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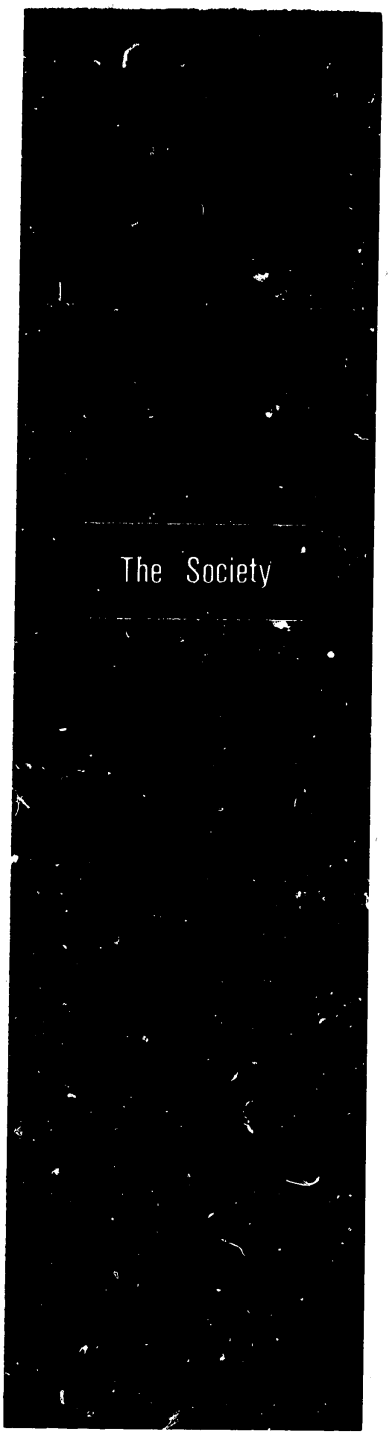

Guyana

June 1973

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SURVEY

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The Society

A. Introduction (C)

Ethnic rivalries continue to impede the development of a national cohesiveness in Guyana, despite periodic efforts by those in power to diminish the antagonisms existing between the country's two largest ethnic communities—the East Indians, who constitute about 51% of the population, and the Africans[1] and persons of mixed descent, who comprise approximately 43%. The basic rivalry is political and economic and concerns which group will wield political power and have preferred access to the limited number of better employment opportunities. Cultural differences provide additional dimensions to the conflict. Competition for the dominant role has served largely to unite the African and East Indian peoples behind their respective political leaders, Forbes Burnham of the People's National Congress (PNC) and Dr. Cheddi Jagan of the People's Progressive Party (PPP). Aggravation of racial tensions, stemming in part from the Marxist orientation of the East Indian leadership, led to politically inspired race riots in the early 1960's, resulting in many deaths and much destruction. The turmoil of the early 1960's has not reoccurred, but it left the Guyanese with a profound sense of insecurity and reinforced the distrust between East Indian and African, a situation which not only prevents the development of a unified nation but also threatens periodically to bring on renewed violence. The Africans, in control of the political processes since 1964, have made some serious attempts to reduce racial tensions, but many East Indians, abetted by PPP progaganda, feel that the Burnham administration does not truly represent them, does not really trust them, and will not allow them to achieve what they regard as their rightful role in national life.

Western contact with Guyana dates from 1499 when Spanish sailors, their interest centered on gold, investigated the coast; when no gold was found, however, Spain made no attempt at colonization. British awareness of the area goes back to 1595 when Sir Walter Raleigh explored the coast and rivers, also in search of gold. Again, no attempt was made to colonize, British interest lying primarily in harassing Spain and pirating gold bullion and other riches from Spanish galleons. In consequence, the first settlements in the area that is now Guyana were made by Dutch traders who, as early as 1580, provided knives, axes, and beads to Amerindians along the Pomeroon River in exchange for woods, dyes, and hemp. In 1621, the Dutch West India Company was granted the right to establish permanent settlements on the Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo Rivers and to monopolize the African slave trade in those colonies.

With the introduction of slavery, local trading became of secondary importance, being supplanted by the cotton, tobacco, and sugar plantation agriculture of the Dutch. Initially located inland along the rivers, the plantations were moved to the coastal area as the soil became exhausted early in the 18th century. This area, now the most densely populated part of Guyana, was reclaimed from the sea by the Dutch planters and their slaves. Since much of the region lies below sea level, an extensive system of dikes, canals, and sluices was built to drain the marshlands and mangrove swamps and to control the tides.

In addition to creating a new economy, the introduction of slaves also resulted in the establishment of a new society in which a small, ruling class of Caucasians found itself vastly outnumbered, on the one hand by slaves and on the other by a not always friendly Amerindian population that controlled the forests and mountains of the interior. Under the circumstances, it was essential for the Dutch to cultivate the support of the Amerindians, with the result that the latter were accorded special treatment. No Amerindian could be enslaved unless he came from a great distance and was sold by the local Amerindians as a prisoner-of-war. The Dutch West India Company also regularly provided special gifts to the Amerindians, who were enlisted to hunt down runaway slaves.

As treatment of slaves was harsh, revolts were fairly frequent and were cruelly suppressed. The worst revolt was that of 1763, when some 4,000 slaves, the property of about 300 planters in Berbice, virtually controlled the colony for 11 months. Under the leadership of a Negro named Cuffy, who proclaimed himself governor of Berbice, the slaves offered to share the

[1]The designation commonly used and preferred by the descendants of the Negro slaves brought to Guyana from Africa in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries. Other terms sometimes used to identify these persons include "Negroes," "blacks," and "Afro-Guyanese."

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colony with the Dutch on condition that they be freed. With the aid of Amerindians and reinforcements from Europe and the West Indies, the revolt was finally put down.

Shortly thereafter, British interest in the area (kindled by Raleigh in the 16th century) was revived. In 1781, as a result of war between the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, British troops occupied the settlements of Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo. The colonies subsequently changed hands a number of times, became permanently occupied by the United Kingdom in 1803, and were finally ceded to the British in 1814. In 1831 the British consolidated the three colonies into one—British Guiana.

A shortage of labor followed the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, and was intensified by the emancipation of slaves in 1838. These events brought about extensive changes in Guyanese society and laid the groundwork for the present-day racial disharmony. Many of the freed slaves moved away from the plantations, and those remaining demanded wages that most planters could not pay. Guyana's exports fell rapidly because of the inability of its products to compete in the world market with those from countries where slavery still existed, such as Cuba and Brazil. Three-quarters of the plantations were either abandoned or consolidated for want of workers. Some Irish, Maltese, Portuguese, Chinese, and other workers were brought to the country on labor contracts, but not in sufficient numbers, so that the planters had to seek elsewhere for other sources of cheap, abundant labor. The problem was resolved in 1838 when a group of indentured laborers was brought in from India. Thereafter, more and more East Indians arrived. Although immigration of such labor was halted temporarily as a result of pressure from the Anti-Slavery Society, which labeled the indenture system a disguised form of slavery, it was renewed under government supervision in 1845 and continued until 1917, when it was finally abolished.

Slavery and the indenture system affected the Negroes and East Indians in many ways, although the latter were affected less. Of necessity, the workers adopted the language of their masters. Communal patterns were largely replaced by the regimented structure of the plantation and its managerial system. The caste system of the East Indians was destroyed, as were aspects of kinship and family patterns of both Africans and East Indians. The religious beliefs of the Africans slaves were largely suppressed; yet the Africans were denied access to Christianity because of the close association in the planters' minds between missionary activity and the emancipation movement. Slaves were denied the right of Christian marriage until 1825, and separation of their families was not prohibited until 1851. When the slaves emerged as free men they retained virtually no vestiges of African culture; therefore they accepted the prevailing British culture, with which they were most familiar.

As the Africans left the plantations, some of them intermarried with the Portuguese and Chinese. The East Indians, however, did not normally enter into mixed unions, even after they had completed their period of indenture but remained aloof from the rest of society. Those who left the plantations after serving their indenture tended to congregate in areas of their own, frequently buying land with their savings or participating in official land resettlement schemes instead of returning to India. They generally ignored the society's status symbols and, instead of adopting local mores, retained many of their own customs and husbanded their resources. Although emphasizing their separateness, these practices resulted in widespread acquisition of land and the establishment of small businesses, which eventually provided the means of upward mobility for some. Because the other ethnic groups composing the established society were bound together through common participation in the social, economic, and political life of the country, and to some degree had closed ranks, the East Indians initially found that upward mobility for them lay principally in occupations from which they could not easily be excluded, such as law, medicine, and commerce.

To some degree, the value system of the East Indians tended to prevent their assimilation into the established society. Relations with other groups were not close, and intermarriage was rare. The occupation of the East Indians as indentured laborers, their refusal to send their children to Christian denominational schools (the only ones available), and the possibility of their returning to India upon completion of their indenture fostered resistance to assimilation and the development of a separate community. On the other hand, the Africans recognized Guyana as their motherland, adopted the values of its established society, and, through effort and education, gradually became an indispensable component of that larger community.

Since 1917, when the indenture system was abandoned, what other Guyanese refer to slightingly as the "coolie culture" of the East Indians has been giving way to local customs and usages that are not in conflict with their own ethnic values. Vestiges of East Indian languages have been supplanted by English or the rural patois based on English. East Indian children are being sent to school, with growing numbers attending secondary and higher educational institutions. Despite earlier rebuffs, more and more East Indians are participating in public life.

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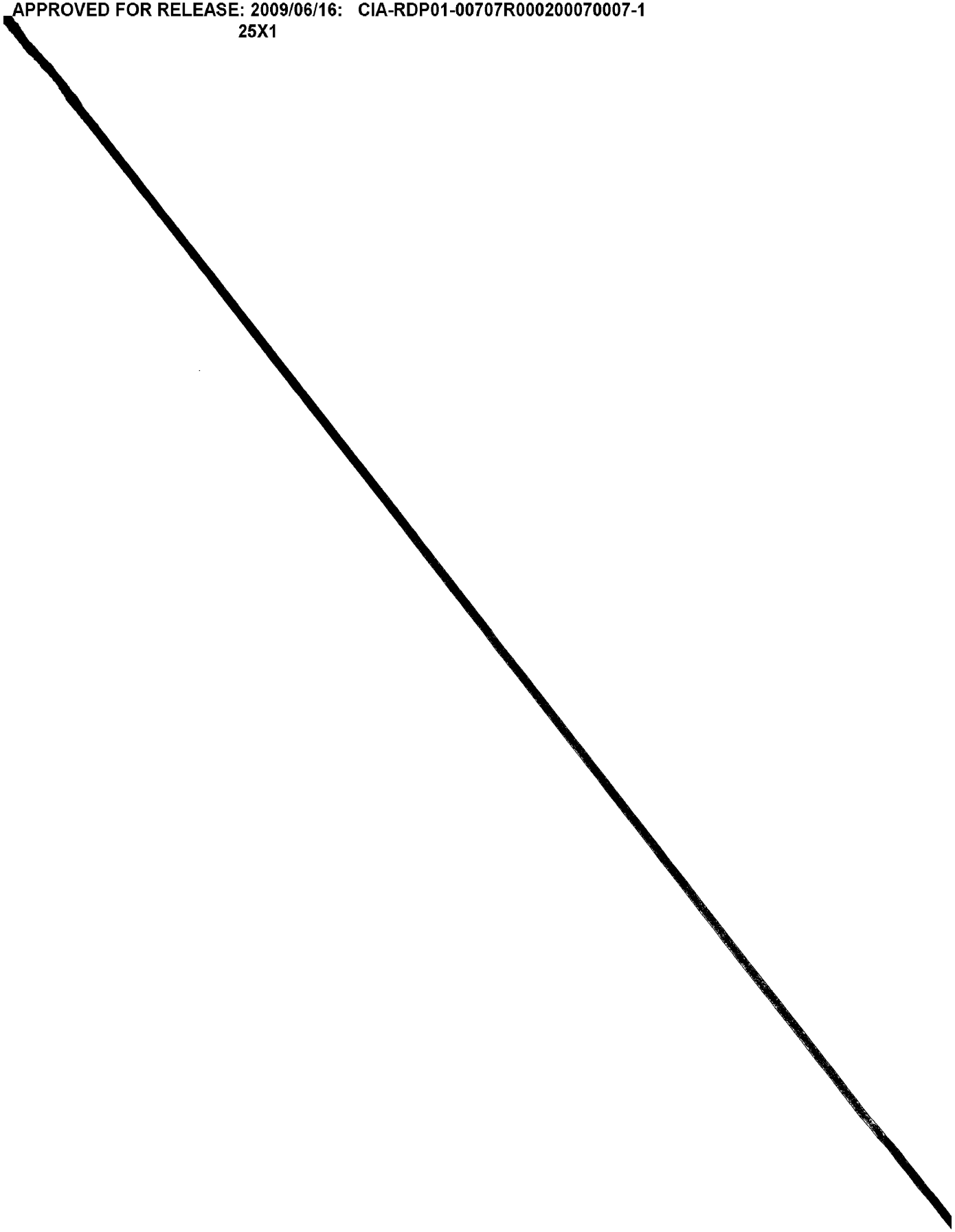

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Amerindians, whose contacts with Guyanese society have always been tenuous, live in widely scattered tribal settlements in the thinly populated mountains and forests of the interior and form a group apart. Although some hold a variety of modern jobs, most, especially the older generation, are content to live as their forefathers did in primitive, tribally organized communities.

With the exception of the white, largely British expatriates, the European and Chinese communities have tended to become assimilated into the general population. Many Portuguese have intermarried with the Africans and think of themselves as Guyanese. Although the Chinese have also become quite Guyanese in outlook and have adopted Christianity, their community remains fairly cohesive; intermarriage with other races does not occur frequently. Because the British colonialists looked down on the Portuguese, this attitude was absorbed by the Africans and the East Indians who often refer to them by the derogatory term "Potagee." The Portuguese, however, regard themselves as superior to both the Africans and the East Indians. All elements look down on the Amerindians, who are often derisively termed "buck people."

The administration of Prime Minister Forbes Burnham, which is multiracial but represents primarily the African community, has made some efforts to promote national unity, stability, and economic development and has tried to avoid antagonizing the East Indian population. Nevertheless, racial tension, although waning, still remains beneath the surface of national life.

1. Ethnic and cultural groups

Although Guyana has been called a land of six peoples, official enumerations of the population have included seven classifications which are primarily ethnic and largely indicative of area of origin: East Indian, African, Mixed, Amerindian, Portuguese, Chinese, and "Other European." Use of these terms originated in the 19th century following the emancipation of the Negro slaves when thousands of indentured laborers were brought into the country. A majority of these laborers were East Indians but there were smaller numbers of Portuguese and Chinese. Thus, the terms "Portuguese" and "Other European" enabled a distinction to be drawn between the indentured Portuguese laborers and the colony's ruling class. The geographic distribution of the population by ethnic group is shown in Figure 1.

The East Indians, the largest single ethnic group, comprised an estimated 51% of the population as of

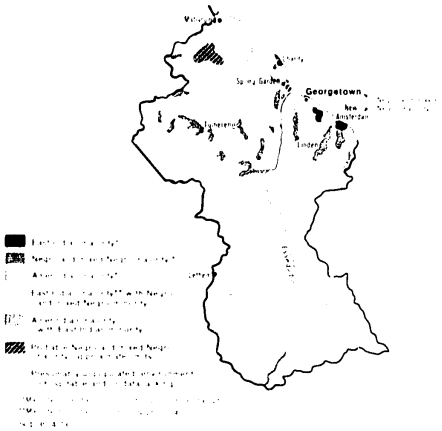

FIGURE 1. Geographic distribution of ethnic groups, 1960 (U OU)

January 1971. Virtually all were natives of Guyana, being descended from indentured laborers brought from India. The majority were Hindus from the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh) in the north of India; about 16% were Muslims. Less than one-third of the Hindus were of low caste or outcaste origin, while 12% were Brahmans and Kshatriyas, the highest caste groups. Despite distinctions of caste, the Indian immigrants were all treated alike in their new role as field laborers, and the elaborate ritual distinctions common to the different Hindu castes in India became submerged in the harsh realities of plantation life. Since the beginning of the 20th century, the East Indians have experienced a declining death rate resulting from improvements in rural health conditions, while they have maintained a high birth rate. As a community, they increased in size by an average of 1.4% per annum in the period 1931 to 1946 and by an average of 3.6% per annum between 1946 and 1960—a higher rate of growth than that of any other ethnic group. Accounting for approximately 43% of the population in 1946 and 48% in 1960, by the late 1960's they comprised a slight majority.

In 1971, the Africans constituted 31% of the population. Like the East Indians, they were also native Guyanese, descended from slaves originating on the Guinea coast of West Africa and from some 56,000 indentured servants brought from the West Indies and Africa after the abolition of slavery. Improved health conditions during the first half of the 20th century had less impact on the growth rate of the Africans as many

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were urban dwellers who already enjoyed these advantages. The community increased in size by an average of 1.0% per annum between 1931 and 1946 and by an average of 2.7% per annum in the period 1946 to 1960. Thus, growing at a slower rate than the East Indian community, the African group dropped from 38% of the population in 1946 to 33% in 1960 and to less than a third in the late 1960's.

The "Mixed" category includes individuals with two or more blood strains, one of which normally is Negro. In the early days of the colony, persons of mixed descent (also known as coloreds) were mostly the offspring of Negro slave women and British or Dutch men. Later, Africans and coloreds alike mated with the Portuguese, Amerindians, Chinese, and a small number of East Indians. The proportionate size of the mixed group has remained largely unchanged in recent years: in 1946 they accounted for approximately 10% of the population and in 1969, about 12%. The actual size of the group, however, is probably somewhat greater than reported because many persons of mixed descent identify themselves as Africans; in fact, the mixed group is usually considered as a part of the African community.

Most present-day Amerindians are descended from two main aboriginal groups, the Arawakan- and the Carib-speaking tribes, both of which arrived in the area that is now Guyana from south of the Orinoco River in about the 10th century. The proportion of Amerindians in the population dropped quickly after the beginning of the colonial era as a result of mistreatment and exposure to diseases introduced by Europeans and Africans. Of approximately 19 subgroups inhabiting the area at the beginning of the colonial occupation, only nine remain (Figure 2). These vary in culture, stage of development, and degree of assimilation into the national society. In 1971, the Amerindians comprised about 4% of the population, a proportion little changed since the mid-1940's.

Portuguese, Chinese, and "Other Europeans" collectively accounted for the remaining 2% of the population in 1971, the majority of whom were native born. The Portuguese element is descended from indentured laborers brought from the Madeira, Cape Verde, and Azores islands, while the Chinese are descendants of immigrants from Fukien and Kwangtung provinces in South China. Of those classified as "Other European," the majority are of British origin, but the category also includes individuals of Canadian, Dutch, French, Scottish, and U.S. extraction; some are temporary residents connected with foreign-owned enterprises.

