Consuming Latin America: The ¡Viva! Film Festival and Imagined Cosmopolitan Communities

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Abstract.

This thesis examines how Latin America is produced and consumed through the ¡Viva! Spanish and Latin American Film Festival in Manchester and how people who do not have Latin American origins (subsequently ‘non-Latin American’) use Latin American culture to reconcile issues of self-identity and cosmopolitanism at a local level. Extending Dina Iordanova’s (2010) application of imagined communities to film festivals beyond diaspora, a framework of imagined cosmopolitan communities finds that, through consumption of the ¡Viva! film festival, non-Latin American consumers can often feel a sense of belonging or connection to Latin American people and culture. Non-Latin American ¡Viva! consumers subsequently incorporate Latin American culture and identity within their own construction of self-identity in order to reaffirm their sense of self. Using a mixed methods approach which brings together qualitative research (including a questionnaire survey and semi-structured interviews) with media analysis, this thesis finds that the incorporation of Latin American identity into non-Latin American self-identity is facilitated, in part, by the way in which Latin America has been encoded at a discursive level in the UK in recent decades through magical realism and associated codes, themes and narratives concerning the region’s bizarre, crazy, strange and surreal characteristics. Applying theories of encoding and decoding (Hall, 1980), the ¡Viva! film festival and its non-Latin American audience members are found to likewise construct Latin America in these terms, as different, but not too different from British cultural norms. This interpretive framework, along with the fact that Latin Americans are largely positioned outside of the increasingly hostile rhetoric towards migrants and ethnic minorities in the UK, facilitates the incorporation of a Latin American identity within non-Latin American consumers’ construction of self-identity. Scholars have suggested that cosmopolitanism demands a transformation in self-understanding in addition to an openness towards the cultural Other (Delanty, 2009). Analysis of the ¡Viva! film festival subsequently reveals a nuanced form of cosmopolitanism in which the Self is transformed through the incorporation of the Latin American cultural Other and offers an insight into the changing nature of the cultural relationship between Latin America and the UK. Latin America has typically been constructed as embodying the unconscious fears and desires of British (and western) culture (Beasley-Murray, 2003; Foster, 2009). This thesis finds instead that Latin America is being reconfigured by non-Latin American consumers of the ¡Viva! film festival as an equally formative part of their conscious identity that completes their sense of self and of being cosmopolitan in an attempt to resist and challenge contemporary scepticism and rhetoric in the UK surrounding multiculturalism, immigration and ethnic minorities.
Declaration.

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Introduction.

In the 2015 UK General Election, the UK Independence Party (UKIP) won 12.6% of the votes and their first seat in the House of Commons, registering a 9.5% increase since 2010 and becoming the third most popular political party in the election\(^1\) (House of Commons Library, 2015, pp. 4-7). Founded in 1993, UKIP has historically been a party of Euroscepticism, with policies shaped around removing the UK from the European Union (EU). With this scepticism, however, has come increasingly nationalist and right-wing policies and the party has become closely associated with its hard line on immigration. In recent years, party leaders have promised to implement a five-year ban on immigrants settling in the UK if they are elected and to prohibit all immigrants from claiming benefits for five years after their arrival. They have criticised the EU for its open door policy towards migration, calling instead for authorities to tighten border controls (BBC News, 2015a; Wintour, The Guardian, 2014). At a time when net migration to the UK is the highest on record (Office for National Statistics, 2015), the rise in popularity of UKIP suggests a growing tension in the UK around questions of immigration and multiculturalism.

Geographically, UKIP finds its strongest electoral support in more rural constituencies in Eastern England as well as Yorkshire and Humberside, areas where the non-UK born population is lower than in other areas of the country, particularly large metropolitan areas such as London (BBC News, 2015b; Office for National Statistics, 2015). Reports have also found that White British opposition to immigration tends to be higher in areas where White British residents are more isolated from other ethnicities, but lower in areas with larger populations of ethnic minorities and immigrants. This is due to greater contact between White British residents and minorities in these areas and the White British population being ‘more used to the notion that minorities are an established part of [British] society’ (Kaufmann and Harris, 2014, p. 14). While the rise in popularity of UKIP might therefore suggest a growing national trend in opposition to immigration and increasing hostility towards ethnic minorities, in metropolitan areas such as Manchester, where estimates show that 25% of the population is non-UK born (Office for National Statistics, 2015), and

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\(^1\) UKIP was the third most popular party based on the share of overall votes, as opposed to the share of parliamentary seats won.
UKIP only secured between 4-12% of the Manchester Central, Manchester Gorton and Manchester Withington votes (BBC News, 2015b), such opposition and hostility towards immigrants and ethnic minorities is likely to be less than in other, less ethnically diverse areas of the country.

Indeed, while hostility towards migrants increases at a discursive level, not just in UKIP party rhetoric but through governmental policies to cap immigration and deny settlement to skilled migrants unless they meet a minimum salary threshold of £35,000, in cities such as Manchester, as well as in other parts of the UK, the cultural consumption of non-British cultures continues to grow. In recent decades, the consumption of Latin American\textsuperscript{2} culture in particular has boomed in the UK and it is this consumption which is examined in greater depth in this thesis. I analyse the consumption of Latin America through a film festival in Manchester in order to examine the ways in which, at a local level, consumers in Manchester engage with Latin American culture and incorporate Latin American identity within the formation of self-identity as a way of reaffirming a sense of self and becoming more cosmopolitan, as well as contesting what they perceive to be the insularity of contemporary British culture and identity.

The history of the Latin American community in the UK dates back to the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, when several leaders of the Latin American Independence movement spent time in London. Throughout the nineteenth century, the city hosted many Latin American diplomats, commercial envoys and political exiles, as well as elites looking for leisure and study (Foster, 2009, pp. 14-15; McIlwaine, 2011, p. 97). It was not until the 1970s, however, that the UK experienced its first significant wave of immigration from Latin America. Migrants consisted primarily of political exiles fleeing the military dictatorships in Chile, Argentina and Uruguay, as well as the civil conflict in Colombia. Colombians, and to a lesser extent, Bolivians and Ecuadorians also began to arrive in the UK during this period following

\textsuperscript{2} In this thesis, Latin America refers to the Spanish and Portuguese-speaking nations of North and South America unless otherwise stated. The idea of Latin America first came into being during the second half of the nineteenth century. It developed from the concept of Latinidad that was being advanced by France at that time, ‘to take the lead in Europe among the configuration of Latin countries involved in the Americas (Italy, Spain, Portugal, and France itself), and [allowing] it also to confront the United States’ continuing expansion toward the South’ (Mignolo, 2005, p. 58). Latinidad was subsequently adopted as a postcolonial identity by Francophile creole and mestizo elites who turned away from Spain and Portugal towards France as their political and literary cultural ideal. In this manner, the term Latin America came to displace earlier terms such as Spanish America and Portuguese America (Mignolo, 2005, pp. 59-60).
the Immigration Act of 1971 which extended work permits to members of non-
Commonwealth countries (McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker, 2011, p. 13). Migrants
formed local communities in many of the UK’s principal cities, such as London,
Glasgow, Manchester and Sheffield. Colombian and Ecuadorian continued to be the
most common nationality of Latin American migrants during the 1980s and 1990s,
with increasing numbers of economic migrants and asylum seekers from these
countries (as well as Bolivia) arriving from the late 1990s due to intensified political
conflict and economic upheaval (and particularly following the increasingly restrictive
border controls imposed by the US following the attacks of 11 September 2001)
(McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker, 2011, pp. 12-13). Since 2000, the number of
Brazilians has also increased, with these now constituting the largest nationality group
within the wider category of Latin American migrants in the UK. The number of
students and professionals has also increased among the Latin American migrant
community, partly due to changes in UK immigration policies which favour highly
skilled migrants (McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker, 2011, p. 14).

It is extremely difficult to provide definitive statistics for these changes in the
Latin American population in the UK for a number of reasons. Some Latin American
migrants, for example, also have EU passports and have therefore been recorded
according to their EU status; others are irregular migrants (McIlwaine, Cock and
Linneker, 2011, p. 16). Most significantly, with the exception of four London
boroughs, there is currently no official Latin American category on ethnic monitoring
forms in the UK and it was only in the 2011 national census that respondents were
able to write in their ethnicity on the form, prior to which ‘estimates [were] often based
on qualitative measures derived from the opinions of community leaders’ and in
London ‘range[d] from 50,000 to 1 million’ (McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker, 2011, p.
16). In the 2001 national census, the Latin American population in London was
enumerated to be 31,211 (McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker, 2011, p. 17). By the 2011
census, the number of London residents who listed their country of birth in either
Central or South America totalled 95,788 (Office for National Statistics, 2011a). This
estimate for London alone does not include Latin Americans born in the Caribbean,
nor does it account for irregular Latin American migrants. Based on my own analysis

3 ‘Irregular migrant - A person who, owing to unauthorized entry, breach of a condition of entry, or
the expiry of his or her visa, lacks legal status in a transit or host country’ (International Organization
for Migration, 2015).
of census data, calculating the number of residents who listed their country of birth as a Spanish or Portuguese-speaking country in Central (including Mexico) or South America, the Latin American population in the UK in 2011 was estimated to be around 146,484 (Northern Ireland Statistics and Research, 2011; Office for National Statistics, 2011a, Scotland’s Census, 2011a). Again, however, this does not account for any individual not included in census estimates, such as irregular migrants. According to the report *No Longer Invisible: The Latin American Community in London* (2011), the first comprehensive overview of the Latin American population living and working in London and the only report of its kind on any Latin American communities in the UK, figures from 2008 indicated the central estimate for the Latin American population in the UK to be around 186,500 with 113,500 (61%) residing in London. These estimated figures accounted for regular, irregular and second generation migrant groups (McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker, 2011, pp. 7, 29). This is the figure which this thesis will subsequently use as an estimate for the Latin American population in the UK. Table 1 demonstrates that this figure reveals Latin Americans to form a relatively small-scale ethnic community in contemporary Britain in comparison with official estimates for other groups.

**Table 1:** Estimated population of Latin Americans and selected other ethnicities in the UK (2011).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Estimated total population (UK)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White British</td>
<td>51,736,290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black/African Caribbean/Black British</td>
<td>1,904,684</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian/Asian British: Indian</td>
<td>1,451,862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian/Asian British: Pakistani</td>
<td>1,174,983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian/Asian British: Chinese</td>
<td>433,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin American</td>
<td>186,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In their population estimates, McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker note that: ‘The definition of Latin American used in the project were people who were Spanish or Portuguese first language speakers from the Central and South American geographical regions. It also included those from Spanish-speaking Caribbean islands of Cuba and the Dominican Republic … Second generation Latin Americans were defined as those who were born in the UK with at least one parent from Latin America or who had come to the UK before they were 7 years old’ (McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker, 2011, p. 11). Although Mexico does not form part of Central America, Mexicans were also included within the project and population estimates.
Although a small-scale ethnic community when compared to others, the arrival of Latin American migrants during the second half of the twentieth century saw an increase in Latin American culture within the UK. In the area of Elephant and Castle in London, for example, the gradual development of several Latin American businesses and services converted the neighbourhood into a commercial hub for the local Spanish-speaking Latin American population. In the 1980s, London-based Colombians began to open salsa clubs for the local Latin American community and, by the early 1990s, these clubs were attracting large numbers of the non-Latin American community as well (Museum of London, 2005). The popularity of salsa with British audiences developed throughout the UK during the 1990s and continues to be immensely popular today. By the late 1990s and early 2000s, Latin music was also becoming popular in the UK beyond the salsa clubs, evidenced in the success of the Buena Vista Social Club, the rise in popularity of tango and the success of international recording artists such as Jennifer Lopez, Ricky Martin and Shakira in the British pop charts. In the early 2010s, Zumba, a fitness programme combining dance with aerobics which originated in Colombia, became widely popular in the UK, with classes offered by gyms and health clubs throughout the country. Latin American bars and restaurants, from local independent establishments to national chains such as Barburrito, Chiquito, Las Iguanas, Revolución de Cuba and Wahaca, have similarly expanded across the UK during the twenty-first century.

At the same time as this increase in consumption, in the field of sport, the greater presence of Latin American footballers in prestigious European teams as well as British teams has contributed to generating awareness and interest in the region, as have recent international sporting events such as the FIFA World Cup in Brazil in 2014 (to be followed by the Summer Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro in 2016). Increased contact between the UK and Latin America has also extended beyond culture and consumption. In 2010, the British government announced its plans to strengthen ties with Latin America, setting up a new Consulate-General in Recife, re-opening British embassies in El Salvador and Paraguay, expanding diplomatic staff
across the region and setting targets to double trade with Brazil, Mexico and Colombia by 2015 (Gov.uk, 2012). In a speech delivered on 22 March 2012, Foreign Office Minister Lord Howell noted that the British Council had trebled its budget for the region, investing in cultural exchanges as well as English language training and education, and that the government had recently signed the ‘Science without Borders’ agreement with Brazil, in which the UK had agreed to welcome up to 10,000 Brazilian students and researchers over the next four years to British universities (Gov.uk, 2012). In addition, 2015 was officially designated the ‘Year of Mexico in the United Kingdom’ and the ‘Year of the United Kingdom in Mexico’ by the British and Mexican governments. The initiative, building on a history of bilateral trade between the two countries, consisted of a variety of activities and events throughout the year which sought ‘to deepen the good relationship that already exists between the two countries’ in terms of culture, trade, investment, tourism, education, science and innovation, and ‘to support initiatives and innovative projects, in order to build a legacy that will underpin a more solid basis for mutual collaboration in the future’ (MX-UK, 2015). While British consumption of Latin American culture was increasing during the 1990s, 2000s and beyond, this was complemented by the ongoing development of the government and private sector’s long-term trade and investment plans for the region.

Historically, the UK has primarily profited from a commercial relationship with Latin America and has had less direct colonial involvement in Central and South America than in others areas of the world. For this reason, Latin America has traditionally assumed an aura of exoticism and intrigue, as well as one of danger and the unknown in the British cultural imagination, epitomised in such famous fantasy and adventure novels as Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), Joseph Conrad’s *Nostromo* (1904) and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle’s *The Lost World* (1912). An idea of exoticism and mystery, complemented by fear and danger – notions which were further associated with Latin America following the various revolutions, coups and dictatorships the region experienced throughout the twentieth century – was reinforced during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s for British (and other foreign) readers through the literary phenomenon of Latin American magical realism.

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5 The UK was a colonial power in the case of Belize and British Guiana and Argentina often accuses the UK of anachronistic colonialism in the ongoing contention surrounding the Malvinas/Falkland Islands.
Magical (or magic) realism is generally taken to mean the combination of realism with elements of surrealism or fantasy. Although the term was coined by art critic Franz Roh in 1925 in reference to German post-expressionist painting, it became closely associated with Latin American literature during the second half of the twentieth century. Latin American magical realism can trace its conceptual origins to the influence of European Surrealism on Latin American writers such as Guatemalan Miguel Ángel Asturias and Cuban Alejo Carpentier who resided in Paris during the 1920s. The direct precursor to Latin American magical realism was Carpentier’s notion of ‘lo real maravilloso’, in which he argued that a sense of the marvellous occurs naturally in Latin America as a result of the region’s diverse cultural influences. Although Carpentier and Asturias were experimenting with reality, myth and fantasy in their novels from the 1940s, magical realism became internationally associated with Latin America following the so-called international ‘Boom’ in Latin American literature in the 1960s and particularly the Boom’s (and indeed, the region’s) most famous novel, *Cien años de soledad* (1967) (One Hundred Years of Solitude, 1970) by Gabriel García Márquez. The novel related incidents of ghosts and women ascending to heaven in a deadpan narrative tone, treating them as perfectly normal everyday occurrences, while objects such as magnets, gramophones, cinema and the railway were depicted with wonder and amazement. The novel drew upon the diverse cultural influences which come together to make up Latin American culture (primarily African, European and indigenous) and used this amalgamated world view to destabilise a traditional western understanding of reality. In addition, the novel offered a cutting political commentary on the history of Colombia.

Many Latin American novelists wrote in this narrative style during the latter half of the twentieth century, including two other international best-sellers: Chilean Isabel Allende’s *La casa de los espíritus* (1982) (The House of the Spirits, 1985), and Mexican Laura Esquivel’s *Como agua para chocolate* (1989) (Like Water for Chocolate, 1992). As in *Cien años de soledad*, both these novels blended a world of magic and spirituality with aspects of the political history of the author’s native country, namely the Pinochet dictatorship and the Mexican Revolution respectively. Although by the end of the twentieth century writers of various nationalities had begun to use magical realism as a form of narrative expression, Latin America continued to be perceived by many as the origin of magical realism, particularly in light of comments such as those made by García Márquez in his acceptance speech for the
Nobel Prize for Literature in 1982, which reinforced the magical realist idea of Latin America as a place of naturally occurring wonder and un-believability: ‘hemos tenido que pedirle muy poco a la imaginación, porque el desafío mayor para nosotros ha sido la insuficiencia de los recursos convencionales para hacer creíble nuestra vida’ (‘we have had to ask very little of the imagination, for our crucial problem has been a lack of conventional means to render our lives believable’) (García Márquez, 1982). Thus magical realism, with its blend of strange and fantastical events alongside violence and repression, became an internationally pervasive idea for understanding Latin American reality towards the end of the twentieth century.

Despite its global profusion, the effect Latin American magical realism has had on the consumption of Latin America (particularly in the UK) has not been thoroughly investigated. Where it has been addressed, often in relation to the immediate European and North American reception of magical realist works during the late-twentieth century, it has been dismissed as merely encouraging exoticisation, offering readers ‘a wild regressive liberating escape from the humdrum of ordinary progressive overly civilized life’ (Levine, 2005, p. 311). I suggest that this reading of magical realism as exoticism for non-Latin American consumers is too reductive and propose instead a more nuanced understanding of the role magical realism can play in the contemporary production and consumption of Latin American culture in the UK. At a time when there is increasingly negative rhetoric around immigration and ethnic minorities in the UK and yet British consumption of Latin American culture is booming, this thesis examines the ways in which non-Latin American consumers in Manchester use magical realism and Latin American culture to develop self-identity and become more cosmopolitan amidst the current climate of hostility towards migrants and ethnic minority communities.

In terms of existing studies on the British consumption of Latin American culture, Norman Urquía (2005) and Jonathan Skinner (2008) have provided two different readings of the consumption of salsa. Urquía found that many non-Latin American salsa dancers in London were often not interested in the Latin American context and identity attached to salsa, focusing instead on the skills and technicalities of the dance form. These consumers, he argued, had effectively appropriated the dance from Latin Americans, formalised it and integrated it into local sensibilities and tastes. Skinner, on the other hand, found that questions of identity were fundamental in the non-Latin American consumption of salsa in Belfast, as many of his (all female)
subjects danced salsa as an expression of their femininity and sexuality. However, although Latin American culture and identity has long been associated with the notion of sensuality in the western cultural imagination, in Skinner’s article, similar to that of Urquía, the Latin American context and identity of the dance is never alluded to in any way by salsa dancers. As in Urquía’s analysis, the Latin American context and identity of the dance is downplayed, possibly even ignored, within the feminine and sexualised identities it allows the consumer to perform, distancing salsa (and consumers) from its Latin American context. While dancers are consuming Latin American culture and effectively performing a Latin American identity, this is not something which they consciously identify or acknowledge. In contrast, this thesis seeks to investigate what happens when Latin American identity is foregrounded by consumers in the act of cultural consumption. I ask what kind of self-identity and cosmopolitanism can be achieved when consumers actively acknowledge and incorporate a Latin American identity within their formation of self-identity and whether this might reveal a nuanced relationship between British consumers and Latin American identity, one in which the latter comes to constitute a conscious and formative part of contemporary British individuals’ cosmopolitan identities, and not merely act as a complementary manifestation of unconscious British fears and desires (Beasley-Murray, 2003; Foster, 2009).

These questions are filtered through an analysis of the contemporary production and consumption of Latin America that circulates around the ¡Viva! Spanish and Latin American Film Festival in Manchester. Several Latin American film festivals became established in the UK during the 1990s and 2000s in line with trends in Latin American cinema as well as the development of Latin American culture in this country. In London, the London Latin American Film Festival was inaugurated in 1991 and celebrated its 25th anniversary in 2015. The Discovering Latin America Film Festival, also held in London, was founded during the 2000s and supports underprivileged communities across Latin America. Analysis of the ¡Viva! film festival in Manchester provides an examination of Latin American film festival production and its non-Latin American consumption outside of the capital, where the

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6 Although the festival calls itself a Latin American film festival, it should be noted that Brazil is not included in the festival programme. This is the result of a number of factors, including the fact that ¡Viva! began as a Spanish film festival and that the Spanish Instituto Cervantes has been the principal partner and sponsor of ¡Viva! since its inception.
local Latin American population (and festival audience) has increased in recent years but remains much smaller than would be expected in London. I chose to focus my analysis on a film festival for two reasons. Firstly, given my interest in identifying whether magical realism continues to influence the consumption of Latin America, a film festival can convey magical realism through semiotics in ways which a dance form such as salsa, for example, cannot. A film festival also presents the opportunity to see how magical realism, primarily associated with literature, might be articulated in other cultural forms. Secondly, film festivals generate a sense of community around the consumption of film. Scholars of cosmopolitanism have discussed how global media can encourage a cosmopolitan disposition within the consumer (Beck, 2002; Molz, 2011; Szerszynski and Urry, 2002). I wanted to examine how the film festival context, and particularly a foreign language film festival context, with its sense of community, might extend our understanding of this cosmopolitan disposition. Dina Iordanova (2010) has applied the framework of imagined communities to film festivals in terms of diaspora and examined the connections that these can forge between diaspora and home countries. I contend that this sense of connection does not have to be limited to questions of diaspora. Instead, I suggest that non-Latin American consumers of the ¡Viva! film festival can equally form an imagined connection to the cultures and the Latin American Other exhibited on screen, and to those beyond the screen, in what I call an imagined cosmopolitan community. I ask how this framework of an imagined cosmopolitan community with the Latin American Other through the ¡Viva! film festival might subsequently aid non-Latin American ¡Viva! consumers in their formation of a cosmopolitan self-identity.

In order to answer whether non-Latin Americans use the ¡Viva! film festival to develop self-identity via the construction of imagined cosmopolitan communities, this thesis first asks how Latin America is encoded and decoded through the festival. This is influenced by how Latin America has previously been encoded in the UK at a discursive level and I focus here specifically on the encoding of the region that has been carried out through magical realism. Further context for my analysis of the ¡Viva! film festival is provided through an examination of how the culture of other local

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7 According to the 2011 national census, Manchester contained an estimated Latin/South/Central American population of 0.2%. With an estimated total population of 503,127, this would place the number of Latin Americans living in the city of Manchester in 2011 at roughly 1,006 (Manchester City Council, 2011, pp. 1-2).
immigrant communities is produced and consumed elsewhere in the city of Manchester. In addition to asking whether magical realism plays any role in the contemporary production and consumption of Latin America through the ¡Viva! film festival, the final question I ask is what exactly do contemporary non-Latin American consumers in the UK want from Latin American culture and how is this played out through the ¡Viva! film festival.

In order to answer these questions, my research employs mixed methods. Firstly, in order to examine the way in which Latin America has been encoded in the UK at a discursive level through magical realism in the national media, I conduct a textual analysis of a comprehensive sample of articles from national British newspapers, magazines and literary supplements from 1940-2015 using online archives. Secondly, I undertake a semiotic analysis of texts such as images, brochures, film reviews, podcasts and press articles of the ¡Viva! film festival, as well as an analysis of interviews conducted with current festival organisers and Q&A sessions with Latin American film directors. Thirdly, I analyse post-screening questionnaires (consisting of two semi-structured questions) that I circulated to a random sample of the non-Latin American audience at the 2014 ¡Viva! festival. The primary purpose of these questionnaires was to approach potential interviewees and the questionnaire therefore included the option to leave a contact email address or telephone number if the respondent wished to participate further in my research. The secondary purpose of the questionnaires was to gain an insight into non-Latin American audience members’ immediate decoding of the Latin American films being screened as part of the 2014 festival. The final stage of my methodology consisted of 22 one-hour semi-structured interviews with non-Latin American members of the festival audience. Interviewees were questioned regarding their consumption of the ¡Viva! film festival as well as their interest in Latin America outside of the festival. These interviews

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8 For information regarding which newspapers, magazines and literary supplements were analysed, as well as details of search parameters, please refer to Appendix 1.
9 Audience members were asked whether they were Latin American before the questionnaire was distributed to them. Questionnaires were only distributed to those who did not self-identify in any way as Latin American (e.g. no nationals, second-generation or naturalised citizens). For a copy of the post-screening questionnaire and data concerning the sex/age of respondents, please refer to 3.1 and 3.2 in Appendix 3.
10 For interviewee profiles and a list of the questions asked during interviews, please refer to 3.3 and 3.4 in Appendix 3.
allowed me to examine in greater depth the decoding and subsequent reproduction of Latin America by non-Latin American members of the ¡Viva! film festival audience.

I argue that Latin America is encoded through the ¡Viva! film festival as an exotically different and quirky Other, an encoding which is cultivated through codes, themes and narratives of strangeness, surrealism, unreality and disbelief that are reminiscent of how Latin America has come to be constructed in the contemporary British cultural imagination through magical realism. While the ¡Viva! film festival does not consciously employ magical realism in its production of Latin America, these closely associated codes and themes nevertheless connote magical realism for festival audiences. I find that interviewees similarly construct Latin America in terms of these codes, themes and narratives of oddness, strangeness and surrealism in order to enact identities as cosmopolitans, for the act of cosmopolitanism requires difference. Such a magically real construction of Latin America acts as a particular interpretive framework of Latin America for interviewees, however, one which is different but not too different from interviewees’ own cultural norms, which facilitates their incorporation of a Latin American Other within their construction of self-identity via the ¡Viva! film festival.

In the course of my research, I found that my interviewees incorporated Latin American culture and identity into their own notions of self-identity in a variety of ways, including learning from Latin American culture through the film festival, using Latin American culture to compensate for a lost identity, exorcise feelings of postcolonial guilt, and forming a sense of imagined cosmopolitan community through the film festival with the Latin American Other beyond the screen. Through these imagined communities, the non-Latin American consumer feels themselves to be connected to people whom they perceive to share their values and attitudes to life (values and attitudes which the consumer feels they do not share with contemporary British culture) and are therefore able to maintain a link with Latin America which reaffirms their sense of identity. Audience members thus construct aspects of their self-identity through Latin American culture and the ¡Viva! film festival, consciously and permanently incorporating Latin American identity into their own. I suggest that this reveals a nuanced form of integrative cosmopolitanism by consciously and permanently incorporating the Other into notions of self-identity. It is a form of cosmopolitanism that consumers in Manchester perform at a local level with Latin American culture to resist and challenge contemporary scepticism and rhetoric in the
UK surrounding multiculturalism, immigration and ethnic minorities. I recognise, however, that the relatively small number of Latin American migrants living in the UK in comparison with other ethnic minorities largely places the Latin American community outside of this anti-immigrant rhetoric. Consequently, in addition to the construction and use of magical realism as an interpretive framework for Latin America, the position of the Latin American migrant community in the UK makes the incorporation of Latin American identity through consumption much less problematic than the integration of other ethnic minority identities. The cosmopolitanism I identify in the ¡Viva! film festival is also primarily concerned with notions of imagined belonging, meaning that the consumer’s actual contact with Latin American people is (sometimes) limited. While I suggest, therefore, that the ¡Viva! film festival may facilitate a more cosmopolitan disposition in the consumer than others studies of consumption have so far identified, given the incorporation of Latin American identity into notions of self-identity, this form of cosmopolitan consumption nevertheless comes with its own limitations.

Chapter One introduces the theories and concepts which frame the analysis in the thesis. I begin by discussing contemporary British identity in terms of state policies of multiculturalism and community cohesion since the late 1990s and how these have struggled to reconcile traditional notions of White British culture and identity with increasing levels of immigration. I advocate theories of cosmopolitanism to better understand the way in which individuals in the UK might deal with issues of identity and multiculturalism in their everyday lives. Gerard Delanty (2009) argued that cosmopolitanism calls for a transformation in self-understanding as well as an openness towards Others. Yet studies into cosmopolitan consumption tend to suggest that the average western consumer is not in fact interested in changing their understanding of themselves or learning about the Other beyond an exotified experience of cultural consumption (Buettner, 2008; Tanaka, 2008; Torres and Buriel, 2010). At the same time, studies of media consumption have found that increased global media can encourage a cosmopolitan disposition within the consumer and generate a feeling of connection to a world community (Beck, 2002; Molz, 2011; Schein, 1999; Szerszynski and Urry, 2002). Building on Dina Iordanova’s (2010) application of a framework of imagined communities to film festivals, I suggest that, through the ¡Viva! film festival, it is not just a connection to a generalised world community which the film festival engenders, but that non-Latin American consumers
can form more personal imagined connections with the Latin American Other. I propose to examine how these connections, which I define in terms of imagined cosmopolitan communities, might affect consumers’ self-identities.

In Chapter One, I also examine the historical construction of the foreign Other by European nations, in particular the Latin American Other. Latin America has long been constructed as a manifestation of Europe’s (as well as US) fears and desires. In his analysis of Bacardi Breezer advertising in the UK in the early 2000s, Jon Beasley-Murray (2003) developed a Lacanian theory of the Latin American Other representing the unconscious of the British conscious. He argued that, in Bacardi’s marketing, Latin America, rather than being understood as an external and conflicting Other, instead constituted an internal and complementary part of the British Self, the two effectively forming different parts of one cohesive psyche. I contend, however, that there remains a sense of division in his analysis by seeing Latin America as the unconscious of the British Self, something to be temporarily embraced through consumption, but then later relegated back to an unconscious level. Alternatively, I suggest that, through the ¡Viva! film festival and the construction of imagined cosmopolitan communities, non-Latin American consumers may incorporate a Latin American Other into their construction of self-identity, but this time on a more conscious and permanent level. In other words, Latin America is no longer merely a representation of unconscious fears and desires, but instead constitutes a formative part of consumers’ conscious cosmopolitan identities.

In order to contextualise my analysis of the ¡Viva! film festival, Chapter Two offers a history of the way in which Latin America has been encoded at a discursive level in the British press during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries through magical realism (1940-2015). I chose to analyse the press because my sample of questionnaire respondents and interviewees is largely non-academic and it is therefore a discourse that is more likely to have impacted upon their understanding of Latin America. I undertook a close reading of a comprehensive sample of newspaper, magazine and literary supplement articles obtained through online archives and conclude that, following the worldwide success of Cien años de soledad, notions of strangeness, surrealism and unreality were gradually attached to Latin America by journalists and academics writing in the press. By the end of the twentieth century, magical realism had become a ‘primary interpretation’ (Hall et al., 1978) of Latin America and these codes and themes of Latin American oddness and strangeness had
proliferated throughout the British press. The association of Latin America and magical realism was bolstered by journalists’ over-reliance on the opinions and commentaries of several Latin American magical realist writers, such as Isabel Allende, Carlos Fuentes and Gabriel García Márquez, converting them into ‘primary definers’ (Hall et al., 1978) of Latin American cultural reality. Yet journalists further cemented the association through their own narratives (particularly in travel journalism), which likewise described the region in terms of magical realism. By the twenty-first century, codes and themes closely associated with magical realism, (such as those of strangeness and surrealism), as well as magical realist descriptions of Latin America have continued to prevail in the British press. I suggest that attempts to inscribe British readers’ own desires on to the region of Latin America may have informed this proliferation of magical realism and its associated codes, themes and narratives at a time when many scholars, literary journalists and Latin American writers wished to contest the association. In light of the findings in this chapter, I propose to investigate whether magical realism, particularly in its mediated forms of codes, themes and narratives, exerts a similar presence in the production and consumption of the region in the ¡Viva! film festival and assess what role these codes and narratives could play, if any, in the construction of self-identity through Latin American culture.

In Chapter Three, I analyse the production and consumption of culture in the city of Manchester. I argue that the notion of culture promoted by city officials, one readily encouraged through a programme of culture-led urban regeneration during the 1980s and 1990s, centres on the development of high-brow cultural institutions and events, while local immigrant culture is only incorporated into Manchester’s cultural landscape when it is deemed to contribute significantly to the city’s economy and/or cosmopolitan image. I find that the culture of local immigrant communities is typically produced and consumed in line with existing research on cosmopolitan consumption. The presentation of these cultures is frequently exoticised but, at the same time, actual products are in fact anglicised in order to enable consumers to perform ‘uncomplicated’ cosmopolitan identities which do not require much cultural adjustment on the part of the consumer and do not necessitate extensive interaction with local immigrants, their language or culture.

Compared with cultures such as Chinese and South Asian, which benefit from a history of substantial migration to the city, Latin American culture has only emerged
in Manchester in the last few decades. Initial examination of its production and consumption through the city’s bars and restaurants has found, firstly, that codes and themes identified in Chapter Two surrounding magical realism are present in the contemporary cultural production and consumption of Latin America in Manchester. Secondly, while Latin American cultural identity is still negotiated by the cultural producer, as observed in the production of other cultures elsewhere in the city, in the case of Latin America, this negotiated construction goes beyond enabling cosmopolitan identities to facilitate the consumer’s performance of Latin American identities, as a way of enacting values and attitudes that cultural producers position to be largely absent from or alien to mainstream British culture.

Chapter Four examines how Latin America is encoded through the ¡Viva! film festival by providing a semiotic and textual analysis of festival imagery, brochures, programming, film reviews, podcasts and press articles, as well as an analysis of interviews conducted with festival organisers and Q&A sessions with Latin American film directors. Lead festival images in recent years have repeatedly foregrounded aspects of Latin American geography, ethnicity, culture and society that the White middle-class majority of the ¡Viva! festival audience, living in the UK, would find markedly different to their own, even though this has resulted in lead images being largely unrepresentative of the festival programme. Within this discourse of difference, films, as well as festival brochures and film reviews, combine to encode Latin America as quirky and offbeat, a discourse which has been further cultivated by organisers and reviewers, as well as visiting film directors, through references to the surreal and unbelievable aspects of Latin American culture and society. I argue, therefore, that although the ¡Viva! film festival does not consciously employ magical realism in its production of Latin America, these closely associated codes, themes and narratives (as evidenced in the analysis of the press in Chapter Two) nevertheless connote magical realism for festival audiences. In this chapter I also identify the discourses of cultural immersion and community which pervade the festival and propose that the film festival context, encoded with these ideas of immersion and participation, encourages the formation of imagined cosmopolitan communities between the non-Latin American festival audience and the Latin American Other. I argue that ¡Viva!’s magical realist encoding of Latin America as quirky, surreal and unbelievable in turn facilitates the incorporation of this Latin American Other within consumers’ construction of self-identity.
Chapter Five focuses on the decoding and reproduction of Latin America in the consumption of the ¡Viva! film festival through analysis of 141 post-screening questionnaires and an analysis of 22 semi-structured interviews with non-Latin American members of the 2014 festival audience. While some questionnaire respondents and interviewees decoded Latin America in terms of cultural similarities to the UK, the vast majority focused primarily on cultural differences. The broader narratives and understandings of Latin America produced by interviewees at the stage of reproduction frequently constructed Latin America through a reproduction of codes, themes and narratives concerning the region’s strange and surreal characteristics. I argue that such a construction of Latin America facilitates the incorporation of a Latin American identity into consumers’ notions of self-identity. I demonstrate that ¡Viva! enables the formation of imagined cosmopolitan communities between the non-Latin American consumer and the Latin American Other and that such connections were found to reaffirm interviewees’ sense of self and identity. I conclude the thesis by arguing that if non-Latin American audience members are constructing aspects of their self-identity through Latin American culture – consciously and permanently incorporating Latin American identity into their own – this constitutes a form of integrative cosmopolitanism that is, in some ways, more cosmopolitan than most studies of cosmopolitan consumption have so far identified. It is more cosmopolitan in the sense that the consumer here is not just demonstrating an openness and tolerance of Others, but is consciously incorporating the Other as a formative part of their self-identity and transforming their self-understanding and identity through the Other, something which scholars have argued to be a fundamental aspect of cosmopolitanism (Delanty, 2009). I argue that this nuanced form of cosmopolitanism highlights a way in which consumers in Manchester use Latin American culture and identity, through the ¡Viva! film festival, to resist and challenge contemporary scepticism and rhetoric in the UK surrounding multiculturalism, immigration and ethnic minorities.
Chapter One: British Identity, Consumption and the Latin American Other.

In recent decades, it has become increasingly commonplace to talk about a crisis in British identity. Whether it be the question of devolution in the late 1990s, the 2001 riots in Bradford, Burnley, Leeds and Oldham, the 7 July 2005 London bombings, the election for Scottish independence in 2014 or the rise of UKIP and the upcoming referendum on membership of the European Union, notions of national identity have been called into question in a variety of ways over the past couple of decades. In this chapter, I address the perceived crisis in relation to the UK’s contemporary multicultural identity and begin by assessing state policies of multiculturalism and community cohesion since the late 1990s. I examine the ways in which these policies have struggled to reconcile traditional notions of White British identity with increasing levels of immigration. Yet state policy, while offering an insight into changing attitudes towards multiculturalism at a governmental level, cannot illustrate how individuals in the UK might deal with issues of identity and multiculturalism in their everyday lives. Theories of cosmopolitanism are more informative in this regard.

According to cosmopolitan theorist Gerard Delanty (2009), cosmopolitanism demands a transformation in self-understanding in addition to openness towards the Other. Studies of cosmopolitan consumption inform us, however, that the western consumer often exhibits little interest in self-transformation (or indeed the Other) beyond the ability to perform a cosmopolitan identity (see Buettner, 2008; Tanaka, 2008; Torres and Buriel, 2010). An examination of the historical construction of the foreign Other by European nations reveals that Europe’s Others, and particularly the Latin American Other, have traditionally been constructed and consumed as a foil for the development of European self-identity. Yet rather than an external contrast, Jon Beasley-Murray (2003) advanced the idea that the contemporary Latin American Other is produced and consumed as an internal and complementary aspect of the British Self. Drawing on the work of Benedict Anderson (1983, 2006) and later Dina Iordanova (2010), I suggest that the application of a framework of imagined (cosmopolitan) communities to the consumption of the ¡Viva! film festival will allow us to better understand how contemporary consumers in Manchester might similarly incorporate a Latin American Other into notions of self-identity, though not as a way of exploring unconscious fears and desires, as Latin America has typically been constructed by British audiences, but using Latin American culture and identity as a
formative part of consumers’ conscious identity. Through this incorporation of Latin American identity, consumers might combine the development and transformation of self-identity with cosmopolitan tolerance in spite of the scepticism and rhetoric in contemporary Britain surrounding multiculturalism, immigration and ethnic minorities.

1.1: Contemporary processes of globalisation and cultural transfer.

The question of multiculturalism and the issues facing contemporary British culture and identity stem from developments in processes of globalisation. If globalisation can be broadly understood as an increase in communication between different races and nations, and the cross-fertilisation of their cultures that arises from this interaction, entailing processes of ‘economic integration; the transfer of policies across borders; the transmission of knowledge ... the reproduction, relations, and discourses of power’ (Al-Rodhan and Stoudmann, 2006, p. 3), then there have been varied processes of globalisation throughout history, from the expansion of the Roman Empire to European colonialism, the Asian silk routes to the international slave trade. In spite of this historical precedent, the idea of globalisation received increasing attention during the late-twentieth century and has gained a particular association with the contemporary era. This association derives from the fact that contemporary processes of globalisation have increased at a hitherto unprecedented rate due to advances in information and communication technology as well as the aeronautical and travel industries. Information, goods and people now move across national borders daily, leading to what Arjun Appadurai (1996, pp. 98-100) theorised as various interconnected ‘scapes’ involving migration, ideology, the economy, technology and the media which serve to reveal the fluidity and mobility of contemporary cultures. The context of this global movement assumes different forms, from multinational corporations to forced migration, tourism to illegal immigration, and is often limited for less affluent individuals, including many people residing in developing countries. Consequently, when scholars refer to contemporary processes of globalisation as ‘the awareness of the world “becoming smaller”’ (Nederveen Pieterse, 2009, p. 43), this is not necessarily true for everyone. Yet irrespective of who does or does not move, cultures have nevertheless become irreversibly connected to and influenced by others through increased trade, tourism, immigration and the media. Jan Nederveen Pieterse
summarised three paradigms for understanding the varied processes of cultural transfer that result from this increased contact.

Firstly, there can be an enduring difference between diverse cultures, sometimes referred to as the 'clash of civilisations'. Scholars cite western and Islamic cultures as an example of irreconcilable cultural differences that continue to persist alongside increasing forms of globalisation (Nederveen Pieterse, 2009, pp. 44-5). This line of argument suggests that, while diverse cultures may coexist within the same space, they ultimately remain bounded with separate ideologies that appropriate very little from each other, challenging Appadurai’s notion of scapes and cultural fluidity. A second paradigm concerns the perceived homogenisation of a ‘global culture’ by western (and specifically US) capitalism and consumerism. Multinational corporations are seen as responsible for bringing Americanised modernisation to dominate other regions of the world and for encouraging new forms of cultural imperialism through ‘consumerist universalism’ and ‘global media influence’ which ‘makes for global cultural synchronisation’ (Nederveen Pieterse, 2009, pp. 51-2). This argument encapsulates a fear of the end of cultural diversity as it is subsumed into a westernised consumer culture. A third paradigm belies this fear, as it reemphasises the fluidity and hybridity of cultures discussed by Appadurai and the ways in which western culture and products are often adapted to coincide with the social and cultural norms of another culture. Nederveen Pieterse uses the example of global US restaurant chain McDonald’s, which caters its menu to local tastes around the world in order to remain a profitable alternative to local cuisine (Nederveen Pieterse, 2009, pp. 52-3, 60-1). Many scholars similarly discuss how western cultural imports are interpreted in local circumstances and their meaning and use differentiated based on the receiving culture, resulting in the hybridisation and ongoing heterogeneity and diversity of global cultures (see Bauman, 2001, p. 304; Bhabha, 1994; Hopper, 2007, p. 9; Lechner and Boli, 2008, p. 3).

Yet it is not solely western cultural products that are being exported and incorporated into other cultures around the world, as, under contemporary processes of globalisation, non-western cultural products have also become increasingly appropriated and integrated into western culture. For this reason, in this thesis, I coincide with the notion of cultural transfer as hybridisation exhibited in the third paradigm discussed by Nederveen Pieterse and others, but I investigate the reversal of the typical western to non-western cultural exchange. I examine the reception and
consumption of a non-western culture within the UK and analyse how consumers in the UK appropriate and use Latin American culture. Before evaluating this process of cultural transfer, however, it is first necessary to consider the position of foreign culture and migrants within contemporary British culture and identity.

1.2: Multiculturalism and contemporary British identity.

Throughout the second half of the twentieth century, migration to the UK steadily increased, with migrant communities coming to diversify the cultural composition of Britain. In 1945, the non-white population of the UK was estimated to be between 10,000 and 30,000 (MacPhee, 2011, p. 43), yet following the Second World War, government initiatives during the 1950s and early 1960s encouraged workers from the Commonwealth, (in particular India, Pakistan and the Caribbean), to emigrate to the UK to fill vacant and unwanted jobs and help rebuild Britain in the post-war years (Browne, 2005, p. 113; MacPhee, 2011, p. 43). Policies of cultural assimilation were employed throughout the 1960s and 1970s, but, in the early 1980s, as a response to riots between youths and police over racist policing policies, multiculturalism became adopted as part of British state policy to help encourage and improve social integration (Hickman, Mai and Crowley, 2012, p. 32). At a basic level, multiculturalism refers to ‘the presence of, or support for the presence of, several distinct cultural or ethnic groups within a society’ (Oxford Dictionaries, 2015), yet as a policy it often carries an optimism of fostering intercultural dialogue and respect that will act to combat racist hatred (Nagle, 2009, p. 2). However, in spite of the presence of multiculturalism in social policy since the early 1980s, Conservative governments during the 1980s and 1990s entrenched an ideal ‘British way of life’ that had to be ‘defended’ from ‘enemies’ outside and within the state, enforcing strict limits on immigration (Back et al., 2002), as well as contributing to ‘a legacy of ethnic inequalities in housing, education, employment, health and criminal justice outcomes’ (Phillips, 2004, p. 1). In reaction to such exclusionary policies, the New Labour government elected in 1997 worked to redress issues of racial intolerance through actions such as the official report into the racially motivated murder of Black British teenager Stephen Lawrence, the subsequent implementation of policies against institutional racism and increased emphasis on reducing economic and social disadvantage among ethnic communities.
While New Labour policies of multiculturalism advocated the recognition, respect and preservation of cultural differences, these were ultimately found to be ineffective in fostering wider social cohesion. This failure was made particularly clear in light of the Parekh Report in 2000 entitled *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain*, which argued that contemporary British identity retained imperial associations of whiteness. The shortcomings of policies of multiculturalism were also exposed by the 2001 riots in Bradford, Burnley, Oldham and the Harehills district of Leeds, in which White, Black and Asian residents clashed with each other and police following increasing racial tensions within local communities. The 7 July 2005 London bombings perpetrated by Islamic extremists further undermined any success of policies of multiculturalism. There was a growing fear of Balkanisation, in which the UK was becoming a mass of smaller ‘tribes’ or ‘states’ rather than a collective whole (Nagle, 2009, p. 10). It seemed that by focusing on cultural differences, and what divides and differentiates people, policies of multiculturalism helped entrench these differences, which could in turn encourage intercultural conflict (Hickman, Mai and Crowley, 2012, pp. 37-9; McIlwaine, 2011, p. 95; Nagle, 2009, pp. 9-11). Moreover, there was a growing discourse within the UK that the privileges being afforded to ethnic minorities over the recognition and preservation of their cultural forms came at the expense of traditional British culture and identity:

The host population, alternatively, are doomed to suffer cultural impoverishment as the liberal state dissolves around them into the nether world of pluralism. The suspicion that the validation of cultural heritage had become exclusive only to ethnic minorities … whilst the indigenous, liberal in outlook British had forgotten to love and preserve their own cultural forms, is a discourse I encountered during research (Nagle, 2009, p. 92).

Consequently, during the 2000s, British social policy began to move away from policies of multiculturalism towards the formation and promotion of a shared British culture and identity based on communal values and an underlying unity, frequently assuming the terminology of ‘community’ (Worley, 2005, p. 486). Yet at 81.9%, White British remains the largest ethnic group in the UK (Northern Ireland Neighbourhood Information Service, 2011; Office for National Statistics, 2011b; Scotland’s Census, 2011b), and the turn in British policy towards notions of community and shared values can be seen as an attempt to manage contemporary
cultural plurality by assimilating ethnic minorities into a homogenous British community and identity that maintains its central (White) values intact (Back et al., 2002). The development in British social policy towards notions of community has been described, for example, in terms of ‘a partial shift away from affirmations of British multiculture towards a (re)embracing of older notions of assimilationism within a newer, de-racialized, language of social cohesion’ (Lewis and Neal, 2005, p. 437). Claire Worley has identified ‘a discourse of blame directed towards new migrants and especially British Muslim communities’ for not demonstrating their allegiance to a collective British identity when ‘this choice is not demanded of those who are White and not Muslim’ (Worley, 2005, p. 491). Following the 9/11 attacks on the US in 2001, Nisha Kapoor and Virinder S. Kalra note how British Muslims in particular had become the new ‘enemy within’ the UK, a position that was further heightened by the 7 July 2005 London bombings. This prompted ‘a series of measures designed to promote the Britishness of Britain’s Muslim citizens’, in which ‘[a] politics of integrationism set to pummel out any allegiance British Muslims might have to diasporic links abroad’, in what Kapoor and Kalra describe as a ‘reinvigoration of (racist) British nationalism’ (Kapoor and Kalra, 2013, p. 2).

In contrast to these accusations of racist nationalism and metaphorically ‘whitening’ values and communities, the ‘multicultural nationalism’ promoted in the bid (and later hosting) of the London 2012 Olympic Games attempted to globally rebrand the UK as a community of ‘harmonious multicultural diversity’ whereby ‘[Black British and Asian British] figures are not only “let in”, but redefined as integral to the self-image of the nation as “tolerant” and “inclusive”’, acting as ‘the perfect rejoinder to assertions of ethnic essentialism, racism, and intolerance’ (Falcous and Silk, 2010, pp. 171-2, 177-8). The fact that this celebration of diversity and inclusivity coincided, however, with increasing national rhetoric on unsustainable levels of immigration, a gradual tightening of immigration policies and a rise in popularity of right-wing political parties such as UKIP, which has repeatedly underscored its intention to drastically limit immigration to Britain, undermined this projection of an image of tolerance and inclusion and highlights how ethnic minorities and immigrants often occupy contradictory positions within contemporary British culture, society and identity.

