there has been continued demand for labour even though levels of exploitation have arguably increased as a result (as suggested by McIlwaine and Datta, 2014). This has been enabled by the fact that many Latin Americans regularised their immigration status in Europe and became EU citizens with freedom of movement around the union (McIlwaine, 2012). In addition to the analysis of the 2011 Census, it is these flows on which the current report focuses.

Latin American population estimates for the UK and London

Key points

- There were around 250,000 Latin Americans in the UK in 2013, of which around 145,000 were in London
- Latin Americans are the second fastest growing non-EU migrant population in London
- Latin Americans are the eighth largest non-UK born population in London and larger in size than Somalian, Chinese and Romanian migrants
- Around 22,000 Latin Americans came to London with an EU passport and just under 40,000 to the UK between 2012 and 2013

The NLI research published in 2011 examined and compared a wide range of different data sources to estimate the size of the Latin American population in London (with estimates for the UK more widely). At that time, the 2001 Census was outdated and since Latin Americans had been a growing population in previous years, the study used the Annual Population Survey (APS) to estimate the population born in Latin America living in the UK. The number was supplemented by an estimate for the size of the second generation (those born in the UK) as well as the irregular population.⁴

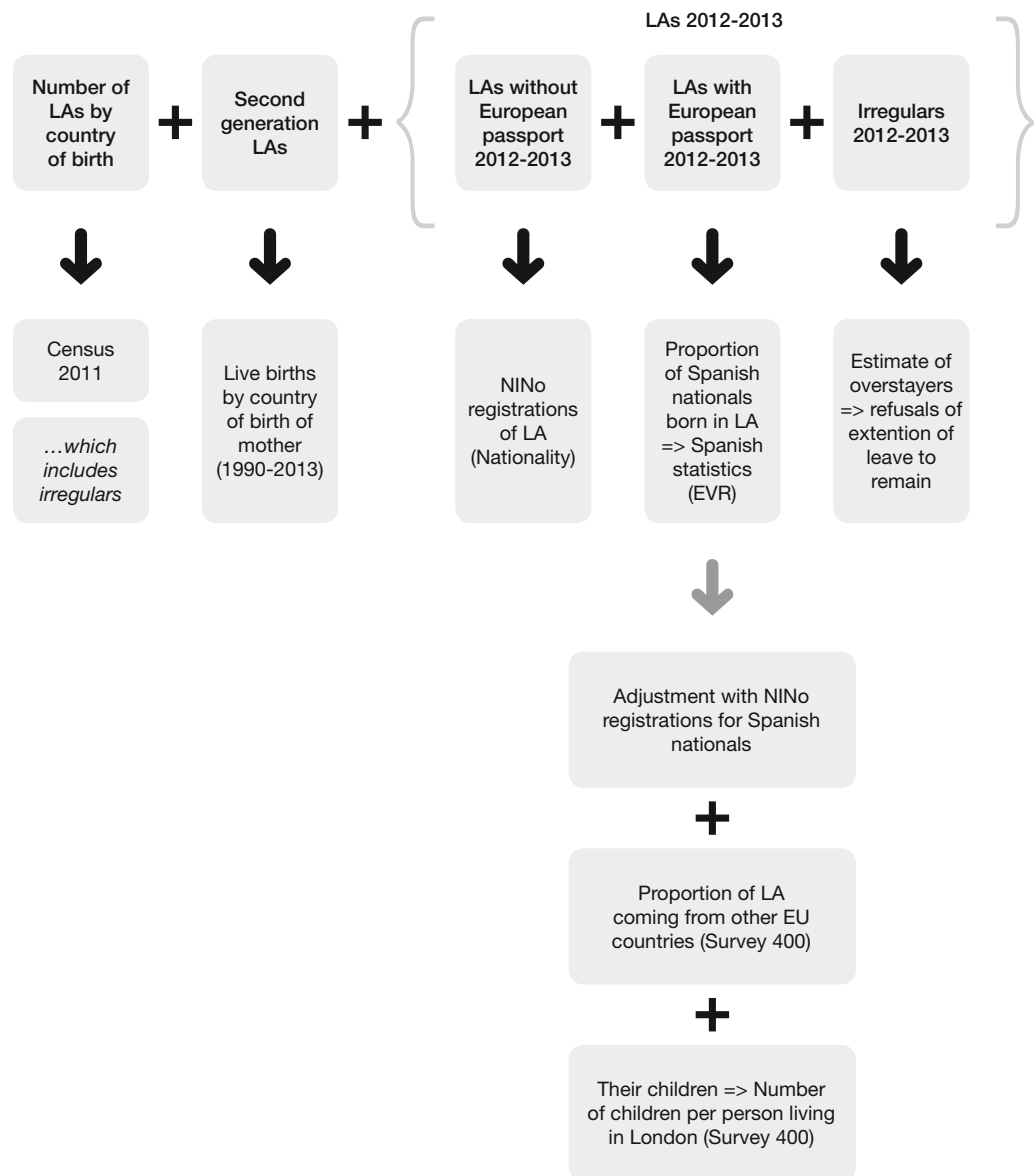
The current project builds on this method using new data from the 2011 Census together with efforts to calculate the number of Latin Americans arriving from other European countries as onward migrants. As noted in the introduction, these calculations drawing on multiple data sets are required in order to provide a more complete picture because the Census alone cannot provide information on those who are irregular, second generation, recently arrived and/or living in precarious situations that would mean they will not be included comprehensively in official statistics.

Population estimates for Latin Americans in the UK and London

The size of the Latin American population in the UK and London was calculated using the core dataset of the 2011 Census, which is the most accurate and robust source available to count the UK population together with supplementary data from other sources. This is combined with the second generation figures, Latin Americans who have arrived between 2012 and 2013 (including those identified through National Insurance Number – NINo – registrations), Latin Americans with EU passports, and finally, information on the number of irregular migrants between 2012 and 2013 (see Figure 2.1).

⁴ The term 'irregular' is used here to denote a situation whereby people enter and/or remain in a country without authority to do so and are potentially open to being deported as a result. It is generally preferred to the terms 'undocumented' or 'illegal' as being less likely to assume that migrants are criminals and to avoid confusions over whether being undocumented means not having legally correct papers or not being officially recorded by the receiving country (McIlwaine, 2009).

Figure 2.1: Estimate of Latin Americans in England and Wales 2013 Methodology



The 2011 Census shows that there were around 83,000 Latin Americans living in London of which Brazilians were the largest group (31,000) followed by Colombians (19,000). While these were by far the single largest nationality groups, other sizeable populations include those from Ecuador and Argentina (see Table 2.1)

Table 2.1: Latin American population in London (Census 2011)

Country of birth	Frequency	Percent
Brazil	31,357	37.7
Colombia	19,338	23.2
Ecuador	7,171	8.6
Argentina	4,567	5.5
Venezuela	3,822	4.6
Mexico	3,785	4.5
Peru	3,301	4.0
Chile	2,913	3.5
Bolivia	2,694	3.2
Cuba	1,055	1.3
Uruguay	540	0.6
Dominican Republic	465	0.6
El Salvador	364	0.4
Guatemala	305	0.4
South and Central America*	298	0.4
Paraguay	287	0.3
Costa Rica	254	0.3
Panama	229	0.3
Honduras	164	0.2
Nicaragua	154	0.2
Puerto Rico	135	0.2
Total	83,198	100

Source: Census 2011

*Not otherwise specified

In the UK more widely, there were 144,000 Latin Americans of which only around 5,000 resided in Scotland and 1,000 in Northern Ireland. In Scotland, the largest groups were Brazilians followed by Venezuelans (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.2: Latin American population in UK (Census 2011)

Country of birth	England & Wales		Scotland		Northern Ireland***	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Brazil	50,570	36.6	1,194	22.9		
Colombia	25,182	18.2	507	9.7		
Argentina	9,865	7.1	616	11.8		
Mexico	9,065	6.6	620	11.9		
Ecuador	8,657	6.3	82	1.6		
Venezuela	8,385	6.1	712	13.7		
Peru	6,793	4.9	358	6.9		
Chile	6,576	4.8	495	9.5		
Bolivia	3,642	2.6	113	2.2		
Cuba	2,355	1.7	104	2.0		
Dominican Republic	1,303	0.9	74	1.4		
Uruguay	1,298	0.9	66	1.3		
Paraguay*	478	0.3	29	0.6		
Central America**	4,028	2.9	234	4.5	194	18.1
South America					875	81.9
Total	138,197	100	5,204	100	1,069	100

Source: Census 2011

*Paraguay in England & Wales was calculated from the London figure

**Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama

*** Aggregated data only available

Second generation Latin Americans were identified through ONS birth certificate information derived from calculating the number of live births to mothers born in Latin America from 2009 to 2013 (11,149 for London and 17,793 for England & Wales). This was added to the Linneker and McIlwaine (2011) previous estimate of 18,121 live births in London from 1990 to 2008 (and a total of 28,209 in England & Wales). This creates a total of 28,349 for London (and 46,002 for England & Wales).

There are some obvious limitations with this data in that it excludes all second generation births from before 1990 as well as children from a Latin American father and a mother born elsewhere. Also, not all those born in England & Wales will have remained in the country, and, unlike the Census, it is only possible to derive the England & Wales estimates rather than for the UK as a whole.

The number of **Latin Americans who arrived in the UK between 2012 and 2013** without a European passport was estimated on the basis of National Insurance Number (NINo) data from the Department for Work and Pensions (see Table 2.3). The total of NINo registrations from Latin American nationals 2012-13 was 13,383 in the UK. The estimate for London based on the proportion from the 2011 Census population was 7,598. However, it is important to bear in mind that NINo registrations do not count children.

Table 2.3: NINo registrations to adult overseas nationals entering UK by nationality, 2012-13

Country of nationality	2012-13
Brazil	5,301
Colombia	2,226
Mexico	1,458
Argentina	957
Ecuador	724
Venezuela	676
Chile	521
Peru	432
Bolivia	277
Dominican Rep	243
Cuba	157
Costa Rica	78
Uruguay	75
Honduras	60
Guatemala	51
Paraguay	45
Panama	41
El Salvador	36
Nicaragua	25
Total LA in UK	13,383

Source: Stat-Xplore, Department for Work and Pensions

In order to estimate the number of **Latin Americans with EU passports in 2012-13** we relied on a combination of different data sets. First, we used the Residential Variation Statistics (EVR)⁵ from Spain in order to identify the proportion of Spanish nationals registered in the UK consulate who were born in Latin America. The focus is on Spain rather than other European countries for two reasons; first, Spain is the only country with such detailed statistical information, second, in our survey, around 80% of all Latin Americans who had arrived from another European country had moved from Spain (see Chapter 4) (see Table 2.4).

Table 2.4: Spanish Residential Variation Statistics (EVR) for UK, 2012-13

Country of birth	Change of residence from Spanish nationals to the UK 18-59 years old		
	2012	2013	2012 to 2013
Born in the rest of the world	432	486	918
Born in Latin America	913	1,038	1,951
Born in Spain	3,872	4,454	8,326
Total	5,217	5,978	11,195

Source: Residential Variation Statistics (EVR) Institute of National Statistics (INE) <http://www.ine.es/>

In order to estimate the Latin American born Spanish nationals entering the UK in these years, we compared EVR figures from people aged 18 to 59 with National Insurance Number registrations of Spanish nationals in the UK (which does not identify country of birth). The comparison suggests that the number of Spanish nationals who entered the UK in 2012-13 is eight times larger than EVR accounts (see Table 2.5). Therefore, we multiplied the number of Latin Americans from the EVR (1,951) by eight, giving an estimate of around 15,600 Latin Americans (18-59 years old) arriving in the UK in 2012-13 with a Spanish passport.

Table 2.5: NINo registrations vs. Spanish Residential Variation Statistics for UK, 2012-13

	2012	2013	2012 to 2013
NINo registrations from Spanish nationals	38,075	51,729	89,804
Change of residence from Spanish nationals (18-59) EVR	5,217	5,978	11,195
Ratio NINo/EVR	7.3	8.7	8.0

Source: Stat-Xplore, Department for Work and Pensions; Residential Variation Statistics (EVR) Institute of National Statistics (INE) <http://www.ine.es/>

⁵ Residential Variation Statistics are compiled by the National Institute for Statistics (INE) in Spain based on municipal population records relating to residence (and include registration and cancellations of residence). They include registrations of foreign nationals who arrive and leave all municipalities in Spain (but exclude asylum seekers and temporary workers).

Our survey of Onward Latin Americans (OLA) also showed that 355 of 400 cases had an EU passport, of which 80% had a Spanish passport. Therefore, if 15,600 have a Spanish passport, then the 20% left coming from the rest of the EU would be around 3,800, giving a total number of Latin Americans aged 18-59 of around 19,400.

Finally, the average number of children living in London of those 355 cases from the OLA survey is 1.02 (362/355), which suggest there is a total of 19,820 children among this population. In adding children to the adults, in total, therefore, around 39,300 Latin Americans arrived in the UK with an EU passport between 2012 and 2013.⁶

In order to estimate the size of the **irregular Latin Americans from 2012 to 2013**, we focused on overstayers in relation to the number of unsuccessful applications by existing temporary migrants for settlement or extensions of residence (following Gordon et al. 2009: 37).⁷ The ONS Immigration Statistics registered 2,079 refusals of extensions of leave to remain and 187 refusals for settlement for Latin American nationals in 2012-13, which produced an estimate of 2,266 for the UK. The assumption is then that these refusals will remain in the UK on an irregular basis.

All of these are UK figures and so the estimate for London is based on the proportion from the Census 2011 population. This estimate indicates that there are **around 145,000 Latin Americans in London in 2013 and just under 250,000 in the UK** as a whole (see Table 2.6).

Table 2.6: Estimates of Latin Americans in London and the UK

Region	Population Census 2011	2nd Generation 1990 -2013	LA NINO registrations 2012-13	LA with EU passports 2012-13	Irregulars 2012-2013	LA in 2013
UK	144,470	46,002	13,383	39,257	2,266	245,378
London	83,198	28,349	7,598	22,289	1,287	142,721

Based on 2011 Census figures alone, **Latin Americans are the eighth largest non-UK born population in London** (83,000). This means they are larger in size than Somalians (65,000), Chinese (39,000) and Romanians (45,000), and not that much smaller than the Bangladeshi born (110,000) Pakistan born (112,000), or Nigerian born populations (115,000) (see Krausova and Vargas-Silva, 2013:1). This said, it is also important to recognise that several of these population groups have large second generations.⁸

Latin Americans are also the second fastest growing non-EU population in London between 2001 and 2011 (140%) after Chinese (215%) according to the 2011 Census. This compares with an overall growth rate for London of 14% (GLA, 2012a).

⁶ Note that this number does not count deaths or people who left the country in 2012-13.

⁷ Gordon et al (2009: 37) state the reason for this: 'since we might reasonably expect that, where there was a legal possibility of extending a stay, migrants would attempt this before deciding to remain unlawfully ... we might expect that the great majority of overstayers would have applied for official extensions.'

⁸ Additional detailed data and information derived from analysis of the census is available from the following document: <http://www.geog.qmul.ac.uk/docs/research/latinamerican/171967.pdf>

Profile of the Latin American population in London: 2011 Census results

Key points

- 60% of Latin Americans in England & Wales reside in London. Of those in the capital more than two-thirds reside in Inner London
- Two-thirds are aged under 40 and nearly 90% are of working age
- Half have tertiary level (university) education
- Around 1 in 5 either cannot speak English or cannot speak it very well
- Employment rates are high at almost 70%
- Almost half work in low-paid elementary, service, caring and processing jobs
- Two-thirds have arrived in London since 2000
- Almost a third have a UK passport and a further one-fifth have an EU passport
- 70% live in private rental housing
- They are more deprived than the average for London and England & Wales
- Half identify their ethnicity as 'white other'.

This chapter provides a profile of the Latin American population in London based on analysis of the 2011 Census. This provides information using the largest statistical data set ever gathered for Latin Americans at city and borough level and, where relevant, it also outlines the picture for England & Wales for comparative purposes.⁹ The Census profile is based on a 10% sample of the 2011 Census containing 5,681,688 cases in England & Wales, of which 14,448 were Latin Americans and of which 8,628 were residents in London.

It is important to reiterate again that while this provides a robust statistical profile, by its nature, it will reflect the characteristics of those who have completed the Census. It is widely acknowledged within the Latin American community that this is not always the case among the more vulnerable members of the population who might be living in an irregular situation in relation to immigration status, reside in multiple occupancy housing where the likelihood of non-completion of the Census would be high, or who might have arrived since 2011, as well as those who were born in the UK but identify as Latin Americans (second generation). As a result, this research also outlines the situation of 400 onward Latin American (OLA) migrants who have moved from other European countries to London whose overall situation is considerably more precarious than for those included in the Census (see chapters 4 - 9).

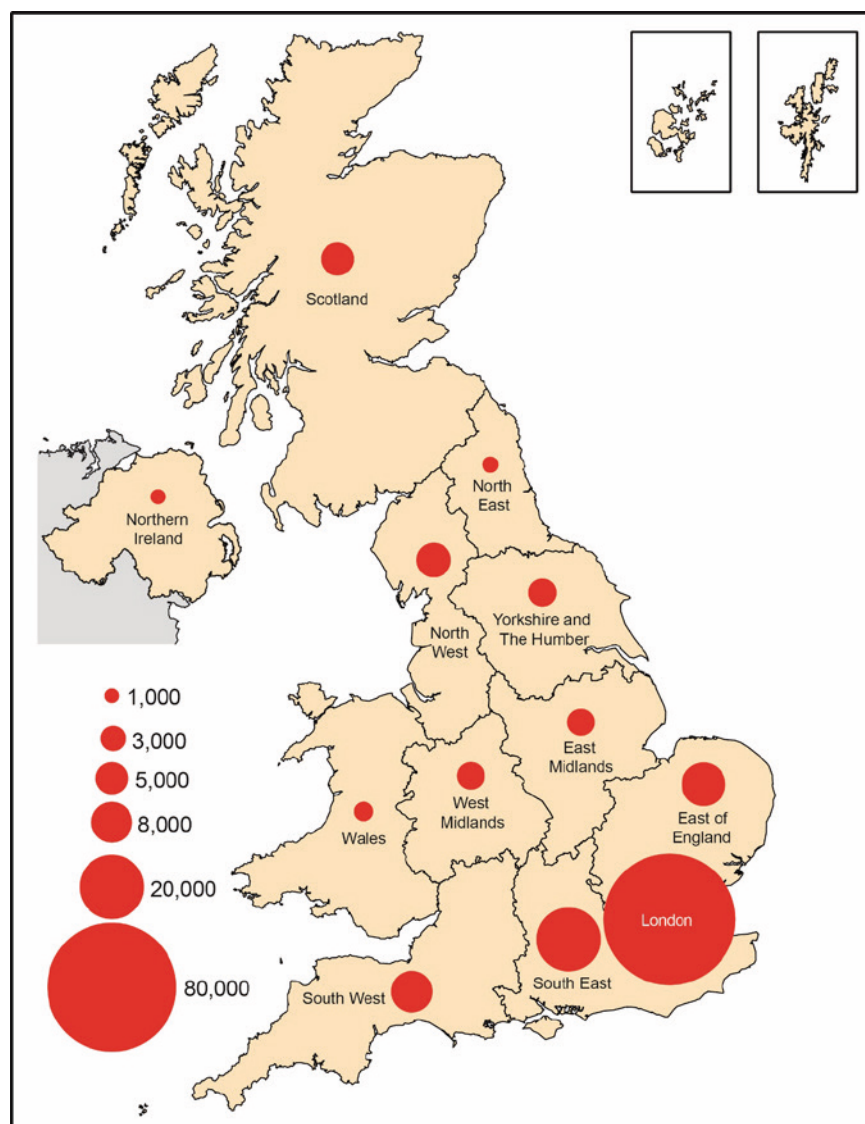
⁹ Comparisons will also be made with other migrant groups in London from the 2011 Census. These include those from India (27,116), Poland, (16,079), Nigeria (11,657), Pakistan (11,477), Bangladesh (11,207), Jamaica (8,781), Somalia (6,629), Romania (4,545) and China (4,276).

Where do Latin Americans live in London and England & Wales?

60% of Latin Americans in England & Wales reside in London

Corroborating earlier work in London and beyond (McIlwaine et al., 2011), the Census confirms that Latin Americans overwhelmingly reside in London (60%). The next highest areas of concentration are the South East (14%), East (7%), South West (6%) and North West (4%) (see Figure 3.1 for the UK as a whole; Annex 2, Table 1). This is primarily linked with the historical association of Latin American settlement in London and its environs which has led to the consolidation of the community through social and family networks as well as the continued pull of economic opportunities in the city.

Figure 3.1: Map of Latin Americans residence in the UK



Source: ONS Census 2011, Office for National Statistics © Crown Copyright 2013

Certain Latin American nationalities are also more likely to live in London than others. For instance, 83% of all Ecuadorians live in the city, together with 75% of all Colombians and 73% of all Bolivians. Among the other large national populations, 63% of Brazilians live in London yet only 46% of Argentineans and 43% of Mexicans. This can be partly explained by the fact that Colombians and Ecuadorians are among the most established with historical concentrations in London and that Argentineans and Mexicans are more likely to be professionals and/or university students who tend to be more mobile in their search for jobs and courses that suit them.

Related to this is that almost two-thirds of all Latin Americans in London were born in Brazil (38%) or Colombia (23%). The only other really sizeable group being Ecuadorians (9%). In grouping nationalities according to broad geographical and socio-economic similarities (not including Brazilians and Colombians), the evidence suggests that Argentineans, Mexicans and Uruguayans (group 1) – are more likely to be relatively well-off and professional, constituting 11% of Latin Americans in London. Those designated as group 2 (Bolivia, Ecuador and Paraguay – mainly Andean and more likely to be of lower socio-economic status) comprise 12%, followed by group 3 (Central America, the Caribbean and Venezuela) with 8% and group 4 (Chile and Peru – again, Andean but with an established history of migration and especially of exile) with 8%.¹⁰ These broad patterns are also reflected in England & Wales more widely where Brazilians and Colombians comprise just over half of all Latin Americans (36% and 18% respectively) with higher proportions from groups 1, 3 and 4 outside London reflecting greater diversification of nationalities outside the capital.

More than two-thirds of Latin Americans in London reside in Inner London

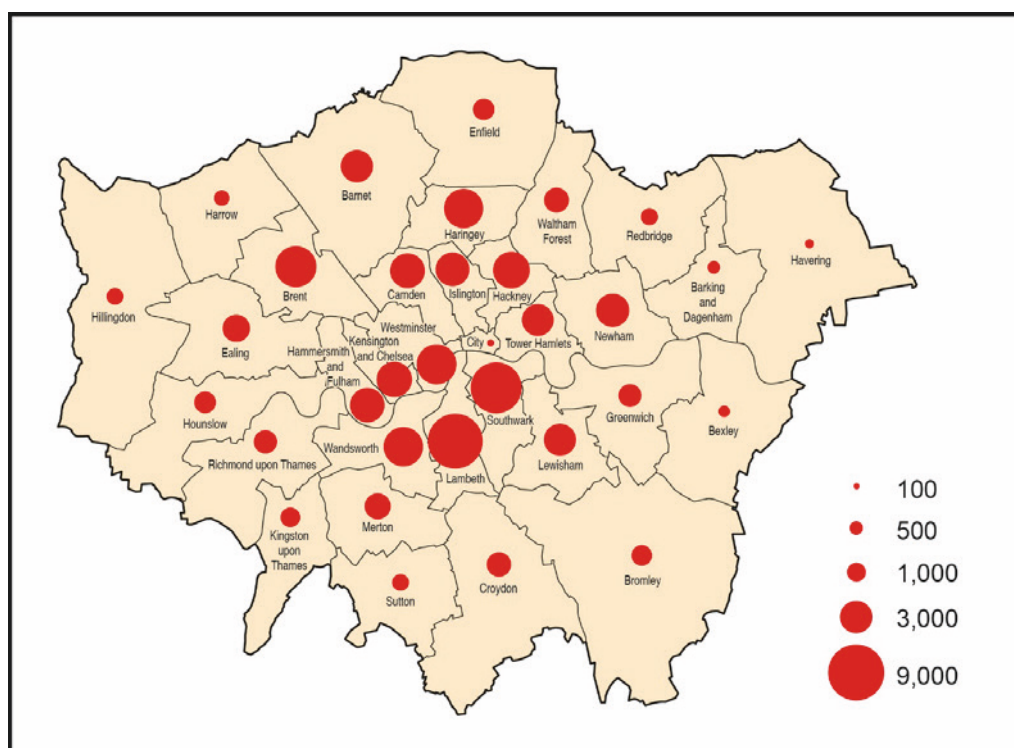
Although Latin Americans live in all boroughs of London, more than two-thirds (68%) reside in Inner London with concentrations in Lambeth (10% of the total) and Southwark (9%) (see Figure 3.2; Annex 2, Table 3). More specifically, the highest proportions live in Inner London. The two exceptions in Outer London are Brent and Barnet (where 10% of all Latin Americans live). These boroughs are marked by high concentrations of Brazilians (77% of all Latin Americans in Brent and 41% in Barnet), although they are also concentrated in Lambeth, Southwark and Wandsworth.¹¹ It is also worth noting that Colombians are most likely to live in Lambeth, Southwark and Haringey, while Ecuadorians most commonly reside in Lambeth, Southwark and Newham. These boroughs tend to be associated with high levels of poverty and deprivation (Aldridge et al., 2013). In contrast to the nationalities mentioned above, Argentinians and Mexicans who tend to be of higher socio-economic status, are most likely to live in Westminster, Kensington & Chelsea and Camden.

