Cultural consumption and the performing arts among Latin Americans in London

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CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS.................................................................................................................. 2

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS............................................................................................................. 3

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY .......................................................................................................... 4

1. INTRODUCTION .................................................................................................................... 7
   1.1 The Latin American community in London ................................................................. 7
   1.2 Migration and the Arts in London ............................................................................... 8
   1.3 The project .................................................................................................................. 9
   1.4 Research methodology ............................................................................................. 10

2. OVERVIEW OF CASA LATIN AMERICAN THEATRE FESTIVAL .......................... 11
   2.1 CASA Latin American Theatre Festival ................................................................... 11
   2.2 Socio-economic characteristics of CASA audiences 2013-2015 ............................. 12
   2.3 Audience perceptions of CASA events ...................................................................... 14
   2.4 Attitudes towards CASA: survey and interview perspectives ................................. 16

3. OVERVIEW OF LATIN AMERICANS PARTICIPATING IN THE RESEARCH ............ 19
   3.1 Gender, age and educational characteristics of Latin Americans ......................... 19
   3.2 Work and income ..................................................................................................... 22

4. NATURE AND PATTERNS OF CULTURAL CONSUMPTION
   AMONG LATIN AMERICANS ............................................................................................... 26
   4.1 Nature of cultural engagement .................................................................................. 27
   4.2 Patterns of engagement in the Performing Arts ......................................................... 28
   4.3 Factors shaping engagement with performing arts .................................................... 32
   4.4 Sources of information ............................................................................................. 33

5. BARRIERS TO ATTENDING ARTS PERFORMANCES AMONG
   CONSUMERS AND CREATING ART AMONG ARTISTS .................................................. 36
   5.1 Barriers to attending events among consumers ......................................................... 37
   5.2 The role of language in cultural consumption .......................................................... 39
   5.3 Barriers to (and solutions for) creating Performing Arts among artists ................. 42

6. THE ROLE OF PERFORMING ARTS IN LATIN AMERICAN
   IDENTITIES AND INTEGRATION ....................................................................................... 49

7. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ................................................................. 57
   7.1 Recommendations .................................................................................................... 58

BIBLIOGRAPHY ..................................................................................................................... 60

APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY .......................................................................... 62

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE ............................................................................... 68

APPENDIX 3: ADDITIONAL DATA FROM QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY .......................... 69
ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 2.2a: Nationality of CASA audiences in 2013, 2014 and 2015 13
Figure 2.2b: Income levels of CASA audiences, 2013/15 14
Figure 2.3a: Audience perceptions of CASA Annual Festival by nationality 14
Figure 2.3b: Assessment of CASA events by income 15
Figure 2.3c: ‘Value for money’ assessment of audience survey 16
Figure 3.1a: Age profile of engaged and non-engaged participants 20
Figure 3.1b: Educational attainment, engaged and non-engaged population 21
Figure 3.1c: Country of birth among engagers and non-engaged 21
Figure 3.1d: First and second language 22
Figure 3.2a: Work status of engaged and non-engaged research participants 23
Figure 3.2b: Annual household income, engaged and non-engaged participants 24
Figure 4.1a: Cultural activities engaged in by engaged and non-engaged participants 27
Figure 4.1b Performing Arts activities liked by the engaged population 28
Figure 4.2a: Frequency of attending Performing Arts events 29
Figure 4.2b: Frequency of attending Performing Arts events by age 29
Figure 4.2c: Comparison of Performing Arts attendance between home country and UK 30
Figure 4.2d: Person with whom Performing Arts events attended 32
Table 4.3: Factors shaping decisions on choosing to attend Performing Arts events 32
Figure 4.2e: Income and price of Performing Arts events 33
Figure 4.4: Sources of information on Performing Arts events 34
Table 4.4: Role of reviews in choosing events across different sources of information 35
Figure 5.1a: Barriers to attending Performing Arts events 37
Figure 5.1b: Barriers to attending Performing Arts events - home country and London 38
Figure 5.2: Language for attending Performing Arts events 40
Figure 5.3a: Institutional support available for Latin American artists in London 44
Figure 5.3b: Barriers to artistic work 45
Figure 5.3c: Ways to overcome barriers among artists 47
Figure 6a: Attending Performing Arts events with other community members 52
Figure 6b: Attendance at summer carnivals 54
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS
We would like to acknowledge the Humanities and Social Science Collaboration Fund at Queen Mary, University of London for funding this research, and especially the support of Brigid Howarth who helped us bring it to fruition. We would like to thank our CASA collaborators, Daniel Goldman (Artistic Director), Lora Krasteva (Producer) and Jacqueline Rosenbach (Project Leader), for their invaluable input at various stages of this research from design to execution.

We are indebted to the following for their contributions to this project: Cristina Burack, Diana Gómez, Elena Larios, Santiago Peluffo, Leandro Schweitzer and Roxana White for their help in conducting offline surveys, Luis Gabriel Morales for producing the film associated with this project and Mariana Aristizabal and Santiago Godoy Giraldo for providing the subtitles for the same. We would like to thank Ed Oliver at the School of Geography, Queen Mary University of London for producing the cover page of this report.

Finally, and most importantly, we would like to thank all our research participants for their interest and their time. A special thanks is due to focus group and interview participants, their in-depth insights as artists and consumers of Latin American arts were invaluable.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY
This report focuses on cultural consumption and the performing arts among Latin Americans in London. It is based upon collaborative research undertaken by the School of Geography and Centre for the Study of Migration at Queen Mary University of London and CASA Latin American Theatre Festival (CASA). The study investigated (i) the nature, patterns and factors shaping cultural consumption among Latin Americans in London; (ii) the barriers they encountered as consumers and producers of the performing arts and (iii) the role of the performing arts and cultural consumption more generally in identity formation and integration processes. The report draws upon 474 questionnaires, 14 in-depth interviews and 1 focus group discussion. It also refers to three audience surveys undertaken by CASA between 2013 and 2015.

KEY FINDINGS
Overview of CASA Latin American Theatre Festival Audience Surveys, 2013-2015
- Key audiences for CASA’s annual festivals were Latin Americans followed by Britons. Women, young people and those with tertiary education were more likely to attend.
- CASA events were rated very highly, particularly by women, the very young and the elderly.
- The majority of audience members reported that events are well priced.
- Awareness of CASA was lower among survey participants who identified two key challenges for the organisation: first to raise its profile within the Latin American community and second to appeal to a wider multicultural London audience.

Socio-economic characteristics of Latin American survey participants
- Survey participants were categorised as engaged or non-engaged with the former identified as those who expressed an interest in the performing arts while non-engaged were those who were not interested.
- There were important socio-economic distinctions between the engaged and non-engaged in relation to gender, educational attainment, number of dependents and work and employment status.
- Latin Americans originated from 17 countries, and among the sampled population, those from Ecuador, Cuba and Uruguay were most likely to be engaged.

Nature and patterns of cultural consumption among engaged Latin Americans
- The most popular cultural activities were live music, performing arts, cinema and visual arts. In turn, the most popular performing arts activities were theatre and dance.
- A significant proportion of the engaged attended events regularly with some gender and wage based differences.
- The majority of participants attended events with friends, spouses and partners.
- While the majority did not mind what they watched, others were likely to be influenced by reviews and by location.
- The most common sources of information were social media, word of mouth and web searches, especially among younger audiences.

Barriers to attending arts performances among consumers and creating art among artists: Consumers:
• Lack of time and expense were the major barriers to attending performing arts events. Distance and knowledge were also significant.
• Language emerged as a complex barrier with important variations between those consumers who attended events performed in ‘any language they could understand’, their first and/or second language or those with subtitles.
• Tensions exist between Latin American theatre serving the Spanish and Portuguese speaking community and reaching out to a wider English speaking audience.

Artists:
• Key barriers were accessing established networks, information and institutional support.
• Lack of confidence and self-esteem in the quality of Latin American performances were additional barriers as was a perceived degree of prejudice among the British.
• Language and translation were identified as barriers but also ways of overcoming challenges.
• Artists argued that it was more important for them to focus on intellectual ideas rather than language.

The role of performing arts in Latin American identities and integration
• Latin Americans (especially artists) develop a collective identity following migration.
• Brazilians tend to see themselves as separate from Spanish-speaking Latin Americans.
• Performing arts are very important in identity-making and integration processes.
• Well-being and connections with home countries are enhanced through participation in the performing arts.
• There was overwhelming support for a dedicated arts and cultural space in Southwark.

Key Recommendations
• Performing arts should be made accessible for Latin Americans from all socio-economic backgrounds in London in relation to price. Although CASA events were thought to be fairly priced on the basis of audience surveys, the community survey highlighted price as an issue, especially among those who earned less.
• Performing arts should be made accessible for Latin Americans from all socio-economic backgrounds in London in relation to location. This includes performing in areas where they feel comfortable and which are close to the areas where they live.
• As part of this, the overwhelming support for an arts and cultural space in Southwark indicates an important need in this regard. This should be an important goal moving forward.
• Socio-economic and class barriers must be addressed, both within the context of Latin American communities but also in the broader context of the arts. Our findings indicate that particular types of art forms are exclusionary such that migrants who come from poorer backgrounds feel out of place in certain artistic environments. This finding is echoed in broader debates about the exclusionary nature of ‘high end art’ in the UK.
• The rhythm of Latin American men and women’s everyday working lives need to be considered in relation to the timing of events.
• Latin American arts spaces must work with other migrant and British cultural art forms as a way of promoting *wider integration into London’s multicultural arts scene*.

The online version of the report can be accessed from the following links:

http://www.geog.qmul.ac.uk/staff/mcilwainec.html and

http://www.geog.qmul.ac.uk/staff/dattak.html

http://www.qmul.ac.uk/migration/pub/index.html
1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Latin American community in London

Latin Americans are relatively recent arrivals to the UK, and London more specifically, although they have a long history of engagement with the city in terms of trade, political exile, and diplomacy (mainly from Chile, Argentina, Colombia and Uruguay). Significant numbers of Latin Americans began to arrive in the UK from the 1970s onwards. Initially comprised of Colombians who came to work in catering and cleaning, these flows have increasingly diversified. In the 1980s, economic migrants from Colombia were joined by their compatriots seeking asylum as they fled armed conflict as well as Ecuadorians who moved in relatively large numbers to the city. By the 1990s, Peruvians, Argentineans and more recently, Bolivians and Brazilians were also migrating to London. Since 2000, more students and professional migrants have arrived, reflecting increasingly restrictive immigration controls that favour more highly skilled migrants (McIlwaine et al. 2011).

Importantly, over the last few years, Latin Americans have primarily migrated to the UK from other European countries, especially Spain (McIlwaine 2012; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016). Indeed, more than a third of Latin Americans in 2011 had previous experience of migration before arriving in the UK (McIlwaine et al., 2011). This has been linked not only with the closing down of the UK border to non-EU migrants, but with the economic crisis hitting Spain very hard and Latin Americans with EU passports having freedom of movement within Europe. These flows have been further facilitated by a comparatively less severe economic downturn in the UK, where there has been continued demand for labour even though levels of exploitation have arguably increased as a result (McIlwaine and Datta, 2014; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016).