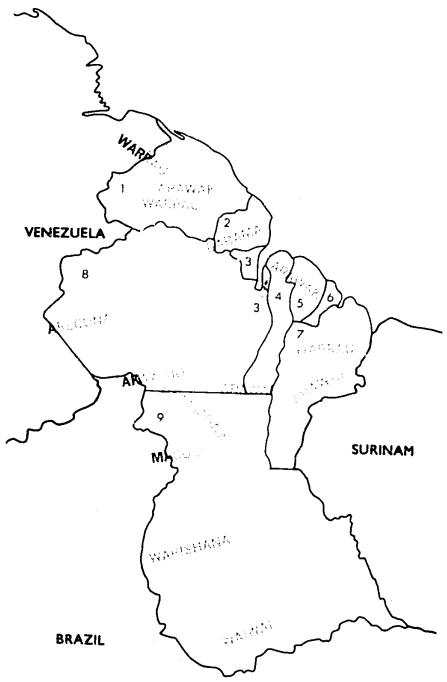
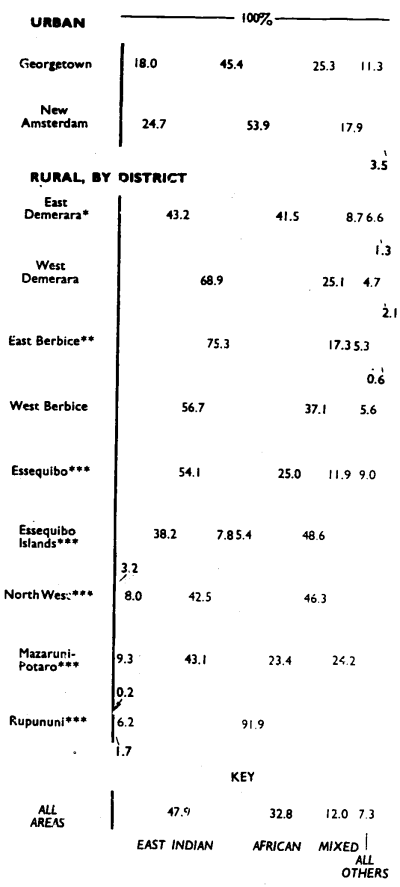


FIGURE 2. Identification and location of Amerindian tribes (U,OU)

The urban-rural distribution of the population by ethnic group reveals a concentration of Africans in the two major cities, Georgetown and New Amsterdam (Figure 3). In 1960, the African and mixed groups together comprised more than 70% of the population of both greater Georgetown and New Amsterdam. Moreover, of the total African and mixed communities, some 46% were resident in one or the other of these two cities. East Indians, on the other hand, accounted for only 18% of Georgetown's population in 1960 and for only 25% of that of New Amsterdam. The number of East Indians living in either of the two cities represented about 13% of the total East Indian



* *Excluding Georgetown*
** *Excluding New Amsterdam*
*** *In these regions Amerindians make up 95% of the "Other" category.*

FIGURE 3. Ethnic groups, by urban-rural residence, 1960 (U/OU)

FIGURE 4. Children representing Guyana's seven ethnic types: rear, left to right, Amerindian, Chinese, Portuguese; front, left to right, African, Mixed, European, East Indian (U/OU)

community. About two-thirds of all Chinese and Europeans resided in greater Georgetown or New Amsterdam. Only a handful of Amerindians were urban residents.

Most rural villages in the densely populated coastal strip contain both Africans and East Indians, but each village tends to be inhabited predominantly by one group or the other. In a number of instances in the past, when a village was torn by factionalism, the central government divided the village along ethnic lines, thus creating two villages and two local governing authorities. For the most part, however, rural Africans and East Indians live peaceably side by side. Of the Amerindian population, approximately one-third inhabit the fringes of the coastal area, while the remainder are dispersed throughout the interior, usually in small villages of from 100 to 200 residents.

a. Physical characteristics

A variety of physical types, customarily recognizable to outsiders, reflect the ethnic diversity of the country (Figure 4). The average East Indian is of medium stature with a rather slight build. His hair is black, either straight or wavy, and his eyes dark. Skin color ranges from medium to dark brown. Because the Africans descend from various Negroid tribes along the west coast of Africa, skin color ranges from light brown to black. Males average about 5 feet 8 inches in height and are apt to be muscular. An African tends to have black kinky hair, a broad nose, and everted lips. As most persons of mixed ancestry descend from Africans and Europeans, they exhibit characteristics associated with these groups. Most obvious is skin color, which

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ranges from almost white (locally termed "high color") to various darker shades. Amerindians are generally a little over 5 feet in height, stockily built, and muscular, with bronze skin color, straight dark hair, and brown eyes. Slightly Mongoloid features are apparent.

b. Languages

English is Guyana's official language. It is used on the radio, in the newspapers, and for instruction in the public schools, where attendance theoretically has been compulsory since 1876. With minor exceptions, particularly among the older Amerindians, it is universally spoken. Because correct usage of the language is one of the prime criteria of social status, all who consider themselves in the middle class or above make every effort to speak as grammatically as possible. Among the lower class, however, the spoken language, called Creolese, is an ungrammatical patois based on English and containing Portuguese, Dutch, Hindi, African, and Amerindian words. Nevertheless, it can usually be understood by an outsider after a few brief contacts. A number of Amerindians speak dialects of three indigenous languages—Carib, Arawakan, or Warrau. Between one-half and two-thirds of the Amerindians, however, have learned to speak, read, and write some English in school, and a few in the southwestern part of the country bordering Brazil are also able to speak Brazilian Portuguese. The East Indian languages, primarily Hindi, Bengali, and Oriya, have been displaced by English except among some of the older East Indians. The use of Chinese and Portuguese has virtually died out, and the African languages of the Negro slaves have been completely forgotten.

2. Social classes

Self-government and subsequent independence have provided the impetus for a recasting of social classes. Although a majority of individuals on the bottom rung of the social ladder remain the least privileged group, the more able of the old middle class have moved upward into high status positions, replacing the former British elite, while the middle class has expanded substantially.

During the colonial occupation, the African and mixed groups accepted the culture of the English-speaking white population, among whom the principal determinants of status were skin color, education, occupation, and wealth. Of these, the overriding consideration was the degree of whiteness of skin. To be born of mixed parentage and to have light skin coloration was better than to be pure Negro; to be an octoroon was better than to be a quadroon. Correct use of the English language, including the ability to read and write, and knowledge of proper dress and behavior were other marks of status and privilege, subject always to the insuperable barrier of skin color. As late as the 1950's, for example, the mixed society of Georgetown was described as "the world where 'high color' and 'low color' are preoccupations, where parents plan for their daughters to marry men with lighter skins than their own, and white skin is the hope and aid of all."

Having accepted the social system of the English, many of the Africans and persons of mixed descent acquired an education and moved into middle-class occupations, such as teaching, the civil service, and other white-collar areas of some responsibility and prestige. As the Portuguese and Chinese also acquired English education and culture, they, too, gradually moved into higher status groups, upward mobility being facilitated by their skin color and the wealth that many had acquired. Most of the East Indians, however, made little effort to enter Guyanese society. Because their children were rarely sent to school, the majority remained illiterate until well into the 20th century. Lack of education and a tendency toward aloofness, coupled with rural residence and an initial refusal to accept many of the status symbols of Guyanese society, made upward mobility virtually impossible for many years. Eventually, however, their tendency to save and their belated willingness to spend money for their children's education provided many with the means of gaining higher status. Since the turn of the century, increasing numbers have moved into middle-class occupations.

Thus, the social structure at mid-20th century consisted of a white aristocracy composed of colonial administrators, commercial and industrial executives, and plantation owners and managers; a middle, generally conservative, class consisting of Africans, persons of mixed descent, Portuguese, Chinese, and educated East Indians occupying the upper, middle, and lower tiers of the professions, commerce, and government; and a lower class composed of skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled urban workers, almost all of them Africans, and of East Indian and African agricultural laborers and small farmers. The advent of universal suffrage, the creation of mass political parties, and the introduction of constitutional reforms in the 1950's and of self-government in the 1960's have brought about significant changes in the composition of the upper and middle classes. Moving into positions of authority in the top echelon of the nation's political and social structure are former members of the middle class who have qualified by

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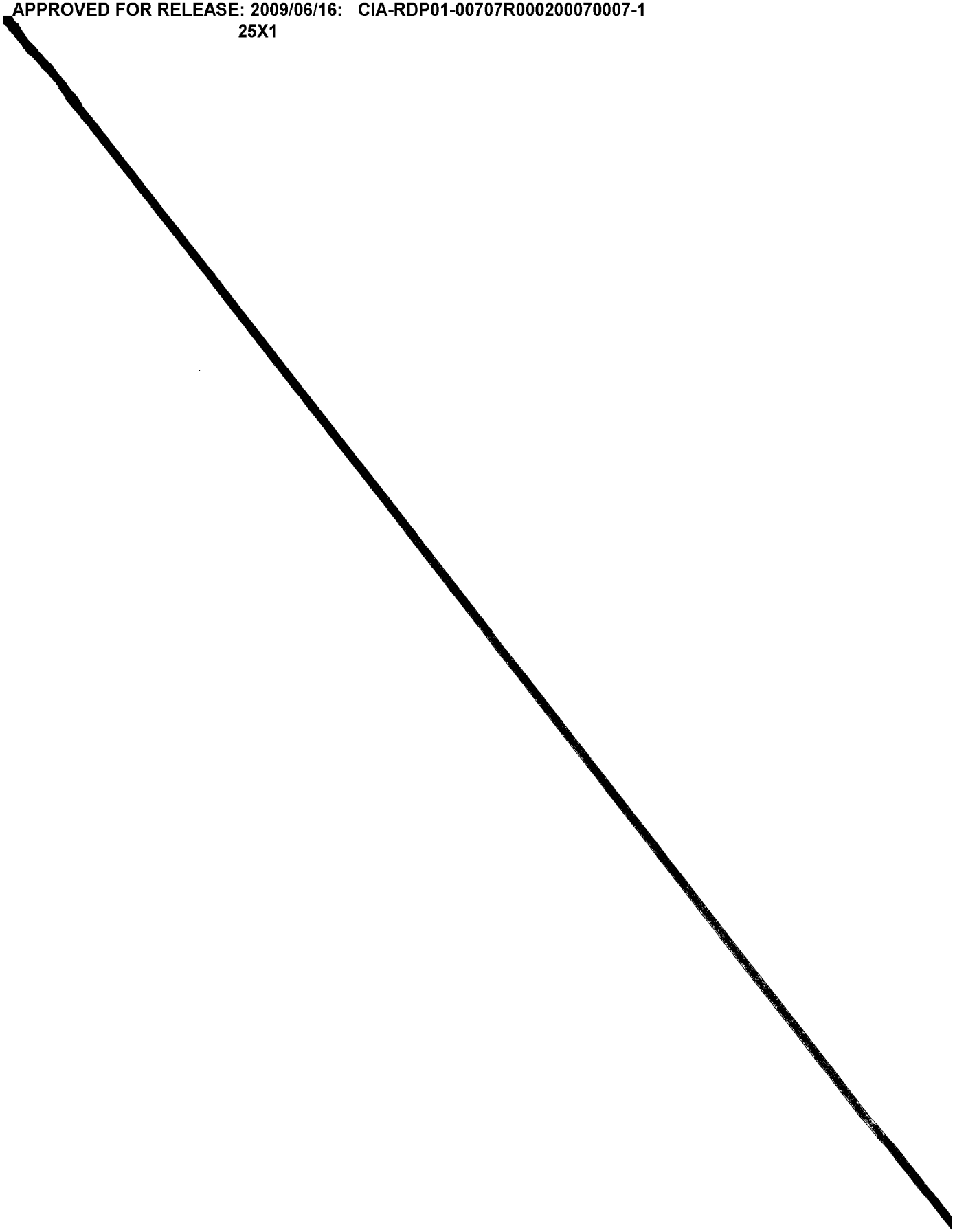

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remained on the sugar plantations, while others became independent rice farmers.

In the ricegrowing areas, many East Indians have largely reverted to the extended family, sons remaining in their parental homes after marriage for a year or more or until the birth of one or two children. On the sugar estates, however, a son many be allotted a house immediately upon marriage. If there is a scarcity of houses, a number of sons and their families may live with their parents, but generally in such cases each family has its own room, its own kitchen, and a separate budget. East Indian custom requires that a young wife living in the house of her mother-in-law be subservient to her. As the wives find this practice increasingly objectionable, husbands set up their own establishments, usually nearby, as soon as economically possible. In consequence, the East Indian village is generally divided into a series of family clusters whose members are related to one another through ties of blood between males. Among rice farmers, these family clusters frequently form a corporate economic group for growing rice as a crop.

East Indian girls are expected to marry before age 20 and boys before age 25 unless they are acquiring higher education. Personal choice is becoming increasingly important in the selection of mates, and some couples elope if parental opposition is strong. Nevertheless, arranging the marriage of one's children continues to be a major parental responsibility, at least in rural areas. Although caste has little significance in most aspects of contemporary life, Hindu parents prefer marriage within the same or higher caste. A young man's future prospects, however, are also important considerations, and are likely to be of paramount concern to urban parents.

As marriage is regarded as a major rite marking the transition from youth to adulthood, as elaborate a wedding as means will permit is a necessary affirmation of social prestige, particularly among Hindus. Marital unions may be established by a Hindu or Muslim religious ceremony, by a legal, registered marriage with or without a religious ceremony, or by a common law, or "customary" union not publicly celebrated. First marriages are generally solemnized by religious rites. Since 1957, however, a Hindu or Muslim religious official, like a Christian clergyman, may perform a legal ceremony; hence, first marriages now tend to be automatically registered and legal. Nevertheless, many East Indians continue to prefer a religious rite only or a common law union, both of which make it possible to avoid costly divorce proceedings in case the marriage fails. Although Christian churches object to common law unions, they are sanctioned by the Hindu and Muslim communities. If, however, an unregistered marriage endures for 6 or more years, it is usually legitimized by registration.

Quite frequently, when a newly married couple lives with the husband's parents for an extended period, the young wife will become dissatisfied and return home; conversely, her husband or his parents may force her to leave if they find her not to their liking. No social stigma attaches to couples who terminate a union, legal or otherwise, and establish a new household. A girl may have children from several unions before she settles down permanently with a man who, quite probably, has had similar experiences. Observers estimate that one-third to one-fourth of all East Indian couples undergo marital failures. In such cases, the mother usually takes the children, but custom requires that the father help support them until the mother remarries. In fact, a mother or her family may invoke legal assistance to insure their support.

In the traditional East Indian household the father is a respected and authoritarian figure. All other members of the family are subordinate to him, his wishes are law, he controls the activities of his wife and children, and he is the judge of right and wrong. In fact, external regulations, such as local and national laws, are only respected after they have been interpreted by the central figure of family authority. Young children are tended by their mother, but as a boy grows older he comes under his father's supervision. The latter arranges for his education, teaches him fieldwork, or finds him a job. He may also choose his son's wife. The son is expected to show deference to his father, to refrain from familiarity, and never to challenge paternal authority. Should the father die, the oldest son living at home generally is recognized as head of the family.

Daughters remain under their mother's tutelage until marriage. She teaches them to cook, sew, keep house, and regard the men of the household as their protectors and superiors. The traditional East Indian woman engages in few activities outside the home that are not associated with her role as wife and mother. Among orthodox Muslims, women have no voice in the *Jamaat* (a Muslim religious association), and they may not worship in the mosque. Similarly, among Hindus, certain ritual observances are permitted only to men.

Normally, spouses inherit from each other, but if a will is drawn up the children may share equally. In practice, daughters receive less than sons, as the marriage expenses and dowries of the former are charged against their shares. The girl's dowry consists of movable property, such as livestock, money, and

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jewelry, while the boy may receive his share of the patrimony in land.

In the kinship pattern of lower stratum East Indians, the wife of the father's *baugi* (elder brother) plays a major role in family life. Considered second in importance to the mother, she is known as *barima*, or as "big mumma," to her nieces and nephews on her husband's side of the family. In addition to consanguinal relationships, formal kinship terminology is employed by most East Indians as a means of expressing respect for friends and compatriots. It is common, for example, for young people to call old people *ajah* or *nana* and *ajie* or *nanie* (paternal or maternal grandfather, paternal or maternal grandmother); for older people to call young people *beata* or *batie* (son or daughter); and for men to refer to other men as *bhai* (brother). In addition, a man might call a close friend *barkah* (eldest brother) and the friend's wife *bhougie* (sister-in-law).[2]

Traditional family and kinship patterns are slowly changing as many East Indians emerge from ethnic isolation. Newly acquired educational and business opportunities, along with participation in politics, have resulted in a gradual acculturation into national life. Change, however, varies between urban and rural areas and from village to village, depending on the degree of interaction with other ethnic groups. Nevertheless, family ties and rural residence, together with distinctive religious beliefs, have enabled most East Indians to maintain cultural separation from the mainstream of Guyanese life and to preserve traditional values and customs.

The typical East Indian's identity is rooted in his family and community role and in his religious beliefs. In this context, a fundamental core value is egalitarianism, referred to as *mati*. Probably derived from the English word "mate," *mati* denotes a bond between men occupying the same status. *Mati* is enforced not only by such common social controls as gossip, ridicule, and scorn, but also by the so-called "eye pass," a public redress of insult or humiliation in which the accuser requires the offender to either reaffirm the bond of their equal status or to validate his claim of superiority. The eye pass thus discourages individuals from adopting some of the values and symbols of the modern Western world.

Nevertheless, wealth is valued, but only as a commodity to be husbanded and used to discharge religious obligations, to make more money, to educate one's children, and to invest in land. Ownership of land, in fact, carries with it a certain mystique, and most East Indians work their land intensively and carefully. Thrift and personal reserve are also highly prized. Thus, the East Indian works hard and consumes frugally; anyone who spends foolishly and extravagantly is derided as a man of low caste. The rural East Indian who moves to town does not emulate the urban dweller in conspicuous ways but strives to establish economic independence. Community and religious leaders, moreover, tend to be drawn from those who have succeeded financially.

Although East Indians were slow to accept it and continue to assail its European bias, education has become a paramount value and one of the most important forces promoting their integration into national life. It provides a knowledge of the English language and culture that are requisite for upward social mobility, opening the way to civil service and other white-collar employment. More and more, East Indian children are attending school, some through the university level, and thereafter entering fields once the almost exclusive preserve of Africans and Europeans.

The East Indian is proud of his origin in India, whose independence has enhanced his ethnic pride and given added meaning to his traditional way of life. He esteems those who support the ethnic community—merchants, for example, who sponsor radio programs of Indian music. Conversely, he disapproves of those who fail to publicly support the family, kinship group, or ethnic community, an attitude which tends to exacerbate interracial tensions.

Among the customs observed by the East Indian community are the celebrations associated with Hindu or Islamic religious rites, such as *Deepavali*, a Hindu festival of lights to placate Kali, the goddess of death and destruction. In addition, Hindus normally celebrate the "Ninth Day," when a newborn child is given his name by a pandit; *mooran*, when a child receives his first haircut, usually about the age of 9 months; ritualized engagements and weddings; funerals (deceased persons are buried, rather than cremated as in India); ceremonies in memory of ancestors; and the so-called *yag*. The *yag* is a rite of thanksgiving for such events as a good crop, completion of a new house, or recovery from an illness. Depending on the wealth of the family, a *yag* may be an expensive affair, a large number of friends and relatives being invited to share in the festivities which may last for several days. Food and drink is supplied to all guests, and the officiating pandit is presented gifts in keeping with the resources of the host. Religious obligations and duties, in fact, require at least one-fourth of all earnings if one expects to be considered a "good Hindu." The demands of religious observance account in part for the stress placed on wealth by the East Indian community.

[2]The spelling of kinship terms are based on local usage.