The concentrations of Latin Americans in Inner London and especially in Lambeth and Southwark, again reflect historical patterns of settlement and commercial and cultural activity in London. The most obvious manifestations of this in the city landscape are the long-standing commercial areas dominated by Latin Americans around Elephant and Castle Shopping Centre in Southwark and Seven Sisters Market in Haringey (Cock, 2011; Roman-Velazquez, 2014), both of which are undergoing controversial regeneration processes due to increasing land costs with many low-income residents being forced to move to outer boroughs where rents are cheaper. These concentrations in inner London also reflect wider processes whereby 37% of Inner London's population in 2013 were foreign-born (the highest share of all regions with comparable data) (Rienzo and Vargas-Silva, 2014: 2).

¹⁰ These groupings were devised based on information drawn from the NLI research (McIlwaine et al., 2011). It is important to note that they are purely to assist the analysis in a heuristic way.

¹¹ Brent also has the highest number (171,472) of non-UK born resident in the city as well as the highest population share (55%) (Krausova and Vargas-Silva, 2013: 2).

Figure 3.2: Map of Latin Americans' residence in London



Source: ONS Census 2011, Office for National Statistics © Crown Copyright 2013

Baseline profile

There are slightly more Latin American women than men in London

There are more Latin American women than men living in London (53%) (with 55% in England & Wales as a whole).¹² Among nationalities with sizeable numbers, Colombians have the highest proportion of women (57%). In the boroughs where Latin Americans are concentrated, the gender balance is more equal (51% in Lambeth and 52% in Southwark). The most feminised boroughs where Latin Americans tend to live are Islington (57%) and Barnet (60%). This is broadly in line with the gender balance among all migrants in London where women constitute 51% of the total (see Annex 2, Figure 1) which is also the same for the UK as a whole (GLA, 2013a). In terms of comparators with other migrants, the gender balance among Latin Americans is more feminised than among those from Poland, Nigeria, India, Romania, Bangladesh and Pakistan.

Two-thirds of Latin Americans are aged under 40 and nearly 90% are of working age

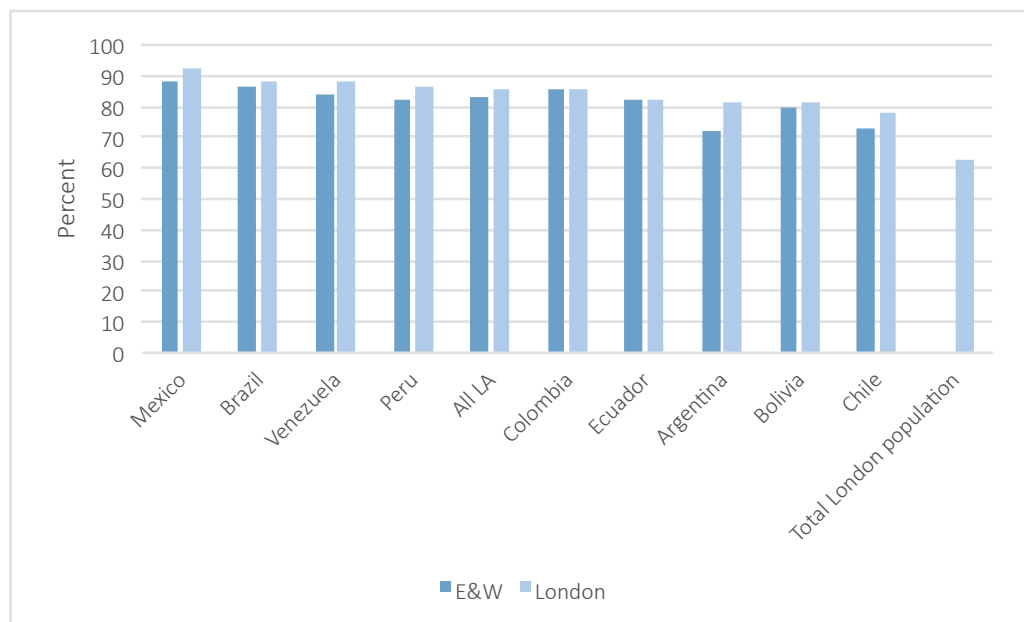
Two-thirds (67%) of all Latin Americans are aged under 40, with one-third under 25; only a quarter are 50 years old or over. This is similar to inner London's population in general, where the majority of Latin Americans reside, where 64% are aged under 40 and around 20% are over 50 (Aldridge et al, 2015: 17). Latin Americans in London are slightly younger than those in England & Wales as a whole (with 64% under 40). The more established populations such as Colombians tend to be older (with 59% under 40) than more recent arrivals such as Brazilians (74%).

¹² Note that all references to England & Wales as a whole include London and do not refer to the rest of England & Wales.

The overwhelming majority (86%) of all Latin Americans in London are of working age (here defined as between 18 and 59). This is much higher than for London as a whole where the working age population is 63% (see Figure 3.3). At the borough level in London, Tower Hamlets has the highest proportion aged under 40 (84%) followed by Newham (76%) which also has the highest number of children (14% aged under 17).

With almost 60% of all foreign-born residents in London aged between 18 and 39 (Krausova and Vargas-Silva, 2013: 4), the figure for Latin Americans is broadly similar despite slightly more of the latter under 40. There are more Latin Americans of working age living in London compared with England & Wales as a whole (see Figure 3.3).

Figure 3.3: Proportion of working-age Latin Americans in London and England & Wales



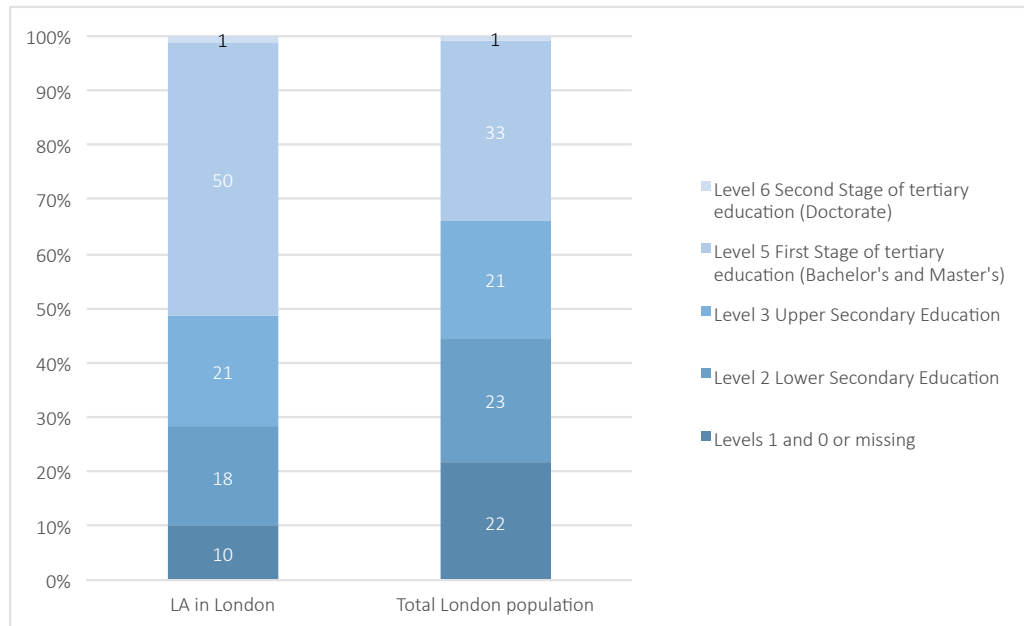
Source: ONS Census 2011 (10% sample): England & Wales (n=14,448); LA in London (n=8,628); Total London population (n=834,396)

Note: England & Wales includes London

Half of Latin Americans have higher education

Latin Americans are well-educated with almost 51% having attained tertiary level/university education (of which 1% was postgraduate). In turn, less than 1 in 5 were educated to GCSE/lower secondary level only, while 1 in 5 had completed upper secondary level (A levels) (21%). For tertiary level, this is higher than the London average where 34% hold some form of higher level qualification (see Figure 3.5). Women are slightly more likely to be educated at tertiary level than men.

Figure 3.5: Education levels among Latin Americans in London



Source: ONS Census 2011 (10% sample). LA in London (n= 8,628); Total London population (n= 834,396). Please note that 858 cases (9.9%) of LA in London and 179,739 cases (21.5%) of Total London were missing, which suggests these were people in levels 0 and 1 or missing.

Note: ISCED 1997 refers to the OECD International Standard Classification of Education as defined by UNESCO: <http://www.uis.unesco.org/Education/Pages/international-standard-classification-of-education.aspx>

Note: Level 0 is pre-primary education and Level 1 is Primary education or first stage of basic education; Level 2 is Lower secondary education or second stage of basic education; Level 3 is Upper secondary education; Level 5 is First stage of tertiary education and includes short-cycle tertiary education, Bachelor's and Master's; and Level 6 is Second stage of tertiary education or doctorate.

While there are few differences between Latin Americans in London and those in England & Wales as a whole, variations among nationalities are marked. For example, Colombians have lower levels of tertiary education than the average (42% respectively) while those in group 1 (Argentines, Mexicans and Uruguayans) have the highest proportions with 76% having completed tertiary level (of which 3% was postgraduate). At the borough level, those residing in areas with concentrations of Latin Americans tend to have lower levels of tertiary education such as in Lambeth (47%) and Southwark (53%) although in others such as Islington, levels were higher than average (63%) (see Annex 2, Figure 2).

Latin Americans are also well-educated compared with other migrants with only Chinese and Nigerians having higher levels of tertiary education (62% and 59% respectively). Indeed, their educational levels are much higher than many other groups such as Somalis (20%), Jamaicans (27%) and Bangladeshis (34%).

Almost 1 in 5 Latin Americans either cannot speak English or cannot speak it very well

Despite high education levels, 17% of Latin Americans struggle with speaking English. This increases to 1 in 4 among group 3 Latin Americans (Ecuadorians, Bolivians and Paraguayans) and 22% among Colombians. Women are also more likely to have problems speaking English with 20% not speaking any or little compared with 14% of men.

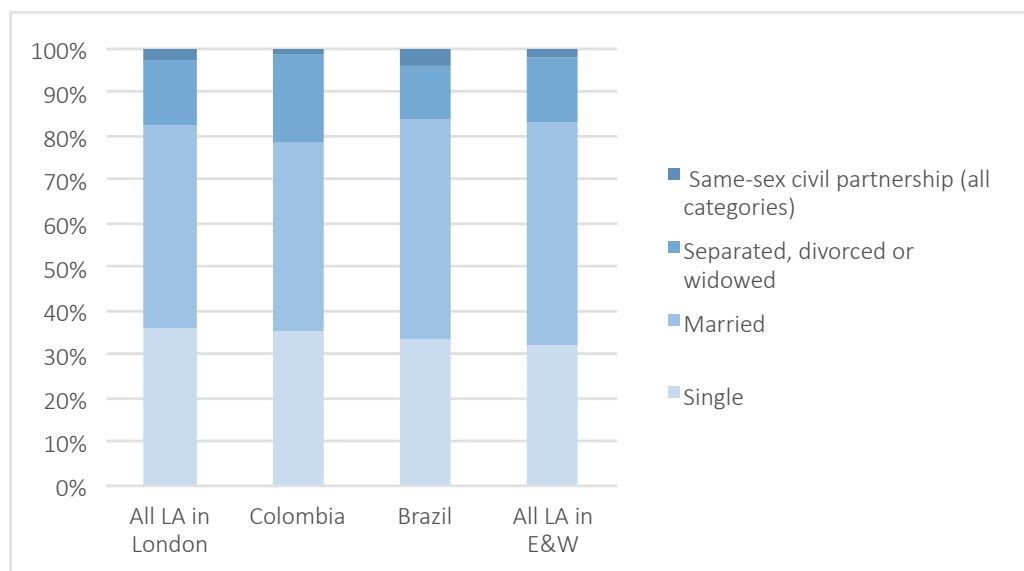
Proficiency among Latin Americans in England & Wales is similar with 16% having difficulties. At the borough level more than a quarter of Latin Americans in Southwark do not speak English or do not speak it very well (27%) – the highest proportion in London. Relatively large numbers of Latin Americans in Brent, Newham, Hackney and Haringey also struggle with English (see Annex 2, Figure 3). As part of these patterns, the Census also shows Portuguese is the second language in Lambeth while Spanish is the second in Southwark (GLA, 2013b: 5).¹³ Latin Americans fare worse than Londoners in relation to English language proficiency in that only 4% of those aged over 10 are not able to speak English very well (Aldridge et al., 2013: 71).

Latin Americans are most likely to be married

Slightly more Latin Americans are married (47%) than single (36%) with a further 17% stating 'other' (which includes 'separated, but still legally married', 'divorced', 'widowed' and four categories of 'same-sex civil partnerships') (see Figure 3.6).¹⁴ There are fewer married and more single Latin Americans in London compared with those in England & Wales as a whole (50% and 33% respectively). Brazilians in particular are among the most likely to be married (50%) compared with only 43% of Colombians. Men are more likely to be single than women (46% compared with 36%). Compared to London as a whole, Latin Americans are much more likely to be married than the average of 31% for the city and less likely to be single (where 44% are single in the city as a whole).¹⁵

In relation to other types of marital status, Brazilians are also most likely to be in a same-sex partnership (3.9%) compared with 2.4% of Latin Americans in London and 1.8% in England & Wales (see Figure 3.6). These proportions are higher than for other migrant groups such as Chinese, Polish and Nigerians (where only 0.5% identify as being in a same-sex partnerships) or those born in Pakistan, India and Bangladesh (0.2%).

Figure 3.6: Marital status of Latin Americans in London



Source: Census 2011 (10% sample); population over 17 years old: LA in England & Wales (n=13,169); LA in London (n=7,931); Total London population (n=650,332)

¹³ As well as reflecting the Latin American presence, it must also be noted that there is a large Portuguese community residing here as well.

¹⁴ All categories of 'same-sex civil partnership include': in a registered SSCP; separated, but still legally in a SSCP; formerly in a SSCP which is now legally dissolved; and surviving partner from a SSCP. This relates to official marital status and excludes co-habiting.

¹⁵ <http://bit.ly/1U7t8Sa>

Half of Latin Americans identify their ethnicity as 'white other'¹⁶

Although almost half of all Latin Americans identify their ethnicity as 'white other', identification is extremely complex. In the absence of an ethnic categorisation specifically for them, it is telling that Latin Americans tend to designate themselves in some form of 'other' category in that a further quarter stated they were 'other ethnic group' (24%) with 16% identifying as 'rest'.¹⁷ Interestingly, for England & Wales as a whole, 11% of Latin Americans identified themselves as 'white British' potentially suggesting a higher degree of integration than in London.¹⁸ Women are slightly more likely to identify as 'white other' than men (51% and 47%). Certain nationalities are also more likely to identify as such including Argentineans (73%) and Uruguayans (76%); this compared to only 38% of Colombians and 30% of Ecuadorians.

3 out of 4 Latin Americans identified as Christian

Latin Americans are a religious population with three-quarters (75%) identifying as Christian which is much higher than for London as a whole where it is only around half (53%) (GLA, 2012b:1). In turn, fewer Latin Americans are not religious at all (15%) compared with London more widely (23%) (ibid.). Among those who identified as following other religions¹⁹ (10%), the most commonly cited was Jewish (0.9%). At the borough level, the proportion of Christians tended to be larger with for example, 79% and 81% respectively of those in Lambeth and Southwark identifying as such. However, in Islington and Hackney only 64% and 67% stated they were Christians. The picture for England & Wales shows very similar patterns as London with 74% identifying as Christian. Among different nationalities at the national level, Colombians (81%) together with Ecuadorians, Bolivians and Paraguayans tend to be more religious (86%) than Brazilians (75%).²⁰

Migration profile

Two-thirds of Latin Americans have arrived in London since 2000

The majority of Latin Americans (68%) migrated to London since 2000, with only 12% arriving before 1989 (see Figure 3.7) indicating that this is a new population group in the city. The proportion arriving since 2000 is considerably higher than for the foreign-born population in London as a whole where an average of half of all migrants arrived since 2000 (GLA, 2013c: 1). Indeed, 40% of Latin Americans arrived since 2006 which is linked with onward migration from other European countries which itself is related to the global economic recession (see Chapter 4).

These broad patterns are reflected in England & Wales as a whole, the only difference being a slightly larger proportion migrating before 1989 (16%). These were mainly of Chileans and linked with their exile and subsequent distribution across the UK. Ecuadorians are also well-established with 45% arriving in the 1990s. Also notable is that Mexicans are the most recently arrived of all nationalities with 55% arriving since 2006 followed by Brazilians (50%).

Among those moving to London, Brazilians are the most recently arrived with over 80% migrating since 2000. In contrast, only half (51%) of Colombians have arrived since this time again reflecting their status as the most established of all of the large nationality groups. Group 4 (Chileans and Peruvians) and Group 2 (Bolivia, Ecuador and Paraguay) are also well-established established with 47% and 44% respectively arriving before 2000 (see Annex 2, Figure 4).

At the borough level, Tower Hamlets has seen the highest proportion of new arrivals with 86% of Latin Americans arriving since 2000, of which 56% since 2006. Westminster has also witnessed high numbers of Latin Americans arriving since 2006 (52%). Despite being established boroughs for Latin Americans, 72% have arrived in Southwark and 65% in Lambeth since 2000. In Islington where there are concentrations of Latin Americans, arrivals were generally earlier (see Annex 2, Figure 5).

¹⁶ This refers only to England & Wales as data was not available for London because many of the sub-categories were too small to use due to confidentiality. Please also note that commonly held perceptions of racial and ethnic categorisation in Latin America will be different to those held in the UK. In particular, Latin Americans who are not black in terms of African ancestry tend to identify themselves as white.

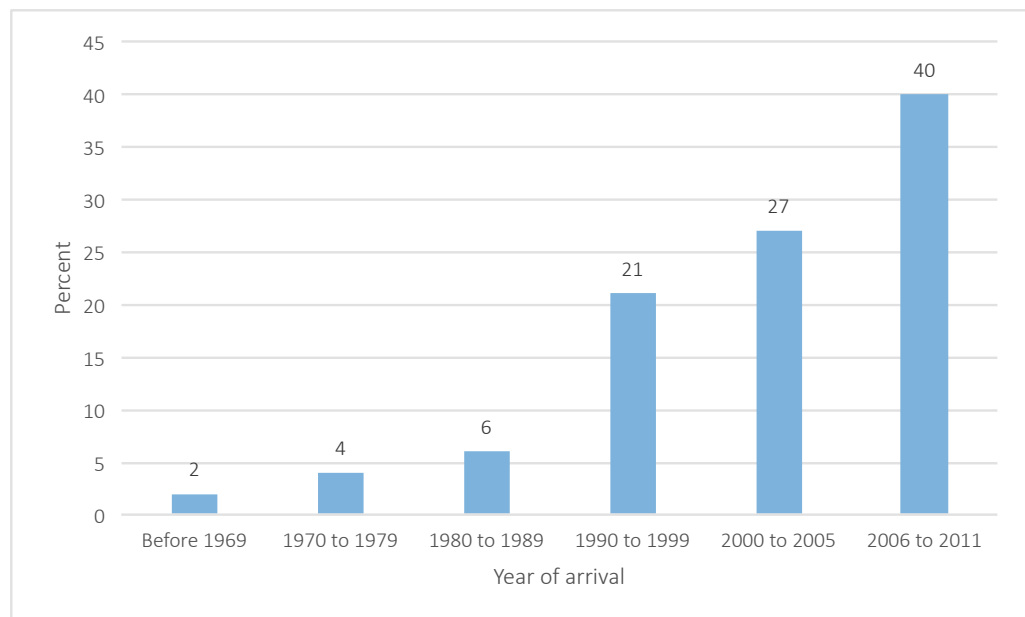
¹⁷ Rest of origins includes Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese, Other Asian and Arab.

¹⁸ This includes white English, Welsh, Scottish and Northern Irish. This proportion might also be explained by people who have married someone who is white British, or where they themselves have a British passport. In addition, it might also signal a desire to overcome potential exclusion at being identified as a Black Minority Ethnic category.

¹⁹ 'Other' refers to Jewish, other religion, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu and Sikh.

²⁰ No data can be disclosed for London by country of birth for reasons of confidentiality.

Figure 3.7: Year of arrival in London among Latin Americans



Source: Census 2011 (10% sample). LA London total (n=8,628)

When compared with other migrant groups in London, **Latin Americans are the second most recent non-EU born arrivals after Chinese migrants**. For example, while 94% and 88% respectively of Romanians and Polish have arrived since 2000, 77% of Chinese have done so (compared with 67% of Latin Americans). Not surprisingly, Jamaicans and Bangladeshis are more established with 23% and 36% respectively arriving since 2000.

Almost one-third of Latin Americans have a UK passport and one-fifth have an EU passport

Almost a third (31%) of Latin Americans have a British passport with a further 22% holding an EU passport. A slightly higher proportion (34%) in England & Wales as a whole has UK passports with a slightly lower proportion with EU passports (20%). In terms of nationalities, Ecuadorians are the most likely to have a British passport in London (53%, and a similar percentage in England & Wales) followed by Colombians (51% in London and England & Wales). This compares to only 14% of Brazilians in London (18% in England & Wales).

However, only 8% of Colombians have an EU passport in London and in England & Wales compared with 32% of Brazilians (29% in England & Wales). Argentinians have the highest levels of EU passport ownership (45% in London and 35% in England & Wales). In the case of Argentinians, this was mainly accounted for by the large numbers with Italian passports secured through ancestry claims (see McIlwaine et al., 2011). These patterns of UK passport ownership for Latin Americans in London are lower than for the city's non-UK born population as a whole where 46% had a British passport (Krausova and Vargas-Silva, 2013: 5). The most commonly held EU passport among Latin Americans in England & Wales is Italian (held primarily by Brazilians – 18%), followed by Spanish (held mainly by Ecuadorians – 13%).

Labour market profile

Employment rates among Latin Americans are high at almost 70%

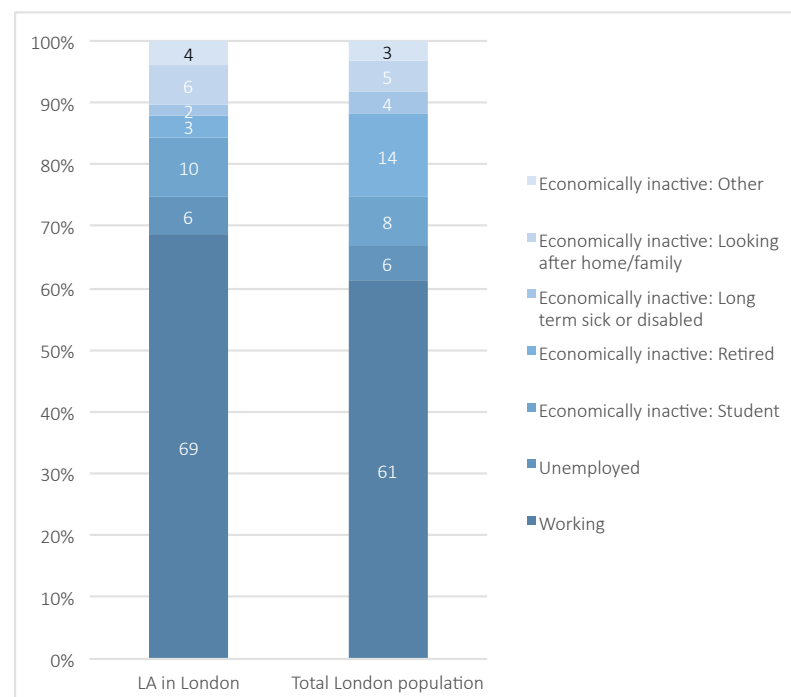
Latin Americans have an employment rate of 69% which is higher than the London average of 61%. Unemployment rates are the same as the London average (6%) with economic inactivity at 25% which is lower than the London average of 34% (see Figure 3.8).²¹ While employment rates for Latin Americans in England & Wales as a whole are lower, they remain high at 66%. While employment rates have been historically lower among foreign born in London, these have equalised in recent years, especially among men (Rienzo, 2014a: 5); the pattern among Latin Americans seems to reflect this.²² Latin American men have higher employment rates than women at 77% compared with 62%. The differences according to nationality are minimal although Brazilians have high employment (71%), with Brazilian men in particular having among the highest (81%).