The most up-to-date research on the Latin American community, Towards Visibility, shows that in 2013, there were 250,000 Latin Americans in the UK, of which around 145,000 lived in London. Also significant is that, based on the 2011 census, Latin Americans were found to be the second fastest growing non-EU migrant population in London (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016). This source also shows that 60% of Latin Americans in England & Wales reside in London and that those living in the capital are located mainly in inner London (two-thirds). In terms of a profile from the census, two-thirds are aged under 40 and nearly 90% are of working age and half have tertiary level (university) education. However, around 1 in 5 either cannot speak English or cannot speak it very well which means that they are concentrated in low-paid elementary, service, caring and processing jobs (almost half the population) even though employment rates are high at 70% (much higher than the London average of 61%). This is a very new community in that two-thirds have arrived in London since 2000. In terms of immigration status, almost a third have a UK passport and a further one-fifth have an EU passport (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016).
Partly reflecting the growth in the Latin American population in the city, migrant organisations such as Carila, Latin American Women’s Rights Service (LAWRS), Indo-American Refugee and Migrant Organisation (IRM0) and Casa Latinoamericana were established from the 1980s. While they were primarily set-up as solidarity groups providing support for those fighting authoritarian regimes in Latin America, as the numbers of migrants grew, they began to work on campaigning and service provision for those newly arrived, especially in relation to housing and immigration advice (McIlwaine, 2015).

1.2 Migration and the Arts in London
Before detailing the link between migration and the arts, it is instructive to attempt to define ‘the arts’. Commentators recognise that the arts comprise a variety of cultural activities, with some consensus that these can be categorised as visual (photography, sculpture, painting, film, architecture) and performing arts (live music, theatre, dance, opera) (UNCTAD, 2008).1

The Latin American migration to London noted above has included men and women associated with the arts, including writers and artists, who have created their home in the city, either through exile or attracted by the established artistic industry in the capital. In turn, the ‘super-diverse’ global city of London which receives a dominant share of transnational migrants functions as a crucial site for transnational cultural encounters (Vertovec, 2007). Identified as a creative hub, the city benefits from the mobility of both people and cultural goods (which are produced in one place and consumed in another) exhibiting a diversification of cultural activities (Boogaarts, 2008, Hall, 2001; Yeoh, 1999). This said, and often within the context of the distinction made between ‘high end art’ (produced and consumed by elite groups) and ‘everyday’ forms of art, there is some consensus that migrants, along with other social groups, suffer from limited accessibility to the former due to a variety of factors (Skórska and Kloosterman, 2012).

Yet, the performing arts have increasingly been recognised as a medium through which the powerless can express their experiences, hopes and fears. Theatre in particular is important in representing these experiences and assisting in the creation of new identities as well as in providing a channel through which to challenge resistance to injustice. Indeed, theatre practice can express and also transform existing social contexts and contribute to wider political debates (Pratt and Johnson, 2013). From an academic research perspective, there is a long history of the need for participatory methodological approaches to examine and understand the lives of those who are disenfranchised in some way and have no voice dating back to the work of Paulo Freire in the favelas of Brazil. With roots in Augusto Boal’s Theatre of the Oppressed in Brazil, academics have increasingly used participatory theatre, video and drama when working with excluded groups in an effort to build social relations, heal the scars of

1 Please note that we have separated live music in our survey definition of performing arts.
conflict and to bring about positive social change (Boal, 1982; Heritage, 1984). In the world of drama, an Applied Theatre (AT) approach has been influential in working with discriminated and excluded groups with the aim of addressing existing power relations, raising issues that are often left unspoken and bringing about longer term transformation (Heritage, 2004). Theatre and performance can therefore be used as powerful tools to enable people to express their reality in ways that communicates to others.

Increasingly the worlds of social science research and the arts are coming together in fruitful and mutually constitutive ways that feed into one another: academic research informs the theatre and performing arts can draw on the evidence produced by the research. Partly because of the potential to uncover the experiences of the excluded and powerless in ways that can be socially transformative, the performing arts have increasingly worked with refugees and migrant groups. However, studies that include these groups remain extremely rare. Moreover, those that specifically explore cultural consumption among migrant groups themselves, in contrast to examining the ways in which others can highlight their experiences from the ‘outside’, are even less common. The current project is an important attempt to address these areas of marked neglect in academic and practical terms through a collaboration between Queen Mary’s School of Geography and Centre for the Study of Migration and CASA Latin American Theatre Festival.

1.3 The project
This research aims to promote cultural understandings of migration processes through a focus on the performing arts among Latin Americans in London. Within this context, this study investigated:

(i) the nature, patterns and factors shaping cultural consumption among Latin Americans in London;
(ii) the barriers Latin Americans encountered as consumers and artists of the performing arts;
(iii) the role of the performing arts and cultural consumption in identity formation and integration processes.

The project was a collaboration between the School of Geography and Centre for the Study of Migration at Queen Mary University of London and CASA Latin American Theatre Festival (CASA). As the largest Latin American theatre festival in the UK, CASA is pivotal in the expression of cultural identity amongst Latin Americans migrants.
1.4 Research methodology

A mixed methodological framework was developed in the project involving both quantitative and qualitative tools. These included a questionnaire survey, interviews with artists, the organisers of cultural events, community leaders and the authorities representing Latin American national governments in London, and a focus group with Latin American artists.

Taking these in turn, the questionnaire survey sought to gather quantitative data on the socio-economic characteristics of research participants; nature and patterns of cultural consumption; barriers to participating in cultural activities and knowledge of CASA events (see Appendix 1). The questionnaire was conducted online and offline/faceto-face. The online survey was made accessible through a link that was circulated widely in social media networks between March and May 2016. This was complemented by a face-to-face survey carried out at a range of cultural events as well as in and around the shopping centre at Elephant and Castle, which is known to be an area where Latin Americans congregate (McIlwaine et al., 2011). The survey produced a total sample of 474 answered questionnaires, with more women (61%) participating than men (38%), representing nearly a 2:1 ratio.

Key informant interviews were conducted with 14 artists, organisers of cultural events, and community members in London. In terms of nationality, two were British, while the rest represented a wide range of Latin American countries including Mexico, Argentinian, Brazil, Peru, Chile, Ecuador, Colombia and Bolivia. More women than men were interviewed (five and nine respectively), and ten participants were directly involved with the Latin American arts in some way.

A focus group with Latin American artists was also carried out based on discussion and utilising various participatory appraisal methodologies. This comprised of eight Latin American artists including actors, directors, playwrights, and dancers (three women and five men) from a range of different Latin American countries including Colombia, Chile, Argentina, and Mexico.

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2 It is important to acknowledge that the face to face survey might have led to some bias in the ‘types’ of participants accessed. Participants were approached as they were leaving the Latin American Food Festival at the Southbank Centre and could therefore be assumed to participate in cultural events. At the same time, survey interviews were also held with Latin Americans at IMRO and Elephant and Castle who, due to their low incomes, were potentially less likely to attend cultural events.
2. OVERVIEW OF CASA LATIN AMERICAN THEATRE FESTIVAL

BOX 2

KEY FINDINGS

CASA audience data
- diverse range of nationalities with particular concentrations of Latin Americans (between 24% and 43%) and British (around one-third). Audience members most likely to be female, young, with undergraduate and/or post-graduate degrees and earning relatively low incomes.
- Audience ratings for CASA events are high: 71% of Latin Americans and 61% of British gave rates of 9 or 10 (with 10 being the best). Women, the very young and the elderly were most likely to be positive.
- The vast majority of CASA audiences thought that the events were well-priced (between 78% and 89%) regardless of background.

Survey and interview data
- 32% of Latin Americans had heard of CASA, but 68% had not, suggesting that work needs to be done in terms of awareness.
- CASA’s work was seen to be extremely important in bringing Latin American theatre to London.
- There is a paradox and challenge in CASA’s work between reaching out to the Latin American community while also informing the wider multicultural London audience about Latin American theatre.

This section of the report focuses upon CASA Latin American Theatre Festival to contextualise Latin American cultural consumption in London. It primarily draws upon three surveys conducted with audiences who attended the 2013, 2014 and 2015 CASA Festivals as well as data collected for the research project which underpins this report. We begin by providing background information on CASA and its annual festival before moving on to detail key findings from the audience surveys. We specifically consider how audience members rated CASA events.

2.1 CASA Latin American Theatre Festival
CASA was created in 2007 in response to the relative invisibility of Latin American theatre in London even while other forms of Latin culture (related to music, cinema, visual arts and literature) were thriving. CASA’s primary ambition is to build bridges between Latin American theatre and theatre makers in the UK. Its mission statement is:
• To present the very best Latin American theatre to UK audiences of all ages and backgrounds.
• To engage with the Latin American community through theatre.
• To nurture, support and develop the work of Latin American theatre artists living in the UK.
• To facilitate cultural exchange between Latin American and UK-based theatre artists.

CASA organises a series of year around events under its Nuestra CASA programme comprising of two strands, CASA Community Events and Artists in Residence. Since 2007, CASA has hosted a medium scale international theatre festival showcasing the work of leading Latin American artists to UK audiences. The next festival will be held in 2017.

2.2 Socio-economic characteristics of CASA audiences 2013-2015
As part of its endeavour to improve its programmes, CASA conducted audience surveys at its 2013, 2014 and 2015 festivals. This data gives us some insight into the socio-economic profile of audience members and their assessment of the events on offer at the festival in relation to whether they represent ‘good value for money’. In total, 997 questionnaires were completed (389 in 2013, 468 in 2014 and 140 in 2015).

It is evident that CASA audiences comprise a diverse range of nationalities with particular concentrations of Latin Americans and Britons (see Figure 2.2a). Among those who participated in the audience survey, Latin Americans constituted 43% in 2013, 24% in 2014 and 42% in 2015 while British audience members made up roughly one-third of audiences in this time period (ranging between 26% and 38%). Other notable concentrations originated from Spain and other Europe.

Disaggregated by gender, 63% of audiences surveyed were women while 36% were men in 2013 and 2014 with gender data unavailable for 2015. Both male and female audiences comprised of roughly the same proportion of Latin American and British people. Correspondingly, 35% and 36% of male audience members were of Latin American and British origin respectively, as were 31% and 33% of female audience members. The age profile of audiences across the three years, and in relation to nationality, reflected greater variation among the Latin American community as compared to audience members drawn from other regions. Significantly, part of the decline in Latin American attendance in 2014 is attributable to the fact that fewer younger people attended. Disaggregated by gender, the age profile reflected that relatively more young women attended CASA events in comparison to men (34% of women were between the ages of 10-29 as compared to 25% of men while 27% of men were aged between 40-49 years as compared to 17% of women).
In relation to educational attainment, it was striking that a significant proportion of the surveyed population had undergraduate and postgraduate degrees. Disaggregated by gender, 45% of men and 44% of women held an undergraduate degree while 44% of men and 48% of women had a postgraduate degree. Figures for Latin American and non-Latin American audience members were also broadly comparable: in the former cohort, 41% had an undergraduate degree and 47% had a postgraduate degree. The comparable figures for the non-Latin American audience was 45% and 47% respectively (see below on the positive relationship between high levels of educational attainment and cultural consumption).