Policies of multiculturalism in the UK during the late-twentieth and early twenty-first century therefore failed to produce wider social cohesion because they
helped to entrench cultural differences. Subsequent policies around the notion of community have arguably prioritised White British culture and values and expected other ethnic minorities to acquiesce to these in an attempt to retain a sense of traditional (White) British culture and identity in times of increasing multiculturalism. Writing in 2002, Back et al. noted that:

Despite New Labour’s gestures towards cultural diversity and inclusion, its body politic beats to the rhythm of a white heart … New Labour is so difficult to characterise because its vision oscillates to the past and the future by turns. It cannot mourn its imperial ghosts, nor embrace a democratic and truly multicultural future (Back et al., 2002).

This duality continues to exemplify the situation in the UK today. While the population of the UK that is not White British is estimated to be around 18.1% (Northern Ireland Neighbourhood Information Service, 2011; Office for National Statistics, 2011b; Scotland’s Census, 2011b), meaning that both White and non-white immigrants and ethnic communities have become a fundamental aspect of British culture, their position within contemporary British identity is frequently contradicted and undermined by rhetoric on unsustainable levels of immigration and lack of social integration, hardening of immigration policies and the rise in popularity of right-wing political parties such as UKIP. Immigrants and ethnic minorities continue to be envisaged as Others that need to be assimilated into an inclusive British identity, providing that this integration will not alter the underlying whiteness with which British identity has been traditionally associated. State policy, however, although offering partial insight into the attitudes of the contemporary British public, cannot illustrate how immigrants and ethnic minority cultures are envisaged and engaged with on an everyday basis. Theories of cosmopolitanism, alternatively, are markedly more informative in this endeavour.

1.3: Cosmopolitanism and consumption.

The term cosmopolitanism derives from the Greek words kosmos meaning ‘world’ or ‘universe’, and politês meaning ‘citizen’. Cosmopolitanism is thus an ideology that the individual is a citizen of the world. Although cosmopolitanism can trace its origins to the Cynicism and Stoicism of Ancient Greece, and later to the work of Immanuel
Kant (1795) on universal law and hospitality, contemporary forms of political and cultural cosmopolitanism emerged in the mid-twentieth century. Following the Second World War, the foundation of international organisations such as the United Nations, as well as the establishment of a Universal Declaration of Human Rights, marked the beginning of a realisation of Kant’s universal law and governance and gave political forms of cosmopolitanism ‘a significance and reality that [they] previously lacked’ (Delanty, 2009, p. 51). While some scholars have accused contemporary manifestations of political cosmopolitanism of in fact concealing and propagating old imperial values (see Appiah, 2007a, p. 214; Gilroy, 2004, p. 5), cultural understandings of cosmopolitanism have also developed through the international mobility of commodities, information and people under late-twentieth-century processes of globalisation. Ulf Hannerz described cultural cosmopolitanism as ‘first of all an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other. It entails intellectual and aesthetic openness towards divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity’ (Hannerz, 1996, p. 103). Kwame Anthony Appiah refined this definition by identifying cosmopolitanism as our obligation to others, in addition to further underscoring the value and respect of cultural difference:

One [strand] is the idea that we have obligations to others, obligations that stretch beyond those to whom we are related by the ties of kith and kind [sic], or even the more formal ties of a shared citizenship. The other is that we take seriously the value not just of human life but of particular human lives, which means taking an interest in the practices and beliefs that lend them significance. People are different, the cosmopolitan knows, and there is much to learn from our differences. Because there are so many human possibilities worth exploring, we neither expect nor desire that every person or every society should converge on a single mode of life. Whatever our obligations are to others (or theirs to us) they often have the right to go their own way (Appiah, 2007b, xiii).

In contrast to any potential imperialistic values within contemporary political cosmopolitanism, cultural cosmopolitanism is differentiated as embracing and respecting cultural diversity for the benefit of education. Gerard Delanty (2009) developed the theme of education within cosmopolitanism by advocating the formation of a cosmopolitan multiculturalism and cosmopolitan public culture based on communicative dialogue. In this public culture, each of the culturally diverse
participating groups widens their knowledge through interacting with the others and develops greater understanding not only of the cultural Other, but also of the Self:

Thus, instead of presupposing discreet cultural groups, as in liberal multiculturalism, a cosmopolitan perspective requires the internal transformation of all groups in a process of ongoing deliberation and interpretation … Cosmopolitan multiculturalism thus entails an emphasis on deliberative public communication through which all groups, including the mainstream society, undergo transformation in their self-understanding (Delanty, 2009, p. 156).

Delanty supports the idea of cultural contact and transfer as hybridisation, with diverse cultures adapting and learning from each other through dialogue and self-reflection, intending to lead to a genuine multicultural respect and, arguably, a genuine sense of cosmopolitanism. Alongside Appiah’s two strands of cosmopolitanism, therefore, this thesis proposes a third strand of cosmopolitanism to be a transformation in self-understanding from interaction and engagement with the cultural Other.

In many respects, Delanty’s notion of a cosmopolitan public culture based on ‘unity in diversity’ (2009, p. 147) is what the idea of community championed in British social policy during the 2000s and beyond aspires to achieve. However, the unspoken prioritisation of White British culture and identity within the rhetoric of national cohesion inhibits the transformation in self-understanding of all parties called for by Delanty’s cosmopolitan public culture. In actual fact, cosmopolitan ideals of unconditional acceptance and self-transformation were ultimately deemed to be too idealistic by Jacques Derrida, who instead posited two types of cosmopolitanism. On the one hand, there is the ideal (but impossible) ‘law of unlimited hospitality (to give the new arrival all of one’s home and oneself, to give him or her one’s own, our own, without asking a name, or compensation, or the fulfilment of even the smallest condition)’ (Derrida, 2000, p. 77). At the same time, Derrida argued that there are more practical ‘laws of hospitality’, which offer conditional hospitality to the Other:

When the host says to the guest, ‘Make yourself at home’, this is a self-limiting invitation. ‘Make yourself at home’ means: please feel at home, act as if you were at home, but, remember, that is not true, this is not your home but mine, and you are expected to respect my property (Derrida and Caputo, 1997, p. 111).
This latter version of cosmopolitan hospitality, where the Other is welcomed but the Self ultimately remains in control and unchanged, is the one exercised by the majority of contemporary nation-states in terms of immigration and policies of social and cultural integration. While cosmopolitanism effectively implies we should welcome anyone and everyone into our homes and countries and allow ourselves to be changed by this interaction, such unconditional hospitality conflicts with the perceived rights and obligations to the owner of the house (or existing citizens). As a result, national governments enforce limited notions of cosmopolitan hospitality through their immigration policies and prioritise those immigrant Others who meet the criteria set by them as hosts. Subsequently, as witnessed in the case of the UK, governments then demand that immigrants assimilate into the host culture rather than reassessing and adapting themselves to accept immigrants as they are (see also O’Gorman, 2006, pp. 52-5). Ideals of cosmopolitanism are thus deemed to be inappropriate by national governments in terms of state policy. Obligations to existing citizens (the Self) overrule cosmopolitan ones, particularly when it comes to reflecting on and transforming national identity, resulting in any potential for self-transformation being rejected in favour of maintaining traditional notions of identity through changing and assimilating the Other.

In an attempt to answer this central conflict within cosmopolitanism between global and local obligations, between responsibilities to the Self and the Other, Appiah challenged the view of Jon Binnie et al. (2006) that it is necessary for cosmopolites to ‘reject the confines of bounded communities and their own cultural backgrounds’ or for ‘national, and indeed local, particularities [to be] disposed of and new forms of identification based on globality and diversity [to be] sought’ (Binnie et al., 2006, p. 7). In his theory of ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’, he argued that the individual can be both a local and global citizen, and that while we are obliged to help our fellow citizens around the world, ‘they do not require us to abandon our own lives’, as our lives, and those closest to us, are equally important to those elsewhere in the world (Appiah, 2007b, pp. 165, 173). In actual fact, local attachments are often the way we can perform our duty as cosmopolitans:

Yes, to be a citizen of the world is to be concerned for your fellow citizens, and … the way you live that concern is often just by doing things for people in particular places. A citizen of the world can make the world
better by making some local place better, even though that place need not be the place of her literal or original citizenship (Appiah, 2007a, p. 241).

If cosmopolitanism can therefore be enacted at a local level, this space, beyond the limitations of state policy, is perhaps where an individual is best able to perform openness to and respect of difference and undergo the self-transformation inherent within theories of cosmopolitanism. At the same time, however, this local space is perhaps also where xenophobia and racism are best able to perform.

Cosmopolitanism may have traditionally been associated with an elite transnational class, those who possessed the necessary economic capital to travel the world and enjoy diverse cultural experiences (Binnie et al., 2006, pp. 8-9), but under contemporary processes of globalisation, cosmopolitanism no longer necessitates foreign travel, but can instead be enacted at a local level through face-to-face interaction with local migrants, for example, or through the consumption of commodities and the media. Consuming other cultures through media has been referred to as a kind of ‘armchair’ tourism, a way to learn about and construct images of new places which can lead to increased levels of media-induced tourism (Mazierska and Walton, 2006; Peters et al., 2011). At the same time: ‘media consumers, simultaneously imbibing print, electronic, and satellite communications around the globe, come to imagine themselves as cosmopolitan participants in global commodity culture … surmounting the spatial constraint of locality [and] entering the global scene by means that deny geographic immobilities’ (Schein, 1999, p. 345). The increased information and imagery concerning foreign cultures brought into the home by contemporary forms of global media can help to engender a cosmopolitan disposition within the consumer (Beck, 2002; Szerszynski and Urry, 2002), in which they ‘feel a kind of cosmopolitan connection to the world community’ (Molz, 2011, p. 41, original emphasis). Along with this sense of cosmopolitan connection to a world community comes a contemporary interest in the cultural Other: ‘Racial difference obstructs empathy and makes ethnocentrism inescapable. It becomes impossible even to imagine what it is like to be somebody else … at the very same time, the powerful and pleasurable fantasy of transgressing that impassable boundary has started to circulate through the core of popular culture’ (Gilroy, 2004, p. 70). Here, Paul Gilroy highlights how notions of difference, which, on the one hand, seem to encourage conflict and division, simultaneously attract the consumer. The value of this attraction and interest
in other cultures once again resides in a greater knowledge and awareness not only of the Other, but also of the consumer’s own culture and the Self. Consequently, Gilroy advocated a carefully cultivated process of exposure to Otherness, estranging oneself from one’s own cultural habits in order to better understand them: ‘we must learn to practice a systematic from of disloyalty to our own local civilization if we seek either to understand it or to interact equitably with others formed elsewhere’ (Gilroy, 2004, pp. 77-9).

The manner in which an individual engages with other cultures, however, can affect the kind of cosmopolitanism performed. Face-to-face conversation with a migrant, for example, suggests the potential for both parties to have an equal voice in the exchange. While consuming other cultures through the media and commodities can encourage a cosmopolitan disposition within the consumer and a sense of connection to a world community, as well as the opportunity to transform self-understanding, this consumption is not a continuous dialogue and allows the Other to be more open to appropriation and manipulation by the consumer. Many studies have adopted just such a negative view towards cosmopolitan consumption. Delanty referred to ‘the soft cosmopolitanism of consumer-driven cultural appropriation’, defining these interactions as entailing ‘a limited capacity for the relativization of one’s own culture or identity in light of the encounter with the Other’ (Delanty, 2009, pp. 252-3). Studies into western cosmopolitan consumption of foreign cultures often centre their analysis on food and the consumption of the cultural Other within restaurants run by members of a local ethnic community. These studies show that restaurants consciously reinforce western stereotypes of non-western ethnic identity through menus and decor:

For ethnic restaurants to be attractive to a broader consumer base they must successfully package a sense of difference and exoticization in ways that are legible and approachable to a mainstream audience. Customers often expect to receive, not only ‘ethnic’ cuisine, but a full exotic experience ... but, ironically, one that is not too different or distant from their comfortable, known world (Tanaka, 2008, p. 50).

According to Shaun Naomi Tanaka’s study of Canadian consumption of Japanese cuisine, consumers expect cosmopolitan consumption to provide a comprehensive ‘exotic’ experience with a markedly different culture, but the cultural difference on offer is required to conform not only to conventional images of the culture in the
western imagination, but also to the consumer’s own culture. Rodolfo Torres and Juan Buriel considered the reproduction of cultural stereotypes alongside a familiarisation of foreign culture to reflect the western individual’s desire to consume a multicultural or cosmopolitan Other rather than an unmediated cultural Other (Torres and Buriel, 2010, p. 85). Their analysis of Mexican cuisine in nouvelle restaurants in Los Angeles found that European-trained chefs appropriated Mexican cuisine and combined it with non-Mexican ingredients and recipes, thereby hybridising their product and detaching ‘Mexican and so-called Third World cuisines from their social and cultural histories’ (Torres and Buriel, 2010, pp. 83-4). Elizabeth Buettner (2008, p. 865) noted a similar familiarisation and Anglicisation of Indian food in the case of the UK. What concerns Torres and Buriel and Buettner is the labour of low-paid Mexican workers in the kitchens of nouvelle restaurants that makes these restaurants economically viable, and the racism towards Indian staff and local community outside of the restaurant environment. They find that cosmopolitan interest in the Other does not extend beyond the consumption of food to actual immigrants, who are instead exploited and subjugated in the process of creating a hybridised cultural Other (Buettner, 2008, pp. 886-91; Torres and Buriel, 2010, pp. 79-80). This subjugation can also be observed beyond the consumption of food, such as in the case of Latin American salsa. Studies show that in European and US dance classes, non-Latin American consumers effectively appropriated the dance by regulating it themselves, establishing the correct way to dance and determining who were acceptable dance partners, to the detriment of many Latin American participants (Bosse, 2013; Urquía, 2005). Furthermore, in the case of non-Latin American salsa dancers in London: ‘some [participants] construe salsa as Latin, but many neither pursue nor value Latin identity and focus on ethnically-neutral aspects of the skills required’ (Urquía, 2005, p. 389).

In accordance with Nederveen Pieterse’s (2009, pp. 52-3, 60-1) third paradigm of cultural transfer, therefore, western forms of cosmopolitan consumption often involve the creation of a hybridised cultural Other, appropriating and adapting non-western culture in line with the norms and requirements of the local receiving culture, and seemingly suppressing the cultural Other in the process. This hybridisation on the part of western consumers, which can involve disregarding the Other’s original ethnic identity, mixing it with western culture or reinforcing cultural stereotypes, allows the individual to engage and enact cosmopolitanism with an Other that is not too culturally alien to them and is therefore easily integrated into their existing cultural norms. A
pattern thus begins to emerge within practices of cosmopolitanism, one that is also reflected in the contemporary social policy and crisis of identity in the UK. Owing to contemporary processes of globalisation and migration, western individuals are increasingly obliged and disposed to engage with the cultural Other, but these interactions are frequently limited, I suggest, by the fact that the Self ultimately does not want to undergo any transformation through interaction with the cultural Other. This conflict is likewise reflected in everyday processes of cosmopolitan consumption. Given the prevalence of stereotypes within cultural consumption, existing studies suggest that in their interaction with non-western culture, consumers have no real desire to change and develop a greater awareness of either themselves or the cultural Other, only to enact an uncomplicated cosmopolitan identity. A brief assessment, however, of the historical construction of the Other by European nations reveals that the Other has in fact traditionally been constructed and consumed as a foil precisely for the examination, development and transformation of European self-identity.

1.4: The British Self and the Latin American Other.

In the field of psychoanalysis, Jacques Lacan professed the Self to be intrinsically dependent on the Other for the definition of its existence: ‘the subject is subject only from being subjected to the field of the Other, the subject proceeds from his synchronic subjection in the field of the Other’ (Lacan, 1994, p. 188). Edward Said developed this formative relationship between Self and Other in Orientalism (1978), in which he analysed the British and French construction of the Orient during the eighteenth, nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Said claimed that through scholarship, literature, imagery, doctrine and colonialism, Britain and France had created a discourse that had invented the Orient for British and French audiences, one which in turn ‘helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience’ (Said, 1994, pp. 1-2). He noted that ‘European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self” (Said, 1994, p. 3), resulting in Orientalism, and the Other it created, ultimately revealing more about its creators than the Orient itself (Said, 1994, p. 22). Given that the invention of the Orient was, however unwittingly, an exercise in the construction of self-identity, the Other identity which Britain and France bestowed upon the Orient was unsurprisingly one that complemented ideas of the British and
French Self: ‘cultures have always been inclined to impose complete transformations on other cultures, receiving these other cultures not as they are but as, for the benefit of the receiver, they ought to be’ (Said, 1994, p. 67). The recycling and circulating of these Orientalist themes, images and narratives imbued this discourse with authority, transforming it into a system of knowledge through which any new Oriental culture was subsequently mediated (Said, 1994, pp. 6, 22-3, 42-3).

Similar processes to those theorised by Said in respect to the Orient can be identified in the European construction of the Latin American Other. Tzvetan Todorov argued that the European discovery of the American continent is fundamental to understanding the relationship between Self and Other, as Europeans ‘do not have the same sense of radical difference in the “discovery” of other continents and of other peoples: Europeans have never been altogether ignorant of the existence of Africa, India, or China; some memory of these places was always there already – from the beginning’ (Todorov, 1999, p. 4). Consequently, when Columbus was charged with relaying the reality of the New World to his royal patrons, he ‘saw the people whom he discovered as different from himself, and represented them in terms of difference from his own sense of the norm’ (Beardsell, 2000, p. 39). On the one hand, the initial European construction of Latin America underscored the region’s difference to Europe and set up the region as a stark contrast to Europe. However, given that the construction of this difference involved a description of people and places in the New World using those in Spain and European culture as a point of reference, noting, for example, how ‘algunos árboles eran de la naturaleza de otros que [hay] en Castilla … los otros árboles de otras maneras eran tantos que no [hay] persona que lo pueda decir ni asemejar a otros de Castilla’ (‘some of the trees bore some resemblance to those in Castile … some were so unlike that no one could compare them to anything in Castile’) (American Journeys Collection, 2003, p. 121; Lawrance, 2002, p. 6), this also familiarised the Latin American Other from the first instance (see also Pagden, 1993, p. 21). From the initial encounter, therefore, the idea of Latin America represented a duality of familiarity and Otherness for Europeans. At the same time, Columbus initiated the practice of describing the unfamiliar in Latin America in terms of the marvellous: ‘aves y pajaritos de tantas maneras y tan diversas de las nuestras que es maravilla’ (‘birds and small birds of such variety and so different from ours that it is marvellous’) (Lawrance, 2002, p. 7, my translation).
During subsequent centuries, travel writing continued to depict Latin America in terms of the marvellous. The sense of mystery and the unknown which surrounded the region in the European cultural imagination engendered ‘a particular sense of the possibility of encountering the marvellous, the novel, and the extreme’, and produced ‘a travel writing in South America that is filled with the discovery of the fantastic, the survival of the anachronistic, and the promise of marvellous monstrosity’ (Whitehead, 2002, p. 122). The juxtaposition here of the discovery of the fantastic alongside the promise (but also threat) of marvellous monstrosity highlights the contradiction within the sense of the marvellous associated with Latin America. What is, on the one hand, intriguing and appealing is, simultaneously, frightening and unsettling. The same uneasy relationship existed between the familiar and the different within Latin America. Based on this relationship, it is understandable why Latin America has long been constructed as a manifestation of the unconscious fears and desires of the European Self. Lacan stated that ‘the unconscious is the discourse of the Other’ (Lacan, 1994, p. 131, original emphasis). This suggests that the figure of the Other is in fact a projection of the unconscious part of the Self and that the two are, consequently, interlinked as part of one cohesive psyche (Beardsell, 2000, p. 8). In travel writing and beyond, Latin America has existed in the European imagination as an Other by which to interrogate and comprehend European culture and identity (Jones, 2003; Pratt, 2008). Throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Latin America aided European intellectuals in their development of theories of existence, morality and society, the primitivism they perceived in Latin America acting as a counterpoint which exposed the flaws and anxieties of the supposedly more civilised European culture and society and offering an idealised alternative (Beardsell, 2000, p. 29). Yet at the same time, the primitivism associated with the region also retained a sense of cultural inferiority, for, as Charles Darwin observed in regard to indigenous inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego: ‘One can hardly make oneself believe that they are fellow creatures placed in the same world … They cannot know the feeling of having a home – and still less that of domestic affection … Their skill, like the instinct of animals is not improved by experience’ (Desmond and Moore, 1992, pp. 146-7). Idealised but also inferior, familiar yet also different, Latin America has been constructed as the unconscious of the European Self in order that the European Self might learn more about itself through its interaction and engagement with the region.
In the case of the UK, Kevin Foster discussed how, particularly in pre-twentieth century British fiction, Latin America was frequently used to address anxieties of Empire. In comparison with the Spanish and Portuguese, the British had very few colonies in the region which made Latin America a distant, unknown, almost ‘blank space’ on the global map in the British cultural imagination. Furthermore, the nineteenth-century expansion of the British Empire occurred as the majority of Latin American nations were, ‘with varying degrees of success, throwing off the yoke of colonial government’ and achieving independence (Foster, 2009, p. 12). Given that Latin America was seen to be relatively unconnected to Britain in terms of Empire, the region was able to become an unambiguous Other for the UK and acted as the perfect location in which to set fictional narratives that worked through anxieties of British colonial rule elsewhere:

If Britain had little to do with and nothing to learn from Latin America, then just about anything might be said or done in works set there with a commensurately diminished fear of accountability. Latin America thus furnished British writers of adventure fiction with a secure intellectual and political space within which they might pronounce upon the most explosive issue of the day – the moral and political economy of imperialism (Foster, 2009, p. 48).

Correspondingly, ‘the mediations of these anxieties have framed our cultural relations with Latin America while boldly reshaping our perceptions of ourselves’ (Foster, 2009, p. 13). In allowing British writers and readers to examine their own colonial identity in a distant and uncontroversial environment, these narratives often portrayed Latin America as a place where anything could (and did) happen:

Latin America was increasingly identified as the one place where man could find refuge from the imperative to principled action. For British readers the chaos in Latin America offered a fantasy world of liberation … Here, free from moral anxiety or legal restraint, personal and collective fantasies of power and fulfilment might be indulged and enjoyed. As a consequence, for the greater portion of the British public, by the late nineteenth century … Latin America had come to signify little more than moral regression, endemic political instability and the promise of adventure and escape (Foster, 2009, p. 38).

Latin America came to be seen as a place that exerted a powerful and dangerous influence on Britons who travelled there, causing them to abandon their cultural
norms. This coincides with the theory of the Other as the unconscious in that Latin America embodied and unleashed the unconscious desires and anxieties of British individuals, their inner soul that must, ultimately, be resisted and rejected (Foster, 2009, p. 55):

[Fictional Latin America] may magnify the moral degeneracy of its leading citizens, but it does not explain it; it may provide a context for their excesses, but it does not cause them. Accordingly [the author] demonstrates that it might be more appropriate to regard Latin America as a mirror for the west’s failings and not an alibi for them, that it is less an ethical no man’s land than a detailed chart of our own moral vacuity (Foster, 2009, p. 40).

The projection of unconscious fears and desires onto Latin America was likewise present in Hollywood films of the 1930s and 1940s. In these films, Latin America was once again frequently associated with ‘repressed, dark, libidinal urges’, which were ‘to be flirted with but kept at a distance’ (Swanson, 2010, p. 73).

During the second half of the twentieth century, Latin America continued to be employed in British fiction as the embodiment of British desires and anxieties. In *Travels With My Aunt*, published by Graham Greene in 1969, Foster argued that the protagonist, and by extension the reader, finds a sense of Victorian Britain in the novel’s fictional Paraguayan setting, ‘the still faintly beating heart of [Britain’s] essential identity’, making it possible to ‘imaginatively re-inhabit the nation’s heyday while still living in the present’ and ‘[furnishing] British readers with a simpler past where they could take refuge from the anxieties of the present’ (Foster, 2009, p. 176). A fictional Latin America thus presented readers with the opportunity to return to a pre-twentieth century past and idealised identity that they feared had been lost to them. Towards the end of the twentieth century, Britain’s involvement in the Falkland’s War with Argentina saw these anxieties of Empire and identity resurface once again:

The more profoundly Thatcherism changed the face and deeper structures of national life, the more Britons pined for the certainties of a lost past … When the Argentines invaded the Falkland Islands in April in 1982, Britain was unexpectedly confronted with a vision of its ideal pre-industrial self … In defeating the Argentines and reclaiming the islands Britain could strike a blow against the varied forces that had conspired over the preceding decades to reduce its power and diminish its status (Foster, 2009, p. 198).
The place and function of Latin America in the British imagination thus endured to the end of the twentieth century as a mechanism for self-definition, allowing Britain to address and work through its issues of identity. Latin America can be compared to the Orient of Orientalism in the sense that both have been historically constructed as a foil for the European Self. Since Columbus, Latin America has been described and constructed in relation to European culture. However, Latin America has been both differentiated and familiarised to the European Self. In the case of British culture, Latin America was regularly utilised as a conceptual tool for exorcising colonial and postcolonial anxieties throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, while notions of sensuality and moral abandon have constructed Latin America as embodying the unconscious desires of the British Self. For Britain, these desires extended beyond a mere rejection of European cultural norms, however, to include nostalgia for a sense of identity thought lost and irretrievable.

Since the 1980s, awareness and consumption of Latin America and its culture have expanded to encompass an increasingly broader British audience beyond the realm of literature and politics, through such mediums as film, food, music, sport and dance. Jon Beasley-Murray argued in the early 2000s that Latin America and associated notions of ‘Latinidad’ were now ‘de-territorialized’ and had gone ‘viral’, extending beyond Latin America across the globe to become a familiar and even intimate Other (Beasley-Murray, 2003, p. 223). His analysis of the marketing of Bacardi Breezers in the UK exemplified the contemporary relationship between the British Self and Latin American Other. Bacardi Breezers are popular bottled alcoholic beverages that combine Bacardi rum with fruit flavours. Part of the marketing campaign for these drinks in the UK during the 2000s was a series of television commercials. Each depicted a British man or woman in a sombre everyday environment being questioned by a figure of authority (boss, therapist, in-laws). When asked a question, the situation was then juxtaposed with flashback images of the individual in ‘vividly colourful depictions of frenzy and decadence, set in some generic Latin American location. The protagonist’s task is to answer the questions posed as truthfully as possible without revealing the true (decadent and Latin) significance of the answers given’ (Beasley-Murray, 2003, p. 228). Each commercial was then accompanied by the slogan: ‘There’s a bit of Latin spirit in everyone’ (Beasley-Murray, 2003, p. 228). What was implied by the advertising campaign was that this ‘Latin spirit’ is an inherent, but supressed part of many British individuals:
The point here is not so much that Bacardi is purveying a set of stereotypical images of Latin sensuality – it is, though its depictions of British restraint are equally stereotypical. The point is rather that these two stereotypes are seen as complementary: in tension but not necessarily in contradiction. The relation between Britain and Latin America is not here the relation between (familiar) self and (exotic) other; rather, it is an internal division, between different aspects of the same subject … Bacardi purports to perform a dissection of British psychosocial structures, along almost classically Freudian lines (youthful ego, traditionalist superego, Latin id) (Beasley-Murray, 2003, pp. 228-9).

In Beasley-Murray’s example, Latin America is once again associated with the unconscious desires of the British Self. Yet contrary to the nineteenth-century attitude discussed by Foster, in which ‘we must all learn to subdue the Latin America within’ (Foster, 2009, p. 55), the Bacardi adverts encouraged British consumers to embrace these unconscious desires and perform their repressed Latin American identity through the consumption of Bacardi’s product. Rather than an external projection of unconscious British fears and desires, Latin America was here positioned as an internal and complementary part of the British Self, one that also acts as a counterpoint when defining the Britishness of the Self. Yet while Beasley-Murray described this relationship between the two in terms of an internal division, this sense of division, even if it is internal, remains problematic. Although consumers are encouraged in Bacardi’s advertising to embrace their Latin American side through consumption, this is only ever temporary, as implied by the structure of the adverts themselves. While the adverts’ British protagonists may live out their unconscious Latin desires drinking and revelling at night, by day, this identity is hidden from the respective authority figure. Even though Beasley-Murray argues that ‘the Latin American unconscious both informs and motivates the British conscious’ (Beasley-Murray, 2003, p. 229), the two clearly and inevitably remain separate, with the Latin American unconscious being dominated and suppressed by the British conscious for the majority of the time. I suggest, therefore, that this internal division continues to position a Latin American unconscious in an inferior position to the British conscious, in a similar position to that which it has always held, despite the internalisation of the Latin American Other.

Studies of cosmopolitan consumption have tended to suggest that western consumers appropriate and adapt the cultures of Others in order to enact uncomplicated cosmopolitan identities, often disregarding the associated ethnic
identity of the product in question and any potential to develop self-identity. The historical European construction of the cultural Other reveals that, although the Other has been consistently moulded to serve the needs of the European Self, (as also occurs in contemporary cosmopolitan consumption), this adaptation has, in fact, been for the development and transformation of self-identity. The Latin American Other has often been used by British audiences as a means to explore unconscious fears and desires, with Beasley-Murray (and Bacardi) positing Latin America as the internal unconscious of the British subject, effectively making Latin America an integral part of British consumers’ identity. Yet, in this thesis, I ask whether this is all that Latin America can do and be for the British consumer, whether Latin America is always to be consigned the inferior role of the unconscious within consumers’ performance and construction of self-identity. Drawing on Beasley-Murray’s analysis, therefore, I propose that a Latin American Other is no longer envisaged as an external contrast, but through consumption becomes an internal aspect of contemporary British consumers’ self-identity. However, I also contend that Latin America’s role in identity formation can go beyond its typical one of unconscious fears and desires. Drawing simultaneously on theories of cosmopolitanism, I suggest that a Latin American identity can come to form part of the consumer’s conscious self-identity through consumption. The incorporation of a Latin American identity into self-identity on a more conscious level subsequently enables the consumer to become more cosmopolitan in the sense that this incorporation of Latin American identity denotes a conscious transformation of self-understanding and self-identity through the Other. The idea of incorporating Othered identities into self-identity builds on the ability to adopt and discard multiple identities which has been theorised to be an inherent feature of contemporary postmodern culture and society.

1.5: Postmodern anxieties and processes of cultural consumption.

A fundamental characteristic of late-twentieth and early-twenty-first-century postmodernism has been a cultural and social retreat from the faith placed in master narratives under modernism, including notions of a unified self-identity and the authority of national identity: ‘In a general sense, postmodernism is to be regarded as a rejection of many, if not most, of the cultural certainties on which life in the West has been structured over the past couple of centuries’, thereby embracing ‘scepticism
about what our culture stands for and strives for’ (Sim, 2011, vii). Identity has
devolved to the individual and become associated with fragmentation. Coinciding with
notions of cultural pastiche and imitation, blending the old with the new and the high
with the low, the individual is encouraged to embrace the multiplicity of identity,
adopting one and then another, or several at once, being responsible for creating their
own allegiances and sense of self. While the ability to adopt multiple identities can be
appealing and liberating, the diversity and temporality of these identities can at the
same time provoke feelings of uncertainty and insecurity within the individual, leading
to ‘widespread fear and resentment of the experience of “disembedded”,
“unencumbered”, free-floating, unanchored, fragile and vulnerable identity’, meaning
that ‘nostalgia for the “sweetness of belonging” could only grow’ (Bauman, 1999,
xxxix-xl).

The desire to recover a sense of belonging and the security of past identities
has led to a nostalgic turn within postmodernism. Early-twentieth-century modernist
forms of nostalgia were characterised by a hatred and contempt for the present age.
Anxieties over the effects of widespread industrialisation, the atrocities of modern
warfare and anger at a perceived loss of cultural meaning evoked a yearning for an
idealised pre-industrial past (Clewell, 2013; Spender, 1963). Under late-twentieth-
century postmodernism, nostalgia continued to be associated with idealised past
identities that symbolised certainty and security in an age of increasing cultural
fluidity, only now these identities were readily constructed and packaged for
consumption. Developing the idea of pastiche, Fredric Jameson (1985, 1991)
discussed the North American postmodern ‘nostalgia film’ that recreated a stylised
idea of the past based on cultural stereotypes in an attempt to recapture a lost reality.
Postmodern nostalgia also called for a re-enchantment of the world after the de-
enchantment carried out by the modernist project (Bauman, 2001, pp. 191-2). Craig J.
Thompson expanded on this notion of re-enchantment in terms of magic:

In our wired, high-tech, e-commerce pomo world, we long for the age of
magic ... So it is that postmodernists often seek re-enchantment – that is,
a simulation of the enchantment that we like to believe once animated
everyday life – through consumption. In pursuit of this goal, pomo
consumers often turn nostalgically toward a mythologized past
(Thompson, 2003, pp. 128-9).
For Thompson, postmodern nostalgia for magic and enchantment equates to a longing for a pre-technological reality and it is through consumption that individuals are able to access this idealised identity, fully aware that this past is simulated and ‘mythologized’ by the cultural producer. Consumption is therefore able to provide the consumer with a mediated sense of traditional, simpler, more rooted identity, in a similar manner to Jameson’s nostalgia films.

A growing postmodern nostalgia for unchanging identity and a sense of belonging has coincided with an increase in globalisation and the formation of more globalised links of community. As the legitimacy of the nation and national identity has been called into question under postmodernism and globalisation, increased global connections have led to ‘the “disembedding” of relationships and personal contacts from particular localities or contexts, meaning that social relations are “stretched” across distances and extending our phenomenal worlds from the local to the global’ (Hopper, 2007, p. 10). While processes of globalisation have partly contributed to contemporary insecurities surrounding identity, they also provide the potential solution. The globalisation of relationships and affiliations is possible due to ‘time-space compression’, namely, the perceived reduction of distance through advances in travel and communication technologies, providing an illusion of proximity between oneself and others around the world (Harvey, 1990, p. 293). A sense of global interconnectedness, and cosmopolitan community, is often forged and enacted at a local level through consumption of the cultural Other, yet Graham Huggan has argued that the contemporary consumption of postcolonial Others in particular continues to be mediated by stereotypes informed by an ‘imperialist nostalgia’, in which European consumers still wish to consume an almost colonial exoticism of postcolonial cultures: ‘the elaboration of a world of difference that conforms to often crudely stereotypical Western exoticist paradigms and myths (“primitive culture”, “unbounded nature”, “magical practices”, “noble savagery”, and so on)” (Huggan, 2001, p. 37). Huggan consequently coincides with studies of cosmopolitan consumption discussed above, in that, despite increased contemporary interest in and consumption of the cultural Other, this interaction continues to rely on the reproduction of cultural stereotypes. For Huggan, this reproduction goes beyond the performance of uncomplicated cosmopolitan identities, however, and is tied to nostalgia for the perceived (‘imperial’) cultural certainties and secure identities of the past. Furthermore, exotic stereotypes are once again used to market foreign cultural difference to European consumers.
because they provide the consumer with a cultural Other that is familiar to them, ‘[celebrating] the notion of cultural difference while at the same time assimilating it to familiar Western interpretive codes’ (Huggan, 2001, p. 55), making it a safe Other, one that is ‘threateningly strange and reassuringly familiar’ at the same time (Huggan, 2001, pp. 22-3).

Although it may be appealing and liberating to adopt and discard multiple identities, this freedom is accompanied by notions of existential insecurity. While contemporary processes of globalisation have helped to encourage a more globalised sense of belonging and increased engagement with the cultural Other through consumption (as well as in person), research has found that many western consumers often in fact seek to nostalgically reinforce traditional cultural identities that are stereotypical, familiar and less threatening to them through consumption. The sense of belonging the consumer might form with the cultural Other through consumption becomes more concerned with recreating the perceived security of past identities than encouraging cosmopolitan tolerance. On the one hand, therefore, the individuals interviewed in this thesis may consume the Latin American Other and adopt its identity in an attempt to reflect notions of cosmopolitanism, incorporating it into their self-identity and allowing the Self to be changed by the Other. At the same time, the findings of postmodern and postcolonial theorists suggest that the processes of consumption I will investigate will also likely involve producing and consuming the Latin American Other to reinforce what are perceived as older identities and certainties of the past, such as notions of pre-technological or pre-industrial culture, or imperialist exoticism, including characteristics which are patently mythologised, such as magic.

In this thesis, I ask whether the two (incorporating the Other into self-identity and being cosmopolitan, and reproducing nostalgic, mythologised identities) are always necessarily mutually exclusive. Ultimately, however, whether or not nostalgic identities are reproduced by the consumer is dependent upon the agency the consumer exerts in their decoding of the cultural Other.

In their theory of the ‘circuit of culture’, Paul du Gay et al. stated that five major cultural processes, (representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation), are involved in creating the meaning of a cultural text. Referring to their particular cultural text, the Sony Walkman, they noted: ‘one should at least explore how it is represented, what social identities are associated with it, how it is produced and consumed, and what mechanisms regulate its distribution and use’ (du Gay et al.,
1997, p. 3). In various ways, this thesis examines these five processes in relation to the ¡Viva! Spanish and Latin American Film Festival, yet I focus particularly on the processes of production and consumption through Stuart Hall’s (1980, 2006) theory of encoding and decoding.

Hall’s primary thesis was that, while texts are encoded with meaning by the cultural producer at the stage of production, this meaning is not fixed or inevitable. Although the consumer cannot normally read any meaning they want into a text, as the encoding at the stage of production establishes general limits and parameters regarding how a text can be read, Hall emphasised that there are different ways a consumer can decode the text within these parameters set by the producer. The first he terms the dominant-hegemonic position, whereby the consumer ‘decodes the message in terms of the reference code in which it has been encoded’ (Hall, 2006, p. 171). Alternatively, the consumer can adopt a negotiated position: ‘it acknowledges the legitimacy of the hegemonic definitions to make the grand significations (abstract), while, at a more restricted, situational (situated) level, it makes its own ground rules’ (Hall, 2006, p. 172). Decoding a text in this manner, the consumer recognises the meaning encoded by the producer, but still chooses to interpret its meaning according to a personal inclination. A third way is via an oppositional code: ‘to decode the message in a globally contrary way. He/she detotalizes the message in the preferred code in order to retotalize the message within some alternative framework of reference’ (Hall, 2006, pp. 172-3, original emphasis). Oppositional and negotiated codes denote the ability of the consumer to exercise agency in their interpretation of a text. Following the decoding of the message is the stage of reproduction, at which point the decoding feeds into the consumer’s framework of knowledge as the consumer applies their decoding of the message in a wider context (Hall, 2006, p. 165).

Hall’s oppositional code is the one which is reflected in many studies of consumption and consumer appropriation, in which groups and individuals endow products with new meanings more reflective of their personal ideology, belief or attitude. Dick Hebdige (1979, 1988) offered an analysis of post-war British youths and the formation of subcultures, in which young British working-class males consumed North American cultural products as a way of expressing resistance against the British class system, negotiating their meaning by transforming them into symbols of their own cultural situation. John Fiske (1989) analysed a similar situation towards the end
of the twentieth century in his analysis of North American consumers, in which young men and women purposefully defaced their jeans to indicate a rejection of their perceived meaning: ‘If “whole” jeans connote shared meanings of contemporary America, then disfiguring them becomes a way of distancing oneself from those values’ (Fiske, 1989, p. 4). These studies focused on the consumer creating a new meaning through decoding, yet I suggest that consumers might decode and reproduce nostalgic notions of exoticism, magic or pre-industrial reality in regard to the Latin American Other, but that, rather than undermining the sense of cosmopolitan connection consumers might form with the cultural Other through consumption, the decoding and reproduction of nostalgic identities in fact functions as a mechanism to help consumers reconcile the insecurity of fluid and fragmented postmodern identities with cosmopolitan tolerance. In order to assess the validity of such a hypothesis, this thesis applies theories of identity, consumption, postmodernism, cosmopolitanism and the Self and the Other discussed above to the ¡Viva! film festival in Manchester.

1.6: Film festivals and imagined cosmopolitan communities.

Film festivals, and the network of film distribution they represent, have been a feature of the international film industry since the early-twentieth century. The Venice Film Festival, inaugurated in 1932, constituted the first regularly scheduled film festival. The festival invited European and North American nations to showcase the best of their national cinema from that year as representations of their national and cultural identity (De Valck, 2007, p. 24). Since then, film festivals have expanded beyond Europe and North America, and diversified to encompass alternative and independent cinema, documentaries, specific film genres and themes, and world cinema. In many European and North American cities, foreign language film festivals are often organised by and for members of a local diaspora and aim to foster notions of a local (and international) community and identity, as well as raising the external profile of the diaspora (Iordanova, 2010, pp. 23-4; Segal, 2010, p. 198). Festivals cater to the diverse identities within the local diaspora and foment links between these groups and with their respective home countries, and are frequently accompanied by additional social and cultural events designed to teach heritage and culture to younger members of the community (Guillén, 2010, pp. 154-7; Gündoğdu, 2010, p. 192; Santaolalla and Simanowitz, 2010, p. 141; Segal, 2010, p. 213).
In addition to these community-led film festivals are those organised by individuals and institutions outside of the diasporic communities. The contemporary popularity and proliferation of foreign language film festivals beyond diasporas can be attributed to a number of factors. In addition to the interests of film festival cinephiles in world cinema, a commitment to fostering multiculturalism in European and North American cities often results in a wider availability of government funding for festivals that promote foreign cinema (Iordanova, 2010, p. 37), while the demography of cities, with increasing numbers of international migrants and well-paid, skilled professionals, in general is more conducive to foreign language film festivals (Cheung, 2010, pp. 85-6). Manthia Diawara attributed the explosion of African film festivals in European and North American cities during the early 1990s to a multicultural and postcolonial interest in the cultural Other, although one that effectively exploited African films ‘for the purposes of multiculturalism as required by their own citizens’ (Diawara, 1994, p. 386). These film festivals represented a space for western audiences to perform uncomplicated cosmopolitan and multicultural identities by enabling individuals to engage with the cultural Other, but on a level that did not necessitate a literal face-to-face interaction, or any transformation and re-evaluation of the consumer’s self-identity. Foreign language film festivals also present the opportunity for western consumers to engage with an exotic Other:

Obviously, the possibility that FISahara may be viewed by some as a means of sampling a safe dose of exoticism cannot be fully dismissed. After all, most international participants come from Western societies where ethnically-marked materials and individuals are systematically being fetishised, labelled as ‘authentic’ and marketed for public consumption (Santaolalla and Simanowitz, 2010, p. 140).

As well as facilitating cinephile interest in world cinema, contemporary film festivals are commoditised cultural experiences orientated towards consumers as much as any other form of cosmopolitan consumption. Santaolalla and Simanowitz concurred with Huggan (2001) in that they acknowledged that film festivals can provide traditional notions of exoticism and difference that audiences often seek in their consumption of the cultural Other. This idea of foreign language film festivals being orientated towards the consumer as a tool of cosmopolitan identity performance, a space of potential exoticisation and a cultural experience coincides with a perceived shift in contemporary processes of cultural production and consumption towards ‘the
experience economy’ (Pine and Gilmore, 1999, 2011). Following the late-twentieth-century transition from a manufacturing to services economy, B. Joseph Pine and James H. Gilmore argued that western society has since undergone a subsequent transition from services to experiences. The term ‘experience economy’ denotes contemporary consumers’ demand for experiences rather than products from contemporary processes of consumption, and the producer’s responsibility to stage these experiences for them. The general shift towards experiences in consumption offers one potential explanation for the contemporary rise in popularity of film festivals in North American and European cities:

The festival context added another layer of experience to the film screenings to which an increasing number of people (the growing creative class) was susceptible. Nowadays, the average festival goer is no longer a classic cinephile, whose main interest concerns the ‘films’ being shown. The festivals are attended for various reasons by a variety of cinephiles, and for some, the experience of being part of the ‘festival’, its unique setting, the spectacle, the hypes and the premières are just as important as (and sometimes more important than) the films themselves (De Valck, 2007, pp. 212-3).

Yet in line with the transition to an experience economy also comes an emphasis on ‘creative leisure’: ‘[creative leisure] brings about a new state by enabling the participant to develop new knowledge, skills and competences ... Creative leisure allows the individual to develop themselves and at the same time distinguish themselves from other consumers through the acquisition of consumption skills’ (Richards, 2001, p. 64). While foreign language film festivals have been accused of exploiting foreign cinema for the western consumer, merely being concerned with the multicultural and cosmopolitan anxieties of its western audience (Diawara, 1994), potentially providing ‘a safe dose of exoticism’ (Santaolalla and Simanowitz, 2010), I offer a more positive analysis and argue that foreign language film festivals primarily function as a space of creative leisure in which the consumer is able to engage with the cultural Other through film and acquire new knowledge and skills to transform their self-identity. The new knowledge and skills available to consumers of foreign language film festivals often assumes a form of Othering:

I further suspect that viewers seek to experience a temporary submersion in the position of the imagined Other – during the act of viewing ...
‘Submergence’... resonate[s] with the colonial heritage of cross-cultural encounter... ‘Submergence’... re-enacts (and perhaps pays guilt money for) the colonial encounter in which strangers meet within a force field of power. ‘Submergence’ evokes the ethos of participatory ardour and redemptive humility... (Nichols, 2013, p. 32)

Here, Bill Nichols discussed Othering oneself through film festivals as an attempt to assuage postcolonial guilt. In line with Foster’s (2009) analysis of the UK’s historical use of Latin America as a space in which to work through anxieties of Empire, I would suggest that contemporary consumers of the ¡Viva! film festival will similarly identify with a Latin American Other through film as a means to assuage their own postcolonial guilt. The fact that, historically, the UK has primarily profited from a commercial relationship with Latin America and has had less direct colonial involvement in the region than other countries, such as Spain and Portugal, rather than discouraging interest in the Latin American Other, in fact becomes an attraction for British consumers as Latin America signifies an indirect, and thereby safer, postcolonial Other for contemporary British consumers to engage with and incorporate into their construction of self-identity.

The identification with the Latin American Other encouraged through the ¡Viva! film festival could entail even more complex processes of identity formation, however, concerning the construction of imagined communities. In the early 1980s, Benedict Anderson developed the theory of the nation as an imagined community:

It is imagined, because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion ... It is imagined as a community, because regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship (Anderson, 2006, pp. 5-7).

Drawing directly on Anderson’s work, Dina Iordanova (2010, p. 13) discussed the ability of film festival audiences to form imagined communities of their own: ‘In the “live” space of the festival, organisers and audiences form a community, an actual one, that congregates face-to-face for the purpose of fostering an “imagined community” that comes live in the act of watching a film and imagining distant human beings becoming part of one’s own experiences’ (Iordanova, 2010, p. 13). Iordanova applied this framework to the question of diaspora, arguing that film festivals can create an
imagined sense of connection between emigrants, second generation groups and home countries. There is no reason, however, why this sense of connection has to be limited to diaspora and this thesis applies the framework of imagined communities to the non-Latin American consumption of the ¡Viva! Spanish and Latin American Film Festival. I suggest that, even if never actually visiting Latin America or speaking with Latin American people, by attending the film festival, non-Latin American audience members can feel a sense of connection to the Latin American Other on and beyond the screen. Given that the connection is between the Latin American and non-Latin American, I refer to this form of imagined community as an imagined cosmopolitan community. When seen as an example of creative leisure, and a cultural experience which engenders imagined cosmopolitan communities, I argue that foreign language film festivals such as the ¡Viva! film festival can facilitate an imagined form of Appiah’s (2007a, 2007b) ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’, in which consumers enact their cosmopolitan obligations to Others within local circumstances by connecting to and identifying with the Latin American Other through film.

1.7: Conclusion.

Although film festivals can facilitate the performance of uncomplicated cosmopolitan identities, as they do not necessitate any actual face-to-face interaction with the cultural Other, for example, I suggest that the imagined cosmopolitan communities that can potentially be constructed through foreign language film festivals such as ¡Viva! reveal more complex processes of cosmopolitanism. Firstly, identifying with the Latin American Other on screen and constructing imagined cosmopolitan communities through the consumption of the festival can act as a means of realising a sense of cosmopolitan belonging and community beyond the contemporary scepticism in the UK surrounding identity and ethnic minorities. In addition to a contemporary postmodern nostalgia for belonging (Bauman, 1999, xxxix-xl), in the UK, government administrations since the 1990s have struggled to reconcile traditional notions of White British identity with increasing levels of immigration. In light of the perception that the UK is subsequently losing a sense of traditional culture and identity under increasing levels of immigration and multiculturalism (Nagle, 2009, p. 92), ‘minorities’ are often ‘invoked as representing that “sense of community” that liberal society is supposed to have lost’ (Hall, 2000, p. 221). I would suggest that the Latin
American Other can be identified and connected with through the ¡Viva! film festival in an attempt to appropriate and regain, if only temporarily, not just a sense of community, but also of cosmopolitan community. This subsequently works to reconcile nostalgia for belonging with cosmopolitan tolerance beyond the increasingly negative rhetoric in the UK surrounding multiculturalism.