The borough with the highest employment rates and where Latin Americans are concentrated is Haringey with 74%, followed by Brent (72%) and Lambeth (71%); the borough with the lowest rates is Islington at 62% (see Annex 2, Figure 6).

In addition, Latin Americans have much higher employment rates than many other migrants such as Nigerians (63%), Indians (58%), Pakistanis and Jamaicans (48%), Chinese (47%), Bangladeshis (46%) and Somalians (31%).

While the employment rate of around 70% from the Census is high, it is also important to point out that the NLI research identified a rate of 85% (McIlwaine et al., 2011). This is probably due to the latter's focus on those working rather than students, for example. In addition, it included irregular migrants, the vast majority of whom were in paid employment, often with more than one job (see also McIlwaine, 2015).

Figure 3.8: Economic activity rates of Latin Americans in London



Source: Census 2011 (10% sample). LA London total (n=8,091); Total London population (n=786,186)

²¹ This relates to those aged between 16 and 74.

²² For example, another GLA source notes that in London, European Economic Area (EEA)-born individuals had an employment rate of 74% (that included students) while UK-born had a rate of 71%. Of most significance here is that non-EEA born had a rate of 63% including students which effectively compares to a rate of 79% for Latin Americans (if 10% students are added to 69%) (Keijonen, 2014: 2).

The vast majority of Latin Americans are employees

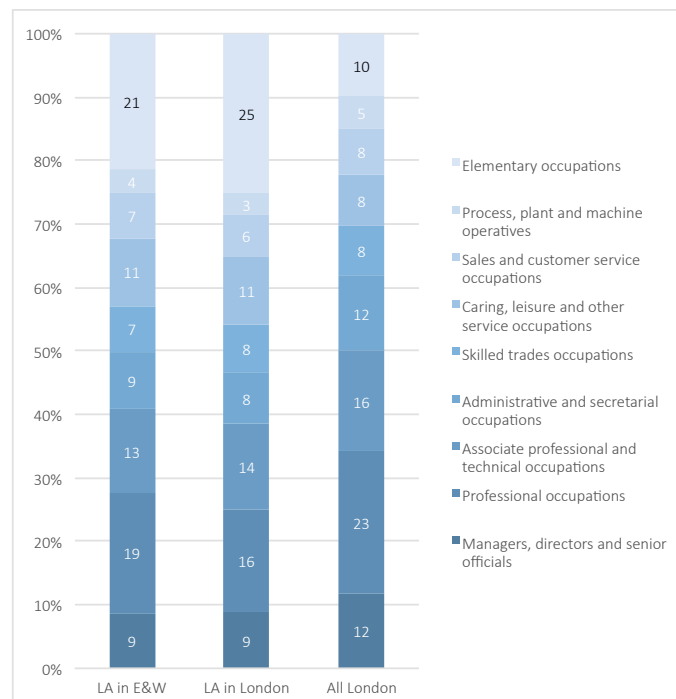
The overwhelming majority of Latin Americans are classified as employees (82%). As a result, the proportion of self-employed workers is low. The rate for Latin Americans in England & Wales as a whole is even higher (84%). Women are also slightly more likely to be employees than men (84% compared with 81%). Those from group 2 nationalities (Bolivia, Ecuador and Paraguay) have the largest proportion of employees (91%), while Brazilians have the largest proportion of self-employed or freelancers (21%).

Almost half of Latin Americans work in low-paid elementary, service, caring and processing jobs

A quarter of all Latin Americans in London work in elementary occupations, with a further 11% employed in caring, leisure and other services, 6.5% in sales and 3.5% in process, plant and machine operating jobs (totalling 46%). In contrast, a quarter work in professional and other managerial and director level jobs, with another 13.5% working in assistant professional and technical jobs. This is broadly mirrored for England & Wales as a whole, although the overall proportion in low-paid jobs is slightly lower (43%) with higher proportions at the upper end (28% in professional and managerial level occupations) (see Figure 3.9).

As noted in the NLI research, the concentrations of people working in elementary jobs (which includes contract cleaners, kitchen assistants, porters, waiters and waitresses, hotel chambermaids and security guards), reflects historical patterns among Latin Americans. Most elementary jobs are in the cleaning sector, especially contract cleaning of offices on part-time contracts in the early mornings and evenings. The numbers working in these jobs as reported in the NLI was high at half of all Latin Americans compared to a quarter noted in the Census (McIlwaine et al., 2011). Again this is linked with the inclusion of those living in more precarious situations in the NLI research compared with those who will have participated in the Census.

Figure 3.9: Occupational status of Latin Americans in London and England & Wales



Source: Census 2011 (10% sample): LA in England & Wales (n=12,067); LA in London (n=7,217); All London from GLA, (2013c: 9)

When compared with London as a whole, many more Latin Americans were concentrated in the lower echelons of the labour market with fewer in the upper levels. For example, only 10% of Londoners work in elementary jobs compared with 25% of Latin Americans (or in other words, Latin Americans are 2.5 times more likely to be working in elementary jobs than Londoners in general). In turn, 23% of Londoners work in professional occupations compared with 16% of Latin Americans (GLA, 2013c: 9).

When analysed by borough, the highest concentrations of Latin Americans working in elementary jobs live in Newham (40%), Lambeth (39%), Southwark (38%), Hackney (34%) and Brent (33%).

There are also important differences by country of origin in that many more Colombians work in elementary occupations (34%) compared with Brazilians (25%). Linked with this, Brazilians are more likely to be employed in managerial, professional and associated jobs (36%) than Colombians (27%). Also, those in group 2 (Bolivians, Ecuadorians and Paraguayans) are heavily concentrated in elementary jobs (42%) (see Annex 2, Figure 7). Again, the concentrations of certain nationalities such as Colombians, Bolivians and Ecuadorians in the lowest-paid and poorest status jobs echoes previous research findings (McIlwaine et al., 2011).

When compared with other migrant groups in London, only Romanians have higher proportions of those working in elementary jobs (29%) which, given the labour market restrictions until 2014 on Romanians (and Bulgarians), highlights the marked concentration of Latin Americans in the lower echelons of the labour market. However, Latin Americans are more evenly distributed in relation to occupational status with more working in professional, managerial and related occupations than those from Romania, Poland, Somalia, Bangladesh, Jamaica and Pakistan.

One-third of Latin Americans work part-time work

One-fifth of Latin Americans work part-time for 16-30 hours per week (21%) while a further 13% work 15 hours or less. This is higher than the London average of 17% working 16-30 hours and 9% working less than 15 hours (see Figure 3.10). It is likely this is linked with the concentration of a quarter of Latin Americans in the cleaning sector where part-time contracts are the norm. In addition, work in the cleaning sector usually entails having more than one job in different locations with the need to travel between working locations adding significant pressures on time among workers (see also McIlwaine et al., 2011). Two-thirds of Latin Americans work full-time of which 54% was 31-48 hours per week which was less than the London average of 58% (see Figure 3.10).²³ These patterns are reflected among Latin Americans in England & Wales more widely in that fewer work part-time and more than 49 hours per week. Patterns also vary markedly according to gender in that one quarter of men work part-time (25%) compared with 45% of women. Within this, women are also more likely to work less than 15 hours per week (18% compared with 9% for men).

²³ 'Full-time working is defined as working 31 hours or more per week by the ONS for the 2011 Census. This applies to the number of hours a person aged 16 and over in employment in the week before the Census worked in their main job, and includes paid and unpaid overtime' (ONS, 2014: 19).

Figure 3.10: Working hours among Latin Americans in London



Source: Census 2011 (10% sample) LA London (n=5,549); Total London population (n=404,636)

At the borough level, Latin Americans living in Tower Hamlets have the highest levels of those working full-time (79%) while those in Newham have the lowest (57%). Other boroughs where Latin Americans have low levels of full-time working include Lambeth (59%), Hackney (59%) and Southwark (60%). In relation to nationality, Colombians and those from group 2 (Bolivians, Ecuadorians and Paraguayans) had the highest levels of part-time working (around 45%). This was in contrast to those in group 1 (Argentiniens, Mexicans and Uruguayans where only 19% worked part-time (see Annex 2, Figure 8). In terms of other migrant groups, Latin Americans have high levels of part-time working especially compared with Romanians and Chinese and Polish (25%). Only Pakistanis (42%), Somalians (53%) and Bangladeshis (59%) had higher rates.

Household and housing profile

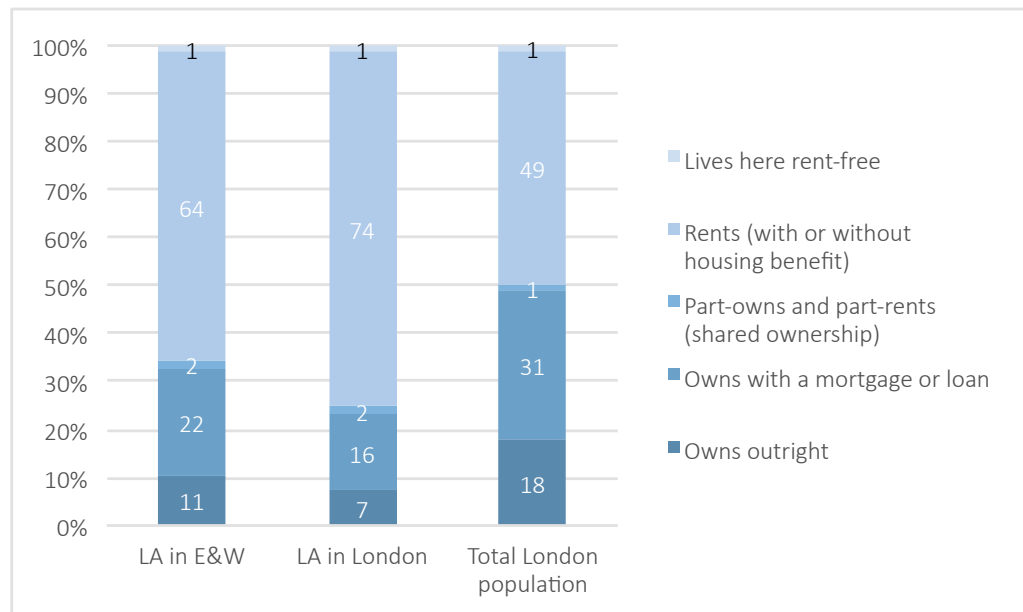
Around three-quarters of Latin Americans live in rental accommodation

Around three-quarters of Latin Americans live in rental accommodation (74%), with a further 16% living in housing that is mortgaged, and only 7% owning their home outright. For Latin Americans in England & Wales as a whole, there are fewer living in rental housing and more owner occupiers (see Figure 3.11). Levels of owner occupation among Latin Americans (23%) are much lower than the London average (49%) and for foreign-born residents in the UK as a whole (43%) (Vargas-Silva, 2014: 3) (see Figure 3.11).²⁴

Within London, the boroughs with the highest concentrations of Latin Americans also have the highest proportions of people living in rental accommodation. For example, 85% of Latin Americans in Lambeth and Hackney live in rental accommodation followed by 84% in Newham and 83% in Southwark and Islington (see Annex 2, Figure 9). Men are slightly more likely to rent than women (76% compared with 72%). In terms of nationality, those in group 2 (Bolivians, Ecuadorians and Paraguayans) are the most likely to be living in rental accommodation (83%) followed by Colombians (79%) (Annex 2, Figure 10). Rental levels among Latin Americans are also higher than many other such as Bangladeshi (68%), Nigerians (65%) and Chinese (61%).

²⁴ Excluding 'part-owns, part rents'.

Figure 3.11: Housing tenure type among Latin Americans in London and England & Wales



Source: Census 2011 (10% sample): England & Wales (n=14,110); LA London (n=8,526); Total London population (n= 823,331)

High proportions of Latin Americans live in private rental housing (70%)

Among Latin Americans renting, 70% live in private rental housing with a further 15% residing in local authority housing and 12% in housing association or other social landlord accommodation. Patterns for Latin Americans in England & Wales are broadly similar. Renting is much higher than the total of 49% for London as a whole (see Figure 3.12). It is also notable that Latin Americans have much higher proportions living in private rental housing than foreign-born residents in the UK (38%) and the UK population as a whole (14%) (Vargas-Silva, 2014: 3). They also have lower levels of residence in local authority housing than UK-born and foreign-born (17% and 18%) (ibid: 4).

These concentrations in the private rental sector are especially significant given that social sector rents in London are around a third cheaper than the private sector. In addition, both social and private rents are much higher in London than the rest of England with the gap between them also higher (Aldridge et al., 2015: 41).

Latin Americans living in certain boroughs are more likely to live in local authority housing such as those in Islington (29%), Lambeth (23%) and Camden (24%), whereas others were more likely to rent privately in Brent (87%), Ealing (83%), Wandsworth (79%) and Newham (79%).

Figure 3.12: Type of landlord among Latin Americans in London and England & Wales



Source: Census 2011 (10% sample): England & Wales (n=9,486); LA London (n=6,562); Total London population (n= 420,569)

Among those renting, nearly half (47%) of Colombians and over a third (36%) of group 2 nations (Bolivia, Ecuador and Paraguay) and group 4 (Chile and Peru) lived in local authority or social housing. In contrast, only 14% of group 1 and 12% of Brazilians fell into those categories, reflecting the fact that they are more recent arrivals. However, compared with other migrant groups in London, Nigerians (50%), Bangladeshis (67%), Somalis (69%) and Jamaicans (71%) are much more likely to live in local authority and social housing than Latin Americans.

Over-crowding is an issue for Latin Americans

Based on the Census definition that severe housing overcrowding relates to 1.5 persons per room or more, 5% of Latin Americans live in severely overcrowded conditions with a further 9% living in overcrowded housing (more than 1 person per room) making a total of 14%. This is higher than the average for London as a whole where 11% live in overcrowded conditions of which 3% live in severe overcrowding. At the borough level, Latin Americans in Newham live in the most overcrowded conditions (29%), reflecting wider patterns for the borough (with the highest rates in the capital – of 25%) (Aldridge et al., 2013: 45). This was followed by Southwark (24%), Brent and Haringey (21%). When analysed by nationality, overcrowding emerged as much more prevalent among those from group 2 countries (Bolivia, Ecuador and Paraguay) (27%).

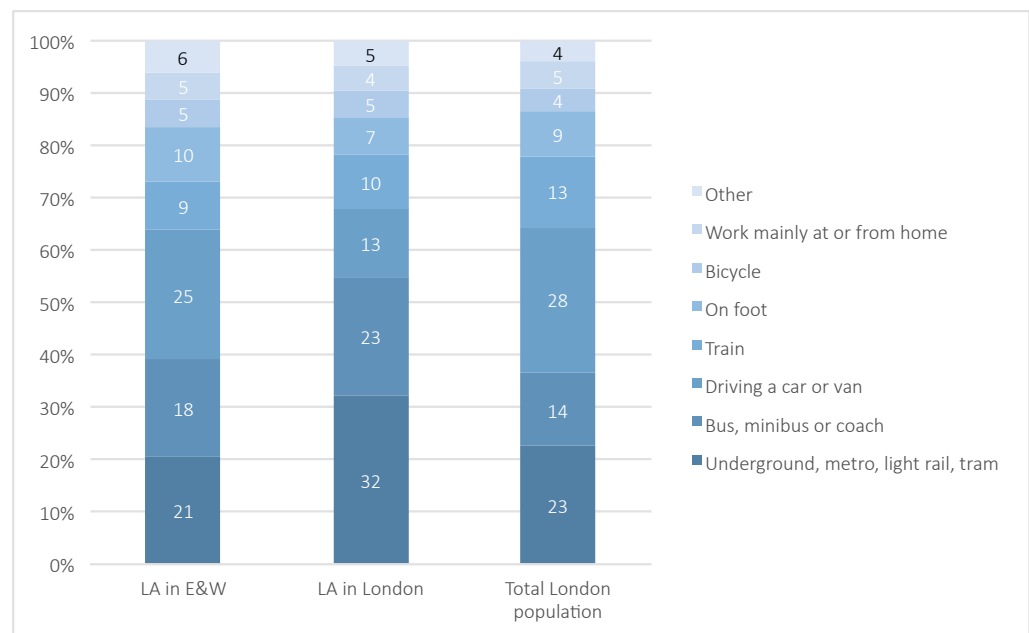
Also important to note is that over-crowding has been increasing over the last ten years (Aldridge et al., 2015: 45). Furthermore, certain groups of Latin Americans are more likely to experience overcrowding than others, especially those living in an irregular immigration situation as evidenced in the NLI research (McIlwaine et al., 2011), and among those most recently arrived (see Chapter 7).

Two-thirds of Latin Americans travel to work by public transport

One-third of Latin Americans (32%) travel to work by the underground or light rail with almost a quarter using buses. Patterns for England & Wales as a whole show higher car use among Latin Americans than in London. Overall, there are very high levels of public transport use to get to work in London (66%). While such use is high among the population as a whole in London, travelling by car is much higher at 28% compared to only 13% among Latin Americans (see Figure 3.13).

When analysed by borough, bus use tends to be higher in areas with large concentrations of Latin Americans such as Southwark (46%), Hackney (42%), Lambeth (35%) and Islington (30%). While this is partly linked with the location of underground stations, it is also related with the fact that buses tend to be cheaper than underground travel. This is further reflected in the fact that group 1 countries (Bolivia, Ecuador and Paraguay) which tend to be more deprived than others use buses (36%) more than the average and more than group 1 countries (Argentina, Mexico and Uruguay) (12%). When compared with other migrant groups, Latin Americans have the lowest car use (along with Chinese, 13%), and the highest public transport use along with Romanians (55%).

Figure 3.13: Main transport to work of Latin Americans in London



Source: Census 2011 (10% sample): England & Wales (n=8,904); LA London (n=5,549); Total London population (n=404,313)

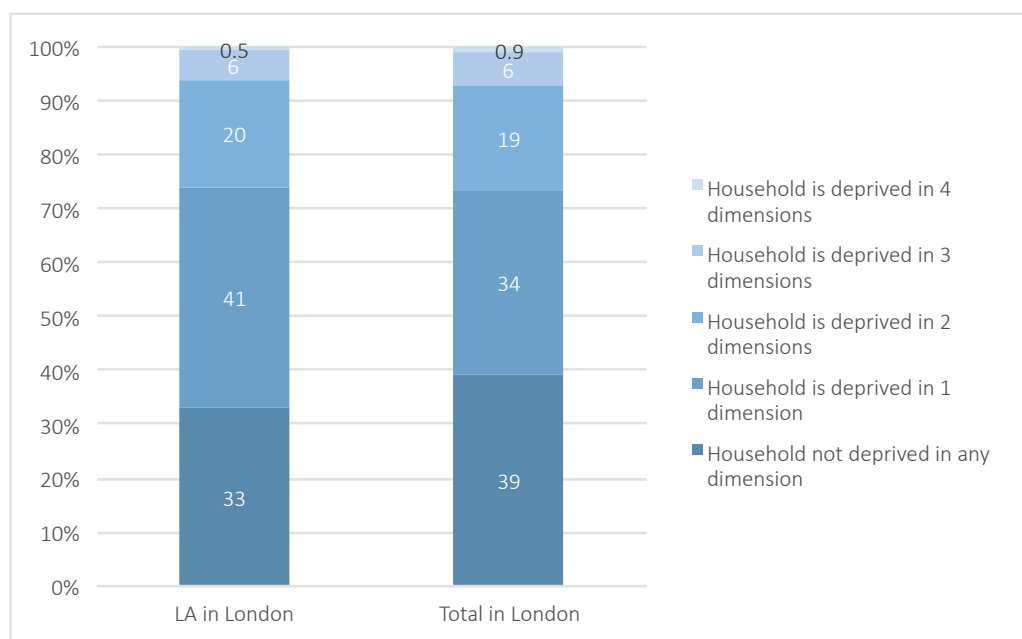
Other means: Motorcycle, scooter or moped; passenger in a car or van; taxi and other.

Deprivation profile

Latin Americans are more deprived than the average for London and England & Wales

Latin Americans are more deprived according to deprivation indices than London and England & Wales averages.²⁵ This is especially the case for Latin Americans experiencing one dimension of deprivation which affected 41% of Latin Americans compared to only 34% in London as a whole and 33% in England & Wales (see Figure 3.14).

Figure 3.14: Deprivation dimensions among Latin Americans in London (compared with London total)



²⁵ "The dimensions of deprivation used to classify households are indicators based on the four selected household characteristics.

Education: no person in the household has at least level 2 education (see highest level of qualification), and no person aged 16-18 is a full-time student,

Employment: any member of a household not a full-time student is either unemployed or long-term sick,

Health and disability: any person in the household has general health 'bad or very bad' or has a long term health problem, and

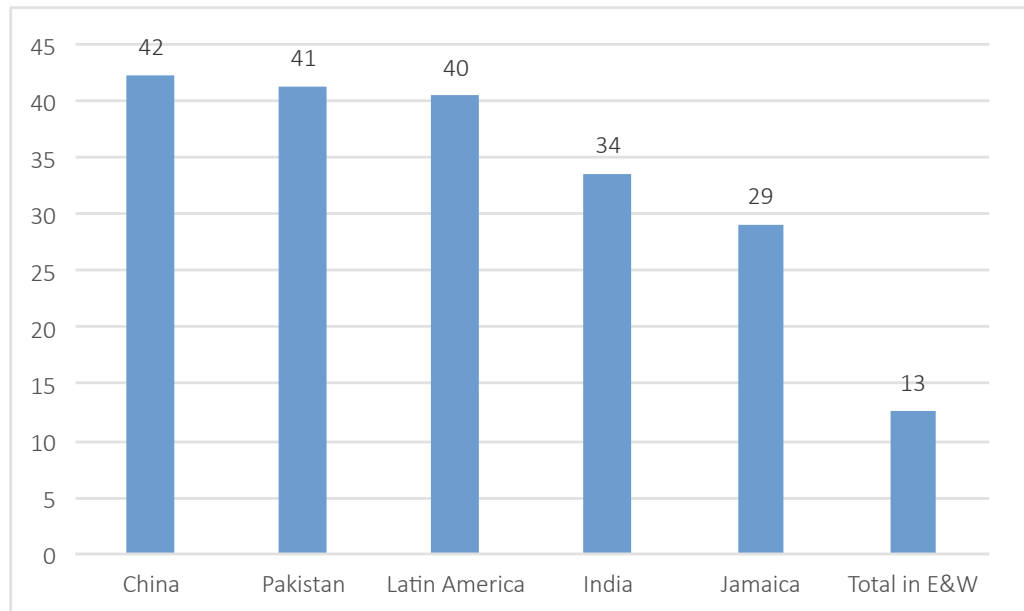
Housing: Household's accommodation is either overcrowded, with an occupancy rating -1 or less, or is in a shared dwelling, or has no central heating.

A household is classified as being deprived in one to four of these dimensions in any combination." (<https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/2011>).

Source: Census 2011 (10% sample for households); LA in London (n=9,128). Total London (n=3,266,173) from NOMIS (<https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/2011>)

Latin Americans also experience much more housing deprivation (40%) than the average for England & Wales (13%) but slightly less than some other migrant groups (see Figure 3.15).

Figure 3.15: Housing deprivation in London by country of birth



Source: Census 2011 (10% sample for households); China (n=3,991), Pakistan (n=17,426), Latin America (n=9,168); India (n=33,400), Jamaica (n=12,730). Total England & Wales taken from Secure Microdata Household Code Book

While this chapter has outlined a profile of the Latin American community in London (and a lesser extent in England & Wales more widely) using census data, the report now turns to outline the characteristics of onward Latin American migrants in London who previously lived in Europe before moving to the city. This sub-group includes many who have arrived very recently and who are much less likely to have been included in the 2011 Census, and hence tend to live in more precarious situations.