Moving on to consider income levels, it is notable that audience members in general had relatively low incomes across all three years. For example, in 2015, 54% earned less than £20,000. In contrast only 12-13% earned more than £40,000 in all three years (see Figure 2.2b). Two other issues stand out. First, Latin American respondents had lower incomes than non-Latin American respondents across all three survey years. This was particularly evident in 2015 when 24% of non-Latin Americans had incomes between £0-9,999 as compared to 44% of Latin Americans. Given broadly comparable educational attainment across both groups, part of the explanation for this variation in income is the deskilling and downward professional mobility which migrants face (Wills et al., 2010).

Second, and again reflecting broader research, female audience members as a whole had lower income levels than men in the sample. Thus, while 39% of male audience members had incomes between £0-19,999, half of female respondents fell into this category. Furthermore, while 18% of men had annual incomes in excess of £45,000, the comparable figure for women...
was 10%. This finding is partly attributable to broader gender wage disparities evident in the UK labour market which is especially marked among migrant women (Wills et al., 2010).

2.3 Audience perceptions of CASA events
The majority of audience members across all nationalities rated the events which they had attended highly (10 being the most favourable score given) (see Figure 2.3a).

Figure 2.2b: Income levels of CASA audiences, 2013/15

Source: CASA audience surveys (2013; 2014; 2015)

Figure 2.3a: Audience perceptions of CASA Annual Festival by nationality

Source: CASA audience surveys (2013/15 N=866)
Indeed, a significant proportion of respondents gave the most favourable rating (10) with some national variations across audience members: 44% of Latin Americans, 37% of British, 30% of European and 47% of rest of the world.

Overall, women were more favourable than men in their assessment of the events which they attended with 44% giving an overall rating of 10 as opposed to 36% of men. In relation to age, younger (aged between 10-29 years) and older (over 50 years of age) audience members were more positive with 41% in both categories giving an overall rating of 10 as compared to 38% of respondents between the ages of 30-49 years. Education levels had relatively little impact on assessments with 40% of school leavers, 44% of undergraduates and 36% of postgraduates rating events at 10. There was somewhat more variation when data was disaggregated by income although it seems that those on lower incomes were likely to score events more positively (as a 10) than those on higher incomes (see Figure 2.3b).

**Figure 2.3b: Assessment of CASA events by income**

![Bar chart showing assessment of CASA events by income](chart)

Source: CASA audience surveys (2013/15 N=866)

In terms of audience members’ assessment of whether the events that they had attended offered ‘good value for money’, the overall reaction was positive (see Figure 2.3c).

In this assessment, both men (85%) and women (88%) thought the events were good value for money. Disaggregated by nationality, 89% of those born in the ‘rest of the world’ were very favourable compared interestingly to only 80% of Latin Americans, 85% of European and 86% of British respondents. Although all age groups thought that events were well-priced, the proportions were lower among those aged over 50 (78%) compared with those aged be-
between 30 and 40 (86%) and between 10 and 29 (85%). Finally, while the vast majority of people from all educational backgrounds thought that CASA events were well-priced, those with postgraduate studies were the most likely (88%) to think so, followed by those with school level (85%), and then those with undergraduate level degrees (82%).

**Figure 2.3c: ‘Value for money’ assessment of audience survey**

![Graphs showing 'Value for money' assessment by gender, age group, and educational background]

Source: CASA audience surveys (2013; 2014; 2015)

### 2.4 Attitudes towards CASA: survey and interview perspectives

In this short section, some of the views and towards CASA Latin American Theatre Festival attitudes among Latin Americans and non-Latin Americans included in the questionnaire survey and interviews are identified. While 32% of Latin Americans had heard of CASA, 68% - nearly two-thirds - had not, suggesting that there remains work to be done in terms of awareness raising. Indeed, Isabel, who was 25 and worked in a charity in London, noted that this may be because the festival events were held at Rich Mix in Shoreditch which was not seen as a Latin American area:

“The space, Rich Mix, is not known among Latin Americans. I’ve spoken to various young women from other Latin American projects and they’ve never been to this theatre festival and don’t know it exists. They knew there was a thing called Shoreditch that had many hipsters but they said: ‘it has the type of shops that I don’t go to because they are very expensive; it’s very cool but if I go there it’s to do the cleaning’.
Therefore there is an economic and psychological barrier in the sense that these are spaces ‘where I go to the centre of London to work’.”

James who was British, in his 30s and worked in the cultural sector also argued that “Rich Mix it’s an arts venue... the Latin American community do go there but... it’s not necessary that close to them...it would perhaps be good to bring things closer to Elephant and Castle or Seven Sisters... [...].

Isabel raised the issue of the tensions or paradox of CASA’s role in reaching out to the community but also in making sure that British people knew about Latin American theatre. She praised the work they had done in trying to engage more with the community:

“Since I began to live in London, I went to see CASA and it was excellent. I’ve been for two years now and seen various plays. But I think that the price is a little inaccessible for the Latin American community, but they are also opening up much more and trying to reach out to the community by giving free entry. I’m telling out this because the issue of price is important in that if theatre is political it needs to bring in the community.”

The two non-Latin Americans interviewed raised similar issues of who CASA is aimed at. Elizabeth who was in her 20s, was in postgraduate education and worked in the charity sector acknowledged that CASA was conscious of its responsibility to include the Latin American community and “that their funding requires it”, but she went on to say:

“It was never clear to me whether CASA was really aimed at the community. It seems to me that it was aimed at people in London, not necessarily British, from everywhere, that are interested in world theatre or different forms of theatre... which is good, it’s fine as a mission in itself... so maybe you should have that and have something different which is aimed to the community.”

She went on to connect class with language saying that “I think some of the performances I saw were in English and that would probably affect the type of audience ... I would not have seen cleaners in the audience because they would not have been in a performance that was in English”. In response to these sentiments, Daniel Goldman, CASA’s artistic director, argued that:

“We [CASA] want to reach everyone. It's that simple. And the higher the profile of Latin American theatre in the UK and in London, the better our chances of reaching a wide audience. Though we will always make a special effort to reach out to Latin American communities across the UK, I think that we’re beginning to recognise that
our best chance of reaching both Latin and non-Latin American audiences is to elevate the profile of Latin American theatre across all audiences. What this means is we've got to present work in high-profile venues with high-profile artists, present more work in English to access the mainstream media, and focus on programming work that will appeal to as wide an audience as possible.”

Daniel’s sentiments were echoed by other research participants like James who highlighted that: “CASA does good quality work, stimulating... and I also like to support them... from that sense of community, I think that’s what they do very well, they make people want to support them... people rally around their community and for me that’s important.”

In summary, CASA’s work was seen to be extremely important in bringing Latin American theatre to London. Attracting a fairly diverse and mixed audience which rated its events favourably, research participants identified that further work needed to be done in relation to reaching out to the Latin American community, particularly with regards to location, price and language, as well as informing the wider multicultural London audience about Latin American theatre remains an issue. Within this context we turn now to provide a broad overview of the research participants.
3. OVERVIEW OF LATIN AMERICANS PARTICIPATING IN THE RESEARCH

BOX 3

KEY FINDINGS

- Two-thirds of the Latin American engaged population were women while just over half of the non-engaged were men. Most were aged between 20 and 59 years regardless of participation. Non-engaged participants were more likely to have more dependents than engaged.
- The engaged sample were more likely to be educated to tertiary level (three-quarters) while just over half (54%) of the non-engaged had school level qualifications only.
- Latin Americans included in the research originated from 17 Latin American countries with those from Ecuador, Cuba and Uruguay most likely to be engaged in cultural consumption activities.
- Just over three quarters of both engaged and non-engaged participants were either employed or self-employed (11% were students). The non-engaged population experienced higher levels of unemployment.
- All participants worked long hours with 53% of engaged and 40% non-engaged working between 30 and 48 hours a week, and 10% and 12% respectively working more than 48 hours per week.
- Annual incomes were low across the board with just over half of engaged and three quarters of non-engaged with annual incomes below £22,500.

This section provides a socio-economic profile of the research participants derived from 444 questionnaires conducted with Latin American participants. This sample has been divided into those participants who were identified as ‘engaged’ (68%, 304 participants) and those who are categorised as ‘non-engagers’ (32%, 140 participants). It is important to stress here that ‘engaged’ refers to those men and women who were interested in the performing arts. By the same token, while non-engagers indicated that they were not interested in the performing arts, it is recognised that they were interested in other cultural forms.

3.1 Gender, age and educational characteristics of Latin Americans
A higher proportion of the engaged population comprised of women (66%) than men (33%), while the reverse was noted for the non-engaged sample where 53% were men and 47%....

---

3 The total number of questionnaire survey interviews carried out was 474. Of these 21 were conducted with non-Latin Americans, 9 interviews were incomplete and in 3 interviews, respondents stated that they had no interest in the arts. This section therefore reports on 444 questionnaires conducted with Latin Americans.
women. With the majority of respondents aged between 20 and 59 years of age, age differentials between the engaged and non-engaged were minimal (see Figure 3.1a). In relation to household composition, research participants were asked to identify the number of dependents they had. With the majority of respondents reporting between one and four dependents, variations between the engaged and non-engaged population were marked. While 77% of engaged participants had one or two dependents, just under a third (32%) of non-engaged had three or four dependents suggesting that caring for dependents might act as a deterrent to attending performing arts events.

**Figure 3.1a: Age profile of engaged and non-engaged participants**

![Age profile chart](image)

Source: Questionnaire survey, 2016

In terms of education, a broad observation is that a significant number had acquired tertiary (university) level education. This said, the distinction between the engaged and non-engaged population was marked. Three quarters of the engaged sample had acquired tertiary level education: 39% had an undergraduate qualification while 36% had a postgraduate degree. Conversely, 54% of the non-engaged had school level qualifications (see Figure 3.1b). This was reflected in comments made in relation to CASA by Isabel (see above):

> “Those who go to CASA have undergraduate and postgraduate university education. The audience is not the people who go to IRMO and LAWRS. Although it is accessible, in reality it doesn’t reach the community”.


In relation to country of birth, a great deal of variety was evident with survey participants originating from 17 Latin American countries (see Figure 3.1c).