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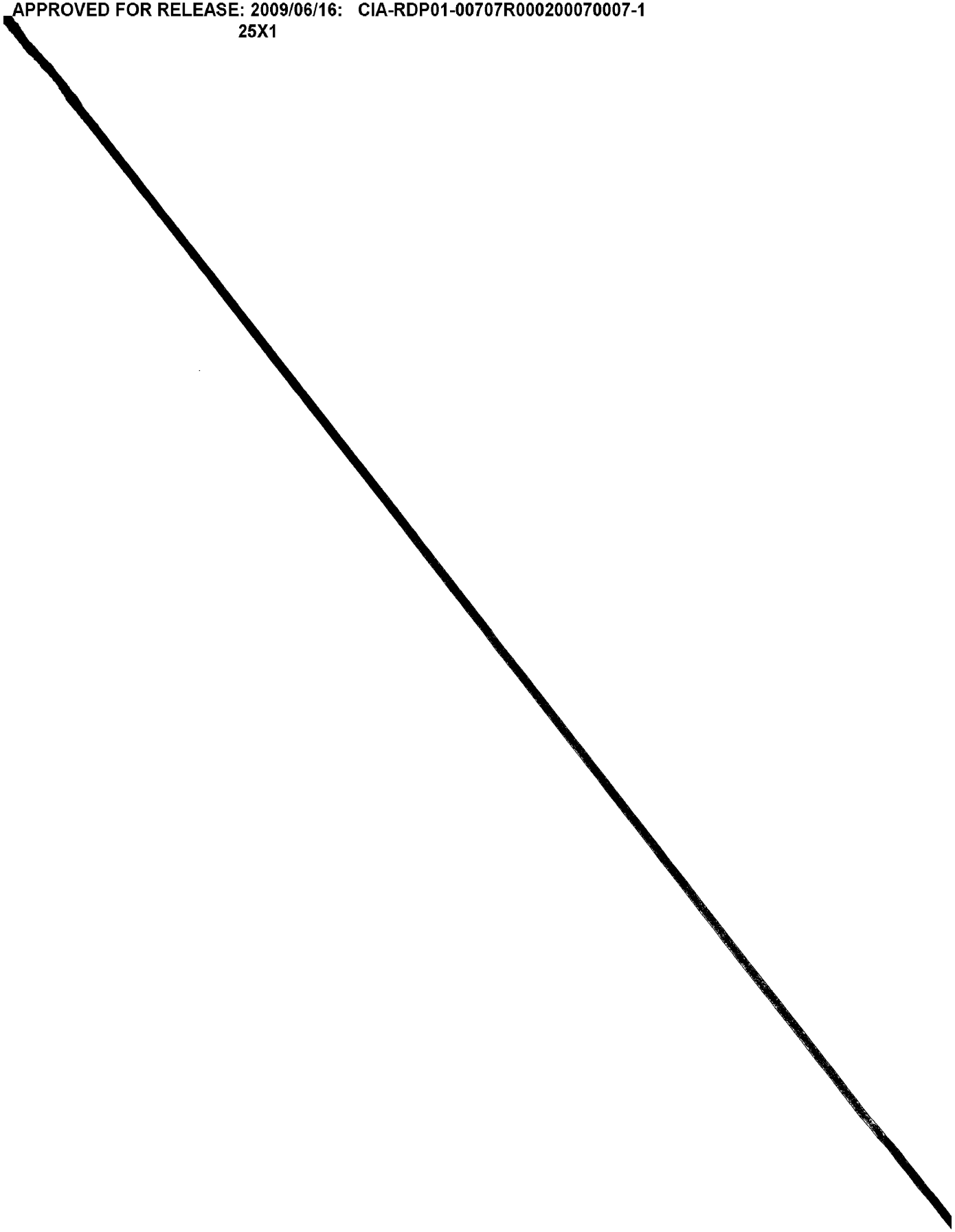

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are all popular; men gather in the local rum shop to exchange gossip and discuss politics. Money also provides the means with which to acquire good clothing, refrigerators, bicycles, sewing machines, and other items having a status connotation.

The Africans perceived the value of education much earlier than the East Indians and utilized it to acquire a dominance in the civil service, the professions, and other privileged occupations. Community leaders are apt to be schoolteachers or others who have acquired an education. Although the Africans continue to esteem education and public service more highly than do the East Indians, the latter have recently begun to compete with them for the higher economic and political positions in society, a development that many Africans regard as a usurpation of their hereditary rights.

Although the Africans had always prized a light complexion above all else and had sought slavishly to imitate the British colonialist, the middle and upper classes have begun to take a much greater interest in their African heritage and to develop a genuine pride of race, reflected by interest in the international "black power" movement, "soul" music, and the literature of Africa. They are proud of the former colonies in Africa and the West Indies now ruled by Negroes. The average African, however, although aware of his African background, continues to maintain a Westernized or "creole" outlook on life.

c. Other ethnic communities

Among Guyana's other ethnic groups, Amerindians have the most distinctive life style. Although cultural change is resulting from increasing contacts with missionaries, government agents, and others who venture into the interior, many Amerindians retain their traditional way of life and remain outside the national social structure. The tropical forest culture of the various tribal groups shows many points of similarity. Tribal differentiation is recognized, but organization does not extend beyond the village level. None of the groups acknowledges class or caste distinctions. Village heads, known as "captains," or as *tushaus*, and other leaders are generally chosen informally on the basis of ability.

The extended family and matrilocal residence after marriage are traditional among most tribal groups (the Wapishana are the principal exception), as the groom is expected to serve his wife's kinsmen. Thus, a household with several daughters might contain 20 or more people. Such activities as hunting and farming are undertaken in groups, and the young obey and take care of the old. As a trial marriage customarily precedes a permanent arrangement, an Amerindian woman may have a child before she marries. Wherever their influence prevails, missionaries have insisted that after a religious ceremony a newly married couple occupy a separate house. In such cases the son-in-law, living in his own house, no longer feels obligated to serve the old people, and the latter may be left without their traditional means of support. In areas not influenced by missionaries polygyny is often permitted. As a wife grows old (Amerindian wives do most of the heavy work and age rapidly), it is not uncommon for her husband to marry her daughter by another man. Marriage to two sisters successively also is not unusual.

Women of the village assist at childbirth, at which time, among some tribes, couvade is practiced, a custom in which the father goes to bed as if for childbearing. Puberty rites vary among the different tribes but generally include fasting, exposure to ant bites (an extremely painful experience), and flagellation. Burial is usual, although the final rites may be delayed as long as a year. Burial ceremonies may also involve singing and dancing and, in some cases, mutual flagellation. Most of these practices, however, have been discontinued in areas under missionary influence.

Spellcasting, formerly practiced by all tribes, is now confined to those in the more remote areas, such as the Macusi and Patamona tribes. Spells are cast by blowing in the direction of the victim and saying appropriate words. The person's breath, considered the physical part of his spirit, is believed to enter the victim's body, where it acts as directed by the spoken charm. The object of the blowing, however, is not always a human being and the intent need not be harmful. Thus, blowing can be used to cure illness, to exorcise spirits, to prevent or bring rain, or to accomplish almost any other purpose.

Living patterns of the Chinese, European, and Portuguese communities are determined largely by British social norms and values. The Chinese distinguish between "local-born" (born in Guyana) and "home-born" (born in China). The former have few, if any, contacts with China; many have given up their Chinese names along with the Chinese language. Since the early 20th century, families have not been organized along clan or extended kinship lines, and most do not trace their ancestry beyond the first immigrant. Many home-born Chinese plan, somewhat vaguely, to return to China at some future data. They may send their sons to China for their preliminary education, but for their advanced studies they are likely to send them to England or the United

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States. A certain residuum of Chinese behavior and values and a sense of group identity explain their tendency to marry among themselves.

The European community, which numbered about 5,000 near the end of the colonial period, has decreased in relative size and in economic and political influence since independence. Although the Portuguese have tended to become assimilated into the general population, their Roman Catholicism and their general image dating from the mid-19th century as traders and pawnbrokers are factors in preserving their status as a separate group.

C. Population (U/OU)

Guyana's population, estimated at slightly more than three-quarters of a million at the end of 1972, has more than doubled since the end of World War II. During the 1946-60 intercensal period, the population grew at an average annual rate of 2.9%, but a declining birth rate and increased emigration served to lower that rate to 2.5% during the period 1960-70. Should the population continue to increase as it did in the 1960's, it would double in 28 years, reaching 1 million in 1984. If the birth rate continues to fall, however, Guyana's population will grow at a slightly slower pace, especially if the volume of emigration, largely responsive to changes in socioeconomic conditions not only in Guyana but also in the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom, remains at the level of the 1960's. The current age structure, nonetheless, is highly conducive to rapid population growth in the future, whether or not fertility declines. An increasing number of women are entering the principal reproductive ages each year, and large birth cohorts are to be expected annually in the near future even if there is some additional decline in the birth rate.

Most Guyanese think of their country as underpopulated, and many officials believe that increased numbers of residents are needed to develop the vast, virtually uninhabited interior. Accordingly, although public officials are aware of the socioeconomic problems attendant on rapid population growth, there has been little support for programs designed to limit that growth. Family planning is firmly opposed by the Prime Minister and is a delicate subject in Guyana. The racial character of the political divisions within the country makes family planning activities particularly suspect, with political leaders being unwilling to endorse a program that might restrict the growth of their constituencies. As a result, there is no official family planning program in Guyana, although some Ministry of Health personnel are known to hope that the maternal and child health clinics might in the long run provide the nucleus for such a program. In the meantime, family planning advice is available to those who seek it from their physicians.

Government action in the field of population has centered mainly on programs to effect improvement in the grossly uneven geographic distribution of the population and to attract immigrants. Neither endeavor has met with much success. The government's resettlement projects, designed "to populate the country's rich interior in order to meet the industrial and agricultural needs of future generations," have not had a significant impact on the distribution of the population. Moreover, although Guyana historically has been a land of immigrants, emigrants have outnumbered immigrants in most years since World War II. The Burnham administration has encouraged the immigration of Negroes from the West Indies and the "reimmigration" of earlier African emigrants. Its immigration policies, however, are based more on social and political considerations than on demographic factors, immigration of Negroes being seen as a means of reducing the margin of the East Indian majority.

The registration of births and deaths, except among the Amerindian community, has been reasonably complete in the years since the end of World War II. As ascertained by the registration of births, the birth rate rose during the 1950's, reaching a peak of 43.6 per 1,000 population in 1955-59, before beginning a general downward trend in the 1960's (Figure 5). Although the rate for 1970 (36.5 per 1,000 population) is high when compared with that of developed nations, the downward trend indicates that gradually increasing numbers of Guyanese are limiting the size of their families, mainly for economic reasons. Reflecting in part a decline in the infant mortality rate, which dropped from 80.4 deaths of infants under age 1 per 1,000 live births in 1945-49 to 43.0 in 1970, the death rate fell from 14.4 per 1,000 population in 1945-49 to 6.6 in 1970. The 1970 rate is quite low, resulting from the fact that a large proportion of the population is in the younger ages where death rates are low. If Guyana had the same age distribution as the United States, for example, the death rate would be substantially higher.

As a consequence of the declining death rate, life expectancy at birth has been increasing, as shown in the following tabulation (in years):

1950-55	55.8
1955-60	59.3
1960-65	61.6
1965-70	64.7

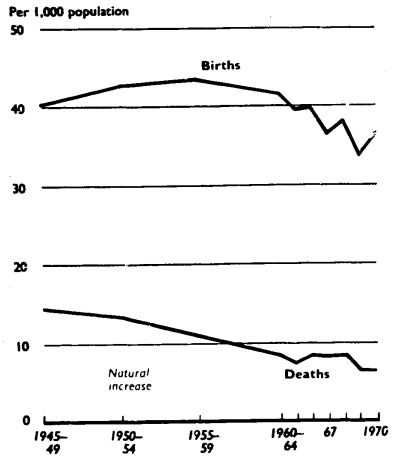

FIGURE 5. Vital rates (U OU)

Except for Argentina and Uruguay, life expectancy at birth in Guyana in 1965-70 was longer than in any other South American country.

Emigration has played an important role in lowering Guyana's rate of growth. On the basis of the excess of births over deaths, the population would have grown at an average annual rate of about 3.1% during the 1960-70 intercensal period, but emigration cut that rate to 2.5%. Each year during the 1960's, emigrants outnumbered immigrants substantially, the excess of emigrants over immigrants throughout the 10-year period surpassing 30,000. For 1970, the most recent year for which data are available, emigrants numbered more than 4,200 and immigrants totaled almost 2,000. The emigration, which has remained uncontrolled, is a matter of concern to the government, primarily because many of those who emigrate are skilled persons whose talents are needed locally. Most emigrants leave Guyana for economic reasons, and most are bound for the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, or the West Indies; the United States is the destination of the largest single number. Because of a language barrier, few Guyanese emigrate to Latin American countries. The largest single number of immigrants comes from the United Kingdom, followed by the United States and the West Indies.

1. Size and distribution

According to the preliminary results of the census of 7 April 1970, Guyana had a population of 714,233, a 27% increase over the 560,330 enumerated in 1960. By the end of 1972, the population was estimated to have reached 763,000. Guyana thus has fewer inhabitants than any other independent South American country, although its population exceeds that of Surinam and French Guiana. In both population and area, it is roughly comparable with the state of Idaho.

Because its extensive forested and savanna areas are extremely sparsely populated, Guyana has a very low density of settlement, there being an estimated 9.1 persons per square mile at midyear 1972. The national average, moreover, masks the tremendous variation in density existing within the country. In general, population concentrations and population densities are heavy in the eastern portion of the coastal plain, modest in the western portion, extremely sparse in the forest region immediately behind the plain, and virtually nonexistent in the rest of the country (Figure 6). The coastal plain, comprising less than 5% of the total area, contains more than 90% of the country's population, and densities in this area often exceed 500 per square mile and rise well above 1,000 in some sections. By contrast, except for a few scattered mining and lumbering settlements and isolated ranches, much of the remainder of the country is largely uninhabited, with densities of less than 1 person per square mile.

Among Guyana's nine administrative districts, East Demerara, in which the national capital is located, is by far the most populous. In 1970, it contained almost half (48%) of the total population, but accounted for less than 2% of the national territory (Figure 7). East Berbice, the second most populous district, had fewer than one-half the number of inhabitants of East Demerara, in an area more than five times as large. Rupununi, the largest of the administrative districts, makes up 45% of the total area of Guyana but in 1970 had only 13,741 residents, or 1.9% of the total population. Population density in East Demerara in 1970 was 258 persons per square mile. In the other eight districts, it ranged from a high of 74 persons per square mile in West Berbice to a low of 4 persons for every 10 square miles in Rupununi.

Guyana's population is predominantly rural, the bulk of the country's inhabitants living in small rural communities. Traditionally, the urban population has

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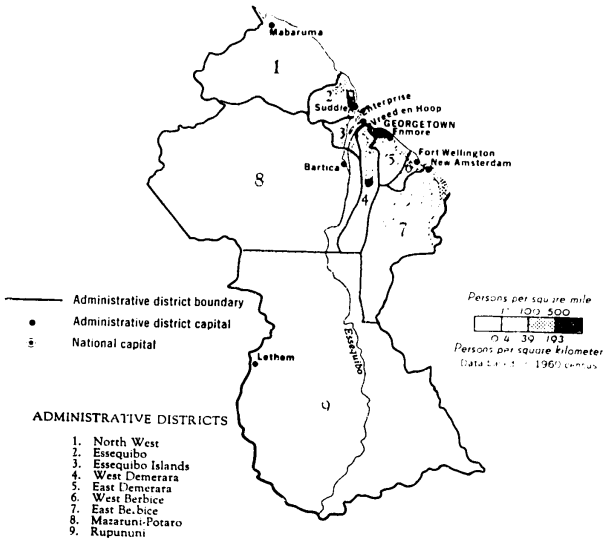

FIGURE 6. Population density, by administrative district, 1960 (U/OU)

FIGURE 7. Population, area, and population density, by administrative district, 1970 (U/OU)

ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICT	POPULATION	PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION	AREA	PERCENT OF TOTAL AREA	PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE
East Berbice	116,630	20.5	7,470	9.0	19.6
East Demerara	343,072	48.0	1,328	1.6	258.3
Essequibo	56,861	8.0	2,822	3.4	20.1
Essequibo Islands					
Mazaruni-Potaro	13,437	1.9	22,825	27.5	0.6
North West	16,233	2.3	8,217	9.9	2.0
Rupununi	13,741	1.9	37,433	45.1	0.4
West Berbice	36,922	5.2	198	0.6	74.1
West Demerara	87,337	12.2	2,407	2.9	36.3
All Guyana	714,233	100.0	83,000	100.0	8.6

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been equated with the residents of Georgetown and its suburbs and of New Amsterdam. Under this definition, the urban population accounted for 24.4% of the total population in 1931, for 27.6% in 1946, and for 29.0% in 1960. Applied to the 1970 census, however, the traditional criterion for "urban" in Guyana yielded a proportion of only 25.9%, a figure which would seem to indicate that the gradual trend toward urbanization was reversed after 1960. It is a fact that the proportion of the total population represented by the inhabitants of Georgetown and its suburbs declined between 1960 and 1970; on the other hand, the traditional definition excludes communities whose growth would appear to qualify them for urban status. During the 1960's, for example, the former MacKenzie–Wismar–Christianburg area, now Linden, grew rapidly, new residents being attracted by expanding bauxite production facilities there. According to one estimate, the population of Linden was about 30,000 in 1972.

The population of Georgetown, including suburbs, rose from 148,391 in 1960 to 167,078 in 1970 (and to an estimated 170,000 in 1972), but the population of the city itself declined from 72,964 to 66,070 as the result of an exodus to the suburbs. Although it is the largest urban area and the center of national life, greater Georgetown grew at a far slower pace during the 1960-70 intercensal period than the country as a whole, registering an average annual rate of growth of only 1.2%. This situation, unique among the capitals of South American countries, stems from several factors. First, the birth rate in the greater Georgetown area is lower than that in the countryside. Secondly, the area suffers from a high rate of unemployment and has not attracted many in-migrants. Finally, it is believed that large numbers of emigrants, especially those with some schooling or skill, come from greater Georgetown. Despite limited growth during the intercensal period, the greater Georgetown area accounted for 23.4% of the total Guyanese population in 1970, compared with 26.5% in 1960, and it was more than nine times as large as New Amsterdam. New Amsterdam's population rose from 14,053 in 1960 to 18,199 in 1970, an average of about 2.6% per year, and was estimated at 23,000 in 1972.

No measurement of the volume of internal migration has been published since the 1960 census, when it was ascertained that 26% of the native-born were living in a district other than the one of their birth. Almost 30% of the native-born residents of the greater Georgetown area had been born elsewhere in Guyana; the proportion was even higher in New Amsterdam, and it exceeded 50% in Mazaruni–Potaro District. Since 1960, there has been continuing movement of peoples, with migration patterns being closely linked to those of economic development. A comparison of data from the 1960 and 1970 censuses shows that the various administrative districts, although they all gained population, grew differentially. Presumably those districts registering increases above the national average—West Demerara, West Berbice, and Rupununi—gained population as a result of in-migration, while the other districts, all of which showed an increase below the national average, lost population through out-migration.

In addition to internal migration of a permanent nature, some seasonal migration takes place, mainly from coastal regions to the interior. Gold and diamond prospectors and miners, known locally as porknockers, constitute a large portion of seasonal migrants, but others work at lumbering operations and in the stone quarries. Normally, these seasonal migrants move to jobs in the interior during the dry season, but return to their permanent homes when the rainy season begins.

2. Age-sex structure

Although data from the 1970 census regarding the age composition of the Guyanese population have not yet been published, the population is known to be quite young. According to a U.N. estimate, the median age at midyear 1973 was 17.1 years, a figure more than 11 years below that for the United States. Nonetheless, the U.N. estimate implies that the trend since at least 1921 toward an ever younger population was arrested during the years 1960-70 and had been reversed by 1970. (The median age in 1960 was 17.0 years.) Thus, the estimate accords with the known decline in the birth rate during the 1960's.

FIGURE 8. Estimated population, by age group and sex, midyear 1970 (U/OU)
(Percent)

AGE GROUP	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH SEXES
0–4	16.7	16.0	16.4
5–9	15.6	15.5	15.6
10–14	13.5	13.3	13.4
15–19	11.6	11.4	11.5
20–24	8.6	8.4	8.5
25–29	6.2	6.5	6.4
30–34	5.1	5.2	5.1
35–39	4.5	4.6	4.5
40–44	4.1	4.1	4.1
45–49	3.5	3.5	3.5
50–54	3.0	3.0	3.0
55–59	2.4	2.5	2.4
60–64	2.2	1.9	2.0
65–69	1.6	1.6	1.6
70 and over	1.6	2.5	2.0
All ages	100.0	100.0	100.0

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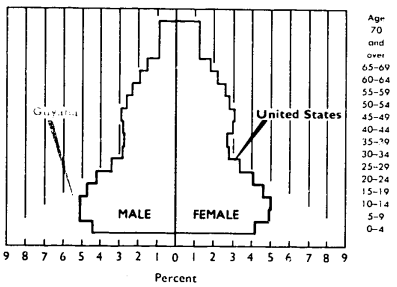

FIGURE 9. Age-sex structure, Guyana and the United States, midyear 1970 (U/OU)

According to the U.N. estimate, 32.0% of the population at midyear 1970 were under age 10 (the proportion in 1960 was 33.7%) and 56.9% were under age 20 (Figure 8). In contrast, only 3.6% of the population were age 65 or older and only 11.0% were age 50 or older. All together, 49.0% of the population were in the dependent ages (0-14 and 65 or older), whereas 51.0% were in the working ages (15-64), providing a ratio of 963 persons of dependent age per 1,000 of working age, a figure some 40% higher than that in the United States, but slightly lower than the 985 registered in 1960. Guyana's age-sex profile, compared with that of the United States (Figure 9), shows that the proportion of the Guyanese population under age 5 is almost double that of the United States, attesting to Guyana's much higher level of fertility. In fact, Guyana has a larger proportion of persons in all age groups under 35 than the United States. Conversely, the proportion of the U.S. population in the middle and older ages is markedly higher than that of Guyana.