Profile of Onward Latin Americans in London

Key points

- 80% of OLAs moved from Spain
- Colombians, Ecuadorians and Brazilians comprise the majority of OLAs most likely to move from Spain
- OLAs are residentially concentrated in Southwark and Lambeth, of working age and more likely to be female
- OLAs are less well-educated than the wider Latin American population in London but over a third have been educated at university-level
- Almost half speak little or no English
- More than half are married or co-habiting with almost three-quarters with children

As noted in the introduction, onward migration among Latin Americans was identified as a major issue in the NLI project where it was found that more than a third had previous experience of migration before arriving in the UK, with Spain being the most common country of secondary origin (McIlwaine et al., 2011). While onward migrants from Europe are now widely acknowledged to form the bulk of Latin American migration to London and the UK more widely, this survey is the first of its kind to provide an analysis of their core characteristics.

This chapter provides an overview of the experiences of onward Latin American migrants (OLAs) in London drawing on a face-to-face questionnaire survey with 400 migrants recruited using a wide range of networks and purposive sampling, with additional qualitative information derived from 28 in-depth interviews (see Annex 1). The questionnaire survey aimed to be as representative as possible of the flows of Latin Americans migrating from other European countries to London and was based on previous research (McIlwaine et al., 2011; McIlwaine, 2012) as well as consultation with migrant organisations who serve the community in the city. In addition to a range of nationality groups, the survey included female and male migrants who had moved from another European country to London, who were aged over 16 and who came from a range of socio-economic backgrounds.

Colombians, Ecuadorians and Brazilians comprise the majority of OLAs most likely to move from Spain

Colombians, Ecuadorians and Brazilians are the most numerous among the sample population. Just over a quarter are Colombian (28%), with just under a quarter originally from Ecuador (22%) and a further 15% from Brazil (see Annex 3, Table 1). One key difference between this survey and the NLI research was the presence of those born in the Dominican Republic who appeared to be arriving in London in recent times (only two Dominicans were included in the former – McIlwaine et al. 2011). Indeed, 19 were included in the survey and representatives from migrant organisations corroborated the increasing flows from the Dominican Republic. This is most probably linked with the fact that Dominicans are the fourth largest Latin American migrant group in Spain where most onward migrants are moving from (McIlwaine, 2011, 2012). Indeed, 80% of all OLAs moved from Spain, with the second most common European source country being Italy (9%), followed by Portugal (8%).

OLAs are residentially concentrated in Southwark and Lambeth, of working age and more likely to be female

Residentially, OLAs are concentrated in Southwark (27%) and Lambeth (21%), followed by Haringey (8%) and Newham (4.5%) and Brent (4%) (Annex 3, Figure 1 and Table 1). In terms of residence of national groups, Colombians are concentrated in Southwark (25%) and Lambeth (22%), while Brazilians are slightly more dispersed in Brent (12%), Tower Hamlets (12%), Lambeth (10%) and Southwark (8%). Other nationalities such as Ecuadorians (30%) Peruvians (36%) and Bolivians (61%) are especially likely to live in Southwark.

As only those aged over 16 were included in the survey, the vast majority of onward Latin Americans are of working age (96%) with only 4% aged over 60 and only 16% aged over 50 years (see Annex 3, Figure 2). Two thirds (70.1%) are aged between 30 and 49 years old.

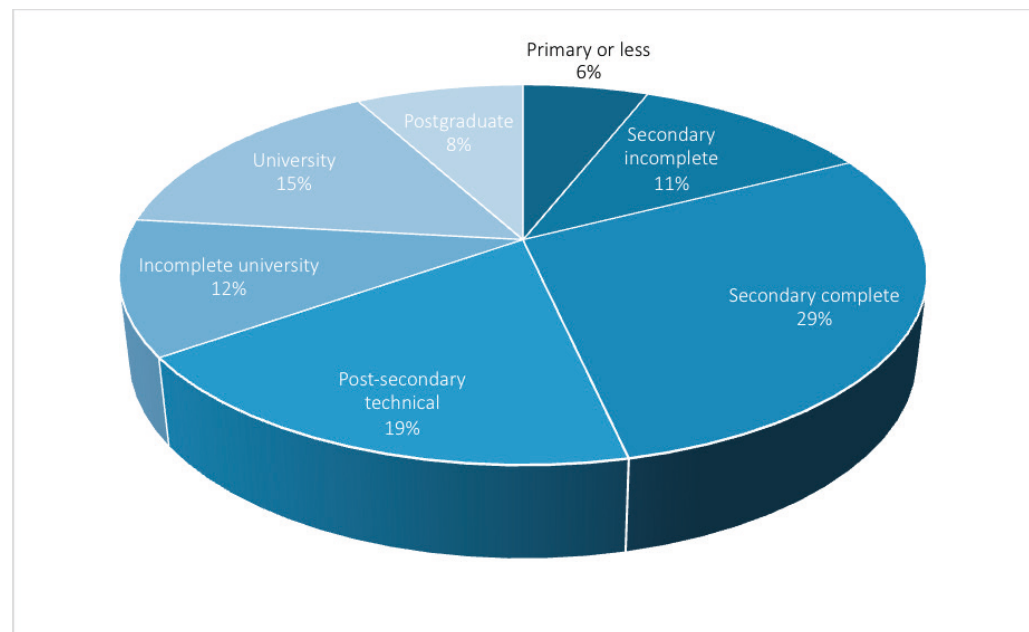
In terms of gender, more than half of the survey sample were women (57%). This gender balance is more marked than in the Census, but it also reflects the sampling frame in that women proved easier to approach and be interviewed than men (see Annex 2). The most feminised nationalities interviewed (among the larger population groups) were Colombians (62.5%) and Peruvians (67%).

OLAs are less well-educated with just over a third with university level education, especially among women

More than a third of OLAs have university level education which is less than for Latin Americans included in the Census (51%). However, this rises to 54% when post-secondary technical education is included (see Figure 4.1). Brazilians were the most highly educated with 18% with postgraduate level attainment and a further 51% with some form of higher studies. In contrast, only 31% of Ecuadorians and 39% of Bolivians had any form of higher education. Although 54% of Colombians had higher studies, 25% had higher vocational training with 28% at university level. Women are better educated than men with 56% of the former with higher education (including post-secondary technical) and 49% of the latter.

In terms of where OLAs completed their studies, over a quarter (28%) finished outside their country of origin (recalling that overall, 14% of OLAs left their country of origin as minors). Not surprisingly, 20% had completed their studies in another EU country with 8% having finished in the UK.

Figure 4.1: Educational level of OLAs



Source: authors' survey (n=400)

Almost half of OLAs speak little or no English

Inability to speak English affects 50% of OLAs of which almost a quarter (23%) understand or speak no English with 27% speaking only a little. Only 1 in 5 are able to speak, read and write very well. Women are also less likely to speak or understand English than men (26% of women and 18% are unable to speak any English). Those from the Dominican Republic were the worst off in terms of being able to understand or speak no English, with Colombians being the most likely to speak English.

This had obvious effects especially in accessing the labour market. For example, 26 year-old Karla from Sao Paulo who had lived for 3 years in Florence where she obtained an Italian passport (through ancestry – her father was Italian), discussed how her lack of English led to problems in her workplace when she first arrived. She worked as a sales assistant in a food chain where she was given the job to her own surprise given her lack of English:

'A typical day would be to get up at five in the morning to start work at six ... this was totally a new world for me, in terms of the English language, also because I had no ability whatsoever in the kitchen. It was all new and I remember this well, on the first day you work in the kitchen but they also put you at the cash till, and I did not even know all the coins well and had to start serving customers. The only training I ever had was about half an hour, so the first week at work was despairing, there was a lot to learn, a lot. There were no Brazilians there, but there were some Italians. I'd get home in despair, I'd sit in front of the telly to watch the BBC with subtitles on, I'd think 'I have to learn English as soon as possible'. So, in the beginning it was all difficult and this is the case everywhere, I think, when you don't know the local language. I was blamed for much that went wrong at work, like "Blame it on the newcomer here who does not know what she is saying", and I thought "This can go on like this", so I'd study at home watching the telly'.²⁶

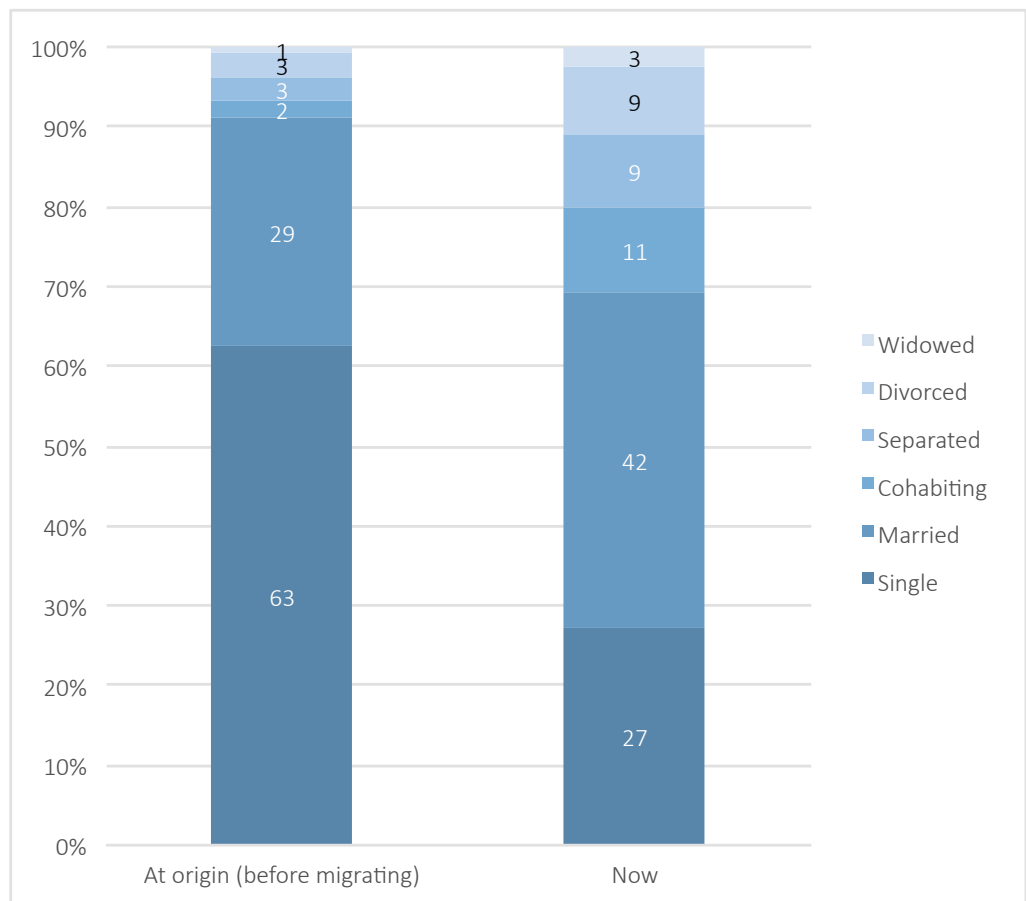
²⁶ All names are pseudonyms.

More than half of OLAs are married or co-habiting with almost three-quarters with children

While 53% of OLAs are married or co-habiting (of which 11% were the latter), most had married or started to live with someone since they had left their home country. For example, while 63% were single when they left Latin America, only 27% were at the time of the survey (see Figure 4.2). Women are more likely to be separated, widowed or divorced compared to men (24.5% compared with 14%), while men are more likely to be married than women (48% compared with 37%). The majority of both women and men are married to someone from their own country (70% of women and 73% of men).

Among those with partners, most (88%) reside with them in London. However, men are more likely to live apart from spouses (12%) than women (5%). Among those with partners elsewhere, more lived in the previous country (9%) than in Latin America (3%). In relation to having children, 70% of OLAs have children of which two-thirds live in the UK, 19% in another EU country (other than the UK) and 14% in Latin America.

Figure 4.2: Marital status of OLAs



Source: authors' survey (at origin: n=400) (now: n=399)

Migration characteristics of Onward Latin Americans in London

Key points

- Almost half of OLAs left their homeland for economic reasons
- Almost 70% left their previous EU country of residence for economic reasons
- Over 40% chose London for family/friends reasons and one-third for economic reasons
- More than half have arrived since 2011
- Almost three-quarters entered their previous European country as tourists and more than 80% left with an EU passport to enter the UK
- 9 out of 10 have the right to live and work in the UK permanently

This chapter outlines the migration characteristics of the Onward Latin Americans in the survey in terms of their reasons for moving from Latin America and to the intermediate country as well as their modes of entry and plans to settle in London.

Almost half of OLAs left their homeland for economic reasons

Nearly 4 out of 5 OLAs left their country of origin between 1996 and 2007 with 41% leaving between 2001 and 2007 (see Figure 5.1). On average, people left their nation of origin 13.7 years previously. This coincides with widespread economic crisis in Latin America as well as the height of the armed conflict in Colombia in particular (McIlwaine et al. 2011; McIlwaine, 2012).

This is reflected in the reasons that people cited as to why they left their home country in that almost half (48%) left for economic reasons linked with unemployment, lack of professional opportunities or to be able to establish a business. Just under one-fifth (16%) left because they had family or friends who encouraged them to leave, while 9% were thinking about providing a better future for their family and children (see Figure 5.2). Men were more likely to state economic reasons (54%) than women (43%) whereas women were more likely to cite friend and family networks (14.5% compared to 11% of men) and to provide better opportunities for their family (10.5% compared to 6% of men). Those from group 2 (Bolivia, Ecuador and Paraguay) were the most likely to state economic reasons (57%) compared with only 17% of group 1 (Argentina, Mexico and Uruguay). In turn, while only 7% overall stated educational reasons for why they left, 21% of Brazilians cited this.

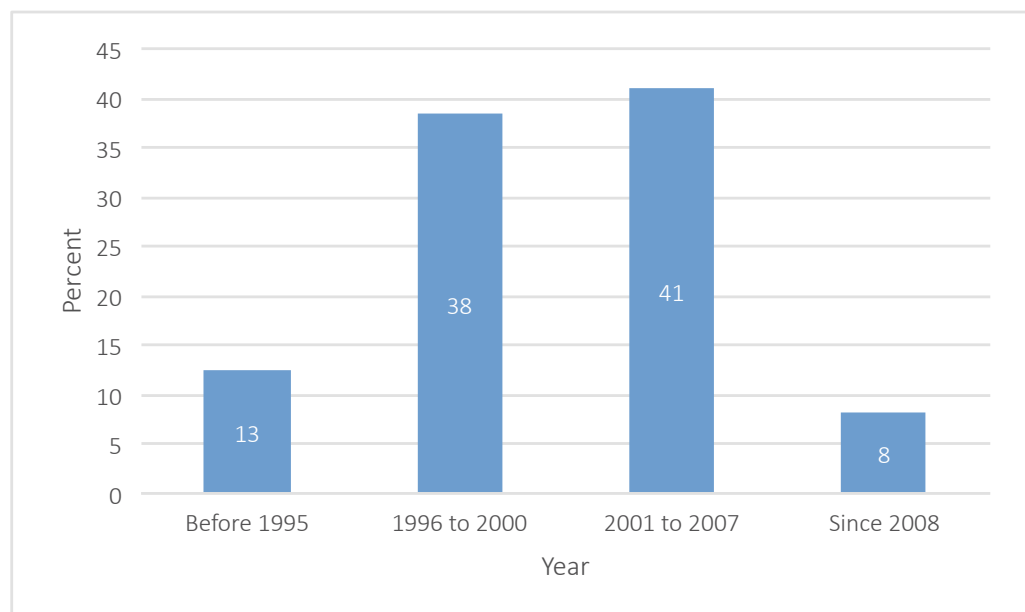
For example, 42-year-old Nicolas from Colombia who arrived in London in 2013 left Colombia because his trading business in fruit and vegetables was not doing very well because of the poor economic conditions at the time (2002) and so he decided to move to Spain. However, in reality, people migrated for multiple and interconnecting reasons; Nicolas also reported that the armed conflict affected his decision:

'The situation in Colombia really influenced why I left because unfortunately, I worked in a conflict zone where the armed groups and government were fighting and therefore I decided to move to Spain to find another type of environment that was more tranquil'.

Similarly, in 45-year-old Jacinto's case who left Colombia in 2004, he had been working as a head of systems for a paper company until it went bankrupt; although he got other jobs, he never really managed to re-establish himself or to make ends meet:

'Although I worked in other companies, it was never the same ... I had debts and although I had a good enough salary, I still didn't have enough and so I decided to go to Spain to try my luck when I was offered a job there ... we always have economic crisis in Colombia. I remember thinking, if I don't get away from here, I will be trapped.'

Figure 5.1: Year OLAs left origin

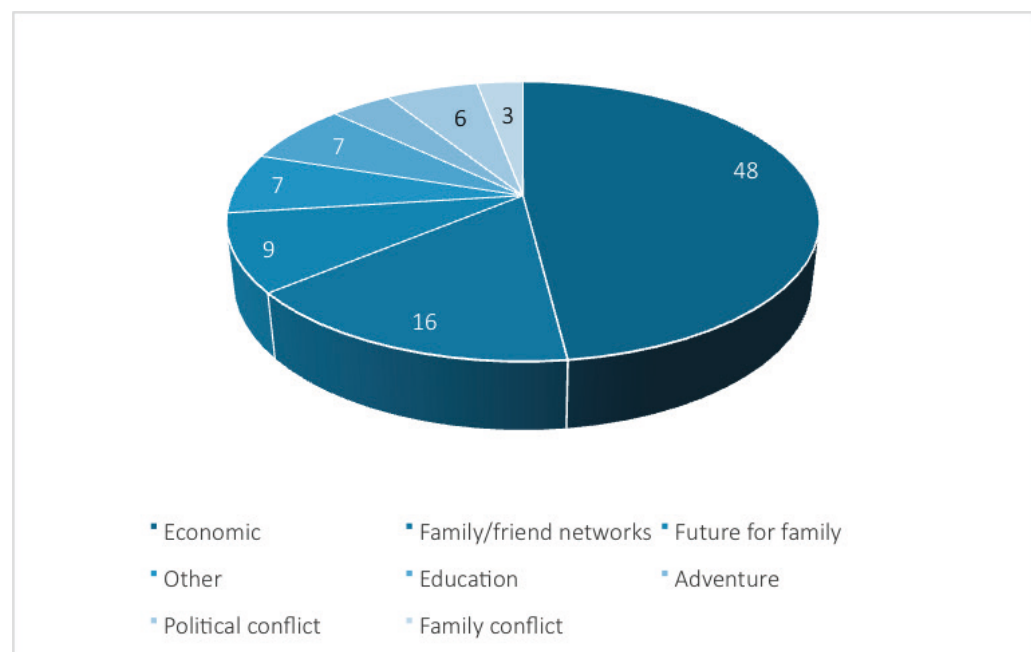


Source: authors' survey (n=400)

Economic crisis also affected the middle-classes who had been quite well-off back home. For instance, 32-year-old Laura from Argentina highlights how the economic crisis in her homeland prompted her to move to Spain in 2002. In Buenos Aires, she had been studying at university and working as a waitress in a casino when the economic situation worsened dramatically:

'After a year of working and saving, the 'corralito' [economic measures undertaken at the end of 2001 to stop a bank run], the banks closed, collapsed, savings were eaten up, you couldn't withdraw money from the bank, there was parity with a dollar to a peso and then the parity changed to one dollar, four pesos. Our family home was mortgaged in dollars so it went from one day to another to being four times higher. As a result, there was a strong migratory movement of Argentinians to Europe ... I had first-hand knowledge and knew of friends in our neighbourhood who had returned from Spain or Italy from holiday with many Euros. I thought that the most intelligent move that would offer me the most opportunities, and that would prevent me from being poor for ever ... I decided to move to Spain for a while to save money and then to return with my savings. But, as soon as I arrived in Spain, I realised that I didn't want to return.'

Figure 5.2: Reasons for leaving country of origin (%)



Source: authors' survey (n=400)

4 out of 5 OLAs moved to London from Spain

Spain is overwhelmingly the most common previous country of residence among OLAs (80%) followed by Italy (9%) and then Portugal (5%). They originated in a total of 12 countries,²⁷ and from a very wide range of different towns and cities. Within Spain, Madrid was the most common city of origin (39% moved from there), followed by Barcelona (12%) and Valencia (11%).

While the vast majority of nationality groups moved from Spain including 96% of Colombians and Bolivians, 94% of Ecuadorians and 89% of Peruvians, the patterns for Brazilians are markedly different; only 16% had previously lived in Spain, with 29.5% moving from Portugal and 41% from Italy. The average length of stay in the previous EU country was close to 9 years. Interestingly, only 6% planned to move on when they first arrived in their previous country, with 43% stating they had planned to return home after a time and another 31% planning to remain there. It is also important to note that although 61% of OLAs have re-registered their residency in London, 29% are still registered in their previous country with a further 9% registered in both, possibly linked with still having family members in the previous country or having plans to return (see also below).

Almost 70% of OLAs left their previous EU country of residence for economic reasons

OLAs overwhelmingly left their previous EU country of residence for economic reasons (69%). This was partly due to unemployment and lack of economic opportunities (61%) as well as lack of professional potential and starting a business (8%). Family networks and reunification were important for 9% (of which joining a partner was 4%) (see Figure 5.3).

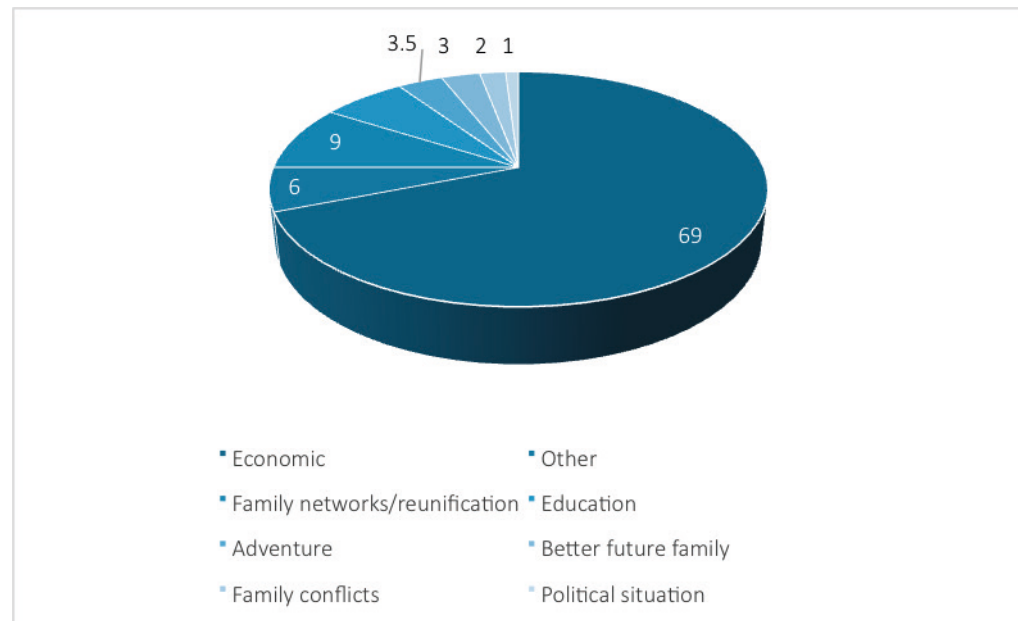
Among specific nationalities, 86% of Bolivians, 81% of Peruvians and 72% of Ecuadorians moved for economic reasons. In contrast, only 48% of Brazilians moved because of economic factors who in turn, had many more diverse reasons to move including education (12%) and family networks and reunification (10%). Again, men tended to be slightly more economically motivated in their migration from mainland Europe (72%) compared to women (68%).

Spain was often chosen as the prime option in terms of ease of entry, language and job opportunities as well as existing social ties (McIlwaine, 2012). For example, Miriam, who was 46 years old and from Ecuador reported that she left her homeland because of social pressures due to being divorced twice. She recalled how she came from a very conservative family and a conservative and religious city where a second divorce was severely frowned upon:

'It was very complicated to live in such a macho society and so you have to look for alternatives, to look for a country or another city ... my options? A country where it was easy to get in, where there were no problems with the language, and so I started to arrange my trip to Spain. I went at a time in 1999 when there was a migration phenomenon of people travelling a lot; in the institution where I worked as a social worker, lots of people had moved to Spain. One of my secretaries was living in Spain and so she sorted out everything for me to go; she lived in Madrid'.