Secondly, in addition to a sense of belonging, the Latin American Other identified and connected with through a sense of imagined cosmopolitan community can assuage the insecurity of fluid and fragmented postmodern identities by imparting a sense of culture and identity to consumers which they believe they have lost or which they desire but believe they cannot share with contemporary British culture. The Latin American Other is one that has the potential to symbolise many things for the British consumer, ranging from a pre-industrial and pre-technological cultural simplicity, moral superiority, exoticism and a sense of magic and the marvellous, to (often contradictory) notions of moral incontinence, danger, frenzy and decadence. It was noted above that grand narratives of fixed, unified identities and of the authority of national identity have been contested and challenged under contemporary theories of postmodernism (Bauman, 1999, xxxix-xl), with consumers now encouraged to adopt multiple identities and be responsible for creating their own allegiances and sense of self. Through a typically postmodern appropriation of identities, therefore, I propose that consumers can decode these Latin American cultural identities through the ¡Viva! film festival in order to incorporate a nostalgic identity into their construction of self-identity which they feel they have somehow lost or, alternatively, never possessed. The fact that this nostalgic identity they are consciously incorporating into the Self is a Latin American identity enables the consumer to transform their self-identity through the Other, a fundamental aspect of cosmopolitanism (Delanty, 2009). I propose that foreign language film festivals such as ¡Viva! can thus facilitate a sense of cosmopolitan identification and belonging, alongside a cosmopolitan transformation of self-identity, at a local level.

This thesis consequently applies imagined cosmopolitan communities as an analytical framework to the contemporary non-Latin American consumption of the Latin American Other through the ¡Viva! Spanish and Latin American Film Festival in Manchester, in order to better understand how contemporary consumers in Manchester might incorporate the Latin American Other into notions of cosmopolitan self-identity. Before investigating the production and consumption of Latin America
through the ¡Viva! film festival, however, it is first necessary to examine how Latin America has been encoded in the UK at a discursive level. In order to contextualise my analysis of the ¡Viva! film festival, the following chapter offers a textual analysis of the way in which Latin America has been encoded in the British press during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries through magical realism (1940-2015). As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, magical realism became the foremost literary style associated with Latin America during the second half of the twentieth century and subsequently became an influential paradigm for understanding Latin American cultural reality. The effect magical realism has had on the consumption of Latin America in the UK has not been thoroughly investigated, however. In *Orientalism* (1978), Said noted that the recycling and circulating of certain themes, images and narratives in regard to a cultural Other imbues this discourse with authority, transforming it into a system of knowledge through which any new culture is then mediated. In order to assess the extent to which magical realism has functioned as just such a discourse of Latin America in the UK, and how it may have mediated the interpretation of the region for British audiences, I chose to analyse the national British press because my sample of ¡Viva! questionnaire respondents and interviewees is largely non-academic and it is, therefore, more likely to be the kind of material to which they might have been exposed. The discourse of codes, themes and narratives discovered in the British press in the following chapter leads to the question of whether magical realism continues to mediate the production and consumption of Latin America elsewhere in the UK today and what role magical realism might play, if any, in the construction of self-identity and imagined cosmopolitan communities through the ¡Viva! film festival.
In order to examine one way in which Latin America has been encoded in the UK at a discursive level during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, this chapter presents an analysis of Latin American magical realism in the British press from 1940 to 2015. Prior to the 1990s, Latin American culture, through mediums such as film, food, music and sport, was much less globalised than it is today. Travel to the region remained expensive for the majority of the British public and Latin America constituted an unpopular destination due to the region’s growing association with revolutions, dictatorships, guerrilla warfare and drug barons throughout the second half of the twentieth century. Literature was therefore a primary way in which Latin America was consumed in the UK and, during the second half of the twentieth century, magical realism became the foremost literary style associated with the region. In this chapter, I trace how magical realism became synonymous with the idea of Latin America in the British national press and how, over several decades, this association was mediated into a set of complementary codes, themes and journalistic narrative techniques that similarly came to exemplify Latin America. I begin by highlighting how the idea of Latin America and its literature in the press during the 1940s and 1950s was one of exoticism. The literature of the region then became associated with the surreal and unconventional in the 1960s as a result of the work of the Boom writers. Following the worldwide success of Gabriel García Márquez’s *Cien años de soledad* (1967) (*One Hundred Years of Solitude*, 1970), and the global expansion of Latin American magical realism, similar notions of strangeness and surrealism were gradually transferred to Latin America itself. For example, from 1967 and throughout the 1970s, academics and journalists in the press began to use words and themes concerning magic, mystery and unreality to describe the region of Latin America. By the end of the twentieth century, in spite of the many scholars, literary journalists and Latin American writers who had begun to vociferously critique the association, these codes and themes, which had derived from magical realism, had become a ‘primary interpretation’ (Hall et al., 1978) when describing Latin American cultural reality in the British press.

In addition to the application of these codes, quotations from Latin American magical realist writers such as Isabel Allende, Carlos Fuentes and Gabriel García Márquez, and articles they wrote for literary magazines, also reinforced a magical
realist understanding of Latin America, making them ‘primary definers’ (Hall et al., 1978) of Latin American cultural reality. Journalists cemented the association of Latin America and magical realism through their own narratives which likewise described the region in terms of magical realism. These included comparisons of real-life events, people and places in Latin America to García Márquez’s work and assurances that magical realism was an accurate depiction of the region based on their own experiences of the culture. By the twenty-first century, codes and themes closely associated with magical realism, such as those of strangeness, surrealism and unreality, as well as magical realist descriptions of Latin America have continued to prevail in the British press, particularly in travel journalism, alongside continuing criticism from contemporary literary journalists in regard to the literature. In an attempt to theorise possible reasons for this late-twentieth-century appeal and the longevity of magical realism in the British press in relation to Latin America, I underscore the nostalgia for a pre-industrial world and desire for magic that also surrounded Latin America and magical realism in the press during the 1980s and 1990s. I suggest that attempts to inscribe such desires on to Latin America via magical realism informed the proliferation of magical realist codes, themes and narratives in the late-twentieth and early-twenty-first-century British press. The chapter concludes by suggesting that magical realism, particularly in its mediated forms of codes, themes and narratives, might be present in the contemporary encoding and decoding of Latin America in the UK beyond the press, such as in the ¡Viva! film festival, and asks what such a presence may reveal about the understanding and construction of Latin America at a local level in the UK today.

In order to establish the trajectory and development of Latin American magical realism in the national British press, the chapter analyses eleven British newspapers, magazines and literary supplements (including their sister Sunday newspapers). These consist of the Daily Express, Daily Mail, Daily Mirror, The Economist, Financial Times, The Guardian, The Independent, The Listener, London Review of Books, The Times and the Times Literary Supplement. These newspapers, magazines and literary supplements were selected based on contemporary national circulation figures and the availability of free electronic or University of Manchester library archives which cover
at least two decades. In total, I have read over 4,000 articles which have included a range of news articles, book reviews, film reviews, travel articles and adverts in order to gain an understanding of how the British press has discussed and used magical realism in relation to Latin America over several decades.

2.1: Magical realism as a discourse and primary interpretation of Latin America.

Magical realism is primarily associated with Latin American literature. As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, magical realism is generally taken to mean the combination of realism with elements of surrealism, fantasy or the supernatural. Coined in 1925 in reference to German post-expressionist painting, the term became closely associated with Latin American literature during the so-called international ‘Boom’ in Latin American literature during the 1960s, particularly following the publication of *Cien años de soledad* by Gabriel García Márquez. Latin American writers employed magical realism as a narrative depiction of Latin American culture, which results from a hybrid mixture of African, European and indigenous cultures. Consequently, incidents of magic, ghosts and fantastical events were narrated as normal, unsurprising, everyday occurrences, as equally real as anything within European cultural norms (with events considered ‘normal’ by European cultural standards, such as cinema, technology or politics, often treated with wonder and amazement). Writers used this magical realism to destabilise a traditional western understanding of reality and to comment on the historical, social and political situation of the region.

Even though this thesis examines the production and consumption of Latin America through a film festival, magical realism has not typically been associated with Latin American film. From the 1930s to the late 1950s, Latin American cinema was largely characterised by imitations of the Hollywood-style commercial film of the era, such as the genre of the Mexican melodrama and the Brazilian musical comedy *chanchada* (Hart, 2004, p. 5; King, 1990, p. 247; Schwartz, 1997, p. 7; Shaw, 2003b, p. 70). During the 1960s and 1970s, Latin American cinema was greatly influenced by the Italian Neo-Realism and French New Wave movements, leading to the creation

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11 See Appendix 1 for further information regarding newspaper circulation and archive information, as well as information on search terms and parameters of analysis.
of what became known as Imperfect Cinema or Third Cinema. Inspired by these European films which focused on working-class protagonists and were filmed on location using non-professional actors, as well as the revolutionary fervour spreading through Latin America during this period, Latin American Third Cinema was revolutionary and political in its aims and content, an ‘oppositional filmmaking that was linked to the struggle for social justice’ (Shaw, 2003a, p. 3), as demonstrated in the Brazilian cinema novo (New Cinema) movement (Hart, 2004, pp. 6-10; King, 1990, p. 247; Schwartz, 1997, p. 7). In 1990, John King published his influential book Magical Reels on Latin American film, the first comprehensive analysis of the history of Latin American cinema to appear in English. King positioned his book as an attempt to cut through ‘the sloppy use of the term “magical realism” by Western critics eager to bracket and to explain away the cultural production of the region. The realities are infinitely more complex’ (King, 1990, p. 5). Clearly uneasy and derisive of the way in which magical realism was becoming a blanket term for any Latin American cultural product, underscored by the word play in the title, his book attempted to highlight the breadth, complexity and development of film production in the region, which so far had not had the same impact abroad as Latin American literature (King, 1990, p. 246).

The few times when magical realism has been addressed in relation to Latin American cinema, it has tended to be in regard to film adaptations of magical realist novels, the primary example being Alfonso Arau’s 1993 adaptation of Como agua para chocolate (Like Water for Chocolate) by Laura Esquivel, which was a huge commercial success in Mexico as well as Europe and the US. Yet even then, scholars have often either focused on the film’s representation of gender (Ibsen, 1995, pp. 135-143; Shaw, 2003a, pp. 39-51), positioned Como agua para chocolate as representing a key moment in the development of Mexican and Latin American cinema, when funding for films changed from being state-funded to a combination of state and privately-funded sources (Shaw, 2003a, pp. 37-9), or as heralding the rise of a more commercially-successful Latin American cinema around the late 1990s and early 2000s, when Latin American films started to gain both critical and commercial recognition beyond the region (Hart, 2004, pp. 12-14; Shaw, 2003a, pp. 51-4, 183-5).

This thesis is rather concerned with magical realism as a discourse of Latin America that emerges from but which lies beyond literary and cinematic representation. In Chapters Four and Five, when I come to analyse the ¡Viva! film festival, my concern is not the analysis of the films screened during the festival, for
example, but rather the discourses and imagery which surround the festival and the narratives that consumers tell of their experiences. It is the production and encoding of meaning into Latin America by the festival, and its reception and decoding by festival consumers, which these final chapters focus on. For that reason, in this chapter, in order to contextualise my analysis of the discourse surrounding the ¡Viva! film festival, I analyse the discourse which surrounds Latin American magical realism, and its authors, in the British press, as this discourse might not only inform the production and encoding of the ¡Viva! festival in Manchester, but, given that my sample of questionnaire respondents and interviewees is largely non-academic, it is a discourse that is more likely to have impacted upon their understanding of Latin America.

Before turning to my analysis of the press, however, it is first necessary to briefly expound the theoretical concept underpinning the analysis in this chapter. In Chapter One, I discussed Stuart Hall’s (2006) theory of encoding and decoding in relation to processes of cultural production and consumption. In this chapter, I draw on his and others’ earlier discussion of the social production of news. Hall et al. (1978) argued that the media contextualises events within ‘maps of meaning’ which already exist as the basis of our cultural knowledge: ‘An event only “makes sense” if it can be located within a range of known social and cultural identifications’ (Hall et al., 1978, p. 54). Not only does this reinforce the idea of a ‘consensual nature of society’, but it also arguably encourages journalists to ‘reproduce the definitions of the powerful’ (Hall et al., 1978, pp. 55-7). The media, for example, seek ‘accredited sources’ in order to appear impartial and truthful and, in doing so, ‘produce a systematically structured over-accessing to the media of those in powerful and privileged institutional positions’ (Hall et al., 1978, p. 58, original emphasis). Hall et al. argued that the preference given by the media to these sources makes them ‘primary definers’ of issues and debates, with the media playing a ‘crucial but secondary role in reproducing the definitions of those who have privileged access, as of right, to the media as “accredited sources”’ (Hall et al., 1978, p. 58, original emphasis). Lee Salter (2011) applied Hall et al.’s concept of primary definers to the BBC’s reporting of the invasion of Iraq during the 2000s. Salter argued that the BBC’s use of the term ‘insurgents’ to refer to Iraqis who fought against the invasion and occupation was not always the correct terminology that should have been used and was instead the result of the BBC’s reliance on UK and US government and military sources:
The BBC was reporting ‘truthfully’, and their reports were ‘factually accurate’ in many respects, but this is only the case from within the UK governmental and military discourse … The BBC’s reporting both reflected and actively reinforced this discourse. The governmental and military discourse became the primary discourse in which protagonists are situated (Salter, 2011, pp. 13-14, original emphasis).

Salter demonstrates how ‘this is the instance at which we consider primary definers not as individual agents who exert undue influence on language use, but as particular discourses – in this instance, military discourse’ (Salter, 2011, p. 14). In either case, whether the primary definer is an individual or an institutional discourse, Hall et al. argued that primary definers ‘establish the initial definition or primary interpretation of the topic in question. This interpretation then “commands the field” in all subsequent treatment and set the terms of reference within which all further coverage or debate takes place … This initial interpretative framework … is extremely difficult to alter fundamentally, once established’ (Hall et al., 1978, pp. 58-9, original emphasis).

For the purposes of my research, in this chapter, I apply Hall et al.’s theory of primary definers and interpretations to my sample of articles and propose that magical realism became a primary interpretation of Latin America in the British press during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Drawing on Hall et al.’s theory, I suggest that the establishment of magical realism as a primary interpretation derived from an over-reliance on the authority and opinions of Latin American magical realist authors, particularly those of García Márquez. I suggest that journalists and academics writing in the press reinforced the authority of magical realism by reporting ‘truthfully’ from within this discourse and primary interpretation, as discussed by Salter in relation to the BBC and the war in Iraq. The codes, themes and narratives identified within this chapter are subsequently to be understood as the way in which academics and journalists encoded this primary interpretation of magical realism into their constructions of Latin America.

2.2: From exoticism to the surreal (1940-1967).

I selected 1940 as the year in which to begin my analysis owing to the fact that the first Latin American novels to later be identified as early examples of magical realism
– *El reino de este mundo* (The Kingdom of This World) by Alejo Carpentier and *Hombres de maíz* (Men of Maize) by Miguel Ángel Asturias – were both published in 1949. Thus, by starting from the beginning of that decade, I was able to trace the arrival of magical realism in relation to Latin America in the British press and discern its connections and dissimilarities to earlier images of the region and its literature that were produced by the press. In the 1950s, the press paid particular attention to Latin America due to the Cuban Revolution (1953-1959), and in the early 1960s, the Boom in Latin American literature led to a significant increase in the number of articles concerning the region’s literature. In 1967, Gabriel García Márquez published *Cien años de soledad* and the term magical realism first appeared in the British press in relation to Latin American literature. It appeared in a book review of Asturias’ *Mulata de Tal* (1963) (*The Mulatta and Mr Fly, 1963*) in the year in which Asturias also won the Nobel Prize for Literature. This section therefore deals with the depiction of Latin America before these significant events.

In the 1940s and first half of the 1950s, Latin America was frequently described in the British press in terms of exoticism. Articles which appeared in the *Times Literary Supplement* (TLS), for example, reveal how literary journalists employed adjectives such as ‘wild’ and ‘romantic’ to describe the ‘youthful continent’ (Fraser, *TLS*, 1948), or referred to the ‘exotic landscapes and people’ of ‘this most flamboyant but elusive of continents’ (Pryce-Jones, *TLS*, 1949), while references from Latin American scholars to ‘the almost untouched Nature by which man finds himself encircled in America’ (Rodríguez Monegal, *TLS*, 1951), similarly produced ideas of exoticised adventure, danger and intrigue for the British reader. Indigenous cultures in Latin America contributed to this exotic image. However, these cultures were not always perceived to be an asset to Latin America and were at times treated with disdain in the British press, being referred to as ‘backward Indian tribes’, for example (Moore *et al.*, *TLS*, 1955).

As might be expected, Latin America was frequently compared negatively with Europe during this period, particularly in terms of literature. The perceived exoticism of the region was not welcomed in its literary works: ‘there is one general pervading flaw which gives a common tone to much Latin-American verse. This flaw is what the Latin Americans themselves call “tropicalism”: an inflation, an excessiveness, a tendency to lavish and tasteless verbosity’ (Fraser, *TLS*, 1948). Any Latin American literature that was well-received by British journalists was inevitably
compared to the work of European and North American writers and acclaimed according to how well it reproduced or was influenced by well-known western writers (Moore et al., TLS, 1955; O’Faoláin, The Listener, 1956). Latin American scholars, such as Emir Rodríguez Monegal, confirmed that Latin American writers were dependent on European and North American literary styles and authors, with a ‘quick acceptance of that comes from abroad’, which exhibited ‘not only an adolescent eagerness to imitate and be au courant’, but simultaneously a desire to assimilate different literary forms of expression in the hope of engendering their own style which could ‘express the multiple, contradictory reality of the New World’ (Rodríguez Monegal, TLS, 1951, original emphasis). To date, British journalists argued, Latin America had no recognisable continental literature (Moore et al., TLS, 1955). Throughout the 1940s and first half of the 1950s, therefore, a common image of Latin America produced by British journalists, and supported by Latin American scholars, was one of exoticism and intrigue, a culture hindered by its indigenous populations and that was ultimately inferior to, and dependent on, western culture. As far as literature was concerned, journalists pronounced that Latin America had so far produced nothing of any significant value.

At the same time, within Latin America, magical realism had already begun to attract critical attention by the mid-1950s. In 1948, Venezuelan novelist and diplomat Arturo Uslar Pietri had already referred to the presence of magical realism in the Venezuelan Generation of 1928 (Menton, 1998, p. 222). Magical realism had also been adopted by Mexican dramatist Rodolfo Usigli, and critics Alvaro Lins and José Antonio Portuondo, ‘to signify the opening of traditional realism to new poetic, psychological and existential tendencies then in vogue – particularly among writers of the Southern Cone’ (Camayd-Freixas, 2003, p. 330). In 1955, Angel Flores composed the first study dedicated entirely to magical realism in Latin American literature, in which he argued that 1935 had marked the beginning of magical realism in the region’s literature (Flores, 1995, p. 113). However, despite the increasing critical attention that magical realism was receiving within Latin America, as well as the publication of two early examples of magical realism in Carpentier’s El reino de este mundo and Asturias’ Hombres de maíz in 1949, no references to magical realism, or Carpentier’s concept of ‘lo real maravilloso’, the direct precursor to Latin American magical realism, appeared in the British press throughout the 1950s.
Nonetheless, as part of the discourse of exoticism surrounding the region and its literature, there were words, phrases and descriptions which foreshadowed the association of Latin America and its literature with magical realism. Building on earlier definitions of the ‘tropicalism’ in Latin American literature, 1950s literary journalists remarked upon writers’ dreamlike depictions of Latin America in their novels: ‘[Alejo Carpentier’s] descriptions of the wildnesses of Venezuela, Colombia, and Brazil are both vividly realistic and excitingly phantasmal, like some strange country of the mind seen under the influence of hashish’ (O’Faoláin, The Listener, 1956). Emphasis placed by scholars on the drawing together of ‘the Náhua and the Christian’ in Mexican thought (Cohen, TLS, 1959) also evoked ideas of the western and indigenous cultural mixture that would become an integral aspect of the magical realist construction of Latin America in forthcoming decades.

By the early 1960s, Latin America continued to be envisaged as the home of ‘childlike’, ‘unlettered peasants’ (Nicholson, The Listener, 1962) and, particularly in the wake of the Cuban Revolution, as a region of countries in a ‘state of upheaval’, with ‘gross social exploitation of illiterate masses’ and mounting ‘social violence’ (Fyvel, The Listener, 1964). The Cuban Revolution had encouraged North American and British interest in the region, including in its literature, as it was deemed prudent to gain a more comprehensive understanding of Latin American culture in order to facilitate stronger cultural links with the West (King, 2005, p. 60; Levine, 2005, pp. 302-3; Munday, 2008, p. 56). In the case of the UK, this led to the University Grants Committee setting up a specialist committee to report on the status of Latin American studies in the country, the publication of the Parry Report in 1965 and the establishment of five centres for Latin American studies at the Universities of Cambridge, Glasgow, Liverpool, London and Oxford, with a further centre established at the University of Essex in 1968 (Kapcia and Newson, 2014, p. 9). In the US, the translation and international publication of key Latin American literary works was sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation (Lowe and Fitz, 2009, xiii). The translated work of Latin American writers such as Julio Cortázar, José Donoso, Carlos Fuentes and Mario Vargas Llosa, and the so-called ‘Boom’ in Latin American literature during the 1960s, subsequently led to a significant increase in the number of articles concerning Latin American literature in the British press.

At the beginning of the 1960s, literary journalists continued to lament the lack of a great Latin American novel, arguing that while older works such as Don Segundo...
*Sombra* (1926) by Ricardo Güiraldes came close to achieving this ideal in the past, ‘today there are too few critics prepared to prick the young writer into doing just that much better than “good enough”’ (Nicholson, *The Listener*, 1962). The publication of Cortázar’s *Rayuela* (1963) (*Hopscotch*, 1966), however, with its experimental narrative structure, was promoted in the press by Latin American scholars as ‘the first great novel of Spanish America’ (Cohen, *TLS*, 1965). Yet despite this and later acclaim, the initial reception of Cortázar and several of the other Boom writers in the 1960s press was not always so favourable. Fuentes, for example, was criticised for his ‘unwieldy narrative method’ (Wardle, *The Observer*, 1964), while Cortázar’s short stories also received negative reviews: ‘this whole collection in which few of the items fulfil themselves satisfactorily’ (Wordsworth, *The Guardian*, 1968). In another publication, Cortázar’s short stories were compared unfavourably to other works that had already used similar ideas in their narratives (Hemmings, *The Listener*, 1968). One journalist even noted of Vargas Llosa’s first novel *La ciudad y los perros* (1962): ‘When *The Time of the Hero* was published in Peru five years ago it was sentenced to a public burning. Here it will have no such luck’ (Hamilton, *The Listener*, 1967b).

Other journalists and scholars, alternatively, recognised that Latin American writers of the period were experimenting with forms of narrative and expression in an attempt to break away from their dependency on European literary styles (Lennon, *The Guardian*, 1967). Many reviewers applauded the ‘technically interesting’ and ‘unorthodox conventions’ of the Boom writers’ work (Wall, *The Listener*, 1964), innovations which led to Latin American literature, during the mid-1960s, becoming closely associated with narrative experimentation and the unconventional in the British press. There were various references, from both academics and journalists, to the work of ‘anti-novelists’ (Cohen, *TLS*, 1965) and how this literature was ‘out of the ordinary’ (*The Guardian*, 1967a). It was described as ‘experimental’ and an ‘immensely complicated fictional game’ (*The Guardian*, 1967b), not to mention how it often depicted ‘an ordinary situation [which] slipped almost imperceptibly into fantasy’ (Gallagher, *TLS*, 1967). Bizarre and surreal attributes of Latin American literature were also underscored, particularly in relation to older Latin American writers who were likewise coming to the attention of the British press in the wake of the Boom. *The Listener* stated: ‘one does not have to read far into the works of Machado [de Assis] to recognize his penchant for the bizarre and the incredible’ (Mayersberg, *The Listener*, 1965), while *The Guardian* noted that Asturias’ work

These Latin American novels and stories nevertheless retained a sense of exoticism in the British press. *The Observer* labelled Donoso’s *Coronación* (1957) a ‘piece of exotica’ (Coleman, *The Observer*, 1965), while Cortázar’s short stories were defined by Latin Americanist David Gallagher as ‘metaphysical exoticism’ (Gallagher, *TLS*, 1967). Although British journalists’ attitudes towards Latin American literature had begun to progress, therefore, from one of inferiority and dependency on western literary styles, to greater interest and admiration of its progressive narrative experimentations, by 1967, Latin America literature was still seen as something exotic. Negatively-perceived characteristics of ‘tropicalism’, inflation, excessiveness and verbosity in the 1940s had developed into notions of the phantasmal and dreamlike depictions identified during the 1950s. These, in turn, had now developed into notions of the surreal, experimental, out of the ordinary and bizarre following the early period of the Boom. What is important to note, however, is that these themes of the bizarre and surreal were solely concerned with the region’s literature. References to exotic landscapes and people of Latin America, its flamboyance and untouched nature in the 1940s had been displaced during the 1960s by references, from Latin American writers, to ‘countries that are young and underdeveloped’ (Mallea, cited in Neish, *The Guardian*, 1962). Latin American scholars referred to the ‘political backwardness’ of countries such as Colombia (Cohen, *TLS*, 1965). In light of the political mobilisation and conflict throughout Latin America during this period, journalists often commented on Latin America as a ‘turbulent and contradictory conglomeration of republics and dictatorships’ (Neish, *The Guardian*, 1963) and noted that there were ‘few Chilean peasants left who have not been stirred into revolutionary action in the past few years’ (*TLS*, 1967). Such descriptions reinforced the idea of Latin America as an unstable region in the British press and presented the British reader with another form of exoticism in the sense of danger, revolution and violence. Constructions of Latin America as unstable and violent would come together with notions of surrealism and the bizarre in the magical realist portrayal of the region in succeeding decades.
2.3: Cien años de soledad and the initial reproduction of Latin America as strange and surreal (1967-1982).

In 1967, Gabriel García Márquez published Cien años de soledad (One Hundred Years of Solitude), which was to become the quintessential novel of both magical realism and Latin America. The second time-period for examination covers the publication of this work and the decade following its translation into English in 1970. It concludes in 1982, the year in which García Márquez was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature and the year incidentally which also saw the publication of Isabel Allende’s globally best-selling magical realist novel La casa de los espíritus (The House of the Spirits). While some scholars have accused Allende of imitating García Márquez and merely employing magical realism as a best-selling formula (Rowe, 1997, pp. 506-7; Shaw, 1997, p. 118), Allende’s novel is arguably the second most important work of Latin American magical realism as it inverted García Márquez’s family epic from a feminist viewpoint, unabashedly positioned Chilean politics and the brutal realities of the Pinochet dictatorship alongside the novel’s magic and spirituality, and became a popular success with mainstream audiences (Foreman, 1995, pp. 294-6; Swanson, 1995, pp. 146-7, 161-3).

Prior to 1967, several works had already been published which would later be established as canonical precursors of Latin American magical realism. One such text was Carpentier’s El reino de este mundo (1949). In the prologue to this novel, Carpentier coined the term ‘lo real maravilloso’ in reference to an inherent sense of the marvellous which, he argued, naturally existed within a Latin American reality as a direct result of the region’s hybrid cultural influences (Carpentier, 2007, pp. 9-12), a theme developed throughout the novel and which is hailed as an antecedent to later forms of magical realism. Yet reviews of El reino de este mundo in the British press, first appearing in 1967 following its UK translation by Gollancz12, did not focus on or even highlight this element of the novel, concentrating instead on the novel’s historical and political themes: ‘Carpentier’s gloomy, very polished, fable is about black power, and the somewhat lulling moral is that power, black or white, tends to corrupt’ (Hamilton, The Listener, 1967a). Magical realism, nevertheless, was first associated

12 El reino de este mundo had previously been translated into English in 1957 by US translator Harriet de Onís for New York-based publishing house Alfred Knopf.
with Latin American literature in the British press in 1967. Although magical realism had previously appeared in the press on a few occasions in relation to art (see Cooper, *The Listener*, 1948; Newton, *The Guardian*, 1964; Pope-Hennessy, TLS, 1955), my analysis showed that the term first appeared in relation to Latin American literature in a book review written by Gordon Brotherston, a scholar of Latin American Studies, for the TLS on 28 September 1967. In his article, Brotherston reviewed Asturias’ (who had, that year, won the Nobel Prize for Literature) novel *Mulata de tal* (1963) (The Mulatta and Mr Fly, 1963), noting that: ‘one of Señor Asturias’s main concerns as a writer and a Guatemalan has been to introduce European readers to the strange, exuberant world of Amerindian myth’ (Brotherston, TLS, 1967). Brotherston drew the reader’s attention, however, to the potential exoticism of the novel: ‘some younger Latin American critics have gone so far as to consider the proliferations of the “magic realism” of this book as evidence of the disorientation of the writer whose ultimate design is to dazzle European eyes with his strangeness’ (Brotherston, TLS, 1967).

The fact that Brotherston places magic realism within inverted commas suggests that this was still a new and relatively unfamiliar term to British audiences, perhaps even within British academic circles, one that had yet to become the label for an identifiable feature of (Latin American) literature. The intention of Latin American magical realism has often been to foreground a non-European culture and world view in an attempt to resist and destabilise a traditional European or western understanding of reality. The review also reveals that, from its first appearance in relation to Latin America, magical realism – and the alternative and destabilising world view it presented – was associated with the idea of strangeness in the British press. On the one hand, this association is perhaps understandable as this is how a European audience would tend to react towards such an alternative viewpoint. Brotherston drew the reader’s attention to contention which surrounded such an association, however. Although Asturias’ main concern may have been to foreground the indigenous culture of Guatemala and introduce world readers to their alternative (from European) world view, the review highlighted the scepticism and wariness of some critics who interpreted this magical realism as being designed to impress western audiences with notions of Latin America’s strangeness and exotic novelty, in other words, exploiting Latin America’s cultural diversity for the benefit and entertainment of western readers. Notions of strangeness was thus the first code to be attached to Latin American
magical realism in the British press, accompanied by concerns of exoticisation and cultural exploitation.

Later that year came the publication of Cien años de soledad. The only review of the Spanish language publication in 1967 was that of Jean Franco in the TLS, also a scholar of Latin American Studies. Whilst there was no direct mention of magical realism in her book review, Franco did note that: ‘Cien años de soledad is primarily about the wonder and strangeness of a continent in which the fantastic is the normative. The odder the event the nearer we feel to the reality of Latin America’ (Franco, TLS, 1967). According to Franco, the odd and fantastic (particularly to a European audience) events recounted by García Márquez were indicative of the reality of Latin America. Argentinean writer Tomás Eloy Martínez put forward a similar argument the same year in his article for current affairs magazine Primera Plana. He advocated understanding the novel’s fictional town of Macondo to be a microcosm of Latin American reality, stating that Cien años de soledad was ‘a meticulous metaphor of all Latin American life’ (Martínez 1967, cited in Shaw, 2010, p. 26). Franco herself reiterated her endorsement of García Márquez’s depiction of Latin America practically word-for-word two years later in the first edition of her book An Introduction to Spanish-American Literature (1969): ‘One of the themes of Cien años de soledad is the wonder and strangeness of a continent in which the fantastic is the normative. The odder the event, the nearer we feel to the reality of Latin America’ (Franco, 1969, p. 346).

We begin to see an overlap, therefore, between the field of academia and the press. Through writing articles for the press, in this case the TLS, academics were able to disseminate their own theories, interpretations and constructions of Latin America to a wider public audience. Franco was able to position García Márquez’s magical realism as an authoritative representation of Latin American reality for a broader audience and, in doing so, reproduced García Márquez’s idea of Latin America by referring to the region as somewhere wondrous, strange, fantastic and odd. In many ways, this reflects Hall et al.’s (1978) discussion of how the media often over-access certain ‘accredited sources’ in an attempt to be truthful and impartial in their reporting and, in doing so, reproduce the opinions and definitions of these sources and convert them into ‘primary definers’ of the subject or issue in question. Here we see how academics began to set up García Márquez as a primary definer of Latin American cultural reality in the British press following the publication of Cien años de soledad.
and how this inevitably led to a reproduction of his definition of Latin America through codes concerning the region’s wonder and strangeness. In contrast to Brotherston’s review, however, there was little temperance of this wonder and strangeness, the fantastic and odd, with reference to the potential of magical realism to exploit Latin American cultural diversity for western readers. The fact that this strange and wondrous portrayal of the region appears to go unchallenged helps it to gain greater authority as a representation of Latin American reality. Franco’s early review of Cien años de soledad thus reveals how academics played an early, preliminary role in converting García Márquez and his brand of magical realism into an authoritative representation of Latin American cultural reality in the British press, as well as creating codes associated with magical realism, (wonder, strangeness, fantastic, odd), in the process and applying them to Latin America.

The translation of Cien años de soledad into English in 1970 increased the international reception of the novel and further escalated magical realism as an authoritative description of Latin American reality. In the British press, consistent with the field of academia, Macondo was promoted as a microcosm of Latin America (Deas, The Listener, 1973). When Macondo was defined by journalists, therefore, as ‘a place of intense, powerful magic, nowhere near our industrial world’ (Quigly, Financial Times, 1973), British readers would have been inclined to associate Latin America with this magical world. This idea of Latin America as somewhat alien to British readers began to recur frequently in the national press. Journalist Alistair Reid noted how: ‘Latin America, even although it seems to me to be generating the most exciting literature in our present world, never quite loses for this country the aura of a never-never land, a vague continent of names rather than realities’ (Reid, The Listener, 1973). As the decade progressed, Latin America and Latin American people became increasingly described in the British press – by scholars, writers and journalists – in terms which complemented the idea of magical realism for British audiences, echoing the construction above by Franco. For example, ‘crazy’ (Jacobson, The Sunday Times, 1975), ‘chaos’ (Sage, The Observer, 1976), ‘exotic’ and ‘bizarre’ (Seymour-Smith, Financial Times, 1977), ‘hallucinatory’ (Carter, The Guardian, 1977) or ‘peculiar’ and ‘madness’ (The Economist, 1978) became regular codes attached to the region and its people. Continuing his theme of unreality in earlier years, journalist Alistair Reid reiterated in an alternate national newspaper: ‘we hang on to an image of Latin
America as something not quite real, left over from geography lessons, a mixture of travelogues and Come Dancing’ (Reid, *The Observer*, 1977).

By the late 1970s, therefore, magical realism had become closely associated with Latin America in the British press in the wake of the Boom, and particularly *Cien años de soledad*. Following the publication of the latter, Latin American scholars writing in the press had begun to endorse García Márquez’s magical realism as a primary definer of Latin American cultural reality and subsequently describe Latin America using codes such as wonder, strange, fantastic and odd. Throughout the 1970s, both journalists and scholars writing in the British press continued to produce an idea of Latin America as bizarre, magical and unreal, similar to that of Macondo and magical realism and exceedingly alien to that of the UK. In contrast to the first half of the 1960s, when notions of unconventionality and surrealism were frequently applied to Latin American literature, in the wake of *Cien años de soledad*, related characteristics of oddness and strangeness gradually became ascribed to Latin America itself as much as its literature.

In many ways, magical realism, and its associated codes of strangeness, oddness, the bizarre, chaos, fantasy and unreality, reflected British readers’ desires for an exotic Latin American Other:

By the early 1970s, North American and to a certain extent European readers knew what they wanted from Latin America: magical realism – the genre which presented the region’s realities in hyperbolic surrealist terms, the genre which portrayed the exoticizing image of Latin America that readers found intriguing and entertaining, a wild regressive liberating escape from the humdrum of ordinary progressive overly civilized life (Levine, 2005, p. 311).

Yet these magical realist depictions of Latin America contrasted greatly with the dangerous and violent image of the region in the press which was augmented by the various military coups and dictatorships in countries such as Argentina, Brazil and Chile during this period: ‘Latin America is a continent of extremes. There gangsters rule whole countries … Latin America has produced some of the most bestial men in history, of whom Pinochet is an appropriate living example’ (Seymour-Smith, *Financial Times*, 1977). In a review of Gordon Brotherston’s book *The Emergence of the Latin American Novel* (1977), fellow Latin American scholar Jean Franco, who a decade earlier had reinforced the idea of the region as odd, wondrous and fantastic,
quoted Brotherston on the fact that many Latin American novelists ‘write about their particular parts of quite unmarvellous America as witnesses to exploitation, solitude and decay’ (Brotherston 1977, cited in Franco, TLS, 1978). Although descriptions of danger, poverty and violence can, in some ways, contribute to notions of exoticism and complement the idea of Latin America as somewhere strange and unreal for British audiences, these two images remained in conflict in the British press throughout the 1970s. Nonetheless, by the end of the decade, magical realism was becoming a pervasive idea for understanding Latin American cultural reality, but it was not until the final two decades of the twentieth century that magical realism fully developed as a ‘primary interpretation’ (Hall et al., 1978) of Latin America in the British press.

2.4: Codes, themes and narratives of Latin American magical realism in the British press (1982-1999).

The third period for analysis covers the last two decades of the twentieth century. The volume of articles returned by my search terms increased dramatically from the 1980s onwards, indicating that it was this decade when the awareness and positive reception of Latin American magical realism boomed in the British press. Several events and publications during the 1980s and 1990s contributed to the increased popularity of Latin American magical realism in the UK and its proliferation in the press, such as García Márquez winning the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1982, the publication and English translation of Isabel Allende’s hugely successful magical realist novel La casa de los espíritus (1982) (The House of the Spirits, 1985), followed by several further works by Allende which also became international best-sellers. In addition, there was the publication and translation into English of García Márquez’s El amor en los tiempos del cólera (1985) (Love in the Time of Cholera, 1988), Laura Esquivel’s Como agua para chocolate (1989) (Like Water for Chocolate, 1992), both best-selling magical realist novels, as well as a film adaptation of the latter, released in the UK in 1993, and an English-language Hollywood adaptation of La casa de los espíritus released in the UK in 1994.

By the final two decades of the twentieth century, awareness of magical realism had also extended into the British tabloids and middle-market tabloids, with references to Latin American magical realism frequently appearing in the Daily
Express, Daily Mail and Daily Mirror. Previously, the articles and book reviews I have referred to above have been taken primarily from more elite newspapers, magazines and supplements such as The Economist, Financial Times, The Guardian and The Observer, The Listener, The Sunday Times and the TLS. Famous Latin American magical realist authors, such as Allende and García Márquez, were also regularly featured in television and radio documentaries in the UK during these decades (see, for example, Daily Express, 1989; Daily Express, 1991; Daily Express, 1995). A broader and more mainstream British audience was thus aware of magical realism by the end of the twentieth century than perhaps in previous decades. Furthermore, several military dictatorships in Latin America came to an end during the 1980s and 1990s, such as in Argentina (1983), Brazil (1985) and Chile (1990), which may also have impacted on readers’ and journalists’ perception of the region and increased the overall positive reception of Latin American culture, literature and magical realism in the UK. Themes of violence and revolution did continue to be associated with the region, however, particularly in regard to the Malvinas/Falklands War between Argentina and the UK in 1982, guerrilla movements such as the FARC in Colombia and the Shining Path in Peru, drug cartels in Colombia and Mexico, and also in terms of the political struggles of the Sandinistas and Zapatistas in Nicaragua and Mexico respectively.

It is clear from the press that British readers were becoming increasingly interested in Latin American magical realism during the 1980s: ‘I can imagine readers switching off completely, bewailing the unadventurousness, the gentility, the littleness of so much English fiction. “Who cares?” such readers may say. “Hand me that magical realism. Don’t bore me”’ (Thwaite, The Observer, 1986, original emphasis). Yet in spite of its growing popularity, and while many academics, writers and journalists continued to admire and acclaim works of magical realism, at the same time, there were more frequent criticisms of Latin American magical realism appearing in the British press during the 1980s in an attempt to put distance between magical realism and Latin America. As the decade progressed, literary journalists in particular became increasingly disillusioned with what they saw as ‘magical realism, Latin-America’s biggest artistic cash crop’ (Sutcliffe, TLS, 1984), emphasising that ‘there are Latin-American novelists of far more importance than those slick “magical realists” who have attracted much attention in English’ (Nye, The Guardian, 1985). One noted that ‘there’s a distinct feeling among jaded literary journalists that what is
known as magic realism has reached the point of saturation’ (O’Grady, *The Sunday Times*, 1989). Scholars of Latin American studies writing in the press, such as Jason Wilson, were also critical of what (Wilson argued) had begun in the United States in the 1960s as ‘a patronizing attempt to group together writers as varied as García Márquez, Vargas Llosa and Borges under the label “magical realism”’ (Wilson, *TLS*, 1989). In interviews, Latin American authors such as Guillermo Cabrera Infante and Mario Vargas Llosa also lamented the way in which they and their fellow Latin American writers were often seen by Europeans as ‘exotic’, ‘colourful’ and ‘picturesque’ (Januszczak, *The Guardian*, 1989). Continuing into the 1990s, Paul Julian Smith, noted scholar of Hispanic studies, asserted that magical realism had become clichéd, ‘often used to explain away the diversity of Latin American culture’ (Smith, *TLS*, 1991). By the end of the twentieth century, scholars from Hispanic studies continued to declare that magical realism was merely a literature of exoticisation created for western readers: ‘at its worst and its most characteristic, magical realism is exotic hokum aimed at First World readers’ (Butt, *TLS*, 1997). Author Vargas Llosa similarly critiqued magical realism for its stereotypical portrayal of Latin America:

I don’t know what it means, this magic realism. The United States and Europe invented this stereotype to portray Latin American literature, and then many young writers felt they had to produce something within the convention. But there is a whole new generation of writers now who are militantly against magic realism. They are saying Latin America is not about beautiful women who fly through the air. It is about dirt and poverty and ugliness. It has all the problems of the First World mixed with the problems of the Third World, and it is not in the least bit exotic or folkloric (Vargas Llosa, cited in Dickinson, *The Independent*, 1998).

Here, Vargas Llosa was referring to a younger generation of Latin American writers who formed the McOndo literary movement in the mid-1990s in reaction to the magical realism phenomenon. These Latin American writers exchanged supernatural events and rural settings in their novels for themes centred on modern, urban living. By the end of the twentieth century, therefore, Latin American magical realism was seen by many scholars, Latin American writers and literary journalists in the British press as an overused exotic cliché.

This attitude in the press corresponded with the attitude of many scholars within academia. In 1990, Latin American cultural critic John King published his
influential book on Latin American film, *Magical Reels*, in which he criticised ‘the sloppy use of the term “magical realism” by Western critics eager to bracket and to explain away the cultural production of the region. The realities are infinitely more complex’ (King, 1990, p. 5). Scholars noted that Latin American post-boom novelists, (those writing since 1975), had come to ‘distrust a stance that makes Latin American authors into either purveyors of exoticism to readers in developed countries or warrantors of long-held stereotypes about Latin America’ (Pellón, 1996, p. 281). Many scholars were particularly critical of the more mainstream contemporary novelists of magical realism, notably Allende, accusing her of using magical realism merely as a genre formula (Rowe, 1997, pp. 506-7), in which ‘exotic notions of the continent are confirmed, and “reality” made exciting, different, colourful and magical: all this is wonderful material for fiction’ (Shaw, 1997, p. 115). In contrast to scholars of Latin American studies in earlier decades, therefore, such as Jean Franco, many late-twentieth-century academics, both within and outside the press, in addition to literary journalists and Latin American writers, either underplayed or rejected the idea that magical realism reflected Latin American culture and reality. Instead, they shared the opinion of Brotherston and other Latin American critics in 1967 that magical realism was ultimately designed and used to appeal to western readers, exploiting Latin America’s cultural diversity to provide them with the exoticised image of Latin America they desired.

At the same time, not all within academia were so negative towards magical realism during the 1980s and 1990s. Other scholars praised Allende and her approach to magical realism for its feminist inversion of García Márquez’s narrative and its focus on the political realities of the Pinochet dictatorship alongside the novel’s magic and spirituality (Foreman, 1995, pp. 294-6; Swanson, 1995, pp. 146-7, 161-3). Esquivel’s *Como agua para chocolate*, also criticised by some scholars for merely using magical realism as a best-selling formula (Shaw, 1997, p. 118), was praised by others as ‘a feminine counter-version of the Mexican Revolution’ and ‘one of the best of the novels to emerge in the post-Boom era’ (Hart, 1999, pp. 150-1). In line with this more positive academic reception, Latin American magical realism proliferated in the British press throughout the last two decades of the twentieth century as a popular form of literature and also as a paradigm of the cultural reality of Latin America, in spite of the contempt magical realism was being shown by many other academics, literary journalists and Latin American writers.
The idea of magical realism being representative of a Latin American cultural reality was enforced in a variety of ways in the British press during this period, some rather subtle, others less so. Firstly, there were direct links and comparisons, such as observations that ““magic realism” … came more easily in such a setting [Aracataca, Colombia]” (Webb, *The Guardian*, 1982) and definitions of ‘magical realism, with its relish for the bizarre, the absurd and the South American’ (Kureishi, *TLS*, 1986). Magical realism was described as ‘rooted in [Latin America’s] peculiar heritage’ (*The Economist*, 1986), constituting ‘a blend of the real and the imaginary which evolves naturally from a multi-cultural Latin America’ (St George, *Financial Times*, 1993).

There were also references to South America as ‘the land of Magical Realism’ (Mathur, *The Guardian*, 1995) and how ‘Macondo comes to stand for the South American experience in all its buzzing, blooming mysteriousness’ (*The Observer*, 1999). *Cien años de soledad* in particular was widely upheld as the utmost authoritative example of Latin American cultural reality throughout these decades. An example from the early 1980s noted: ““One Hundred Years of Solitude” – the classic study of life in [Colombia’s] interior’ (Kendall, *Financial Times*, 1982). By the late 1990s, journalists continued to disseminate the authority of the novel, claiming that ‘we understand more about Latin America through the inventions of Gabriel García Márquez’ (Gott, *The Independent on Sunday*, 1999).

What is clear from these few examples is that, although magical realism and *Cien años de soledad* were repeatedly underscored to be accurate cultural representations which had arisen from the innate features of a particular culture, there were discrepancies over which culture this was exactly. Different journalists ascribed magical realism to Colombian, South American and Latin American culture, suggesting perhaps a lack of understanding of the differences and relationship between all three, or an interchangeability of these three places within the British imagination. In actual fact, Latin American magical realist novels of the time were often set in the native country of the author, (Chile for Allende, Colombia for García Márquez, Mexico for Esquivel), though they depicted a way of life influenced by different cultures with which many people and countries throughout Latin America could identify. Despite this confusion, magical realism was evidently primarily connected with that area of the world in the British press during the 1980s and 1990s, despite magical realism having become a style of literature employed by writers beyond Latin America by the end of the twentieth century, one notable example being Salman
Rushdie’s postcolonial novel *Midnight’s Children* (1981), which dealt with the transition of India from British colonialism to independence. Such a proliferation of statements underscoring magical realism and *Cien años de soledad* to be inherent to and representative of a Latin American reality subsequently reinforced both as primary definers of Latin American culture.

Secondly, alongside the idea of magical realism being something particularly Latin American, (or South American, or Colombian), came an increase in codes that complemented the idea of magical realism. Above I highlighted how, in the wake of *Cien años de soledad* and the investiture of the novel as representative of Latin American cultural reality, academics and then journalists began to describe Latin America as strange, odd, unreal and bizarre. Building on these codes that were attached to Latin America during the 1970s, comparable codes of ‘extravagance’ (Webb, *The Guardian*, 1983), ‘crazy’ (Fuentes, *London Review of Books*, 1987), ‘absurdity’ (*The Economist*, 1987), ‘surrealism’ (Franks, *The Times*, 1990), ‘strange’ and ‘wild’ (Sturrock, *TLS*, 1993), ‘quirky’ (*The Economist*, 1996), ‘magic’ (*Vine, The Times*, 1998), ‘bizarre’ (Barker, *The Independent on Sunday*, 1999) and ‘mysterious’ (*The Observer*, 1999) were increasingly ascribed to Latin America itself, but also to Latin American people, places and events in the British press during the final two decades of the twentieth century. During the 1980s and 1990s, these codes were applied systematically to Latin America beyond literary reviews, appearing in film reviews, news and travel articles.

In the field of semiotics, Roland Barthes (1968, pp. 89-92) argued that the production of meaning occurs on two levels. The first, denotation, is that of a simple, descriptive meaning. The second, connotation, is where signifiers obtain a second meaning based on wider cultural and social ideology. Drawing on Barthes’ theory of connotation, I argue that the consistent application of these codes throughout the British press to Latin America, constantly denoting Latin America to be crazy, absurd, surreal and bizarre, not just complemented, but came to connote the idea of magical realism when applied to the region for British readers. This connotation resulted from the fact that Latin American magical realism had initially produced codes of strangeness and wonder from scholars such as Franco and, to an extent, Brotherston in the 1960s British press. As these codes of strangeness and wonder (and related ideas, such as that of craziness and the bizarre) began to proliferate from journalists in the press in relation to Latin America during succeeding decades, I suggest that these
codes reflected and connoted back the idea of magical realism in relation to Latin
America, in a cyclical production of meaning. This connotation occurred as magical
realism continued to gain in popularity during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s and, as
highlighted above, its particular connection and applicability to Latin America was
made paramount. When applied to Latin America by journalists, therefore, codes of
strangeness and the bizarre connoted the idea of magical realism and further reinforced
the idea that magical realism was an accurate interpretation of Latin American cultural
reality for British readers.