Figure 3.1b: Educational attainment, engaged and non-engaged population

![Educational attainment chart](chart.png)

Source: Questionnaire survey, 2016

Figure 3.1c: Country of birth among engagers and non-engaged

![Country of birth chart](chart.png)

Source: Questionnaire survey, 2016
Overall, and within the context of a relatively small survey sample, participants from Cuba, Ecuador and Uruguay were much more likely to be engaged in cultural consumption activities as compared to men and women originating from Peru and El Salvador. As might be expected, English, Spanish and Portuguese featured heavily as both first and second languages (see Figure 3.1d).

**Figure 3.1d: First and second language**

![Bar chart showing language preference among engaged and non-engaged populations.](image)

Source: Questionnaire survey, 2016

### 3.2 Work and income

Having detailed the main demographic features of the Latin American research participants, we move on now to consider their economic lives in relation to work and income. Importantly, just over three quarters of both engaged and non-engaged populations reported that they were either employed or self-employed while 11% were students (see Figure 3.2a).

These high levels of employment are evidenced by broader research on both Latin American and other migrant communities (Datta, 2012; McIlwaine et al. 2011; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016). However, when compared to the 2011 census employment rate among Latin Americans of nearly 70% (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016), it is interesting that those included here have even higher rates. As might be expected, higher levels of unemployment were recorded among the non-engaged population.

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4 In the opinion of CASAs artistic director, Daniel Goldman, Latin Americans originating from Colombia, Brazil, Argentina and Mexico are ‘prolific consumers’ of cultural events.
It was evident that both engaged and non-engaged research participants worked long hours with 53% and 40% respectively working between 30 and 48 hours a week, and a further 10% and 12% working more than 48 hours per week. The preponderance of respondents working long hours corresponds with the findings of other research (Datta, 2012; McIlwaine, 2012, McIlwaine et al, 2011; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016; Wills et al., 2010). Long working hours effectively mean that participants have limited leisure time impacting on their cultural consumption. Despite such long working hours, the annual income of the majority of participants – both engaged and non-engaged – were at the lower end of the scale. As illustrated in Figure 3.2b, just over half of all engaged (53%) and three quarters of non-engaged (78%) participants had annual incomes between £0 and £22,500. Again, this reflects wider patterns among Latin Americans where, according to the 2011 census, three-quarters earn less than the London Living Wage (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016).
Aside from income levels, several of those interviewed commented on the class-based nature of attending performing arts events. For example, Pedro, who was 37 and was a DJ reported that: “Well, I’m not an expert, but the consumption of theatre is more for the middle classes and above. It’s different from consuming, say vallenato [popular folk music from Colombia] in general terms”. Isabel who was a charity worker commented:

“Latin American theatre here has a conflict between wanting to serve the Latin American community (the new arrivals and those who don’t speak English) and wanting to raise the profile of the Latin American arts scene”.

Similar sentiments were also expressed among the non-Latin Americans interviewed as James who was in his 30s and worked in the cultural sector stated in relation to CASA in particular:

“it’s a more educated crowd going to CASA... maybe more privileged, more middle class... it probably reflects the people going to theatre in the UK... probably similar to our events. I don’t think we do events for working class Latin Americans.”

In concluding this section, it is evident that there were some marked distinctions between the engaged and non-engaged research participants in relation to both demographic characteristics and work and employment status. Regarding the former, engaged populations were more likely to be women, have tertiary level education and fewer dependents while the opposite was true of non-engaged participants. In turn, while both engaged and non-engaged participants exhibited high levels of employment/self-employment, there were some differences in relation to unemployment rates with non-engaged participants more likely to be out of work.
Furthermore, engaged participants were more likely to earn higher wages than their non-engaged counterparts. These socio-economic characteristics potentially shape patterns and levels of cultural consumption which we explore further in the next section.
This section examines the nature and patterns of cultural consumption among Latin American research participants. We begin with an overview of cultural consumption among the entire survey population before focusing on the engaged participants (68%, 304 participants) and their consumption of the performing arts in particular.
4.1 Nature of cultural engagement

Taking the survey population as a whole (i.e. both engaged and non-engaged) as well as cultural activity as a broader arena, it became apparent that only 3 people in the entire sample did not engage in any cultural activity. Of those who participated in any given cultural activity, nearly one quarter (23%) of all respondents stated that they enjoyed the Performing Arts, whilst another quarter enjoyed Live Music. Around one fifth (22%) enjoyed the Cinema, followed by those who enjoyed the Visual Arts (18%). Less than one in ten mentioned Cultural Programmes on either TV or Radio. Analysed from the perspective of multiple choice (where people identified more than one activity they engaged in), the data show that Live Music was chosen by 69% of respondents, followed by 68% who reported engaging in the Performing Arts (including but not limited to the theatre). Cinema was an activity enjoyed by 66% of respondents, followed by the visual arts, enjoyed by 54%. Cultural programmes on either the TV or radio were enjoyed the least (by 26% and 11% respectively) (see Figure 4.1a).

Figure 4.1a: Cultural activities engaged in by engaged and non-engaged participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Performing Arts</th>
<th>Live Music</th>
<th>Cinema</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yes</strong> 68%</td>
<td><strong>Yes</strong> 69%</td>
<td><strong>Yes</strong> 66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No</strong> 31%</td>
<td><strong>No</strong> 30%</td>
<td><strong>No</strong> 33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NI</strong>* 1%</td>
<td><strong>NI</strong>* 1%</td>
<td><strong>NI</strong>* 1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Visual Arts</th>
<th>Cultural Programs (TV)</th>
<th>Cultural Programs (Radio)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yes</strong> 54%</td>
<td><strong>Yes</strong> 26%</td>
<td><strong>Yes</strong> 11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No</strong> 45%</td>
<td><strong>No</strong> 73%</td>
<td><strong>No</strong> 88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NI</strong>* 1%</td>
<td><strong>NI</strong>* 1%</td>
<td><strong>NI</strong>* 1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N= 741; *NI*: not interested in cultural activities at all = 3

Source: Questionnaire survey, 2016

Moving on then to focus specifically on the engaged population and the performing arts, and again on the basis of multiple choice, theatre was by far the most popular with 80% of all participants enjoying it.

Note that non-engaged participants were identified as such on the basis that they did not express an interest in the performing arts. These designation as non-engaged did not mean that they did not engage in any cultural activity (see above).
engaged men and women stating that they enjoyed the theatre, followed by dance at 59% and comedy at 42% (see Figure 4.1b). Circus, opera and spoken word attracted fewer participants.

**Figure 4.1b Performing Arts activities liked by the engaged population**

![Pie charts showing preferences for different performing arts activities.](image)

N=304  
Source: Questionnaire survey, 2016

### 4.2 Patterns of engagement in the Performing Arts

In relation to attending performing arts events, the largest proportion of engaged participants attended these at least once a month (34%), once every three months (24%) and once every six months (13%) (see Figure 4.2a). A smaller proportion attended events once a week (6%), once a year (10%) and less than once a year (13%). In terms of gender, men (44%) were much more likely to attend events on a monthly basis than women (30%). By contrast, women (27%) were more likely to attend performing arts events every three months than men (18%). Similarly, more women (15%) were likely to attend such events every six months than men (8%).
As for age, those aged between 20 and 39 were the most frequent attenders at performing arts events with 32% respectively of those aged 20-29 and 30-39 attending at least once a week. The very young and elderly were least likely to attend regularly and most likely to never attend performances (Figure 4.2b).

Source: Questionnaire survey, 2016
The relationship between income levels and frequency of attendance is complex. For instance, those earning the lowest incomes (£0-13,500) were the most likely to attend once a week (31%) followed by those earning between £52,000 and £80,000. Yet, among those who stated they never attended, by far the largest groups were the lowest earners (followed by those earning between £13,500 and £22,500) (see Figure 1; Appendix 3).

In relation to the frequency of attendance at performing arts events in London compared to their experience of attending such events in their home countries (among those who were engaged), nearly two fifths of respondents (38%) said that they attended performing arts events more frequently in London than they had in their home countries (see Figure 4.2c). Conversely, over one third (36%) indicated that they attended performing arts events more frequently in their home countries than they now did in London. About one fifth thought that the frequency of attending these events remained the same in London as it had been in their home countries.

**Figure 4.2c: Comparison of Performing Arts attendance between home country and UK**

![Pie chart showing the comparison of performing arts attendance between home country and UK](chart.png)

- **More**: 38%
- **Less**: 36%
- **The same**: 21%
- **Not applicable**: 5%

Note: Non-applicable is a category of response that applies to those who did not attend performances in their home country

Source: Questionnaire survey, 2016

Isabel, who was from Peru but had lived in both Cuba and Spain, discussed her experiences in Latin America compared to Europe highlighting that she felt that in Cuba in particular, theatre was much more accessible to the general public:

“In Cuba the society is very open to culture and the access to the culture is very impressive, as in no other country. We used to go to the theatre (more than anything
else) for 3 or 4 pounds. It was really accessible and as a girl I was able to really appreciate culture ... and I learnt poetry at school. Therefore, it was a culture shock for me to leave Cuban society and go to Spain where you had to pay 20 pounds to see a play in the theatre or here, you pay much more and it’s less accessible. For me, this was a culture shock and it also made me see in some form the priorities that different national systems have and the personal relations we have with culture ... I remember that in Cuba we went to see local Latin American events, also ballet, national and Russian. You could see things that I don’t think you’d ever see here; the quality of the art was incredible”.

Rebeca, 30, who was involved in drama education, reported that the form of theatre in Latin America, and in this case, Brazil, was different and this affected participation:

“The main thing of Brazilian theatre is that there is engagement with politics, it’s visceral - when you give yourself to that! And you end up sweating, devastated - it’s something that comes from your heart, from your whole body ... The theatre I grew up with it’s just so unexpected; something comes from the core of the theatre; it’s innovative, not traditional. But what’s sad sometimes is seeing Latin American actors playing as English - in a very traditional way.”

As for with whom they enjoyed attending performing arts events, most enjoyed going with friends (35%), followed by with their partner/spouse (34%), which in aggregate account for over two thirds (69%) of all surveyed. Being accompanied by children (10%) or by parents (5%) was enjoyed by much smaller groups in the sample, although over one in ten (14%) preferred to attend such events alone (Figure 4.2d). A few marked differences emerged according to gender in that men (38%) more than women (30%) enjoyed attending performing arts events accompanied by their partner/spouse, whereas women (38%) more than men (31%) enjoyed going to performances with friends.

Furthermore, of those who reported whether the people who accompany them at performing arts events are from their own community (N=311), only about one-third (34%) said that they always attended such events with their co-ethnics. Nearly three fifths (58%) reported that they only sometimes went to performing arts events accompanied by those from their own community. A small minority (8%) never attended such events with members of their own community. In terms of differences according to gender, more women (60%) than men (53%) sometimes went to performances with people from their own community, whereas men (14%) were more likely to never go accompanied by people from their own community than women (5%).

31
4.3 Factors shaping engagement with performing arts

Participants were asked to rate the importance of a number of factors that may influence their decision in choosing a performance in any of their preferred performing arts. Table 4.3 shows how the story, price, time of the day and good reviews were the most important factors, with who they might see being the least important.