²⁷ These included Spain, Italy, France, Portugal, Netherlands, Ireland, Switzerland, Belgium, Greece, Germany, Norway and the Czech Republic.

Figure 5.3: Reasons for leaving previous EU country of residence (%)



Source: authors' survey (n=400)

Over 40% of OLAs chose London for family/friends reasons and one-third for economic reasons

The existence of family and friends in London was the single most important set of reasons why OLAs chose the city over other destinations in their move from Europe (43%). However, the factors that prompt movement are inherently interrelated and a further one third (33%) stated that economic and professional opportunities played the most important role. Language (in terms of learning English) was cited by 12% with the rest comprising the ease of migration (3%), culture (1.5%) and human rights and security (1.5%). Women were more likely to state family and friends as being important than men (49% compared with 36%). In contrast, 40% of men cited economic factors as influencing their decision compared with only 27% of women. Of all nationalities, Colombians were most influenced by family and friends (55%) together with 46% of Bolivians, while Ecuadorians were the most likely to cite economic factors (41%).

The importance of family and friendship contacts was borne out in relation to OLAs' first point of contact when they arrived in London in that 39.5% stated that they met with family with a further 29% making contact with friends. Only 6% arrived via legal agents and other formal intermediaries highlighting the importance of informal migration networks between the UK and other European countries and Spain in particular. Nonetheless, 13% arrived alone with no contacts at all.

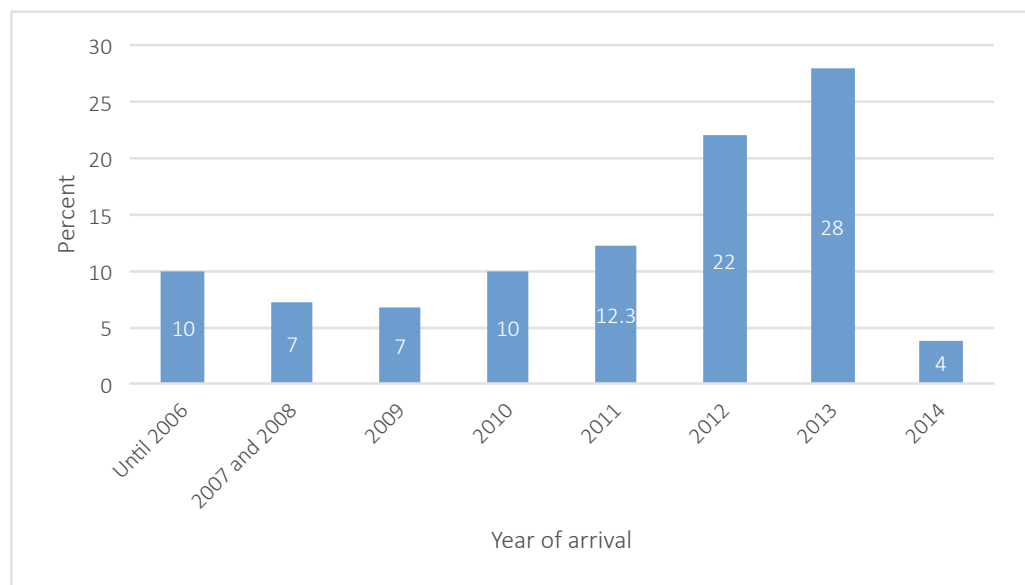
More than half of OLAs have arrived since 2011

The vast majority of OLAs have arrived since 2008 which coincides with the global economic recession (87%). However, acknowledging that only those who have lived in London for at least 6 months prior to the survey were included (in order to be defined as a migrant rather than a visitor), more than half (54%) have arrived since 2011 highlighting the recent flows of this group since the 2011 Census (see Figure 5.4).

Economic factors dominated OLAs' decision-making processes to move on, although as noted above, family networks were also crucial. For example, 49 year-old Miguel from Ecuador lived in Spain from 2000 to 2009 after which he moved to London where he was working as a cleaning supervisor. He spoke about the situation in Spain that made him move to London which was made even more significant because he had to pay a debt on a Spanish house that he lost during the economic crash:

'What happened was that the company I worked for went bankrupt due to the economic situation in the construction sector in Spain. The company started to make people redundant until eventually my turn came. I was then in a situation where I could ask for unemployment benefits for a period of time or ask for a load of money in one go to start my own business. I took the second option and bought a van thinking I could do all sorts of delivery jobs. I then started working for a company that delivered supplies to bars, however, this company also became bankrupt and closed. I've had enough and thought "I can't take it anymore". My sister-in-law then suggested we come here [to London] as there was work and I didn't think [about] it twice. I sold the van and we came over here.'

Figure 5.4: Year of arrival to London

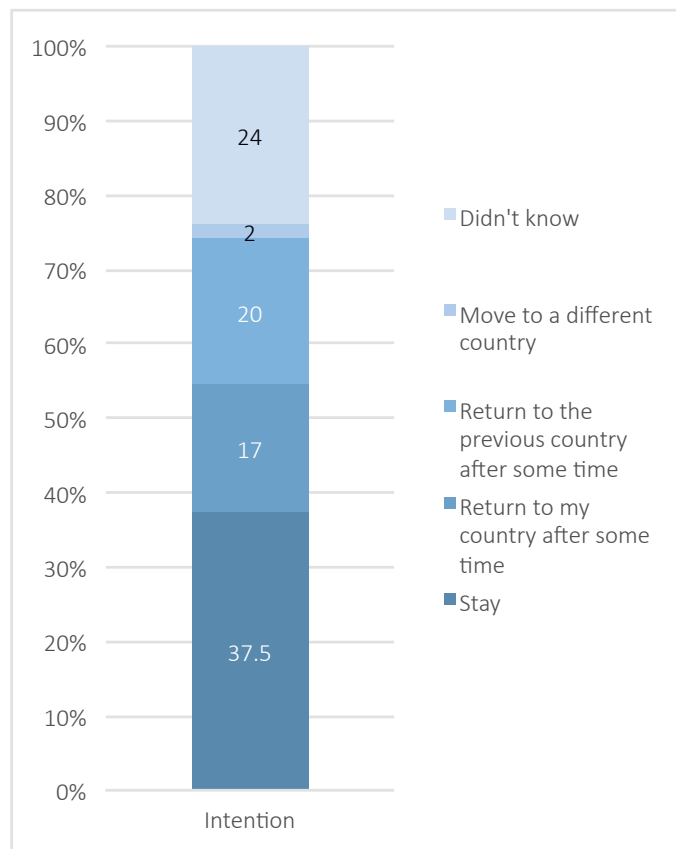


Source: authors' survey (n=400)

In terms of nationalities, Bolivians are the most recent among the larger groups with 71.5% arriving since 2012. However, it is worth noting that 89% of those from the Dominican Republic have arrived since this date and that this is a new flow in terms of country of origin. Brazilians are the least likely of the larger nationalities to have arrived since 2012 (only 36%).

On arrival, while 37.5% want to stay in London, almost 40% wanted to either return to the EU country they had moved from (20%) or to their home country (17%) (Figure 5.5). Interestingly, women are more likely to want to return to their previous country (23%) or their homeland (18%) than men (16% and 16% respectively); in contrast, men are more likely to state that they wanted to stay (42% compared to 34% of women). In terms of nationality, Colombians are most likely to want to stay (43%) presumably because of the established nature of their specific community. Among the larger nationality groups, Peruvians are the most likely to want to return to their previous country (31%).

Figure 5.5: Plan at arrival to London



Source: authors' survey (n=400)

Almost three-quarters of OLAs entered their previous European country as tourists and more than 80% left with an EU passport to enter the UK

Entry to the previous European country (mainly Spain) has provided OLAs with EU citizenship. 72% of OLAs arrived in their previous country of residence on a tourist visa, yet 82% left with an EU passport. Not surprisingly, this also meant that 82.5% of OLAs entered the UK with an EU passport (see Figure 5.6). Argentinians and Brazilians were the most likely to have an EU passport on arrival in the previous European country (27% and 21%) while Ecuadorians were the most likely to enter with tourist visas (92%). Peruvians, Ecuadorians and Colombians were the most likely to enter the UK with EU passports (94%, 93% and 93% respectively).

At the time of survey, **9 out of 10 OLAs had the right to live and work in the UK permanently** (with an EU or British passport [3% with the latter] and permanent residence). Only 0.3% had a student visa and 1.3% had no legal documents. Colombians and Ecuadorians were the most likely to have EU passports in the UK (94% and 93%) compared with only 74% of Brazilians.

In relation to how these documents were obtained in the European context, 59% secured them through long term residency, or through family reunion (22%), regularisation (8%) or marriage (7%). In turn, 4 out of 5 obtained their EU citizenship while living in an EU country (83%).

The very small proportion of those residing without legal documents is in contrast to previous research with the Latin American community as a whole where 19% had irregular status (McIlwaine et al., 2011; McIlwaine, 2015). While this partly reflects the sample in that OLAs have all moved from other European countries, it also indicates a shift in general entry patterns towards entering via mainland Europe with documentation mainly due to an increasingly restrictive immigration system in the UK. Interestingly, more than a quarter (28%) stated that they had been afraid or stressed because of their immigration status at some point.

It is also important to note that even when OLAs secured an EU passport, they often went through protracted periods of negotiating their regularisation (see Box 5.1) which also included living in situations of irregularity in their previous country of residence. For example, 33 year-old Diana who was born in Venezuela but who had Colombian nationality lived in Spain from 2001 and 2012 before moving to London in 2012. She discussed how when she first arrived in Spain where she worked as a waitress she was irregular and as a result, people took advantage of her, especially in the workplace:

'Everywhere when you don't have papers, people exploit you, they don't pay you and there's nothing you can do. Therefore, when I arrived in 2001 I began to get my papers organised so that I could regularise ... but I missed that regularisation process, so I carried on working without the papers ... but I was paid less, and I didn't have holidays, I could never leave. Those who had papers finished their schedule and they left. I was there at one and two in the morning and the next day, I was there at 8 for opening. When I asked the boss if I could go and sleep, he said if you go, don't return tomorrow'.

Broadly reflecting the patterns of previous country of residence, OLAs were most likely to have Spanish passports (80%), followed by Italian (10%) and Portuguese (4%). However, there were marked nationality differences in that half of Brazilians (50%) had Italian nationality together with a third with Portuguese (33%); only 11% were Spanish. A large proportion of Argentinians were also Italian citizens (42%) although the same numbers were Spanish (42%). In contrast, 97% of Colombians held Spanish passports, as did 96% of Ecuadorians and 88% of Bolivians.

Box 5.1: Negotiating regularisation in Europe

Regularising in Spain

Monica was aged 61 and born in Uruguay where she worked as a domestic helper. She lived in Spain from 2003 to 2012 and she moved to London in 2012 to look after her daughter's child. Monica recalls how she managed to get her papers in Spain while she was working as a housekeeper: 'I had to be there for three years without leaving Spain, working, working legally. But I couldn't contribute to social security until they had approved me. Therefore, my boss and I started with the paperwork in Barcelona after three years; I took everything, they signed everything, then they gave me a work permit and residency for a year. Every year I had to renew it and when I was with this family it was fine, but if I changed family, I would have to start everything again. But I stayed with them and they could sign by internet'.

Miguel was aged 49 and born in Ecuador where he had a small business. He lived in Spain from 2000 to 2009 where he worked in a restaurant after which he moved to London where he worked as a cleaning supervisor. He recalled how difficult it was to depend on your employer to organise the regularisation process: 'The boss of the restaurant was a Galician and he offered to regularise me with them. Therefore, he asked for my paper to submit to the Ministry of Work and I gave them to him. The time passed and I asked him what had happened to my papers and he said, "yes, yes, they're there". When one day I asked the secretary to look for my papers, and she said "what papers?" Those that I gave him for the regularisation, and she said that the papers were on the desk; don't tell me this.....'

Regularising in Portugal

Caetano was aged 52 and born in Brazil. He lived in Portugal from 2010 to 2011 and arrived in London in 2011 where he worked as a hotel housekeeper. Caetano spoke of the various strategies he tried when in Portugal: 'Over time, we tried different strategies to stay on in the country legally, say, trying to find a job offer that would give us papers. But we lost a lot of money because people took advantage of us, giving us wrong information, like "You should apply for this and for that", and none of it was true. We even considered the idea of marriage, well, we organised for one, I had already found a bride, we had agreed a price. We had a lawyer who set it all up, all the necessary paperwork, had to file for a divorce from my wife here to get married to this other woman, but when we filed the papers for divorce, they asked us if we had children, and we said we did. Then they said that this would complicate things because they'd need to organise for psychological support for the children and some induction for ourselves'

Regularising via Italian ancestry

Mariano was aged 38 and born in Brazil. He lived in Italy in 2012 before arriving in London also in 2012 where he worked as a researcher. He noted how he had to find all his family documentation to prove his ancestry: 'My cousins had already done some research some time back on our genealogy tree and had collected all the papers necessary for me to obtain my Italian citizenship. The only paper missing was a birth certificate of my great-great-grandfather, my father's side who is from Rio do Grande do Sul, from Caixias do Sul, an area of Italian immigration. And the Italian law is very sexist, because if your descendants through the generations are all men and you manage to get all of their documents, say, birth certificate, marriage certificate, death certificate, you can get your citizenship. But if there is a woman in this line, only the descendants up to the second generation will have rights to citizenship'.

Source: authors' survey (n=400)

Labour market profile of Onward Latin Americans in London

Key points

- Half of all OLAs work in contract cleaning
- OLAs experience marked downward occupational mobility
- Very few are self-employed or have their own business
- One third has more than one job and around 1 in 10 having three or four jobs
- Three-quarters earn less than the London Living Wage and substantially less than the London average
- 45% have experienced exploitation at work. This included around 1 in 5 not paid for work carried out; and nearly 1 in 10 experiencing verbal abuse

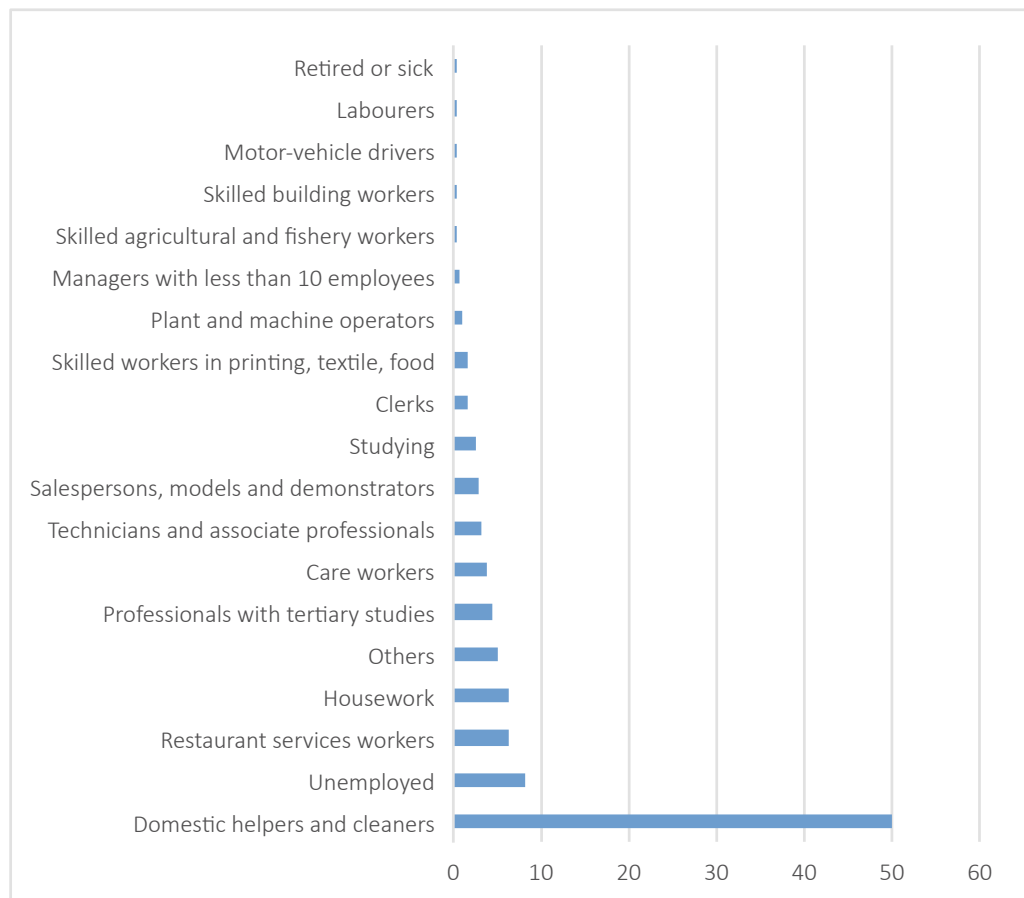
This chapter examines the labour market experiences of Onward Latin Americans (OLAs) drawing on the survey. It outlines employment rates and the types of jobs that OLAs engage in in London as well as the nature of occupational mobility, wage rates and the nature of problems encountered in the labour market.

Half of all OLAs work in contract cleaning

Partly reflecting the patterns outlined in Chapter 3 in relation to the Census, 49% of onward Latin Americans work in cleaning jobs (domestic and contract) which is by far the largest single occupation. While there are also small concentrations working in restaurants (6%), OLAs were distributed across the labour market with only small numbers working in professional, managerial and related jobs (9%) (see Figure 6.1).

Men are even more concentrated in cleaning work (55%) than women (45%). At the upper end of the labour market, slightly more men than women work in professional and managerial occupations (9% compared with 8%). When broken down according to nationality, it emerges that Bolivians are the most likely to work in cleaning (71%) followed by Ecuadorians (65.5%) and Colombians (62.5%). In contrast, only 15% of Brazilians work in cleaning while 27% are employed in professional and managerial occupations (compared to 4% of Bolivians and 2% of Colombians and Ecuadorians). The overall concentrations of OLAs in cleaning highlights how many clearly find it difficult to work in any other occupation for a range of reasons, but particularly the lack of English language proficiency (see also McIlwaine et al., 2011).

Figure 6.1: Occupational status of OLAs (%)



Source: authors' survey (n=400)

OLAs experience marked downward occupational mobility

Onward Latin Americans experience marked downward occupational mobility. This is evidenced by the fact that 65% worked in cleaning when they arrived in London. Furthermore, only around 1% worked in cleaning back home in Latin America and only 10% did so in their previous European country. In contrast in Latin America, 30% worked in jobs requiring qualifications and which were largely managerial and professional, compared with only 14% in the previous country, and 6% when they first arrived in London. Although the proportion had increased from arrival to the time of the survey to 10%, the difference is small and much less than the proportions working in these jobs back home (see Figure 6.2). Indeed, 1 in 4 had the same job or activity since their arrival in London.

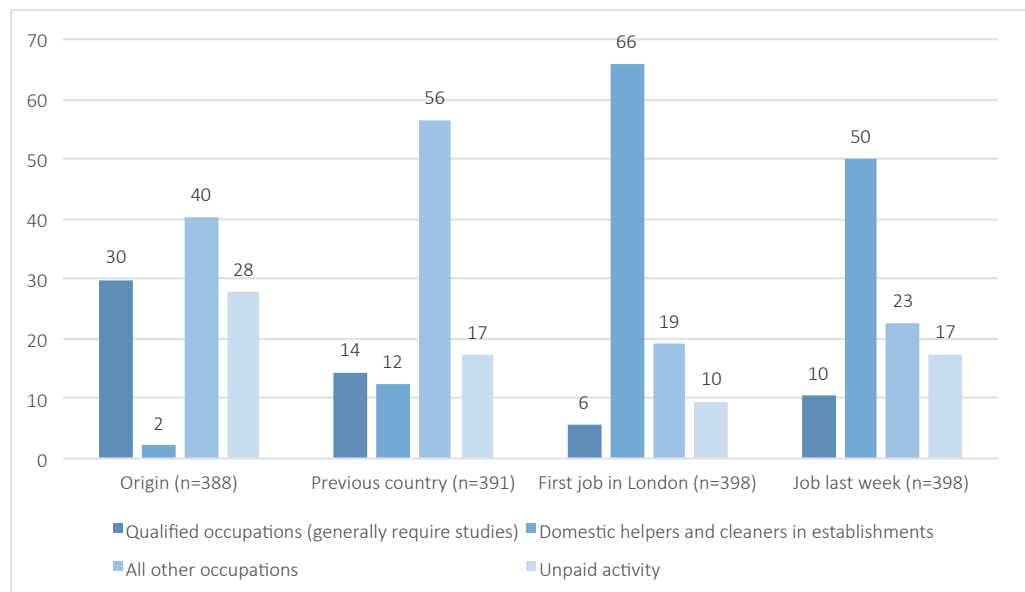
For example, 35-year-old Milena from Brazil had previously worked in a series of clothes factories back home after which she ran a café with her husband. After living in Italy where she again worked in a clothing factory, she and her husband and daughter moved to London because of the economic crisis. Milena spoke of her cleaning job in London:

'Well, I had never worked as a cleaner, and there are many educated people who are doing this, and people leave Brazil without any idea about this. They had an education in Brazil and come here to clean toilets. So when I got the cleaning job, all I knew was that I'd have to clean offices, the desks, and toilets. It is a very large area so all the tasks are split up, and what I have to do is clean the desks, four toilets, the kitchen, and also the stairs, but it is a good job ... It is not as hard as I had imagined, you think, cleaning, but then they say that cleaning here is done differently than in Brazil. So here you are given a bucket and cloths, you clean the offices then you move to the toilets, and they give you training and all the cleaning material.'

In mainland Europe, the occupational distribution of Latin Americans was much more evenly spread across the labour market with the single most commonly held job being restaurant worker (12%) followed by cleaner in an establishment (9.5%) and care worker (8%).

In terms of gender, it is notable that no men worked in cleaning in Latin America and only 3% did so in the previous country, yet on arrival in London, 67% worked in this sector. Among women, 3% of women worked in cleaning in Latin America, increasing to 19.5% in the previous European country, to 63% on arrival in London.

Figure 6.2: Occupation of OLAs at different stages in migration process (%)



Qualified occupations: Legislators, senior officials and managers with 10 or more employees; Managers with less than 10 employees; Professionals with tertiary studies; Technicians and associate professionals; and Clerks.

Source: authors' survey (n=398)

Few OLAs are self-employed or have their own business

Partly related to the concentration of OLAs in contract cleaning in London, the majority are employees (87%) with a very low proportion having their own business (1.5%) or being self-employed (9%). This also reflects the recent arrival of many OLAs who do not have the resources or the contacts to establish businesses. This said, however, networks among Latin Americans were extremely important in relation to securing work in that three-quarters obtained their first job in London through family or friends and 74% got their current job in the same manner. For example, 42-year-old Nicolas from Colombia recalled how he had secured his job as a chef in a large hotel:

'It was via the person who I lived with who had a friend who had been working in the hotel for 6 years. So they called this friend to say that he needed a job for his friend who had just arrived. They said yes, if I went to the training.'

Also reflecting the poorly paid nature of cleaning work and the fact that it often entails working for short periods of time in the morning and evening (see above; also McIlwaine et al., 2011), over one third (35%) have more than one job with 9% having 3 or 4 jobs.

For example, 43 year-old Tito who was born in Nicaragua but had Bolivian nationality, spoke of the demands of his multiple cleaning jobs:

'I work in the early morning from 5 to 7-30am, then I have nothing until 4 to 6 at the school. I'm there for 4.5 hours, then later I have my job at Old Street that's for 2 hours, then that's 6.5 hours, then another hour in Green Park. The people who've been here for 10 years know that if you want a better job, you have to have various part-time jobs, you need 1 or 2 hour jobs to make up 8 hours in order to survive, and it's hard to live under such pressure, I don't like it.'

Women are slightly more likely to have more than one job (36%) compared to men (31%). In turn, Bolivians are by far the most likely to have more than one job (68%) compared to 38% of Peruvians, 32% of Ecuadorians, 31.5% of Brazilians and 29% of Colombians.

Three-quarters of OLAs earn less than the London Living Wage and substantially less than the London average

Although average median hourly income for OLAs was £7.00 for men and women (and a mean of £8.34 for men and £8.59 for women) which was higher than the National Minimum Wage of £6.31 at the time of survey, this is much less than the national average in 2013 of £13.60 for men and £12.24 for women.