The 1960 census revealed differences in the age structures of the urban and rural populations, differences which are believed to have persisted. In 1960, children under age 15 accounted for 48% of the rural population, but for only 41% of the urban population, pointing up the higher birth rate in the countryside. On the other hand, the proportion of persons in all age groups 15 and over was higher in urban than in rural areas. In urban areas there were 834 persons in the dependent ages for each 1,000 in the working ages; in the countryside the ratio was 1,054 per 1,000.

According to preliminary data from the 1970 census, the population comprised 355,753 males and 358,480 females, or 99.2 males per 100 females, a figure almost identical with that registered in 1960. The sex ratio varied substantially, however, by place of residence. In urban areas (i.e., greater Georgetown and New Amsterdam), there were 91.8 males per 100 females, reflecting the predilection of young women and widows with children to move from rural areas to urban centers. In contrast, there was an excess of males in rural areas, the sex ratio in the countryside being 102.0 males 100 females. Females outnumbered males only in those administrative districts in which there was an urban center. Elsewhere, the number of males exceeded the number of females. The sex ratio was highest in Mazaruni-Potaro, an interior district where economic activity centers on lumbering and mining (Figure 10). In 1960, sex ratios also varied widely by ethnic community, being low among the African (93.9) and Mixed (95.1) groups and high among the Chinese (121.1), Other European (117.1), East Indian (103.7), and Amerindian (101.1) communities.

D. Societal aspects of labor (U/OU)

1. The people and work

In view of the preponderance of the rural population, the low levels of skill which prevail in the

FIGURE 10. Population, by administrative district and sex, 1970 (U/OU)

ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICT	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH SEXES	MALES PER 100 FEMALES
East Berbice	73,176	73,454	146,630	99.6
East Demerara	167,821	175,248	343,072	95.8
Essequibo	28,759	28,102	56,861	102.3
Essequibo Islands				
Mazaruni-Potaro	8,145	5,292	13,437	153.9
North West	8,396	7,837	16,233	107.1
Rupununi	7,134	6,607	13,741	108.0
West Berbice	18,544	18,378	36,922	100.9
West Demerara	43,775	43,562	87,337	100.5
All Guyana	355,753	358,480	714,233	99.2

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labor force, and the ample supply of arable land, agriculture—traditionally the leading economic activity—would appear to afford the greatest opportunity for employment. Agriculture, however, is strongly oriented toward the production of two cash crops, sugar and rice, the first of which has become increasingly mechanized, thereby limiting the sector's capacity to absorb additional numbers of workers. The two crops, moreover, are grown in the same areas and have complementary seasons, so that, in some instances, the cultivation of both is done by the same workers, further restricting the capacity of agriculture to reduce Guyana's already substantial labor surplus. Despite a critical need to lessen the nation's dependence on sugar export revenues, as well as on imported foodstuffs, efforts to diversify agriculture have had only limited success, partly because of the difficulty of enticing workers away from the established cash crop operations. In fact, because of a widespread predilection for cash income comparatively few individuals practice subsistance farming, and barter is considerably less common than elsewhere in rural South America. The viability of the money economy in rural Guyana notwithstanding, not all persons are attracted to agriculture. Although upwards of one-fourth of all workers are engaged in agriculture, the activity is generally shunned by members of the ethnic minority groups. For them, however, alternative work opportunities are scarce. Mining, for example, which is the nation's second most important economic activity, employs comparatively few workers; as of mid-1972, moreover, sharp manpower cutbacks were being made by the Reynolds Metal Co., operator of the largest private bauxite complex in Guyana. While the rate of growth in light manufacturing, construction, and transportation was hastened after independence, a dearth of modern occupations parallels the economy's early stage of development.

Reversing the pattern that remained in effect during much of the colonial period, when African slaves served as plantation and farm laborers, the East Indians have a virtual monoply over employment in agriculture. Most are wage laborers on large sugar plantations, but the diminution in the demand for this type of labor increasingly has forced East Indians to turn toward the cultivation of rice on small, usually rented, parcels of land. Although most of the cultivators work independently, little of their production is destined for personal consumption, as the bulk of the rice is sold to landlords or mill operators, many of whom are also East Indians. Some East Indians, however, have moved off the land to become blue-collar workers, merchants, civil servants, or professionals.

Having abandoned agriculture when slavery was abolished in 1838, the Africans generally disdain manual labor, especially farming. Nonetheless, those who do not possess the requisite training for white-collar occupations appear to adapt readily to industrial and service-oriented jobs; thus, Africans predominate in manufacturing, in mining, and in most urban services. They hold a majority of civil service positions, prevail in the ranks of the Guyana Defense Force, and occupy most jobs in the state enterprises. Rather than wholly reflecting a bias in recruiting practices, however, the disproportionate representation of Africans in public jobs can be ascribed chiefly to the concentration of East Indians in areas outside the cities and to the resulting disinterest and lack of preparation for work in nonagricultural fields. Africans who have remained in the countryside have had little choice but to engage in subsistence farming. Even among subsistence farmers, however, there is a tendency for at least one member of the family, usually an adult male, to obtain wage employment on a temporary or seasonal basis so as to make possible the acquisition of manufactured consumer goods. Although some seek such work in the towns and cities, most turn to rural-based operations, including plantations, mines, and lumber mills.

Preferences for certain occupations are also manifested by members of the lesser minority groups. Europeans work mainly in urban centers, as shopkeepers or as entrepreneurs and professionals; many occupy technical and managerial positions with foreign firms operating in the country. In the past, the upper levels of the entrepreneurship were dominated by Caucasians, but their position has been successfully challenged by other groups. The Chinese, who are said to operate nearly every retail store in the mining areas and in the small towns of the interior, are mostly engaged in trade. Although a few Amerindians hold public service jobs, most dislike the discipline of regular work. Among those who have abandoned a primitive life but are untrained for public jobs, some are loggers during the rainy season, some are miners, and others are cattle hands on the ranches of the Rupununi savannas. People of mixed antecedents generally gravitate toward clerical positions in offices and shops.

Until the early 20th century, few East Indians sought employment in nonagricultural occupations. In addition to being handicapped by a lack of training, they were the subjects of outright discrimination by Africans and Europeans, who considered them socially and intellectually inferior. As a result, most East Indians who migrated from the countryside could only obtain menial employment. Eventually, a few members of this group acquired

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training in commerce, law, or medicine—fields which did not hold much attraction among Africans, but which have remained popular among middle and upper class East Indians. Greater educational opportunities, coupled with an abatement in discrimination, subsequently enabled East Indians to gain entry into a wider variety of fields, in both private and public sectors.

While discrimination based on race has tended to wane, there is considerable resistance to the employment of women, especially in the sugar industry and in other activities where substantial unemployment and underemployment exists among male breadwinners. An official report, however, ascribes the difficulty experienced by women job-seekers to the awakening of a "social conscience" concerning the performance of arduous tasks by women. The low participation rate by women in the labor force—and, for that matter, the low participation rate by the population as a whole—also results from the East Indians' traditional prohibition against the employment of women outside the household. Thus, the bulk of female workers are Africans. Irrespective of ethnic background, employment opportunities for women are greater in the cities, where there is a greater variety of jobs and where social customs tend to lose their rigidity. Although earnings for women are lower than those for men, the number of women job-seekers has increased at a faster pace than availability openings.

Compared with most other countries of South America, where school attendance rates at the level of primary education are lower, few Guyanese children under age 14 hold jobs. Child labor laws are strictly enforced, especially in the large industrial and commercial establishments. Thus, the employment of children, particularly as unpaid family workers, is far more widespread in the countryside, and mainly among ricegrowers, than in the cities. The labor force participation rate rises sharply among youngsters over age 14, even though free education is available through the secondary level; many of those who drop out of school, however, must vie for menial jobs and often face long periods of unemployment. Among those who remain in school, on the other hand, few pursue vocational or technical training. The demand for skilled personnel at all levels far exceeds the supply, but many Guyanese, particularly the Africans, are inclined to equate manual labor with lower social standing.

2. Labor legislation

Although some three dozen statutes from the colonial period have been preserved, the basic labor document is Ordinance No. 2 (1942), customarily referred to as the Labor Ordinance, which authorizes the government to set labor standards, including hours of work and minimum wages, and to regulate labor-management relations, especially as pertains to work contracts. Two other laws stand out for their impact on labor—the Factories Ordinance (1947) and the consolidated Shops Ordinance (1958); these acts govern conditions of work and the maximum length of the workweek in a full range of industrial and commercial establishments. The remaining labor statutes are either tailored to the needs of specific groups, such as rice, sugar, and dock workers, or deal with such specialized matters as recruiting practices, apprenticeship, paid holidays, housing, hazardous occupations, industrial accidents, and workmen's compensation; the specialized laws apply to workers in a variety of industries.

Supplemented by the Constitution, the current legislation represents a comprehensive collection of safeguards for both labor and management. Through the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, which employs a corps of inspectors, the government generally attempts to enforce compliance with the statutes. Places of employment are inspected periodically, and official representatives are available for hearing grievances lodged by individual workers or trade unions. Nonetheless, compliance with the regulations on the part of employers is said to be far from uniform.

Inasmuch as the colonial labor statutes covered a broad range of matters, there has been a paucity of such legislation in the postindependence period. The most notable measure enacted since 1966 affecting labor was that which created the National Insurance and Social Security Scheme. In 1969, however, the government drafted a proposed Industrial Relations Act, which it submitted for consideration by labor and management. Featuring a compulsory arbitration provision, as well as prohibitions against strikes and walkouts during the adjudication of labor disputes by industrial courts, the proposed statute met strenuous opposition from organized labor and, at last report, had not been enacted.

The government exercises little control over organized labor beyond the minimal degree of supervision prescribed in the Trades Union Ordinance (1921), the nation's oldest existing piece of labor legislation. Among other things, the statute, together with a supplementary ordinance enacted in 1943, provides that any seven workers may unionize, provided they file an official application for registration accompanied by a list of union officials and a copy of the organization's bylaws. The bylaws

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are required to outline the group's objectives and to contain detailed provisions concerning the collection and disposition of union funds. Official registration can be denied if the group's objectives are judged to be illegal, and a registration can be abrogated if a union deviates from its stated objectives. Either action, however, can be appealed through the civil courts.

3. Labor and management

The organized labor movement in Guyana, which in recent years has served as an arena for trade unionists and ambitious politicians alike, is some 60 years older than the nation. Conceived during the colonial era in the wake of a bloody rebellion by dock and sugar workers, the area's first labor organization, the British Guiana Labor Union, struggled for recognition by the business community and general public for over two decades, even though it obtained legal sanction somewhat earlier (1920). In the face of management opposition, the colony's early trade unions, most of which were organized along industrial lines and were patterned after those in the United Kingdom, met limited success in furthering worker interests and in promoting membership growth. For example, it was not until 1939, when organized labor comprised only about 8,000 members, that a management group consented to engage in formal bargaining negotiations with trade unionists. Six years elapsed, however, before the first written agreement was formulated as the result of collective bargaining.

The labor movement garnered strength during the 1940's, a decade of relative economic prosperity and rising expectations among workers. The colony's first confederation of trade unions, the British Guiana Trades Union Council (BGTUC), was founded in 1940, an event that was followed by the passage of legislation calling for the appointment of a labor commissioner responsible for regulating worker-management relations and for assisting in the settlement of disputes between the two groups. By midcentury, worker demands for higher wages, better working conditions, and an end to discriminatory employment practices increased markedly and were often attended by strikes. With the accession to power of the Communist-oriented PPP, political factors added to the turbulence. Largely as a result of the PPP's attempt to broaden its base within the labor movement after gaining control of certain unions, the country was plunged into a series of long and costly strikes, many of them violent, especially in the years 1963 and 1964. In addition to exploiting political and economic issues, the PPP proved to be adept at capitalizing on longstanding, but until then mostly latent, racial antagonism that existed not only between labor and management but among trade unionists as well.

Relative calm returned to the labor movement following the PPP's defeat at the polls in 1964. Although the PPP's attempt to gain control of the movement was checked, the party has continued to exert considerable influence over certain locals, particularly those representing sugar workers. Political involvement in trade union affairs has not been confined to PPP partisans, however. While formal ties between labor and political entities are nonexistent, a network of informal alignments exists between trade unionists and the leaders of all political parties, including the PNC.

Even though organized labor has remained a forum for political issues, the incidence of strikes and violent confrontations tended to decline after 1966 (Figure 11). As in the years preceding independence, workers in the sugar industry usually have been responsible for the bulk of work stoppages, as well as for the highest losses in work time; in fact, during the decade of the 1960's, sugar workers accounted for 65% of all strikes, comprising about 76% of the total number of man-days lost. The amount of work time lost because of strikes in 1969 was the lowest since 1961, but it came on the heels of heavy losses in 1968, a year in which sugar workers struck for and won wage increases of from 7% to 9% and guarantees for generous production-incentive bonuses. In addition to the effect

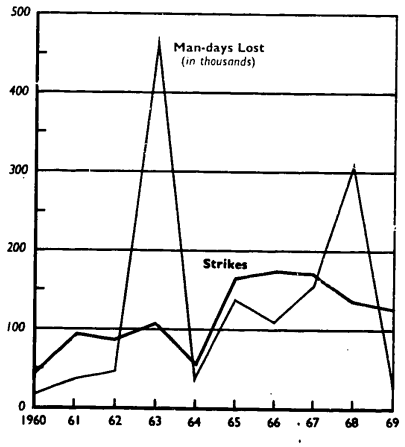

FIGURE 11. Labor strikes and man-days lost (U/OU)

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of having won those benefits, the downward trend in the incidence and duration of strikes during 1969 appears to have been related to a shift in government policy concerning its role during labor-management disputes. Having previously confined itself to the mediation of disputes after the initiation of strikes, the government beginning in late 1968 endeavored to act as an arbiter before the onset of work stoppages.

As of the late 1960's, roughly one-third of all Guyanese workers were trade union members, a substantially higher proportion than that encountered in the United States or in most of the independent nations of South America. At that time, the claimed membership in Guyana's 63 trade unions was approximately 70,000 workers, over 85% of whom belonged to one of the 12 largest entities; about half of all unions had fewer than 300 members. The proportion of those who paid union dues was high (nearly 85%), mainly because most employers withhold the required assessments from workers' wages. As in the past, most unions are organized along industrial lines; also, most are headquartered in Georgetown, with the larger organizations maintaining local branches elsewhere. With one notable exception, the major trade unions are affiliated with the Guyana Trades Union Council (GTUC), which succeeded the BGTUC as the major labor confederation.[3] The only other significant labor central is the Federation of Unions of Government Employees (FUGE), whose membership has tended to grow in relation to the expansion in public services; FUGE's rank and file is composed almost entirely of blue-collar workers, most of whom are also members of GTUC local affiliates. White-collar government employees are represented by two organizations, the Guyana Civil Service Association and the Guyana Teachers Association, both of which are GTUC affiliates but independent of FUGE. The practice of segregating workers according to occupational category is widespread, as unions representing a single industry, or even one plant, usually maintain separate sections for blue-collar and white-collar workers.

Organized labor grew during the early 1970's. Embracing 21 affiliates, or about one-third of all unions, the GTUC alone claimed a total membership of 50,000 as of early 1972. As in past years, its largest and most powerful affiliate was the Manpower Citizens' Association (MPCA), which represents the bulk of laborers in the sugar industry. In the mid-1960's, MPCA's membership reportedly stood at about 20,000, a figure that probably has fallen somewhat in view of the vigorous competition the union has recieved from its chief rival, the Guyana Agricultural Workers' Union (GAWU), during a period of declining job opportunities in the sugar industry. Having maintained close links with the PPP, the GAWU, the country's largest unaffiliated union, had not obtained official recognition as of mid-1972, obstensibly because it failed to represent a majority of its constituents; it claims in excess of 14,000 members, including some who belong to the MPCA as well. Jurisdictional disputes between MPCA and GAWU, often involving GTUC and political groups, have been a major source of conflict for over a decade. In addition to GAWU, the only other significant union tied to the PPP is the National Association of Agricultural, Commercial, and Industrial Employees, a GUTC affiliate which essentially represents white-collar employees in the sugar industry.

The oldest labor organization, the Guyana Labor Union, former power base for Forbes Burnham and a chosen instrument during his tenure as Prime Minister, is also one of the nation's most influential groups; it mainly represents stevedores and lumber mill and construction workers. Because of the importance of the bauxite industry, and despite the government's assumption of a managerial role following nationalization of the Demerara Bauxite Co. in July 1971, the Guyana Mineworkers' Union (GMU), already one of the largest and best organized unions in the nation, can be expected to remain strong, at least on paper. Most all of the organization's 5,000 members are employed by the state bauxite complex, the others by Reynolds. Although a considerable overlapping of constituencies exists in organized labor, other important unions represent office employees (other than professionals and managers), retail sales personnel, wage-earning rice workers, transportation workers, postal employees, and specialized workers in the sugar industry (notably foremen and mill boiler operators).

The Guyanese trade union movement has a lengthy history of participation in international labor affairs, having hosted the First Caribbean Labour Conference in 1926. Since independence, the GTUC has been affiliated with the Caribbean Congress of Labor, subregional branch of the Inter-American Regional Organization of Labor, which is in turn the Western Hemisphere division of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). Additionally, most major unions are affiliates of International Trade Secretariates; during the late 1960's, five unions were linked with the International Transport Workers' Federation and three with the Public Services International. The MPCA is associated with the

[3] During the years 1966-71 the GTUC was known as the Guyana Trades Union Council.

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International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural, and Allied Workers, while GMU holds membership in the International Metalworkers Federation.

During the 1960's, the ICFTU and some of its affiliates, notably the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, actively assisted Guyanese unions in resisting the PPP's attempt to dominate the movement. The GTUC and its affiliates have also received assistance from the Agency for International Development (AID), most of it channeled through the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD); during the years 1962-72 the institute trained some 4,400 Guyanese trade unionists. Limited external assistance has also derived from the International Labour Organisation, which Guyana joined immediately after independence.

Unionized sugar workers are among the nation's best organized and most disruptive elements, but employers and managers in the same industry also comprise one of the most powerful special interest groups. Essentially representing two firms which monopolize the industry, the Sugar Producers' Association (SPA) has been a trend-setter in industrial relations for many years. While concentrating on the promotion of its members' interests, the SPA has also supported a number of worker welfare programs, mainly in the realms of health and housing. An affiliate of the West Indies Sugar Association, the SPA maintains close liaison with the government, particularly as concerns economic affairs.

Two additional management organizations, the Georgetown Chamber of Commerce and the Rice Producers' Association (RPA), rank among the nation's most active special interest groups. The former entity, Guyana's oldest of its kind, is dedicated to the promotion and protection of trade, both foreign and domestic. The latter group, although less important from an economic standpoint, wields some political power. Composed of small-scale cultivators and landlords, the RPA, which has consistently opposed governmental measures affecting the rice industry, is controlled by the PPP. More than a dozen other management organizations operate in Guyana; they represent such varied groups as manufactures, shippers, retailers, contractors, engineers, mine operators, automobile and agricultural machinery distributors, mine operators, lumber exploiters, bakery proprietors, rice millers, and riceland owners.