At the same time, however, although several military dictatorships in the
region came to an end during the 1980s and 1990s, themes of violence and revolution
continued to be associated with Latin America in a variety of forms, from the
Sandinistas and Zapatistas, to the FARC and the drug cartels of Pablo Escobar. In an
attempt to reconcile a strange and bizarre, magical realist image of Latin America with
seemingly contradictory ones of poverty, corruption, danger and violence, journalists
often framed magical realism as a way of explaining the region’s violent history: ‘a
generation of Latin American writers determined to chronicle their society’s often
nightmarish existence in a way that is readable. They call it “magical realism”’
(Jenkins, The Guardian, 1985). Although this interpretation completely neglects the
cultural dimension of Latin American magical realism, it highlights the fact that many
Latin American writers did also use magical realism as a narrative device to offer a
commentary on political events. In Cien años de soledad, for example, one of the
principal characters is witness to the massacre of banana plantation workers by the
army and the removal of the bodies. When he returns to the town, he finds that no one
else has any memory of what has happened and that they all believe the government’s
assurances that nothing has happened to the workers. This episode is drawn from the
real-life massacre of United Fruit Company workers by the army which took place in
the Colombian town of Ciénaga in 1928 and offers a commentary on the power of
governments to write and manipulate official histories. Articles such as the former
subsequently reproduced the idea that political events in Latin America were often
beyond belief, with magical realism being a way of making sense of them, critiquing
them and allowing others to comprehend the reality of Latin America. Seemingly
conflicting images of Latin America were thus produced as complementary and
interdependent in the British press, further framing magical realism as something
particularly relevant to and explicatory of a Latin American reality.
Thirdly, while some Latin American writers such as Vargas Llosa criticised magical realism as a western invention that projected US and European visions of Latin America onto the region, a magical realist image of Latin America was supported and championed by other Latin American writers as an authentic portrayal of the region’s cultural reality, most notably by those who regularly used magical realism as a narrative device. Quotes from Allende, for example, stressed that her magical realist novel *The House of the Spirits* was ‘a portrait of Latin America, not only Chile’ (Jones, *London Review of Books*, 1985), with reviewers reproducing her assurances that what she writes is an accurate representation of Latin American reality: ‘*[The House of the Spirits] is thick with the obviously first-hand and almost unbelievable events that are daily commonplaces in her native Peru and Chile. As she herself claims, such fiction would be impossible to invent*’ (*Daily Mail*, 1985). As part of a review he himself wrote for Augusto Roa Bastos’ *I the Supreme* (1986) in the *London Review of Books*, Carlos Fuentes mused on the lives of several Latin American dictators, one of whom, he tells us, ‘announced his own death in order to punish those who dared celebrate it’, while another ‘fought off scarlet fever by having street lights wrapped in red paper’. Fuentes then posed the rhetorical question facing Latin American writers: ‘How to compete with history? How to create characters richer, crazier, more imaginative?’ (Fuentes, *London Review of Books*, 1987). In addition to this description of ‘crazy’ Latin American historical figures, Fuentes went on to describe ‘the fascinating cultural gaps of Latin America’ and the ways in which Latin American people are influenced by diverse cultures: ‘The Roman legalistic tradition is one of the strongest components in Latin American culture: from Cortes to Zapata, we only believe in what is written down and codified. But next to this belief is a faith that accepts the power of a *cacique* who can sneeze three times and become invisible’ (Fuentes, *London Review of Books*, 1987, original emphasis). Fuentes’ review, and quotes from other Latin American authors such as that of Allende above, demonstrate how Latin American magical realist writers corroborated the idea that magical realism was reflective of a Latin American cultural hybridity and that, although elements may seem unbelievable to British audiences, ‘crazy’ people and beliefs readily exist within Latin American culture. Fuentes was acknowledged to be ‘the indefatigable promoter’ of the Boom writers (Franco, 1969, p. 326), launching ‘the entire bandwagon and then [doing] everything possible to publicize it’ (Bethell, 1995, p. 182). This fervent
campaigning extended to the continued promotion of magical realism in later years as well.

Building on the association of magical realism and Latin America that had commenced in the British press during the late 1960s and 1970s, magical realism continued to be underscored throughout the 1980s and 1990s as an authoritative representation of Latin American cultural reality, one that derived from inherent features of the region’s diverse cultural influences. As in earlier decades, the authority of magical realism was underpinned by a proliferation of codes and themes concerning magic, strangeness, the crazy and bizarre in relation to Latin America. In contrast to earlier decades, when both academics and journalists had readily supported this encoding of the region, by the end of the twentieth century, the encoding of Latin America was primarily done by journalists and Latin American magical realist authors themselves. The idea of a magically real Latin America was enforced above all by García Márquez and his assurances that his magical realism was nothing more than an accurate representation of Latin American reality. García Márquez claimed that real-life inspiration for Macondo was to be found in his childhood village of Aracataca in Colombia, that his narrative style was merely an imitation of that of his grandmother’s when he was a child, and that, as he famously remarked to writer and journalist William Kennedy: ‘in Mexico’, where he lived, ‘surrealism runs through the streets. Surrealism comes from the reality of Latin America’ (Kennedy, *The Atlantic Monthly*, 1973). What made these commentaries so powerful, however, was the frequency with which they were reiterated by journalists and fellow novelists in the British press throughout the 1980s and 1990s, restating them as evidence of magical realism’s accuracy and applicability to the region:

That exotic or ‘magical’ element so characteristic of [García Márquez’s] work is, by his account, not really his own achievement. It is merely the reality of Latin America, which he has faithfully transcribed in more or less the same way that he might write about it in, say, an ordinary article written for a daily newspaper (Buford, *TLS*, 1982).

Similar examples can be found throughout the British press during these two decades: ‘the cities and villages of Latin America where, as he once said in a radio interview, “surrealism runs through the streets”’ (Webb, *The Guardian*, 1982); ‘Marquez’s replies are brusque ... what readers assume to be fantastical is merely “Caribbean
reality”’ (Barnes, *The Observer*, 1985); ‘Macondo … eventually became a metaphor for the surrealism that pervades Latin America. Mr García Márquez insists that he invented nothing…’ (*The Economist*, 1987); ‘the world of One Hundred Years of Solitude, therefore, however fantastic and exotic to our sensibilities, is the real world of [García Márquez’s] Colombian childhood’ (Coster, *The Sunday Times*, 1989); “‘In Mexico,” Gabriel García Márquez has observed, “surrealism runs through the streets’” (Vanderbilt, *The Independent on Sunday*, 1997); ‘The bizarre, Márquez argues, is part of the everyday reality of Caribbean life, in human affairs but also in the natural world’ (Dabydeen, *The Times*, 1998).

These examples highlight the process by which García Márquez became a ‘primary definer’ of Latin American cultural reality towards the end of the twentieth century. Hall *et al.* (1978) argued that the media can often over-access certain ‘accredited sources’ in an attempt to be impartial and truthful in their reporting. In doing so, the media inevitably reproduce and reinforce the opinions and definitions of these sources, which results in them becoming ‘primary definers’ of the subject or issue in question and establishes a ‘primary interpretation’ that ‘[sets] the terms of reference within which all further coverage or debate takes place’ (Hall *et al.*, 1978, pp. 58-9). I have highlighted above how academics began to set up García Márquez as a primary definer of Latin American cultural reality in the British press following the publication of *Cien años de soledad* in the late 1960s. I have also demonstrated how magical realism and *Cien años de soledad* were repeatedly referred to directly by journalists and reviewers as inherently representative of Latin American culture during the 1980s and 1990s. Journalists’ constant reiteration of García Márquez’s assurances that he had not invented magical realism further demonstrates how they continued to over-access García Márquez, (in addition to other magical realist writers), as an authority on Latin American culture, reproducing his opinions and definitions of Latin American cultural reality and thereby establishing magical realism as a primary interpretation of the region in the British press.

This over-dependence on García Márquez subsequently led journalists to produce their own narratives which similarly described Latin America in terms of magical realism, and particularly that of García Márquez. Journalists began to describe real-life events, people and places in Latin America in relation to García Márquez’s magical realism. This technique first began to appear in book reviews during the 1980s: ‘His book [Patrick Marnham’s *So Far from God: A Journey to Central
America] has a cast of people whom he met or heard about which would not be out of place in one of Gabriel Garcia Marquez’s novels’ (Financial Times, 1985); ‘Lewis’s portraits of rural Latin America, where the fantastical and the real vie uncertainly and continuously with one another, remind one of Gabriel Garcia Márquez at his best’ (Henley, TLS, 1988). Although these types of narrative became less frequent into the early 1990s, by the end of the decade, they began to reappear and, most significantly, extended beyond book reviews into non-literary news articles: ‘it could be a passage from the Colombian Nobel literature laureate and grandfather of magical realism Gabriel García Márquez. The sugar-growing town of San Antonio de los Caballeros has been taken over by swarms of giant shimmering blue and brown butterflies’ (Lennard, The Guardian, 1998a). García Márquez and magical realism were also used by journalists to describe Latin American political figures of the decade, particularly in an attempt to mock or ridicule: ‘I say this not to defend Pinochet, a cruel dictator who does not deserve a peaceful old age and has, in the manner of a magical realism novel, got his comeuppance’ (McElvoy, The Independent on Sunday, 1998). Similarly: ‘this silver-tongued authoritarian [Hugo Chávez] in his jaunty red beret could have stepped right out of the pages of a Gabriel Garcia Marquez novel’ (McGirk, The Independent, 1999).

Just as magical realism began to disseminate beyond literature reviews into political news articles during this period, the association of Latin America and magical realism was also appropriated by travel journalists, who regularly asserted throughout the 1980s and 1990s that magical realism and García Márquez were authoritative definers of Latin American reality based on their own experiences of the region: ‘Sloths hang from trees like unwashed cricket-jumpers, eyeing the world with blank innocence. Garcia Marquez had not been exaggerating about South America after all’ (Derwent, The Times, 1989); ‘Vilcabamba [in Ecuador] breathes magical realism’ (Honore, The Observer, 1994); ‘[Colombia] is the land, after all, where the magic realism of Gabriel Garcia Marquez comes alive’ (Lennard, The Guardian, 1998b).

It was thus the 1980s and 1990s when magical realism fully developed as a primary interpretation (Hall et al., 1978) of Latin America in the British press. This interpretation built on the exoticism of Latin America in the British press during the 1940s and 1950s, the association of Latin American literature with notions of surrealism and unconventionality in the 1960s following the early period of the Boom and the establishment of Cien años de soledad as the quintessential novel of Latin
America. Latin American writers of magical realism, García Márquez in particular, became primary definers of Latin American reality. These primary definers were over-accessed by journalists who consistently reproduced (and in doing so reinforced) these writers’ declarations that magical realism was not an invention but an accurate representation of Latin American culture. From within this discourse, the stating of similar opinions by journalists ‘can then be truthfully and accurately reported’ (Salter, 2011, p. 14). When travel journalists subsequently described Latin America in terms of magical realism, based on their own travel experiences, they were doing so truthfully and accurately, because this was what authoritative Latin American writers were constantly (it seemed) claiming. When news reporters described Latin American political figures in terms of magical realism, this coincided with an established discourse of Latin American culture. When Latin American people, places and events were systematically described as crazy, surreal and absurd in a variety of news and travel articles, book and film reviews, these codes complemented the constant assertions of García Márquez and other writers that Latin America was magically real and, based on a history of these codes being associated with Latin America and magical realism since the 1960s and 1970s, these codes themselves came to connote (and reinforce) an idea of magical realism for British readers when applied to the region. By the end of the twentieth century, therefore, not only had magical realism extended beyond Latin American literature to become an idea of Latin America, but magical realism had been amplified and mediated in the British press into a variety of codes, themes and narratives concerning the region’s odd, surreal and bizarre characteristics. As a primary interpretation, a discourse of magical realism could then ‘frame all subsequent events and factual truths. This framing then goes on to prompt audience comprehension, future expectations, and therefore future frames of reference’ (Salter, 2011, p. 14), in the manner of an ‘Orientalist’ media discourse (Said, 1994).

In addition to the conversion of Latin American magical realist authors into primary definers, potential explanations for the interest in Latin American magical realism during the 1980s and 1990s and its reproduction as an idea of the region in the British press can perhaps also be attributed to a desire to recapture certain nostalgic notions of exoticism, magic and/or a pre-industrial cultural reality. In Chapter One, scholars of postmodernism argued that, in the contemporary era of increasing global communication, consumption and fluid identities, individuals often desire to recover
a sense of belonging and the perceived security of older constructions of identity (Bauman, 1999, xxxix-xl; Huggan, 2001; Jameson, 1985). This nostalgia calls for an imagined ‘re-enchantment’ of the world and a return to a pre-technological reality through processes of consumption (Bauman, 2001, pp. 191-2; Thompson, 2003, pp. 128-9). Already, by the early 1970s, scholars have noted that US and European readers welcomed magical realism from Latin America because it ‘portrayed the exoticizing image of Latin America that readers found intriguing and entertaining, a wild regressive liberating escape from the humdrum of ordinary progressive overly civilized life’ (Levine, 2005, p. 311). Throughout the 1980s, articles that discussed or referenced Latin American magical realism in the British press often also underscored the idea that ‘dreams, passions, emotions, which we tend to bury in Europe, are valued in Latin America’ (Chislett, Financial Times, 1985), referring to ‘[Latin America’s] mysterious, unconquered interior, its closeness to a pre-industrial past’ (The Sunday Times, 1988). A similar treatment of Latin America continued into the 1990s. One book review of García Márquez’s Strange Pilgrims (1993) emphasised that: ‘Europeans live too much by reason is the moral the stories converge on; they need the strangeness brought by the Latin American intruders, a wilder race who live by the “heart”’ (Sturrock, TLS, 1993). Writer Mary Wesley, in her review of Love in the Time of Cholera (1988) for the Daily Express, similarly remarked: ‘[South American novelists] have no remorse about using magic or adding a little superstition, which would be scoffed at in this country. Their works … enable people to visualise a wider life, enlarging their outlook’ (Wesley, Daily Express, 1997). These examples demonstrate that such preoccupations were present across the spectrum of the British press, from more elite literary supplements such as the TLS, newspapers with special emphasis on business and economics such as the Financial Times, to middle-market tabloids such as the Daily Express.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, there was a prevailing attitude in the British press that themes of magic and emotion, which were perceived to be repressed and rejected in European (and particularly British) culture, were enviably embraced in Latin American culture. References to Latin America’s unconquered interior, the passion and emotion of Latin American people, a pre-industrial past and notions of strangeness and spirituality in regard to Latin America all echoed a postmodern nostalgia within late-twentieth-century western culture for magic, enchantment and pre-industrial culture. The articles cited above suggested that Latin American culture
could be consumed as a way to compensate for this lack of magic and wonder in British culture, bringing to mind the traditional relationship between the British Self and Latin American Other. In Chapter One, I highlighted how Latin America has typically been constructed as the unconscious of the British Self, inscribed with the repressed emotions, fears and desires of British culture and society (Foster, 2009). In the example of Jon Beasley-Murray (2003), a Latin American unconscious was positioned as forming an internal part of the British Self which the consumer released and embraced by consuming Latin American cultural products. In the press, British consumers are portrayed as desiring Latin American magical realism because it represents notions of magic and strangeness that have been repressed or are absent from contemporary British culture and society. By consuming Latin American magical realism, it is implied that British consumers are able to embrace these notions and release an unconscious part of themselves. Latin America is, through magical realism, once again constructed as the unconscious of the British Self, a construction perhaps also facilitated by Latin American magical realism’s initial development from the mixture of European culture with African and indigenous cultures, making it at once both familiar and different. An attempt to inscribe British consumers’ own (unconscious) desires for magic, pre-industrial reality and strangeness on to the region of Latin America might therefore explain, at least in part, the increased popularity of Latin American magical realism in the British press during the late-twentieth century and may have informed the proliferation of codes, themes and narratives of magical realism in the press at a time when many scholars, literary journalists and Latin American writers wished to contest the association.


By the turn of the century, magical realism had become a primary interpretation of Latin America in the British press which had engendered a wider legacy of codes, themes and narratives of the region’s strangeness, craziness and unreality that connoted notions of magical realism for British audiences. The final time-period for analysis covers the twenty-first century to date. In line with the critical distancing of Latin America and magical realism that had begun in the 1980s and 1990s, a negative attitude towards magical realism persisted in some areas of academia. Scholars
continued to criticise more mainstream Latin American magical realist novels, such as Esquivel’s *Como agua para chocolate*, who was accused of engaging ‘the style rather than the substance of magical realism’ which fetishized Mexico as enchanting and exotic (Price, 2005, pp. 182, 190). Maggie Ann Bowers blamed publishers for propagating the label of magical realism at a time when many writers and scholars feared the term was becoming an exoticised cliché:

The popularity of such writing with the reading public has never been higher, but writers and critics are concerned that the terms [‘magic realism’, ‘magical realism’ and ‘marvellous realism’] are being reduced to vague clichés. Writers have been distancing themselves from the term whilst their publishers have increasingly used the terms to describe their works for marketing purposes (Bowers, 2004, p. 1).

This scepticism and negativity towards magical realism extended into the British press. There were frequent references to ‘the worn-out exaggerations of magical realism’ (Gallagher, *TLS*, 2000), ‘this toxic cliché’ (Tonkin, *The Independent*, 2002), and article headlines asking ‘has magic realism run its course’ (McCrum, *The Observer*, 2002). Writer Ian Thomson epitomised the growing disdain of magical realism: ‘Every time I hear the words “magic realism” I want to reach for my revolver’ (Thomson, *The Independent on Sunday*, 2003). When discussing contemporary Latin America, and particularly when reviewing its literature in the wake of the McOndo and the Mexican Crack movements of the 1990s, many literary journalists now drew their readers’ attention to the violence and poverty from which the region suffers: ‘not all of the continent belongs to the sleepy, never-never world of Gabriel García Márquez’s Macondo. Much of it is a McSuburb, where realism is anything but magical’ (Iyer, *Financial Times*, 2005). Others emphasised that: ‘if the region’s literature once hinted that magic was part of daily reality, it now suggests that normality requires an uneasy compromise between chaos, carnage and wilful oblivion … we are not in García Márquez’s Macondo any more’ (Gurria-Quintana, *Financial Times*, 2007). During the 2000s, articles also increasingly discussed magical realism in terms of postcolonialism and how, as a narrative device, it can be usefully applied beyond Latin America to the wider developing world (see Bulson, *TLS*, 2006; Tayler, *The Guardian*, 2008).

However, in spite of this negativity, magical realism continued to be employed in a variety of ways to describe Latin America in the British press during the 2000s
and beyond. Although direct associations became less frequent, the following example from the *Daily Mirror* highlights how magical realism persisted in the British tabloids as a primary interpretation of Latin American culture. In her synopsis of an episode of North American television programme, *Ugly Betty*, the journalist readily reproduced a magical realist discourse in relation to Mexico: ‘The magical realism of Mexico – a land of signs and fateful destiny, silver-haired soothsayers and hallucinations of motorbikes – makes a colourful change from the shallow, fashionable whirl’ (Simon, *Daily Mirror*, 2007). Key Latin American writers of magical realism continued to act as primary definers of the region’s cultural reality. The opinion of Carlos Fuentes, that magical realism was an accurate portrayal of Latin American culture, was referenced in synopses for television programmes: ‘Carlos Fuentes described [Frida Kahlo’s] paintings as a powerful reminder that magic realism is an everyday reality in Latin America’ (*The Times*, 2005). García Márquez continued to be cited that he had invented nothing, but faithfully reproduced the reality of Latin America: ‘Staring out of a train window at the chaos, Garcia Marquez said to those around him: “Look at this ... and they say that I invented Macondo, that I invented magical realism”’ (Howden, *The Independent*, 2007). Moreover, it was not only Latin American writers of magical realism who reproduced and reinforced magical realism as a primary interpretation of Latin American cultural reality. The remarks of eminent political figures at times also reinforced an idea of magic and wonder in relation to their countries, such as former President of Peru, Alan García, who referred to ‘the secret magic of Peru’ in his response to Peruvian writer Mario Vargas Llosa’s award of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 2010 (Mapstone, *Financial Times*, 2010).

This final period for analysis saw the death of writers Carlos Fuentes and Gabriel García Márquez, on 15 May 2012 and 17 April 2014 respectively. Of the two, the passing of García Márquez was most marked by the British press. In his obituaries, journalists and fellow writers lauded the achievements of García Márquez’s work, his narrative skill and the ability of his work to represent Latin American culture. His magical realism novels and short stories were described as ‘[exposing] tens of millions of readers to Latin America’s passion, superstition and violence’ (Keeley, *The Times*, 2014). Latin American scholar Gerald Martin, and semi-official biographer of García Márquez, was cited as claiming that *Cien años de soledad* was ‘the first novel in which Latin Americans recognised themselves, that defined them, celebrated their passion, their intensity, their spirituality and superstition, their grand propensity for failure’
(Apps, *The Independent*, 2014). As part of their commemorations, the *TLS* reproduced Jean Franco’s views on the novel published in the *TLS* in 1967: ‘[García Márquez] was wary of designations that emphasized the fabulous in his work. He preferred the view of critics such as Jean Franco, who found One Hundred Years of Solitude to be “primarily about the wonder and strangeness of a continent in which the fantastic is the normative”’ (*TLS*, 2014). Reviews from earlier decades thus came back to influence contemporary understandings of Latin America, leading to a recycling and continuous reproduction of the same codes in regard to Latin America. The death of García Márquez subsequently renewed awareness of the relationship between Latin America and magical realism in the twenty-first-century British press. Journalists again reproduced and reinforced García Márquez as a primary definer of Latin American cultural reality, and thereby magical realism as a primary interpretation, which led to a resurgence of codes of Latin America’s passion, spirituality, wonder and strangeness.

These codes did not only abound in the obituaries of García Márquez, however. Codes, themes and narratives which, I have argued, connote the idea of magical realism when applied to Latin America have remained as pervasive in the twenty-first-century British press as in earlier decades. There have been constant references to the ‘weird’ and ‘bizarre’ (*The Times*, 2001), ‘weird and wonderful’ (Aglionby, *The Guardian*, 2002), ‘strange’ (*The Economist*, 2004), ‘exotic’, ‘bizarre’ and ‘topsyturvy’ (Bennett, *Daily Mail*, 2004), ‘mad’ (Andrews, *Financial Times*, 2006), ‘magical’ (Crichton, *The Independent*, 2009), ‘crazy’ (Boyd, *The Guardian*, 2010), ‘strange’ (Kerrigan, *TLS*, 2012), ‘mystical’ (Holland, *The Observer*, 2013), ‘wonder’ and ‘flamboyant’ (Gill, *The Sunday Times*, 2015) aspects of Latin American culture, whether this be in relation to Latin American people, places, events, or simply the culture in general. These codes have continued to appear systematically across a wide range of literary, news and travel articles. Magical realism has persisted as a way of encoding Latin America for travel journalists in particular. Travel journalists have continued to compare real-life events, people and places in Latin America to García Márquez’s novels: ‘I ran into an endless string of vignettes straight from the pages of Gabriel García Márquez and Jorge Amado: rows of pink houses squeezing onto the edge of forest-covered chasms; Wild West towns with hymns wafting eerily from their white-washed churches’ (Perrottet, *The Sunday Times*, 2001); ‘nor do you need to look hard to find characters who could have been lifted from the pages of a García Márquez
novel’ (Hodson, *The Sunday Times*, 2008). Reporting within the primary interpretation of magical realism, travel journalists have continued to truthfully and impartially assure British readers that, based on their own travel experiences, Latin America is exactly as it has been described in terms of magical realism: ‘In Cartagena, you never feel far away from the “magic realism” … Even at the breakfast table, bizarre and colourful things happen’ (Stratton, *The Times*, 2007). The paradigm of magical realism in travel journalism extends far beyond the Colombian city of Cartagena, (where García Márquez set his second most famous novel, *Love in the Time of Cholera*), to encompass many other Latin American countries, such as in these two travel articles taken from *The Guardian* and *The Times* about Peru, and a third from *The Observer* in regard to Chile: ‘Sitting here on its veranda, I was beginning to see where all those Latin American magical realists get their inspiration from: they don't need to make anything up, they just write down what’s around them’ (Barrowcliffe, *The Guardian*, 2009); ‘There was the same feeling that out here, magical reality was not so much a literary genre as a literal description’ (Barnes, *The Times*, 2011); ‘This is one of the many times during the week I feel I’m in a magic-realist novel … What you realise when you are in South America is that the fiction isn’t magical, it is just real’ (Kellaway, *The Observer*, 2013).

In spite of an ongoing critical distancing between Latin America and magical realism during this period, primarily from literary journalists and some academics, magical realism has continued to prevail in the twenty-first-century British press as a primary interpretation of Latin American culture. The association has been maintained by a continued reliance on writers of Latin American magical realism as primary definers of Latin American cultural reality, especially following the death of García Márquez, direct applications of the term to Latin American culture, underpinned by a proliferation of codes and themes of Latin America’s strangeness, bizarre and crazy characteristics and the appropriation and reproduction of magical realism within travel journalism.

2.6: Conclusion.

This chapter has traced the trajectory of Latin American magical realism in the British press throughout the twentieth and early-twenty-first centuries and identified a similar development across a broad range of newspapers, magazines and literary supplements.
I have demonstrated that Latin American literature, which was perceived as exotic, excessive and inferior to European styles in the late 1940s and 1950s British press, became associated with the surreal, experimental and unconventional as a result of the 1960s Boom in Latin American literature. Beginning in 1967, following the publication of *Cien años de soledad*, magical realism was promoted as an authoritative depiction of Latin American cultural reality within academia (Franco, 1969, p. 330). Scholars who were regular contributors to newspapers, magazines and literary supplements, such as Jean Franco, introduced this idea into the British press. The authority with which García Márquez and magical realism were endowed led to a reproduction of their construction of Latin America, which subsequently generated a range of codes and themes regarding magic, strangeness, oddness, unreality and the bizarre, codes which complemented the idea of magical realism for British audiences. By the 1970s, these codes had begun to encode Latin America itself as strange and unreal as much as its literature. During the 1980s and 1990s, it was primarily key authors of Latin American magical realism, such as Allende, Fuentes and García Márquez, as well as travel and other non-literary journalists, who propagated the magical realist idea of Latin America in the late-twentieth-century British press. García Márquez in particular became a ‘primary definer’ (Hall et al., 1978) of Latin American cultural reality, over-accessed by journalists looking to remain truthful and impartial in their reporting by citing authorities or ‘accredited sources’ on the subject. Such a reliance on García Márquez’s opinion that he had invented nothing and that Latin American culture was, in fact, inherently surreal in nature enabled magical realism to become a ‘primary interpretation’ of Latin America in the late-twentieth-century British press. From within the authority of this primary interpretation, journalists were able to use magical realism truthfully and accurately in relation to Latin America. This led to direct references to magical realism, but also a reproduction of codes, themes and narratives of Latin America’s strangeness, surrealism and bizarre characteristics which complemented and connoted the idea of magical realism in relation to the region, and which journalists encoded into their news articles, literary reviews and travel articles. In this manner, British journalists reinforced magical realism as a primary interpretation of Latin America in a mutual production of meaning. Such a primary interpretation can ‘frame all subsequent events and factual truths. This framing then goes on to prompt audience comprehension, future expectations, and therefore future frames of reference’ (Salter, 2011, p. 14). This
chapter has highlighted that magical realist codes, themes and narratives have continued to prevail in the twenty-first-century British press.

Notions of the strange and unreal in regard to Latin America are not unique to the phenomenon of magical realism in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In many ways, they date back to the first encounter between Europe and Latin America, to Columbus’ use of the marvellous in his fifteenth-century diaries and the dichotomy between the region’s familiarity and difference from Europe. Nevertheless, this chapter has demonstrated that these ideas flourished in particular around the notion of magical realism in the late-twentieth-century British press. Such themes of magic, strangeness and the bizarre coincided with a late-twentieth-century nostalgia for enchantment and a pre-industrial past (Bauman, 1999, 2001; Jameson, 1985; Thompson, 2003). Rather than dismissing western interest in magical realism as merely exotic escapism, which has been a typical reaction to the western reception and consumption of Latin American magical realism (Butt, TLS, 1997; Dickinson, The Independent, 1998; Levine, 2005, p. 311), in this chapter, I have suggested that magical realism and Latin America represented a way for late-twentieth-century British consumers to consume a sense of magic and wonder that is often perceived to be repressed or rejected in British culture and thereby to perform unconscious aspects of their identity. For this reason, journalists may have encouraged the proliferation and longevity of magical realism and its associated codes of magic, strangeness and surrealism in the British press in an attempt to encode British readers’ own desires and needs on to Latin America.

In light of the findings of this chapter, that magical realism continues to exert some influence on the representation of Latin America in the contemporary British press, in the following chapters, I examine whether a magical realist construction of Latin America, particularly in its mediated forms of codes, themes and narratives concerning the region’s strangeness, is likewise present in the contemporary production and consumption of Latin America in the UK beyond the national press. In Chapters Four and Five, I demonstrate what role magical realism plays in the production and consumption of Latin America through the ¡Viva! Spanish and Latin American Film Festival. Before turning to the ¡Viva! film festival, however, Chapter Three discusses the city of Manchester in which the production and consumption of ¡Viva! takes place. It examines how culture, and particularly the culture of local
immigrant communities, is produced and consumed in the city, and concludes with an overview of Latin American culture in contemporary Manchester.
Culture plays a fundamental role in the development and promotion, both national and international, of twenty-first-century Manchester. As Sir Richard Leese, leader of Manchester City Council since 1996, stated in the 2010 prospectus for Manchester’s cultural ambition: ‘The past decade has seen culture transform the experience of living and working in the city. As a consequence, culture now matters more than ever to Manchester’s many communities ... The city’s cultural potential is now fundamental to its future economic and social potential and to our ambition as a world-class city’ (Manchester Cultural Partnership, 2010, p. 4). In this chapter, I examine how the notion of culture promoted by city officials, and which was encouraged through a programme of culture-led urban regeneration in Manchester during the 1980s and 1990s, has centred on the development of high-brow cultural institutions and events, such as museums and arts festivals, as well as the formation of cultural quarters. While some of these, particularly the latter, incorporate local immigrant culture into the cultural landscape of the city, I find that such inclusion only occurs when the culture of local immigrants is deemed to contribute significantly to the city’s economy and/or cosmopolitan image. Moreover, it is often a formulaic and exoticised production of this culture that is visible within Manchester. Such a construction, I argue, presents the consumer with a familiar Other, often one they recognise from cultural stereotypes but one that has also been hybridised with British cultural norms in order to enable its easier consumption. In spite of Manchester’s long history of immigration, therefore, and its reputation as one of the most multicultural cities in the UK (University of Manchester, 2013), I find that the production and consumption of local immigrant culture nonetheless coincides with theories of cosmopolitan consumption discussed in Chapter One, in which consumers seek to perform ‘safe’ and ‘uncomplicated’ cosmopolitan identities. Such identities centre on a temporary engagement with a cultural Other which bestows cultural capital, but entails minimal interaction with immigrants themselves and requires little transformation or self-reflection on the part of the consumer (see Buettner, 2008; Delanty, 2009; Gilroy, 2004; Tanaka, 2008; Torres and Buriel, 2010).

In contrast to other local immigrant cultures, such as Chinese or South Asian, which benefit from a history of substantial migration to the city, Latin American culture has only emerged in Manchester in the last few decades. Beginning with the
migration of Chilean political exiles in the 1970s, followed by the inauguration of salsa classes and Latin clubs in the early 1990s, the launch of the Instituto Cervantes Manchester in 1996, through the wave of Latin American restaurants during the 2000s, the transfer of Latin American footballers to the city’s two prestigious teams and the introduction of Latin American film into the ¡Viva! film festival in 2004, Latin American culture has become increasingly visible within the city of Manchester in a variety of cultural forms. I discuss, first of all, how codes and themes connected with magical realism, as identified in Chapter Two, are likewise present in the contemporary production and consumption of Latin American culture in Manchester. Secondly, examining the case of two bars and restaurants in the city, Sandinista and Revolución de Cuba, I find more complex processes of identity performance occurring in the production and consumption of Latin American culture than in regard to other cultures examined so far in the chapter. I argue that Latin American culture is produced and consumed in Manchester as a way to perform a Latin identity and, in doing so, enact values and attitudes that cultural producers position as largely absent from, or alien to, everyday mainstream British culture. Consumers can thus exhibit greater personal interest in the cultural Other than studies of cosmopolitan consumption have so far identified. In the concluding section of this chapter, I suggest that Latin American identity will likewise be consumed through the ¡Viva! film festival as a way of constructing self-identity.

3.1 The culture-led regeneration of Manchester.

Manchester’s heritage draws heavily on the fact that it was the world’s first industrial city (Dicken, 2002, p. 18; Kellie, 2010, p. 14). From a small town in 1750, Manchester grew exponentially during the Industrial Revolution (1780-1850), when south-east Lancashire and northern Cheshire became the nation’s centre for cotton production. Benefitting from access to coal via the Bridgewater Canal and raw cotton imports through its proximity to Liverpool, as well as pioneering developments in engineering, Manchester quickly established itself as the region’s commercial hub (Kidd, 2006, pp. 13-14, 22-3; Kellie, 2010, p. 14). Factories attracted workers, causing the population of Manchester to increase significantly, more than doubling between 1811 and 1831 alone (Kidd, 2006, p. 28). Nicknamed ‘Cottonopolis’, Manchester was officially granted city status in 1851 (Kellie, 2010, p. 14). Developments during the Industrial
Revolution gave Manchester a global reputation. As the world’s tenth largest city by the turn of the twentieth century (Dicken, 2002, p. 19), its position at the forefront of world industry meant that Manchester played a primary role in fomenting industrial globalisation during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Within the city, however, globalisation was also occurring at a local level as an increasing number of migrants came to live and work in the city. The largest migrant population was Irish, many of whom arrived in Manchester to escape the Great Famine of the 1840s. Irish migrants gathered in the areas of Ancoats and Angel Meadow and although over time the number of Irish-born migrants decreased, they remained a visible community (Kidd, 2006, pp. 121-2). Italian migrants were likewise attracted by the employment provided by the cotton mills and also moved into the Ancoats area from the early-nineteenth century. For this community, economic opportunity was also found in the establishment of local shops and markets, several specialising, for example, in the production of Italian ice-cream (Taylor, 2000, p. 32). By the early-twentieth century, there were roughly 1250 Italian migrants living in Ancoats (Taylor, 2000, p. 34), a relatively small migrant population when compared, for example, to the Eastern-European Jewish community, many of whom came to Manchester fleeing persecution, such as the Russian pogroms during the 1880s. Between 1875 and 1914, the Jewish population in Manchester rose from under 10,000 to 35,000 (Kidd, 2006, p. 122). The Jewish community settled in the areas of Red Bank, Strangeways and Lower Broughton, which eventually became cultural centres following the construction of synagogues. Later, families migrated to the nearby areas of Cheetham Hill Road and Higher Broughton (Kidd, 2006, p. 122).

The reception of these migrant communities by the wider population was not always welcoming. Despite their integration, the Irish and Jewish remained a cultural Other due to strong anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic sentiments, the latter extending into the local press. While the Jewish largely opted for assimilation and abandoned their traditional culture in favour of English acceptance, the Irish and their descendants maintained their culture in close-knit communities (Kidd, 2006, pp. 121-4). Migrant entrepreneurs, however, played a primary role in developing the city’s cultural identity and institutions. German migrant Charles Hallé founded the world-famous Hallé Orchestra in 1858, while at a more local level, the Italian community played a visible cultural role in the wider Manchester community, not only through the production and sale of Italian produce, but in their organisation of Manchester’s Whit Walks, a
Christian celebration centred on religion, family and community values that became an annual event in the urban cultural calendar (Taylor, 2000, p. 34). Since the nineteenth century, therefore, Manchester has accommodated a number of substantial migrant communities and the local population has reacted to the culture of these immigrants in different ways, at times benefitting from migrants’ cultural expertise and traditions, while at other times encouraging them to reject their cultural heritage and marginalising communities when they refused. The culture of immigrants has thus contributed to Manchester’s cultural identity from its earliest beginnings as a city.

Although at its peak in the mid-nineteenth century, the region’s cotton industry continued into the twentieth century, with 65% of the world’s cotton still produced in Lancashire in 1913. Following the First and Second World Wars, however, growing competition from newer industries, as well as failure to modernise technology, contributed to the collapse of the cotton industry by the 1960s (Kidd, 2006, p. 187). This in turn led to the decline of Manchester as a city, especially the city centre, which represented the former hub of the city’s industrial network. Disused factories and warehouses proliferated and, by the 1970s and 1980s, heightened by a national economic recession, Manchester was a post-industrial city in severe decline, with high levels of unemployment (Kidd, 2006, pp. 192-3; Kellie, 2010, p. 26). In line with changes in the world economy, the city experienced the transition from manufacturing to the service industries, but remained in need of drastic urban regeneration. It was during the 1980s that Conservative governments in the UK implemented a new form of urban regeneration which targeted post-industrial cities such as Manchester. The strategy encouraged collaboration between the government, local councils and the private sector and set in motion an aim to regenerate and rebrand the city of Manchester (Kellie, 2010, p. 27). Manchester chose to achieve this goal through a culture-led policy of urban regeneration, primarily to attract investors: ‘cultural facilities were held to be very attractive to the “footloose” executives and senior management upon whose preferences relocation could (it was argued) swing. Cultural capital should be mobilised in the image campaign – if the facilities were not there then they needed to be built’ (Brown, O’Connor and Cohen, 2000, p. 439).

The final two decades of the twentieth century therefore witnessed the construction and conversion of buildings in Manchester into prestigious cultural institutions that would strengthen the city’s regeneration as a regional economic and cultural centre. The Museum of Science and Industry, the Cornerhouse cinema and
centre for contemporary visual arts, the Bridgewater Hall, the G-Mex Convention Centre (since renamed Manchester Central) and the Printworks entertainment venue were several such projects which brought increased cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and status to the city. In addition to projects such as these were Manchester’s two (albeit failed) attempts to secure the Olympic Games, first in 1990 for the 1996 Games, then again in 1993 for the 2000 Games. In place of the Olympics, Manchester hosted the Commonwealth Games in 2002. The ambition to host two of the world’s biggest international sporting events reveals the ultimate goal underpinning Manchester’s cultural regeneration. Manchester wanted to promote itself as an international city, able to rank alongside other leading European cities such as Barcelona which had previously hosted the Olympic Games, in order to try and reclaim the status enjoyed by Manchester at the height of the Industrial Revolution, when the city had stood at the forefront of world industry and was a leading centre in global relations. With this in mind, it is clear why the biennial Manchester International Festival (MIF), inaugurated in 2007, has become the city’s foremost cultural festival. The world’s first festival of original, new work and special events, frequently combining high-brow and popular culture, MIF 2013 attracted almost 250,000 visitors to the city over its 18-day programme and achieved an economic benefit of £38m (MIF, 2013). Since its inception, not only has the festival received positive international press coverage, (‘[MIF] is probably the most radical and important arts festival today’ (Frere-Jones, The New Yorker, 2013)), but work shown first at the festival has gone on to future success in other international cities, such as New York (Bounds, Financial Times, 2010). The MIF is thus an excellent cultural advertisement for investment in Manchester due to the amount of money and people it brings to the city, but the festival is also important for Manchester’s international image in that such a successful and culturally influential event helps to re-establish the city’s reputation as ‘a world-class city’ (Sir Richard Leese, cited in MIF, 2013).

During the regeneration period and beyond, therefore, culture has been understood by Mancunian urban regenerators to be a marker of status for the city. Although policies underscore that the city’s culture must have ‘people and community at its cultural heart’ and adopt an ‘approach to cultural investment – in which global ambition and local benefit are always fused’ (Manchester Cultural Partnership, 2010, p. 8), cultural events and institutions have nevertheless been placed at the forefront of regeneration policies in order to attract investment and tourism to the city through
demonstrating that Manchester possesses a fully developed cultural infrastructure and can, therefore, once again compete with other international cities in the contemporary era.

There was another key form of cultural regeneration in Manchester during the 1980s and 1990s, however, in the form of urban cultural quarters. Cultural quarters often promote alternative cultures to that of mainstream culture and offer consumers the chance to engage with these cultures in designated urban spaces. The employ of cultural quarters in Manchester nonetheless remained primarily an exercise in promoting a rebranded, cosmopolitan image of the city.

3.2 Cultural quarters: Manchester’s Northern Quarter and Gay Village.

Cultural quarters received increased attention by urban regenerators during the 1970s and 1980s in the UK as they were considered to be an ideal way to increase a city’s competitive edge (Mortimer, 2008, p. 1). Cultural quarters are defined as: ‘a geographical area of a large town or city which acts as a focus for cultural and artistic activities through the presence of a group of buildings devoted to housing a range of such activities’ (Roodhouse, 2010, p. 69). The concentration of cultural activity in a physically defined space makes this culture visible within the town or city, facilitating its appropriation as a marker of the town or city’s distinctive cultural image, an attractive prospect at a time when mass urban regeneration was causing cities in the UK to become increasingly homogenous (Mortimer, 2008, p. 1). In Manchester, there are several examples of cultural quarters: the Oxford Road Corridor, which includes the city’s two universities; Spinningfields, which constitutes a business, retail and residential development located between Deansgate and the River Irwell; and the Northern Quarter, an area close to the city centre associated with Manchester’s popular culture scene, music in particular (Roodhouse, 2010, p. 165). The Northern Quarter deserves particular attention as this area was appropriated by urban regenerators in the rebranding of Manchester during the 1980s and 1990s through its image of cultural difference.

Manchester’s Northern Quarter is an area immediately to the north-east of the city centre, contained within Newton Street, Great Ancoats Street/Swan Street, Shudehill/High Street and Market Street. Prior to the 1940s, the area had been one of Manchester’s principal commercial and leisure districts (Milestone, 2000, p. 3;
Montgomery, 2004, p. 14). Similar to the rest of the city centre, the area went into severe economic and social decline following the collapse of Manchester’s textiles industry, suffering further from the construction of the central Arndale shopping centre in the 1970s, when many buildings were demolished and businesses and residents began to relocate away from the area. The area began to re-emerge as a centre of popular culture in the 1980s, however, with the establishment of the Manchester Craft and Design Centre (Kellie, 2010, pp. 196, 203), the conversion of a former department store into Affleck’s Palace, (the building being split up into individual units for local independent producers and traders of jewellery, clothing and antiques), and when businesses linked to Manchester’s music scene became established in the area (Milestone, 2000, p. 5). During the late 1980s and early 1990s, Manchester attained a global reputation for its burgeoning club culture. With the Hacienda club on Whitworth Street as its focal point, Manchester drew the attention of the world music industry as it became an international creative centre of house and acid house music and its associated rave culture. Fuelled by the popularity of Ecstasy, the city’s club culture became an iconic alternative to that of mainstream London, culminating in the ‘Madchester’ years of 1989-90 (Haslam, 2000, pp. 167, 173). During the 1980s, bands looking for rehearsal space took advantage of cheap rents and vacant warehouses available in the Northern Quarter following the city’s industrial decline. This move attracted record labels and cultural magazines that likewise took advantage of cheap office space and settled in the area (Brown, O’Connor and Cohen, 2000, pp. 441-2; Kidd, 2006, p. 246; Kellie, 2010, p. 203). Affleck’s Palace subsequently became the place to buy and sell merchandise associated with Manchester music, such as alternative clothing and accessories, all of which culminated in the Northern Quarter becoming the ‘spiritual home’ of the Manchester music scene (Wilson, 2007, p. 7).

The Northern Quarter consequently helped to locate this late-1980s club music scene within a designated urban space within Manchester, facilitating the transformation of the area into a visible space of alternative popular culture within the city. Although the Northern Quarter developed organically from the natural migration of musicians and businesses rather than constituting a deliberate mechanism of urban policy to regenerate a declining inner-city area (Montgomery, 2003, p. 294), the area and its music were still harnessed by Manchester City Council during the late 1980s and 1990s as part of the city-wide regeneration programme. In addition to local music-related images being used as part of the city’s 1996 Olympic Games bid, Manchester
City Council strongly defended the Hacienda club in 1991 when it was under threat of closure by police and magistrates over drug taking and licensing disputes (Brown, O’Connor and Cohen, 2000, p. 442). Manchester’s music scene had become an invaluable cultural asset and a marketable global brand that brought visitors to the city and returned a declining Manchester to the international stage: ‘From 1988 onwards Manchester’s burgeoning clubland has brought cultural and economic regeneration to the city. Documented all over the world, Manchester’s pop music and club culture has become a tourist attraction, as well as a source of re-employment, cultural expression, economic regeneration and international profile’ (Haslam, 2000, p. 140). The area was officially recognised and named the Northern Quarter in the mid-1990s and was the focus of a specific regeneration strategy report in 1995 (Manchester City Council, 2003, p. 1). Following this report, the area saw ‘significant public sector investment in environmental and building improvement schemes and urban art’ (Manchester City Council, 2003, p. 1), in an attempt to regenerate the infrastructure of the developing Northern Quarter, yet this marked the extent of council involvement in the area:

[The Northern Quarter] has not experienced the same transformation – leisure, residential or commercial – experienced in many other parts of the city centre (Canal Street, Castlefield and now Southern Gateway). This is a strength in the sense that the individuality of the [Northern Quarter] remains – it is not currently a ‘corporate’ location, a place for large firms or for retail or leisure chains. It is the place for the independent sector, where residents of Manchester and visitors can buy high quality, unusual products and soak up the atmosphere of a truly ‘working quarter’ (Manchester City Council, 2003, p. 1).

Local cultural producers were content with the lack of council involvement in the area, as many feared that increased interference would lead to a loss of cultural creativity and individuality – the very characteristics that made the Northern Quarter attractive to both cultural producers and consumers (Wilson, 2007, p. 16). At the same time, lack of intervention has allowed urban regenerators to market the Northern Quarter to consumers in terms of alternative and ‘different’ local culture, with this difference assuming, on the one hand, the form of products which can be readily purchased by the consumer, as well as producing an ambience of difference which consumers can experience simply by being in the Northern Quarter. The formation of the Northern Quarter therefore contributed to the culture-led regeneration of Manchester in the late
1980s and 1990s by demarcating an area of alternative Mancunian culture which urban regenerators were subsequently able to commoditise in order to bring increased economic and cultural capital and status to the city.

The equation of alternative and different with cultural capital is present elsewhere in the city centre, another example being Manchester’s Gay Village. Although not a cultural quarter as defined by Roodhouse (2010, p. 69), it shares similar characteristics with the Northern Quarter in terms of how the idea of difference has been regarded by city officials and urban regenerators during Manchester’s regeneration period. Gay spaces and hangouts have existed in Manchester since the early-twentieth century, though they remained invisible to the wider community. This changed during the 1990s, however, when, in reaction to the stringent homophobic policing campaigns and regular club raids of the 1980s, the concentration of gay bars and nightclubs on Canal Street became ‘one of the most visible, compact and gentrified gay spaces in the UK’ (Binnie and Skeggs, 2004, p. 48). Many highlight the opening of the bar and club Manto in 1991, with its 30-ft glass windows, as the foremost development of Manchester’s Gay Village: ‘The architectural design was a queer visual statement: “We’re here, we’re queer ... so get used to it”. It was a brick, glass and mortar refusal to hide anymore, to remain underground and invisible’ (Binnie and Skeggs, 2004, p. 48; see also Haslam, 2000, pp. 200-1). As with the Northern Quarter, the Gay Village became an integral part of Manchester’s rebranded image. As well as a tourist attraction, (‘the Village is both party central and a living piece of social history – proof that Manchester is one of the world’s leading gay-friendly cities’ (Visit Manchester, 2014a)), such a visible gay space within the city centre promoted an acceptance of and respect for homosexuality and marketed Manchester as a cosmopolitan city. City officials and urban regenerators underscored the Gay Village in terms of cosmopolitanism as it enhanced the comparison between Manchester and other cosmopolitan European cities such as Barcelona and Amsterdam (Binnie and Skeggs, 2004, p. 49; Kidd, 2006, pp. 245-6). However, ‘the branding of the space as cosmopolitan’, was also ‘part of a strategy to make the space less threatening, hence a more appealing and desirable space of consumption for a wider, straight community’ (Binnie and Skeggs, 2004, p. 47). As part of this branding, ‘the more threatening, less easily assimilated aspects of urban sexual dissidence are rendered invisible – and most specifically the sexual side of gay men’s urban cultures are downplayed, with only certain aspects of gay male culture promoted’ (Binnie and
Skeggs, 2004, p. 47). Similar to the Northern Quarter, Manchester’s urban regenerators since the 1990s have prioritised the Gay Village in terms of the economic and cultural capital it can bring to the city, and thereby contribute to Manchester’s rebranded cosmopolitan image, yet, because of this agenda, the image of the Gay Village has been actively negotiated through the city’s branding of the space as cosmopolitan in order to facilitate the area’s broader consumption. By mediating the image of homosexuality promoted through the Gay Village, it is easier for a broader spectrum of consumers (particularly heterosexual consumers) to partake in the consumption of the Gay Village and perform tolerant and cosmopolitan identities. While fundamental to the rebranded, cosmopolitan image of the city, therefore, the image of the Gay Village nevertheless had to be regulated and managed in order to ensure and maintain the area’s broader attraction and profitability.