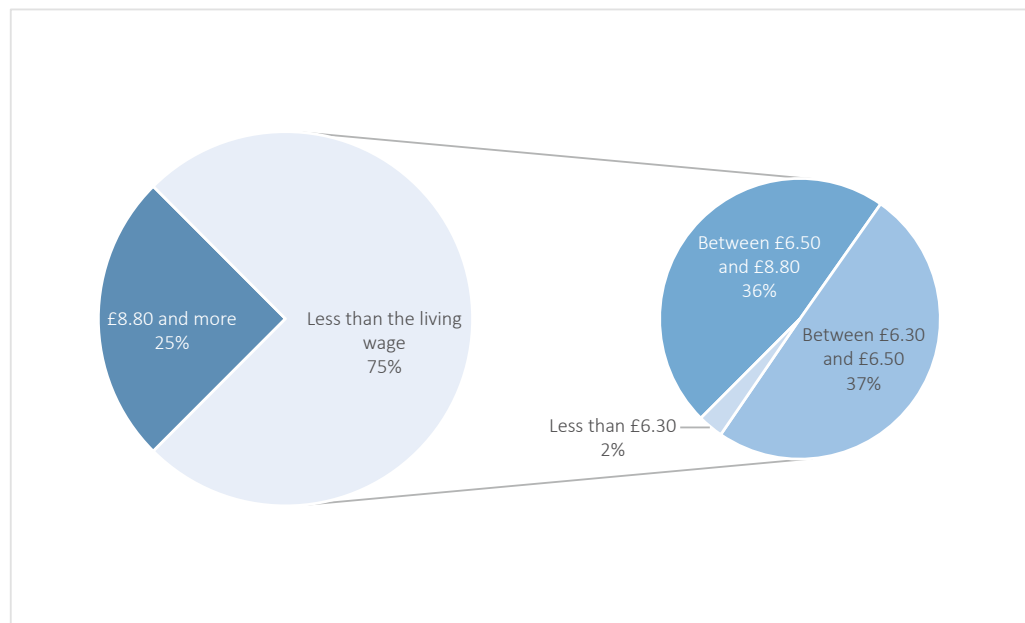
In addition, three-quarters of OLAs earned less than the London Living Wage (LLW) which was £8.80 at the time of research. In contrast, 80% of all Londoners earned more than the London Living Wage (GLA, 2014c: 7). Therefore, although only 2% earned less than the National Minimum Wage, wages among OLAs are very low with more than a third (37%) earning between £6.31 and £6.50 (see Figure 6.3). This proportion earning less than the minimum wage is lower than the 11% found in the NLI research, in part because a higher proportion have the right to work in the UK

Slightly more men than women are paid less than the National Minimum Wage (3%) compared to women (2%), while slightly more women (20%) earn more than the London Living Wage compared to 17% of men. In terms of nationality, more than half of Brazilians (52%) earn more than the London Living Wage compared to only 3% of Ecuadorians, 10% of Colombians and 12% of Bolivians. However, it also needs to be acknowledged that this does not necessarily mean that those earning over the LLW are well paid.

The difficulties of living in London on low wages was recounted by Jacinto, 45 from Colombia who works as a cleaner:

'At the beginning you're made to feel welcome but on the third day, you realise that you're only worth what's in your pocket. This country has been really hard on me, you lose your way of thinking, here they only value the pound. If you have money in your pocket, you are a person, if you don't have the money to pay, then it's "I'm sorry", there are others who do have money. It's hard to live with little money here.'

Figure 6.3: Hourly pay for OLAs



Source: authors' survey (n=316)

45% of OLAs have experienced exploitation at work

A large proportion of OLAs (45%) reported having experienced problems in their workplace with women more likely to have had issues than men (48% and 41%). A high of 74% of Bolivians have experienced problems, compared to only 31% of Brazilians. The most common type of issue was not being paid for work carried out (reported by 22%), followed by working without a contract (14%) and being made to do the work of another person for the same money (13%) (see Figure 6.4).

Luciana who was 32 years old and from Argentina recounted how she felt exploited in her job as a hostess in restaurant in a 5-star hotel in London because she did not get paid for overtime:

'I signed a contract for 45 hours per week but then they gave me my rota which had 12 and 14 hour days, which were double days ... they did not respect the laws, not at all. After, when I received my wages, they hadn't added the extra hours. They only paid me for 45 hours not 63 hours which I had worked. When I went to complain, they told me that's how it works in all restaurants in London, that's how hospitality work is here.'

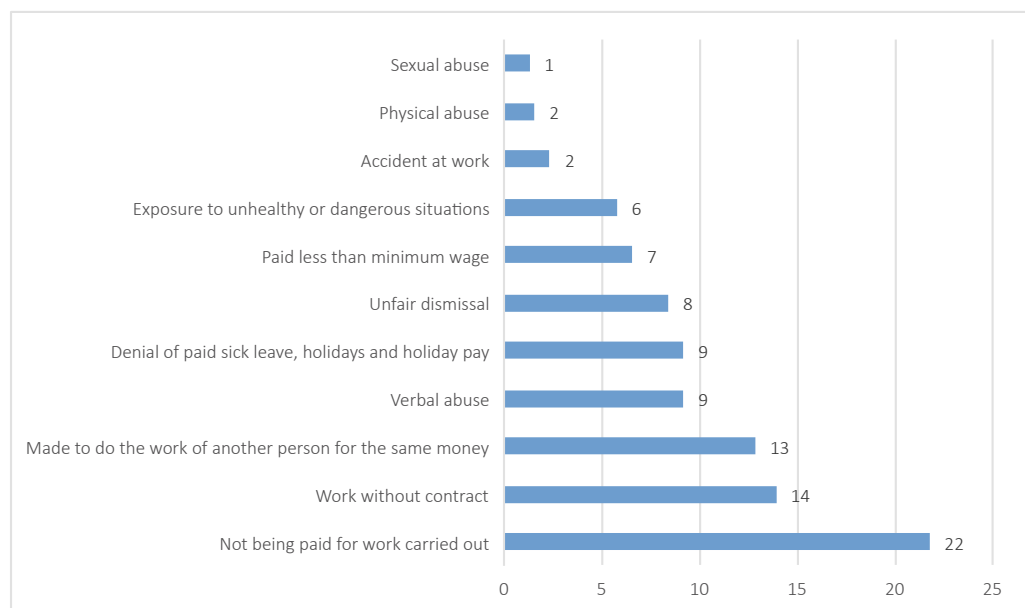
In turn, while more men stated that they have not been paid for work they had done (23%) than women (19%) and to have worked without a contract (16% compared to 11%), more women have done the work of another person for the same money (13% compared to 11%).

Jacinto, who was 45 and from Colombia, worked for a cleaning firm working on the underground. He discussed how he had no contract but only a letter and that although he had never had any problems to date, he worried about what would happen if he were to fall ill:

'If I get ill, I would have to leave the job. If I got flu, first, I wouldn't be able to go to the doctor because I would lose a day's work and I wouldn't be paid; I don't have any guarantees where I work ... I would like to change jobs to a company that would give me these rights, the same as the bosses'.

Therefore, although many onward migrants can access the labour market with EU passports, they still experience discrimination in the labour market and are unable to exercise their labour rights.

Figure 6.4: Problems at work experienced by OLAs (%)



Source: authors' survey (n=381)

Housing and living conditions of Onward Latin Americans in London

Key points

- The vast majority of OLAs live in private rental housing of which more than a third is room rental
- Levels of temporary housing and homelessness are higher than the London average
- Nearly half share accommodation with other families or individuals
- Nearly a third consider their accommodation to be overcrowded
- Levels of indebtedness are high with half having borrowed money since they left their homeland
- Just under half send remittances either back home and/or to their previous country of residence

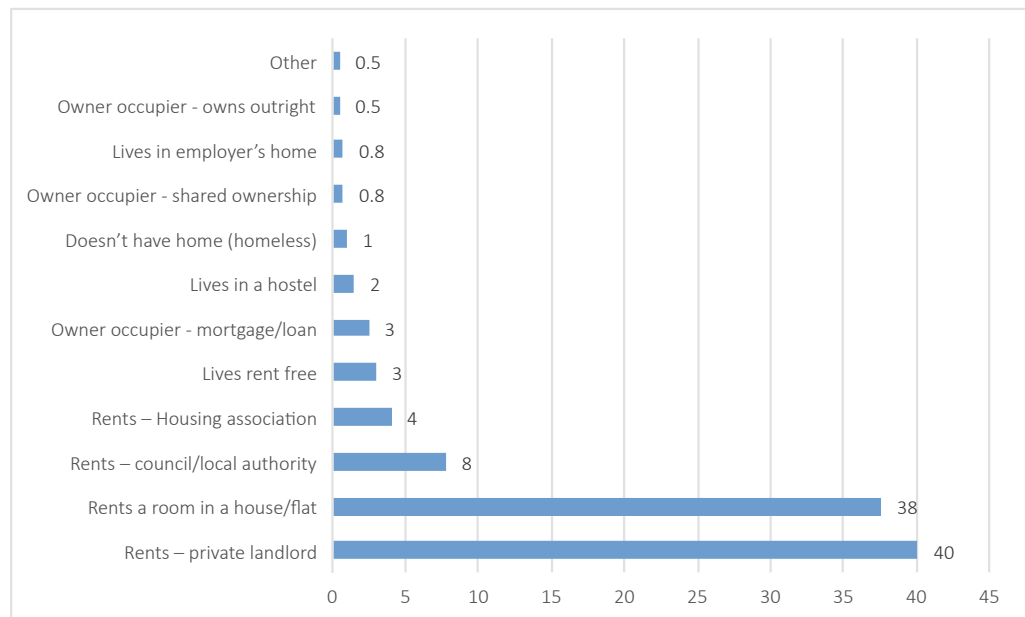
This chapter outlines the nature of living conditions among Onward Latin Americans in London in relation to access to housing and housing quality as well as the incidence of overcrowding. It also explores how living conditions are affected by debt and the need to send remittances back home or to their previous European country of residence.

The vast majority of OLAs live in private rental housing of which more than a third is room rental

As with the wider Latin American community in London included in the Census, OLAs are overwhelmingly living in the private rental sector (78%), with 38% residing in a rented room. Levels of social housing are also very low with only 8% living in local authority accommodation and 4% in housing association residence. In turn, owner occupation rates are extremely low at only 1.3% (see Figure 7.1). These patterns are related to the recent arrival of many OLAs in London where private rental housing in some form is the most commonly sought and secured form of residence.

Men are more likely to rent individual rooms (46%) compared to women (31%) whereas women were more likely to rent a self-contained flat or house (44%) compared to men (35%). Bolivians are the most likely to be living in a room (54%) compared to 38% of Brazilians and Colombians. Brazilians are the most likely to live in social housing (18%) followed by Colombians (13%).

Figure 7.1: Type of housing among OLAs (%)



Source: authors' survey (n=400)

Levels of temporary housing and homelessness among OLAs are higher than London averages

In terms of housing options among OLAs, levels of temporary housing (at 15%) are much higher than the London rate of 1.4% (DCLG, 2015: 6).²⁸ This also relates to the fact that 3% are homeless (including living in a hostel). Again, this is higher than the London average where 0.14% were homeless in London in 2014-15 (ibid.: 5). Women are more likely to live in temporary accommodation than men (18% compared with 11%). In turn, more women are also homeless or live in a hostel than men. Levels of temporary accommodation are highest among Brazilians (48%).

Related with the challenges of the housing market in London, OLAs reported having moved on average three times since their arrival in London. Indeed, 21% have moved 5 times or more. Women are less likely to move with 32% having never moved or only moved once compared to 37% of men; 5% of men have more 10 times or more compared to less than 1% of women.

Nearly half of OLAs share accommodation with other families or individuals

Reflecting the difficulties of securing decent housing in London, 47% of OLAs share their accommodation with other families or individuals. Among those who shared, 22% share with other families, 19% with a combination of families and single people, and 6% with other single people. Men are more likely to report that they shared (53.5%) than women (42.5%). Among the larger nationality groups, Brazilians are most likely to share (66%) with high levels among Ecuadorians as well (55%).

More than a third live with one other family (36%), while a quarter live with at least two other families (24%) and a further 14% lived with three other families.

²⁸ The survey specifically asked if people lived in temporary or permanent housing.

Nearly a third of OLAs feel that their accommodation is overcrowded

Almost one-third (31%) feel that their accommodation in London is overcrowded. Men are more likely to state this (33%) than women (29%). Bolivians are the most likely to feel this (57%) compared to only 8% of Brazilians.

Valeria's case was similar to a number of other OLAs. 40-year-old Valeria from Peru recounted how she lived in very overcrowded conditions in the city after she moved from Spain. She had previously run three greengrocer shops in Spain which had gone bankrupt during the economic recession; Valeria and her husband had their home repossessed when they were unable to repay their mortgage (see below).

'We lived in one room the four of us, two children, my husband and me and it was awful; my children were three and one and half and one fell down the stairs, and the bathroom, no, no. We shared a bathroom and a kitchen with other families; there were vermin, small rats and it was terrible.'

Similarly, 32-year-old Laura from Argentina who arrived in 2012 from Barcelona to live with her husband (who was her friend whom she had married in order to secure a Spanish passport) spoke about the over-crowding:

'When I arrived to live with my husband he was living with his work friends (four of them) in a house in zone 6. It was a house with 2 bedrooms and a living room which was made into a bedroom for him. We had a super-small kitchen with no room for a table or chairs, nothing ... we had to do everything in the bedroom. I felt I had no place to move or anything'.

Levels of indebtedness are high with half having borrowed money since they left their homeland

Moving beyond housing, the other factor that influenced the living conditions of OLAs was indebtedness. Half (51%) have borrowed money since they left their country of origin and almost half of this group (48%) still had this debt. One third is currently paying it off. This is higher than that found in the NLI research where 37% had debts (McIlwaine et al., 2011: 70). Ecuadorians are the most likely to have borrowed money (63%) followed by Colombians (55%). The most common type of debt is linked with the mortgage crisis in Spain when many people lost their homes and were left with significant housing debts to pay off.

For example, 43 year-old Nicolas from Colombia recounted how he and his wife lost their flat in Madrid because of over-extending their mortgage which they were unable to repay after the economic crisis hit:

'The costs were €30,000 to buy the apartment, for notaries, contracts ... we ended up with a debt of €30,000 plus the debt on the apartment that was €200,000 over 30 years for a 100% mortgage. When I was rich at the beginning, we paid 1,000 of the mortgage every month. But then, the problems came when I lost my job. My wife continued working and I had insurance to cover 2 years of mortgage if I lost my job. But I didn't get fixed work in this time, only occasional transport jobs without a contract. Every month it got worse and worse and then we decided that we couldn't pay any more, by then it was 3 years. We knew we would lose the house because many people had done. I stopped paying until the bank asked for the apartment ... in the end my wife and I said, because we have our daughter, that there's no work in Spain and everything is difficult, we need to look elsewhere ... we got the idea from a friend in Spain; his aunt is married to a man in London who was looking for people to work for him. I talked to him, I sent my details, bought my passage and I came.'

Almost half of OLAs send remittances either back home and/or to their previous country of residence

Almost half of OLAs send remittances (46%). Of these, a quarter send money back home to Latin America (26%), 10% send only to their previous European country and 10% sent to both countries. On average people send £219 per month. While equal proportions of men and women send money back home to Latin America (36%), men are more likely to send to their previous European country of residence (23% compared to 18% of women). This is mostly due to men migrating from countries such as Spain and leaving partners and other family members there, thus creating transnational households. Colombians were most likely to send back to their homeland (46%) along with Peruvians (44%), whereas Ecuadorians were most likely to send money to their previous European country (28%).

Access to services among Onward Latin Americans in London

Key points

- Half of OLAs receive welfare benefits, primarily child and housing benefit and tax credits
- Only around 6% claim an out-of-work benefit
- Around 1 in 6 are not registered with a GP
- 1 in 5 have used a private doctor
- Three out of twenty have travelled abroad to access healthcare
- More than a third have accessed adult education services
- More than half have used the services of a migrant community organisation or another non-public service provider

This chapter outlines how OLAs in London access a range of formal and informal services and support. It examines the extent to which they are eligible and are taking-up state welfare support and how they are accessing public health services especially GPs. The chapter also explores how Latin Americans use non-statutory agencies including migrant community organisations as well as private doctors and private immigration advisors and lawyers.

Half of OLAs receive welfare benefits, especially child and housing subsidies

Half of all OLAs claim some form of welfare benefit, with more women than men doing so (55% compared with 45%).²⁹ Ecuadorians are the most likely to claim (62%) with high levels among Colombians as well (59%). More than a third claim child benefit (35.5%) followed by housing benefit (32.5%) and tax credits (25%) (see Figure 8.1). It is important to remember that most of the benefits claimed are for those working with only around 6% claiming an out-of-work benefit.

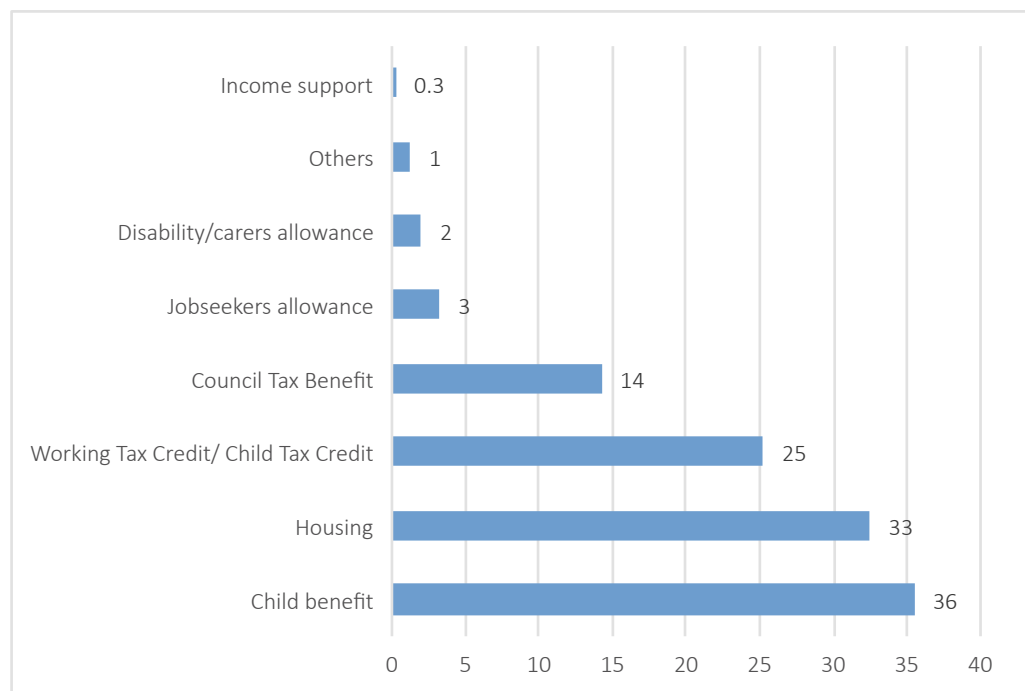
Also important is that 43% have received unemployment benefits in the country they previously lived (mainly from Spain) although only 7% received these after moving to the UK. Men were more likely to receive these (48%) than women (39%). In terms of nationality, Dominicans are the most likely to be in receipt (79%) along with Peruvians (58%). This type of claiming tends to continue only for short periods of time with no-one claiming for over a year and 77% claiming for one or two months indicating that this acts as a temporary safety net only.

²⁹ This is based on a question in the survey specifically asking if government benefits were claimed.

Despite a large proportion of OLAs receiving benefits, most either did not intend to claim them but rather to work or only claimed them to tide themselves over. Indeed, many spoke of the extremely precarious situation they lived in while they sorted out the claiming process. For example, 32-year-old Helena from Ecuador who arrived from Spain in 2012 with her family, after selling her car to pay for the flights, reported how vulnerable they were after they arrived. Although they stayed with her sister-in-law for a month when she arrived, and her husband had a cleaning job, it was not enough to cover their expenses once they found their own flat. Because of a delay in sorting her papers to claim child and housing benefit, she went five months with no money:

'My husband worked too but he only earned £900 per month and the rent was £1,050 so we had to borrow from my sister. The next month we still didn't have the money and I had to borrow again from my brother this time. In the fourth month, no-one would lend me any more ... I couldn't work because I had to look after the children as they didn't have a school to go to. I had to sell my jewellery in order to feed them because we only had enough for rent and fares'.

Figure 8.1: Type of benefits received by OLAs (%)



Source: authors' survey (n=400)

Most OLAs claimed because they had no options once they arrived in London and realised how expensive it was. Helena continued:

'I would like to be able not to depend on help from the government here. You can't buy much and it limits you in what you can do knowing that you are receiving money from the government ... I would like to be independent and not to have to rely on these types of benefits'.

Around 1 in 6 are not registered with a GP

Overall, around 90% of OLAs have used the NHS in London for themselves or their family. However, this still means that 17% have never accessed a GP, or almost 1 in 6. This is slightly lower than found in the NLI research where 1 in 5 or 19% had never visited a GP (McIlwaine et al., 2011: 97). Levels of accessing hospitals, either A&E (41%) or other hospital services (23%) are low, with only a third have used a dentist (see Figure 8.2). When analysed by nationality, it is notable that 1 in 4 Bolivians do not use the NHS and nor do 1 in 10 Colombians (90%) and Ecuadorians (87%). Women are more likely to access these services (94%) than men (83%).

Although OLAs were generally able to access the health system and most were satisfied with the service, some were concerned about the quality of provision with most complaints revolving around the short appointment times and the lack of diagnosis and frequent administration of routine painkillers rather than other types of medicine. For example, 52-year-old Caetano from Sao Paulo who had lived for five years in the US after which he had secured Portuguese citizenship through his father and then moved to London from Lisbon in search of better job opportunities discussed his experiences with his local GP:

'The doctors here are very general, they are not interested in detail, and that is partly because they only have 10 minutes to see you. If you are going to see him about your finger, it is only the finger, not the ear. If you need to talk about the ear, you have to make another appointment. But it has worked all the same, I have never had anything serious, once just an allergy on the hand skin because of work. The problem with the GP is that he does not have much time to see you, too much of a generalist and he'll only prescribe Ibuprofen and Paracetamol.'

One in five have used a private doctor

There was some dissatisfaction amongst some OLAs with the state healthcare system, which led a number to seek alternatives. One route was to use private health care; indeed, one in five (21%) OLAs have used a private doctor which is much higher than the national average of 3%, with a further 11% of the population having private health care. Women are more likely to use private doctors (22%) than men (18%). Brazilians are the most likely to use private doctors of all nationalities (38%). This compares to only 14% of Bolivians and 16% of Ecuadorians - who are much more deprived as a group.

Three out of twenty have travelled abroad to access healthcare

Another phenomenon among OLAs was that 12% have travelled to another country to access medical help; 7% went to their previous European country of origin and 5% returned to Latin America. Again, Brazilians are the most likely to travel to access healthcare (30%). Women were also much more likely than men to travel for these purposes (18%) than men (8%).

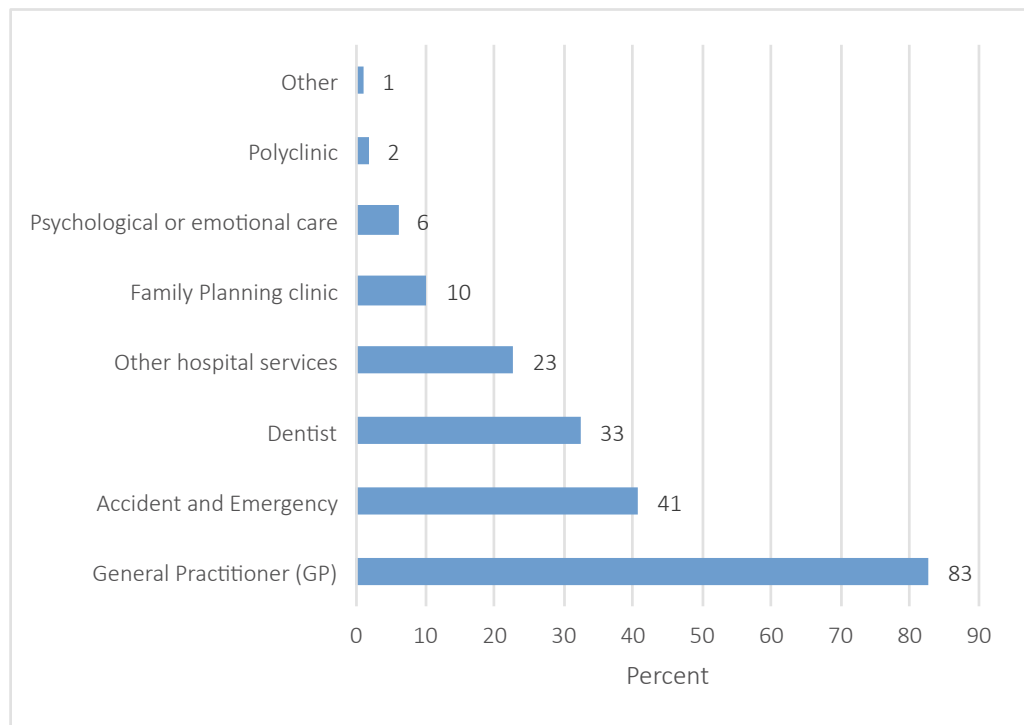
Jimena, who was 36 and from Brazil but who had lived in the US and in Spain until 2012 when she moved to London was generally happy with the health service in the UK. However, she said this was because she never had any major health issues and that in general:

'Doctors here are very limited. I don't know if this may sometimes be due to the fact that doctors are scared of being sued by patients who may win compensation and lead to their dismissal, or whether it is because they don't have enough content [knowledge], I can't explain it, but I see that they have a very low level of [knowledge]. One does not feel safe with them, they don't convey trust.'