Management is apt to be paternalistic in its relationships with workers. Striving to cultivate an amicable working environment, most managers are attentive to worker grievances and seek to apply solutions. This is particularly true in the numerous small establishments, where workers are seldom organized and the employer is in close contact with them, and in the large foreign-owned firms. The government tended to court and favor organized labor during the early postindependence period, but its expanding role in national economic affairs, both as an entrepreneur and as a promoter of the cooperative movement, appears to be bringing about a change. Finding itself in competition with private enterprise and having become more sensitive to economic imperatives, the government during the early 1970's developed a more sympathetic outlook concerning the problems of management. In this milieu, the characteristics of labor leadership also appeared to undergo change. Whereas in the past labor leaders were roughly divided between those who relied heavily on government support (the majority group) and those who believed that labor's best interests lay in an independent movement devoid of governmental support or influence, today most seem willing to criticize the government on occasion and to challenge its actions. During the 1970's, this trend may well result in an upturn of labor-management disputes concerning wages and supplementary benefits—traditionally the leading cause of friction in industrial relations. And, in view of the high rates of unemployment and underemployment, efforts to mechanize industry can be expected to meet the opposition of organized labor.

E. Living conditions and social problems (U/OU)

The Guyanese people enjoy levels of living that are equal to or surpass those of most of their neighbors, although these levels are far below those of the United States. Since independence, the government has sought to raise living levels by assigning high priority to the development of social services. While certain measurements of living conditions (e.g., education, health, and social security) have been encouraging, residual problems of housing, sanitation, unemployment and underemployment, and low per capita income have fused with the restlessness of a society in transition to exacerbate the nation's socioeconomic problems and to retard advances in living levels. Moreover, difficulties attributable in part to a world oversupply of bauxite and alumina and in part to the nationalization of the Canadian-owned Demerara Bauxite Co., now known as the Guyana Bauxite Co. (GUYBAU), have been followed by production and marketing problems and a notable decline in government revenues. Prime Minister Burnham has referred to his country's "poverty, backwardness, high unemployment, and primitive social services," and he

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has advanced programs designed to alleviate these ills. Declining revenues and a shortage of investment capital, however, do not augur well for the success of such programs. To add to the government's dilemma, the growing population is expected to maintain pressure on the government for ever-increasing expenditures on social services.

Residents of urban areas generally enjoy higher levels of living and greater access to social services than their rural counterparts, but extremes of wealth, such as exist in many South American countries, are largely absent on the Guyana scene, and there is no wide or unbridgeable gap between the "haves" and the "have nots." Most Guyanese, even those of the lower social order, are occasionally able to save enough money to purchase a "luxury item," such as a bicycle (Figure 12), or to provide for a financial contingency. Nonetheless, the average family, although neither starving nor really very poor, has a low income. Wages, however, have been rising. In 1968, the average weekly wage of sugar field workers was G$25.42; in 1970, it was G$31.48. The corresponding figures for bauxite miners were G$77.67 and G$78.26, respectively; for construction workers, they were G$43.78 and G$50.92. Because average earnings rose more rapidly during the 1960's than the cost of living (Figure 13), there has been a definite upward trend in real income. Wage gains have been reflected in per capita income which rose by almost 20% in the years 1965-69.

Average family expenditures show food to be the largest single item of expense, accounting for about 47% of total expenditure. Approximately 13% is spent on clothing and 12% on housing, including utilities. Health care absorbs about 6%, and an equal amount is spent on beverages and tobacco. Contributions to religious or welfare organizations make up 3% of total expenditures, educational costs account for 2%, and the remainder (11%) is devoted to a variety of personal or miscellaneous items.

Large-scale unemployment has long been a standard feature of national life and is a major obstacle in attempts to raise levels of living. According to preliminary data from the 1970 census, some 39,000 persons, representing 19.6% of the total labor force, were unemployed. The unemployment rate has fluctuated around 20% since at least the mid-1950's, and increased mechanization in the bauxite, sugar, rice, and construction industries, together with an annual rise in the number of entrants into the labor market, does not presage any immediate decline in the rate of unemployment. In fact, most observers feel that unemployment will increase, further engendering a potential for serious socioeconomic instability.

The young and the inexperienced are most apt to be jobless. A 1965 survey revealed that almost 40% of the unemployed were under age 20 and that 35% were seeking a job for the first time. Over 27% of all the unemployed in 1965 had been without work for at least 6 months. Even persons with normally marketable skills frequently find it difficult to obtain a job. For example, there is an oversupply of typists and stenographers in the greater Georgetown area, and such persons often are without employment.

Although unemployment is a serious problem, underemployment is even more grave. Only about one-half of the employed in 1965 worked at least 10 months a year. About one-fifth of the employed at that time were engaged in two jobs concurrently, and approximately 14% of these worked less than 4 months a year in their main occupation. These statistics, moreover, do not reflect the entire underemployment picture. In addition to the many who hold part-time or occasional jobs, there are more whose occupations require only a minimum amount of time or whose full potential is not utilized. Sizable numbers of rural men work a small number of hours each week during a few months of the year and have nothing to do the rest of the time.

The idleness that is the by-product of unemployment and underemployment, it is generally agreed, is a major factor contributing to one of the country's major social ills—crime. The alarming rise in the incidence of robbery, burglary, and bicycle and auto theft has reached such proportions, especially in greater Georgetown, that residents are openly expressing their fears to the authorities and to the press. Burglary is so widespread that owners of businesses and residences containing possessions of value now normally employ night watchmen. Street crimes also are increasing, committed by strong-arm robbers, known locally as "choke-and-rob" bandits, who victimize the poorer class as well as the more affluent. Most criminal acts are committed by juveniles or young adults. Young male Guyanese, their aspirations whetted by the promises of politicians and by advertising, see and want material possessions that are not available to them through gainful employment, and they seek these items by stealing.

Although crime is largely an urban manifestation, the problem of idleness is also striking in rural areas. With few recreational facilities and few motion picture theaters or other places of entertainment, young rural Guyanese mill about their villages, engaging in conversation or amusing themselves with gambling, which is endemic throughout Guyana. Rural youth, in particular, are restive because they find their existence empty, unpromising, and drearily monotonous.

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FIGURE 12. A status symbol among Guyanese, bicycles are used extensively for transportation, few persons being able to afford an automobile (C)

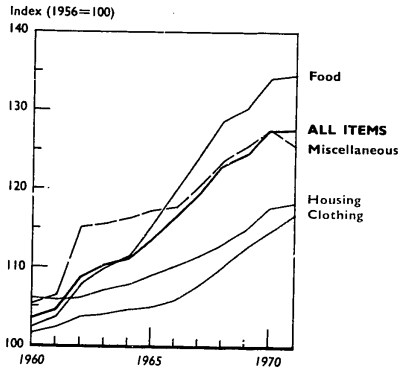

FIGURE 13. Consumer price index (U/OU)

Monotony and idleness also are factors in the country's high incidence of alcoholism. According to a government report in 1965, almost 80% of the adult population drank alcoholic beverages, chiefly rum. About 15,000 persons, or almost 5% of the adult population, were considered alcoholics, with an estimated five additional problem drinkers for each known alcoholic.

Drug abuse is not a significant problem in Guyana, but it exists. Apparently, there has been a recent increase in the use of marijuana, known locally as *ganja*, and of barbiturates. Old Guyanese folk songs mention the use of *ganja* by slaves, and persons inclined toward the use of *ganja* traditionally have raised small quantities of it to supply their own needs. Today, a small, unorganized traffic has arisen, although the government actively discourages it and has imposed steep fines and jail sentences on those convicted of narcotics violations. There is no evidence of the use of hard drugs by Guyanese, but the police organized a narcotics unit in 1971 to prevent the importation of such drugs into the country and to crackdown on traffickers in marijuana and barbiturates.

Housing is a special area in which official efforts to raise levels of living have been largely ineffectual. Inadequate housing has long been a serious problem in Guyana. Although there are charming white clapboard Victorian residences in Georgetown, much of the country's housing stock consists of wooden shacks that are overcrowded and lacking in amenities (Figure 14). In 1960, the typical household averaged 2½ rooms and comprised 4.9 persons, or almost two persons per room. However, 57% of all households had no more than two rooms, and it was generally these smaller units that contained the largest number of persons. Inasmuch as the construction of dwelling units did not keep pace with population growth during the 1960's, the housing problem at the beginning of the 1970's was even more acute than it had been earlier.

The typical house is a two-room wooden structure about 20 feet by 14 feet, with a roof of sheetmetal or wooden shingles. In rural areas, dwellings are detached, each occupying an individual plot. In urban slums (Figure 15), they may abut other units, forming row housing. Some houses, known as "mud-trash" dwellings, are of wattle-and-daub construction, invariably with thatch roofs; these homes, most common in the countryside, are the residences of the lowest income groups. Barracks-type units, called ranges, are found on some sugar plantations, along with other kinds of housing often furnished to workers as part of their remuneration; ranges customarily are

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FIGURE 14. Typical Guyanese dwellings (U OU)

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FIGURE 15. Slum area in Georgetown. The artesian well water tap at right is used by a number of families. (U OU)

divided into a number of "apartments," each housing an individual family. Throughout Guyana, homes built near riverbanks or seawalls normally are constructed on stilts. By law, each dwelling unit is required to have a pit latrine, but enforcement of the law is lax. In some areas, communal latrines are standard; in others, residents use the bush at the edge of the village.

For a variety of reasons, the Burnham administration has been anxious to improve the housing situation. A number of programs have been initiated since the end of World War II, but all have fallen far short of meeting goals, let alone needs. At one time, the government was constructing housing developments for low-income groups, but present policy is to encourage private initiative by guaranteeing mortgage loans made to individuals, tax incentives, housing cooperatives, and other entities sponsoring the construction of homes. The government still builds houses to rent to civil servants and other public officials, however, and it is encouraging the use of more durable materials in home construction. Some assistance in the housing field has been received from abroad. The Commonwealth Development Corporation has a program of housing construction throughout Guyana, and the AIFLD, with assistance from AID and others, has sponsored the construction of dwellings; 362 houses were built under the latter program between 1962 and 1972.

Traditionally, the needs of the unemployed, the aged, the infirm, the incapacitated, and the destitute have devolved on the immediate family. But Guyanese in large numbers have also belonged to religious and benevolent societies that provide some limited forms of mutual assistance. The benevolent societies, with their roots in the 19th century, were developed originally to provide members with a dignified funeral. Gradually over the years a number of public agencies and voluntary bodies undertook welfare activities and community services, but the scope of such programs generally was too limited to begin to meet needs. As one of its most popular and universally supported measures to effect improvement in the quality of life and win the support of all elements of the population, the Burnham administration enacted a social insurance scheme in July 1969 granting covered persons benefits in cash or kind for the contingencies of old age, invalidity, sickness, work injury, or death. The program, known as the National Insurance and Social Security Scheme and administered by the National Insurance Board, provides for compulsory coverage of all wage earners aged 16 through 64 who are employed not less than 20 hours per week and earn not less than G$7 per week. Ultimately, it is envisaged that coverage will also be extended to the self-employed.

Benefits consist of old-age pensions at age 65, as well as payments to help cover costs relating to sickness, disability, maternity, funerals, and job-connected injury, disease, or death. Pensions range between 30% and 60% of a worker's wages, depending on length of coverage. Pensions to survivors of covered

employees are also authorized. For insured workers who have paid at least 50 weekly contributions and have been in insurable employment for at least 8 of the 13 weeks immediately preceding the onset of an illness not due to an employment injury, a sickness benefit is granted up to a maximum of 26 weeks, at a daily rate of 10% of the weekly wage. A maternity benefit for 6 weeks prior to and 6 weeks following confinement is payable to covered women who have paid not less than 50 weekly contributions, including at least 20 in the 36 weeks ending 6 weeks before the expected date of confinement. The weekly benefit is 60% of wages. A funeral grant totaling G$100 is payable on the death of an insured person or his spouse if at such time the insured person had paid at least 50 weekly contributions. Workmen's compensation, originally set up in 1916, was absorbed into the National Insurance and Social Security Program in 1969. It provides injury, disablement, and death benefits and free medical care for victims of employment injuries.

The cost of the National Insurance and Social Security Scheme is covered by a National Insurance Fund, to which both employees and employers contribute amounts determined by a wage-based formula. Contributions to the fund amount to 7.5% of the worker's wage, including 4.5% paid by the employer and 3% by the employee. The government makes no contribution.

F. Health (U/OU)

As a result of a fairly good public health program, levels of health in Guyana are better than those prevailing in much of the Caribbean area. By the standards of developed countries, however, conditions are poor. Contaminated water supplies, rudimentary or nonexistent sanitation services, and crowded dwellings all contribute to a high incidence of disease. The tropical climate and the topography also have a bearing on the health of the population. The low coastal lands, periodically inundated by heavy rainfall, and the extensive swamps in many of the forest and savanna regions are breeding grounds for disease vectors and parasites, while such natural barriers as mountains and jungles make it difficult to provide adequate medical care for the people of the interior. Some communities in the hinterland can be reached only by river launch or airplane.

In its various disease eradication programs and health services, Guyana has benefited from the assistance of the United Kingdom, the United States, and other countries, as well as from international agencies, primarily the World Health Organization (WHO). This assistance has included measures for control of malaria, yellow fever, filariasis, and certain other diseases, and the introduction of programs for improving nursing, laboratory, and hospital administration services. Malaria, once widespread along the coastal plains, has been eliminated there as a result of a vigorous eradication program, but the disease remains a problem in parts of the interior. Similarly, yellow fever and filariasis have been brought substantially under control, although sporadic outbreaks still occur in rural areas. Efforts to prevent the spread of these diseases have focused principally on the elimination of mosquitoes and other vectors.

Although the overall health situation is steadily improving, Guyana continues to suffer from a high incidence of infectious diseases, including gastrointestinal ailments, typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, tuberculosis and other respiratory ills, helminthic infections, and venereal diseases. Diarrheal disorders and infections of the upper respiratory tract are the principal causes of death among infants in the first year of life, and typhoid and paratyphoid fevers are not uncommon among children in general. Although there has been a decline in the mortality rate for tuberculosis because of a continuing program of detection, treatment, and hospitalization, it is still a serious health problem, particularly in the more remote rural areas. From time to time, influenza reaches epidemic proportions; a severe outbreak occured in 1969, with a total of 4,692 cases reported. This figure did not represent the full impact of the disease, however. Officials of the Ministry of Health acknowledge that for all illnesses the unreported cases probably far exceed the number of those reported. Because of a substantial reduction in mortality resulting from infectious diseases and a concomitant increase in life expectancy, chronic and degenerative ailments have become important causes of death. Heart disease, nephritis, diabetes, and vascular lesions of the central nervous system have been among the leading causes in recent years.

Levels of nutrition among the Guyanese people as a whole are only fair, and in many rural areas the population is poorly nourished. In 1965, the latest year for which information is available, the estimated daily per capita intake amounted to 2,245 calories, slightly more than the recommended daily minimum of 2,200. However, meat, fish, and dairy products are not consumed in sufficient quantities to provide an adequate intake of protein and calcium, and the average diet is deficient in vitamins A and B. In 1965, 50.9% of the caloric intake was made up of cereals, while meat, fish, milk, and eggs together accounted

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FIGURE 16. Estimated per capita daily caloric intake, 1965 (U/OU)

ITEM	CALORIES PER DAY	PERCENT OF TOTAL CALORIES
Cereals	1,111	50.2
Sugar	305	13.6
Roots and starchy vegetables	85	3.8
Other vegetables and pulses	78	3.5
Fruit	19	0.8
Meat	77	3.4
Fish	43	1.9
Milk	118	5.3
Eggs	6	0.2
Oils and fats	370	16.5
Total	2,215	100.0

for only 10.9% (Figure 16). The diet of the East Indian is likely to be more nutritious and better balanced than that of the African because a higher percentage of East Indians raise cows, sheep, and poultry and cultivate green vegetables for personal consumption; Africans are more apt to raise pigs and to grow starchy root vegetables. Clinical research among the Guyanese has associated certain physical ills with diet and dietary habits, particularly among children. Few of these disorders—including anemia, conjunctivitis, and kwashiorkor—are fatal, but all are debilitating and reduce the victim's ability to perform at a normal level. Throughout Guyana there is a general lack of knowledge concerning nutritional requirements.

Deficiencies in supply and distribution of food contribute to imbalances in the diet. Because the cultivation of food crops for local consumption has been regarded as secondary to the main task of growing products—mainly sugar and rice—for export, much of the food consumed must be imported. Little attention has been given to the development of more and better varieties of food crops, and lack of adequate transport facilities is a major impediment to efficient marketing. Both land and water transportation are slow, and as trucks and boats lack proper storage space and refrigeration, spoilage often results. Food handling at the selling point also leaves much to be desired. Although there are a few U.S.-style supermarkets in the urban areas, most fresh produce, meats, and other food items are sold by vendors in outdoor markets under unsanitary conditions (Figure 17).

In the late 1960's, the Ministries of National Development and Agriculture, Health, and Education began to coordinate efforts to raise the general nutritional level of the population, operating in a number of pilot areas centered around schools. Besides classes in nutrition, the program featured instruction in stockraising, gardening, and the maintenance of fish ponds. Government objectives in the 1970's involved an expansion of the program to include approximately 140,000 persons in a number of selected communities, with technical assistance provided by WHO, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), and the United Nations Childrens Fund (UNICEF). Emphasis is on the prevention of dietary deficiencies among children and expectant and nursing mothers. In addition to school projects, the expanded effort centers on promoting the cultivation of family gardens and instructing housewives in the use of home grown fruits and vegetables to prepare balanced meals. Some supplementary feeding programs are also being carried on.

FIGURE 17. Vendor selling wares at outdoor market. Meats and other food items are usually sold at these markets, where they are exposed to dirt and insects and are commonly handled by prospective customers. (U/OU)

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A major factor bearing on levels of health in Guyana is the problem of environmental sanitation, and the scarcity of readily available safe water is one of the most pressing difficulties. The main supply of water on the coastal plain derives from artesian wells and is distributed by pipelines extending along the coastal highway and some local roads. Outside the urban areas, water is rarely potable. The more shallow wells are polluted by seepage from drainage ditches, and the pressure in water pipes is often low, particularly in villages at the end of a line. In 1968, 55% of the population in the coastal region had piped water in their dwellings; another 30% were using public taps or fountains; and the remaining 15% were presumed to be drawing their supply from the closest stream, which is invariably contaminated; there is no piped water system in the interior of the country. A long-range plan for supplying potable water to the rural coastal population was detailed in a 1969 study jointly financed by the Guyanese Government and AID. The study envisaged a three-phase construction program to provide wells, treatment and storage facilities, and pumps and transmission lines over a 30-year period. As of 1969, work was already in progress on a project to improve the water supply of an area extending 10 miles southeastward from Georgetown along the coast, and 20 miles southward along the east bank of the Demerara River.

Sewage disposal facilities are limited. In 1968, according to a Guyanese government report, only 13.3% of the population were served by a sewerage system. The main section of Georgetown has the benefit of a system operated and maintained by the municipality. Newly developed housing on the outskirts of the capital is served chiefly by individual septic tanks. In New Amsterdam, septic tanks, cesspools, and pit latrines are in use. Latrines are the minimum facility for human waste disposal permitted by law, and most of the smaller towns and rural villages attempt to comply. To overcome the difficulty arising from the high water table in the coastal region, mounds must be built to accommodate the pits. Some areas, however, are unsuitable for this type of privy; as a result, drainage ditches or the closest body of water are used for disposal purposes, leading to serious water pollution.

Facilities for the disposal of garbage and trash are poor or nonexistent except in Georgetown proper, where refuse is collected in trucks and burned in a municipal incinerator. In New Amsterdam it is collected in carts and deposited on low-lying land along the Berbice River, where it attracts flies, mosquitoes, and rats. Most people in the countryside burn or bury waste materials. Only a few rural communities have garbage dumps.

The fact that Guyana maintains a fair standard of health despite low levels of sanitation and other problems must be attributed to the diligence of its public health service, which is chronically handicapped by shortages of staff and limited, outmoded facilities. Responsibility for supervision of medical care is vested in the Ministry of Health, working through the Central Board of Health headed by an official who bears the title of Chief Medical Officer.