Table 4.3: Factors shaping decisions on choosing to attend Performing Arts events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Not important</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Very important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Who I might see</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participate in cultural activities in/by my community</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good reviews</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who I go with</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who is performing</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time of the day</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Questionnaire survey, 2016
More specifically, the factor *Who I might see* was not important for 70%, thus suggesting that the socialisation associated with attending performances might be more important in shaping participants decisions about attending Performing Arts events. Other factors that were rated as not important in influencing the choice of performance were *Who is performing* (40%) and *Who I go with* (38%). However, *Good reviews* (42%) and *Location* (39%) were rated as important factors in shaping decisions, whilst *Story* (63%), *Price* (52%), and *Time of the day* (45%) were very important factors in shaping choice of events.

In exploring in more depth the ways in which income affect the perception of ‘value for money’ or ‘price’, not surprisingly, price was most important for those on the lowest incomes (for 63% of those earning less than £13,500 per annum and 57% of those earning between £13,500-22,500) and least important for those earning more than £80,000 (13%) (see Figure 4.2e).

**Figure 4.2e: Income and price of Performing Arts events**

![Income and price of Performing Arts events](image)

Source: Questionnaire survey 2016

### 4.4 Sources of information

It emerged that there were a very wide range of sources through which Latin Americans learn about performing arts events with social media, word of mouth and web searches being the most common (Figure 4.4).
More specifically, around one fifth of respondents learned about performances through social media (21%) and word of mouth (19%), the two highest shares among those surveyed. A smaller proportion mentioned (14%) web search, followed by those who learned about the performance through the press and printed materials (13% and 12% respectively). Less than one in ten mentioned previous attendance (8%), being a friend of staff/performer (7%), or learning about events at the venues (5%).

Not surprisingly, people found out about performing arts events not only in diverse ways, but also through multiple channels at the same time. For example, among those whose primary mode was through social media, 77% stated that they were also a friend of staff or performer with 74% additionally using web search and 73% finding out as a result of mailing lists linked with attendance at previous events. In turn, among those whose primary route was word of mouth, 81% also stated that they were a friend of staff or performer with 79% also discovering about the event at the venue (see Figure 2; Appendix 2).

When differentiated by age, for the younger groups (aged 20-29 years) most likely to attend performing arts events, the most common ways of learning about events were social media (25%), web searches (24%) and at the venue (22%). Among those aged 30-39 years, word of mouth and social media were the most common channels (both 43%) followed by previous attendance/mailing list and being a friend of staff/performer (both 42%) (see Figure 3; appendix 2).
When assessing the role of reviews in choosing events across different sources, those accessing information via the press and at the venue were the most likely to state that they were very important (both 39%). For those who felt that reviews were important, most accessed information from previous attendance/mailing lists (55%) (see Table 4.4).

Table 4.4: Role of reviews in choosing events across different sources of information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Not important</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Very important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Media</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Web search</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printed material</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Press</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous attendance/mailing list</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend of staff/performer</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At the venue</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Questionnaire survey, 2016

In summary, it is important to recognise that a significant proportion of respondents included in this research engaged in performing arts. In turn, it was evident that while a range of performing arts activities were enjoyed, theatre was particularly significant. The frequency with which performing arts events were attended, both in London and in comparison to attendance in home countries, was fairly high. Attendance at events was significantly shaped by friends to the extent that it was not necessarily that important which type of event was attended. As might be expected, both social media and word of mouth were primary sources of information on performing arts events.
5. BARRIERS TO ATTENDING ARTS PERFORMANCES AMONG CONSUMERS AND CREATING ART AMONG ARTISTS

BOX 5

KEY FINDINGS

Consumers
- Lack of time and expense were the two main barriers to attendance at performing arts events for the non-engaged (23% and 20%) and the engaged (28% respectively).
- Lack of time was more of an issue for men than for women, whereas more women than men cited expense.
- Language was a minor barrier among the engaged (6%) and non-engaged (14%).
- More than half (58%) stated that they had not faced similar barriers back home, with nearly one third (30%) reporting that they had.
- Nearly half normally attended events in any language they could understand, whereas one quarter would attend performances in either their first language or second language.
- Tensions exists between Latin American theatre serving the Spanish and Portuguese speaking community and reaching out to a wider English speaking audience.

Artists
- Accessing established networks, information and forms of institutional support were key barriers for Latin American artists in London.
- Language and translation were paradoxical: both barriers but with ways of overcoming the challenges.
- It is important for artists to focus on intellectual ideas rather than language.
- Lack of confidence and self-esteem in the quality of Latin American performances was a barrier as well as a degree of prejudice on the part of the British.

Having detailed the nature and patterns of cultural engagement above, we now move to identify the key barriers that research participants faced in relation to cultural consumption. We draw upon the experiences of both engaged and non-engaged participants in recognition of the fact that both sets were constrained to varying degrees. In turn, we distinguish between our research participants in relation to those who we classify as consumers and those who were artists. We draw upon survey data conducted with consumers, in-depth interviews and a focus group discussion held with artists as well as feedback comments from the Artistic Director of CASA.
5.1 Barriers to attending events among consumers

In terms of consumers, around half of all those attending and not attending the performing arts identified lack of time and expense as the most important barriers to their engagement. More specifically, among those who do not engage in the arts, almost a quarter (23%) cited lack of time as the main factor, followed closely by attendance being too expensive which was cited by a fifth (20%) (see Figure 5.1). Also important for this group were language difficulties (14%) (see below) and lack of knowledge (11%). Similar patterns prevailed among those who did engage in the arts with more than a quarter (28%) reporting lack of time and a further 28% saying it was too expensive. Among these people, language was less of an issue (only 6%) whereas being too far away from events was an important barrier for 15% (see Figure 5.1a).

Figure 5.1a: Barriers to attending Performing Arts events

![Chart showing barriers to attending Performing Arts events]

Source: Questionnaire survey, 2016

Among engaged and non-engaged Latin Americans, it emerged that lack of time was more of an issue for men (65%) than for women (53%), whereas more women (59%) than men (53%) cited expense. In turn, language was more commonly cited as a barrier among women (27%) than men (21%). Reflecting these findings in relation to time, Carmen who was an actress and director noted that:

“Some time ago, I worked with Southwark [council]. They gave me some money to carry out five projects ... I had to attract the least represented adult population. I managed to convene a lot of people in consultation. It was really great because they said to me: ‘We are very hard-working, we live at night and sleep during the day ... therefore, how are we going to do what you are saying if when you are asleep we are getting
up’. I know that I’m generalising, but it is another world, it’s another reality. We can work with them if we invite them, but it’s a long process. If they have families, we have to organise things for the children to do, for the grandparents.”

In reflecting on their experiences back home, as a whole, more than half (58%) stated that they had not faced similar barriers, with nearly one third (30%) reporting that they had. Among those who had experienced similar barriers to attending events back home as in London, nearly a third (30%) cited tickets being too expensive, followed by lack of time (28%) (see Figure 5.1b). Interestingly, when viewed in terms of participation in London, almost two-thirds of those who did not engage were more likely to state that they did not experience similar barriers back home (compared with just over half of those who did engage). This suggests that issues in London prevent them from participating. Isabel echoed these findings in her interview reporting that Price and elitism affected her attendance at theatre in Cuba and Spain:

“In Spain, I saw much less theatre because of the price and because it was very elitist. Therefore I felt that the public couldn’t really participate in performances. It was much more oriented towards the community in Cuba, which is something that I really appreciated and as a girl, I learnt the difference”.

**Figure 5.1b: Barriers to attending Performing Arts events - home country and London**

![Graph showing barriers to attending Performing Arts events](image)

Source: Questionnaire survey, 2016
It was also noted by several people that accessing the arts was actually relatively easy in London. As Rosane, 48 who was an opera singer reported:

“I think I’ve been more of a consumer of performances and music making here, and I think that is very enriching, not that, you know, my siblings in Brazil, they do go to concerts, you can be a consumer of art or whatever, anywhere, really, if you have the means. But I think here, there is more free access to stuff, museums, everywhere, free rooms for you to enter, and see, and look, and listen, and I think you just need to be willing to go, and feel that you can go, you know, you can make time and go, and see and explore.”

Going back specifically to pricing, it is evident that organisations like CASA have experimented with various options from free tickets to cheap tickets. Indeed, its artistic director, Daniel Goldman, told us that: “How we price our tickets has always been a question for us at CASA. We’ve offered cheap tickets, we’ve offered free tickets, we’ve offered a ticket pricing scheme where audiences decided how much they paid, we’ve passed a bucket around at the end of the show.” Reflecting that all these options had a positive and negative side, Daniel concluded that:

“we try to set as low a ticket price as possible that still feels appropriate to the quality of the work that we present and that will help us make back our financial investment and then we run our Open CASA ticket scheme to enable those who might not otherwise be able to access the arts to see the shows for free. It’s not a perfect way of working but audiences do tend to appreciate that we bring them world-class work at very low ticket prices.”

5.2 The role of language in cultural consumption

Language emerged as a complex and paradoxical barrier in shaping research participants consumption of performing arts events. As Figure 5.2 shows, nearly a half (47%) of all those surveyed normally attended events in any language they could understand6, whereas one quarter (24%) would attend performances in either their first language or second language. About one fifth (20%) would attend events in any language as long as they were subtitled, and one in ten (10%) would only attend events in their first language. Women (26%) were more likely to attend events in their first or second language than men (21%), whereas men were more likely to attend events in any language with subtitles than women (17%). In terms of the first language of those who attended events, 87% spoke Spanish compared to 11% who spoke Portuguese; in contrast, 93% of the non-engaged spoke Spanish compared with 7% Portuguese.

6 It is important to acknowledge that this response potentially includes participants who attended performances in English as well as those who attended events held in their first/second language (which they could understand with comfort).
Elaborating on the paradoxical role of language, on the one hand, people reported that they felt more comfortable seeing performances in Spanish. As Raul, 42 who worked in events production, noted: “In Spanish, and I think that, according to what I’ve seen amongst my friends, the Ecuadorians and the Latin Americans will seek out events and artists that perform in their own language. So, language here is fundamental”. In turn, Isabel (a Peruvian) shared her experience of going to see Mexican theatre in London: “Definitely, it warmed my heart to listen to Castilian/Spanish”. While this was discussed in relation to theatre, it also extended to dance. For example, Luzia, a 35 year old events coordinator stated: “Well, if it is Latin American, it has to be in Spanish, or Portuguese, say. It has to be in a home language. I wouldn’t like to dance to a salsa song in English. It seems odd. It has a different impact on me.”

Yet on the other hand, many felt that it was important to perform in English in order to reach a wide audience. For example, Amalia, in her 40s who was a journalist stated:

“but you are in an English speaking country ... if it’s in Spanish it’s always going to remain in the ghetto... which is fine... it has its own purpose... but you are always going to remain in the ghetto... you are never going to transcend... if you want to access a wider audience you would have to do it in English”.