If culture has therefore ultimately been regarded as a marker of status for the city of Manchester during the regeneration period and beyond, with notions of difference (as produced through the Northern Quarter and Gay Village) mediated and treated as objects and identities for consumption that likewise contribute to the city’s rebranded cultural and cosmopolitan image, this is how the cultural difference of local immigrant communities has also been produced and consumed within the city.

3.3 The production and consumption of local immigrant culture in contemporary Manchester.

Within the literature on Manchester’s culture-led regeneration, there is little mention of local immigrant communities playing any significant role in this process. The focus remains instead on the development of the city’s cultural infrastructure or the contributions of cultural quarters such as those of the Northern Quarter and the Gay Village discussed above. Yet Manchester is acknowledged to be one of the nation’s most multicultural cities. In addition to the immigrant communities which have formed part of Manchester’s cultural identity since the 1850s, recent research at the University of Manchester has revealed that up to 200 languages are now spoken in the city, with an estimated 50% of the population to be multilingual (University of Manchester, 2013), making Manchester ‘the most linguistically dense and diverse conurbation in Western Europe, if not the world’ (Brown, *The Independent*, 2013). Despite Manchester’s immense and unique cultural diversity, however, local
immigrant culture has only been incorporated into schemes of culture-led regeneration when it can significantly contribute to the city’s economy, or its cultural Otherness can be appropriated to underscore the cosmopolitan image of the city. An example can be found in the case of Manchester’s Chinatown.

Chinese immigrants have lived in the Manchester area since 1851 (Manchester City Council, 2014a), but, by 1912, only totalled around one hundred, according to an article in the Manchester Guardian (Barabantseva, 2014). By 1933, however, the city had its own Chinese consular representative, ‘to oversee the day-to-day trade links with China’, and, in 1942, The Universities China Committee in London established the Manchester China Institute, in order to ‘provide a place where British people could meet Chinese people and learn from them in various ways’ (Barabantseva, 2014). The Chinese community thus began to form a more substantial and visible migrant population towards the mid-twentieth century, with Chinese restaurants and takeaways becoming dispersed throughout Greater Manchester (Wan, 1994, p. 113). Following Manchester’s industrial decline and the subsequent proliferation of abandoned warehouses in the inner city, members of the Chinese community transformed several disused buildings in the central area between Portland Street, Princess Street, Moseley Street and Charlotte Street into a socio-cultural focal point for the Chinese community (Wan, 1994, p. 112). This area that began as two social clubs and one restaurant in 1965 expanded during the 1970s, due in part to the wider domestic availability of video players and the resulting market for Chinese video rentals, which attracted a wider Chinese clientele to the area (Wan, 1994, pp. 136, 140-1). As the area became more popular with the local Chinese community, this led to the arrival of other businesses such as supermarkets, travel agents and banks, in addition to further restaurants and takeaways (Wan, 1994, pp. 114-5). Manchester’s Chinatown was consequently developed by immigrants as a cultural space for the local community and expanded primarily through private local Chinese investment (Wan, 1994, pp. 137-140). However, from the mid-1980s, it was possible to witness the appearance of gift and souvenir shops aimed at non-Chinese visitors to the area (Wan, 1994, p. 123).

The construction of the Chinese Imperial Arch on Faulkner Street in 1987, partially funded by Manchester City Council, as well as the local Chinese community, signified the official recognition of the area as Manchester’s Chinatown (Barabantseva, 2014; Wan, 1994, p. 145). During the 1980s, Manchester City Council’s financial involvement in the area was limited to cosmetic environmental
projects, such as the planned Chinese gardens and a brick mural of a Chinese junk (Wan, 1994, p. 144). Similar to their involvement in the Northern Quarter, the Council left the economic and social development of the area to local residents, but nevertheless willingly appropriated the area as part of the city’s rebranded image. Manchester Town Planning Department, for example, began to produce postcards of Manchester which included Chinese children as the focus, emphasising the multicultural image of the new Manchester, while ‘brochures published by the CMDC [Central Manchester Development Corporation] make reference to the Chinese community and Chinatown promoting the cultural richness of city centre living. Therefore by portraying the Chinese in central Manchester, the CMDC aim to attract a cultural return in the city centre and promote further investment in Chinatown’ (Wan, 1994, pp. 162-3). Although the area continued to be a principal cultural hub for Chinese immigrants in the North West, it was simultaneously a profitable attraction for urban regenerators in terms of economic and cultural capital. In the late 1990s, however, cultural organisations began to relocate away from Chinatown. The Chinese Arts Centre moved to the Northern Quarter, the Fo Guang Shan Buddhist Temple relocated to Trafford and the Wai Yin Women’s Society was transferred to Ancoats (Barabantseva, 2014). The relocation of these major Chinese cultural institutions indicated a development in Manchester’s Chinatown from the local cultural centre it had been in the 1960s and 1970s towards more of a tourist attraction for the non-Chinese community by the late-twentieth century.

Chinatowns, as urban spaces where members of the host community can interact with the foreign culture of migrants, can act as sites of cultural transfer. Manchester’s Chinatown has been described as a ‘New Chinatown’, in the sense that it is primarily a commercial centre for the non-Chinese and only secondarily a social centre for Chinese immigrants (Wan, 1994, p. 7). While this may not have been the case when it originated, this has become its contemporary state. New Chinatowns have been defined as ‘[representing] Western cultural domination and a means of managing ethnic relations’ (Sales et al., 2009, p. 47). In other words, given that the primary clientele of new Chinatowns is often non-Chinese, it is the cultural expectations and demands of non-Chinese consumers which come to dictate the construction of Chinese identity within these spaces. This can lead to the reproduction of a stereotypical Chinese identity in order that non-Chinese consumers can perform an ‘uncomplicated’ cosmopolitan identity. By the phrase ‘uncomplicated’ cosmopolitan identity, I refer to
a cosmopolitanism in which the Other the consumer interacts with is familiar to them and consumption is therefore easy and straightforward because it does not require the consumer to learn or try anything too new or unfamiliar. The cultural transfer through the production and consumption of Chinese culture within new Chinatowns can therefore often reveal more about what the consumer wants (or does not want) from a cultural Other than it can about Chinese culture itself. Manchester’s Chinese New Year celebrations offer an example.

Held each year since 1995, when they attracted only a few thousand spectators, Manchester’s Chinese New Year celebrations have since emerged from Chinatown into the wider city to become one of Manchester’s main cultural celebrations during the year, attracting an estimated 90,000 visitors to the city in 2014 (Wheatstone, Manchester Evening News, 2014). Elena Barabantseva describes this popularity as ‘making it a perfect occasion for a family day out to experience a different culture’ (Barabantseva, 2014), highlighting the extent to which Chinese New Year has become envisaged as a tourist attraction and object of consumption that enables non-Chinese consumers to perform a cosmopolitan and multicultural identity. The way in which Manchester’s Chinese New Year celebrations are promoted provides an insight into how Chinese culture is encoded and produced in the city for general public consumption and what contemporary consumers seek from their interaction with this culture. Firstly, an exoticisation occurs when Councillors describe the celebrations in terms of ‘the magic of the parade’ (Wheatstone, Manchester Evening News, 2014), demonstrating how there is a sense of exoticism and mystery which prevails in the production of Chinese culture as spectacle. Incidentally, such references also highlight that notions of magic are not unique to Latin America or magical realism. Secondly, Chinese New Year is repeatedly marketed by city officials as an event for consumption: ‘Manchester’s Chinatown ... will be transformed into an oriental feast for the eyes, ears and taste buds’ (Manchester City Council, 2014b), and particularly through a compression of time and space: ‘St Ann’s Square will be filled with the sights and smells of the Far East ... Albert Square becomes an oriental street market, adorned with traditional lanterns, street food and expert performances’ (Manchester City Council, 2014b, emphasis added). Thirdly, the number of visitors the Chinese New Year celebrations now attract has led to the event being appropriated by businesses throughout the city. 2014 witnessed the first appropriation of the celebrations by the city’s retail industry, with the Arndale shopping centre, Harvey
Nichols and House of Fraser all offering red envelopes containing discounts and offers for shoppers, and Selfridges hosting a professional Mandarin calligrapher ‘writing bespoke messages on red paper for customers making a purchase’ (Cityco, 2014).

On the one hand, therefore, Chinese New Year is produced in Manchester as an exotic spectacle of consumption, during which the consumer can imagine themselves to be transported to the Far East without leaving the city. Such an exoticised construction of Chinese cultural difference through cultural immersion facilitates an almost effortless interaction with the Chinese cultural Other. Non-Chinese consumers can temporarily engage with a fun and familiar Chinese Other during their regular shopping trip, in an act of consumption which entails (if any) only minimal and temporary interaction with local Chinese immigrants, allowing consumers to easily enact a multicultural and cosmopolitan identity. Chinese New Year is therefore produced in Manchester by event organisers, and promoted by city officials, in ways which accommodate its uncomplicated cosmopolitan consumption by the wider non-Chinese community. At the same time, Chinese New Year is incorporated into Manchester’s cultural calendar and appropriated by the city’s central retail district because it significantly contributes to Manchester’s economy, at the same time as strengthening the city’s multicultural and cosmopolitan image by demonstrating acceptance and celebration of the Chinese cultural Other.

A more comprehensive insight into the attitudes of Manchester’s city officials and urban regenerators towards the cultures of local immigrant communities, as well as attitudes of consumers, can be found in Manchester’s ‘Curry Mile’. Described as ‘an exotic restaurant quarter’ (Barrett and McEvoy, 2006, p. 193), the Curry Mile is in fact a half-mile stretch of over 70 Asian restaurants and takeaways located on Wilmslow Road in Rusholme, two miles south of the city centre. Following an increase in South Asian immigration to the city during the 1950s and 1960s, Rusholme became the primary retail and commercial district for this immigrant population (Barrett and McEvoy, 2006, pp. 193-4). Similar to the development of Chinatown in the 1970s, the wider domestic availability of video players led to the Curry Mile area becoming a cultural focal point for the South Asian community, as local cinemas began to show Bollywood films in an attempt to revive their dwindling clientele base. With the cinemas attracting immigrants from within and outside Manchester, local immigrant entrepreneurs began to open their own culturally-specific shops and services in the area (Barrett and McEvoy, 2006, p. 198). Since the 1960s and 1970s,
the majority of retail premises have been converted into restaurants (Barrett and McEvoy, 2006, pp. 194-6).

Although the Curry Mile grew organically due to the business acumen of local South Asian entrepreneurs, their efforts were not recognised as forming part of Manchester’s urban cultural regeneration, as the city’s regeneration policies have primarily constituted a top-down focus (Beebeejaun and Connelly, 2012, p. 5). While other cities have been more active in harnessing migrant entrepreneurs and their culture to policies of urban regeneration, such as Bradford’s ‘Flavours of Asia tour of mosques, curry houses and cloth shops’ (University of Bradford, 2005, p. 3), in Manchester, despite its reputation for multicultural diversity, ‘those engaged in urban regeneration may see past generations of migrants as city builders ... urban policy makers tend to see contemporary migrants as poor and at most lending a bit of exotic culture to efforts to rebrand their city’ (Glick Shiller, 2011). While refusing to acknowledge the contribution of local migrant entrepreneurs to the regeneration process, Manchester’s urban regenerators nevertheless unreservedly appropriated the Curry Mile as an exotic image of the city’s multiculturalism. In addition to being used to attract new businesses to the city and investment from India, the Curry Mile became one of the city’s ethnic tourist attractions, with Councillors encouraging businesses to sign up with Manchester’s marketing and tourism departments (Beebeejaun and Connelly, 2012, pp. 4, 12-3). The area was promoted as an ethnic enclave of (primarily Indian) cuisine and culture, a ‘slice of Asia’ (Beebeejaun and Connelly, 2012, p. 4), using ‘themes of ethnic or cultural identity to add value to the “place-product” in commercial exchange with visitors’ (Shaw, Bagwell and Karmowska, 2004, p. 1984). As Yasminah Beebeejaun and Angela Connelly have noted: ‘the rise of ethno-branding has become a key method of multicultural cities wanting to promote their diversity’ (Beebeejaun and Connelly, 2012, p. 5). Not only did this ‘ethno-branding’ of urban space augment Manchester’s multicultural image, but the demarcation of the area as ‘ethnic’, accompanied by a sense of separation and isolation from mainstream culture, further reinforced the idea of this local immigrant culture as ‘different’. This brand of cultural difference worked to encourage non-Asian cosmopolitan consumption of the Curry Mile and the area subsequently came to reaffirm the perception of cosmopolitan cities as ‘places of globalised and simplified difference’ (Beebeejaun and Connelly, 2012, p. 4).
Although the primary clientele of food, jewellery and clothing retailers located in the wider area is South Asian, the customer base of the Curry Mile’s extensive restaurants is predominantly White (Barrett and McEvoy, 2006, p. 199). A discourse of time and space compression surrounding the Curry Mile, (‘Journey through the flavours of the East along the Rusholme highway of gastronomic delights, direct from the Asian sub-continent and the Middle East’ (Manchester City Council, cited in Barrett and McEvoy, 2006, p. 202)), enables these consumers to enjoy an experience of ‘vicarious travel’ (Shaw, Bagwell and Karmowska, 2004, p. 1984) and construct for themselves a cosmopolitan and multicultural identity without leaving their home city. Scholars have questioned, however, the extent to which such a form of consumption in fact encourages a cosmopolitan or multicultural identity. As witnessed in the case of new Chinatowns, as well as in the example of Chinese New Year celebrations in Manchester, when consumers of a different ethnicity are the target audience for local producers of ‘ethnic’ culture and cuisine, event organisers and businesses often reproduce a simple and conventional cultural identity that conforms to consumers’ expectations in order to market their culture, events and businesses more easily. In the case of Indian restaurants in the UK, this has led to a widespread homogenisation of menus, decor and staff uniforms (Buettner, 2008, pp. 881-2). In addition to this visual familiarity, the cultural products provided by businesses are often anglicised versions of the culture in question, the creation of Chicken Tikka Masala for British consumers being a case in point (Buettner, 2008, p. 865).

Furthermore, while consumers are content to consume their cuisine, there can simultaneously be a continuing racism towards staff and local migrants beyond the restaurant environment (Buettner, 2008, pp. 890-1). As highlighted in Chapter One, studies into cosmopolitan consumption have identified similar examples of cultural hybridisation and ongoing racism elsewhere within western consumption (see, for example, Tanaka, 2008; Torres and Buriel, 2010). A cosmopolitan and multicultural identity can often be more readily performed through the consumption of food than through everyday interaction and respect for migrants (Buettner, 2008, pp. 886-7, 880; Gilroy, 2004, p. 137). Contemporary British consumption of South Asian culture through restaurant dining reveals, therefore, that while policies of ‘ethno-branding’ ensure that areas of local immigrant culture, such as the Curry Mile, retain the notion of cultural difference, identities within these spaces are often negotiated and adapted into something British consumers will prefer, meaning that something different also
becomes something stereotypically familiar and often hybridised with the host culture. Consumers are then able to perform an uncomplicated cosmopolitanism whereby the interaction with cultural difference in fact requires little cultural adjustment on the part of the consumer, the local immigrant Other themselves is rendered unimportant and (ideally) invisible, and self-transformation through interaction with the cultural Other is not required or encouraged. Ironically, however, such transformation is precisely what theorists such as Gerard Delanty (2009) argue genuine cosmopolitanism should entail. The production and consumption of local immigrant culture in Manchester, as seen through the Chinese New Year celebrations and now the Curry Mile, does not, therefore, necessarily support genuine cosmopolitan interaction as the city’s rebranded (multi)cultural image and reputation would suggest, but rather an illusion of cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan identities, in which little interaction with local migrants is required, negotiated and stereotypical constructions of cultural Others are reinforced and self-transformation is negligible.

Despite the growth and development of the Curry Mile stemming from South Asian immigration and local migrant entrepreneurs, the non-Asian consumption of the area, and the Curry Mile’s ability to commoditise the city’s multicultural diversity, are aspects which are prioritised by Manchester City Council over its function as a space for the local South Asian community. In addition to its restaurants and other local businesses, the Curry Mile and surrounding area of Rusholme serve as a focal point for annual festivals of Mela and Eid. However, these are not considered to be profitable enough to be incorporated into the citywide cultural calendar and rebranded cultural image of Manchester, despite Manchester Mega Mela, inaugurated in 1989, being ‘the largest celebration of South Asian Culture in the North of England ... attracting audiences in excess of 60,000’ (Manchester Mega Mela, 2014):

For us, we’ve got to differentiate Manchester from the rest of the UK so if we were promoting nationally or internationally are you going to get an international traveller coming to Manchester to take part in the Mela? No would be the answer … The scale of events that we have got at the moment that are specifically focussed on ethnic minorities would not bring masses of people … It’s about those events that might get people into a car or into a train or into a plane and come to Manchester and I think some of those events are too small-scale and not quite unique enough to bring a national or international traveller in (Local Councillor, cited in Beebeejaun and Connelly, 2012, pp. 13-14).
Despite Manchester’s multicultural reputation, this Councillor makes it clear that the culture of local immigrant communities is only at the forefront of Manchester’s rebranded cultural image when it can significantly contribute to the city’s economy and enhance the national and international status and reputation of Manchester, something which South Asian culture and the Curry Mile do as objects of consumption, but not with their festivals of only 60,000 (relatively local) attendees. Alternatively, the city’s Chinese New Year celebrations, attracting 90,000 people, or the MIF at 250,000 (MIF, 2013; Wheatstone, Manchester Evening News, 2014), are considered to be events which do attract enough national and international visitors to the city and are subsequently prioritised by city officials whose main concern is, primarily, the national and international reputation of Manchester. This attitude of city officials towards the cultural celebrations of local immigrant communities can be found throughout the city, another example being the Manchester Caribbean Carnival.

Following Government initiatives in the 1950s which encouraged workers from the Caribbean to come to the UK to fill unwanted jobs and help rebuild Britain in the post-war years, a Caribbean community began to form in the inner-city area of Moss Side (Haslam, 2000, pp. 223-4). One result of this immigration was the reproduction of Caribbean culture in Manchester: ‘In 1972 a group of mostly St Kits & Nevis and Trinidadian Eastern Caribbean immigrants decided to throw an impromptu carnival procession through the streets of their Manchester neighbourhood’ (Caribbean Carnival of Manchester, 2015). Over 40 years later, the Carnival, which started with less than one hundred attendees, has become an annual celebration for the local community, ‘and is the North West’s largest celebration of Caribbean music and carnival arts’ (Caribbean Carnival of Manchester, 2015), but it remains a localised event due, in part, to neglect by Manchester City Council. Normally attracting around 6,000 spectators, increasing to 20,000 in 2013 following a temporary move from Alexandra Park in Moss Side to Platt Fields Park in Rusholme (Glendinning, Manchester Evening News, 2014), these figures, as intimated by the local Councillor quoted above, are not enough for the festival to significantly contribute to Manchester’s economy and therefore seemingly do not merit the festival’s inclusion in the citywide cultural calendar and rebranded cultural image. Although the festival is covered annually by local newspapers, in comparison to other events and festivals in Manchester, such as the MIF, Manchester Pride and Chinese New Year celebrations, all of which are extensively advertised throughout the city...
centre through a combination of flyers, posters and banners, the Manchester Caribbean Carnival does not benefit from such widespread marketing. While local communities may be keen to keep the Carnival within the inner-city areas where it originated, as an expression of local culture and heritage, a greater presence of citywide advertising could maintain the localisation of the festival while attracting a wider audience from the Manchester community, positioning the festival as an opportunity to foster multicultural tolerance, understanding and respect within the city. However, the lack of advertising, along with the comments of local Councillors, appear to confirm that city officials and urban regenerators are not primarily concerned with unprofitable manifestations of local culture, or fostering local multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism, as much as augmenting the city’s economy and its national and international reputation.

Often, when cultural celebrations do attract a significant number of national and international visitors to the city, they are fully incorporated into Manchester’s cultural calendar by being held in the city centre. Chinese New Year, the German Christmas Markets, the Dashehra Diwali Mela and Manchester Irish Festival are several examples of cultural celebrations that are primarily located in the city’s central Albert Square, in front of the Town Hall. However, a brief examination of the annual Irish festival reveals that the culture celebrated here conforms to patterns of cultural production and consumption identified elsewhere in the city.

Following the arrival of Irish migrant workers in the 1840s, and the anti-Catholic reception they received from the host population, the Irish integrated into the wider Manchester community, yet retained a strong sense of their cultural identity. Since 1990, Manchester’s Irish World Heritage Centre has organised an annual St Patrick’s Day parade, which was extended into Albert Square in 1992 and became an Irish Festival in 1996 (Manchester Irish Festival, 2013a, p. 3; Manchester Irish Festival, 2013b). The parade follows the same route every year, starting from the Heritage Centre, following a Mass in Gaelic, and ending in Albert Square. Since 2011, organisers of the Irish Festival have worked to develop links between the Manchester Irish community and that of County Mayo, extending the invitation to ‘return home’ and strengthen ties with Ireland to the festival at large in 2013 (Manchester Irish Festival, 2013a, p. 3). The festival thus partly retains its identity as a local celebration, with the Mass conducted in native Gaelic and its aims of fomenting stronger cultural relations. However, the Irish Festival’s market, located in Albert Square, is the most
frequented festival event. A collection of food and souvenir stalls, bars and tourist agencies, the Irish culture reproduced and celebrated here is primarily stereotypical. With an emphasis on alcohol, traditional music, leprechauns and Guinness hats, the Irish Other is condensed into familiar symbols of Irish culture through which the non-Irish consumer can easily appropriate and perform a temporary sense of Irish identity. In other words, consumers can ‘Other’ themselves through this cultural consumption in order to construct a closer affiliation with the festival and further enhance the enjoyment of the festivities. John Nagle (2009) argued that consumer interest in Irish culture can also be the result of a desire to recover a sense of culture and community, something which consumers in the UK often feel British (and particularly English) culture has lost: ‘In the context of “multicultural Britain”, Britain appears to have lost its national culture in the mire of modernity and the Irish play a vital role by providing a pre-industrial culture that contributes to the nation’s heterogeneous fabric’ (Nagle, 2009, p. 91). Nagle noted that, ‘because the Irish are perceived as having a clear and identifiable national, “traditional culture”’, this is ‘seen to be attractive to the non-Irish, especially the local “English” population’. As two of his interviewees remarked, this attraction comes from the fact that the Irish ‘know what their culture is’, whereas English people perhaps do not, and, even if they did, would not always feel comfortable embracing it when the country is now becoming increasingly multicultural (Nagle, 2009, pp. 92-3). Appropriating and performing an Irish identity can subsequently been seen as a safer and less controversial way of embracing notions of traditional, pre-industrial culture than through English culture and identity. The construction of the Irish cultural Other amid the Albert Square festivities thus remains formulaic in order to facilitate its non-Irish consumption and the performance of an Irish identity, which can also work to redress perceived deficiencies in contemporary English and British culture.

Through an examination of cultural events and spaces belonging to four different local immigrant communities, it is evident that the production and consumption of local immigrant culture in Manchester compares to the production and consumption of the Northern Quarter and Gay Village in that all have been positioned by city officials and urban regenerators as markers of contemporary Manchester’s rebranded cosmopolitan image. However, the fact that city officials and urban regenerators are primarily concerned with enhancing the national and international reputation of Manchester signifies that only profitable manifestations of local
immigrant culture – those events and spaces which significantly contribute to the city’s economy by attracting investment and/or tourism to the city, such as the Chinese New Year celebrations and the Curry Mile – are in fact incorporated into the citywide cultural calendar and landscape. Such attitudes prioritise the culture of local immigrant communities as an object of consumption and, in the production of this culture, there is often an exoticisation, simplification and negotiation of cultural identities in order that consumers can perform straightforward and uncomplicated cosmopolitan identities. In the case of the Manchester Irish Festival, consumption can go beyond the performance of cosmopolitan identities to redress perceived deficiencies of contemporary English and British culture.

The local immigrant communities examined so far all benefit from a history of substantial migration to Manchester, however, and analysis has dealt with well-established forms of cultural consumption within the city, such as cultural quarters and long-running festivals organised by local immigrant communities themselves. The question arises whether the cultural production and consumption of newer ethnic minorities and their culture within the city occurs in the same way.

3.4 The history and development of Latin American culture in Manchester.

When discussing the history of Latin Americans in the UK, scholars usually identify the first wave of migration to be the residence of several leaders of the Latin American Independence movement in London in the early-nineteenth century (Foster, 2009, pp. 14-15; McIlwaine, 2011, p. 97). These Latin American liberators were attracted by Britain’s ‘programme of political, economic and industrial modernisation [that] made it both a model and an ideal partner for the continent’s projected republics’ (Foster, 2009, p. 15). As the century progressed, ‘London remained the primary source of investment loans for Latin America, with diplomats, commercial envoys, and political exiles resident in the city. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the elites of Latin American nations began to travel to London for leisure and studies’ (McIlwaine, 2011, p. 97). This migration was extremely limited in number, however, as well as temporary and largely restricted to the capital. It was not until the mid-1970s that a greater number of Latin Americans began to arrive and settle in the UK, when political exiles fleeing the recently established dictatorships in the region, such as that of Augusto Pinochet in Chile, sought refuge in Britain. These political exiles settled
in various locations throughout the UK, including London, Glasgow, Sheffield and Manchester. According to the 1991 national census, there were approximately ‘290 people born in South America living in Manchester’, which included, amongst other Latin American nationalities, around 100 Chilean refugees and their family members who had emigrated to join them (others refugees had since left the city or returned to Chile following the national plebiscite and democratic election of 1988-90) (Manchester City Council, 1995, p. 7).

This figure highlights the small size of the Latin American community in Manchester towards the end of the twentieth century, yet these statistics have increased over the last two decades. As noted in the introduction to this thesis, according to the report No Longer Invisible: The Latin American Community in London, figures from 2008 indicated the central estimate for the Latin American population in the UK to be around 186,500 with 113,500 (61%) residing in London. These estimated figures accounted for regular, irregular and second generation migrant groups (McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker, 2011, pp. 7, 29). The 2011 national census revealed the city of Manchester to contain an estimated Latin/South/Central American population of 0.2% (Manchester City Council, 2011, p. 2). With an estimated total population of 503,127 (Manchester City Council, 2011, p. 1), this would place the number of Latin Americans living in the city of Manchester in 2011 at roughly 1,006. Local news sites suggest that this figure had already more than doubled to 2,260 by 2014 (Marshall, Mancunian Matters, 2014). In addition to this estimated figure are the increasing number of Latin American students at the city’s two universities, as well as irregular Latin American migrants residing in Manchester, both of whom are likely to have gone unrecorded in census estimates.

Despite the increase of the Latin American community in Manchester over the last two decades, and its continuing expansion, Table 2 provides several estimated figures from the 2011 national census to demonstrate how the Latin American community remains a small ethnic minority in comparison with other ethnicities in the city of Manchester.
Table 2: Estimated population of Latin Americans and selected other ethnicities in the city of Manchester (2011).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Estimated total population (Manchester)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White: English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British</td>
<td>298,237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian/Asian British: Pakistani</td>
<td>42,904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian/Asian British: Chinese</td>
<td>13,539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian/Asian British: Indian</td>
<td>11,417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black/African/Caribbean/Black British: African</td>
<td>25,718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black/African/Caribbean/Black British: Caribbean</td>
<td>9,642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin/South/Central American</td>
<td>1,006</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Manchester City Council, 2011, pp. 1-2).

The small size of the Latin American population does not correlate with the popularity of its culture, however, as Latin American culture has become increasingly popular and disseminated throughout Manchester and the UK in recent decades. The formation of political solidarity groups in the 1970s, the opening of salsa nightclubs in the late 1980s and 1990s, the international reception of Latin American literature (especially magical realism) and later film, the increased exportation of Latin-influenced pop music around the turn of the century, greater numbers of restaurants, film and cultural festivals and the presence of Latin American football players in international teams are just a few key examples which highlight the extent to which Latin American culture has become increasingly popular and prevalent, in a variety of different cultural forms, within processes of British consumption. In London, where the Latin American community is of a larger and more comparable size to other prominent ethnic minorities, such as the Chinese and Polish communities (McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker, 2011, p. 29), there are Latin American shopping quarters located in the areas of Elephant and Castle and Seven Sisters, which have been the subject of recent
academic study (Cock, 2011). However, within Manchester, there is no similar urban space of Latin American culture. Instead, Latin American culture consists primarily of Latin-themed restaurants, bars, nightclubs and dance courses, as well as the inclusion of Latin American film in the ¡Viva! film festival, and events held by the city’s two universities and local cultural institutions, such as the Instituto Cervantes.

An early example of Latin American culture in the city of Manchester was the community organisation founded by Chilean refugees in 1975. What began as a highly political organisation against the Pinochet regime later became increasingly cultural following the realisation that they would not be returning to Chile for several years (Manchester City Council, 1995, p. 8). Members of the community who continued to live in Manchester after the reestablishment of democracy in Chile in 1990 formed the Chilean Society in 1991. This was similarly a cultural organisation which aimed to keep their Chilean culture alive and teach it to the children and grandchildren of former exiles. According to local council reports of the time, while not all of the Chilean community left in Manchester were members of the organisation, the majority attended the social and cultural events held by the society (Manchester City Council, 1995, p. 8). These celebrations of Chilean culture were aimed exclusively at the local Chilean community, however. Latin American culture did not enter mainstream consumption in Manchester until the international expansion of salsa in the late 1980s and early 1990s, when establishments began to host salsa classes and club nights, such as La Tasca restaurant on Deansgate, which continues to host salsa and Latin dance club nights every weekend in 2016 (Cuba Cafe, 2010; La Tasca, 2016). The fact that La Tasca is a Spanish restaurant reveals a blurring of the boundaries between Spain and Latin America that occurred in the 1990s and extends into the present day. Latin American bars and clubs opened in Manchester as the decade progressed, with Latin club Copacabana inaugurated in 1993 (since closed) and the Cuba Cafe in 1998, both located in the Northern Quarter on Dale Street and Port Street respectively. During the 2000s, Latin American restaurant chains also started to appear throughout Manchester, for example, Las Iguanas, Chiquito, Barburrito, Gaucho and Bem Brasil (formerly Pau Brasil). Since 2010, the list has increased further with newer chains such as Sandinista, Revolución de Cuba and Wahaca.

The discourse which surrounds these chain bars and restaurants is one of cultural authenticity. When advertising Latin American restaurants in the city, Manchester’s tourist board repeatedly emphasises the ‘true taste’ of Brazil (Visit
Manchester, 2014b) or the ‘real Mexican fun’ (Visit Manchester, 2014c), while restaurants themselves likewise underscore the authenticity of their food and décor: ‘experience the true essence of Argentine life’ (Gaucho Restaurants, 2014); ‘Take a look around and you’ll find a host of authentic features’ (Chiquito, 2014). This discourse of authenticity is accompanied by a notion of time and space compression and often constructs Latin America in terms of idiosyncrasy or eccentricity for British consumers: ‘Walk through the doors and find yourself transported to Latin America with rich, vibrant colours, quirky features and custom-made wooden mosaic tables made for us in Brazil ... Each restaurant is unique and we love bringing quirky things back from our travels, like big lobster sculpture or giant drums’ (Visit Manchester, 2014d, emphasis added). Emphasis on the word ‘quirky’ is reminiscent of the strange, odd and bizarre encoding of Latin America in the British press through magical realism identified in Chapter Two, in that there is a similarity in understanding and representing Latin America to be inherently odd and different (and subsequently attractive) to British culture and consumers.

In contrast to these spaces of ‘quirky’ authenticity, since 2010, several businesses have been established in Manchester city centre by local Latin Americans who likewise promote the authenticity of their Latin American restaurants and cuisine. During the 1980s, several Indian restaurants opened in London as a reaction to the formulaic homogenisation of curry houses around the UK, offering dishes from several regions of India and prepared by Indian chefs according to family recipes (Buettner, 2008, pp. 894-898). In a similar way, establishments such as Santiago Restaurant on Cross Street (since closed) and Pancho’s Burritos in the Manchester Arndale Food Market and on Chester Street, have counteracted the image and cuisine of Latin American restaurant chains in the city by producing Latin American food using family recipes and ingredients from the region, prepared by Latin American chefs. However, while Pancho’s Burritos has gained a loyal customer base and reputation for authentic Mexican cuisine amongst both the Latin American and non-Latin American communities of Manchester, the closure of Santiago Restaurant, after the Chilean owners previously ran a successful Italian restaurant for thirty years, suggests that perhaps they were unable to compete with the bigger Latin American restaurant chains. The production of Latin America which is being marketed as authentic through chain bars and restaurants is therefore the one to which the majority of consumers in Manchester are exposed and, based on the increase in Latin American
restaurants throughout the city in recent years, but the failure of establishments such as Santiago Restaurant, seemingly the one they prefer.

The hallmark of these chain bars and restaurants is frequently a homogenised ‘Latin’ identity. While a homogenisation of menus, decor and staff uniform was noted above in the case of Indian restaurants in the UK (Buettner, 2008, pp. 881-2), in these Latin American restaurants, the homogenisation present is of various Latin American countries, as well as Latin America with Spain. Taking the restaurant Sandinista on Old Bank Street as an example, which was ‘named after the Clash’s fourth album and Nicaraguan revolutionary party the “Sandinistas”’ (Sandinista, 2014a), the restaurant styles itself as a Latin restaurant and offers a menu comprising Spanish tapas, Mexican nachos and Spanish meat and paella, while flying a Cuban flag over the bar (Sandinista, 2014b; Sandinista, 2014c). The greater familiarity of the average British consumer with Spanish rather than Latin American cuisine is undoubtedly the reason for its domination of the menu and the inclusion of Spanish and Mexican food alongside Cuban cultural products and images, under a Nicaraguan name, reveals the negotiated and generic Hispanic identity which Sandinista produces for Mancunian consumers under the label of ‘Latin’. The incongruity of a Cuban flag in a restaurant with the name Sandinista ensues from the ethos of the establishment, in which ‘everything about this small and enigmatic bar reflects [the owner’s] non-conformist spirit’ (Sandinista, 2014a). In other words, a generalised Latin identity facilitates the production of a generalised Latin American left-wing and revolutionary ethos and identity which the cultural producer wishes to celebrate. The subsequent implication is that the consumer can likewise celebrate this Latin ‘non-conformist spirit’ and attitude through their consumption in the restaurant.

Alternatively, in the bar Revolución de Cuba on Peter Street, the theme is not the Cuban Revolution as one might first expect from the name of the bar and the picture of Che Guevara hanging on the wall, but is, in fact, pre-revolutionary Cuba and the North American elites who travelled to Cuba during the Prohibition era to ‘ensure they got their fix of boozy debauchery’ from the ‘original party island’ (Revolución de Cuba, 2014). According to their website, the revolution of Revolución de Cuba is inspired by ‘those folk that didn’t let the system get in the way of a damn good knees up’ (Revolución de Cuba, 2014). In contrast to the celebration and production of a left-wing and revolutionary Latin American identity in Sandinista, Revolución de Cuba has instead appropriated the association of Cuba with revolution
and negotiated its significance into a sense of fun and frivolity, (which is also typically associated with Cuba as well as Latin America more generally), that is more easily marketed to a wider sector of British consumers, similar to the consumer-friendly negotiation of homosexuality carried out by city officials and urban regenerators in their branding of Manchester’s Gay Village as cosmopolitan. In both Revolución de Cuba and Sandinista, however, I argue that the production of Cuban and Latin identity respectively is ultimately intended to provide the British consumer with the opportunity to perform these identities. In the case of Sandinista, consumers can celebrate and perform ‘alternative’ political ideals of revolution and non-conformity. In the case of Revolución de Cuba, producers encourage consumers to celebrate and emulate those North American elites who themselves embraced the abandon and ‘boozy debauchery’ of the ‘original party island’. Both Sandinista and Revolución de Cuba essentially encourage the consumer to temporarily become Latin and Cuban for the duration of their consumption by embracing and adopting what they frame as Latin and Cuban attitudes, ideals and identity, as a way for the consumer to enact values and attitudes which are positioned by producers to be largely absent from or alien to everyday, mainstream British culture: ‘Our way of life is a free way of life, a place where you can reject the demands of your day to day existence and forget about everything that doesn’t involve having a good time’ (Revolución de Cuba, 2016).

At the same time, a desire to engage with and perform a non-conformist identity, or a fun and frivolous identity, although produced here as Latin and Cuban, might also reflect values and desires which already form part of the individual consumer’s self-identity. The discussion of the Manchester Irish Festival above introduced identity performance as a means to gain a sense of traditional and pre-industrial culture which consumers feel English culture has lost. In contrast, this consumption of Latin and Cuban identity through Sandinista and Revolución de Cuba compares more to the consumption of Bacardi Breezers discussed by Jon Beasley-Murray (2003), in which, through consumption, British consumers become Latin not to replace something which is lost, but in order to be able to live out their already internal, but unconscious (Latin) desires.

The examples of Sandinista and Revolución de Cuba in many ways contradict the findings of other studies into the British consumption of Latin American culture. In regard to the consumption of salsa in London, Norman Urquía (2005) found that many non-Latin American salsa dancers were often not interested in the Latin
American context and identity attached to salsa, focusing instead on the skills and technicalities of the dance form. These consumers, he argued, effectively appropriated the dance from Latin Americans, formalised it and integrated it into local sensibilities and tastes, to the point that salsa became devoid of any particular Latin associations: ‘some [participants] construe salsa as Latin, but many neither pursue nor value Latin identity and focus on ethnically-neutral aspects of the skills required’ (Urquía, 2005, p. 389). Sandinista and Revolución de Cuba, in contrast, contest the idea that non-Latin American consumers have no interest in Latin American identity. In his Belfast-based study, Jonathan Skinner (2008) found that questions of identity were fundamental in the non-Latin American consumption of salsa, as many of his (all female) subjects danced salsa as an expression of their femininity and sexuality. However, although Latin America has long been associated with the notion of sensuality in the western cultural imagination, in Skinner’s article, similar to that of Urquía, the Latin American context and identity of the dance is never alluded to in any way by salsa dancers. The Latin Americaness of salsa is downplayed, possibly even ignored, within the feminine and sexualised identities it allows the consumer to perform, thereby distancing salsa (and consumers) from its Latin American context. While dancers are consuming Latin American culture and effectively performing a Latin American identity, this is not something which is directly acknowledged. In Sandinista and Revolución de Cuba, on the other hand, cultural producers are foregrounding cultural context and Latin and Cuban identity for consumption and performance. Although it is possible that some consumers may attend these bars and restaurants with no real interest or awareness in the cultural context of the establishment, Latin American and Cuban identity is found, nevertheless, to be one of the actual products promoted by producers for consumption alongside the food and drink being sold in these bars and restaurants.

3.5: Conclusion.

If Latin American culture is being produced and consumed in bars and restaurants in Manchester as a way of performing a Latin American identity and enacting perceived Latin American values and attitudes, this cultural production and consumption differs greatly from that of local Chinese and South Asian cultures examined above. In these examples, consumers are not disposed, or even expected, to adopt a Chinese or South
Asian identity or enact Chinese and South Asian attitudes and values. Instead, stereotypical notions of cultural difference and Otherness produce these cultures primarily as a cultural spectacle or experience to be consumed in an act of cosmopolitanism and facilitate the performance of uncomplicated cosmopolitan identities, in which the interaction with the cultural Other does not necessitate face-to-face interaction with local immigrants and self-transformation is not required or encouraged. Although the consumption of Latin American culture and identity through Sandinista and Revolución de Cuba also does not require any interaction with actual Cubans or Latin Americans, it does entail processes of self-transformation. An examination of the Manchester Irish Festival introduced the idea of consuming Irish culture in order to regain a sense of traditional and pre-industrial culture that the (English) consumer feels their own culture has lost. However, rather than representing and providing something which the consumer does not have, I have argued that the consumption of Latin American culture in Sandinista and Revolución de Cuba highlights identity performance as a way of engaging with values and attitudes which potentially already form part of the consumer’s self-identity (political non-conformism and a revolutionary ethos, or extroversion and frivolity), but which they perhaps might not have the opportunity to explore beyond the consumption of Latin American culture and identity. While this chapter has therefore demonstrated that culture in Manchester is primarily envisaged by city officials and urban regenerators as a way of adding to the city’s rebranded cosmopolitan image, and enhance the city’s national and international reputation, in the city’s Latin American bars and restaurants, the production and consumption of Latin American cultural difference has been found to involve processes of identity performance relating to the construction of self-identity.

In this chapter, I have also highlighted, in the discourse surrounding Latin American restaurants in Manchester, a presence of similar codes to those in the British press surrounding Latin America and magical realism. The fact that Manchester’s Chinese New Year celebrations were also described in terms of ‘the magic of the parade’ (Wheatstone, *Manchester Evening News*, 2014), demonstrates that notions of magic are not unique to Latin America or magical realism, yet the emphasis on the ‘quirky’ characteristics of Latin American culture reveals a similarity between the magical realist encoding of Latin America in the British press and the encoding of
Latin American culture in Manchester in the sense that both represent Latin America to be inherently odd and strange to British culture and consumers.

Based on the findings from this chapter, Chapter Five investigates how Latin American identity is likewise consumed through the ¡Viva! Spanish and Latin American Film Festival as a way of constructing self-identity, though beyond a temporary performance. It analyses how non-Latin American consumers, by constructing imagined cosmopolitan communities, use the ¡Viva! festival to incorporate a Latin American identity within their own construction of self-identity. I argue that this process of connection and incorporation subsequently creates a long-term, nuanced form of cosmopolitan identity by promoting Latin America from unconscious to conscious identity. First, however, Chapter Four examines the production and encoding of Latin America through the ¡Viva! film festival and finds that codes, themes and narratives associated with magical realism in Chapter Two are likewise present in the festival’s encoding of the Latin American Other. I argue that such a construction of Latin America ultimately helps to facilitate the incorporation of a Latin American identity within non-Latin American consumers’ notions of self-identity, as does the particular cultural relationship between the UK and Latin America, in which, owing to relatively low levels of direct colonial involvement, (when compared with British influence in other areas of the world), and low levels of contemporary Latin American immigration, Latin America has retained a sense of cultural distance from the UK well into the twenty-first century.
Chapter Four: The Production and Encoding of Latin America through the ¡Viva! Film Festival.

Celebrating its twentieth anniversary in 2014, the annual ¡Viva! Spanish and Latin American Film Festival has been a long-standing feature of Manchester’s cultural scene. Inaugurated in 1995, the festival was held every March at the Cornerhouse cinema and centre for contemporary visual arts on Oxford Road until 2015, since when it has moved to HOME, Manchester’s new international centre for contemporary visual art, film and theatre.13 As Latin American film was incorporated into the festival in 2004, the festival allows for a focused and in-depth examination of the contemporary production and consumption of Latin American culture in Manchester. In Chapter Two, I analysed the development of Latin American magical realism in the British press (1940-2015) and demonstrated how magical realism became, and is still used as, a primary prism through which Latin America is interpreted in the UK. In order to assess the extent to which such an interpretation exists within the contemporary cultural production of Latin America in the UK beyond the press, in this chapter I examine the encoding of Latin America through the ¡Viva! film festival. The chapter analyses festival brochures, podcasts, programming, imagery, advertising, film reviews and press articles, as well as Q&A sessions with film directors and personal interviews conducted with festival organisers.

I begin with a history and overview of the ¡Viva! film festival and note how, as for many film festivals worldwide, it has become increasingly difficult for ¡Viva!’s organisers to secure regular funding and sponsorship. In an effort to appeal to and attract larger paying audiences, lead festival images in recent years have repeatedly foregrounded aspects of Latin American geography, ethnicity, culture and society that the White middle-class majority of the ¡Viva! festival audience, living in the UK, would find markedly different to their own, even though this has, in fact, been largely

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13 This move was due to the merger of the Cornerhouse with Manchester’s Library Theatre Company into the Greater Manchester Arts Centre Ltd (GMAC). In spring 2015, this led to the creation of HOME, an amalgamated centre of art, film and theatre, and saw both former companies move into a new purpose-built venue at First Street: ‘HOME is a place for curiosity seekers, for lovers of the dramatic, the digital and the deeply engaging; for radicals and reciprocators ... We are a centre for co-production, artistic creation and, of course, sharing. We are dedicated to learning, for people of all ages. A place for new work and playful ideas; of festivals and commissions; of artists and of audience engagement’ (HOME, 2016a, 2016b).
unrepresentative of the films in the festival programme. As part of the general discourse of difference encoded into the festival, (which complies with the ethos of the Cornerhouse, and now HOME, as a space of ‘alternative’ cinema and art), films, as well as festival brochures and film reviewers, have encoded Latin America with the notion of ‘quirky’ and ‘offbeat’ characters and situations. This discourse has been further cultivated in brochures, podcasts and online reviews in terms of the surreal, strange and incredible. Such an encoding of Latin America has also extended into Q&A sessions, where Latin American film directors have similarly reproduced such a narrative of Latin American culture and society. I argue, therefore, that while ¡Viva! does not directly employ magical realism in its production of Latin America, closely associated codes and themes of surrealism and strangeness which are encoded into the festival’s production of Latin America – and which became firmly attached to the region in the British press in the wake of magical realism – can connote magical realism, exoticising Latin America for festival audiences and facilitating their consumption of Latin American culture as an act of cosmopolitanism.

In the final part of the chapter, I underscore the discourse of cultural immersion that also surrounds the festival. Film synopses and reviews, as well as podcasts and press articles all employ notions of time-space compression to construct ¡Viva! as an immersive and cosmopolitan cultural experience. I suggest that the encoding of the festival as an immersive cultural experience encourages a sense of participation and imagined cosmopolitan community between the non-Latin American audience and Latin American culture. ¡Viva!’s encoding of Latin America as quirky, surreal and different, accompanying this sense of connection, subsequently facilitates the incorporation of Latin American culture and identity within the non-Latin American consumer’s construction of a cosmopolitan self-identity.

4.1: The history and development of the ¡Viva! Spanish and Latin American Film Festival.

Inaugurated in March 1995, ¡Viva! The First Spanish Film Festival dealt exclusively with cinema from Spain. Screening between 13-21 films and documentaries over 10-11 days, not only was it the first of its kind in Manchester, but it was also the first Spanish film festival to take place in the UK (Cornerhouse, 1995). Organisers Maria Delgado and Sandra Hebron founded the festival from their own cinephile interest in
Spanish cinema: ‘There was so much exciting cinema Sandra and I were seeing, we wanted the opportunity to share more of this with Manchester audiences. We wanted to present retrospectives and foci on key figures. We wanted to expand understandings of what constitutes contemporary Spanish cinema’ (M. Delgado, personal communication, 6 October 2014). From its earliest beginnings, the ¡Viva! film festival aimed to expand cinephile knowledge of Spanish cinema in the city of Manchester. This intention was also clear from the festival’s early brochures. With the exception of coloured but picture-less front covers, brochures were primarily black and white and adopted a classical cinephile approach to the festival, with the majority of space inside the brochure given over to discussion, in both English and Spanish, of the films, their relative position within contemporary Spanish cinema, directors’ careers, box office success, awards received and the films’ production histories. There was also ample space devoted to interviews with, information about or notes from film directors. The festival focused on recent Spanish cinema, with films drawn from the previous five years, later limited to the previous two or three, thereby keeping the focus contemporary and adding prestige to the festival through premiering several of these films in the UK. During the first two festivals, there was also the opportunity to see previously released films which had proved to be popular with cinema-going audiences, such as films by Pedro Almodóvar and Bigas Luna.

The 10th ¡Viva! festival in 2004 was the first to include Latin American cinema. According to Andy Willis, who has run educational events and study days at ¡Viva! since 2000, this decision was the result of a growing festival, as well as trends in Latin American cinema during the early 2000s:

When Linda Pariser was Cornerhouse’s head programmer for film, the festival expanded greatly. I think that the need for more films for an expanding festival, along with the rise of a new generation of Latin American filmmakers (particularly from Mexico) meant that the shift in focus to open up the festival to Latin American films was something of a logical one – particularly for local audiences for specialised cinema. I think the fact that there was also a number of projects that were either co-productions or that were drawing on talents from Spain and Latin America also informed this decision (A. Willis, personal communication, 12 May 2014).