In 1969, Guyana had 34 hospitals, 22 of which were operated by the Ministry of Health and 12 by private interests, including sugar estates and religious groups. Private medical facilities are expected to adhere to standards and regulations of the Ministry of Health. Three of the government-run hospitals are specialized institutions: a tuberculosis sanatorium at Best, a leprosarium at Mahiaca, and a mental hospital at Canje. The total number of hospital beds in 1969 was 3,258, resulting in a ratio of 4.6 beds per 1,000 population. Most of the hospitals are overcrowded and understaffed. Georgetown Hospital is by far the largest (about 1,000 beds in 1969) and most important; although it is an old institution, built in 1900, with deteriorating equipment and inadequate personnel, it is still the focal point of medical care in Guyana. All but one of the hospitals are located in the coastal area. Many are "cottage-type" hospitals, each consisting of a group of small, usually wooden, structures (Figure 18), the number of beds ranging from half a dozen to 40 or 50. Out-patient care is provided in a variety of other facilities. In 1968, these comprised 35 health centers, 18 dispensaries, 11 medical aid posts, 102 first-aid stations, and a mobile dispensary service which included several river launches. There are also special

FIGURE 18. "Cottage-type" general hospital at Bartica, Mazuruni-Potaro District (C)

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facilities devoted to maternal and child health. The health centers are the principal means of caring for the medical needs of the rural population. Supervised by district medical officers who travel over wide areas, each center has at least one resident nurse-midwife and additional personnel according to its size. The smaller facilities—dispensaries, medical aid posts, first-aid stations—function as adjuncts of the health centers, offering treatment only for minor ailments and injuries. A special medical officer makes periodic tours to provide preventive inoculations and other health services to the Amerindians in remote regions. He is assisted in his work by nurse-midwives stationed at ranger outposts of the interior.

Guyana has no facilities for training physicians. Medical students usually go to the United Kingdom or to the University of the West Indies in Jamaica for training, and many fail to return to Guyana after completing their studies. As a result, there is a serious shortage of doctors in the country. Nevertheless, some progress is signified by the fact that the number of practicing physicians rose from 160 in 1966 to 194 at the end of 1969, providing a national ratio of 2.6 per 10,000 population. The actual availability of doctors for the bulk of the population is even less than this would indicate since a disproportionately large number are concentrated in the urban centers. Auxiliary health personnel are also in short supply. At the end of 1969 there were 2,163 registered nurses, 564 nursing auxiliaries, 1,424 midwives, 29 dentists (all trained abroad), and 91 pharmacists. Nurses' training is provided within the country in four schools which offer a 3-year course; midwifery is taught in one school, the course extending over an 18-month period. The output of these schools in 1968 was 121 nurses and 47 midwives. Although nursing has attracted an increasing number of students in recent years, the shortage in this field remains acute as many of the graduates leave Guyana to work in the United Kingdom, the United States, or elsewhere. Others remain in the country but fail to practice the profession. In its report for 1969, the Ministry of Health noted the "high rate of wastage" among graduate nurses and proposed that persons accepted for training be required to sign a contract to serve in public health activities for a stipulated period after becoming qualified to practice.

A Government Laboratory Service, linked to the major government hospitals, carries on some work in bacteriology, serology, parasitology, and virology, primarily in relation to public health problems. Specimens for virus study are sent to the Trinidad Regional Virus Laboratory, an important research center for viral diseases. Three of the private hospitals have clinical laboratories of their own. Pharmaceuticals and most other medical supplies are imported. There are no local drug manufacturing companies except the Bookers Manufacturing Drug Company, which specializes in the production of vitamin capsules and elixirs.

Folk remedies are still popular in Guyana, especially among persons who do not have access to regular medical care. It has been estimated that about one-third of all Guyanese families make their own "bush medicine" for colds and fevers. The help of "healers" is also sought occasionally as a substitute for, or reinforcement of, more orthodox health services. Known as *Obeah-men* to Africans and East Indians, and as *Piai-men* to Amerindians, the healers use a variety of rituals and potions to "cure" disease. Although these practices have been declared illegal by the government and have been suppressed whenever possible by Christian missionaries, they still surface from time to time in rural areas, and belief in their effectiveness reportedly remains widespread.

G. Religion (U/OU)

Religion has played an important part in the daily life of Guyanese of all faiths, and the ratio of active to nominal church members reportedly is much higher in Guyana than in many other countries. Although public involvement with political, economic, and social developments since the 1950's has tended to reduce the influence of religion and to diminish its significance as a force in society, for most Guyanese religious affiliation continues to be a prime vehicle for reinforcing cultural identity and expressing community pride. The two major ethnic groups are generally divided along religious lines; the overwhelming majority of Africans are Christians, and most East Indians are Hindus or Muslims. As of 1972, Christianity remained the dominant religion, but the more rapid growth of the East Indian population is expected to bring about a preponderance of non-Christians by about 1980. Because it was the religion of British colonial administrators and of those individuals who dominated the life of the country for many years, Christianity traditionally carried considerable prestige, a factor which has induced some East Indian Hindus to accept conversion, occasionally without abandoning participation in Hindu rituals. Today, however, the Guyanese people as a whole regard Hinduism and Islam as generally comparable with Christianity in prestige value.

The Guyanese Government is tolerant of all faiths, exercising no control over religion or the religious beliefs of the people. Article 11 of the Constitution

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provides for freedom of conscience and worship, subject only to the requirements of public order and safety and to protection of the rights of all. Government tolerance of all religions extends to providing financial support for educational and medical facilities operated by any religious group.

Official information concerning the size of religious groups in Guyana derives from the 1960 census; preliminary results of the 1970 census released up to mid-1972 contain no relevant data. In 1960, 56.7% of the total population were enumerated as Christians and 42.3% as adherents of non-Christian religions (Figure 19). At the time of the previous census (1946), the Christian community had represented 59.0% of the total population and members of non-Christian religions 38.6%. The Christian sector in 1960 included 234,009 Protestants of various denominations and 83,741 Roman Catholics. Membership figures reported for the Protestant groupings are shown in the following tabulation:

Anglicans	109,561
Methodists	25,356
Seventh-day Adventists	8,927
Presbyterians	7,600
Jehovah's Witnesses	1,218
Baptists	415
Pentacostals	276
Other	80,656
Total	234,009

Included in the "Other" category were Christian Scientists, Congregationalists, Lutherans, Moravians, and members of the Salvation Army, as well as an undetermined number who simply designated themselves as "Christians" without specific affiliation. As of the late 1960's, the church groups active in the country included several small fundamentalist sects.

In addition to the African community, those of mixed racial stock are almost exclusively Christians. The small European and Chinese groups are also overwhelmingly Christian, and more than half of the Amerindians have been converted, mainly to Roman Catholicism. In the 1960 census, 10.6% of the East Indian population were identified as Christians; Hindus accounted for 70.0%; Muslims 18.3%; and those with no religion or an unspecified religion, 1.1%. Although Christians predominate in the urban centers, reflecting the preponderance of Africans in their populations, adherents of each of the principal faiths can be found in the towns. This is particularly true in the capital, where the religious diversity is reflected in numerous places of worship (Figure 20). A negligible number of Guyanese adhere to other formal religions, including Buddhism and Judaism. Some of the more remote Amerindians continue to follow animistic beliefs and practices, and certain tribes near the borders of Brazil and Venezuela practice what is known as the Halleluja religion, a corruption of Protestant and Catholic teachings. Finally, vestigial remnants of African cults are still extant among some illiterate Africans, even though they claim adherence to a Christian denomination.

Although both Protestant and Catholic clergy were active during the first two centuries of colonial rule, their efforts were devoted almost entirely to the religious needs of the European settlers. The Negro slaves, who constituted the largest segment of the population, were specifically barred from receiving religious ministrations and from attending services on the assumption that a knowledge of Christian ideals would tend to induce dissatisfaction with their status as slaves. The first successful mission to the slaves was provided by the London Missionary Society, a body formed in 1795 for the purpose of conducting evangelical work "among the heathen." Originally a nondenominational body, the society became in effect a Congregational group; its first mission arrived in Guyana in 1808. Within the next few years, missionary endeavor among the slaves gradually increased. Additional clergy were sent by the London Missionary Society; these were followed by missionaries from the British Wesleyans (Methodist), the Church of Scotland (Presbyterian), and the Roman Catholic Church. Some of the colony's Anglican churches subsequently began to conduct religious services for slaves. The period between the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and the final abolition of slavery in 1838

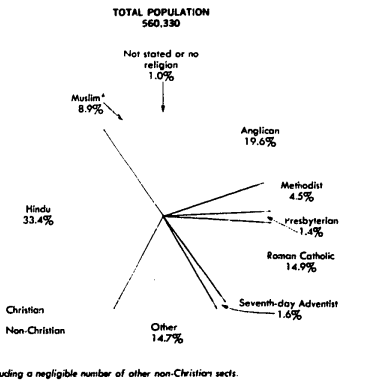

FIGURE 19. Religious composition of the population, 1960 (U/OU)

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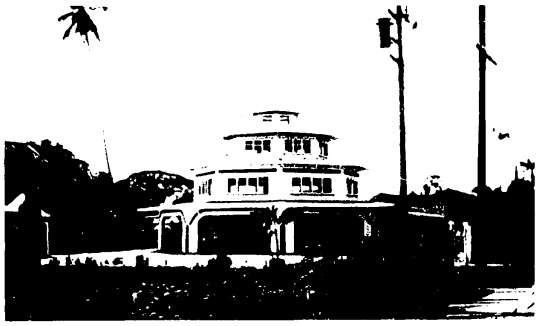
Hindu temple

Roman Catholic church



Muslim mosque

Protestant (Anglican) church

FIGURE 20. Representative religious structures (houses of wofship) in the Georgetown area (C)

saw the emergence of a social system in which things British and "white" were highly valued and things African and "black" were denigrated, and the Christian churches during this period became one of the chief instruments through which "white" values were disseminated. As the newly emancipated slaves gradually moved off the land and into urban centers, or united to form their own villages, their lives became increasingly influenced by Christian churches and schools, with the result that they adopted most of the new values and accepted Christianity, with some modifications of their own.

Until World War II, most Christian groups were supported and maintained by their parent denominations in the United Kingdom. During the war and in the immediate postwar period, however, the British denominations were unable to supply the funds or the staff to support the Guyanese churches. Accordingly, they sought assistance from U.S. church groups, and by the late 1960's almost every Christian denomination in the country was being helped in some capacity by its counterpart in the United States.

With an estimated membership of 170,000 at the beginning of 1970, the Anglican Church is the largest Christian denomination in Guyana and the single most important religious influence. The Anglican Diocese of Guyana, covering Guyana, Surinam, and Cayenne, forms part of the ecclesiastical Province of

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the West Indies. As of 1972 the Bishop of Guyana was also serving as Archbishop of the West Indies and metropolitan of the province, which consists of the dioceses of Antigua, Barbados, British Honduras, Guyana, Jamaica, Nassau and the Bahamas, Trinidad, and the Windward Islands. Affairs of the church are regulated by the archbishop and a convocation consisting of an upper house (composed of bishops) and a lower house (made up of lower ranking clergy). Although aiming at self-support, the Diocese of Guyana receives substantial aid from abroad, mainly from the Church of England. Special efforts are being made to build up an indigenous clergy, but the diocese must still depend upon the services of foreign ministers for about half of its staffing requirements. Most of the clergy (totaling 53 in 1970) lean toward High Church Anglicanism, an orientation which is reflected in the church's liturgy and services. Of the Anglicans recorded in the 1960 census, 40.9% lived in the Georgetown or New Amsterdam areas, 19.5% in East Demerara, 6.7% in West Demerara, 14.9% in the enumeration district of Berbice (encompassing the administrative districts of East and West Berbice), and 18.0% in the enumeration district of Essequibo (encompassing North West, Essequibo, Essequibo Islands, Mazaruni-Potaro, and Rupununi).

Other Protestant groups of numerical significance in the country are the Methodists, Lutherans, Presbyterians, and Seventh-day Adventists. Little information is available on the Methodist Church in Guyana except that it is an outgrowth of the missionary endeavor begun by the British Wesleyans early in the 19th century. In 1970, Methodists were estimated to number about 30,000, about half of whom were believed to reside in Georgetown or New Amsterdam. Although the Lutherans were not specifically enumerated in the 1960 census, they claim a membership of more than 10,000, organized into the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Guyana, which was established in 1943 under Guyanese leadership; it comprises 10 parishes, served by some 20 European and U.S. missionaries. A synod, consisting of representatives from each congregation, is the legislative body for the denomination and an administrative council performs executive functions. Most of the approximately 8,000 Presbyterians in Guyana are members of church communities sponsored by the Church of Scotland; others belong to congregations fostered by the Presbyterian Church in Canada. The majority are found in East and West Berbice and East Demerara, districts which have larger proportions of East Indians than any others in the country. In addition to some converts among the East Indians, the Presbyterians have a number of small congregations in rural Afro-Guyanese villages. Only about 800 members of the denomination were resident in the two principal urban centers in 1960. Presbyterians in Guyana are organized into two presbyteries which are part of the General Assembly of English-speaking Presbyterian Churches in the Caribbean. The first Seventh-day Adventist church was established in Georgetown in 1892. Since 1945, the denomination in Guyana has functioned as a mission field under the Seventh-day Adventist Caribbean Union Conference. As of 1971, the church claimed about 7,000 adherents, served by nine ordained ministers and 11 licensed ministers, as well as a number of missionaries, evangelists, and layworkers.

Most of the traditional Protestant denominations in Guyana have engaged in educational and welfare services. The Anglicans and Presbyterians, in particular, have been active in education, sponsoring numerous schools at both the primary and secondary levels. In 1966 the Anglicans operated 86 government-aided educational institutions and the Presbyterians (Church of Scotland), 33.

The Roman Catholic Church in Guyana claimed a membership of 107,000 in 1971, making it second to the Anglican Church in size among Christian groups in the country. Its members are under the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Georgetown, which is suffragan to the Archdiocese of Port-of-Spain, Trinidad. The first ecclesiastical jurisdiction was established in Guyana in 1837 and was raised to the level of a diocese in 1956. Of the 83,741 Catholics enumerated in the 1960 census, more than half resided either in Georgetown or New Amsterdam. But the fact that the church has been active in missionary endeavor among the Amerindians since the early 19th century was reflected in the relatively large proportion of Catholics (26.0%) reported in the Essequibo enumeration district where most of the Amerindians live. As of 1971, the Diocese of Georgetown included 24 parishes and 65 quasi-parishes. Ministering to the needs of the faithful were 71 priests—65 of whom were members of religious orders—and 75 nuns. Schools conducted under Catholic auspices numbered 60 and eight welfare institutions were being operated by church personnel. More than half of the Catholic clergy are reported to be foreign-born. The bishop who heads the diocese is a Scottish Jesuit.

Relations between Protestants and Catholics are good, and cooperation between the two principal groups—Anglicans and Catholics—has resulted in a high degree of ecumenism. The two denominations have tacit "spheres of influence" in their missionary efforts, and they work together in a variety of programs.

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Of the 240,000 or so East Indians brought to Guyana as indentured farmworkers between 1838 and 1917, approximately 84% were Hindus and 16% were Muslims. While plantation life eliminated or modified many elements of their native culture, religious expression was one of the cultural aspects which they managed to preserve; on the whole they resisted attempts to convert them to Christianity. All Hindu and Muslim religious groups in the country are organized along similar lines, with their own local communities maintaining and operating a temple or mosque, hiring a priest or imam, owning certain property used for communal events, and usually employing a teacher to run a communal school, which the government may subsidize. Both Hindu and Muslim groups are becoming increasingly involved in welfare activities which parallel those conducted by Christian denominations.

The early Hindu immigrants were divided into diverse small sects and cults, but as time went on the conditions of life in Guyana gradually created a broader definition of Hinduism which effectively united them. An important factor in this development was the disintegration of the caste system among them, a system which has been one of the major distinguishing characteristics of traditional Hinduism. The eventual redefinition of the religion led to the abandonment of most of the separate cults and to the acceptance of the *Sanatan Dharm*—sometimes called Brahmanical Hinduism—by most Guyanese Hindus. In its form of worship, the *Sanatan Dharm* recognizes the traditional gods of the Hindu pantheon, with particular devotion to Vishnu in his incarnations as Rama and Krishna. It prescribes the performance of many Brahmanical rituals in which hereditary Brahmans continue to enjoy some traditional privileges. It also approves certain Brahmanical ideals, including a vegetarian diet and abstention from alcoholic beverages. (The fact that most Guyanese Hindus theoretically subscribe to such ideals has not resulted in scrupulous observance of them; meat is often consumed, although beef is generally avoided, and the consumption of alcoholic beverages is at least as high among Hindus as among other sectors of the population.) The *Sanatan Dharm* has been organized at the national level since 1927 as the *Sanatan Dharm Maha Sabha* (Great Organization for the Maintenance of the Orthodox Religion). With its subsidiary Pundits Council, which determines the correct form of doctrine and ritual, it may be said to represent orthodox Hinduism (or the closest Guyanese equivalent) in the country, operating through four regional divisions and local branches.

Some Guyanese Hindus have been receptive to reformist movements which have appeared from time to time. The most significant of these has been the *Arya Samaj* (Aryan League), founded in India in 1875. Although the movement has existed in Guyana for more than 60 years, it remains small. Nevertheless, it has exerted an influence out of proportion to its numbers, mainly because it has particular appeal for the active, educated, and progressive members of the Hindu community. The main theological differences between the *Arya Samaj* and the *Sanatan Dharm* are threefold. The *Arya Samaj* refuses to accept the basic *Sanatan Dharm* tenet that God took human form in the persons of Rama and Krishna, basing its objection on the Vedas, the most ancient sacred literature of Hinduism; it favors a consciously monotheistic form of Hinduism, denigrating the worship of the Deity in pluralistic manifestations; and it dismisses *Sanatan Dharm* rites as "mummery," substituting simpler Vedic rituals. The *Arya Samaj* also stresses a congregational [illegible] social approach to religion, urging that individ[illegible] -eticism and detachment be replaced by [illegible]rd community betterment.

Anot[illegible] Hindu reformist group is the *Bhd*[illegible] (Indian Self-Help Society), wi[illegible] [illegible]ce within the fold of the *San*[illegible] [illegible]voided an open breach with it. Its [illegible] themselves to be orthodox Hindus. [illegible]ot recognize the exclusive ritual privileges of Brahmans and have developed their own ceremonies which, like those of the *Arya Samaj*, allow for more active participation by the congregation. The *Bharat Sevashram Sangh* tolerates the worship of images as a useful aid in devotions and presents its own type of ritual only as an alternative to, rather than a replacement for, the orthodox rites. This compromise position has won it more supporters than the more "extreme" *Arya Samaj*. Significantly, one of the main trends of the reformist movements has been to transform the "other-worldly" asceticism of the traditional religion into a concern with temporal affairs. The inspiration behind reformist ethics from the beginning has been social rather than theological. According to informed observers, the pattern of religious beliefs of most Guyanese Hindus is a synthesis of some orthodox and some reformist teachings, with few making total commitments that place them irrevocably on one side or the other.

Most of the country's Muslims belong to the orthodox Sunni sect, organized in Guyana as the *Sunnatwal Jamaat* (Organization of Sunnis). Like Muslims elsewhere, Guyanese Muslims regard the Koran as the literal Word of God, the principal source

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of Islamic doctrine. The Koran is supplemented as a source of guidance for orthodox Muslims by the *Hadiths* (Traditions), contemporary accounts of the words and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad. Orthodox worship has changed little since the early Muslim era, when the prescriptions for religious observance were set. Foremost among these are the five acts of religious duty known as the five pillars of faith. The first of these is the verbal profession of faith in one God, Allah, and belief in the prophethood of Muhammad. The second relates to prayer, five daily periods of prayer are enjoined by the Koran, with Friday, the Muslim holy day, being set aside for communal prayers in a mosque (normally restricted to males). Almsgiving, daylight fasting during the month of Ramadan, and a pilgrimage to Mecca are the remaining pillars. Little information is available on the degree of observance of the first four pillars by Guyanese Muslims. It is known, however, that few are financially able to make the pilgrimage to Mecca.