Similarly, James (see above) noted: “But the truth is that you will never have like a hit in theatre terms in London if it’s not in English.... I won’t say never but it is unlikely... it’s never going to go beyond this specific niche”.
An interesting point was made by Andres who was 30 and worked in one of the Latin American embassies in relation to performing in English in relation to music. He recalled how his friend, a well-known Mexican rock star, felt it was treacherous to sing in English:

“I said to him that he would be in another league if he sang in English, instead of competing with La Lupita and Café Tacuba or Soda Estéreo, you would be competing with the Beatles or the Rolling Stones ... he said to me that language is the only thing we have left; if we sing in English we will be selling out. I said, this is not my point of view as rock was invented in English ... we then discussed how it was a lack of identity, but he said that Spanish was his identity”.

In turn, Amalia noted that she thought it was possible to translate into English and still keep the meaning of the theatre:

“I don’t think you need to change the essence because otherwise it doesn’t work. You have to be true to what you do and what you are saying.... The thing that Latin Americans have is a different perspective and you would never want to dilute that.... That’s what the wider audience would be receptive to ... they learn ... people want to learn and see the world differently as they saw it before they went into the theatre ... that transformative experience is what art is all about ... in that sense the British audience is a good audience... but first you have to get them there and then it has to be in a language they understand”.

However, it is worth noting that language is much less important for those who speak multiple languages. For those who do not, attending performances in another language is obviously much more limiting. Therefore, Rosane, an opera singer who is multilingual notes that language is not important for her:

“It doesn’t matter, you know why? Because my everyday living is based working with foreign languages. Like today, I came from a rehearsal in French. Two weeks ago I was performing in Russian. So foreign languages are my everyday life, and being able to be proficient in the language of this country, for me was key to gaining a space in a professional world, because I think therefore that I am very happy that I can go from one to another, and it doesn’t really matter”.

Yet, Raul, an events producer spoke of how he struggled with English which affected his ability to participate in events:

“I think that for us Latin Americans the English language is difficult to learn, I’ve always found it difficult to learn English, I don’t know why, maybe because, in my own case, I’ve been mostly having contact with Latin Americans, hence speaking Spanish all the time, being involved in activities that demand only that I speak Spanish. I have studied
[English] here, but even so, I don’t feel confident enough ... *Lady Salsa* was by an English director, and the play was in English, well partly in English and partly in Spanish, but it was something that I could follow, but still there were parts in English that were a blank for me”.

Overall, there is therefore some tension between the importance of Latin American theatre serving the Spanish and Portuguese speaking community and reaching out to an English speaking wider audience.

Echoing some of these opinions around language, Daniel, CASA’s artistic director, reflected on the fact that watching theatre required “high language proficiency...there is no pause button or rewind to go over a bit that you’ve missed. Theatre tends to use complicated language, to revel in language and that can feel exclusive.” Within this context, he went on to highlight CASA’s strategy of sub-titling Spanish and Portuguese shows in English (but interestingly not vice versa) stating:

“In terms of how we are approaching the matter, we have to take a more positive attitude and say that what we are doing is opening a door to new experiences and then make it as clear as possible to everyone that all our work is linguistically accessible. In essence, we have to do what everybody does which is sell the idea that you’re going to have a brilliant time. Once you’re in, we know that you’ll have a good time.”

**5.3 Barriers to (and solutions for) creating Performing Arts among artists**

In terms of barriers identified among those who create and produce Latin American performing arts, a range of issues emerged. Many artists were positive about the effects of moving to London on their ability to create art. This was especially in terms of the cultural openness of London, the opportunities in terms of meeting new partners and collaborators and the ability to apply for diverse range of public and private funding sources which include the Arts Council, CASA, and the British Council among others (see Box 5.1; Figure 5.3a).
However, they also discussed problems and barriers, many of which were linked with the challenges of transposing and translating cultures and traditions from one continent to another (Box 5.3). One of the key issues to emerge among the focus group participants as well as those interviewed was accessing established networks and accessing institutional support. While Figure 5.3a highlights the range of sources available, the ability to make the most of these sources is often more challenging. According to Camilo, an actor/director:

“You have to understand first how to play the game — something I talk in terms of football — I know how to play football in the barrio but if I go into the stadium the rules are different and the pitch is really big and here you have to know the rules and here there are ways of reaching a certain level. Therefore, artists who arrive have to understand this process … theatre in this country is an industry; art is an industry and as artists we have to understand this”.

In a similar vein, Rebeca who works in drama education commented that Latin Americans tended to focus on the art rather than the business side of the arts world:

“Because the European mentality is very different from the Latin American mentality. In terms of arts, they see arts in a different way. Here, we wait for funding to develop a project… there, we start a project from the heart! Because we have to do that…

**Box 5.3**

Effects of transposing our traditions to London (how we enter the industry)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accepting of people who are not Latin American</td>
<td>Lack of connection / crossing of cultures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welcomed in Latin American community – sense of home – our part of LA in London</td>
<td>Bubbles get created – nationality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Many places</td>
<td>Accent – categorised on basis of accent is very important in theatre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New partners</td>
<td>Segregation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New collaborators</td>
<td>Globalisation of culture – theatre – in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chances and opportunities</td>
<td>terms of form plus aesthetics need to be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>recognized LA theatre</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Tradition**

Theatre/dance defined form hard to break – know the culture where you are – age barrier in terms of entry – and being a parent

Lack of sense of entitlement - But you can apply for anything, e.g. Arts Council grant. Crossing space

Source: Focus group discussion among artists, 2016
that’s my thing as an artist... I want to say that... look, the politics... look, the world we live on... I want to say that... I need to talk about it through theatre”.

**Figure 5.3a: Institutional support available for Latin American artists in London**

Source: Focus group discussion among artists, 2016

It was also pointed out that there can be segregation within the arts world between the types of Latin American and British arts. Despite a globalisation of theatre culture in relation to form and aesthetics, there are still defined ways of acting and creating performance that can potentially act as a barrier. Furthermore, unlike some British performers who might feel entitled to receive support, Latin Americans tend to think differently and be more grateful for any assistance they do obtain (see Box 5.3b).

Also important is that as migrants, networks developed by Latin American artists may be more transitory than those developed among British people. Furthermore, many commented that the networks generated in school and college are often the strongest, yet these mean very little in London. In turn, British artists have their own networks that have been established for a long time which are difficult to break into. Even in cases where artists do manage to develop strong ties, these can be broken easily when someone decides to return home (see Figure 5.3b). However, it is also important to point out that several artists noted that access
to networks in London could be easier than their home countries because the country as a whole is more egalitarian. For instance, Carmen from Peru pointed out:

“What London offers is a much more horizontal context to relate with others. We come from very vertical societies; we come and we encounter a world where, if you like, it’s on the same level within this horizontality”.

Figure 5.3b: Barriers to artistic work

Source: Focus group among artists, 2016

Another issue to emerge related to a form of dependence that some artists developed once in London. While there was recognition of the institutional barriers faced, the other aspect of this was that some artists expected organisations that did provide support to Latin Americans to then build their careers for them. Amalia noted this:

“The most difficult thing is managing egos, because you know, artists have big egos… And there’s people who expect something else, they say, so, what are you going to do? What else are you going to do for me? And I say: I don’t know, I mean, I don’t owe you anything, I mean, why do you expect me building up your career for you? It’s
amazing to find these different attitudes, some are incredibly grateful and some imply that we haven’t done enough for them ... And the people who do better are those who do their own publicity”.

While these issues relate primarily to the institutional and societal levels, several artists also spoke of the problems with negotiating their own personality in a different cultural context. As one person in the focus group noted: “You create a different version of yourself ... a silent unconscious voices changes within you” (see Figure 5.5).

An integral aspect of this was language, both literally and culturally. One focus group member pointed out that they felt “smart in Spanish but stupid in English” and that this affected their self-esteem as an artist. As noted for those attending performances, the relationships between language, translation and performance were paradoxical. On one hand, language and translation were major barriers as noted above. Most felt that they had to translate and/or work in English in order to be able to work in London, as Carmen noted:

“The only way of having an impact at the level of dramaturgy, that is, in London, is if it is well translated. The only way of having an impact is using the language. If we are here, we have to do things in English. We are not Russian, there they put sub-titles, but if you are Latin American, no”.

Yet at the same time, this also involved losing some of the cultural meaning or as one focus group member noted, it entailed “stripping away some culture”. Other methods of addressing the translation/language issue was to use British actors in performances where relevant, choose plays in new topics and appeal to a young audience. It was also thought to be possible to produce performances that appeal intellectually rather than culturally and that ultimately “a story is a story” (see Figure 5.3c). There was some agreement that it was important to present what Carmen called: “strange worlds, foreign worlds. Because there is interest, there is appetite ... what happens is that it is difficult to knock down the doors”.
Figure 5.3c: Ways to overcome barriers among artists

Source: Focus group among artists, 2016

However, these processes affected the confidence of the artists. Many recognised not only that London’s art scene was very competitive, but that London was also a global industry that was home to the classics such as Shakespeare. Often the artists doubted the quality of their own work in this context as noted by Carmen:

“I think that we don’t have enough confidence or the time to find the best material that suits us. We always produce very modest things that don’t represent the quality of what exists in Latin America. Besides that, the literary and dramatic tradition in the UK is very strong, from Shakespeare onwards. Therefore, I don’t think Latin Americans don’t have this experience, this tradition of written material. We come from an experience of being conquered by Spanish which is an imposed language, it’s not our own. Therefore, I think there’s a profound problem; there’s a gap between the languages that we have to tell our stories; here we say things like ‘we make things in the garage’ ... the self-esteem that we have is low”.
Linked with this is that the British are seen as being self-referential. In a context where the British were deemed as being aware of their own long-standing theatrical and musical traditions, artistic forms from other cultures could be seen as being inferior. The attitude of the British themselves obviously plays a role here too. For example, Amalia noted that:

“The English are culturally very self-referential and they don’t recognise other cultural contributions ... I mean it’s obviously difficult to generalise. In some ways there is a very open and progressive London, of course, but actually if you go below the surface... I am talking about music here, if you see all the Latin DJs or even musicians that are successful, they are all English ... Because they know how to work the system. It’s several things, it’s partly prejudice, obviously, so if you are talking about the media, the BBC or whatever, they trust people that probably look like themselves, speak the same language; it’s partly that... on the other side they might be, I don’t want to say professional but they know what they need to do to access the media”.