Andy Willis is currently a Reader in Film Studies at the University of Salford, which, along with the University of Manchester and Manchester Metropolitan University, has
always had an input into the ¡Viva! film festival, with academics from all three universities sitting on the programming panel and hosting one-hour introductions on topics related to their specialist fields.

Despite the introduction of Latin American cinema into the festival in 2004, Brazilian film is not included in the festival programme. The fact that ¡Viva! began as a Spanish film festival and that, with the exception of the Cornerhouse, the Instituto Cervantes (the Spanish government institute for the promotion of Spanish language, and the cultures of Spanish-speaking countries, throughout the world), has been the principal partner and sponsor of ¡Viva! since its inception, may be primary factors in why the festival only includes Spanish-speaking (and occasionally recognised regional languages of Spain, such as Basque and Catalan) cinema. In an article for an online local news site, one of the festival organisers noted that Brazil is not included with other Latin American cinema in the festival because, ‘to be honest, we just don’t have the hours in the day or the space in the programme’ (Willacy, *Mancunian Matters*, 2014). Whether it be due to lack of time, space, money or the remit of the institutions involved, or a combination of all four, Brazil’s absence means that the production of Latin America through the ¡Viva! film festival inevitably presents a Spanish-language inclination and bias, further compounded by the fact that indigenous Latin American languages, such as Quechua, have only been present in one of ¡Viva!’s Spanish-speaking Latin American films in the last seven years.

By its 14th festival in 2008, ¡Viva! was showing around 60 features and documentaries, as well as a comprehensive collection of short films, over 11 days. In addition to this substantial number of films, and in contrast to earlier festivals, many films were also screened more than once. The festival brochure was now more colourful and stylish in comparison to those of earlier festivals, though it included much less of the cinephile information it had previously contained. Film synopses were much shorter, only provided in English, while interviews and focuses on directors had been removed, to be replaced by large and striking coloured images from the films. Yet some context was still provided in regard to the director, the film’s box office success and awards, as well as providing links to the film’s website where available. Most notable, however, was the transformation of the festival into a larger and more varied cultural event throughout the Cornerhouse building. In the 2008 festival, for example, the Opening Gala film was now followed by a celebratory event which officially opened the festival, with two bottles of Cruzcampo beer and tapas
included in the price of a Gala ticket for audience members (Cornerhouse, 2008, p. 1). Two other Argentinean and Mexican ‘fiestas’ were also held during the festival, each providing a free glass of Codorníu cava and Latin-style music for ticket holders (Cornerhouse, 2008, pp. 5, 20). There were conversation ‘cafés’ for Spanish and Catalan language learners and festival goers could enjoy a Spanish-style breakfast in the Cornerhouse café to accompany one particular Spanish film, as well as Latin American beer, Spanish dishes, sangría, Castilian hot chocolate and churros throughout the festival (Cornerhouse, 2008, pp. 1, 33). In 2010, Latin American art exhibitions in the Cornerhouse gallery were also incorporated into the ¡Viva! festival for the first time (Cornerhouse, 2010, pp. 3-5). ¡Viva! had thus become more than just a film festival by the end of the 2000s. In line with the late-twentieth-century shift towards an ‘experience economy’ (Pine and Gilmore, 2011), the ¡Viva! film festival was now produced as a multi-faceted experience of Spanish and Latin American culture through film, food, language, music, art and a ‘fiesta’ atmosphere. Yet events of a more cinephile nature continued to be a major feature of the festival. Roundtable discussions with digital filmmakers, collaboration with Mexico’s annual touring documentary festival Ambulante, tributes to film producers, a programme of short films, one-hour introductions to Spanish cinema and a discussion with one of the directors of internationally-acclaimed film [REC] (2007), as part of Film4’s FrightFest, were just some of the more cinephile events that took place during 2008’s 11-day festival (Cornerhouse, 2008, pp. 16-34). From 2000-2009, selected ¡Viva! films also went on tour each year around various cinemas across the UK and Ireland, including cinemas in Sheffield, Newcastle, Cardiff, Edinburgh and Dublin (Cornerhouse, 2008, p. 34; Cornerhouse, 2009, p. 17). By the end of the 2000s, therefore, ¡Viva! was continuing to encourage and expand knowledge and interest in Spanish and Latin American cinema in the city of Manchester, as well as throughout the UK and Ireland, though following the introduction of a variety of secondary cultural events, the festival had evolved from its beginnings as a classically cinephile film festival in the mid-1990s to one which was now more varied, more cultural and more widely-applicable and accessible to mainstream audiences.

Following consultation with audience members, the ¡Viva! film festival was restructured from 2009 onwards. Organisers drastically reduced the number of films and extended the festival period so that it was less intense and allowed audience members to attend more screenings (Cornerhouse, 2009; Cornerhouse, 2010;
Interview with ¡Viva! organisers, 4 March 2014). Table 3 provides the film attendance figures for the ¡Viva! festival from 2009-2014. By calculating the average attendance per film screening, it is clear that film attendance largely remained consistent during this period.

Table 3: Film attendances for the ¡Viva! film festival (2009-2014).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of days</th>
<th>No. of film screenings</th>
<th>Total film attendances</th>
<th>Average attendance per screening (Total film attendance / no. of screenings)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>6,846</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4,299</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>4,116</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>4,955</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>4,553</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>4,371</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: ¡Viva! film festival organisers, 2016).

However, despite the relative stability of these figures, several informal conversations I had with audience members during the 2014 ¡Viva! festival suggested a declining popularity of the festival. A couple of individuals I met both stated that this year had not been as good as previous years and that the film synopses did not ‘attract’ as much as they had done in the past. Two of my interviewees, Karen14, 58, and Raymond, 57, both of whom have attended ¡Viva! since the very first festival, were likewise negative about the changes they perceived to have taken place in the festival in terms of film

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14 All interviewees in this thesis have been anonymised through the use of pseudonyms. For more information on the allocation of pseudonyms, please refer to 3.4 in Appendix 3.
quality, variety and the reduction in complementary cultural events on offer throughout the Cornerhouse. Several other interviewees, such as Elizabeth, 60, and Robert, 37, also lamented that there were no longer additional events such as conversation cafes and ‘fiestas’ as part of the festival.

There was a distinct lack of supplementary cultural events on offer during ¡Viva! 2014, the festival at which I conducted my fieldwork. There were no longer any art exhibitions, conversation cafes or closing party included in the festival (and specialist food and ‘fiestas’ had ceased prior to 2013). This reduction in cultural events was the result of a number of factors. There was no art exhibition, for example, due to the fact that the structure of the Cornerhouse gallery had changed in anticipation of the move to the Cornerhouse’s current venue at First Street, HOME (Interview with ¡Viva! organisers, 4 March 2014). The primary reason for the reduction of secondary cultural events, however, was cuts in festival funding. ¡Viva! principally obtains funding from locally-based sources: the Cornerhouse/HOME, the Instituto Cervantes in Manchester and Leeds, and Manchester City Council. In the early years of the festival, additional funding could occasionally be secured from local government agencies, such as the Central Manchester Development Corporation (CMDC), or private sponsors such as Iberia and San Miguel (Cornerhouse, 1995, 1997). As the festival in 2008 showed, private companies such as Cruzcampo occasionally sponsored particular events within the festival, such as the Opening Gala (Cornerhouse, 2008, p. 1). Since then, private funding has become increasingly scarce and, owing to the economic recession in 2008 and cuts to Arts funding in the UK, funding has also been significantly reduced by Manchester City Council in recent years (Hughes, Mancunian Matters, 2012; Powling, Mancunian Matters, 2011). In 2014, the Instituto Cervantes was only able to provide a quarter of the funding it had provided in previous years, due to the ongoing effects of the financial crisis in Spain, leading festival organisers to abandon the conversation cafes and closing Gala which had become popular events in the past (Interview with ¡Viva! organisers, 4 March 2014). A reduction in funding in previous years had also led to the cessation of the nationwide ¡Viva! tour in 2009 (Interview with ¡Viva! organisers, 4 March 2014).

Marijke De Valck (2007) has argued that, due to the global propagation of film festivals since the 1980s, and increased levels of competition, sources of funding have become progressively harder to secure and constitute a greater concern for contemporary film festivals than those of the past. This has led to contemporary film
festivals placing greater importance on attracting and catering to wider (and more mainstream) paying audiences (De Valck, 2007, pp. 168, 191, 196-7). With the struggle for funding being further exacerbated by the effects of the recent recession, contemporary ¡Viva! organisers now similarly take care to cater to diverse audience segments in the festival programme in an attempt to increase the festival’s paying audience, a decision which has not been welcomed by all audience members: ‘I think there’s been some amazing gems [in recent years], but I think it’s not quite as consistent in the quality … as there had been before … some of the films I felt were a little bit too commercial’ (Interview with Lee, 14 May 2014). These comments by Lee reflect a general fear of cinephile film festival goers around the world, concerning the shift between earlier, more cinephile film festivals (of which I would include the early ¡Viva! festivals) that focused on ‘finding an audience for the film’, and contemporary festivals, which are more concerned with ‘finding films for the audience’ (De Valck, 2007, pp. 188-9). Growing concerns over accommodating diverse audience segments in ¡Viva!’s programme have also been accompanied by a decrease in the festival’s collaboration with the city’s universities. Although academics continue to sit on programming panels and host educational events, the extent of collaboration is less than it has been in previous years, further lessening the traditional cinephile character of the festival.

In spite of these concerns over programming and the reduced number of secondary cultural events provided by the festival, several of ¡Viva!’s screenings nevertheless continue to sell out (Gibbs, 2013a, 2013b, 2014; Interview with ¡Viva! organisers, 4 March 2014). Yet the festival is undoubtedly smaller than in previous years, running alongside the Cornerhouse’s main cinema programme when, in the past, it had taken over all of the three cinema screens for the duration of the festival. In 2015, the festival underwent another reconfiguration. Owing to the Cornerhouse’s move to HOME, the festival was split into three smaller events throughout the year. The first was the ¡Viva! weekender in March, still held at the Cornerhouse, which consisted of five days of Spanish and Latin American cinema, several Q&A sessions with directors, a one-hour introductory event and a Spanish-language Walking Tour of Manchester. In June, there was a Mexican weekender, and finally a celebration of contemporary Spanish cinema in November, both of these held at HOME (Cornerhouse, 2015). According to organisers, the festival will return to its larger-scale format in 2016, when Spanish and Latin American theatre will be incorporated
into the festival programme for the first time owing to the merger between the Manchester Library Theatre Company and Cornerhouse into HOME.

What began, therefore, as a film festival to encourage cinephile knowledge and interest in Spanish cinema, later developed into a broader Hispanic event, one which encompassed Spanish-speaking Latin American film as well as a wider variety of cultural activities that promoted Hispanic culture within the city of Manchester. Since the late 2000s, lack of funding has played a primary role in the curtailment of these secondary cultural events, however, and has led to an increased importance being placed by organisers on catering to diverse audience segments in festival programming. The need to attract a larger, and potentially more mainstream, audience can be identified most strikingly in festival advertising and the visual representation of the ¡Viva! film festival. Lead festival images in recent years, for example, have focused on the notion of difference between Latin America and the UK in order to promote the festival and appeal to consumers.

4.2: The encoding of Latin America through the ¡Viva! film festival.

In the 1990s, organisers did not use a lead image to advertise and promote the ¡Viva! festival. Brochure covers were colourful, yet plain. In contrast, contemporary organisers now select a different image each year from amongst their programme of films to brand and publicise the festival, on brochure covers as well as in poster format throughout the Cornerhouse/HOME building. According to festival organisers, the selection of lead image is based on foregrounding those films that will bring prestige to the festival and the ones they subsequently want to sell out. In recent years, this has included films where the director has been present for a post-screening Q&A session, UK premieres, Opening Gala films, or, as in 2008, films which have included internationally famous actors, such as Mexican actor Gael Garcia Bernal, whose star status would have potentially attracted a broader spectrum of filmgoers to the festival. Yet, at the same time, organisers claim that ¡Viva! also has an established and recognisable image:

If you really had to categorise it, a lot of the ¡Viva! films are often … quite vibrant, bubbly, not everything … but in terms of what an audience member might visualise and particularly … if you look at past brochures
… the image of ¡Viva! is often that kind of flamboyance (Interview with ¡Viva! organisers, 4 March 2014).

Applying this definition of the organisers’ to the lead images of ¡Viva! in recent years, however, I would argue that a theme of flamboyance has, in fact, only really been foregrounded once in the last six years. In 2012, the lead image of the festival showed a cabaret singer in a flamboyant and elaborate costume, taken from the Spanish film Pájaros de papel (Paper Birds, 2010). The notion of flamboyance could possibly be extended to the lead image from ¡Viva! 2010, which showed a male wrestler lifting a tyre over his head, taken from the Uruguayan film Mal día para pescar (Bad Day to go Fishing, 2009). Every other year, however, although brightly coloured and striking, lead festival images have instead foregrounded various geographical, social and cultural characteristics of Latin American countries, with a particular emphasis on Colombia. 2011 showed two men traversing a large, arid desert plain from the Colombian film Los viajes del viento (The Wind Journeys, 2009). 2013 presented a mother and daughter walking across a rope bridge in the middle of a lush, green jungle from Colombian film Chocó (Chocó, 2012). 2014 focused on a boy in an urban setting, foregrounded against an overcrowded block of flats, from Venezuelan drama Pelo malo (Bad Hair, 2013). In 2015, the lead festival image of the March ¡Viva! weekender consisted of a middle-aged man and woman, the man riding a bicycle, the woman sitting in a large basket attached to the front of the bicycle, riding through an extremely heavy downpour of rain, taken from the Colombian film Ruido rosa (Pink Noise, 2014).

These images can be read on two levels. On the one hand, they can be read at a denotative level. Desert plains, jungles and tower block flats simply signify their real-life counterparts in Latin America. At a connotative level, however, desert plains can connote the idea of vast, empty space and solitude, overcrowded tower blocks can signify poverty, while the rainforest can connote a sense of tropical heat and exoticism. In doing so, all of these images simultaneously connote an idea of difference from UK geography and mainstream British culture and society. Even the man and woman riding the bicycle in the rain, and the bodybuilder holding aloft a tyre, connote a sense of the unusual and the different.

15 See Appendix 2 for lead images of the ¡Viva! film festival, 2010-2015 (n.b. I have only included the lead image for the March ¡Viva! weekender in 2015).
While organisers may claim, therefore, that the image and brand of the ¡Viva! film festival is one of vibrancy, bubbliness and flamboyance, I would disagree with this assertion based on a preliminary analysis of recent images used in festival advertising. If flamboyance has occasionally been the projected image of the ¡Viva! film festival, such as in 2012, I suggest that it is, in fact, the connoted myth of ‘difference’ behind any notion of flamboyance which is ¡Viva!’s actual projected image. In recent years, lead festival images have predominantly foregrounded geographical, social and cultural aspects of Latin American culture that are markedly different to mainstream British culture and society, such as tropical climates, arid landscapes, rural poverty and mass urban overcrowding, as well as foregrounding non-white and/or lower class protagonists in order to promote the film festival. All of these ethnic, social, geographical and cultural aspects of Latin American culture are, however, largely unrepresentative of the typical festival programme, as demonstrated by the festival in 2013.

Excluding six historical dramas and documentaries, 14 of the 16 contemporary Spanish and Latin American features and documentaries included in the 2013 ¡Viva! film festival, (including 6 of the 8 contemporary Latin American films and documentaries), were situated primarily in urban locations and/or with narratives involving White middle-class citizens, also incidentally the class and ethnicity of the majority of the ¡Viva! film festival audience. Only one film, Chocó, and one documentary, Una vida sin palabras (A Life without Words, 2013), both Latin American, dealt with extreme rural poverty in lower class and/or non-white communities, yet it was from Chocó that the lead festival image for that year (of a mother and daughter crossing a rope bridge in the rainforest) was taken (Cornerhouse, 2013). During an informal discussion, one of the representatives of the Instituto Cervantes who works closely with the ¡Viva! film festival confirmed that organisers had chosen this image from Chocó to be the lead image for the festival that year precisely because it highlighted aspects of scenery, landscape and ethnicity.

\[16\] It should be noted that the ¡Viva! film festival and the Cornerhouse/HOME do not collect any official information regarding audience profiles. The assertion that the majority of the ¡Viva! film festival audience is White and middle-class is therefore my own, based on my own assessment of festival audiences over the last three years. It is also informed by my random sample of non-Latin American audience members from the Latin American films during the 2014 ¡Viva! festival, of which 20 out of 22 (91%) were White and middle-class (the latter based on a combined assessment of their highest level of education and current profession. For more information, see 3.4 in Appendix 3).
Reasons for this selection and emphasis are clear, as many members of the non-Hispanic ¡Viva! audience attend the festival to learn about places they have never visited and see, as one audience member informally described it to me, ‘how these countries really are’, treating ¡Viva! films as a kind of armchair tourism. This same audience member made it clear that they were subsequently disappointed when films did not show them anything different from their own cultural and social norms. Such comments reveal that consumers, despite their professed desire to learn about the realities of these countries, nevertheless often come to ¡Viva! with the expectation (and consumerist demand) that the Spanish and Latin American cultures exhibited on screen should be noticeably different to their own. Festival organisers, aware that this is what consumers expect and want, try to meet these expectations, if not necessarily through the films in the festival programme, then in the lead imagery and advertising of the festival. ¡Viva! has thus generally favoured Latin America over Spain in its advertising in recent years, repeatedly foregrounding examples of Latin American geography, ethnicity, culture and society that the White middle-class majority of the ¡Viva! festival audience, living in the UK, would find markedly different to their own in an attempt to increase the appeal of the festival for this demographic, and thereby increase the size of their audience and the revenue of the festival. In this manner, the expectations and demands of festival audiences noticeably feedback into the production of Latin America through the ¡Viva! film festival and ensure that the region is encoded with varying notions of ‘difference’, even if this is then contested by the vast majority of films in the festival’s programme.

The final selection of films for the ¡Viva! festival programme follows a complex process of negotiation by a variety of mediating cultural agents and institutions. In addition to those films which organisers become aware of throughout the year, the ¡Viva! selection is heavily dependent upon which films are exhibited by international film festivals. Each year, ¡Viva! organisers attend various film festivals in order to familiarise themselves with new Spanish and Latin American cinema, such as the Málaga Spanish Film Festival, the San Sebastián International Film Festival, the Toronto International Film Festival, the Cannes Film Festival and the Berlinale. In the past, the ¡Viva! festival has received several of its Latin American films through the Cine en Construcción (Films in Progress) initiative developed by the Toulouse Latin American Film Festival and the San Sebastián International Film Festival, through which Latin American filmmakers are able to compete for funds that allow
them to bring their projects to the stage of post-production. The Instituto Cervantes, representatives of which sit on the *Cine en Construcción* judging panel at the San Sebastián film festival, then take a selection of these films around their institutions worldwide, one of these being the Instituto Cervantes in Manchester, which is one of the main sponsors of the ¡Viva! film festival (Triana Toribio, 2013, pp. 89-90). Although the number of ¡Viva! films taken from this initiative has reduced since 2011, it highlights the element of mediation inherent within the selection process, with ‘the two festival juries’ of Toulouse and San Sebastián, (as well as the Instituto Cervantes), ‘[acting] as gatekeepers of independent Latin American Cinema in Europe’, selecting which films will be financed and then eventually distributed to festivals such as ¡Viva!, and which will not (Triana Toribio, 2013, p. 105).

In addition to those films financially supported and exported by larger film festivals and cultural institutions, the rest of ¡Viva!’s films, discovered from film festivals or general awareness, are chosen according to organisers’ preferences, budget and what they believe will appeal to audiences, highlighting the role that organisers, funding and audience expectation also play in mediating the final selection of Latin American films for the ¡Viva! film festival. Festival organisers are also inclined towards selecting those films which win awards from the larger international film festivals, as screening these brings a sense of quality and prestige to the ¡Viva! festival which will attract a cinephile audience, demonstrating a reliance on and a reproduction of the critical judgement of these larger film festivals. The position of gatekeeper can therefore be extended to international film festivals more generally, as these larger festivals can not only influence which films get made and which do not, but determine more generally which Latin American films are exhibited, fêted, seen by local festival organisers and then filter down to smaller festivals such as ¡Viva!, thus mediating the portrayal of Latin America produced through these festivals for local audiences.

Stephanie Dennison (2013, pp. 15-16) discussed how the attraction and consumption of Latin American cinema abroad has always been tied to a sense of Othering and exoticisation and how this has filtered into the international film festival circuit. On the one hand, the Latin American ‘exotic other’ is exemplified through those films which depict high levels of violence, poverty and corruption:

At the other extreme of this ‘exotic othering’ process we find the kind of films that frequently travel to Instituto Cervantes’s sites in Europe via the
Cine en Construcción initiative: for example, international co-productions that portray quirky characters in exotic locations experiencing the postmodern or post-national in a dramatic or entertaining way. Here, the list is seemingly endless: from the light-hearted *El baño del Papa*, *(The Pope’s Toilet, 2007)* via Walter Salles’ big-budget bio-pic *Diarios de motocicleta* *(The Motorcycle Diaries, 2004)* … to small films that deal with complex sexual identities, such as Lucía Puenzo’s powerful *XXY* *(2007)* *(Dennison, 2013, p. 16)*.

Two of the films mentioned here, *El baño del Papa* and *XXY*, were both screened as part of the 2008 ¡Viva! festival and this proclivity for films which portray quirky Latin American characters and situations identified by Dennison is one which runs throughout the ¡Viva! film festival. In recent years, ¡Viva! films have included: *Perro come perro* *(Dog Eat Dog, 2007)*, in which a Colombian crime boss seeks revenge for the murder of his godson ‘through a voodoo priestess whose magic haunts the killer’; *Acorazado* *(Acorazado, 2010)*, in which a Mexican man ‘sets sail for Florida on a home-made raft’; *Las malas intenciones* *(The Bad Intentions, 2011)*, about a girl who ‘retreats into a fantasy world where she surrounds herself with Peruvian historical heroes’; *Bonsái* *(Bonsai: A Story of Love, Books and Plants, 2011)*, the story of a Chilean man who invents a fake novel in his boss’ name; *Las buenas hierbas* *(The Good Herbs, 2010)*, a film about the Mexican herbalist tradition that gives ‘a beautiful illustration of the ties that bind the living, the dead, and the natural world’; and *El fantástico mundo de Juan Orol* *(The Fantastic World of Juan Orol, 2012)*, a fictional comedy-drama which relates the biographical story of Mexican B-movie director, Juan Orol, and ‘the barely believable career of the legendary maverick film director’ *(Cornerhouse, 2009; 2012; 2013; 2014a)*.

A basic textual analysis of festival brochures from 2008-2015 also reveals that film synopses repeatedly underscore the ‘offbeat’ or ‘quirky’ nature of the Latin American films in the festival: references to Argentinean director ‘Esteban Menis’ quirky comedy’ *(Cornerhouse, 2009, p. 5)*; ‘a screwball Cuban comedy’ *(Cornerhouse, 2009, p. 15)*; a ‘quirky comedy’ from Uruguay *(Cornerhouse, 2010, p. 6)*; an ‘offbeat group of characters’ from Chile *(Cornerhouse, 2011, p. 8)*; an ‘offbeat comedy’ from Ecuador *(Cornerhouse, 2013, p. 10)* and a ‘delightfully quirky comedy’ from Argentina *(Cornerhouse, 2014a, p. 13)*. Brochures have sometimes used notions of quirkiness in relation to Spanish films; in the 2008 festival brochure, there were several references to ‘this lively and quirky tale’, ‘this quirky comedy [which] offers
a new take on the traditional love triangle plot’, and how ‘their quirky brand of comedy continues with Guillermo’s directorial début’, all referring to Spanish films (Cornerhouse, 2008, pp. 13, 17, 19). However, such descriptions have become more commonly attached to Latin American films in succeeding years. Films from Spain screened during recent festivals, particularly since the 2012 ¡Viva! festival, have largely centred on the Spanish financial crisis and/or personal relationships and consequently have not carried the same mark of quirkiness as in previous brochures.17

The idea of an exotically quirky Latin American Other is not limited to the films of the Cine en Construcción initiative, therefore, as it pervades the ¡Viva! film festival programme more broadly year after year, suggesting that a theme of quirky Latin American characters and situations is one which filters down to the ¡Viva! festival from the curating of the larger international film festivals, or that it is a trend which permeates contemporary Latin American film. As Dennison (2013, p. 16) implied, emphasis on ‘quirky characters in exotic locations’ is a process of ‘exotic othering’ and connotes an idea of difference. ¡Viva!’s consistent encoding of its Latin American films as quirky and offbeat thus coincides with the theme of Latin America being ‘different’ to British culture and society as introduced in festival advertising. At the same time, there are a number of Latin American films in the festival programme each year, with contemporary or historical settings, which focus on violence, dictatorships, poverty, drugs and/or corruption in relation to Latin American countries, representing the other extreme of the different and exotic Latin American Other. Notions of the quirky and offbeat in Latin American films, as well as those of violence and poverty, all conform to the general image and ethos of the Cornerhouse (and now HOME) as a space of alternative culture: ‘HOME is a place for curiosity seekers, for lovers of the dramatic, the digital and the deeply engaging; for radicals and reciprocators … Our five screens light up with independent, challenging, provocative film’ (HOME, 2016b). The ¡Viva! film festival’s preference for quirky and offbeat Latin American films, as well as the inclusion of Latin American films which foreground notions of violence and poverty, fits in with the organisational mission of Cornerhouse/HOME to provide Manchester audiences with an independent cinema that is challenging and provocative. I suggest, however, that an encoding of Latin

17 The notable exception being the films of Spanish director Álex de la Iglesia, which feature regularly in the ¡Viva! film festival, such as Las brujas de Zugarramurdi (Witching and Bitching, 2013) in the 2014 ¡Viva! festival.
America as quirky and offbeat ultimately prevails over notions of violence and poverty within the festival as it enables audience members to perform their own (desirable) quirky and offbeat identities through attending the festival and watching these films.

Two of my interviewees below reproduced a discourse of quirkiness and the alternative in their descriptions of what attracts them to the ¡Viva! festival and its Latin American films:

I think to initially attract me [the Latin American films] have got to be something that’s maybe a bit unusual. I wouldn’t go and see a film in any language that was just about boy meets girl, boy falls in love, that kind of dead obvious thing. It has to be something that’s a little bit quirky (Interview with Elizabeth, 4 April 2014).

I love the quirkiness of [¡Viva!] basically, in a way … it was just outside your normal reality, if that makes sense, of life in Manchester and that’s why I started going to them (Interview with Raymond, 8 April 2014).

In the first example, Elizabeth is drawn to quirky Latin American films as an alternative to what she perceives to be the often clichéd narratives of many of the more mainstream films in UK cinemas. In the second example, Raymond links ¡Viva!’s quirkiness with the idea of social and cultural difference that he is able to engage with through attending the film festival. Both Elizabeth and Raymond are subsequently able to use their attendance at the ¡Viva! film festival, (and particularly the festival’s quirky Latin American films), as a way to construct and perform their own identities as people who enjoy quirky, different, non-mainstream culture, with Raymond linking this more explicitly to notions of foreign cultural difference.

The protagonists of ¡Viva!’s Latin American films are therefore more ethnically and socially similar to ¡Viva!’s White middle-class audience members than lead festival images in recent years have suggested. However, further textual analysis of festival brochures and programming has revealed that these films are still encoded with notions of difference through a consistent emphasis on their quirky characters and situations, an encoding influenced by the films ¡Viva! receives from larger international film festivals, (including, but not limited to, the Cine en Construcción initiative), the ethos of the Cornerhouse/HOME organisation, as well as audience expectation that Latin American culture will be different to their own. The ¡Viva! film festival thus not only encodes Latin America with varying notions of geographical, ethnic, social and cultural difference in its advertising, (for the festival’s White
middle-class audience members at least), but encodes the Latin American Other as equally different and quirky through festival brochures and programming, allowing members of the audience to also assume and perform a quirky and alternative identity by virtue of their attendance and participation in the festival.

¡Viva!’s encoding of Latin America goes beyond the quirky, however. Film synopses in festival brochures and online film reviews written by the Cornerhouse’s Digital Reporters have further cultivated the notion of quirkiness in relation to Latin American films through references to ‘a surrealistic unnamed city’ (Cornerhouse, 2008, p. 8), ‘a story of ordinary lives where strangeness represents the norm’ (Cornerhouse, 2008, p. 22) and ‘a magical, colourful, romantic comedy’ (Cornerhouse, 2009, p. 9). Reviewers have applauded ‘this debut feature film’ which ‘is equally beautiful and surreal’ (Cornerhouse, 2011, p. 7), described ‘the (almost) unbelievable world of Latin American exploitation cinema’ (Cornerhouse, 2012, p. 9) and noted of another film that ‘it’s a playful film where the inane comes to the fore, quite wonderfully’ (Wade, 2013). Descriptions of the surreal, strange and unbelievable in relation to Latin American films were likewise present in the 2014 ¡Viva! film festival podcasts:

This is a Mexican film that I actually saw in preparation for the festival and I thought it was a biopic of a real film director. Then I watched what is an absolutely – strange would be one word, but fantastic I think is the best word – film which follows the career of this B-movie director … And I left the cinema when I saw it thinking, ‘Well, that can’t be a real person, that must be made up.’ I was wrong. And then, when I did a bit more research, I find out, in fact, he is a real person. So it was a pretty fantastic life he had… (Cornerhouse, 2014b).

Descriptions such as these are ultimately doing more than just highlighting quirks or idiosyncrasies in the films’ characters or plots. They are simultaneously constructing a narrative around these films in which Latin America, its people, culture and society, become associated with the incredible, the strange, the surreal and the extraordinary. This narrative is then complemented by those produced by film directors in festival Q&A sessions.

Each year, it is common for some of the actors, writers, producers and directors whose work is being screened at the festival to be in attendance and to partake in post-screening Question and Answer sessions with members of the festival audience. Two
such Q&A sessions with Colombian director Roberto Flores Prieto, which formed part of the 2014 ¡Viva! film festival and the 2015 March ¡Viva! weekender, serve as an example of how these mediating cultural agents can contribute to a surreal and unbelievable construction of Latin America for festival audiences. When discussing his film Cazando luciérnagas (Chasing Fireflies, 2012) in 2014, for example, Flores Prieto, from the city of Barranquilla on the Caribbean coast of Colombia, related to the audience how people in the Caribbean are extroverted, noting that ‘tropical rhythms’ and joy are ‘always present’ and, rather poetically, defined the region as ‘not so real sometimes’ (R. Flores Prieto, Cazando luciérnagas Q&A session, 11 March 2014). Later, when asked about his experience of studying filmmaking in Cuba, and the effect this had had on his work, Flores Prieto replied that, even though everything in Cuba is so ‘magic’ for Europeans, the experience was normal for him as he is also from the Caribbean region (R. Flores Prieto, Cazando luciérnagas Q&A session, 11 March 2014). Sitting in the audience, I found that these references he made to the Caribbean as ‘not so real sometimes’ and the ‘magic’ of Cuba being unusual to Europeans, but normal to those who lived in the region, reinforced a depiction of the Caribbean as some sort of surreal and magical place for audience members. Flores Prieto returned to the ¡Viva! film festival in 2015 for the March ¡Viva! weekender and, during a second Q&A session, once again referred to the Caribbean region in these terms when describing the inspiration for his film Ruido rosa (2014):

In Barranquilla, rains are very strong. Almost all the year it’s very sunny and very hot, but when it rains, it rains a lot … They didn’t build the city well, so something happens in some parts of Barranquilla that you have almost rivers in the streets. You can’t move from one place to another. Rivers that can destroy anything, cars, whatever. People drown in the streets. There are people that surf in the streets. It’s very surreal (R. Flores Prieto, Ruido rosa Q&A session, 8 March 2015).

With this anecdote, Flores Prieto continued his rather ‘magic’ description of the Caribbean region from 2014, portraying the region once again as ‘not so real sometimes’, as a place that might seem similar to the UK in terms of people and social issues, but also a place where surreal incidents can occur, such as people surfing in the streets. A similar discourse has emanated from other visiting Latin American film directors in relation to other countries in Latin America. During the ¡Viva! Mexican weekender in June 2015, Mexican director Alejandra Sánchez held a Q&A session
following the screening of her documentary-film *Seguir Viviendo* (Go on Living, 2014). This constituted a very different film to the love story of *Ruido rosa*, tackling instead issues of violence and femicide in Mexico. Yet amidst the answers and insight into contemporary Mexican politics, culture and society provided by the director, there remained traces of a notion of the surreal in regard to the violence and the current situation in Mexico, in the sense that you have to be there to believe it. On one occasion, Sánchez described the current situation of the children in the film who had lost their mother: ‘The family … don’t have enough money to live, but they have bodyguards. It’s that kind of paradox that you just, you’re going to understand if you live in Mexico’ (A. Sánchez, *Seguir Viviendo* Q&A session, 21 June 2015). Later, after attempting to answer a question from the audience concerning why these women are killed, Sánchez ended by noting of the situation: ‘you cannot believe it, but, you have to live in Mexico to believe it’ (A. Sánchez, *Seguir Viviendo* Q&A session, 21 June 2015). In answer to audience members’ attempts to empathise with and understand the current situation in Mexico, and make sense of the differences between Mexico and the UK, the director’s response is, ultimately, that audience members will not be able to fully understand the situation unless they are actually there in Mexico to witness the reality for themselves, reinforcing the idea that the situation is difficult to believe, but nevertheless true, and that Mexico is, in many ways, irrefutably different to the UK and to British social and cultural norms. While films can be diverse in content and from a range of Latin American countries, there is evidence, nonetheless, of a unifying discourse of disbelief, incredulity and the surreal which is produced by film directors in attendance at the ¡Viva! film festival in relation to Latin American culture, whether this be applied positively, to describe Caribbean culture and relate the surreal situations that can arise from a mixture of bad weather and poor urban planning, or negatively, in relation to Mexico’s high level of violence, corruption and femicide.

Latin American film directors participating in the festival thus contribute to the encoding of Latin America beyond their films. The descriptions of the Caribbean which Flores Prieto chooses to relate, (perhaps partly in an attempt to exoticise the region in which his films are set, entertain the audience and market his films), and Sánchez’s attempt to explain the violence of her country, combine with film reviewers, podcasts and festival brochures to create a discourse of surrealism and incredulity around Latin America. This discourse is one in which strange events are seen to
represent the norm in Latin America, real-life people and their life stories appear to be too fantastic to be true, yet turn out to be real and places are portrayed as not so real sometimes, where you actually have to be there to believe it. This is no longer merely a discourse of ‘quirky characters in exotic locations experiencing the post-modern or post-national in a dramatic or entertaining way’ (Dennison, 2013, p. 16); it is something more surreal and extraordinary than that.

In Chapter Two, I analysed the trajectory and development of Latin American magical realism in the British press during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. I demonstrated how, from the late 1960s, Latin America became associated with notions of the strange, odd, bizarre and surreal in the wake of Latin American magical realism, and particularly following the publication of Cien años de soledad. Although magical realism became seen as clichéd and outdated by many academics, writers and literary journalists during the 1980s and 1990s, magical realism remained an authoritative paradigm of Latin American cultural reality in the British press owing to the fact that García Márquez and other Latin American writers had been converted into primary definers of Latin American culture. In addition to direct references to magical realism, and the idea that magical realism might be difficult to believe but is, in actual fact, the reality of Latin American culture, codes of Latin American strangeness and surrealism continued to be employed by news, travel and other journalists in the press in relation to the region. I argued that these codes connoted back the idea of magical realism in relation to Latin America, in a cyclical production of meaning, and have maintained the connotation of magical realism in relation to Latin America for readers of the British press well into the twenty-first century. Given this encoding of Latin America at a discursive level in the UK in recent decades, I contend that when similar codes, themes and narratives of strangeness and surrealism are used in relation to Latin America beyond the press, as in the ¡Viva! film festival, they can equally connote an idea of magical realism in relation to the region as such an association has become part of the ‘horizons of expectation’ (Jauss, 1982) of Latin American culture in the UK, meaning those cultural assumptions and conventions which inform subsequent knowledge and understanding. Lee Salter discussed the influence that primary interpretations can have within the media, ‘[going] on to prompt audience comprehension, future expectations, and therefore future frames of reference’ (Salter, 2011, p. 14). Based on the findings of this chapter, I suggest that the influence of primary interpretations, (such as magical realism in the case of Latin American
cultural reality), can actually extend far beyond the media into wider forms of cultural production and consumption. While ¡Viva! does not directly employ magical realism in its production of Latin America, therefore, I argue that ¡Viva!’s encoding of Latin America through a narrative of surrealism and the fantastical can nevertheless connote an idea of magical realism in relation to the region for festival audiences due to a magical realist encoding of Latin America at a discursive level in the UK in recent decades also being carried out through codes of strangeness and surrealism.

This chapter has demonstrated several ways in which the encoding of Latin America through the ¡Viva! film festival connotes varying notions of difference, from geographical, ethnic, social and cultural difference in festival advertising (for the majority of the festival audience which is White, middle-class and living in the UK), to the idea of a quirky Latin American Other in the vast majority of films in the festival programme (others which centre their portrayal on a violent and/or underdeveloped Latin American Other also connote notions of Otherness and difference). The idea of a quirky Latin American Other has been further cultivated within the festival through codes and themes of the surreal, strange and fantastic, the same codes and themes which were, and still are, employed in the British press to connote the idea of magical realism in relation to Latin America. I argue, therefore, that the encoding of Latin America through the ¡Viva! film festival by films, reviewers, festival organisers and visiting film directors ties into and reproduces a wider discourse in contemporary Britain that understands Latin America to be characterised by magical realism; a discourse in which Latin American culture is often perceived by British audiences to be crazy and bizarre, strange, surreal and, at times, difficult to believe.

All of this, of course, exotiscises and ‘others’ Latin America for a non-Latin American audience, but it nonetheless represents a certain kind of exoticism and Othering. In Chapter Two, I noted that Latin American magical realism represented an attempt to communicate the hybrid mixture of African, European and indigenous cultures that come together to make up Latin American culture. In this sense, Latin American magical realism ultimately signifies the strange and different mixing with the normal for European consumers. I contend, therefore, that the surreal and fantastical encoding of Latin America through the ¡Viva! film festival which connotes the idea of magical realism is, in fact, not merely concerned with notions of cultural difference, but rather the notion of difference mixed with familiarity. I suggest that this encoding not only facilitates Latin American culture being consumed by non-
Latin American consumers in an act of cosmopolitanism, but the incorporation of a Latin American identity within non-Latin American consumers’ construction of self-identity. Before addressing this hypothesis further in the final chapter, however, I end this chapter by examining the secondary discourses of cultural immersion, experience and community within and surrounding the ¡Viva! film festival which construct the film festival as a cosmopolitan cultural experience.

4.3: The role of experience, immersion and community in the ¡Viva! film festival.

It is not difficult to find evidence that ¡Viva! is more than just a film festival to its audience members. Following a festival screening of Chocó in 2013, on my way out of the theatre, I witnessed a woman dancing at the back of the cinema to the Colombian music being played during the closing credits. At a Q&A session with Argentinean director Gabriel Nesci, which formed part of the festival the following year, many members of the audience questioned him about life in Argentina as much as the production of his film. Examples such as these demonstrate how, for many members of the festival audience, the ¡Viva! film festival constitutes a diverse and educational experience of Spanish and Latin American culture above and beyond the consumption of film. In their theory of the ‘experience economy’, B. Joseph Pine and James H. Gilmore (2011) proposed that western society has undergone a transition from services to experiences, with consumers now demanding experiences, rather than products, from contemporary consumption. Of contemporary film festivals, Marijke de Valck noted that the festival context provides a sense of glamorous experience around the consumption of film for contemporary consumers, which some consider to be ‘just as important as (and sometimes more important than) the films themselves’ (De Valck, 2007, pp. 212-3). The ¡Viva! film festival does not provide such a ‘glamorous’ experience for its audience members as do the major international film festivals examined by de Valck. Nonetheless, I highlighted above how, in the past, ¡Viva! has produced a broader experience of Hispanic culture for its audience members by incorporating a variety of cultural events and promotions into the festival programme to complement the film screenings. These have included, amongst other events, one-hour introductions and language ‘cafés’, Argentinean and Mexican ‘fiestas’ and Spanish-style breakfasts in the Cornerhouse bar (Cornerhouse, 2008). Even though these secondary cultural events have become less frequent in recent years, festival
brochures have constantly reinforced the idea of ¡Viva! as a celebration of Hispanic culture beyond the films themselves and throughout the Cornerhouse: ‘throughout the festival our café and bar will have a selection of Spanish and Latin American treats and special offers to keep the fiesta going’ (Cornerhouse, 2010, p. 5); ‘the fiesta feeling doesn’t end with our screenings’ (Cornerhouse, 2012, p. 3); ‘the festival continues throughout the building’ (Cornerhouse, 2013, p. 3).

Organisers themselves are keen to promote ¡Viva! as a multifaceted cultural experience. During interviews with local press and other film festivals, ¡Viva! organisers have explicitly emphasised that ‘our 20th programme will guarantee a range of fascinating experiences, both for ¡Viva! regulars and people discovering the festival for the first time’ (ASFF, 2014, emphasis added), drawing particular attention to the educational value of the festival: ‘It’s also an opportunity to get together with fellow film fans in a social setting and learn about the history and social context of the films’ (Butters, Mancunian Matters, 2014). The idea of ¡Viva! as a culturally educational experience is enhanced by frequent references to the immersive quality of the festival. Festival events are described as ‘[giving] you a chance to delve deeper into the Spanish-speaking film world’ (Sue, Manchester Evening News, 2014), with readers advised to ‘throw yourself into a truly fascinating world’, as there are ‘many opportunities to immerse oneself not just in Latin films, but the entire culture’ (Vaughan-Birch, Mancunian Matters, 2010).

Nowhere is this discourse of cultural immersion more apparent than in the notions of time-space compression frequently employed by organisers, journalists and film reviewers in regard to the festival. David Harvey (1990) considered time-space compression to be a result of increased globalisation and its ensuing technologies which have facilitated increased levels of global communication and allow distances to be traversed at a hitherto unprecedented rate. In terms of media consumption, global media have been found to similarly compress notions of time and space for contemporary consumers, providing them with a means of ‘surmounting the spatial constraint of locality [and] entering the global scene by means that deny geographic immobilities’, provoking a sense of ‘imagined cosmopolitanism’ (Schein, 1999, pp. 345, 360). The Spanish and Latin American films screened during the ¡Viva! film festival can help foster an imagined sense of connection to and participation in a global community, but journalists and film reviewers, as well as festival organisers in podcasts, have often focused on the ability of the ¡Viva! film festival to allow audience
members to feel as if they are actually in Spain or Latin America: ‘Latin America is brought to life in Manchester through film … brutal and beautiful scenes from all over Latin America were rendered so vividly that I had to pinch myself to remember I was in Manchester and not Manaus’ (Sethi, *The Guardian*, 2011); ‘el paisaje es tan hermoso que uno puede sentir transportado a la costa caribeña por un par de horas’ (‘the scenery is so beautiful that one can feel transported to the Caribbean coast for a couple of hours’) (Cornerhouse, 2014b, my translation); ‘[¡Viva!] gave me the rare opportunity to close my eyes occasionally and feel like I was [in Spain]. Or Argentina. Or Mexico. Or Peru for that matter. The [festival] became the perfect filler for the Hispanic-shaped hole in my life’ (Thomas, 2014).

In the case of the latter, the reviewer, who had returned to Manchester following a period of time living in Spain, stated that attending the ¡Viva! film festival acted as a cultural replacement for the time he had spent in Spain. Evidently, the reviewer had enjoyed his time there and missed the culture. For him, more than a sense of imagined connection to a global community, attending the ¡Viva! film festival provided something much more personal which he felt he was missing or had lost, something he needed – a welcome dose of Spanish-speaking culture – to fill a gap in his life. The immersive experience of Spanish and Latin American culture generated through the time-space compression of the ¡Viva! film festival is here promoted as helping some consumers to recover aspects of their sense of self and identity. In some ways, this compares to the consumption of Irish culture discussed by John Nagle (2009), in which English consumers consumed Irish culture because it allowed them to appropriate a sense of pre-industrial culture which they felt their own culture had lost, or the consumption of Bacardi Breezers discussed in Chapter One (Beasley-Murray, 2003), in which Latin American and British identity formed different (but ultimately complementary) parts of the same cohesive psyche. However, here the reviewer is primarily using the ¡Viva! film festival to nostalgically relive a personal experience of Hispanic culture, rather than redress a perceived deficiency of English culture, or live out an unconscious desire. Nonetheless, it is clear that Spanish and Latin American culture is consumed through the ¡Viva! film festival by some audience members in order to complete a sense of identity.

A final discourse running alongside those concerning identity formation, time-space compression, cultural immersion and cosmopolitan experience is the idea that the ¡Viva! film festival also helps to create a sense of community. I have identified
three kinds of community formed around participation in the ¡Viva! film festival. Firstly, a community consists of the actual people who attend the film festival: ‘[Festivals] are “live” events that convene only in one place at a time, usually at regular intervals as yearly events. For the festival to happen, organisers and audiences must come face-to-face in exactly the same place at exactly the same time’ (Iordanova, 2010, p. 13). References to how ‘¡Viva! creates a buzz around its events, with Spanish speakers and fans of Hispanic culture gathering in the Cornerhouse’s bar and café’ (Vaughan-Birch, Mancunian Matters, 2010) help portray the festival as a local community of film fans and Spanish speakers. Secondly, there are communities formed between the Cornerhouse/HOME and the Hispanic film world, with writers and directors often returning to the festival in succeeding years to showcase their current projects. Organisers also emphasise the international connections that are forged between the city of Manchester and the Hispanic world through the film festival: ‘Special events – like sessions with directors, some of whom are incredibly famous in their home countries – bring people from all over to Manchester and mean there’s a real connection between Manchester and the whole of the Spanish-speaking world’ (¡Viva! organiser, cited in Bourke, Creative Tourist, 2014). The third kind of community which ¡Viva! engenders assumes the form of an imagined community between festival audiences and the people and cultures depicted on screen: ‘In the “live” space of the festival, organisers and audiences form a community, an actual one, that congregates face-to-face for the purpose of fostering an “imagined community” that comes live in the act of watching a film and imagining distant human beings becoming part of one’s own experiences’ (Iordanova, 2010, p. 13).

Although Iordanova was here discussing imagined communities and film festivals in relation to diaspora, I argue that, in the case of a foreign language film festival such as ¡Viva!, there is no reason why a more cosmopolitan imagined community cannot also be formed between the Latin American cultures depicted on screen and the non-Latin American festival audience in Manchester. This is particularly true in the case of ¡Viva!, when the festival context is produced as a multifaceted experience of Hispanic culture and a combination of journalists, organisers and film reviewers repeatedly underscore how ¡Viva! films compress a sense of time and space to create the illusion of proximity and cultural immersion, lending a sense of personal involvement and participation to the immersive viewing experience: ‘As an intimate witness, I felt like the fifth traveller on their unforgiving journey, sharing
the exhaustion from the dry heat and emotional upheaval … Through the intimacy of the film, you share the group’s struggles and dreams’ (McCourt, 2014). By extending Iordanova’s framework of imagined communities beyond diaspora, in the form of imagined cosmopolitan communities, I go beyond the work of scholars who have argued that access to global media, and an increased amount of information and imagery concerning foreign cultures, can help to engender a cosmopolitan disposition within the consumer and a feeling of connection to a global community (Beck, 2002; Molz, 2011, p. 41; Szerszynski and Urry, 2002). The film festival context of ¡Viva!, I argue, encoded with the idea of cultural experience, immersion and participation, enables consumers to do more than that. In the final chapter, I examine how non-Latin American ¡Viva! consumers form a sense of imagined cosmopolitan community with the Latin American Other through the festival and how a magical realist encoding of Latin America as quirky, surreal and different facilitates the incorporation of this Latin American Other within the construction of self-identity for these consumers. Although I argue that the incorporation of a Latin American identity by non-Latin American consumers presents a nuanced form of cosmopolitanism that consciously and permanently incorporates the Other into notions of self-identity, at the same time, in the final chapter, I also address the limitations of this cosmopolitanism, namely, the lack of face-to-face interaction with actual Latin Americans it requires and that, in many ways, it remains a safe cosmopolitanism due to the construction and use of magical realism as an interpretive framework for Latin America and the position of the Latin American migrant community being largely outside of the current anti-immigrant rhetoric in the UK, making the incorporation of Latin American identity into self-identity through consumption much less problematic than the integration of other ethnic minority identities.

4.4: Conclusion.