She also reported how her brother-in-law had gone back to Brazil for health reasons:

'He has a disease that they can't identify, they don't know what it is. This has been going for one and half years. He has a very high fever that gives him the shakes, so it is horrendous, and there is no medicine and they don't know what it is. So he went to Brazil and is having treatment over there, doing loads of exams, so it is strange.'

Figure 8.2: Type of government health services accessed by OLAs



Source: authors' survey (n=400)

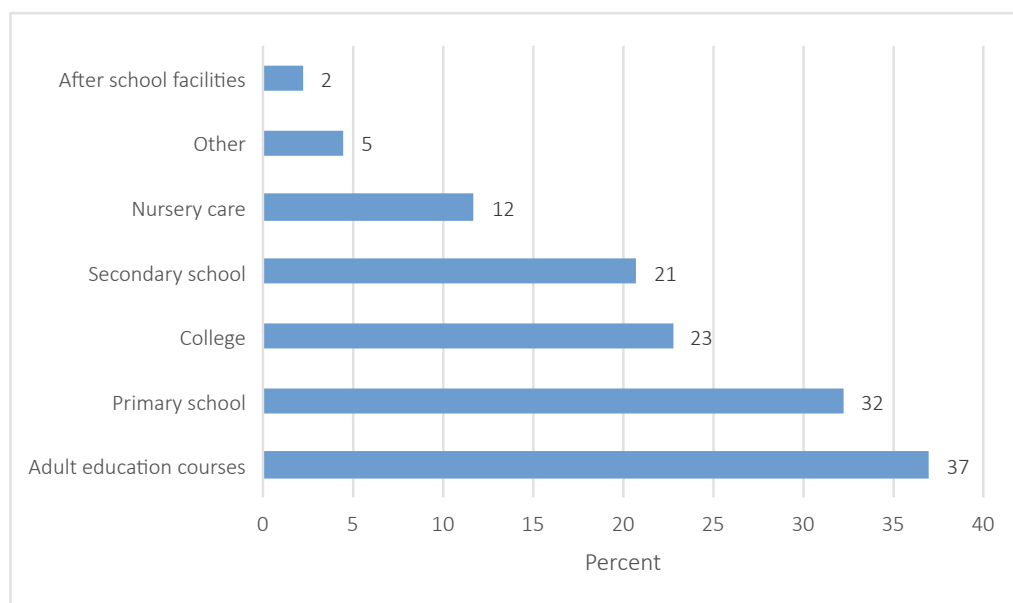
Accessing mental health support is low among OLAs (only 6%).³⁰ However, more than a quarter stated that they had experienced stress or been afraid at some point because of their immigration status which suggests that they are not receiving help despite need. While there were no gender differences in relation to this, Bolivians (43%) and Brazilians (41%) were much more likely to have experienced stress than other nationalities.

More than a third of OLAs have accessed adult education services

While three-quarters of OLAs have used state educational facilities more than a third (37%) accessed adult education services, most of which relate to English language learning (see Figure 8.3). Women are more likely (82%) than men (69%) to access educational services in general, with Brazilians the least likely to access them (62%). In turn, women are more likely to access adult education services (41%) compared with men (32%).

³⁰ Generally, one quarter of those affected by mental health disorders in the UK receive regular treatment (Mental Health Foundation, 2015: 1)

Figure 8.3: Type of government educational facilities accessed by OLAs



Source: authors' survey (n=400)

More than half of OLAs have used the services of a migrant community organisation or another non-state service provider

More than half (57.5%) of all OLAs accessed services of a migrant community group or other non-public service provider. Women were much more likely to access these (68%) than men (44%) with Dominicans, Colombians and Ecuadorians more likely than other nationalities (79%, 68% and 66%). The most commonly accessed organisations among OLAs are LAWRS (25% of all those in the sample) followed by IRMO (18% of those in the sample). Among those who identified 'other', the Blackfriars Advice Centre was the most commonly used (by 6%).³¹

Generally, these types of organisations were seen as invaluable for OLAs as 42-year-old Nicolas from Colombia noted:

'They play a really important role for us because for example, our governments have most contact at the country level but the governments do not know what's going on within the country; they don't care for those who are away from home. The organisations in London fill this gap'.

³¹ While there may be some interview bias in these figures, the survey was conducted with as many networks and different groups as possible.

Challenges faced by Onward Latin Americans in London

Key points

- More than a third of OLAs feel there is discrimination against Latin Americans
- There is discrimination between OLAs and established Latin Americans
- English language difficulties are identified as the main problem by nearly 90%
- Almost two-thirds are happy with their decision to move to London

This chapter outlines the nature of challenges faced by Onward Latin Americans in London as well as their most pressing needs. The specific issue of discrimination among OLAs is also discussed.

Around a third of OLAs feel there was discrimination against Latin Americans but over two-thirds identified discrimination among Latin Americans as a community

Around a third (34.5%) of OLAs stated that there is discrimination against people from Latin America in London. Women are more likely to perceive such discrimination (36%) than men (31%). In turn, half of Brazilians feel there is discrimination (51%).

However, around two-thirds (67.9%) thought there is discrimination among Latin Americans as a community in London. Dominicans (94%) and Bolivians (85%) were the most likely to cite discrimination among their own community.

Overall, levels of discrimination were found to be less than in the NLI research where 70% identified discrimination as an issue (McIlwaine et al., 2011: 9). This can be related to the fact that many who had moved from Spain stated that overt racism was much more marked there than in the UK, although it should be acknowledged that discrimination is also likely to be covert in London. For example, 27 year-old Cesar from Bolivia stated:

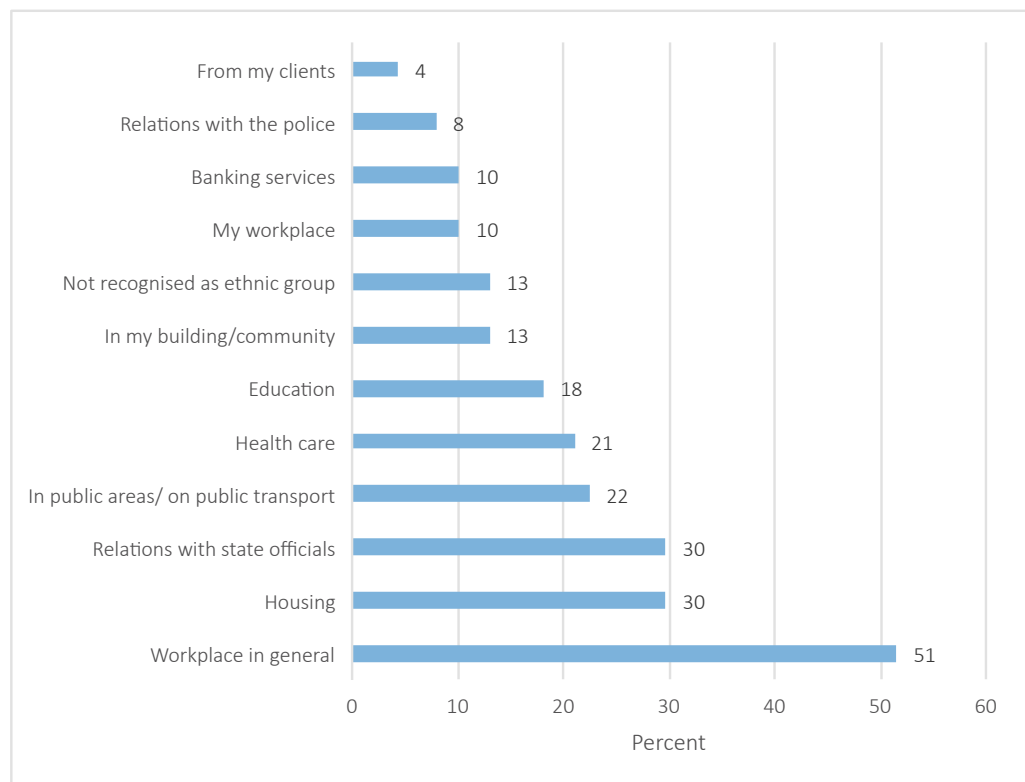
'If they see you as a Latino, they'll stop you [the police]. There [Spain] there is much more racism than here. There, people don't like Latinos, they think that we are the worst, that we are the ogres of the world. Therefore, people look at you with disgust, they don't want to give you work because you're Latino, they give more priority to the Spanish and because of this, I couldn't get work there, it was honestly really bad'.

Similarly, Teodora who was 34 and from the Dominican Republic stated how much she liked London compared with Spain:

'I like London much more than Madrid because the English peoples are not racist. Spanish people are racist; they push you in the buses and call you "black whore". They try to hide this racism, but it's there ... if you go to clean a house in Spain, they have you on your knees as if you're a slave. In contrast I worked here for an Italian lady and she gave me things, she was wonderful.'

However, exploitation in the workplace still emerged as the most widespread type of discrimination identified by over half of OLAs in terms of the workplace in general and another 10% who felt it specifically in their workplace (totalling 61%). Almost a third also reported discrimination in relation to housing and to relations with public officials. There was also concern about not being identified as an ethnic group (by 13%) (see Figure 9.1). Brazilians were most likely to experience exploitation in the workplace in general.

Figure 9.1: Type of discrimination experienced by OLAs



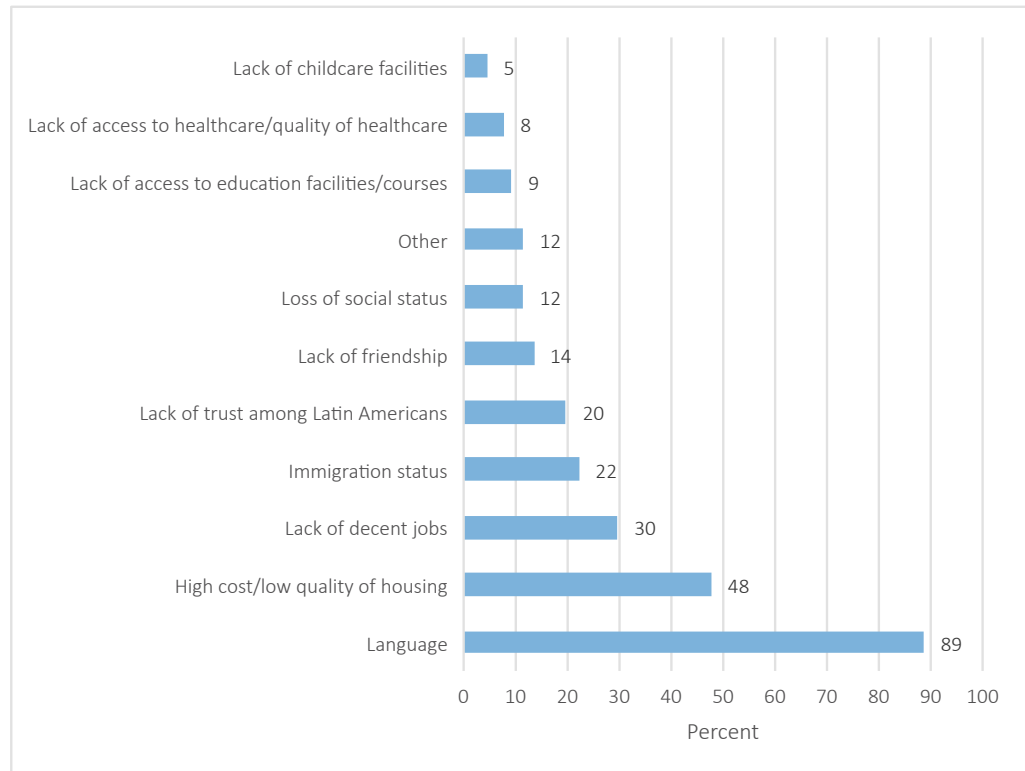
Source: authors' survey (n=400)

English language difficulties were identified as the main problem by nearly 90% of OLAs

Problems with English language emerged as the most important problem among OLAs with around half also citing housing problems. Access to decent jobs was also thought to be an issue among a third of OLAs.

Issues with immigration status were seen as important among one in five which was lower than was found in the NLI research (McIlwaine et al., 2011) reflecting the high proportion of OLAs with EU passports. Lack of trust was also an issue for one in five as well (see Figure 9.2).

Figure 9.2: Main problems affecting OLAs in London



Source: authors' survey (n=400)

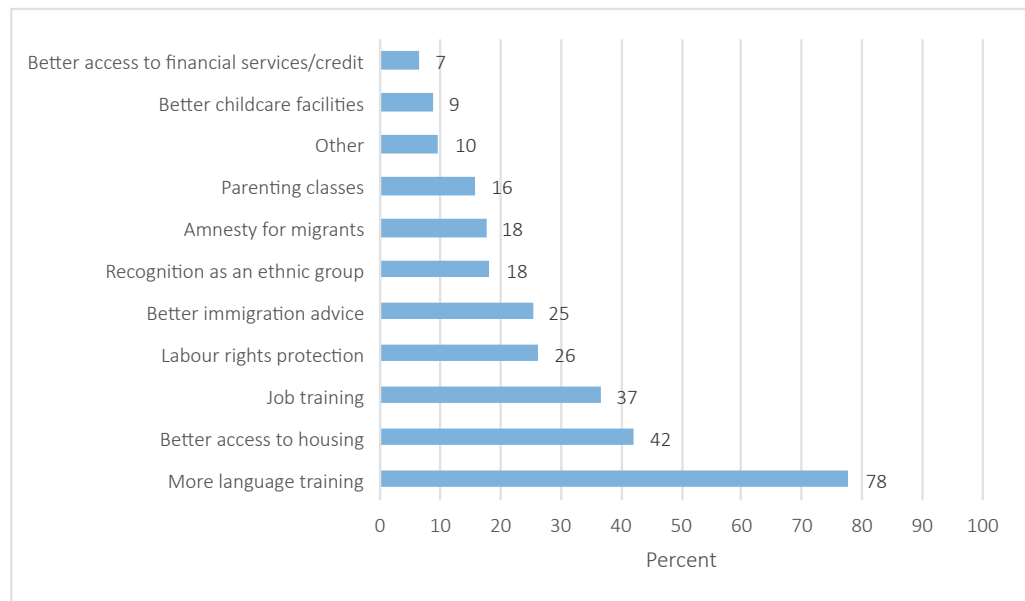
Note: more than one issue was identified by each person surveyed

English language training was identified as the most important project needed by OLAs

Reflecting the types of problems identified, not surprisingly, the need for English language training was identified as the most pressing type of project needed among OLAs (78%) followed by improved access to housing (42%). Also important was the need for job training and labour rights protection (see Figure 9.3). Karla, who was 27 and from Ecuador, stated:

'All the organisations should have information adapted to the background of everyone who lives in London or in the UK. There should be information in Spanish which at the moment doesn't happen very often. For example, on the website of Citizens Advice, I couldn't find Spanish and it should be there'.

Figure 9.3: Projects needed for OLAs in London



Source: authors' survey (n=400)

There was also recognition that the problems faced by OLAs are interrelated. So, for example, although 49 year-old Miguel from Ecuador felt that housing was a major problem in London, he also said that it was linked with problems with speaking English, accessing information, securing decent work and dealing with children's schooling:

'When you arrive you don't have anywhere to live and because of the language problems you end-up having to living in over-crowded conditions in a room with all the family or with people that you don't know; everyone crowded in because you don't know where to go to get help. For housing this is a major problem as well as language. There are many people who are trapped in cleaning jobs and they stay trapped because they work with other Latinos. But you need it [English] if you have children. If the school sends a letter home and your son says, "look I'm doing super well, I'm number one" when in reality they are saying that your child is doing badly and the school is asking you to help them, therefore, it's really important to speak English.'

The need for ethnic recognition was not only identified by 18% of OLAs, but it was related to other issues and the need for other projects, as Jacinto from Colombia who worked for a cleaning company noted:

'First, we need recognition as a minority because if you go to fill out a form 'Latin American' never appears, and in relation to our workplaces we also need to know where to go to receive help as a community, non-economic assistance, to be able to say "look, I have this problem that I've lost my job because I arrived 5 minutes late and the manager sacked me". But I don't know how to defend myself properly with the right information'.

Almost two-thirds of OLAs are happy with their decision to move to London

Satisfaction levels among OLAs at moving to London are high with one-third very happy they had moved and another third happy. Women tend to be happier than men in their move (with 68% happy or very happy compared to 59% of men). Among the larger nationality groups, Bolivians are the least satisfied with only 18% very happy at moving (compared to 38% of Brazilians and 37% of Colombians). Not surprisingly, satisfaction depended on people's socio-economic situation and life course among other things. For example, while 39-year-old Esmeralda who is a former teacher but who has worked in factories and cleaning in Spain said that she was happy to move to London, she didn't want to stay:

'I know I don't want to stay but not because I don't like it, but because I want more, to get to know about more things, a third migration, I don't know ... I would like to have worked in a good job, in something that I liked, to feel that I liked in 100%, and to achieve, like in Spain, that I have professional recognition, even if it's not directly in my field'.

Although the levels were lower, almost half (46%) reported that they felt at home in London. Men are more likely to say they felt at home (48%) compared to women (45%). While 67% of Argentinians felt at home in London, among the larger nationality groups, Brazilians were the most likely to feel at home (57%). Again, this was variable and depended on a host of factors. For Mariana from Brazil who was 37 years old and who had Polish nationality through marriage but who had lived in Spain stated:

'About feeling at home in London, I still don't. I am not sure I can answer that. I think there is a wide cultural distance for me. This is a Northern Europe country, so I am still learning how to suss it out, as said earlier, after three years in Spain I had learned how to move socially, how to access other channels, I knew who was who, but here I need a bit more time'.

Yet others did feel at home such as Nicolas from Colombia:

'I'm beginning to feel at home and the advantage of London is that it's a city of immigrants and for so many years people have arrived and so they know about what you need when you arrive and so you don't feel so excluded, people listen and are more tolerant especially compared to Spain'.

Also significant and mentioned by many OLAs was that it was hard to feel at home until one could speak English as noted by 46-year-old Miriam from Ecuador:

'After Ecuador, Spain feels like home. London is good to learn things, but not to feel at home ... there are a lack of facilities for people to communicate and if you can't communicate you can't feel at home in a place where you are deaf, dumb and mute'.

Finally, the majority of OLAs stated that they felt both positive and negative about their migration from their homeland and via from Spain, Italy or Portugal. Not surprisingly, these revolved around economic and family issues as succinctly identified by Miguel from Ecuador:

'On the positive side there is the economic point that all in all here you can have a decent economic future that is better than your own country. But on the negative side, you can't see your family, which in my case is my mother who is in hospital and I would really like to see her; this aspect has really affected my being so far'.

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Methodological framework

The primary survey with Onward Latin Americans was conducted between June 2014 and February 2015. A team of 8 researchers conducted the surveys and in-depth interviews under the direction of Cathy McIlwaine and coordination of Diego Bunge. The two research coordinators from the Latin American Women's Rights Service were Carolina Velásquez and Cate Trejos. This team included a range of people from different Latin American nationalities who had different networks and entry points into the community.

The research was divided into two main methodological stages:

1) Questionnaire survey with onward Latin Americans (n=400)

A survey was conducted with 400 adults who had migrated to London via another European country. This elicited information on arrival, occupational status and working conditions, income, health status, access to services, housing and household structures.

It was conducted using purposive sampling combined with snowballing techniques (a recognised form of sampling 'hard-to-reach' populations) and involved identifying gatekeepers, individuals and referrals on the part of the community researchers. The criteria included country of birth and of previous residence (a European country), gender, age and occupation. The survey included a broadly representative sample of the main nationality groups, slightly weighted towards Colombians and Brazilians, and a range of other LA nationalities particularly Ecuadorians, Bolivians, and Peruvians. This weighting was based on the 2011 Census analysis as well as previous research (McIlwaine et al., 2011). It aimed to cover the socio-economic spectrum.

2) In-depth interviews (n=28)

These were conducted with 28 people who had also completed the questionnaire survey. The aim of these interviews was to explore some of the themes outlined in the questionnaire survey in more depth. This included detailed information on migration trajectories from Latin America and within Europe, experiences of access to health services, housing, the labour market and their perceptions of home and belonging.

The in-depth interviews were conducted with 15 women and 13 men from a wide range of different nationalities (8 Brazilians, 4 Ecuadorians, 3 Colombians, 1 Venezuelan/Colombian, 2 Chileans, 1 Nicaraguan/Bolivians, 2 Bolivians, 1 Peruvian, 1 Cuban, 1 Guatemalan, 1 Uruguayan and 1 Dominican). The criteria for interviewing these people was agreeing to a further interview, and having had interesting stories that reflected different realities of Latin American life in London.

An additional four interviews were conducted with representatives from migrant organisations serving the Latin American population.

2011 Census profile: additional tables and figures

Table 1: Distribution of Latin Americans in England & Wales

Region	Frequency	Percent
North East England	125	0.9
North West England	560	3.9
Yorkshire and the Humber	383	2.7
East Midlands	373	2.6
West Midlands	359	2.5
East of England	958	6.6
Greater London	8,628	59.7
South East England	2,056	14.2
South West England	824	5.7
Wales	182	1.3
Total	14,448	100

Source: Census 2011 (10% sample)

Table 2: Latin Americans (in groups) in the 10% sample of the Census 2011 in England & Wales

Country of birth	England & Wales		London		Percent per group living in London
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	
Group 1: Argentina, Mexico and Uruguay	2,107	14.6	936	10.8	44.4
Group 2: Bolivia, Ecuador and Paraguay	1,346	9.3	1,055	12.2	78.4
Group 3: Central America* and the Caribbean** and Venezuela	1,710	11.8	702	8.1	41.1
Group 4: Chile and Peru	1,388	9.6	657	7.6	47.3
Brazil	5,250	36.3	3,287	38.1	62.6
Colombia	2,647	18.3	1,991	23.1	75.2
Total	14,448	100	8,628	100	59.7

Source: Census 2011 (10% sample): England & Wales (n=14,448); London (n=8,628)

*Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama; **Cuba, Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico; and Central and South America not otherwise specified

Table 3: Number of Latin Americans resident in London by borough

London Boroughs	Number of LA	% LA
Lambeth	8,581	10.3
Southwark	7,416	8.9
Brent	4,839	5.8
Westminster	4,532	5.4
Wandsworth	4,406	5.3
Haringey	4,379	5.3
Hackney	3,840	4.6
Kensington & Chelsea	3,568	4.3
Camden	3,446	4.1
Hammersmith & Fulham	3,384	4.1
Islington	3,237	3.9
Newham	3,146	3.8
Barnet	2,961	3.6
Lewisham	2,926	3.5
Tower Hamlets	2,869	3.4
Ealing	2,125	2.6
Merton	1,914	2.3
Waltham Forest	1,751	2.1
Croydon	1,702	2.0
Richmond	1,531	1.8
Greenwich	1,477	1.8
Hounslow	1,335	1.6
Enfield	1,307	1.6
Bromley	1,193	1.4
Kingston	1,095	1.3
Redbridge	812	1.0
Sutton	803	1.0
Hillingdon	788	0.9
Harrow	668	0.8
Barking & Dagenham	444	0.5
Bexley	370	0.4
Havering	222	0.3
City of London	131	0.2
Total in London	83,198	100

Source: Census 2011

Table 4: Gender balance among Latin Americans by London borough

London Boroughs	Male	Female
Bromley	31%	69%
Hounslow	36%	64%
Enfield	37%	63%
Harrow	38%	63%
Sutton	40%	60%
Redbridge	40%	60%
Barnet	40%	60%
Croydon	42%	59%
Richmond upon Thames	43%	57%
Camden	43%	57%
Islington	43%	57%
Greenwich	43%	57%
Kensington and Chelsea	44%	56%
Kingston upon Thames	44%	56%
Merton	45%	55%
Hillingdon	46%	54%
Hammersmith and Fulham	47%	53%
LA Total	47%	53%
Haringey	48%	52%
Lewisham	48%	52%
Westminster	48%	52%
Southwark	48%	52%
Lambeth	49%	51%
Wandsworth	49%	51%
Brent	49%	51%
Hackney	50%	50%
Newham	51%	49%
Ealing	52%	48%
Waltham Forest	54%	46%
Tower Hamlets	56%	44%
London total	49%	51%

Source: ONS Census 2011 (10% sample). Latin American in London (n=8,628). London total (n=834,396). Boroughs not included due to small number of cases: City of London, Barking & Dagenham, Bexley and Havering

Table 5: Level of education among Latin Americans by borough

London Boroughs	ISCED Level 2 Lower Secondary Education	ISCED Level 3 Upper Secondary Education	ISCED Level 5 and 6 First and Second Stage of tertiary education
Tower Hamlets	9%	18%	73%
Richmond upon Thames	9%	19%	73%
Camden	12%	17%	71%
Kensington and Chelsea	15%	17%	69%
Hillingdon	15%	19%	66%
Westminster	13%	21%	66%
Wandsworth	14%	21%	64%
Islington	20%	16%	63%
Greenwich	21%	17%	62%
Hammersmith and Fulham	13%	27%	60%
Hounslow	16%	25%	59%
Ealing	17%	24%	59%
Barnet	19%	23%	57%
Merton	20%	23%	57%
Kingston upon Thames	13%	33%	55%
Hackney	22%	23%	55%
Harrow	23%	23%	55%
Redbridge	17%	28%	54%
Lewisham	18%	28%	54%
Bromley	17%	29%	54%
Southwark	25%	23%	53%
Enfield	25%	24%	51%
Brent	27%	23%	51%
Haringey	27%	23%	50%
Sutton	28%	23%	49%
Croydon	21%	32%	47%
Lambeth	28%	25%	47%
Newham	30%	25%	46%
Waltham Forest	28%	28%	44%
London total	20%	23%	57%

Source: Census 2011 (10% sample). London total (n=7,666)

Boroughs not included: City of London, Barking & Dagenham, Bexley and Havering.