Overall, then, the barriers for those consuming and creating performing arts, and the arts more generally, are substantial and revolve primarily around accessing networks, support and knowledge about how the industry works. Language can be a barrier for some but not others, for both consumers and artists. Indeed, for the latter in particular, a range of ways of addressing language challenges have been developed by artists over time. One key issue that arose is that many Latin American artists lacked confidence about their art and performance in the face of British traditions while also encountering a degree of prejudice.
The relationship between the arts sector and identity building among migrants is complex. On the one hand, involvement in the consumption and production of the arts and especially the performing arts is seen as a positive way of maintaining ties back home and bolstering a Latin American identity, yet on the other hand, participation can also facilitate wider integration into British society. In terms of what identity means to Latin Americans, not surprisingly, many of those interviewed mentioned the diversity of identities encompassed within the notion of being ‘Latin American’. For example, Pedro who was in his 30s and was a DJ pointed out:

“There are many audiences and many communities … because people talk of one but there are many Latin American communities. Many do not know about each other or talk of each other because they are such different communities. Some are spoken about more than others and some are glued together with more strength than others, but there are still many ... the Brazilians, the Chileans – the new Chileans and the historical-political Chileans, the new economic Ecuadorians, the Colombians, the economically poor Brazilians from the North, the rich Chileans who work in the wine industry. There are lots of different ones”.

The relationship between the arts sector and identity building among migrants is complex.
Specifically in relation to identities and art, Andres stated that: “It’s not possible to generalise about communities nor about the art forms, for who it’s for and how it is accessed which needs to be analysed according to very specific criteria ... to compare theatre and live music is very complicated”. This said, other research participants stated clearly that they felt Latin American such as Luzia who claimed:

“I think I am just too proud to be Latin American. Wherever I go, I say I am from Bolivia, Latin America. Everybody knows that I am from Bolivia ... I think my identity is very clearly defined as a Latin American, very clearly defined ... It inspires me, a lot of my behaviour, a lot of my behaviour goes back to my Latin genes, I guess, because I believe that that exists”.

Indeed, for some migrating to London changed their view of their identity leading them to self-identify as Latin American in a collective or national way in a way they never did back home. Rosane, for instance, noted:

“I think that when you come, when you have the opportunity to detach yourself from your country, and then build a new life, and actually a new identity somewhere else it can be liberating but at the same time quite difficult. I think I am completely different now from what I was back home, I feel actually much more Brazilian here in way because in Brazil the descendant of an immigrant family, you are Brazilian but you are also Italian.”

However, as has been noted elsewhere (see McIlwaine et al., 2011), the relationships between Brazilians and Spanish speaking Latin Americans is especially complicated, with many of the former not considering themselves part of their continental neighbours in terms of identity. Rosane’s further comment illustrates this:

“I don’t think so, no. I am feeling a bit ashamed now, because, it is funny, I just realised, just now, that I don’t search for events from Latin American countries, but I love the language... I don’t feel particularly identified with Latin America in general”.

Celia discussed what she thought were the reasons for this situation:

“First there is the barrier of the language itself. Secondly, I don’t know, I think that Brazilians look too much outwards to Europe, they look out to the other side and that is due to so many factors ... There is no single race in Brazil, which is very different from say, Bolivia. You look at the Bolivian people and the indigenous [visible] is there, visible on them. You go to Ecuador and you see that too, but you don’t see that in Brazil. I think it is sad [Brazil being apart from Latin America], because today I want to find my ‘Latinity’ and this is a political stance, and sometimes I think that Brazilians,
and of course, you can’t place everybody in the same box, but what I feel is that there is a lack of a political positioning about what Latin America means."

While generally speaking, people referred to being Latin American, the artists included in the focus group analysed what it meant to be British-Latino. While they also identified how Brazilians tended to separate themselves from Latin Americans, they suggested that the grouping into a Latin American or British Latino identity was important within the arts in order to be recognised and accepted. Also significant is that they thought that second and third generation Latin Americans immersed themselves and closely identified with Latin culture (see Box 6.1).

**BOX 6.1**

**Latin American identity in London, the view of artists**

*British-Latino identity*
- Influenced by South American culture
- How difficult is to migrate – refugees – shapes identity – survival, language, etc all shapes identity
- Having to identify yourself for others
- 2nd and 3rd generation are British-Latino but still immersed in Latin culture
- What is LA culture? Identity? People connect to a single country
- How you perceive British/English culture and vice versa
- Umbrella – you have to go into in order to be recognised/ accepted. So you go under LA umbrella. E.g. Brazilians who separate themselves
- Art
- 2nd generation -> how they navigate different culture

Source: Focus group discussion among artists, 2016

Latin American identities were therefore viewed as being dynamic and fluid. They changed across borders and generations as well as according to the types of work that people did, and especially if they were an artist. For example, Carmen, who was an actress/director noted: “Identity today is related to what you do, not who you are. Your identity is defined and measured by what you do”. Similarly, Camilo stated: “I am what I do as an actor, as a dancer, as a producer. People who know me, know me as these things. They know me as the Latin American guy who is an actor, dancer, who directs”.
In turn, these identities are central to understanding integration processes and particularly the role of the arts within these. In terms of whether Latin Americans attended events with others from their own community, which can be used as an indicator of integration, just over a third stated that they did (35%), with only 8% reporting that they always did. Yet, with over half (57%) reporting that they sometimes did, it appears that there is a significant degree of mixing in terms of attendance (see Figure 6a).

Figure 6a: Attending Performing Arts events with other community members

![Graph showing attendance frequencies: 35% Sometimes, 57% Always, 8% Never.](N = 293)

Source: Questionnaire survey, 2016

However, it is also important to note that attending events with people from your own community can also be part of integration processes as well. For example, Raul pointed out that he went to Latin American events with friends from his own country:

“What is interesting is the fact that you are living your own culture in such a different country from your own, far from your own home, but in a country that is multicultural, with cultures from all over the world, yet you can address nostalgia by attending these events, you can meet your own people, your own country people to talk, have a drink, be together”.

He also commented that this was very positive in terms of integration:

“I think that [Latin American arts] played a role in my own integration here. They were key to my social development, because I now believe in myself, and in my culture, and in my ancestors, I know where I come from, and now I know what I want now, and this has contributed to my own identification with myself. They helped me feel as a
person, rescuing me from invisibility, and it has filled me with happiness, it has helped me integrate satisfactorily into this country.”

The arts are also very important in terms of meeting with people from other countries and with British people as Constanza stated:

“It means a lot, that I can choose [going to performing arts events], I can go, I have the option, I have the opportunity to do that, because of where I live. It means also that I probably belong to the lowest intellectual population in this country. Because there is, you know, an elite, an intellectual elite, they are not the posh people, they are intellectuals. Because we are foreigners, we are really at the very bottom, but when we meet other people, we can talk likewise, I mean, about all these things, and we share. I have fine British friends, we go together. And I think that from that point of view, we are equals. However, I mean, if that gives you a lot of channel into this society, I don’t know, probably a little bit.”

Yet attending performing arts events is also important for feeling connected with the home country as well as Luzia noted:

“For me, I always find it therapeutic. I find it connects me back to, to, it connects me to something, whatever it is, it connects me back. I feel amazing afterwards because I feel, I don’t know, recharged, that is my culture, that is who I am. I love that. I reconnect, definitely, I reconnect”.

Raul also spoke of his emotion and nostalgia at going to see musicians that he had listened to back home in Ecuador: “I went to see them and when I saw them I said ‘Wow!’ They were my dream to see and now I was seeing them in person! That brought tears to my eyes! Tears of happiness, a feeling of happiness! As if you were returning home, it feels you with energy”.

People were also asked their views about popular Latin American culture, especially in relation to summer carnivals. Generally, most people felt that this was a valid art form as Carmen stated: “Everything is valued, everything that tries to communicate with others, to share an experience through an art form is valid.” In terms of attendance at the summer carnivals, more than half (59%) of those in the survey (the engaged population) said that they had attended sometimes or always in the past, although 41% had never attended (see Figure 6b).

Raul commented on the importance of one of the largest of the summer carnivals, Carnaval del Pueblo, which no longer runs. Importantly, he spoke of how it was important in terms of communicating Latin American culture to English people as well as making Latin Americans feel at home:

“I think that this is something special, this one [Carnaval del Pueblo], was held only once a year, but the fact that you could attend this huge event about your own culture,
enjoying it, firstly in the company of your own people, and secondly, seeing that the English also liked our culture, that they would come and enjoy our culture, they engaged with it, they came to learn about us. That made me feel closer to them, more confident, I felt more confident... So this feeling that our culture is being accepted here, that they are learning about our culture, is to feel that they are accepting us, and that made me feel very self-assured.

People also discussed a sense of pride in being able to show-case their culture such as Luzia who had been involved in organisation of Carnaval del Pueblo in the 2000s for a couple of years. She noted:

“I danced in the carnival, I represented Bolivia, with a message for unity. So I formed my own group, I had a nice, beautiful message actually, we had a banner that read ‘Bolivia United’, and there were people from all of the cities, wearing national costumes from each city, holding hands and dancing together, we were saying that Bolivia doesn’t want separating. I guess I just felt, my feeling would be pride, feeling a pride of showing the world what Bolivia is about”.

**Figure 6b: Attendance at summer carnivals**

![Pie chart showing attendance at summer carnivals](image)

(N = 298)

Source: Questionnaire survey, 2016

Overall, therefore people felt that attending a wide range of performing arts events was very important for a diverse set of reasons, but especially in terms of developing a simultaneous sense of belonging in London as well as maintaining cultural ties back home. Raul again discussed the importance of attending events:
“Definitely yes, it is very important. They are activities that I should attend much more, I feel I should go more often, because it makes me feel that I am involved in the society of which I am part. It does not mean that I must not be involved in the English society, but it is fact that I have roots and I identify with a certain culture. Attending an event, social, artistic, cultural, makes us feel like a brotherhood, which we carry inside our blood. Simply listening to a show in one’s own language, an artist from my own country, that is, well, and many of the artists from my own country I could never meet them over there, but I had the opportunity to meet them here”.

Attendance was also important for people’s personal well-being as well as Constanza pointed out:

“They are important, they are important. If I don’t manage to organise for a few months, anything, like, going to a concert, or theatre, or seeing something, I feel a lack, I feel that something is missing there, then suddenly I go to a few concerts, I mean, one or two weeks I go to a concert. I feel that it is part of myself ... I feel close to the performing arts. I feel it has become part of my life. And it doesn’t matter if you go and see the same thing again”.

However, as a word of caution, several people made the point of ensuring the high quality of the performing arts from Latin America and by Latin Americans. Carmen, for instance, stated:

“If we want to have an impact at another level, I think that it is important to keep on kicking at the door until something interesting happens ... but we have to present quality material. I insist that we don’t just bring the best but that we translate the best. I talk of quality at a range of levels, at the level of context, writing, potential ... it can be well-produced because we are competiting in a very sophisticated place”.