This chapter has analysed the contemporary production of Latin American culture through the ¡Viva! film festival in Manchester and its encoding of Latin America. Undertaking a semiotic analysis of festival advertising in recent years, lead festival images have repeatedly encoded Latin America with varying notions of geographical, ethnic, social and cultural difference for the majority of the festival audience that is White, middle-class and living in the UK in order to provide these festival goers with
what they want from their foreign language film festival experience. Latin America is subsequently encoded as quirky and offbeat by festival films as much as brochures and film reviewers, which enables festival goers to also perform quirky identities by virtue of their attendance and participation in the festival. This discourse has been further cultivated into one which encodes Latin America with notions of the surreal, strange and fantastic, reinforced in Q&A sessions with Latin American film directors who underscore different parts of the region to be ‘not so real sometimes’ and places where you have to be there to believe it. I have argued that this discourse connotes and conforms to a wider construction of Latin America within the British cultural imagination: an odd, strange and surreal construction that has been cultivated, particularly in the British press, in the wake of Latin American magical realism. The fact that codes, themes and narratives of surrealism and strangeness, which became firmly attached to the region in the British press and connoted the idea of magical realism for readers, are also present in the ¡Viva! festival’s encoding of Latin America means that the festival can also connote magical realism in relation to the region even while it does not employ it directly in its production of Latin American culture.

This chapter has also identified a discourse of cultural immersion encoded into the festival through repeated emphasis on the films’ compression of time and space and the festival representing a multi-faceted experience of Hispanic culture. I have argued that these discourses of time-space compression and cultural immersion can help to foster a sense of imagined cosmopolitan community between non-Latin American ¡Viva! audiences and the Latin American cultures exhibited on screen. Furthermore, building on the comment from Thomas (2014), in which he described how his attendance at the ¡Viva! film festival filled a ‘Hispanic-shaped hole’ in his life, I suggest that these imagined cosmopolitan communities formed through the ¡Viva! film festival can provide the opportunity for non-Latin American consumers to redress issues they have with their own sense of identity.

In the final chapter, I examine how non-Latin American festival attendees use Latin America and the ¡Viva! film festival within processes of identity formation. Through analysis of semi-structured interviews, I investigate how the Latin American Other produced through the ¡Viva! film festival is decoded by non-Latin American members of the festival audience and then reproduced by interviewees in conversation. I find that interviewees reproduce a magically real Latin American Other in order to construct Latin America in a certain way: as different, but not too different, from
British cultural norms for the purposes of cosmopolitanism. I suggest that magical realism acts as an interpretive framework which facilitates the incorporation of a Latin American identity within these consumers’ construction of self-identity through the ¡Viva! film festival. By consciously and permanently incorporating an Othered Latin American identity into their own identity, I contend that non-Latin American ¡Viva! audiences are forming a new kind of integrative cosmopolitanism with Latin American culture, though one that nevertheless comes with its own limitations.
Chapter Five: Forging Community and Identity through the ¡Viva! Film Festival.

For over twenty years, the ¡Viva! film festival has presented Manchester (and British) audiences with first Spanish and then Spanish-speaking cinema. This chapter analyses ¡Viva!’s contemporary non-Latin American audiences and their consumption of Latin America through the film festival. Through the analysis of post-screening questionnaires and interviews conducted at the film festival in 2014, I analyse the ways in which Latin America is decoded by non-Latin American members of the festival audience and subsequently used within their construction of self-identity.

Some of my questionnaire respondents decoded Latin American culture and society through ¡Viva! films in terms of a universality to human experience, while others highlighted notions of social and cultural difference to the UK. Often (though not always) this was determined by the particular narrative and context of the film the consumer had just viewed. Seemingly contrary notions of similarity and difference were likewise decoded from ¡Viva! films by my interviewees. However, the broader narratives and understandings of Latin America produced by interviewees at the stage of reproduction, which Stuart Hall (2006) described as the stage at which a decoded meaning is articulated in practice, firmly recognised and re-established a sense of the region’s social and cultural difference to the UK. This sense of Latin American difference was frequently articulated through codes, themes and narratives concerning the region’s odd and crazy social and cultural characteristics, reminiscent of the discourse of magical realism evident in the British press as discussed in Chapter Two, as well as notions of the quirky and surreal encoded into Latin America through the ¡Viva! film festival in Chapter Four. More than representing a mere dominant-hegemonic decoding (Hall, 2006) of Latin America through the festival, or a compliance with a wider discourse in the UK on Latin America, however, I argue that the primary function of these codes and narratives was ultimately the construction of cultural difference for the purposes of cosmopolitanism. Prominent scholars of cosmopolitanism, such as Ulf Hannerz (1996) and Kwame Anthony Appiah (2007b), have readily acknowledged that cosmopolitanism requires a respect and even desire for cultural differentiation. In this chapter, I draw on interview data to go one step further and argue that the cosmopolitan’s desire for contrasts not merely passively recognises and desires, but rather actively constructs Latin America as different (but not too different) from the UK. I suggest that such a construction of the region acts as
an interpretive framework that then facilitates the incorporation of Latin American identity within non-Latin American consumers’ construction of self-identity.

By temporarily and vicariously sharing in Latin American culture, attitudes and values, as projected through ¡Viva! films, non-Latin American audience members come to form a sense of imagined community between themselves and the Latin American Other. This imagined connection is found to help these consumers (re)affirm aspects of their self-identity which, they believe, conflict with contemporary British culture, society and identity. This imagined relationship lends itself to a nuanced form of cosmopolitan consumption in which non-Latin American consumers consciously and permanently incorporate a different and Othered Latin American identity into their own identity, as they come to identify more with this Latin American identity than their own cultural identity. While Latin America has therefore often been interpreted as representing the unconscious desires of the UK, Europe and the West (Beasley-Murray, 2003; Foster, 2009; Swanson, 2010), in this chapter, I attempt to move beyond this reading. I argue that, in the context of the contemporary consumption of the ¡Viva! film festival, Latin America is no longer being associated with temporarily living out unconscious desires, but is now being consumed and incorporated as an equally formative aspect of the non-Latin American consumer’s conscious identity. Although this form of integrative cosmopolitanism enacted through the ¡Viva! film festival carries limitations, I suggest that consumers are nevertheless attempting to reconcile anxieties over self-identity with concerns and obligations of cosmopolitanism at a local level, and resist and challenge contemporary scepticism and rhetoric in the UK surrounding multiculturalism, immigration and ethnic minorities.

5.1: ¡Viva! audiences, interviewees and questionnaire respondents.

As noted in Chapter Four, one of the initial founders of the ¡Viva! Spanish (and later Latin American) film festival attributed its inauguration in 1995 to a desire to educate local Manchester audiences about contemporary Spanish cinema and culture. Coupled with the relative lack of Spanish and Latin American diaspora in Manchester during the early-mid 1990s, as discussed in Chapter Three, initial manifestations of the ¡Viva! film festival were aimed primarily at local non-Spanish and non-Latin American cinephiles. In the twenty-one years since its inauguration, the Spanish and Latin
American communities in Manchester and the UK have steadily increased and this growth in population is reflected in ¡Viva!’s contemporary marketing strategies and audience composition. Spanish-language podcasts, for example, cater to native Spanish speakers (in addition to language learners) which the festival now attracts from all over the North West of England. However, despite the growing number of Spaniards and Latin Americans now attending the festival, non-Spanish and non-Latin American cinephiles remain a primary demographic of the ¡Viva! film festival audience. Given that this thesis is concerned with how Latin America is decoded and consumed by non-Latin Americans in Manchester, it was on the non-Latin American demographic of the festival audience that my fieldwork focused. During the 2014 ¡Viva! film festival, I conducted 141 post-screening questionnaires (consisting of two questions) with non-Latin American members of the festival audience, in order to obtain their immediate responses to the Latin American films being screened as part of the festival and inviting them to participate further in my study. This initial stage of fieldwork subsequently yielded 22 one-hour individual interviews. These consisted of semi-structured questions relating to the ¡Viva! film festival and the interviewee’s general knowledge, interest and engagement with Latin American culture beyond the festival. Although there were occasional differences in ethnicity, nationality and level of education, overall, interviewees constituted a fairly homogenous sample of ¡Viva! audience members. The majority of interviewees were White British. The majority did not know very many (if any) Latin American people and most had not visited the region. The vast majority were, however, engaged in learning the Spanish language, often because of regular visits to Spain, and had some interest and engagement with Latin American culture (including Brazil) outside of language classes and the ¡Viva! film festival, such as through music, politics and literature.

18 Audience members were asked whether they were Latin American before the questionnaire was distributed to them. Questionnaires were only distributed to those who did not self-identify in any way as Latin American (e.g. no nationals, second-generation or naturalised citizens).
19 For profiles of questionnaire respondents and interviewees, please refer to 3.2 and 3.4 in Appendix 3.
20 Out of 22 interviewees, my sample included one Polish, one Spanish and two Asian British interviewees. The rest (82%) were White British (and one White Irish). Given the high percentage of White British and Irish interviewees, it is these interviewees which dominate the analysis in this chapter. Potential for future research might lie in addressing variations in the consumption of Latin America between different ethnicities and nationalities. Such analysis was, however, beyond the scope of the current project.
5.2: Notions of similarity and difference in post-screening questionnaires.

The first stage of my fieldwork consisted of a short post-screening questionnaire that was distributed to a small, random sample of non-Latin American audience members at one of the screenings of each Latin American film shown during the 2014 ¡Viva! festival.\(^{21}\) Of roughly 168 questionnaires distributed (12 each screening), 141 were returned. The films in question originated from a variety of Latin American countries (Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru and Venezuela) and genres consisted of comedy, romantic comedy, comedy drama, family drama, romantic drama, science fiction, social drama and documentary.\(^{22}\) The primary purpose of these questionnaires was to access non-Latin American members of the ¡Viva! audience in an attempt to recruit interviewees, and the questionnaire included the option of leaving a contact email address or telephone number to participate in a more in-depth interview. A secondary intention, however, was to gain an insight into non-Latin American audience members’ immediate cultural decoding of the Latin American films being screened as part of the festival. One question subsequently asked audience members: ‘What did the film tell you about Latin America?’

It should be noted that the question referred to Latin America, rather than individual countries in Latin America, for a number of reasons. Firstly, given that my primary goal was to recruit interviewees, I wanted to keep the questionnaire simple, accessible and uncomplicated, in the hope that this would encourage as many people as possible to complete the questionnaire and, hopefully, leave their contact details. I felt that any attempt to refer to ‘the country and/or Latin America’ might have made the question (and, by extension, the interview) seem daunting and time-consuming, thereby dissuading the audience member from completing the questionnaire (and leaving their contact details). Secondly, I was interested to see if members of the audience would themselves question the use of the term Latin America and attribute any information instead to the country from which the film originated, or whether most would refer to a Latin American culture and identity. Although I recognise that the question may have prompted audience members to think in terms of the latter,

\(^{21}\) See 3.1 in Appendix 3 for a copy of the questionnaire that was distributed to non-Latin American audience members.

\(^{22}\) Genres taken from the films’ pages on the Internet Movie Database (IMDB) where available. For a comprehensive list of all of the Latin American films and documentaries screened during the 2014 ¡Viva! film festival, please refer to 3.5 in Appendix 3.
referring to the individual country as well as Latin America would have alerted them to the distinction between country/region and missed the opportunity to let audience members make this distinction for themselves. Thirdly, I felt that if I had referred to the specific countries of each film in the question, respondents might have restricted their responses solely to that one country, which, although useful data, would have limited relevance to the wider questions asked by this project. Such considerations compound the fact that the data obtained from these questionnaires should be treated differently to that of my interviews. Not only were questionnaire responses less measured and nuanced than in interviews, not least since interviewees had more time and were not having to provide a hasty answer before leaving the cinema, but the nature of the question asked in the questionnaire may have influenced the decoding of the films. Nevertheless, responses from post-screening questionnaires can act as useful preliminary data in regard to the non-Latin American consumption of Latin America through the ¡Viva! film festival.

27 questionnaire respondents did, in fact, focus on the country from which the film originated in their responses, referring to the ‘fun of Mexican music’, or stating how ‘Cuba is poor and old fashioned’. The rest referred to Latin America, at times directly, (‘it’s tough out there in Latin America’), other times implicitly: ‘the importance of religion within the society’. Many respondents referred to new words, places, facts or social and cultural features they had learned from the film that had added to their knowledge of Latin America: ‘there are touryst beach holidays’; ‘it was the first time I have seen Lima in film. The similarities with Mexico City were striking’. Notably, 31 out of 141 questionnaire respondents underscored cultural similarities between themselves and the people and cultures depicted on screen. With the exception of two films and one documentary23, references to cultural similarities were decoded from all other Latin American films shown as part of the 2014 ¡Viva! festival. Two respondents noted of two different Argentinean comedies – Días de vinilo (Vinyl Days, 2012), and Mar del Plata (Mar del Plata, 2012), respectively – that

23 No references to cultural similarities were made in relation to El fantástico mundo de Juan Orol (The Fantastic World of Juan Orol, 2012), a Mexican comedy drama about the life of the B-movie film director, Ni un hombre más (Iguana Stew, 2012), an Argentinean comedy set near Iguazú Falls, or El Medico: The Cubaton Story (El Medico: The Cubaton Story, 2011), a Cuban documentary about a doctor and rap artist. This lack of identification could potentially have stemmed from the geographical location of Ni un hombre más, and the professions of the main protagonists in El fantástico mundo de Juan Orol and El Medico: The Cubaton Story.
‘people are the same as the UK’, and that ‘it seemed like 1990s Britain – I expected it (especially the beach) to look exotic’. It is unclear why exactly Mar del Plata reminded the latter respondent particularly of Britain in the 1990s and not today, perhaps revealing a view of Latin American countries as being modern but still outdated in comparison to the UK. Nevertheless, the response demonstrates how ¡Viva! films can (in some ways) subvert exotic stereotypes and expectations of Latin America by introducing audiences to the diverse people, landscapes, cultures and societies of different Latin American countries.

In reference to post-apocalyptic Peruvian drama El limpiador (The Cleaner, 2012), one questionnaire respondent noted that: ‘people reacted to the situation much as we would have’. Chilean historical drama La pasión de Michelangelo (The Passion of Michelangelo, 2013), set during the military dictatorship (1973-1990), told another respondent ‘nothing that is not true in Europe. Religion and superstition is a theme of our lives’. Respondents frequently stated, in response to a variety of films, that the films they were seeing ‘could have been set anywhere’, for, as one respondent remarked in relation to Mar del Plata, the ‘relationships of men and women are universal’. Of coming-of-age Ecuadorian drama Sin otoño, sin primavera (No Autumn, No Spring, 2012), one respondent identified that ‘we can all identify with some of the themes’, since, in the words of another, ‘people are people the world over’. Another respondent noted in regard to Días de vinilo: ‘the language and culture are different but people, life and relationships are the same’. These responses demonstrate how, in addition to more direct comparisons with the UK, there was also an identification of a broader cosmopolitan universality to human experience.

It was clear from questionnaires, however, that the vast majority of respondents, (95 of the 141),24 primarily decoded what they perceived to be social and cultural characteristics of Latin America from ¡Viva!’s Latin American films, many of which were fairly negative. Respondents decoded themes of widespread drugs and corruption from films such as El fantástico mundo de Juan Orol and Sin otoño, sin primavera. In the case of the latter, one respondent noted that the film told them ‘not a great deal. Corruption in Latin America is not new’. Endemic poverty was a common theme from social dramas such as La jaula de oro (The Golden Dream, 2013) and Pelo

24 The remaining 15 questionnaire respondents simply stated that the film they had seen had told them nothing about Latin America.
malo (Bad Hair, 2013): ‘Poverty, struggle, diversity, inequality’; ‘Life is cheap. It’s jolly tough’. There were, alternatively, references to Latin American people being ‘fun loving’ and the importance of music and dance to their culture, from lighter films such as Días de vinilo and Cazando luciérnagas (Chasing Fireflies, 2012) respectively. As perhaps would be expected, therefore, these decodings were heavily influenced by the particular narrative and context of the film being decoded. La jaula de oro and Pelo malo were gritty realistic social dramas, the former concerning illegal immigration and the latter urban poverty. Días de vinilo and Cazando luciérnagas, on the other hand, were a comedy and family drama respectively.

I suggest that many of these characteristics which respondents decoded in regard to Latin American culture and society also comprised what they perceived to be social and cultural differences between Latin America and the UK. These respondents thus constructed Latin American culture and society as different to British culture and society, in contrast to the decoding of similarities between the two, (as well as universal similarities), evident in other questionnaire responses. In some cases, notions of both difference and similarity were decoded from the same film, such as the Ecuadorian film Sin otoño, sin primavera, which was decoded by different respondents in terms of ‘people are people the world over’, as well as ‘corruption in Latin America is not new’. These two responses highlight the agency which audience members possess in decoding films. While some respondents decode cultural similarities between British and Latin American people, places and culture, or a broader sense of universality to human experience, others decode what they perceive to be noticeable social and cultural differences between the two. Despite their apparent divergence, both decodings (similarity and difference) in fact complement each other in that they exemplify the two primary strands of cosmopolitanism as defined by Appiah (2007b). On the one hand, decoding similarities demonstrates the identification of cosmopolitan bonds and connections between people of different cultures. At the same time, decoding differences highlights the recognition of socio-cultural specificities which the cosmopolitan equally respects and desires (Appiah, 2007b, xiii; Hannerz, 1996, p. 103). The presence of both these facets of cosmopolitanism in non-Latin American audience members’ immediate decoding of ¡Viva!’s Latin American films coincides with the findings of Chapter Four, therefore, which demonstrated the ¡Viva! film festival to be produced as a cosmopolitan cultural experience.
In terms of an idea of difference, some questionnaire respondents also decoded notions of oddness and quirkiness in relation to Latin American people, culture and society. In decoding the historical drama *La pasión de Michelangelo*, one questionnaire respondent remarked upon the ‘general weirdness of religion in Latin America’, while another, in decoding contemporary Argentinean comedy *Mar del Plata*, noted how ‘the people are crazy!’ Such codes were identified in Chapter Two to have surrounded Latin America in the British press in the wake of magical realism, and were found to be encoded into the ¡Viva! film festival’s production of Latin America in Chapter Four. The presence of these codes in the decoding of ¡Viva!’s Latin American films thus suggests a potential dominant-hegemonic decoding (Hall, 2006) of Latin America through the ¡Viva! film festival, as well as a reproduction of discourse external to the festival as a ‘primary interpretation’ of Latin American social and cultural reality (Hall, 1978 et al.). However, while post-screening questionnaire responses can help to draw some tentative conclusions as to the decoding of Latin America through the ¡Viva! film festival, as noted above, these post-screening questionnaires are ultimately spur-of-the-moment, potentially rushed responses by audience members about to leave the cinema, as evidenced by (seemingly) un-nuanced comments such as ‘Cuba is poor and old fashioned’. They can therefore only provide a preliminary idea of how Latin America is decoded through the ¡Viva! film festival. Interviews, on the other hand, offered audience members the opportunity to be more nuanced in their responses. Interviewees were asked a number of questions specifically related to the ¡Viva! film festival, as well as more general questions concerning Latin America more broadly.25 Given that I employed a semi-structured format for all interviews, interviewees were relatively free to take the conversation where they wished, choosing whether to focus their answers on particular countries or Latin America more generally. As a result, data from these interviews can offer a more detailed insight into how non-Latin American members of the contemporary ¡Viva! audience decode (and then subsequently reproduce) Latin America through the film festival.

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25 For a list of interview questions, please refer to 3.3 in Appendix 3.
5.3: Interviews and codes, themes and narratives of magical realism.

The decoding of ¡Viva!’s Latin American films in terms of a universality to human experience was also present in interviews. Kathleen, 62, for example, emphasised that ‘we’re all human, and what matters to people [here] as individuals, matters to people over there [just] as much, which I think the film that I saw pointed out’. She also noted of the same Argentinean comedy, *Mar del Plata*: ‘the seaside could almost have been Britain, I seem to think, so it made you feel a sort of closeness in a way which I didn’t expect’ (Interview with Kathleen, 22 April 2014). Kathleen decoded both of the notions of similarity that were decoded in post-screening questionnaires. Not only did she articulate a sense of universal commonality between individuals of different cultures, but this connection was compounded by the fact that she found the places exhibited on screen to compare directly to places in the UK, generating a feeling of ‘closeness’ between her and the places and culture shown on screen. At times, however, in decoding social and cultural similarities or universalities from ¡Viva!’s Latin American films, other interviewees felt that they were not learning anything about the countries or region from which the films originated. Brian, 53, stated of the Argentinean films that he had seen as part of the festival: ‘I don’t think [they] massively told me anything about Argentina other than I thought a lot of the links with the European situation’, adding that he ‘didn’t find [them] massively different or strange’ (Interview with Brian, 7 April 2014).

In the case of Kathleen, similarities between Argentina and the UK were decoded positively, as they created a sense of intimacy and familiarity. For Brian, however, similarities between Argentina and Europe were decoded more negatively, for being culturally uninformative. Brian’s comments seem to imply that it is only possible to learn something about another country or culture if what you see and experience is somehow different to your own cultural norms, (a sentiment echoed by festival goers in Chapter Four who demanded visible cultural difference from ¡Viva!’s Spanish and Latin American films and were subsequently disappointed when films did not show them anything different from their own social and cultural norms). By extension, countries and cultures which are perceived to be similar to the receiving culture appear to have no discernible identity of their own to the festival goer. Kathleen and Brian demonstrate the tension inherent within theories and attitudes of cosmopolitanism. While identifications of similarities may make the individual feel
closer and more connected to others around the world, creating a feeling of cosmopolitan unity, these similarities do not always endow any new cultural knowledge of the Other which can simultaneously undermine the individual’s ability to feel cosmopolitan. The need for some form of difference within cosmopolitanism is therefore fundamental. At the same time, Brian’s use of the word ‘strange’ alongside that of different to describe how he would have recognised something to be specific and representative of Argentinian culture coincides with references to the weirdness and craziness of Latin American people and culture more generally in post-screening questionnaires, as well as the encoding of Latin America through the ¡Viva! film festival in Chapter Four and the codes attached to Latin America in the British press in the wake of Latin American magical realism in Chapter Two.

Such codes became increasingly common when interviewees were discussing their wider knowledge and experience of Latin America. There were constant references to Latin American culture, society, people, places and events being ‘chaotic’, ‘crazy’, ‘exotic’, ‘fiery’, ‘flamboyant’, ‘mad’, ‘magical’, ‘mysterious’, ‘odd’, ‘strange’, ‘surreal’, ‘unusual’ and ‘weird’. Brian told me about a Venezuelan pianist he had once seen at The Bridgewater Hall in Manchester. He recalled that the pianist was quoted in the concert programme explaining how ‘the British experience of playing is very different because the audiences are so reserved. That he appreciates that they listen and really engage with him as a performer. But when he plays [in Venezuela] the audience go crazy. It’s all dramatic’ (Interview with Brian, 7 April 2014). Jennifer, 29, spoke about her language tutor at University: ‘this slightly crazy Colombian lady who, as far as I could work out, her motivation for coming to Britain was to stalk Sean Connery. That’s so close to the actual truth of how she described it that I’m not even – it sounds ridiculous, it probably wasn’t’ (Interview with Jennifer, 7 April 2014). Christopher, 25, referred to Mexico City in the following manner: ‘it’s just this odd and … out of control [city]’ (Interview with Christopher, 28 April 2014). In reference to Bolivia, Susan, 61, argued that: ‘There certainly seems a madness to stuff, you know, a sort of unreality’ (Interview with Susan, 7 April 2014).

Notions of madness, oddness, craziness and the unreal produced by these and other interviewees in relation to various Latin American people and aspects of Latin American culture articulated a sense of social and cultural difference to the UK similar to that identified in Chapter Two, in which notions of the mad, odd, crazy, bizarre and unreal came to signify Latin American cultural reality in the British press in the wake
of magical realism. When questioned directly about the applicability of magical realism to Latin American culture, however, only nine participants thought that the term was in any way reflective of a Latin American cultural reality, often referring to aspects of religion and indigenous Latin American cultures in their reasoning. The remaining 13 interviewees largely rejected the magical realist label in regard to the region. Of the four interviewees mentioned above who articulated notions of madness, oddness, craziness and unreality in connection with the region (Brian, Jennifer, Christopher, Susan), only Susan was ambiguous towards the applicability of the term to Latin America. The other three rejected the association outright. Similarly, Russell, 43, when questioned about magical realism in relation to Latin America, stated that: ‘I thought there was some very harsh reality over there actually. The poverty that you see, just the day-to-day reality of life for a lot of people, is not very magical at all’. However, following a discussion of his travels in Mexico, he continued:

The most surreal thing we saw when we were there was a protest in Mexico about – I think it was access to water for the farmers – and all these farmers had gone onto a bridge and lined it in nothing but their boxer shorts, and they were all dancing, so I suppose that’s the kind of surreal thing that sometimes comes across (Interview with Russell, 4 April 2014).

Although Russell rejected the ‘magical’ idea of magical realism, he then remembered and narrated a ‘surreal’ event he had experienced during his travels in the region. While the question likely prompted his memory of this event, it is pertinent that whilst he rejected magical realism itself, he nevertheless acknowledged and reproduced a closely associated concept – the surreal – as reflective of his experiences. Although Russell may not have been fully aware of the similarities and connections between these two terms, (both the influence of Surrealism in the 1920s on early Latin American practitioners of magical realism and the development of codes of magical realism in relation to Latin America in the British press), he still referred to the surreal in his narrative. Alongside other interviewees such as Brian, Jennifer and Christopher, therefore, Russell constructed experiences and aspects of Latin American culture in terms of those codes and concepts that have been closely associated with and can connote magical realism in relation to the region, even as he rejected the label itself. One tentative explanation for this contradiction could be that interviewees coincided with the many academics, writers and literary journalists discussed in Chapter Two.
who came to reject Latin American magical realism towards the end of the twentieth century as something clichéd and passé. What is clear, however, is that, despite this conscious rejection of magical realism in regard to the region, interviewees’ understanding of Latin America in many ways continues to be formed in similar terms.

Several other interviewees who had travelled in the region, or knew others who had done so, likewise related travel narratives about Latin America. These narratives also held echoes of magical realism by placing an emphasis on the strange and the unusual juxtaposed with ordinary everyday life. Susan, for example, who had already reproduced codes of ‘madness’ and ‘unreality’ in regard to Bolivia, related a story to me about her son’s travels in Paraguay in 2007: ‘it came back as a really grim place and he talked about once being out in Asunción and it started to rain, so they had to go into a café and drink coffee for three hours to wait for the rain to go away, because you’d have no drains anywhere’ (Interview with Susan, 7 April 2014). Her narrative evoked several ideas often associated with the region at once. Torrential (tropical) rain is exacerbated by poor drainage and sewer systems, (implying notions of underdevelopment), causing the run-off to become intolerable and forcing her son and his partner to enter a café where they are obliged to remain drinking coffee for three hours, as they are, seemingly quite literally, unable to leave. This narrative in particular recalls to mind events such as the four years, eleven months and two days of rain in Gabriel García Márquez’s Cien años de soledad and, interestingly, foreshadowed a similar narrative by Colombian director Roberto Flores Prieto in a Q&A session at the ¡Viva! film festival the following year concerning the annual torrential rain in Barranquilla and the ensuing ‘surreal’ incidents of people surfing in the streets.

It was clear that Susan’s intention in telling me this anecdote was to underscore, in her opinion, how absurd the situation had been and how life in Paraguay, as far as she was aware, was unusual and very different compared to life in the UK. The fact that she related this second-hand travel narrative in response to my question regarding how else she interacted with Latin American culture outside of the ¡Viva! film festival suggests that the experience of her son in Asunción may have directly informed her wider understanding and interpretation of the region and culture. Earlier in the interview, she had also repeatedly impressed upon me the ‘extraordinary’ events she had come across in regard to Latin American culture, including a form of Bolivian wrestling which she described as ‘very, very odd, very odd’, and downhill racing in Venezuela, which was ‘astonishing … very, very strange’ (Interview with
Susan, 7 April 2014). The regular reproduction of these codes revealed Susan’s understanding of Latin America to be closely related to how the region has been depicted through magical realism and its associated codes of strangeness and surrealism in the British press, as highlighted in Chapter Two. However, in answer to a subsequent question concerning the applicability of magical realism to Latin American culture, Susan said that she perhaps agreed with the association, but that also: ‘I certainly pick up corruption, danger, poor structures of society, and stuff we talked about before, possibly Catholicism, the lack of land ownership, so the lack of commitment’ (Interview with Susan, 7 April 2014). It was abundantly clear from our interview that Susan was a devout Protestant and her religion appeared to have also greatly informed her opinions of the region, particularly her focus on Catholicism as what she saw to be the antithesis of the ‘Protestant work ethic’. Her religious beliefs may perhaps therefore also have influenced her references to a mad, odd, strange and unreal (predominantly Catholic) Latin American culture and society.

Susan’s rather unfavourable view of the region, and potentially negative application of these codes and narratives, contrasted greatly, however, with that of the majority of my interviewees. The following travel narrative from Ian, 56, for example, likewise reproduced a theme of strangeness and the unusual in regard to Latin America, but in a more positive light:

In Argentina, they dumped us off the bus, up in the Andes, and said, ‘Right, I’ll just give you a word of advice before we turn you loose. If you see a jaguar – this is most unlikely to happen – but if you see a jaguar, don’t run away from it. Just make yourself as big as you can and shout at it.’ So I like that sort of advice really. You don’t get that sort of thing if you walk round Manchester (Interview with Ian, 2 April 2014).

Ian related this anecdote to me right at the end of his interview, when I asked whether an awareness of Latin American culture added anything to his life. In his answer, Ian emphasised that he liked the unusual advice and attitude he had encountered on his travels in Argentina precisely because it was markedly different to his experiences here in Manchester. Karen, 58, while relating her own anecdotes of her travels in Cuba, actually incorporated magical realism directly into her narrative:
We stayed there with a chap called Tomás, he fought with Che Guevara by his side and didn’t like to talk about it … suffering had been extreme. But when we brought a few bottles of rum back one night and we got him talking, he had such stories … you could see him reliving this, the expressions on his face as he went back, this part of his life. And then the next minute, it’s a bit like magical realism, one minute you’re on the sierra, whatever, fighting away as rebels, and the next minute it’s, ‘Oh, get the bottle of rum’ and the band, the old guys arrived, played some music, it’s something else completely. They seem to be able to make the transition from one thing to the next with immense easiness (Interview with Karen, 21 May 2014, emphasis added).

This narrative occurred after I had already discussed magical realism with Karen at an earlier stage in the interview, so this earlier discussion may have prompted her to include this reference to magical realism in her anecdote. Karen nonetheless found it to be descriptive of her experiences with Cuban people. She related this narrative to me when I asked if her travels in Cuba had confirmed her prior expectations of the country, to which she immediately replied: ‘It surpassed everything I’d expected, in a good way. It was everything I was expecting and more’ (Interview with Karen, 21 May 2014). Karen clearly admired the Cuban people and culture she had experienced on her travels and, in her reference to magical realism, looked favourably on the diversity of experiences to which she had been exposed – sometimes directly, other times vicariously – seen here in terms of the vicarious reliving of the Cuban Revolution and the direct experience of high-spirited camaraderie through alcohol, music and dance.

The broader narratives and understandings of Latin America produced by interviewees at the stage of reproduction, which Hall (2006, p. 165) described as the stage at which a decoded meaning is articulated in practice, thus firmly recognised and established a sense of Latin America’s cultural difference to the UK. This coincided with the decoding of social and cultural characteristics from ¡Viva!’s Latin American films in post-screening questionnaires which also underscored notions of difference between Latin America and the UK. However, at the stage of reproduction, there was a noticeable trend of Latin America’s difference being articulated through codes, themes and narratives concerning the region’s crazy, odd and generally unusual social and cultural characteristics, something which had not been present at the stage of decoding beyond the couple of examples noted above. This indicates an apparent inconsistency between the two stages. With the possible exception of Susan, notions
of violence and poverty, common in post-screening questionnaires, were not articulated at the stage of reproduction to the same extent. This would suggest that consumers’ immediate decoding of ¡Viva!’s Latin American films is not always then articulated by consumers in practice and does not necessarily have any significant impact on their wider understanding of Latin America. Although there is a common theme of difference, the nature of this difference changes between the stages of decoding and reproduction. In some cases, such as Christopher, Russel, Susan, Ian and Karen, interviewees’ codes and narratives of madness, surrealism and the unusual stemmed from their own and others’ travels in the region and the events they had experienced. Yet at the same time, interviewees such as Brian and Jennifer, who had not travelled in the region, also reproduced similar codes, themes and narratives in their discussions of Latin American people, culture and society. On the one hand, this could suggest a dominant-hegemonic decoding and reproduction (Hall, 2006) of the more general encoding of Latin America through the ¡Viva! film festival, as references to Latin America’s oddness and strangeness coincide with the general quirky, offbeat and surreal encoding of Latin America through festival brochures, film synopses and reviews, podcasts and Q&A sessions. I would suggest, however, that the presence of these codes may also reveal the reproduction of a primary interpretation of Latin America (Hall, 1978 et al.) that exists within the wider contemporary British cultural imagination.

I have made comparisons between interviewees’ reproduction of codes, themes and narratives concerning Latin America’s oddness, strangeness and surrealism, and the discourse of similar codes, themes and narratives surrounding Latin American magical realism in the British press in Chapter Two. The majority of interviewees rejected magical realism as being representative of Latin American culture, perhaps, as mentioned above, because of the term being considered to be clichéd and passé. Yet closely associated codes and themes which can connote the idea of magical realism when used in relation to Latin America (as identified in my analysis of the press) were nonetheless employed by interviewees to construct narratives of a variety of Latin American countries, people, cultures and societies. I argue that the primary function of these codes, themes and narratives at the stage of reproduction was ultimately to construct a certain type of Latin American cultural difference for the purposes of cosmopolitanism.
5.4: Cosmopolitan intentions and the construction of difference.

When questioned about their motivations for attending the ¡Viva! film festival, interviewees exhibited a general interest in film and world cinema, as well as a love of the Cornerhouse venue in particular (where the festival was still being held in 2014) and the types of non-mainstream films screened there. For some interviewees, the festival was seen as a way to supplement Spanish language learning. Yet beyond language acquisition and interest as cinephiles lay a more profound concern and drive to develop greater knowledge and understanding of Spanish and Latin American cultures. 14 of my interviewees noted that ¡Viva!, and the greater awareness of Latin American culture it engendered, broadened their horizons by providing them with an insight into new and different cultures. Only Anthony, 70, directly stated that ¡Viva! and an awareness of Latin American culture added nothing in particular to his life. In contrast, Kathleen, a retired teacher who lives in a country village in the nearby county of Derbyshire, discussed her interest and engagement in the ¡Viva! film festival, and with Latin American culture more generally, in terms of a responsibility: ‘It enhances … my understanding of different people, different places and I think that’s very important … it’s very important that we sit down and try and understand people from wherever. It’s a way forward isn’t it?’ (Interview with Kathleen, 22 April 2014). Kathleen’s opinion coincides with Kwame Anthony Appiah’s (2007b, xiii) discussion of the cosmopolitan’s obligation to others beyond ‘the more formal ties of a shared citizenship’, whereby, to be a citizen of the world, cosmopolitans must make a conscious effort to understand the various cultures and societies which inhabit the planet. For Kathleen, where she lives has informed her cosmopolitan disposition:

This sounds really mad, but I live in Derbyshire where many years ago they’d think the people in the next village would have two heads … there are misunderstandings about people that occur and prejudices about people, so I think it’s very important that people do learn, in as many different ways as possible, about life and people elsewhere … I think that’s important in education (Interview with Kathleen, 22 April 2014).

Kathleen appears keen to avoid what she perceives to be a traditionally ignorant and insular village mentality by continuing to educate herself in regard to other people and cultures around the world, a desire no doubt further informed by her former career in education. Perhaps living in a village also limits her opportunities for face-to-face
interaction with migrants and diverse cultures, or at least more so than would life in a city. By sitting down in the cinemas of the ¡Viva! festival to watch Latin American films, Kathleen is provided with an opportunity to carry out what she considers to be her cosmopolitan obligation and responsibility to develop her knowledge and understanding of other cultures.

Kathleen’s desire to eschew what she perceived to be a traditionally insular village mentality was extended to a wider British mentality by other interviewees. In many interviews, I observed attitudes of cosmopolitanism to be a conscious reaction against what interviewees perceived to be the insularity of contemporary British culture and society:

I think British culture, a lot of it, is defined by the fact that we’re an island and we’re small, so we’re quite insular and inward-looking and parochial … I just think for British people it’s important to get different cultures into the country so that people stop feeling the little England mentality (Interview with Elizabeth, 4 April 2014).

Interviewees, both UK and non-UK nationals, viewed British people and society in general as closed off to other cultures. They referred disparagingly to the limited and often biased coverage of non-English-speaking nations in British media and to the archetypal Briton who demands anglicised foreign food both in the UK and abroad, with no real interest in foreign travel beyond the weather. Such negative perceptions and attitudes towards contemporary British culture and society reflect the crisis in British cultural identity discussed in Chapter One, in which traditional, imperial notions of whiteness now conflict with increasing levels of immigration and the contemporary multicultural reality of the UK. The vast majority of people I interviewed positioned themselves, like Elizabeth, very much in favour of the latter multicultural reality and constructed British culture and identity, alternatively, in terms of the former, as prejudiced, archaic and something generally external to themselves. Only Anthony, my eldest interviewee, articulated a particularly insular and anti-immigration stance in terms of contemporary British society: ‘I’ll tell you what I don’t want, more migrants. We’ve got enough. This country is overcrowded’ (Interview with Anthony, 10 April 2014). The vast majority of interviewees subsequently conducted their cosmopolitan consumption of the ¡Viva! film festival as a conscious
rejection and correction of what they perceived to be a parochial British cultural mentality.

In order to contest notions of cultural insularity and become more cosmopolitan, individuals must demonstrate an interest in and respect for cultures which are not their own. Ulf Hannerz described this in terms of an ‘openness towards divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity’ (1996, p. 103). Appiah similarly underscored the cosmopolitan’s desire for difference:

People are different, the cosmopolitan knows, and there is much to learn from our differences. Because there are so many human possibilities worth exploring, we neither expect nor desire that every person or every society should converge on a single mode of life. Whatever our obligations are to others (or theirs to us) they often have the right to go their own way (Appiah, 2007b, xiii).

My interviewees made it abundantly clear that they likewise respected and welcomed cultural differences. Lee, 37, noted that he favoured those ¡Viva! films which depicted ‘everyday life’ and allowed you to ‘[look] at the differences … the different take’ of other cultures (Interview with Lee, 14 May 2014). Post-screening questionnaires also revealed a marked preference for decoding social and cultural characteristics from ¡Viva!’s Latin American films that were different to life in the UK. Yet comments from Brian above highlighted how this desire for difference can often come at the expense of the recognition of similarity. Brian noted that the Argentinean films he saw during the festival did not tell him anything about Argentina because he did not find them different or strange. Instead, the only thing he decoded was the cultural similarities with some European countries, but this was seemingly not enough to impart any recognisable cultural knowledge. In other words, it appears that other cultures always have to be different if we are to learn anything about (or from) them, meaning that cultural similarities can often be ignored or downgraded in the pursuit of cosmopolitan knowledge of the Other.

Based on data from interviews, I would therefore include an amendment to Hannerz’s and Appiah’s contention that cosmopolitans search for contrasts and desire cultural differences. They do, of course, but this search and desire is not necessarily as passive or as benign as Hannerz and Appiah seem to suggest. Following their consumption of Latin America through the ¡Viva! film festival, we have seen how non-Latin American consumers actively reinforced a sense of the region’s difference.
to the UK in the very words and narratives they employed in conversation, a difference which did not derive in its entirety from the decoding of Latin America through the festival. Rather than merely acknowledging and respecting cultural differences, therefore, I argue that the cosmopolitan’s search for difference not only recognises and desires, but, in fact, actively constructs the cultural difference of the Other. Appiah stated that, ‘whatever our obligations are to others (or theirs to us) they often have the right to go their own way’ (2007b, xiii). I would suggest that a more accurate interpretation of cosmopolitanism, particularly as it is enacted in western consumption, is not that other cultures have the right to go their own way, but that, as far as the cosmopolitan consumer is concerned, they must go their own way and be different to the receiving culture. Moreover, not only must they be different, but the cosmopolitan will ultimately construct this difference in the manner of their choosing.

At the stage of reproduction, it became evident that interviewees constructed their narratives and their wider understanding of Latin America in terms of difference. With the possible exception of Susan, it was not a construction of violence, corruption or poverty, however, aspects which were common in post-screening questionnaires, but one of strangeness, craziness, madness, oddness, the surreal and unreal, to which even Susan ascribed, albeit perhaps in slightly more negative terms than the rest of my interviewees. Such codes underscore the idea of difference in their very definition. Notions of violence, corruption and poverty, for example, although they may connote difference, first and foremost denote actual social or cultural characteristics of some Latin American countries. Describing Latin America as strange, odd, crazy or surreal, on the other hand, primarily focuses on and articulates the non-Latin American consumer’s response to the region and its culture, rather than any specific social or cultural characteristics of Latin America itself. What is odd and strange to a non-Latin American consumer in Manchester, after all, may be normal to a Latin American living in Latin America. In terms of semiotics, by employing these codes, interviewees effectively bypassed potential signifiers of cultural difference (violence, poverty) and instead proceeded straight to the signified (difference).

The active construction of an oddness and strangeness in regard to Latin America by interviewees not only underscores difference, however. Notions of violence and poverty connote difference, but these represent rather extreme aspects of social difference and are things with which a middle-class member of the ¡Viva! audience might not be able to easily identify. I contend that notions of oddness or
strangeness, alternatively, construct a notion of difference that is different, but, at the same time, not necessarily too distant and different from the interviewee’s own cultural norms, a duality and construction that has defined Latin America in the minds of Europeans since the region was discovered by western civilisation in the fifteenth century (Beardsell, 2000, p. 39; Lawrance, 2002; Pagden, 1993, p. 21). Above I linked the codes reproduced by interviewees to those surrounding Latin American magical realism in the British press. In the twentieth century, Latin American writers used magical realism as a way of representing the cultural hybridity of Latin America, which results from the coming together of European culture with African and indigenous cultures. It is perhaps logical, therefore, that magical realism developed into codes of the odd and strange, bizarre and surreal in the British press as this is how a European audience would react upon seeing their own cultural norms mixed with those of others. Latin American magical realism thus constituted something that was familiar as well as different for a British audience and I suggest that the codes, themes and narratives reproduced by interviewees, which compare to those surrounding magical realism in the press, are likewise intended to retain some semblance or link to interviewees’ own cultural norms alongside notions of cultural difference.

Owing to this duality of familiarity and difference that underpins these codes, themes and narratives, I argue that notions of oddness and strangeness reproduced by interviewees in relation to Latin American culture are not just intended to construct difference for purposes of cosmopolitanism. In actual fact, they construct a particular interpretive framework for Latin America, one which compares closely to that of magical realism as it was constructed by the British press. This framework consists of a notion of cultural difference that nevertheless also retains some connection to cultural similarity. I suggest that this interpretive framework then makes it easier for non-Latin American consumers to incorporate a Latin American identity within their own construction of self-identity through their consumption of the ¡Viva! film festival.

5.5: Identity and imagined cosmopolitan communities.

Dina Iordanova identified that a sense of shared identity and community can be forged through film festival attendance: ‘[Festivals] are “live” events that convene only in one place at a time, usually at regular intervals as yearly events. For the festival to happen, organisers and audiences must come face-to-face in exactly the same place at
exactly the same time’ (Iordanova, 2010, p. 13). As a foreign language film festival, ¡Viva! creates a local community not just of cinephiles, but also of language learners, native speakers and cultural enthusiasts. ¡Viva!’s inclusion of additional cultural events as part of the film festival, such as Q&A sessions, art exhibitions, Hispanic-themed fiestas and language cafes, although in decline in recent years, has further encouraged a sense of community among festival attendees. My interviewees discussed the sense of community they experienced through their attendance at the ¡Viva! festival: ‘I love being here and meeting people I meet here every year, only here, known them for years. Spanish people and also other people who are interested in the Spanish community. People from the Instituto Cervantes, which is my other home. I just love the atmosphere, being here with like-minded people’ (Interview with Karen, 21 May 2014). Elizabeth, 60, likewise enjoyed the experience of feeling part of a Hispanic community through the festival: ‘I think it’s quite a fun experience because there’s obviously a lot of either Spanish or Latin American people going to the films, so it’s quite interesting. Instead of hearing English voices, you’re hearing Spanish voices talking about the films and things, so that’s quite fun’ (Interview with Elizabeth, 4 April 2014). The sense of community which Karen and Elizabeth gain from the ¡Viva! film festival is thus closely tied to their cosmopolitan identities. Both note the attraction of having the opportunity to mix with native Spanish speakers. Even though Elizabeth does not seem to suggest that she actually speaks to any of these people, limiting any face-to-face cosmopolitan interaction, she is nonetheless able to feel somewhat of an associate member of this Hispanic and cosmopolitan community through virtue of attending the festival and watching the films.

Notions of community, especially cosmopolitan community, extend beyond those physically present at the festival, however. As discussed in Chapter Four, I identified three formations of community to exist within the ¡Viva! film festival. The first is the actual community of people present at the festival discussed above. The second consists of the international connections that are forged between the city of Manchester and the Hispanic film world through the actors, writers, producers and directors who come to present their work at the festival. A third kind of community which ¡Viva! engenders is forged through the consumption of film. In Chapter Four, I discussed how the ¡Viva! film festival employs notions of time-space compression in its podcasts, online reviews and in the local press to market itself as a culturally immersive cosmopolitan experience. Festival organisers and film reviewers argue that
the festival’s films allow the audience to imagine themselves temporarily transported to Spain and Latin America and able to immerse themselves in these places and cultures, understanding the consumption of foreign cinema to be a form of armchair tourism. Such an attitude towards the festival and foreign cinema was reflected in conversations I had with interviewees:

I do probably watch a lot of world cinema as a tourist, seeing this exotic place that I haven’t been to. I think one of the things I loved about Sidewalls the other year was that it was kind of like wandering round the streets of Buenos Aires. When I watch Amelie, I’ve been to Paris so I recognise all that, so when I watched this, it was like, ‘Oh, this is showing me a whole new kind of world’ … I probably do learn something of those places that I wouldn’t have otherwise known or been able to know (Interview with Robert, 2 April 2014).

Raymond, 57, who, like Robert, 37, had never travelled to Latin America, similarly attended the ¡Viva! film festival because he ‘like[s] to do things that take you to a place you couldn’t possibly go yourself’, stating that ¡Viva! films ‘[take] you outside your normal experience of life and that’s what appeal[s] to me … it’s a new experience’ (Interview with Raymond, 8 April 2014). For Raymond, ¡Viva! films not only represented imagined travel to a place it was not possible for him to visit, but also the vicarious experience of a new and different culture and events and situations that he would otherwise not have been able to experience.

In addition to these forms of imagined tourism, Kathleen noted above that the cultural and geographical similarities she identified in the Argentinean film Mar del Plata ‘made you feel a sort of closeness in a way which I didn’t expect’ (Interview with Kathleen 22 April 2014). The ability of the ¡Viva! film festival to figuratively transport the consumer and immerse them in Latin American culture can subsequently provide opportunities to develop cosmopolitan identities not only through an imagined armchair tourism and vicarious Othering, but by encouraging a sense of connection between festival audiences and the Latin American cultures depicted on screen. Iordanova discussed the ability of transnationally positioned film festivals to form imagined communities:

Audiences … are invited to experience themselves, by an undisguised act of imagination, as an extension of a community that is ‘headquartered’ somewhere else but to which they, by virtue of their very attendance at the
festival, now relate to through a mental image of affinity and through the act of their very real togetherness (Iordanova, 2010, p. 13).

¡Viva! is not a transnationally positioned film festival of the type discussed by Iordanova, (its primary intention is not to consolidate transnational identities between diasporas, second generation immigrants and home countries, for example). However, I would like to push her framework of imagined communities in relation to film festivals further by applying it to the ¡Viva! film festival and arguing that ¡Viva! can equally create a sense of connection and imagined cosmopolitan community between non-Latin American audiences in Manchester and the Latin American Other on and beyond the screen.

Ian provided a particularly good example of this sense of connection and the formation of an imagined cosmopolitan community through the ¡Viva! festival. Ian strongly felt that, in contrast to the UK, (and Europe more generally), Latin America ‘still has an identity of its own’:

It’s very old world. That’s my experience of it. In comparison to European culture … I think that in recent years, [Europe’s] become pretty homogenised. Obviously a lot of people travel, you’ve got the expansion of multinationals, last 15 years you’ve got the Internet, and so the world is becoming very, very samey wherever you go. But I felt that when I was in Latin America, I didn’t get that feeling … America is the root cause of it all and it spreads out. So you come over here and you find Starbucks, you find the usual mass market cinemas and things like this, it’s all Americanised. Whereas I felt that in Latin America, that didn’t filter across to the same degree … So that’s a pretty attractive aspect of it (Interview with Ian, 2 April 2014).