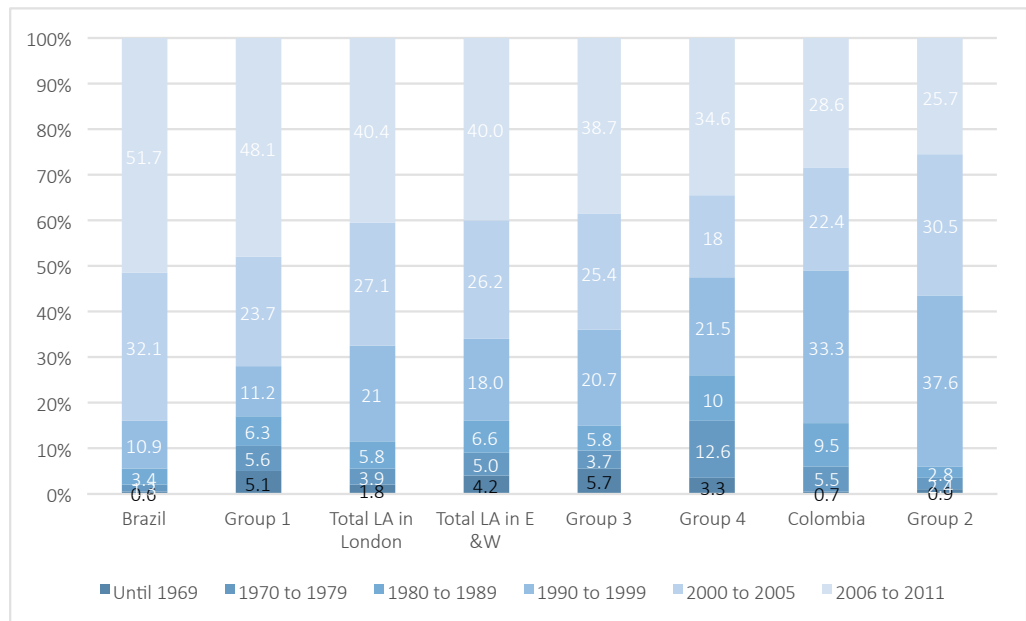
Table 6: English language proficiency among Latin Americans by London borough

London Boroughs	Very well and well	Not well and not at all
Harrow	95%	5%
Kensington and Chelsea	93%	7%
Ealing	93%	8%
Tower Hamlets	92%	8%
Kingston upon Thames	91%	9%
Richmond upon Thames	91%	9%
Camden	90%	10%
Bromley	90%	11%
Hillingdon	89%	11%
Hounslow	89%	11%
Wandsworth	89%	11%
Hammersmith and Fulham	89%	11%
Redbridge	87%	13%
Lewisham	87%	13%
Islington	86%	14%
Westminster	86%	14%
Enfield	85%	15%
Greenwich	85%	15%
Barnet	83%	17%
Merton	83%	17%
Sutton	82%	18%
Waltham Forest	80%	20%
Haringey	78%	22%
Lambeth	78%	22%
Croydon	78%	22%
Hackney	77%	23%
Newham	76%	24%
Brent	74%	26%
Southwark	73%	27%
London total	83%	17%

Source: Census 2011 (10% sample). London total (n=8,437)

Boroughs not included: City of London, Barking & Dagenham, Bexley and Havering

Figure 1: Year of arrival of Latin Americans in London by origin



Source: Census 2011 (10% sample): England & Wales (n=14,448); London (n=8,628) Note: Ordered according to the proportion of people arriving after 2000.

Table 7: Year of arrival of Latin Americans by London borough

London Boroughs	Until 1979	1980 to 1989	1990 to 1999	2000 to 2005	2006 to 2011
Tower Hamlets	2%	3%	9%	30%	56%
Brent	3%	3%	11%	32%	51%
Wandsworth	6%	5%	15%	28%	46%
Hounslow	7%	7%	12%	41%	32%
Southwark	4%	4%	22%	31%	41%
Hackney	4%	5%	20%	26%	45%
Hammersmith and Fulham	7%	4%	18%	29%	42%
Westminster	8%	6%	16%	18%	52%
Redbridge	7%	7%	16%	39%	31%
Haringey	4%	3%	25%	31%	38%
Newham	1%	2%	29%	22%	46%
Ealing	7%	7%	19%	25%	43%
Waltham Forest	2%	7%	25%	29%	37%
Lambeth	3%	6%	25%	29%	36%
Sutton	10%	8%	18%	29%	36%
Merton	9%	7%	20%	31%	34%
Harrow	15%	6%	15%	31%	33%
Kensington and Chelsea	10%	10%	17%	23%	40%
Richmond upon Thames	13%	8%	16%	24%	39%
Lewisham	4%	4%	29%	26%	37%
Kingston upon Thames	17%	5%	16%	26%	36%
Islington	5%	8%	26%	22%	38%
Camden	8%	9%	23%	14%	46%
Barnet	8%	11%	24%	24%	33%
Bromley	11%	7%	26%	24%	32%
Croydon	12%	10%	26%	25%	28%
Enfield	7%	10%	35%	29%	19%
London total	6%	6%	21%	27%	40%

Source: Census 2011 (10% sample). London total (n=8,280)

Boroughs not included: Bexley, Greenwich, Hillingdon, City of London, Barking & Dagenham and Havering.

Note: Ordered according to the proportion of people arriving after 2000.

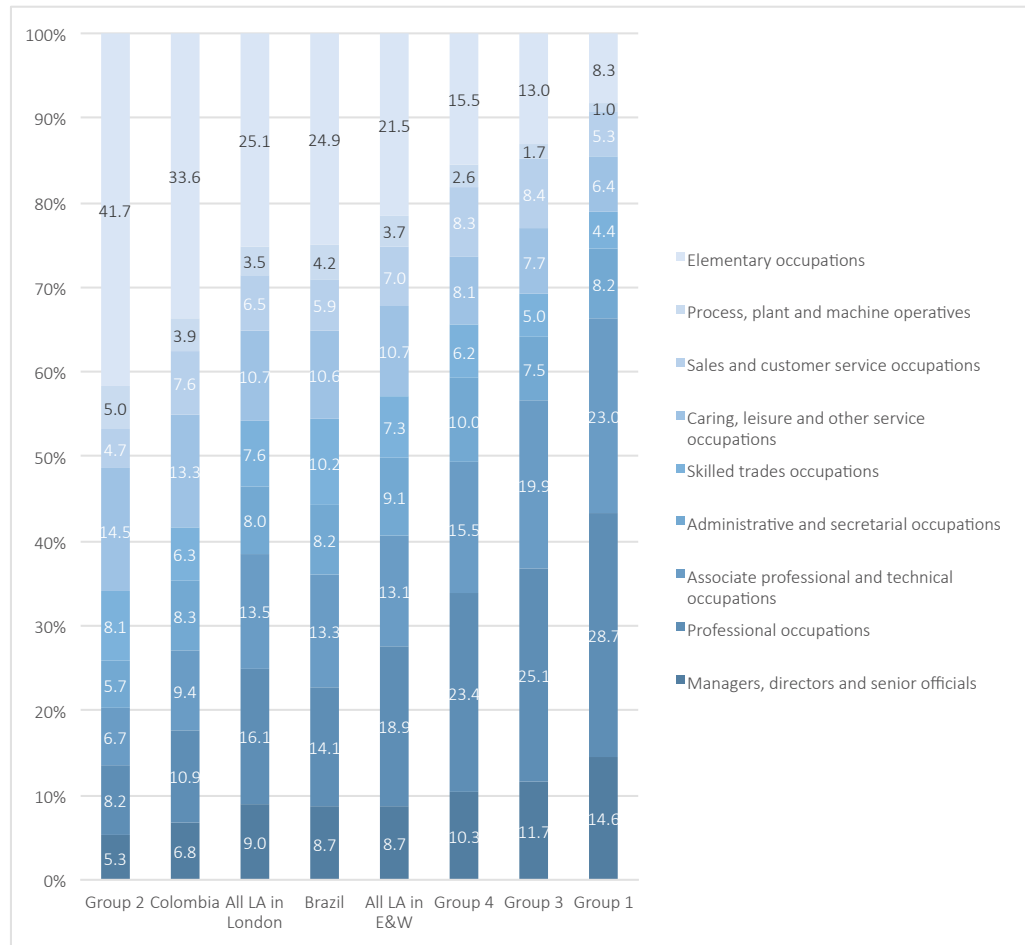
Table 8: Economic activity rates by London borough

London Boroughs	Working	Unemployed	Economically inactive: Student	Economically inactive: Retired	Economically inactive: Long term sick or disabled	Economically inactive: Looking after home/family	Economically inactive: Other
Lewisham	75%	3%	9%	2%	2%	6%	3%
Haringey	73%	5%	7%	4%	1%	7%	5%
Brent	72%	6%	8%	3%	1%	7%	4%
Lambeth	71%	5%	9%	2%	2%	5%	5%
Wandsworth	71%	7%	7%	3%	1%	6%	5%
Hammersmith and Fulham	71%	7%	11%	3%	2%	4%	3%
Tower Hamlets	71%	7%	9%	1%	2%	4%	6%
Newham	70%	6%	10%	2%	0%	5%	6%
Southwark	69%	7%	13%	2%	2%	5%	3%
Croydon	69%	10%	5%	5%	3%	7%	2%
Merton	69%	8%	7%	6%	2%	8%	2%
Ealing	67%	7%	9%	4%	1%	5%	6%
Barnet	67%	6%	11%	6%	2%	5%	3%
Hackney	66%	7%	12%	2%	3%	6%	4%
Hounslow	65%	5%	6%	7%	1%	11%	5%
Kensington and Chelsea	64%	5%;	10%	7%	2%	8%	4%
Waltham Forest	63%	8%	12%	4%	2%	6%	4%
Camden	63%	4%	17%	3%	2%	9%	3%
Islington	62%	9%	15%	3%	3%	4%	3%
Westminster	62%	6%	13%	5%	2%	7%	6%
London total	69%	6%	10%	3%	2%	6%	4%

Source: Census 2011 (10% sample). London total (n=8,091)

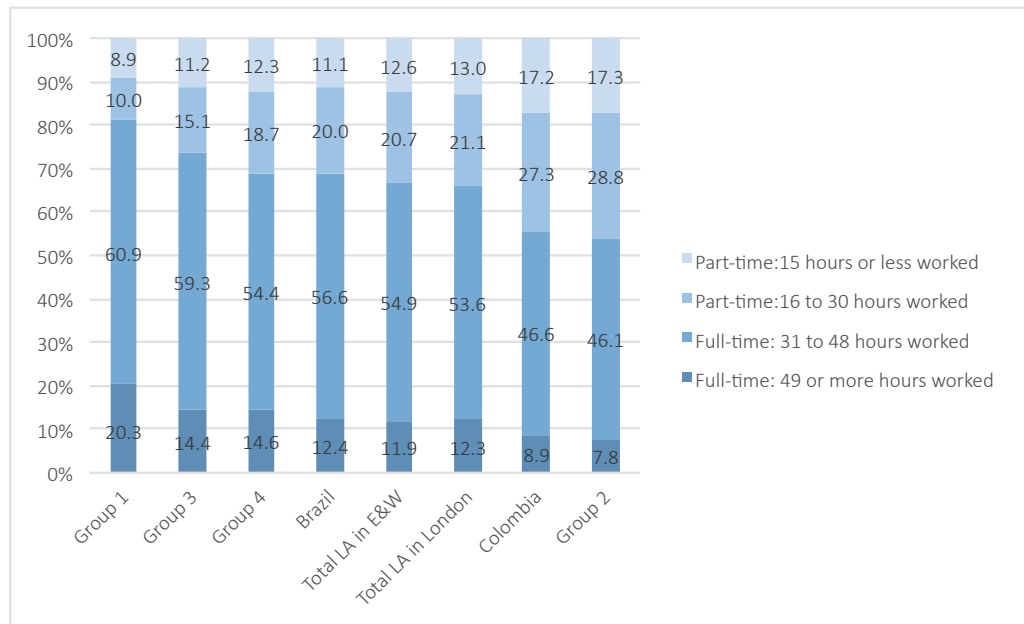
Note: Boroughs not included: City of London, Barking & Dagenham, Bexley, Bromley, Enfield, Greenwich, Harrow, Havering, Hillingdon, Kingston, Redbridge, Richmond and Sutton

Figure 2: Occupations of Latin Americans in London by origin



Source: Census 2011 (10% sample): England & Wales (n=12,067); London (n=7,217); Group 1 (n=842); Group 2 (n=805); Group 3 (n=598); Group 4 (n=580); Brazil (n=2,737); Colombia (n=1,655).

Figure 3: Working hours of Latin Americans in London by origin



Source: Census 2011 (10% sample): England & Wales (n=8,904); London (n=5,549); Group 1 (n=631); Group 2 (n=642); Group 3 (n=445); Group 4 (n=390); Brazil (n=2,171); Colombia (n=1,270)

Table 9: Tenure of dwelling among Latin Americans by London borough

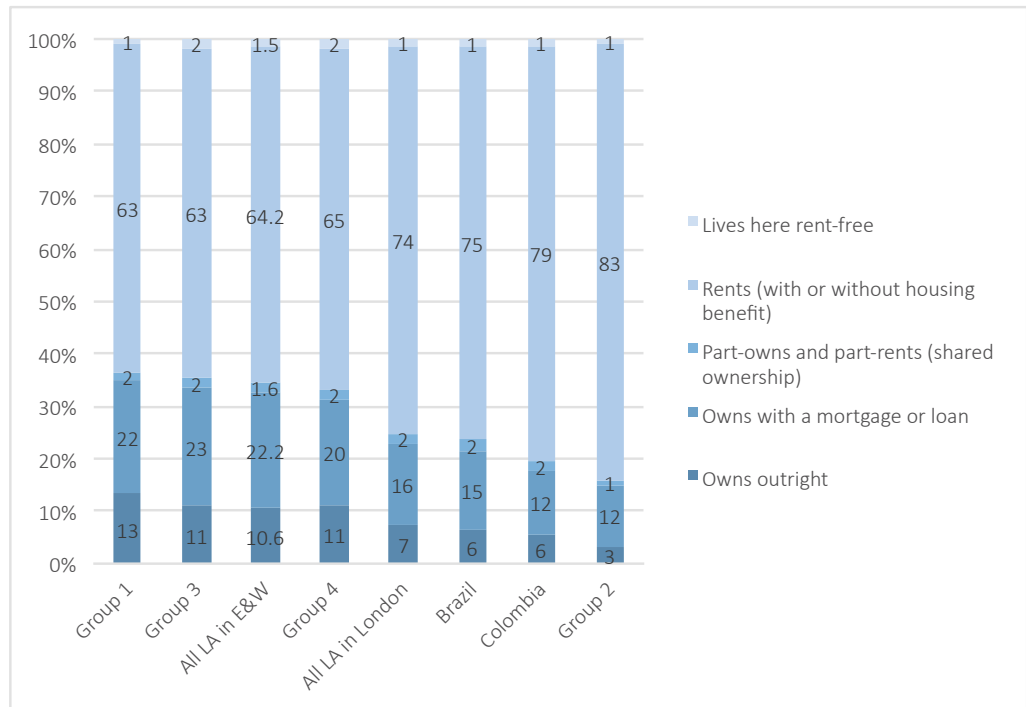
London Boroughs	Rents (with or without housing benefit)	Owns with a mortgage or loan	Owns outright	Other
Lambeth	85%	9%	3%	4%
Hackney	85%	8%	4%	4%
Newham	84%	10%	3%	4%
Southwark	83%	11%	4%	2%
Islington	83%	9%	4%	4%
Brent	82%	10%	5%	3%
Haringey	80%	14%	4%	2%
Tower Hamlets	79%	12%	7%	2%
Westminster	77%	8%	11%	4%
Hammersmith and Fulham	76%	12%	9%	3%
Camden	73%	13%	10%	4%
Lewisham	72%	17%	7%	4%
Kensington and Chelsea	72%	9%	13%	6%
Enfield	72%	19%	6%	4%
Wandsworth	70%	19%	8%	3%
Ealing	68%	21%	10%	1%
Barnet	63%	26%	10%	2%
Redbridge	60%	27%	9%	4%
Greenwich	60%	29%	7%	5%
Croydon	57%	31%	8%	5%
Hounslow	56%	24%	15%	5%
Hillingdon	51%	32%	12%	5%
London total	74%	16%	7%	3%

Source: Census 2011 (10% sample). London total (n=8,526)

Boroughs not included: City of London, Barking & Dagenham, Bexley, Bromley, Harrow, Havering, Merton, Kingston, Richmond, Sutton and Waltham Forest.

Other includes: Part-owns and part-rents (shared ownership) and lives here rent-free

Figure 4: Housing tenure among Latin Americans in London by origin



Source: Census 2011 (10% sample); England & Wales (n=14,110); London (n=8,526) Group 1 (n=917); Group 2 (n=1,048); Group 3 (n=692); Group 4 (n=638); Brazil (n=3,257); Colombia (n=1,974)

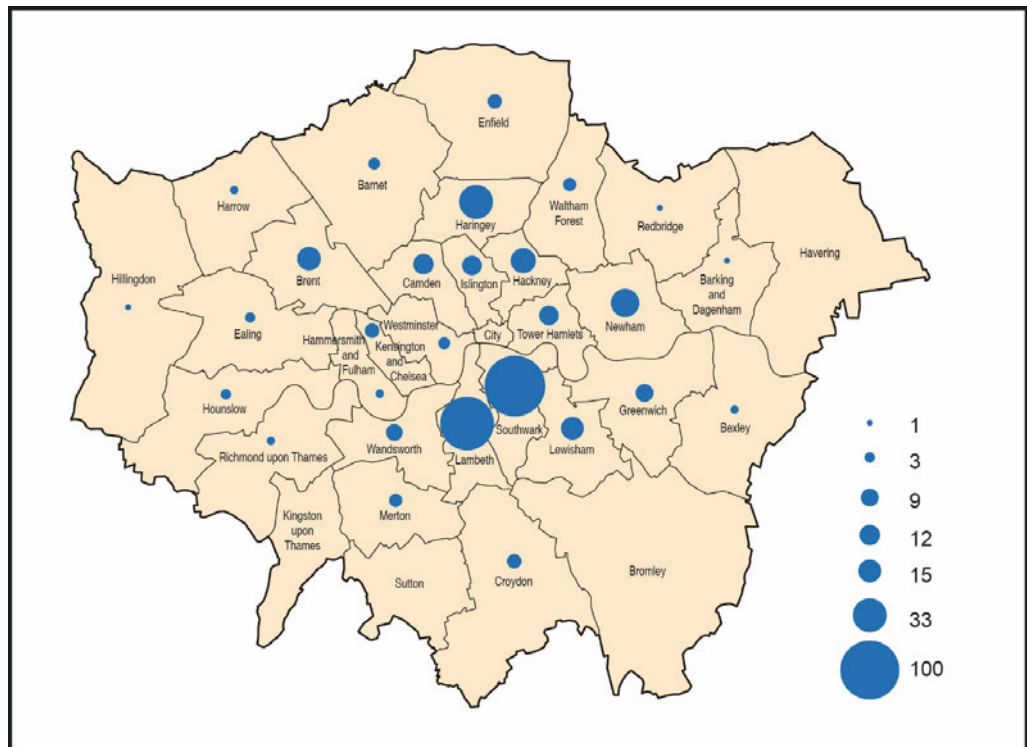
Tables and figures on profile of Onward Latin Americans (OLAs)

Table 1: Country of birth of OLAs

Country of birth	Frequency	Percent
Argentine	15	3.8
Bolivia	28	7
Brazil	61	15.3
Chile	10	2.5
Colombia	112	28
Costa Rica	1	0.3
Cuba	5	1.3
Dominican Republic	19	4.8
Ecuador	87	21.8
Guatemala	2	0.5
Mexico	5	1.3
Nicaragua	1	0.3
Panama	1	0.3
Paraguay	1	0.3
Peru	36	9
Uruguay	4	1
Venezuela	12	3
Total	400	100

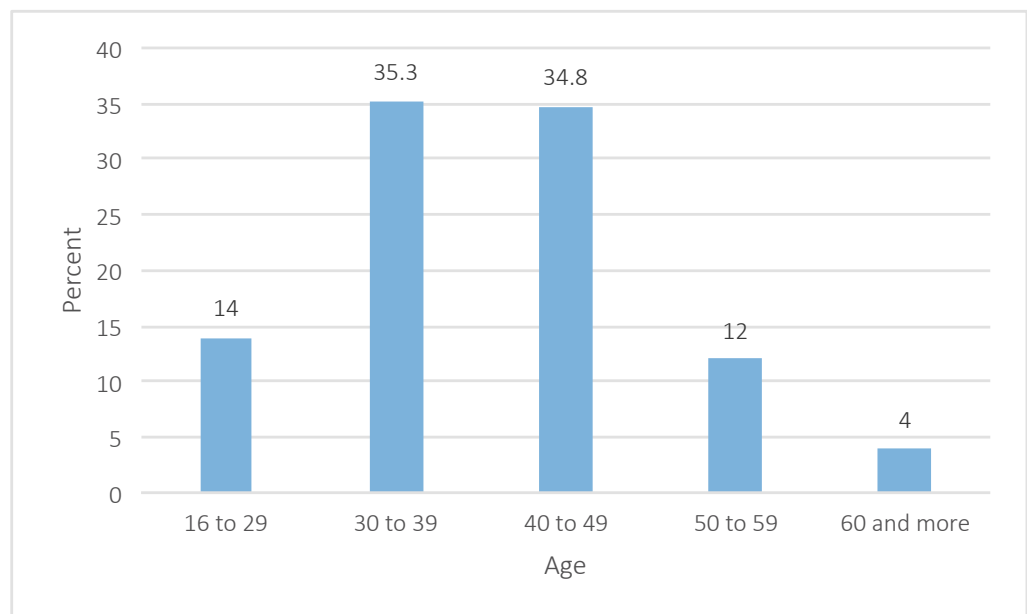
Source: authors' survey (n=400)

Figure 1: Map of OLAs' residence in London



Source: authors' survey (n=400)

Figure 2: Age structure for OLAs



Source: authors' survey (n=400)

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