The *Sunnatwal Jamaat* claims to represent most of Guyana's Muslims, but in the last two decades it has been challenged by a number of small Muslim groups. The only one of significance is the *Ahmadiyya Anjuman* (Ahmadiya Society), a reformist sect founded in 1879 in the Indian Punjab by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, who proclaimed himself to be the person in whom were united the Christian Messiah and the Muslim Mahdi.[1] In the late 1960's, the *Ahmadiyya Anjuman* had fewer than 4,000 adherents in Guyana, mostly in Georgetown and New Amsterdam. They differ little from the orthodox Sunnis in belief and practice. However, they interpret the role of Jesus somewhat differently, allow women to enter a special section of the mosque for Friday prayer, and permit the translation of the Koran into English. The few hundred Africans who have been converted to Islam subscribe to the basic tenets of the society; they refer to themselves as Black Muslims.

Hindu-Muslim relations have been generally friendly, largely because of the shared immigrant background of the East Indians and the mutual effort to preserve aspects of East Indian culture in an ethnically divided society. Minor frictions between the two faiths have usually been subordinated to their common Indian interest. In addition, structural similarities in religious ceremonies and organization have enabled Guyanese Hindus and Muslims to achieve some understanding of one another's activities, even though they know little about the content of the relevant beliefs. Differences between the two groups are increasingly being described as "differences between brothers of the same family," and as such they tend to be seen as permissible and alternative forms of religious practice. Hindu-Muslim cooperation was advanced early in 1972 when a committee was formed to "bring into one body all religious, cultural, and social organizations" of Guyanese East Indians.

General acceptance of the non-Christian religious groups by Christian denominations was slow to develop, a reflection of the wide cultural gap existing between the East Indians and the African. A century of largely unsuccessful missionary effort, both Protestant and Catholic, to convert the East Indians to Christianity did little to improve the situation. With government encouragement, considerable progress has now been made in reducing religious animosities by emphasizing elements of agreement, based on the premise that all of the religions are similar to the extent that they affirm the existence of a Creator.

H. Education (U/OU)

Despite postindependence efforts to revise school curriculums and to modernize teaching methods, the Guyanese educational system retains many outmoded concepts and practices and, reflecting its British orientation, emphasizes traditional academic studies at the expense of technical and vocational training. Primary-level instruction is extensive and provides the majority of the population with a rudimentary education. Secondary-level instruction, however, is limited both quantitatively and qualitatively, and only a select minority of students in urban centers receive high-quality instruction. An even smaller number of students have the opportunity to pursue higher education. By U.S. measurements, most schools in Guyana are substandard and overcrowded (Figure 21). Most are also ill-equipped and poorly staffed, and few provide training in the skills most needed by Guyana's developing economy.

Because of easy access at least to primary training, the Guyanese are among the most literate people of South America. Furthermore, the literacy rate has been rising, having increased from 76% of the total population age 15 and over in 1946 to about 86% in 1967. Functional literacy, however, is lower and probably does not exceed 60%. Many children do not complete the 4 years of schooling considered necessary for functional literacy; in rural areas where there is little occasion to read after leaving school, many persons tend to lose their reading skills. There is more incentive in urban areas to remain literate, even

[1] In Muslim tradition, an expected spiritual and temporal ruler who would establish an reign of righteousness throughout the world.

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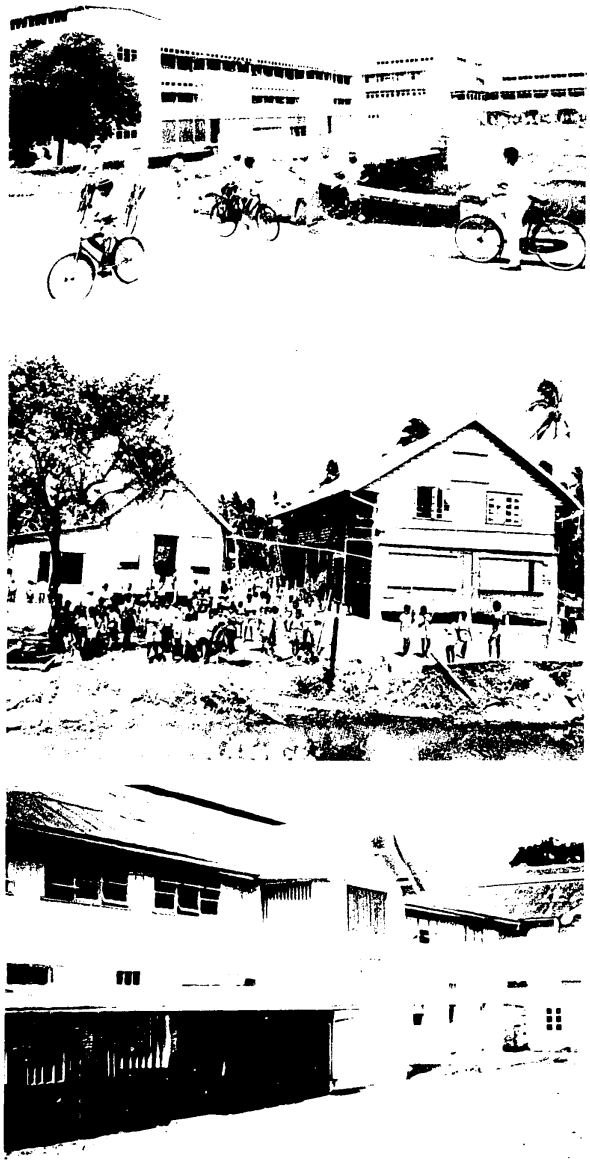

FIGURE 21. Typical schools (C)

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among those who have gained only a partial primary education, because literacy is a basic requirement for employment in the better paying jobs.

As is common elsewhere in the world, literacy is higher among urban residents than among those who live in the countryside. Because they are a predominantly urban community, the Africans in Guyana are almost totally literate; the East Indians are a less literate group than the Africans, and the Amerindians are the least literate people in the country. Most illiterate East Indians, however, are concentrated in the older age groups; the younger East Indians generally are able to read and write. Increased educational opportunity for Amerindians also is being reflected in rising literacy among these people.

Although the 1960 census apparently did not determine levels of literacy, it did ascertain the level of educational attainment of the Guyanese population age 15 and over. Of this segment of the population, 12.9% had no formal education, 12.3% had less than 6 years of primary training, 23.8% had 6 or 7 years of schooling, and 38.6% had terminated their education after 8 or 9 years, 9 years of schooling covering the compulsory sector of education. Excluding the 1.5% of the population age 15 and over for whom the level of educational attainment was not recorded, only 10.9% of the population had received training beyond the primary level in 1960; these included 3.4% who had completed the secondary cycle and 0.4% who held a university degree. In 1960, there were only 1,126 university graduates in Guyana, 928 men and 198 women. Except at the level of higher education and among those who had received no schooling, there was little significant difference between the sexes in the level of educational attainment (Figure 22). Almost twice as many women as men, however, had no formal training. The proportion of the total population age 15 and over without any education ranged from a low of 2.5% in the city of Georgetown to a high of 63.3% in Rupununi District. More than two-thirds of the university graduates were in the Georgetown or New Amsterdam areas.

Throughout the 20th century, and particularly since the end of World War II, educational opportunity has been increasing in Guyana. During the early 1930's, it was estimated that approximately 62% of relevant age group was enrolled in primary school; this proportion had increased to about 75% in the late 1940's and to approximately 85% in the early 1970's. Although in any given school year only about 85% of the relevant age group is enrolled in primary school, the proportion of children actually exposed to some primary schooling at one time or another is believed to approach 100%. Large numbers of students attend

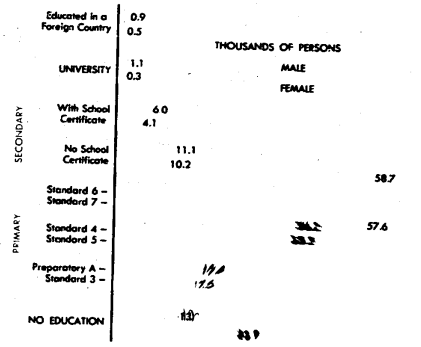

FIGURE 22. Educational attainment of the population age 15 and over, by sex, 1960 (U/OU)

primary school for less than the full cycle; some attend for a year or two, drop out, and sometimes reenter, there being no rigid age restrictions on admission to the schools. Poor-quality teaching, irrelevant curriculums, a lack of vocational guidance, and financial problems contribute to high attrition at all levels of education. The dropout rate is most pronounced at the end of the fourth, sixth, and ninth years.

Both the strengths and the weaknesses of the present educational system derive largely from policies established by the British during the colonial era. Although the colonial educational system fostered British values, cultural forms, and standards of behavior in an attempt to unite the diverse racial elements within Guyanese society, its primary function was to train functionaries for the lower ranks of the civil service and clerical and minor administrative personnel for the sugar plantations and business and financial houses. Moreover, despite the legal establishment of compulsory schooling in 1876, provisions of the act were not vigorously enforced until well into the 20th century. The compulsory segment of education in public schools is free.

The Guyana Government has attempted since 1966 to modernize the educational system, with only partial success. The stated aim of the Burnham administration is "to produce in the shortest possible time, citizens with adequate skills to meet the country's growing needs, and at the same time to broaden the scope and to change the content of the curriculum to provide for the total development of each child." Toward this goal, a new curriculum was introduced

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into some schools beginning in September 1967. The new curriculum provides for courses in Spanish and for increased emphasis on home economics, handicrafts, science, technical training, and physical education. In addition, attention is now being given to agriculture and animal husbandry, particularly in schools in the rural areas. Observers believe, however, that it will take many years to fully implement these and other reforms because of bureaucratic inertia and the lack of trained instructors.

The Guyanese Government has been allocating increasing amounts to education, the total public expenditure on education having risen from approximately G$8 million in 1961 to G$22 million in 1970. As a proportion of total government spending, allocations for education during 1961-70 ranged between a low of 10.3% (1961) and a high of 18.7% (1968). Most spending on education is devoted to recurrent expenses, of which approximately 70% is absorbed by teachers' and administrators' salaries. Although primary education continues to receive the bulk of the money spent on education (70% in 1968), increasingly larger amounts have been allocated in recent years for secondary schooling, teacher training, and higher education. Funds allotted to education represent the largest single item of expenditure in the national budget, with spending on education approximating 5% of gross domestic product. In view of a growing population, however, the government will be compelled to allocate even larger sums in the future merely to maintain current levels of access to schooling.

The number of public primary and all-age schools rose from 21 in 1959 to 152 in 1968, but schools sponsored by Christian groups continue to outnumber those operated by the government. In 1968, for example, more than half of all primary and all-age schools were maintained by denominational groups. Other schools are operated by sugar companies, mining firms, and other private entities. About half of the academic secondary schools are run by the government, the remainder by private interests. Provided they meet curricular requirements and other prescribed standards, nonpublic schools receive government subsidies for teachers' salaries, equipment, and plant maintenance.

Despite a considerable increase in enrollment at both primary and secondary levels (Figure 23), enrollment is concentrated in the primary grades. During the 1952/53 to 1967/68 period, enrollment in secondary schools expanded more rapidly (148%) than that in primary schools (115%) so that the ratio of primary students to secondary students dropped from about 3.3:1 to 2.8:1. Thus, educational opportunity at the secondary level has been expanded to encompass a somewhat larger proportion of those completing the primary cycle. However, the bulk of all secondary students have been enrolled in the all-age schools, which have been described by observers as the most wasteful and inefficient sector of the educational system.

FIGURE 23. Primary and secondary enrollment (U/OU)

SCHOOL YEAR	PRIMARY ENROLLMENT	SECONDARY ENROLLMENT		
		All-age schools	(Academic) secondary schools	Total
1952/53	64,623	18,664	1,151	19,815
1958/59	91,683	26,675	5,435	32,110
1964/65	120,758	31,700	12,575	44,275
1965/66	131,247	32,097	15,486	47,583
1966/67	135,047	32,871	16,552	49,423
1967/68	138,671	32,795	16,372	49,167

NOTE Excludes secondary-level technical and vocational school enrollment. Pupils in all-age schools have been apportioned according to the level at which they were enrolled.

The Guyanese educational system consists of a 6-year primary cycle and a 5-, 6-, or 7-year secondary cycle (Figure 24). The primary cycle is divided into six grades, known as Preparatory A, Preparatory B, and Standards 1 through 4. "All-age schools," which are numerous in Guyana, offer 9 years of schooling and cover the period of compulsory attendance (ages 6 through 14). These schools include the 6-year primary program and a 3-year secondary program (Forms I through III) that is normally terminal. Early in 1972, the government began replacing the secondary program in the all-age schools by "multilateral" junior secondary schools which give 2 or 3 years of general secondary education, and lead to employment, to vocational training, or to advanced schooling in various diversified areas. Secondary schools (as distinguished from the secondary program in the all-age schools) are academic institutions which lead to higher education. All secondary schools in Guyana provide at least a 5-year program (Forms I through V), which is a prerequisite for admission to the University of Guyana, but only a handful offer the additional 2 years (Form VI—Lower and Upper), which qualify students for entrance into universities in the United Kingdom.

During the 1960's, the government attacked the problems of overcrowding and insufficient equipment in the nation's schools by sponsoring self-help school construction projects and expending substantial sums

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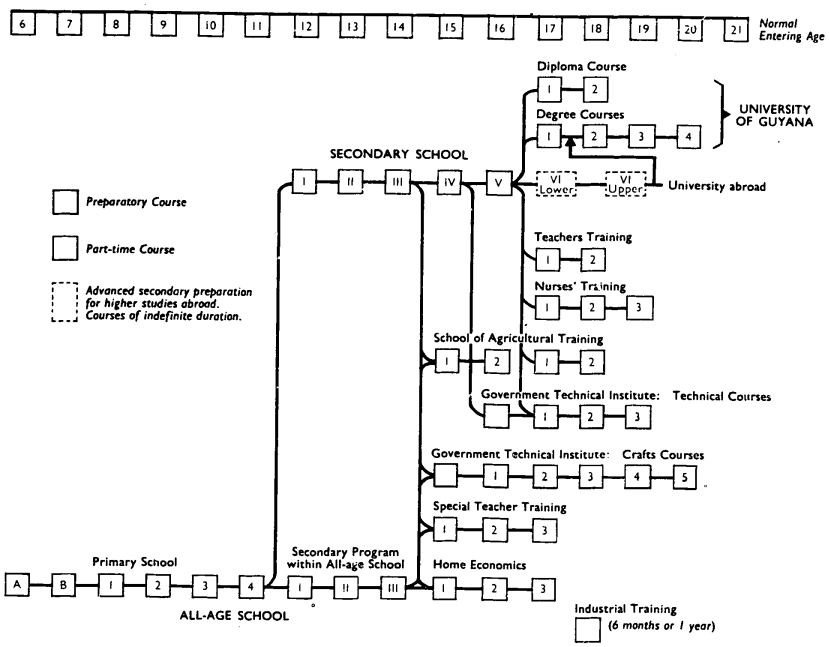

FIGURE 24. Structure of the educational system, 1970 (U/OU)

for material aids. Between 1965 and 1968, places for an additional 28,000 students were provided and 64 schools (including seven secondary institutions) were built through self-help projects, thereby contributing significantly to the government's goal of providing facilities for 40,000 additional pupils by 1972. Between 1966 and 1972, G$1.7 million was allocated for school equipment and facilities, including G$300,000 for libraries, G$100,000 for audiovisual aids, G$300,000 for school desks, G$150,000 for laboratories, G$40,000 for physical education, and G$612,000 for home economics and handicraft equipment. By 1972 these programs had mitigated overcrowding and had improved conditions in some of the country's schools.

Despite improvement in some aspects of the educational system, the shortage of trained teachers remains acute. In 1968, only 35% of the 5,421 primary and all-age school instructors, and fewer than 27% of the 705 secondary school instructors held a degree in education or had successfully completed an approved course of professional training at a teacher's training college. A major proportion of teachers at the primary level are recruited directly upon graduation from the all-age schools. These recruits serve as "pupil-teachers" under experienced instructors for a period of 4 years, after which time they are certified as "qualified." Recent government efforts to upgrade teacher qualifications include providing "pupil-teachers" with up to 2 years of inservice training, expanding the teacher training facilities, and offering a 2-year diploma course for secondary-level teachers at the University of Guyana. These and other programs increased total teacher training enrollment from an estimated 245 in 1968 to 660 in 1971. The government offers numerous scholarships, tax exemptions, and other inducements to attract individuals to the teaching profession; nonetheless, the recruitment and

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retention of competent instructors is difficult because of low salaries (more than half of all teachers earn less than G$150 per month) and poor working conditions.

General academic studies predominate at all levels of the educational system. Since independence, however, basic vocational subjects have been introduced in primary schools, and technical and vocational courses have been expanded at the levels of secondary and higher education. Specialized training in vocational and technical studies is offered in four public and three private schools. Among these is the government-operated Guyana Industrial Training Center (GITC), established in 1968 near Georgetown. Founded with assistance from AID and AIFLD, GITC offers 6-month and 12-month courses in carpentry, masonry, plumbing, welding, and other specialities, and graduates some 150 students annually. A few private commercial schools in Georgetown provide instruction in typing, shorthand, and bookkeeping.

Opportunities to pursue higher education in Guyana are limited. The University of Guyana, established in 1963, offers 2-year diploma programs in such fields as architecture, education, engineering, medical technology, public administration, and telecommunications, and 4-year degree programs in the arts and the natural and social sciences. The Government Technical Institute and the Guyana School of Agriculture also offer some postsecondary courses. Both entities are scheduled to merge with the University of Guyana, becoming the faculties of engineering and agriculture, respectively, but because of a shortage of funds, the merger has not yet taken place.

The University of Guyana occupies a plant opened in February 1970 at Turkeyen, east of Georgetown. Since moving to the new quarters, the university has initiated a few day classes, but most offerings are given only in the evening. A majority of students, of whom there were 1,168 in 1970/71, attend classes on a part-time basis. Most faculty members—there were 70 in 1970—also serve only part time, being forced by economic necessity to maintain a full-time job outside the university community. Because the graduates of those secondary schools offering 7-years of training study abroad if they are financially able, the University of Guyana enrolls mainly students with but 5 years of secondary schooling. As a result, standards at the university are low.

During the late 1960's, at least 1,000 Guyanese were pursuing higher education abroad annually. In 1968, about one-third of these were the recipients of government scholarships and were following courses of study not offered in Guyana. Most Guyanese studying abroad attend universities or colleges in the United Kingdom, Canada, or the United States.

I. Cultural expression (U/OU)

During most of the long colonial period, such limited cultural expression as existed in the area was the exclusive domain of the small group of ruling Europeans. The practice of slavery and the later indenture system constituted a powerful barrier to creative development among the subservient peoples to whom education was almost universally denied. British missionary efforts among the Africans in the 19th century, emphasizing the English language and British values, laid the basis for the subsequent orientation of Guyanese cultural expression. With few exceptions, writers, poets, and artists have tended to imitate British models rather than to develop forms that are peculiarly their own. The country's authors have been seriously handicapped by the limited local audience for their works. There are few domestic publishing facilities, and the newspapers and magazines have done little to support Guyanese literary endeavor. As a result, local writers have generally turned to the United Kingdom, and many have taken up residence there. The Burnham administration acknowledges the problem and has pledged itself to take measures which will create an atmosphere that will encourage those with creative talent to remain in Guyana.

Only a handful of Guyanese have gained a reputation in literature. Edgar A. Mittelholzer, who committed suicide in England in 1965, was the foremost of these. A light-skinned African, he was much troubled by problems stemming from mixed heredity. His first novel, *Corentyne Thunder*, published in 1941 while he was still living in Guyana, is considered the first major work of "West Indian" literature. His last, *A Swarthy Boy*, was written in 1963. During the intervening years he published 13 other books. Most critics cite as his best work *The Life and Death of Sylvia*, a penetrating study of Georgetown society with its subtleties and color snobbery, and what the author called "the tangled mass of cliques and clans and subclans." Also regarded as outstanding is the Kaywana trilogy: *Children of Kaywana*, *The Harrowing of Hubertus*, and *Kaywana Blood*. These novels follow the fortunes of a single family through more than 300 years of Guyanese history.