When Ian stated that Latin America retains ‘an identity of its own’, he was referring disparagingly to the UK and Europe which he perceives to have lost their sense of identity amidst contemporary processes of globalisation and U.S. cultural imperialism. Notions of cultural difference are once again found to be increasingly attractive to contemporary consumers, this time as a means of countering what they perceive to be an increasing global cultural homogenisation. Ian reflected a sense of insecurity and discontent with contemporary globalised identities that has been discussed by various theorists of postmodernism (Bauman 1999, 2001; Thompson, 2003). In Chapter One, I noted Zygmunt Bauman’s argument that, due to contemporary processes of globalisation and the ‘widespread fear and resentment of the experience of
“disembedded”, “unencumbered”, free-floating, unanchored, fragile and vulnerable identity … nostalgia for the “sweetness of belonging” could only grow’ (Bauman, 1999, xxxix-xl). Ian articulated his own sense of dissatisfaction with globalised and ‘disembedded’ identities by underscoring his disassociation with what he perceived to be an Americanised and overly materialistic contemporary British (and European) identity. Instead, he nostalgically favoured a South American identity which, for him, connoted ‘old world’ values and associated notions of belonging, family and community:

Ian appears to have turned to Latin American culture and society because he feels he can no longer identify with his own. For him, Latin America is associated with ‘old world’ values of the past that contemporary British culture and society have abandoned. Other interviewees had similar views to Ian, namely, that Latin American culture and society was, in some way, better than that of the UK: ‘despite everything, they seem to have something that we don’t have here. I certainly found that in Cuba, this appreciation of the moment and willingness to share really unconditionally … and the simplicity of everything, everything was so simple, it wasn’t really complicated like our life seems to be’ (Interview with Karen, 21 May 2014). Ian and Karen thus readily exhibited nostalgia for a simpler, more caring, old-fashioned way of life which they had come to associate with Latin American and Cuban culture respectively. What was particularly significant from Ian’s interview was that he explicitly felt that he could connect with this identity and culture through his consumption of the ¡Viva! film festival.

Although Ian had travelled a lot in Latin America, (to Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Cuba), and watched ¡Viva! films from a variety of Latin American countries, he

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26 Ian used the terms Latin America and South America interchangeably.
had a particularly strong personal relationship with Cuba because his ex-girlfriend lives there and he had visited the country 10 times between 2001 and 2010. In regard to the Cuban documentary *El Medico: The Cubaton Story*, which was screened as part of the 2014 ¡Viva! film festival, Ian noted: ‘the sort of social interaction reminds me a lot of what I saw over there, which I don’t want to lose really because I’ve got a sort of historic social connection with it which I wish to maintain’ (Interview with Ian, 2 April 2014). Through the documentary, Ian feels that he is able to reaquaint himself with Cuban culture. His comment suggests that the society and culture he sees and consumes on screen acts as a substitute for that which he experienced first-hand when he travelled to Cuba. Consuming this culture through ¡Viva! films subsequently allows him to maintain a sense of connection between himself and the region and reinforce his relationship with Cuba (and Latin America more generally) when he is at home in Manchester.

Given his history of personal relationships and travel in the region, it is perhaps understandable why Ian might wish to maintain a sense of connection with Cuba and Latin America. However, based on his earlier comments, concerning what he considers to be the ‘humanity’ of Latin American culture, and the ‘old world family values’ which ‘fits in with the way [he has] always liked to live [his] life’, this sense of connection that ¡Viva! allows him to maintain with the region appears to be more than just a way of reminiscing about past experiences. For Ian, ¡Viva! films reinforce a connection with Cuba and Latin America that helps to reaffirm his sense of identity by once again, even if only temporarily and vicariously, linking him with people whom he perceives to share his beliefs and attitude to life. Ian demonstrates how the ¡Viva! film festival can therefore be utilised by non-Latin American consumers to imagine a sense of belonging and connection to the Latin American Other both on and beyond the screen. Imagining themselves through the festival to be connected to the Latin American Other, and forming a sense of imagined cosmopolitan community between themselves and Latin American culture, the non-Latin American consumer feels they are able to share in the experiences, attitudes and values of Latin American culture through film, values which they too believe in and perceive to be in contradiction to contemporary British values and attitudes. Ian then incorporated these attitudes and values within his own sense of identity for the purpose of formulating self-identity beyond the festival. By incorporating Latin American values and attitudes within his own sense of identity, Ian reinforced the imagined connection between himself and
Latin American culture and the sense of imagined cosmopolitan community that is generated through the ¡Viva! film festival.

Using Latin American culture through ¡Viva! films to develop self-identity was not restricted to interviewees who had travelled in the region. Lee, for example, who had never been to Latin America, enjoyed the festival and its Latin American films because they allowed him to explore what he perceived to be ‘taboo’ subjects in British culture and society: ‘sexuality in someone is a slightly taboo thing, where it’s more welcome [in Latin America]’ (Interview with Lee, 14 May 2014). Lee later elaborated on this statement: ‘I think initially people might be drawn to that almost exotic nature of [Latin America] where people go, “Oh my God, they’re so open about things”’. He qualified this opinion, however, by noting that: ‘you’ve got things that are very unrepressed and very uninhibited, then you’ve got the contradiction of the religious aspect of things, and one thing I’m absolutely fascinated by, especially with the Catholic Church, is the use of guilt and shame to control’ (Interview with Lee, 14 May 2014). It appears from his comments that Lee uses ¡Viva!’s Latin American films to learn about another way of life and explore how seemingly contradictory facets of human nature, such as sexuality and religiosity, are reconciled within Latin American culture, a culture which, although heavily influenced by Catholicism in many respects, he views as being much more open and candid than British culture. It seems Lee hopes that Latin American culture might provide an alternative to how subjects such as sexuality are treated in his own society, thereby helping him to address issues of identity that he feels his own culture and society inhibits.

Jennifer similarly attended the ¡Viva! film festival as a way of developing her own sense of identity. Jennifer, a White British/Irish interviewee who was born and has lived all her life in England, had ‘always been kind of attracted to the idea of knowing another language … in a weird hangover way because my family don’t speak Irish. I’m born over here, so I never stood a chance anyway’. She stated that she had therefore ‘come from a background where I know that people like me have lost something’ (Interview with Jennifer, 7 April 2014). From our interview, it was clear that Jennifer’s Irish heritage was very important to her and closely bound up with her notion of self-identity. However, it appeared that, rather than undertaking to learn Irish, or participate in Irish cultural activities, she had instead turned to the Spanish language, and Spanish and Latin American cultures, for a sense of secondary language and culture. This decision was perhaps influenced by the fact that Jennifer’s interest
in Latin American culture was equally motivated by her desire to exorcise feelings of postcolonial guilt. Throughout our interview, Jennifer repeatedly referred to ‘the consequences of our actions, of this county’s actions and Spain’s actions, still having an impact down the line’ in Latin America, and how ‘we genotype[d] [the Aztecs] into submission with smallpox’ (Interview with Jennifer, 7 April 2014, emphasis added).

Here, Jennifer reverted to an English (or British) identity over her identification as Irish. Even though the British were not primarily responsible for colonialism in Latin America, Jennifer nevertheless incorporated the UK alongside Spain and Portugal into a more general European colonial identity. In answer to a question about what (if anything) a greater presence and awareness of Latin American culture might bring to British culture, Jennifer answered in terms of an increased awareness of formerly colonised cultures, referring at length to the UK’s obligation to ex-colonised countries and regions of the world in general:

It’s also the postcolonialism thing. We kind of, not so much in South America because it was only Guyana we had any influence in, but I feel we probably do owe the ex-colonised countries something. It’s not just a matter of cancelling third world debt, and getting rid of trade tariffs … We owe them a debt. We went and we took all their stuff and we destroyed cultures and built new cultures that might not have been beneficial to the people who lived there. I’m not saying we’re to blame, I mean obviously you and I, we never owned slaves, but we benefitted from that legacy so we at least owe it to them to not be dicks in this generation, for want of a better way of saying it. I personally think that’s something that this country is going to have to face up to sooner or later, so at least when we face up to it, maybe if we’ve got an understanding of what we’re facing up to, that’d be quite nice (Interview with Jennifer, 7 April 2014).

Alongside concerns over losing her Irish heritage and identity, Jennifer also exhibited a keen sense of guilt, through her British identity, of benefitting from a legacy of colonialism, even though she recognised that she and others are not personally responsible for events of the past. Jennifer’s sense of postcolonial guilt has led her to feel that the UK and British people now have a general responsibility to all formerly colonised cultures of the world. She implies the UK has a wilfully ignorant and outdated attitude towards these cultures and advocates exposure and interaction with them as a good way of educating the British public as to what is beyond their borders. For some interviewees, therefore, a cosmopolitan desire to contest the perceived
insularity and parochialism of contemporary British culture was closely tied to the legacy of British colonial heritage.

Although recognising the relative lack of British colonial influence in the region, Jennifer nevertheless subsumed the UK into a collective European colonial identity with a shared guilt and responsibility. Some scholars have questioned the suitability of the term ‘postcolonial’ in regard to Latin America, owing to the fact that the term was coined in relation to the former French and British colonies that became independent in the years following the Second World War, and which underwent a very different process of decolonisation to countries in Latin America (see Hall, 1996, p. 245; Mazzotti, 2008, pp. 96-7; Morana, Dussel and Jáuregui, 2008). In the consumption of the ¡Viva! film festival, however, Jennifer was eager to embrace notions of postcolonialism in regard to the region and exhibit a sense of responsibility as a European for past events. In Chapter One, I highlighted how Kevin Foster (2009) argued that Latin America was often used in nineteenth and twentieth-century British fiction as an imagined space in which to work through anxieties of Empire and colonialism. In the ¡Viva! film festival, Jennifer’s attitude implied that, by assuming a general European colonial identity, guilt and responsibility to all ex-colonised cultures of the world, Latin America could be used by contemporary British consumers as a way of assuaging postcolonial anxieties relating to British Empire and colonialism. Jennifer’s reasons for incorporating Latin American culture within her construction of self-identity were thus twofold. Not only did Latin American culture substitute and compensate for what she felt she had lost in regard to Irish heritage, culture and identity, but it helped her to exorcise feelings of postcolonial guilt. Although Irish culture could, arguably, do both of these things as well, (Ireland could, in many ways, also be described as postcolonial owing to the historical relationship between Ireland and England), consuming Latin American culture through the ¡Viva! film festival in order to compensate for a sense of lost heritage and culture and to assuage postcolonial guilt allowed Jennifer to simultaneously develop a more cosmopolitan identity because of the greater cultural distance between Latin America and the UK than the UK and Ireland.

Interviewees subsequently went beyond practices of imagined tourism and a temporary Othering in their attempts to affirm (or reaffirm) their sense of identity through the ¡Viva! film festival. The imagined compression of time and space engendered by ¡Viva! films helped these non-Latin American consumers to form an
imagined connection with the Latin American Other which, in turn, facilitated their incorporation of Latin American culture, values and identity within the construction of self-identity. Ian abhorred what he perceived to be the Americanised rapacity of contemporary British culture and society and identified a sense of ‘humanity’ and ‘old world family values’ to Latin American culture which he preferred. Through the ¡Viva! film festival, he was able to reconnect with Latin American culture and maintain a link with these values which served to reinforce his own values and sense of self-identity beyond the festival. Lee perceived certain subjects to be taboo in British culture and society and so consumed Latin American culture through the ¡Viva! film festival in order to explore these subjects in a more open and diverse way. Jennifer consumed Latin American culture through ¡Viva! in an attempt to compensate for a lost Irish heritage and identity as well as to exorcise feelings of British postcolonial guilt. In all three examples, interviewees consumed Latin American culture through ¡Viva! in order to develop aspects of their identity and complete their sense of self, in ways which they believed were not possible through contemporary British culture and identity. In contrast to the consumption of Irish culture discussed by Nagle (2009), this was not a question of regaining a sense of pre-industrial culture that English culture is perceived to have lost. Instead, interviewees were consuming Latin American culture and incorporating Latin American identity within their own construction of identity to live out and develop aspects of their individual self-identity which they felt British culture and society in some way denied them. By sharing in Latin American culture and values through the ¡Viva! film festival, and incorporating them into their own sense of identity, interviewees reinforced the connection between themselves and Latin American culture and thus maintained a sense of imagined cosmopolitan community generated through the film festival.

The fluidity of identity in the contemporary era of increasing globalisation, often with multiple allegiances and an implied detachment from the local or national community, is often theorised as producing feelings of insecurity with globalised identities and a nostalgia for ‘belonging’ (Bauman, 1999; Jameson, 1985, 1991; Thompson, 2003). This insecurity and nostalgia for belonging therefore points to the local and the nation as in fact being enduring desirable entities for the construction of identity. Ian articulated a disenchantment with what he perceived to be the globalised identity of contemporary Britain. However, he did not return to the local or the nation to reaffirm his self-identity, but turned instead to Latin American culture for a sense
of belonging and identity. Lee and Jennifer likewise turned to Latin American culture to construct a sense of self-identity, demonstrating that from within this postmodern multiplicity of identity can also come the sense of security and belonging for which individuals nostalgically search. In other words, although adopting and discarding multiple identities may engender feelings of insecurity, adopting and incorporating an Othered identity can also bestow the sense of belonging and identity which consumers seek. Furthermore, by constructing part of their self-identity through Latin American culture and identity, interviewees not only gain the identity they desire (for Ian, old world family values; for Lee, a more open attitude and acceptance of sexuality; for Jennifer, a sense of heritage and secondary culture and identity), but they also potentially become more cosmopolitan by incorporating the values and attitudes of another culture within their own sense of identity.

In Chapter One, I reviewed studies into the cosmopolitan consumption of Indian, Japanese and Mexican culture and, in Chapter Three, I analysed the consumption of Chinese and South Asian culture within the city of Manchester. A common thread within all of these examples was consumers’ performance of what I called an uncomplicated cosmopolitanism. This constituted a temporary engagement with a stereotypically exoticised cultural Other whose products had been anglicised in order to facilitate a cosmopolitanism that did not require extensive interaction with local immigrants, their language or culture. This consumption also did not require any significant cultural adjustment or self-transformation on the part of the consumer (Buettner, 2008; Tanaka, 2008; Torres and Buriel, 2010). On the one hand, the ¡Viva! film festival also constitutes a temporary engagement with a cultural Other. The wider encoding of Latin America within the festival is, to some extent, also exoticised through emphasis on the region’s difference to the UK and the discourse of Latin American quirkiness and surrealism which runs throughout festival brochures, film synopses and reviews, podcasts and Q&A sessions with Latin American film directors. Ultimately, however, I argue that the cosmopolitanism identified in the ¡Viva! film festival goes beyond the performance of uncomplicated cosmopolitan identities. Facilitated by the very real sense of cosmopolitan community the festival encourages through its attendees, as well as the inclusion of cultural events and the time-space compression presented by films, the ¡Viva! film festival creates a sense of community and connection with the Latin American Other. Building on the work of Iordanova (2010), I frame this connection as constructing a sense of imagined cosmopolitan
community between the non-Latin American consumer and Latin American culture in which the non-Latin American consumer is able to share in the values and attitudes of Latin American culture. These Latin American values and attitudes are incorporated by the non-Latin American consumer within their own construction of self-identity, with non-Latin American consumers effectively replacing a missing part of their self-identity with Latin American culture and identity. The non-Latin American consumer is found to be transforming their self-identity through engagement with the cultural Other, something fundamental to practices of cosmopolitanism (Delanty, 2009).

Through the ¡Viva! film festival, consumers went beyond the general sense of connection to an imagined world community typically engendered by access to global media (Beck, 2002; Molz, 2011; Schein, 1999; Szerszynski and Urry, 2002), formulating instead a much more personal sense of identification and cosmopolitan connection to the Latin American Other. The formation of imagined connections between Latin America and the non-Latin American consumer through the ¡Viva! film festival, to which I have applied the framework of an imagined cosmopolitan community, thus offers an example of how contemporary consumers in Manchester are forging their own cosmopolitan identities through the ¡Viva! film festival by imagining their own links with Latin American culture. By using these links to incorporate Latin American culture within the construction of their own identity, they reveal a form of cosmopolitan consumption and a way to develop cosmopolitan identities which is perhaps more cosmopolitan than studies into the consumption of other cultures have so far identified in the sense that they are transforming their self-understanding and self-identity through the Latin American Other.

5.6: Conclusion.

The form of integrative cosmopolitanism identified in the consumption of the ¡Viva! film festival is dependent upon the fact that it involves the consumption of Latin American culture. For consumers to be willing to incorporate Latin American culture and identity into their own identity, Latin America has to be situated more generally within a complementary interpretive framework. Post-screening questionnaires highlighted how respondents primarily decoded aspects of social and cultural difference between Latin America and the UK from ¡Viva!’s Latin American films. However, while many of these focused on notions of violence and poverty, at the
subsequent stage of reproduction, interviewees were (with the exception of Susan) found to construct a more positive interpretation of Latin America through codes, themes and narratives concerning the region’s craziness, oddness, surrealism and unreality. Similar codes, themes and narratives were also identified in the encoding of Latin America at the stage of production in Chapter Four, and in the encoding of Latin America at a discursive level in the UK in Chapter Two. In Chapter Two, I demonstrated that codes, themes and narratives of strangeness, oddness, the bizarre and the surreal in relation to Latin America ensued from the establishment of magical realism as a ‘primary interpretation’ (Hall et al., 1978) of the region’s cultural reality. These codes represented a British response to magical realism and the combination of cultural similarity and difference that magical realism articulated about Latin America; a combination that derived not only from the region’s history of cultural hybridity between European, African and indigenous cultures, but from the earliest construction of Latin America in the western cultural imagination. More than representing a dominant-hegemonic decoding (Hall, 2006) of Latin America through the film festival, therefore, or a compliance with a wider discourse on Latin America that forms part of the consumer’s horizons of expectation (Jauss, 1982), I have argued that interviewees used these codes, themes and narratives to construct Latin America as different, but, at the same time, not too different from the UK and British social and cultural norms. The reproduction of this magical realist construction of Latin America from interviewees, (and one that was also present in the encoding of Latin America through the ¡Viva! film festival), constructs an interpretive framework of the region in which Latin America is strange and surreal, but not necessarily too distant from British cultural norms. The fact that Latin American culture is constructed as different but not too different from British cultural norms makes it easier for non-Latin American consumers to subsequently incorporate Latin American values, culture and identity into their own notions of self-identity.

In Chapter Three, the production and consumption of Latin American culture was differentiated from that of other local immigrant cultures in the city of Manchester because of its emphasis on the production and consumption of identity more than culture. In bars and restaurants Revolución de Cuba and Sandinista, rather than the uncomplicated cosmopolitan identities discussed above, consumers were encouraged to assume a Cuban and Latin identity respectively in order to enact values and attitudes which were positioned, by producers, to be largely absent from mainstream British
culture. This identity performance was, however, ultimately temporary, to be embraced by non-Latin American consumers though consumption, but then abandoned after that consumption was complete. The ¡Viva! film festival has demonstrated an alternate way in which non-Latin American consumers are using Latin American culture and identity within the city, where Latin American identity is not temporarily embraced and then abandoned after consumption, but instead incorporated more permanently into consumers’ notions of self-identity. Jon Beasley-Murray (2003) discussed the idea of Latin American identity and British identity being part of the same cohesive psyche through reference to Bacardi Breezer adverts of the early 2000s. In these adverts, the relationship between Latin America and British consumers, he argued, was not marketed as ‘the relation between (familiar) self and (exotic) other; rather, it is an internal division, between different aspects of the same subject’ (Beasley-Murray, 2003, pp. 228-9). However, Beasley-Murray’s example still maintained a level of division between the two. Even though it is an internal division, Latin America is still positioned as the unconscious to the British conscious (Latin America constitutes the wild and decadent night-time persona that, although complementary, ultimately remains deferential to the more dominant daytime British conscious). While Beasley-Murray argued that the Latin American unconscious, even when repressed, informs and sustains the British conscious, I suggest that, in this theorisation, the British conscious nevertheless retains the ability to override the demands of the Latin American unconscious if it so chooses, (as, is implied by the adverts, it does for the majority of the time), effectively placing Latin America, therefore, in the inferior of the two positions.

In the consumption of the ¡Viva! film festival, on the other hand, Latin America is no longer being treated as the unconscious or associated with temporarily living out unconscious desires. Rather than traditional associations of Latin America with (unconscious) libidinal desire, exotic decadence or chaotic nature (Beasley-Murray, 2003; Foster, 2009; Swanson, 2010), for contemporary consumers of the ¡Viva! film festival, Latin America is now associated with humanity, family values, openness and a sense of culture and heritage which consumers wish to actively and permanently incorporate into their own conscious identities. Through the formation of imagined cosmopolitan communities, non-Latin American ¡Viva! consumers are coming to identify with and define themselves through Latin American culture, values and attitudes. Latin American identity is therefore no longer to be repressed, or
relegated to the level of the unconscious to be explored occasionally and then abandoned, but rather permanently embraced as a part of non-Latin American consumers’ everyday conscious self-identity. I argue that the cosmopolitan consumption taking place through the ¡Viva! film festival thus offers a nuanced insight into the changing contemporary cultural relationship between the British Self and Latin American Other, in which Latin American identity is now being consumed and incorporated as an equally formative aspect of the non-Latin American consumer’s conscious identity.

I suggest that incorporating Latin American identity as an equally formative aspect of their conscious self-identity makes these non-Latin American consumers more cosmopolitan because they are replacing a missing part of their self-identity with the values and attitudes of another culture. I recognise, however, that this form of cosmopolitan consumption nevertheless comes with its own limitations. The cosmopolitanism I identify in the ¡Viva! film festival is primarily concerned with notions of imagined belonging. As a foreign language film festival that has traditionally included additional language, cultural and social events alongside its film programme, ¡Viva! has facilitated a very real sense of interaction and community between local Spaniards, Latin Americans and non-Hispanic cinephiles, (as identified and embraced by Karen). However, comments from Elizabeth demonstrated that, for other audience members, although they enjoy feeling part of this Hispanic and cosmopolitan community, this does not mean that they actually interact face-to-face with local migrants. In addition, the relatively small number of Latin American migrants currently residing in the UK, in comparison to other ethnic minority populations, makes the incorporation of Latin American identity through consumption much less problematic for my majority of White British interviewees than the integration of other ethnic minority identities. Furthermore, the construction and use of magical realism (and associated codes) as an interpretive framework for the consumption of Latin American culture and identity has moved beyond the passive recognition and desire for difference previously discussed by scholars (Appiah, 2007b; Hannerz, 1996), to demonstrate how cosmopolitans in fact demand and actively construct notions of cultural difference in order to enact cosmopolitanism. This framework constructs Latin America as different but not too different from British cultural norms. Just as cultural producers in Chapters One and Three hybridised non-western cultural products with western culture, to enable consumers to engage with an
Other that was not too alien from their own culture, in ¡Viva!, consumers themselves constructed a framework of magical realism for Latin America that was not too distant from their existing cultural norms. Alongside the position of the Latin American community in the UK and the lack of face-to-face interaction with actual Latin Americans, the cosmopolitan consumption occurring in the ¡Viva! film festival is therefore, in many respects, a safe and uncomplicated cosmopolitanism. Yet, at the same time, this construction of Latin America as different but not too different helps to facilitate the incorporation of a Latin American identity into non-Latin American consumers’ self-identity through the sense of imagined cosmopolitan community generated by the ¡Viva! film festival. This incorporation in turn increases the cosmopolitan disposition of the non-Latin American consumer by transforming their self-identity through the values and attitudes of another culture. Although this form of integrative cosmopolitanism enacted through the ¡Viva! film festival therefore carries some familiar limitations and contradictions, cosmopolitanism can flourish and develop when an individual has a sense of personal connection to different cultures and I suggest that non-Latin American consumers are consuming Latin American identity through the ¡Viva! film festival in an attempt to reconcile anxieties over self-identity with concerns and obligations of cosmopolitanism at a local level.

Returning to the original research question posed in the introduction to this thesis, the findings of this final chapter have demonstrated that non-Latin American members of the ¡Viva! film festival audience form a sense of connection and imagined cosmopolitan community between themselves and Latin American culture through the film festival in an attempt to develop their self-identity. I have positioned this as a nuanced example of cosmopolitan consumption within the city of Manchester, one in which Latin American identity is incorporated as an equally formative aspect of non-Latin American consumers’ conscious identities. In the conclusion to this thesis, I identify how the incorporation of a Latin American identity into self-identity might help individuals in the UK to overcome the perceived crisis in contemporary British culture and identity.
Conclusion.

Latin America has gained a much larger cultural presence in the UK in recent decades, particularly in terms of cultural consumption. This increase has occurred at a time when the UK is undergoing a perceived crisis in identity as a result of contemporary processes of globalisation and increasing multiculturalism. Since the 1990s, successive British governments have tried to accommodate higher levels of immigration within social policies of multiculturalism and community cohesion, yet have struggled to reconcile increasing immigration with traditional notions of White British culture and identity. This has led to a growing discourse that the UK is losing its traditional culture and identity in the face of increasing cultural pluralism (Nagle, 2009, p. 92). Owing to these tensions, there has been an increase in rhetoric against immigrants and ethnic minorities within the UK and a growing concern regarding the future of British culture and identity. This thesis has examined one way in which contemporary consumers in Manchester are reconciling issues of cosmopolitanism and identity at a local level through their consumption of Latin American culture and the ¡Viva! film festival.

In this thesis, I have demonstrated how non-Latin American consumers are able to form a sense of connection with the Latin American Other through the ¡Viva! film festival. Building on Dina Iordanova’s (2010) application of imagined communities to film festivals and diaspora, I have extended her framework to include audiences beyond diaspora and demonstrated how, through the film festival, Latin American culture can equally come to form part of the non-Latin American’s experiences and identity. Both post-screening questionnaire respondents and interviewees emphasised social and cultural differences between Latin America and the UK. However, interviewees such as Ian and Lee nonetheless identified a sense of commonality and shared values between themselves and the Latin American Other, values which they believed they cannot and do not share with wider British culture and society. Through participating in the ¡Viva! film festival, non-Latin American consumers were able to imagine themselves to be connected to people whom they perceived to share their beliefs, values and attitudes. Through identifying with the on-screen characters, and bolstered by the very real sense of cosmopolitan community engendered by a foreign language film festival – one which here brings Latin Americans (and Spaniards) together with non-Hispanic consumers – non-Latin
American audience members were able to imagine a shared connection with Latin American culture beyond the festival screen. The ¡Viva! film festival thus created not just a sense of imagined community, but rather a sense of imagined cosmopolitan community between the non-Latin American and the Latin American. Non-Latin American audience members were subsequently able to use this sense of connection to incorporate a Latin American identity within their notion of self-identity. Through a typically postmodern fluidity of identity, and the immersive cultural experience offered by the ¡Viva! film festival, non-Latin American consumers were found to effectively replace a missing part of their self-identity with Latin American culture and identity. The integration of a Latin American identity into notions of self-identity thus enabled the non-Latin American consumer to reaffirm a sense of self beyond contemporary British culture and society.

At the same time, cosmopolitanism tends to flourish and develop when an individual has a sense of personal connection to different cultures. Through the ¡Viva! film festival, consumers went beyond the general sense of connection to an imagined world community typically engendered by access to global media (Beck, 2002; Molz, 2011; Schein, 1999; Szerszynski and Urry, 2002), formulating instead a much more personal sense of identification and cosmopolitan connection to the Latin American Other. The incorporation of a Latin American identity within notions of self-identity through the ¡Viva! film festival – appropriating and assuming the values and attitudes of another culture as part of one’s own – differs from the consumption examined in existing studies of cosmopolitan consumption. ¡Viva! audience members were not, for example, consuming Latin American culture solely as a way to perform uncomplicated cosmopolitan identities. These identities typically consist of a temporary engagement with a stereotypically exoticised cultural Other whose products have, in actual fact, often been anglicised in order to facilitate an easier consumption and cosmopolitanism. They also entail minimal face-to-face interaction with local migrants, their language and culture and do not require any transformation in self-understanding on the part of the consumer (Buettner, 2008; Tanaka, 2008; Torres and Buriel, 2010). Consumption in the ¡Viva! film festival does not necessarily require face-to-face interaction with local migrants. However, I suggest that non-Latin American ¡Viva! consumers are nonetheless developing a more cosmopolitan identity and disposition through consumption than consumers from other studies because they feel personally connected to the Latin American Other through a sense of imagined
cosmopolitan community and are using Latin American culture to transform their own self-identity and self-understanding, something which scholars have defined to be a fundamental facet of cosmopolitanism (Delanty, 2009).

While British governments since the early 2000s have struggled to reconcile increasing multiculturalism with traditional notions of British identity, often opting for policies of community cohesion in which traditional White British culture and values arguably remain foregrounded (Back et al., 2002; Lewis and Neal, 2005; Worley 2005), at a local level, many individuals, as highlighted by my interviewees, have become increasingly disillusioned with the perceived cultural insularity and parochialism of contemporary British culture and society. While national rhetoric might suggest that there is a growing fear of losing traditional British culture and identity, my interviewees – the majority of whom were White British – have demonstrated how they are content to turn to Latin American culture for a sense of identity at the same time as they increase their cosmopolitan tolerance. This thesis has subsequently demonstrated one way in which contemporary consumers in Manchester are forging their own form of identity and cosmopolitanism through their imagined connections with the Latin American Other and reconciling, in their own way, notions of self-identity with obligations of cosmopolitanism. The ¡Viva! film festival offers an example of how notions of identity are no longer necessarily linked to the imagined community of the nation, as consumers are now forging their own imagined communities and sense of belonging, in this case, through a film festival and the consumption of Latin American culture.

The incorporation of a Latin American identity into non-Latin American consumers’ self-identity is informed by the wider cultural relationship between the UK and Latin America. Latin America has retained a sense of distance from the UK well into the twenty-first century, not merely as a result of its geographical distance from Britain. Historically, the UK has had less direct colonial involvement in the region than in others areas of the world. The relatively low number of Latin American migrants currently residing in the UK in comparison to other ethnic minorities also means that Latin Americans are largely outside of the current anti-immigration rhetoric and perceived threat to traditional national identity. As a result, contemporary consumers in the UK are able to consume Latin American culture in an act of cosmopolitanism without raising too many questions concerning immigration or postcolonialism. (Unless, as demonstrated by Jennifer, they so wish. In which case,
Jennifer demonstrated how consumers can assume a European identity and responsibility for colonialism in Latin America, through which they can address their own anxieties of postcolonial guilt. Again, however, assuming a European identity maintains a sense of distance during this exploration of postcolonial guilt.

This sense of distance from contemporary British culture and society in some ways diminishes the level of cosmopolitan tolerance that is performed through the consumption of Latin American culture in the ¡Viva! film festival. It is potentially easier, for example, and less complicated to incorporate a Latin American identity into notions of self-identity than those of larger ethnic minorities in the UK. Furthermore, the formation of imagined cosmopolitan communities and the incorporation of Latin American identity into self-identity examined in this thesis are primarily concerned with notions of imagined belonging and, similar to other studies of cosmopolitan consumption, do not in fact necessitate extensive interaction with local migrants. Although Latin Americans form part of the actual ¡Viva! film festival community in Manchester each year, Elizabeth demonstrated that, while non-Latin Americans enjoy feeling connected to these people, often they do not engage with them in person.

Thirdly, the consumption analysed in this thesis occurs in Manchester, a city with substantial and diverse communities of ethnic minorities. Based on the findings of Eric Kaufmann and Gareth Harris (2014), consumers in Manchester are already likely to be more cosmopolitan than those in many other areas of the UK as a result of the everyday presence of ethnic minorities in the city. The consumers interviewed as part of my research had also already chosen to attend the ¡Viva! film festival, suggesting that they are predisposed towards a more cosmopolitan disposition than other consumers in the UK might be. On the one hand, therefore, the cosmopolitanism identified in the ¡Viva! film festival is nuanced through the formation of imagined cosmopolitan communities and a sense of connection with the Latin American Other, and is arguably more cosmopolitan than other forms of consumption through the incorporation of a Latin American identity into non-Latin American consumers’ notions of self-identity. On the other hand, this form of imagined belonging and cosmopolitanism carries familiar limitations in the fact that it does not require actual face-to-face cosmopolitan interaction with the cultural Other, nor does it directly address the issues surrounding immigration in the UK by engaging with the more substantial populations of ethnic minorities in this country.
This thesis has also found that the formation of imagined cosmopolitan communities through the ¡Viva! film festival is facilitated by an enduring discourse of magical realism in relation to Latin America in the UK. Magical realism was employed by various Latin American writers throughout the twentieth century to articulate the cultural hybridity of the region. It subsequently became a paradigm through which Latin American culture was understood. In Chapter Two, I focused on the relationship between Latin America and magical realism in the British press and demonstrated that, by the end of the twentieth century, the association of magical realism with Latin America had been mediated into a set of codes, themes and narratives concerning the bizarre, crazy, strange and surreal characteristics of Latin American people, places, events, culture and society. I argued that these codes, in turn, connoted back the idea of magical realism for British readers, thus cementing magical realism as a ‘primary interpretation’ (Hall et al., 1978) of Latin America in the British press. While the application of magical realism in regard to the region was reinforced as accurate by several prominent Latin American writers, such as Isabel Allende, Carlos Fuentes and Gabriel García Márquez, a magical realist interpretation of the region was also initially encouraged by academics writing in the press and later by British journalists. In Chapters Four and Five, I demonstrated how such codes and narratives continue to function as an interpretive framework for the region in both the contemporary cultural production and consumption of Latin American culture through the ¡Viva! film festival. I subsequently argued that the use of these codes, themes and narratives can connote magical realism in relation to Latin America and that, therefore, beyond the press, consumers in the UK are still consuming and reproducing Latin America in terms related to magical realism, even while they often reject the idea and label of magical realism itself.

When interviewees reproduced codes of oddness and strangeness in relation to Latin America, or related narratives about the surreal and unusual experiences they and others had had in the region, I argued that they were using these codes and narratives in order to construct Latin America as different, but not necessarily too different from their own cultural norms. In order to be cosmopolitan, one has to interact with Otherness and difference. For this reason, the majority of post-screening questionnaire respondents and interviewees were not always prepared to accept cultural similarities between Latin America and the UK and instead placed a greater emphasis on the differences they could identify between the two. However, in the case
of my interviewees, the consumption of Latin America through the ¡Viva! film festival was not just a question of consuming Latin America in order to experience a different culture. Latin America also provided consumers with something which, they believed, contemporary British culture and society did not. This included ‘old world values’ which prioritised family over money, a simpler way of life, a more open attitude towards subjects such as sexuality (which interviewees perceived to be treated as taboo within British culture), a sense of heritage and culture, or, equally, merely a sense of quirkiness. Latin America could ultimately not, therefore, be constructed as too different from the consumer’s existing cultural norms in order for them to be able to incorporate it within their own formation of self-identity. I have argued that the paradigm of magical realism, given its development by Latin American writers to reflect the cultural hybridity of African, European and indigenous cultures in the region, constructed Latin America as different, but not too different and distant from European culture for British audiences. Mediated at a discursive level into an idea of Latin America as bizarre, crazy, strange and surreal, such codes and narratives functioned as the perfect interpretive framework for Latin America through which ¡Viva! consumers could more easily incorporate a Latin American identity into their own identity.

While cosmopolitan scholars such as Ulf Hannerz (1996) and Kwame Anthony Appiah (2007b) may contend, therefore, that cosmopolitanism entails the respect and desire for cultural differences and an openness towards Otherness, I argue that cosmopolitanism as an ideology in fact not merely passively respects and desires difference, but rather actively demands Others to be different and, in turn, constructs this difference. In the consumption of the ¡Viva! film festival, it is not just the consumer demanding difference and the producer constructing this difference as part of the shift towards an experience economy (Pine and Gilmore, 2011). Here, the consumer is doing both. Nor is it a simple question of exoticisation, as consumers are not using magical realism and its codes and narratives merely to construct an exotic Latin American Other. Consumers are using codes, themes and narratives of magical realism as a paradigm through which to construct Latin America in a certain way (different, but not too different) in order to facilitate the incorporation of a Latin American identity into their self-identity.

This thesis subsequently contributes a nuanced understanding and interpretation of cosmopolitanism beyond that of scholars such as Appiah and
Hannerz. On the one hand, it is a rather negative interpretation owing to the recognition that cosmopolitanism, despite being open and accepting of cultural differences, is found equally to construct these differences and, in doing so, enforces notions of difference, demanding cultural Others to remain different at the expense of acknowledging similarities to the consuming culture. In lived practice, therefore, this thesis has found that cosmopolitanism is not about overcoming differences, it is about enforcing difference. Yet, at the same time, and rather contradictorily, consumers constructed Latin America in this way (strange and surreal, different but not too different) in order to make it easier for them to form a sense of connection between themselves and Latin America, share values and attitudes with Latin American rather than British culture and society and thus integrate Latin American identity into their own identity. Non-Latin American ¡Viva! consumers were therefore not using Latin America as an external contrast to develop self-identity. Instead, they were incorporating Latin American culture and identity internally into their sense of self-identity. For these consumers, Latin America did not represent unconscious fears or desires, as Latin America has typically been constructed by British (and western) consumers (Beasley-Murray, 2003; Foster, 2009; Swanson, 2010), to be temporarily embraced but ultimately rejected or supressed. For these ¡Viva! consumers, Latin American culture came to constitute an equally formative part of their permanent conscious identity. The consumption of Latin America through the ¡Viva! film festival subsequently offers an insight into the nature of the changing cultural relationship between Latin America and the UK, with a typically unconscious Latin America being reconfigured as a formative part of the conscious British Self.

This thesis consequently demonstrates how non-Latin American consumers of the ¡Viva! film festival in Manchester formulate nuanced cosmopolitan identities through the festival by incorporating Latin American culture and identity within their construction of self-identity. It contributes to the growing field of research on film festivals by extending the concept of imagined communities beyond diaspora to encompass the connections formed through these festivals between Latin America and non-Latin American audiences. The framework of imagined cosmopolitan communities applied in this thesis could be extended in future research to other Latin American film festivals in the UK, such as the London Latin American Film Festival or the Discovering Latin America Film Festival, in order to examine whether the consumption of Latin American culture through film festivals by non-Latin American
audiences elsewhere in the UK produces similar findings. Alternatively, the findings of this thesis could be applied to the consumption of Latin America by other nationalities, such as US, French or Spanish, to identify further nuances in the consumption of Latin America through film festivals and the formation of imagined cosmopolitan communities.

In the case of the ¡Viva! film festival, however, this thesis has demonstrated that Latin America can hold a unique place within contemporary British culture and society for some consumers. Due to an enduring sense of cultural distance between Latin America and the UK, but also a discursive paradigm of magical realism that constructs this cultural difference as not too different from the consumer’s own cultural norms, Latin America functions as an Other which non-Latin American ¡Viva! consumers can incorporate within their construction of self-identity. For these film festival consumers, Latin America does not function as part of their unconscious, but rather as an equally formative aspect of their conscious identity, one that completes their sense of self and of being cosmopolitan and, through which, they attempt to resist and challenge contemporary scepticism and rhetoric in the UK surrounding multiculturalism, immigration and ethnic minorities.
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http://search.proquest.com/hnpguardianobserver

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1.1: Newspapers, magazine and literary supplements, dates of analysis and archive information.\(^{27}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National newspaper/magazine/literary supplement</th>
<th>Date range for analysis(^{28})</th>
<th>Archive access</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daily Express</td>
<td>1940-2015</td>
<td>UKpressonline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Mail</td>
<td>1940-2004</td>
<td>Gale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Mirror</td>
<td>1940-2015</td>
<td>UKpressonline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Economist</td>
<td>1940-2006</td>
<td>Gale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Times</td>
<td>1940-2010</td>
<td>Gale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Independent</td>
<td>1986-2015</td>
<td>Factiva</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{27}\) This selection was firstly based upon circulation figures obtained by the National Readership survey (For the most recent figures as of June 2015, please follow the available link: [http://www.nrs.co.uk/downloads/pdf/newspapers_201506.pdf](http://www.nrs.co.uk/downloads/pdf/newspapers_201506.pdf) (Accessed: 4 March 2016)). Second, the selection was determined by free access to electronic archives provided by the University of Manchester, and the availability of on-site University of Manchester library archives. For this reason, although The Sun is currently the most widely read national newspaper in the UK, it was not included in analysis as, at the present time, there is no free electronic or hard copy archive available via the University of Manchester and access to the British Library’s newspaper archive via Gale is only available through the University of Manchester from 1600-1950. Third, given that the purpose of this analysis was to establish the trajectory and development of magical realism in the British press, the selection was limited to archives which provided access to two or more decades of newspapers, magazines and literary supplements, as analysing one decade alone would not have allowed much scope for analysis. For this reason, the Daily Star and The Telegraph, although in possession of electronic archives via UKpressonline or their own website, were not included in the sample as these archives do not predate the year 2000. For similar reasons, The I was not included in analysis as it was only launched on 26 October 2010. Finally, The Economist, Financial Times, The Listener, London Review of Books and the TLS, which had extensive archives available through the University of Manchester, were added to the sample in an attempt to access a more specialist range (financial, literary) of national newspapers, magazines and literary supplements which would reach a broader spectrum of the British public.

\(^{28}\) Where possible, analysis ranged from 01/01/1940 - 08/07/2015. Where analysis has been terminated earlier than 2015, in the case of the Daily Mail, The Economist, Financial Times and the London Review of Books, this is due to the unavailability of free online or University of Manchester archives beyond this year. In the case of The Listener, the magazine ceased publication in January 1991. Additionally, The Independent was founded in 1986 and launched The Independent on Sunday in 1990, while the London Review of Books published its first issue in 1979.
1.2: Parameters of analysis

The intention in undertaking this analysis was to gain an understanding of how the British press has discussed and used magical realism in relation to Latin America. As the general search term ‘Latin America’ returned far too many results to permit a close analysis of articles within the time frame of this project, however, search terms were restricted to specific terms such as ‘magical realism’, ‘magic realism’ and ‘lo real maravilloso’, in addition to the names of prominent Latin American magical realist authors and closely related authors of fantastic literature. Search terms therefore also consisted of: ‘Isabel Allende’, ‘Miguel Ángel Asturias’, ‘Jorge Luis Borges’, ‘Alejo Carpentier’, ‘Cortázar’, ‘José Donoso’, ‘Laura Esquivel’, ‘Carlos Fuentes’, ‘García Márquez’, ‘Juan Rulfo’ and ‘Vargas Llosa’. Forenames were included if surnames alone once again generated too many results to permit a close analysis within the time frame of the project, or if surnames alone returned articles relating to figures who were not the author. If too many results were still generated by these search terms (for example, more than fifty articles for one search term in one decade and one newspaper alone), and thereby threatened to impede the process of analysis, the search was narrowed by including additional terms alongside authors’ names, such as ‘magic’ and/or ‘Latin America’. In the case of the London Review of Books, search terms were entered into the Review’s website to find relevant articles, and then read using the University of Manchester’s hard copy archive.
Appendix 2: Lead images of the ¡Viva! Spanish and Latin American Film Festival (2010-2015).

¡Viva! 16th Spanish and Latin American Film Festival (Sat 6 – Sun 28 March 2010)

Image taken from homemcr.org

Image taken from colombianembassy.blogspot.com
Image taken from itpworld.wordpress.com
Available at: https://itpworld.wordpress.com/2012/03/16/balada-triste-de-trompeta-the-last-circus-spainfrance-2010 (Accessed: 4 March 2016).

Image taken from nowthenmanchester.blogspot.com
¡Viva! 21st Spanish and Latin American Film Festival (Thu 5 – Mon 9 March 2015)
Appendix 3: ¡Viva! post-screening questionnaires and interviews

3.1: Post-screening questionnaire
Dear Sir/Madam, I would be most grateful if you could answer a couple of brief questions for me as part of my PhD research (please continue overleaf if you need more space):

1) What did you like/dislike about this film?

2) What did the film tell you about Latin America?

Please circle as appropriate: I am male/female aged 20 or below / 21-30 / 31-40 / 41-50 / 51-60 / 61-70 / 71+

If you would be willing to discuss the ¡Viva! festival and Latin America in more depth with me, please provide a contact email address or telephone number:

____________________________________________________________________________________

Thank you very much for your time,
Nicola Astudillo-Jones, PhD Candidate, School of Arts, Languages and Cultures, University of Manchester.

3.2: Post-screening questionnaire respondent profile (sex/age)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20 or below</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
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<td>21-30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
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<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-60</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61-70</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71+</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3: List of interview questions

Part One: ¡Viva! film festival

1) Why do you go to ¡Viva!?

2) What do you like/dislike about the festival?

3) How often have you been to the festival?

4) How do you choose what films to see?

5) Are there any films you particularly liked/disliked this year? What did they tell you about Latin America?

6) Were there any films you particularly liked/disliked in previous years? What did they tell you about Latin America?

7) Has ¡Viva! changed over the years?

8) What do the lead images of the festival say to you? Do they appeal to you, and why?

9) How does ¡Viva! portray Latin America? Do you think ¡Viva! offers an authentic portrayal of Latin America?

10) If you could organise ¡Viva!, what would you like to see?
Part Two: Latin America in general

11) How would you describe Latin American culture?

12) How else do you experience Latin American culture in Manchester? In general?

13) Have you ever been to Latin America? If so, tell me about it. Was your experience what you were expecting?

14) Are you familiar with the concept of magical realism? There is an idea that this is reflective of Latin American culture. Do you agree with this based on your knowledge and experience of Latin American culture?

15) How does Latin American culture compare/contrast with Spanish culture? With British culture?

16) What would you say is the widely-held image of Latin America in the UK?

17) Have you noticed an increase in Latin American culture in the UK in recent decades?

18) Do you think Latin American culture is popular in the UK? If so, why?

19) Does interaction with Latin American culture bring anything to your life? What could it bring to the UK?
### 3.4: Interviewee profiles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Ethnicity/Nationality</th>
<th>Highest level of education</th>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Had they been to Latin America?</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ann</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>White British</td>
<td>Postgraduate</td>
<td>Retired Librarian</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthony</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>White British</td>
<td>Undergraduate degree and professional qualifications</td>
<td>Retired IT director and university lecturer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brian</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>White British</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Adult education organiser and lecturer</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christopher</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>White British</td>
<td>Masters</td>
<td>Civil Servant</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>White British</td>
<td>Postgraduate certificate in education</td>
<td>School business manager</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ian</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>White British</td>
<td>B.Sc.</td>
<td>Chartered surveyor</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jennifer</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>White British/Irish</td>
<td>MA</td>
<td>University administrator</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>White British</td>
<td>Undergraduate degree</td>
<td>Retired civil servant</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

29 Pseudonyms have been given to interviewees to ensure anonymity. Pseudonyms were allocated through reference to the most popular baby names in England and Wales (1904-1994) as provided by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) at the following link: [http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/vsob1/baby-names--england-and-wales/1904-1994/index.html](http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/vsob1/baby-names--england-and-wales/1904-1994/index.html) (Accessed: 4 March 2016). Names are collated at a 10-year interval, so interviewees were allocated the most popular name, beginning with the letter directly succeeding (or as near as possible) the first of their own name in the alphabet, from the year closest to their year of birth. Jennifer and Lee, although White Irish, were given names according to ONS statistics. In the case of Natalia, Paula, Sara and Tara, names were allocated in the same manner, only referring to the most popular contemporary baby names of their native countries or ethnicity (as I was unable to find data on historically-popular baby names of these nationalities/ethnicities) according to websites such as Babynamewizard.com.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Qualification</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kathleen</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>White British</td>
<td>College (Cert. Ed.)</td>
<td>Retired Teacher</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>White British</td>
<td>BA (Hons)</td>
<td>Chartered Accountant</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>White Irish</td>
<td>Level 3</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natalia</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>White Polish</td>
<td>PhD</td>
<td>Psychologist</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paula</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>White Basque</td>
<td>Undergraduate degree</td>
<td>Pharmacist</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Raymond</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>White British</td>
<td>Undergraduate degree</td>
<td>Civil Servant</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>White British</td>
<td>B.Sc.</td>
<td>Actor</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>White British</td>
<td>BA (Hons)</td>
<td>Web content editor</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>Russell</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>White British</td>
<td>A-level</td>
<td>Administrator</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sara</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Asian British</td>
<td>Masters</td>
<td>Case worker</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>Steven</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>White British</td>
<td>PhD</td>
<td>Research Associate</td>
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<tr>
<td>Susan</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>White British</td>
<td>BA (Arch)</td>
<td>Retired architect</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tara</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Asian British</td>
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<td>Student</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vincent</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>White British</td>
<td>PhD</td>
<td>Social researcher</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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</table>
3.5: Alphabetical reference list of Latin American films screened as part of the 2014 ¡Viva! film festival.


La jaula de oro. 2013. [Film] Directed by Diego Quemada-Díez. Mexico: Machete Producciones