A final important point is whether it would be useful to have an arts and cultural space in London and more specifically in Southwark. Among the engaged surveyed, 80% stated that they would attend such a place, with only 6% saying they would not (see Figure 6c).
In summary, this section of the report has highlighted the importance of culture in identity formation and integration processes. Our findings clearly evidence that participating in cultural events has diverse benefits from enhancing individual well-being to connecting migrants to their co-nationals and other migrants as well as back home through the use of native languages. There is some evidence of a collective sense of identity (with the exception of the distinction between Brazilian and Spanish speaking Latin Americans) which was especially apparent among second generation migrants.
7. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This collaborative research project has investigated a vital yet relatively under-explored issue in relation to the Latin American community: namely their cultural consumption practices particularly focused upon the performing arts. In so doing, it has highlighted key issues in relation to the nature of cultural consumption among Latin American migrant men and women, the barriers they face, both as consumers and artists, and the vital role that cultural consumption plays in relation to identify formation and integration processes. Here, we reflect on the findings of this project with a view to identifying key recommendations.

The mixed methods approach adopted in this study was successful in capturing a diverse mix of Latin American participants in relation to gender, age, educational attainment, household composition, national origin and work and employment status. They also enabled interactions with Latin Americans as artists and consumers of culture, and specifically performing arts, with consumers further categorised as those who engaged and did not engage in cultural consumption. This enabled a full investigation of both the nature and patterns of cultural consumption as well as an identification of key barriers which constrained both engaged and non-engaged participants cultural activities. The use of qualitative interviews and focus group discussions were crucial in providing in-depth insights into the importance of cultural consumption in facilitating processes of identity formation and integration processes among Latin American artists.

We began the report with a review of CASA’s annual festivals derived from audience surveys conducted between 2013 and 2015. Reflecting on the importance of CASA in bringing Latin American theatre to London, we reported on the fact that its events draw a fairly diverse and mixed audience which rates its events very favourably, particularly in relation to providing ‘value for money’. Within this positive context, research participants identified that further work needed to be done on two fronts: first, to reach out still further to the Latin American community which they linked to issues related to location, price and language; and second, to widen the appeal of Latin American theatre to a wider multicultural London audience.

Building upon this, our research illustrates that a significant proportion of participants were engaged in the performing arts (68%) as compared to those who were not (32%). It was evident that while a range of performing arts activities were enjoyed, theatre was particularly significant. The frequency with which performing arts events were attended, both in London and in comparison to attendance in home countries, was fairly high. Attendance at events was significantly shaped by friends to the extent that it was not necessarily that important which type of event was attended. As might be expected, both social media and word of
mouth were primary sources of information on performing arts events, especially among younger audiences.

The barriers for those consuming performing arts were lack of time and expense. Given the preponderance of relatively low incomes and long working weeks among many Latin Americans, this finding is not surprising. Interestingly, language emerged as a minor barrier with nearly half normally attending events in any language they could understand, whereas one quarter would attend performances in either their first language or second language. In relation to artists, barriers are substantial and revolve primarily around accessing networks, support and knowledge about how the industry works. For artists, in particular, a range of ways of addressing language challenges has been developed by them over time. One key issue that arose is that many Latin American artists lacked confidence about their art and performance in the face of British traditions while also encountering a degree of prejudice.

In turn, cultural consumption was integral to identity formation. For many artists, it was clear that participating in cultural events has diverse benefits from enhancing individual well-being to connecting migrants to their co-nationals and other migrants as well as back home through the use of native languages. There is some evidence that a collective sense of identity (with the exception of the distinction between Brazilian and Spanish speaking Latin Americans) was achieved which was especially evident among second generation migrants. Overall, the research highlights how important the performing arts are in creating a sense of belonging among Latin Americans in London through celebrating their rich cultural heritage and making it available, accessible and relevant for London’s wider multicultural community. While this research is an important first step, further research investigating cultural consumption among migrants, and Latin American migrants, is necessary.

7.1 Recommendations
The key findings of this research underpin the following recommendations:

- Performing arts should be made accessible for Latin Americans from all socio-economic backgrounds in London in relation to price. Although CASA events were thought to be fairly priced on the basis of audience surveys, the community survey highlighted price as an issue, especially among those who earned less.

- Performing arts should be made accessible for Latin Americans from all socio-economic backgrounds in London in relation to location. This includes performing in areas where they feel comfortable and which are close to the areas where they live.
• As part of this, the overwhelming support for an **arts and cultural space in Southwark** indicates an important need in this regard. This should be an important goal moving forward.

• **Socio-economic and class barriers** must be addressed, both within the context of Latin American communities but also in the broader context of the arts. Our findings indicate that particular types of art forms are exclusionary such that migrants who come from poorer backgrounds feel out of place in certain artistic environments. This finding is echoed in broader debates about the exclusionary nature of ‘high end art’ in the UK.

• The rhythm of Latin American men and women’s everyday working lives need to be considered in relation to the **timing** of events.

• Latin American arts spaces must work with other migrant and British cultural art forms as a way of promoting wider **integration into London’s multicultural arts scene**.
Bibliography


Appendix 1: Questionnaire survey

Cultural Consumption among Latin American Migrants in London

1. What cultural activities do you like to engage in? (tick all that apply)
   Performing arts (theatre, dance, opera, circus, comedy, spoken word, other)
   Visual arts (art galleries, photography, museums)
   Cinema
   Cultural programmes on TV
   Cultural programmes on the Radio
   Live Music
   Other
   1.a If you selected Other, please specify

1.b What performing arts do you like to attend (tick all that apply)
   Theatre
   Dance
   Opera
   Circus
   Comedy
   Spoken word
   Other
   1.b.i If you selected Other, please specify

1.b.iv How often do you attend performing arts events here in London?
   At least once a week
   At least once a month
   At least once every 3 months
   At least once every 6 months
   At least once a year
   Less than once a year

1.b.v Was this the same frequency as in your home country? (if applicable)
   More
   Less
   The same
   Not applicable

1.b.vi Where do you travel in order to attend performing arts? (tick all that apply)
   Locally (in your borough)
London-wide
Nationally
Internationally

1.b.vii With whom do you enjoy attending performing arts events? (tick all that apply)
   Alone
   With partner/spouse
   With parents
   With children
   With friends
   Other
1.b.vii.a If you selected Other, please specify

1.b.vii.b Are the people you attend with from your own community?
   Always
   Sometimes
   Never

1.b.viii In what language do you normally attend performances?
   Only in my native language
   In my native language or my second language
   In any language I can understand
   In any language with subtitles

1.b.viii.a Would you go to a performance that is not in your first language?
   Yes
   No

1.b.viii.b Would you go to a performance that is in a language you do not understand (with subtitles)?
   Yes
   No

1.b.ix How do you find about performances you attend? (tick all that apply)
   Word of mouth
   Social media
   Previous attendance/mailing list
   Press (newspaper article or review)
   Web search
   At the venues
Printed materials (flyer/poster/newspaper advert)
Friend of staff or performer
Other
1. b.ix.a If you selected Other, please specify

1.b.x What makes you choose a performance? (rank from 1 to 9 with 1 being the most important)

Price
Story
Location
Who is performing
Who I might see
Who I go with
Time of the day
Good reviews
Participate in my community’s cultural activities

1.b.xi Do you attend summer carnivals in London (such as the Carnaval del Pueblo)?
Always
Sometimes
Never

1.b.xii. Would you attend a cultural space entirely dedicated to Latin American arts and culture in the Elephant and Castle/Southwark area?
Yes
No
Don’t know

2. What are the main barriers to you attending performing arts events?
Language
Too expensive
Lack of time
Lack of childcare
Too far away
No one to go with
Lack of knowledge (I don’t know about it)
Lack of interest
Other

2.a. If you selected Other, please specify
2.b. Did you experience similar barriers back home? (if applicable)
Yes
No
Not applicable

2.b.i If yes/no, which ones?
Too expensive
Lack of time
Lack of childcare
Too far away
No-one to go with
Lack of knowledge (I don’t know about it)
Lack of interest
Other
2.b.i.a If you selected Other, please specify

3. What is your age?
16-19
20-29
30-39
40-49
50-59
60-69
70+

4. What is your gender?
Female
Male
Other

5. What is your country of birth?

6. What is the country of your nationality?

7. What is the country of your second nationality?

8. How long have you lived in London?

9a. If not in London, where do you live?

10. What is your first language?

10a. If you selected Other, please specify

11. What is your second language?
   None
   English
   Spanish
   Portuguese
   Other
11a. If you selected Other, please specify

12. What is your highest academic qualification?
   No qualifications
   School qualifications
   Degree level
   Postgraduate

13. What is your work status?
   Employed/self-employed
   Unemployed
   Retired
   Housework
   Student
   Children under 16

13a. What is your occupation?

13b. How many hours a week do you work?
   15 or less hours
   16 to 30 hours
   31 to 48 hours
   49 or more hours

14. What is your gross annual household income?
   £0 to £13
   £13,500 to £22,500
   £22,500 to £31,000
£31,000 to £52,000
£52,000 to £80,000
£80,000 and more

14.a. How many people depend on that income?

15. Have you heard about CASA Latin American Theatre Festival?
Yes
No

15.a. Where did you hear about CASA (tick only one)
Word of mouth
Social Media
Press (newspaper article or review)
Web search
Printed materials (flyer/poster/newspaper advert)
Friend of staff or performer
Other
15.a.i If you selected Other, please specify
Appendix 2: Interview schedule

Name of person interviewed:
Age:
Country of birth/nationality:
Year of arrival in London:
Date of interview:
Place of interview:

Cultural life in Latin America
Can you tell me something about what you did back home in Latin America? What was your job? Were you interested in the performing arts? If so, what type of performances? Did you attend or were you actively involved? Did you consider the performing arts to be important in your life back home?

What did the performing arts mean to you? Were any of your family and/or friends involved in the performing arts back home? If so, who and what types of activities? If not, why not?

Migration
Very briefly, can you describe your migration: why and how you migrated? Did you think about the performing arts when you made your decision to migrate? Was the cultural life of London important in your decision-making? If not, why not?

Cultural life in London
Have you been involved in any cultural activities and especially the performing arts in London since you arrived? If so, which ones? Are there any that you prefer over others? Why have you been involved/participated? How does your participation make you feel? Does it make you feel home-sick (if Latin American consumption) or miss Latin American cultural activities? What benefits do you feel from participating?

If you have not been involved, then why not? What are the main barriers to your participation? Is there anything that would make you participate more and if so, why?

What do you think about the role of language when you attend performances? Does it matter to you which languages? Which language do you prefer? How do you feel about sub-titles?

Cultural consumption and identity in London
Do you think that participation in the performing arts or cultural activities more widely is important for your identity? How would you describe your identity? Has this changed since you arrived in London? How does it compare to what you felt back home?

Overall, how has your life changed since coming to the UK? Have cultural activities and/or the performing arts played a role in these changes?

Any questions?
Appendix 3: Additional data from questionnaire survey

Figure 1: Frequency of attendance at performing arts events by income

Source: Questionnaire Survey, 2016
Figure 2: Finding out about performing arts events

Source: Questionnaire survey, 2016
Figure 3: Learning about performing arts events by age

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(N= 297)

Source: Questionnaire survey, 2016