Other recognized contemporary writers are Wilson Harris, Jan Carew, E. R. Braithwaite, and Christopher Nicole, all of whom achieved prominence in the 1960's. In his writings, Harris frequently deals with the efforts of the individual to meet the challenges of nature and to establish meaningful communication with his fellows. Among his better known works are *Palace of the Peacocks*, *The Secret Ladder*, and *The*

Eye of the Scarecrow. The theme of Jan Carew's novels is the struggle of the young to rise above the disadvantages of poverty and racial discrimination. In *Peter Midas*, Carew's setting is the interior of Guyana, and in *The Wild Coast* the background is a coastal village. His more recent works treat the same theme in foreign settings. E. R. Braithwaite is best known for *To Sir with Love*, an autobiographical study of race relations based on the author's experiences as a teacher in a London school. *To Sir with Love* received international recognition and has been made into a motion picture. The work of Christopher Nicole, exemplified mainly by a 1962 novel, *Ratoon*, is regarded as of critical significance in that it appears to show some progress in the development of a freer "Guyanese" style. *Ratoon* centers on the Mahaica slave revolt of 1823.

The small, integrated literati of Georgetown are not yet a potent force in Guyanese life, but some members of this group are exerting an increasing influence in their efforts to create a greater sense of cultural self-sufficiency, working to develop a pride in the folk traditions and modes of artistic expression of the various ethnic groups. Among their leaders is Arthur James Seymour, a sometime professor at the University of the West Indies in Jamaica. Poet, critic, and former editor of the literary journal *Kyk-over-al* (Look Over All), Seymour advocates a distinctive local literature, although he feels that the culture of Europe must continue to play a part in its growth. His writing deals with colonial history, Amerindian folklore, and the beauty of the Guyanese landscape; typical of his work is a poem entitled *There Runs a Dream*. Another poet of note identified with the group is Martin Carter, a onetime leader in the PPP who served for a period in the Burnham Cabinet. Like most Guyanese poets, he extols the merits of his native land, particularly emphasizing its physical aspects. He also attempts to evoke a sense of national awakening; his collection, *New Day*, envisions better times for his countrymen.

Until the early 1900's, Guyanese art was dominated by British, Dutch, and French artists living in the colony. The first Guyanese to become known in the field was Samuel Broodhagen, a sculptor and illustrator. Thereafter, a small circle led by the late E. R. Burrows began to produce native scenes—landscapes, markets, decaying slave quarters, and masquerade dancers. A painter, sculptor, and art teacher, Burrows worked throughout his life to promote Guyanese art, encouraging young would-be artists through the Working People's Art Society, which he founded. Primarily because of the efforts of the society, painting has achieved considerable popularity among the urban population, but the quality is not high. Like their literary counterparts, most of the promising contemporary artists have chosen to work outside Guyana. Prominent among the expatriates are Denis Williams and Aubrey Williams (unrelated), who have been living abroad for many years, mostly in England. Denis Williams was the first Guyanese artist to be awarded a British Council scholarship. Both men have concerned themselves with the use of abstract symbols to depict dramatic elemental forces. Among the artists who have chosen to remain in Guyana are Emerson Samuels, Cyril Kanhai, David Singh, Alvin Bowman, Stanley Greaves, and Ronald Savory. The most productive painter in this group is Savory, an impressionist. Sometimes termed "the artist of the hinterland," he draws his inspiration from the savannas, forests, and mountain ranges of the interior. In recent years, the Guyanese Government has sought to encourage local artistic expression by sponsoring an annual National Arts Festival and by promoting participation in such regional cultural activities as the Caribbean Festival of Creative Arts.

A formal theater tradition has existed in Guyana since the 1840's when a public hall was built in Georgetown for the purpose of presenting dramatic entertainment. Since that time, local groups have performed plays, operettas, and musical comedies and have sponsored appearances by companies from Europe and the Americas. Because of the scarcity of dramatic writing in Guyana, the great majority of theatrical productions over the years have been of foreign origin. The only Guyanese dramatist of significance has been Norman Cameron. A mathematics teacher who wrote both prose and poetry, he turned to writing plays in the 1930's and subsequently authored several full-length dramas, including *Balthaser*, *Adoniza*, and *Jamaica Joe*. Local interest in the theater was renewed in 1957 when a Theater Guild was established in an effort to promote greater participation in the dramatic arts. The guild stages a number of major plays each year, conducts an annual playwriting competition, and sponsors countrywide drama festivals. It also maintains a library and workshops.

The most popular form of cultural expression is music, particularly calypso. Many Guyanese enjoy singing, and virtually every village has one or more groups among the younger generation who meet regularly to sing to the accompaniment of banjos, guitars, drums, and maracas. Many villages have a local calypso specialist who makes up topical songs, generally of a bawdy nature. Because of the national

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tendency to gossip, scandalous happenings are frequent subjects. Although still poorly developed, serious musical expression among Guyanese has been enhanced over the past 30 years by the formation of several music organizations and orchestras, an increase in musical activities in the schools, and the emergence of a number of composers. Noteworthy among the composers is Philip Pilgrim, whose best known work is a 1944 musical interpretation of Arthur James Seymour's *the Legend of Kaieteur*. Others who have gained recognition in the field of musical composition are Hugh Sam, Valerie Rodway, Horace L. Taitt, Cecile Nobrega, and Walter Franker. During the 1960's, the founding of a National Symphony Orchestra and a Georgetown Philharmonic stimulated interest in the classical concert tradition, but by 1971 both were in decline.

Traditional folk music is still heard and, in fact, is becoming increasingly popular as a result of a growing sense of pride in the Guyanese heritage. One type of musical rendition unique to Guyana is the *quch-quch*, which adapts Western verse to African chants and is sung in the local English patois. Among the East Indian population, the traditional music of India has been kept alive, mainly by Brahman priests, and is frequently performed in the course of religious ceremonies and festivals. Although its melodic patterns have been considerably modified by Western musical influences, its East Indian characteristics still predominate. The only information available with respect to native Amerindian music concerns the various instruments in use. The most common of these is a drum made of skins stretched across a hollow section of tree trunk and bound to it by rawhide thongs or heavy vines. Another is a crude flute constructed from the long grasses abundant in the savannas. Gourd rattles, conchshells, whistles, and panpipes are also employed. Two special instruments fashioned of clay are regarded as sacred objects among certain tribes. These are the *boluto*, a large, bulky wind instrument, and the *taruma*, which resembles a flute. Both are used in indigenous religious rites. Folk dances among the Amerindians often imitate the flight of a bird, with the participants, usually young men, dressed in feathers.

Guyanese folk arts are limited. The Africans appear to have lost whatever capabilities they may once have had as artisans, and while some East Indians are engaged in the traditional crafts of India, this sphere of activity is fairly limited. In a few East Indian communities the art of altar painting is still practiced, as is *jari* work, which consists of embroidering velvet with gold and silver thread. The most important East Indian craft is the making of delicate filigree jewelry, carried on by a few goldsmiths and silversmiths, primarily in Georgetown. Amerindian crafts, largely utilitarian, have been declining as commercially made products become more readily available to this sector of the population. In the remote interior, however, some tribespeople continue to depend on their own workmanship for certain necessities, baskets, hammocks, and pottery being the most commonly produced articles. The principal materials used in basketry are *nibi*, a bush-rope, and *mokru*, a reed; hammocks are made of cloth woven from cotton which has been dyed in varied colors. The best of the baskets and hammocks incorporate intricate designs. Among almost all tribes, basketry and cloth weaving are done by men while pottery is regarded as women's work. Usually fashioned from clay taken from creekbeds, the pots are made in a variety of shapes and sizes and are used for many purposes, but primarily as cooking utensils. Some of the pottery is decorated. Amerindian women also make beaded aprons, belts, armlets, anklets, and other adornments.

J. Public information (C)

The press and radio in Guyana reaches well over 90% of the population. This coverage, an anomaly among "developing nations," is due, not to technical development, but rather to the country's population concentration, relatively high literacy, and virtually exclusive use of the English language. Because most media are controlled by business, political, religious, or other special interest groups, they tend to reflect and reinforce the ethnic and social divisions within society, thereby contributing little to national unity. Although the formal media reach a large portion of the population, informal communication by word-of-mouth is extensive, particularly in rural areas and among low-income groups in urban centers. Oral communication is especially significant in rural East Indian communities, where villagers tend to view all outside information sources with mistrust. Nevertheless, most Guyanese are aware of local news and events and have an informed, if somewhat biased, opinion on the country's political situation; however, their knowledge of developments outside Guyana is limited.

Guyana has no television, only a few book publishing houses, and no motion picture production except for a limited number of short educational films prepared by the government. It is not expected that a national television system will be inaugurated in the near future.

Article 12 of the Constitution guarantees citizens freedom of expression, both written and oral, which does not endanger the existence of the state or infringe

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upon the rights of individuals. Nevertheless, in recent years the Burnham administration has imposed limited controls on publishers and broadcasters in order to promote its programs and goals. In addition to providing official competition in the form of a daily newspaper and a radio station, the government has exerted pressure on the management of privately operated media by warning them to withhold news concerning sensitive subjects, by persuading businessmen to withdraw advertising support from uncooperative media and, since 1 January 1972, by requiring a license for the importation of newsprint. In October 1971, moreover, the government established a Film Censor Board, whose duties, in the words of one official, include "reducing the onslaught of North American and European cultural influence, and determining sources of films from the third world." Some officials are said to favor further control over the media. For political reasons, however, Prime Minister Burnham prefers only to pressure newspaper publishers and broadcasters to abstain from severe criticism of his administration. In short, as of mid-1972 the media were subject to interference but still comparatively free to print or broadcast what they chose.

1. Printed matter

The press is concentrated in Georgetown and its suburbs. Because of poorly developed transportation facilities, newspaper circulation outside the capital is generally confined to those areas, such as New Amsterdam and Linden, that are readily accessible by rail or air. Despite limited circulation, the press is highly influential in molding public opinion because its readership is drawn from a largely literate population that includes members of such important decisionmaking groups as middle and upper class businessmen, government employees, and trade unionists.

Journalistic standards in Guyana are low. Apart from technical problems, such as poor-quality printing, the major deficiencies of the press are lack of objectivity and failure to provide adequate coverage of foreign news. Most newspapers are partisan organs of political parties or other special interest groups and are biased in their presentation of the news. To attract readership some publications engage in sensationalism, bordering at times on journalistic irresponsibility. Although most newspapers subscribe to one or more international news services, primarily Reuters, the Associated Press, or *Agence France-Presse*, none gives substantial regular coverage to world news.

The press consists of four daily newspapers, all published in Georgetown, at least seven weekly newspapers, and a number of other periodicals issued less frequently. With a circulation of approximately 59,000 and an estimated five readers per copy, the daily papers reached about two-fifths of the population. Guyana's most important newspaper is the *Guyana Graphic*, a morning daily owned by the Thompson newspaper chain of the United Kingdom. The nation's most professional and best printed newspaper, it has a circulation of 33,000 (52,000 on Sunday), the largest in the country. The *Graphic* tends to a middle-of-the-road editorial policy and often leaves comment on significant issues of the day to the other daily newspapers. A principal topic of the paper is domestic economic development, which frequently involves discussions, not always favorable, of government development activities. It has occasionally given front page treatment to anti-United States news items.

The government-owned *Chronicle*, which changed from weekly to daily publication in October 1971, is Guyana's newest daily newspaper. With an estimated circulation of from 5,000 to 12,000 (22,000 on Sunday), the *Chronicle* has quickly become a major competitor of the other dailies. Editor Carl Blackman, one of the ablest and most aggressive journalists in the country, hopes to widen its appeal in order to attract popular readership throughout the country. As of midyear 1972, however, the *Chronicle*, was reported to be undergoing a financial crisis precipitated by poor production management, dissention in editorial ranks, a dearth of trained personnel and, ironically, government strictures on advertising certain non-Guyanese products.

With a daily circulation of 9,500 (18,800 on Sunday), the *Evening Post* was sold by its English owner, Peter Taylor, in 1970. Its new owners, a group of the paper's employees, take a less sensationalist approach than did Taylor. Although its editorials sometimes criticize the Burnham administration, the *Post* is strongly anti-Jagan, anti-Communist, and conservative, with a bias in favor of free enterprise. It has reportedly lost money steadily since the *Chronicle* began daily publication and, as a result, has reduced its staff and requested financial assistance from the government.

Guyana's fourth largest daily, the *Mirror*, is in fact, if not officially, the organ of the PPP and the primary channel for Communist propaganda in Guyana. Although rarely sold on the streets, it maintains a daily circulation through subscription of 7,500 which reaches 25,000 in Sunday editions. The *Mirror*

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espouses the Cuban model of economic and social development, including expropriation of foreign commercial interests, centralized state planning, and state control of the economy. Editorial comment, more combative than informative, generally dominates the paper. Appealing primarily to the East Indian sector of the population, the *Mirror* is believed to be accorded a high degree of credibility among East Indians in rural areas where exposure to other printed material is slight.

There is no domestic news agency. The Ministry of Information, Culture and Youth through the Guyana Information Service, distributes information to the press and thus publicizes official policies and achievements. The United Kingdom maintains a branch of the British Information Service in Georgetown that issues a daily news bulletin based on copy received by direct teleprinter transmission from London, and it also distributes photographs. In addition to a Canadian information office, the U.S. Information Service (USIS) also provides material to local newspapers.

Prominent among the nation's periodicals are the official organs of the principal political parties: the PNC's weekly, *New Nation*, which has a circulation of roughly 16,000, and the PPP's monthly, *Thunder*, which has an estimated circulation of 10,000. Other periodicals with a national readership include the *Catholic Standard*, published by the Diocese of Georgetown, with a weekly circulation of 4,000; the *Labor Advocate*, a weekly organ of the MPCA, which circulates 20,000 copies; and the *Booker News*, a fortnightly published by the Booker group of companies, with a circulation of about 11,000. The *Guyana Business*, a bimonthly publication of the Georgetown Chamber of Commerce, is of primary interest to the business community. Of intellectual appeal, the outstanding journal is the *New World*. Although its editorials are occasionally left of center, it gives equal coverage to the different viewpoints of its contributors and has consistently maintained a scholarly and analytical approach to its subject matter. Newspapers and magazines from the United Kingdom, the United States, Trinidad, and Jamaica are available in Georgetown. U.S. publications include the *International Herald Tribune*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, the *Reader's Digest*, and the *Ladies Home Journal*.

Despite Guyana's high rate of literacy, book publishing within the country is of little significance, primarily because of a restricted market resulting from the small population and the generally prevailing low level of income. In July 1971 the government announced plans to enter the book publishing field by using the expanded printing plant of the *Chronicle*, thereby bringing to five the number of publishing houses. The book trade, however, is reasonably well developed. A number of book stores in Georgetown and other urban centers sell paperbacks and hard cover editions. Most books are imported from Great Britian, but many (30% in one large bookstore in Georgetown) are of U.S. origin.

The country's library system is limited in scope. Aside from a free public library in New Amsterdam and the Carnegie Free Public Library in Georgetown, the combined holdings of which total more than 100,000 volumes, library facilities are chiefly confined to small collections in a number of specialized agencies, private organizations, and educational institutions (Figure 25). The USIS operates a lending library containing over 7,000 volumes, a reference and periodical collection, and a motion picture film section consisting of some 275 titles. Between 1963 and mid-1972, through its Donated Book Program, the USIS had distributed approximately 338,000 volumes to school and other libraries throughout the country.

2. Radio

Radio is the most extensive communications medium in Guyana, broadcasts reaching all areas of the country except for portions of Rupununi, Mazaruni-Potaro, and North West districts. It is, in fact, the only mass medium reaching thousands of inhabitants in rural areas that are virtually inaccessible by road or waterway. Since the advent of inexpensive transistor radios, the number of receivers in use has risen dramatically, increasing from an estimated 9,400 in 1950 to 257,000 in 1972. More than 300 sets have been installed in schools and other public places.

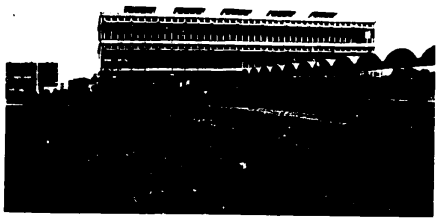

FIGURE 25. Library at the University of Guyana (U/OU)

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Two broadcasting stations operate in Guyana: *Radio Demerara*, which identifies itself as the "Voice of Guyana"; and the Guyana Broadcasting Service (GBS). Located at Sparendaam near Georgetown in modern, well-equipped studios, both stations were once subsidiaries of the London-based Rediffusion Ltd. In October 1968, however, the government took over operation of GBS and established the National Broadcasting Service under the supervision of the then Ministry of Information. *Radio Demerara* transmits shortwave and mediumwave AM broadcasts and the National Broadcast Service transmits on shortwave mediumwave, and FM outlets.

Programing consists of news summaries, news relays from the British Broadcasting Corporation, a few Voice of America features, sports, soap operas, and programs designed especially for ethnic groups. Since March 1972, both stations have provided 3 hours of free broadcast time each week to Hindu, Muslim, and Christian religious groups for denominational programs. A significant amount of broadcast time is reserved for government use, part of which is employed by the various ministries and agencies to explain or defend government policies and part of which is devoted to educational broadcasts. In addition, GBS transmits farm bulletins, traffic reports, police bulletins, and the national radio bingo. Except for about 6 ½ hours per week which both stations allot to transmissions in Hindustani, all programing is in English.

Guyana receives a number of foreign broadcasts, including those of *Radio Antilles*, Montserrat; *Radio Bonaire*, Netherlands Antilles; *Radio Habana*; *Radio Netherlands*, Hilversum; *Radio Trinidad*, Port-of-Spain; the Surinam Broadcasting Corporation; and the Voice of America. *Radio Habana* fails to give any specific attention to Guyana or to Guyanese problems.

3. Motion pictures

Motion pictures are a popular form of entertainment among all classes and ethnic groups. In 1968, the latest year for which data are available, there were 75 permanent theaters in the country. In addition, political parties, commercial interests, and the USIS operate a number of mobile units which exhibit films in rural areas. Most films come from the United States and European countries, but some are imported from India, those in Hindustani being dubbed into English to expand the potential audience. A variety of subjects are featured, among which adventure stories and westerns are the most popular.

Although no feature-length presentations are produced in Guyana, the Ministry of Information, Culture and Youth maintains a library of 16-mm. and 35-mm. educational films that are loaned to schools and other groups free of charge. Most have been provided by the U.K. Central Office of Information; some, however, are produced under Ministry auspices. The British Council and the USIS also maintain film libraries and arrange for showings both in Georgetown and in rural areas.

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Glossary (u/ou)

Abbreviation	English
AID	Agency for International Development
AIFLD	American Institute for Free Labor Development
BGTUC	British Guiana Trades Union Council
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FUGE	Federation of Unions of Government Employees
GAWU	Guyana Agricultural Workers' Union
GBS	Guyana Broadcasting Service
GITC	Guyana Industrial Training Center
GMU	Guyana Mineworkers' Union
GTUC	Guyana Trades Union Congress
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
MPCA	Manpower Citizens' Association
PNC	People's National Congress
PPP	People's Progressive Party
RPA	Rice Producers' Association
SPA	Sugar Producers' Association
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Emergency Fund
USIS	United States Information Service
WHO	World Health Organization

Places and features referred to in this Chapter (u/ou)

	COORDINATES	
	° ′N.	° ′W.
Bartica	6 42	58 37
Berbice River (*stream*)	6 17	57 32
Best	6 50	58 11
Canje	6 17	57 30
Charity	7 24	58 36
Demerara River (*stream*)	6 48	58 10
Essequibo River (*stream*)	6 59	58 23
Georgetown	6 48	58 10
Linden	6 00	58 17
Mahaica	6 41	57 55
New Amsterdam	6 15	57 31
Pomeroon River (*stream*)	7 37	58 44
Rupununi District	3 00	59 00
Sparendaam	6 49	58 06
Turkeyen (*plantation*)	6 49	58 07
Wismar (*section of Linden*)	6 00	58 18

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